IKONO THEKA

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Introduction

The 31st volume of Ikonotheka presents two sets of articles. The first one is devoted to medieval art and medievalisms in Central Europe (mostly) after 1945 with particular regard to medievalist practices such as creative adaptations, programmatic redefinitions, nationalist appropriations and ideological revaluations. The end of the Second World War in Europe brought new borders and new socio-political system, accelerated modernisation, and the promise of a "brave new world", which must be created on the ruins of the past. However, the ideological drive towards the future was supplemented by a turn towards a specifically understood history, often phantasmagorical and imagined. The Christian Middle Ages, with its feudal system, visual culture, and its traces in the form of medieval artifacts and architecture, played an important role in establishing the communist and socialist utopia.

This first group of articles presents a number of interesting observations on medievalism and new interpretations from the fields of architecture, panel painting and sacred art. The analysis of methods of interpreting the provenance of arcaded houses in the period from the beginning of the 19th century until 1939, proved that arcades, as a motif of medieval origins, were easily subjected to various more or less conscious manipulations in order to justify their native character, sometimes understood as belonging to particular peoples, regions, nations or even races. Michael Sittow's vague and questionable biography, in turn, has become fodder for the creation of romantic symbol of Estonian post-war independence, thus forming a part of the newly constructed post-war national memory. Moreover, some medieval artworks, such as altarpieces, single statues or paintings, regardless of actions taken to ignore their recent past, remained the carriers of a complicated, multithreaded history, despite serving very different and ideologically problematic purposes, such as embellishing "The Copernicus Chapel" in Toruń.

The second part of the volume contains the articles on different, but no less fascinating topics. It provides, *inter alia*, the analysis of a relief block with the Crucifixion scene preserved in the St. Martin's parish church in Jawor, commemorating Johann Sapiens and his family, which turned out to be the earliest preserved pictorial epitaph not only in Silesia, but also in this part of Europe. Moreover, it presents the person and oeuvre of Simon Pitz, a Jesuit architect providing designs for numer-

ous Jesuit buildings in Czechia, Moravia, Silesia and Poland, whose some previously unknown drawings have been taken under the spotlight. Finally, the second part of contributions contains the article with remarks on aquatic imagination and hydro-stories about American Art.

We hope that the new issue of Ikonotheka will bring much inspiration and satisfaction to readers.

ARTICLES

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"Slavic" or "Germanic Spirit"? Examples of the Ideologisation of Arcades in Research on Architecture in the 19th and 20th centuries[1]

Abstract

Travelling across present-day Poland, it is only exceptionally possible to come across a specific type of historic urban and rural houses with a ground-level section open on three sides and supported on columns or posts. Yet still in the first half of the 20th century, in some areas of Europe this type of a house was commonly found, and already a century earlier it had intrigued researchers investigating among other things, its origins of development. Within the current borders of Poland, arcaded houses are found in greater concentration in territories that in the past belonged to different political organisms and thus their research was conducted with the adoption of different optics. It is noteworthy that arcades were easily subjected to various more or less conscious manipulations in order to justify their native character, sometimes understood as belonging to particular peoples, regions, nations or even races. The paper provides hypothesis that arcades are a construction element extremely liable to ideologisation. In order to illustrate this problem, the paper presents methods of interpreting the origin of arcades in former East and West Prussia, Silesia, Lesser Poland and Lublin Province in the period from almost the beginning of the 19th century, when researchers started to be interested in this element, until 1939 when Erich Kulke's book was published, which was the clearest result of arcades' ideologisation. These interpretations were divided into a few main groups, which made it possible to compare the narratives and to show how the same arguments could lead to different conclusions. Unique issues, characteristic only of particular regions, were also identified. Ultimately, an attempt was made to answer the question of what influenced the liablity of arcades to ideologisation. Since the authors of the research, often architects, promoted the preservation and use of arcades referring to old

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patterns in new developments, the question was also asked whether such developments actually occurred.

Keywords: medievalism, arcade architecture, arcades, art historiography, Poland, West Prussia, Silesia, Lesser Poland, Lublin Province

In the area of contemporary Poland we can identify at least several regions, where arcade architecture played (or sometimes still plays) a significant role. What merit consideration is, on the one hand, the popularity of such construction elements in houses and its impact on the urban and rural landscape, and, on the other hand, the long tradition of its research, mostly in the areas of former East and West Prussia, Silesia, Lesser Poland and Lublin Province.

Arcades as a construction and decorative element generate a whole lot of issues and questions, still waiting for consideration and convincing answers. Some of them cover the very basics, such as the origins of this architectural element and its cradle, from which the idea of constructing houses with arcade fronts spread into vast areas across Europe. Research literature on the history of both rural and urban houses, conducted since the beginning of the 19th century, provides premises to presume that arcades were liable to various, more or less consciously conducted manipulations, mostly to justify their native character, often understood as something belonging to certain peoples, regions, nations or even races. It can be, therefore, claimed that arcades has been subjected to various ideologisations. In order to prove this claim, this paper will demonstrate how the origins of arcades were interpreted in different regions, which are now parts of Poland and earlier used to belong to other political organisms, in the period from the early 19th century, when the researchers began to show their interest in that field, until 1939 when the most vivid example of its ideologisation was created - a book by Erich Kulke. The interpretations will be divided into two main groups of topics, which will allow to trace narration vectors and to demonstrate the same arguments could have led to different conclusions and which issues were unique for particular regions. Finally, we will answer the question: what made the arcades so liable to ideologisation? As the researchers, often architects themselves, promoted preservation of arcades and their use in new investments as elements corresponding with the old patterns, an additional question appears: were such projects indeed completed?

In contemporary Polish language the term "arcade" (*Polish: podcień/podcienie*) describes a ground-level section of a building, open on three sides and supported on columns or posts and refers, primarily, to residential architecture.[2] In the past the term had a broader meaning, e.g. in the second volume of *Polish Language Dictionary* from 1807 it is defined simply as "a shaded place",[3] and could denote various forms

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2 The definition in Polish Language Dictionary: *Słownik Języka Polskiego PWN*, https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/podcie%C5%84.html [accessed 30 August 2021].

3 S. B. Linde, *Słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 2, part 2, Warszawa, 1807.

of areas shaded by a roof. Similarly broad meaning has the German term "Laube", and its multiple uses were shown in the dictionary by the Grimm brothers.[4] Not taking too deep dive into the linguistics, it should only be mentioned that Polish "podcienie", Czech "podloubí", Italian "portico" or German "Laube" are terms used in literature in various contexts and sometimes other, unusual terms were used to describe the same constructions.

In the publications presented below the terms "arcade" and "Laube" were usually used without any detailed descriptions or definitions, as their authors assumed that the word meant exactly what was being discussed in the text – i.e. entrance arcades of rural houses (usually detached ones), townhouses (creating systems of arcaded fronts), castle cloisters and wooden walkways and galleries in the urban backyards.

The current state of knowledge tells us that various forms of covered walkways and entrances were constructed in different historical periods all over the globe to protect people and property from unfavourable weather.[5] Sometimes, however, particular solutions gained popularity in a given territory and became a unique, characteristic phenomenon, for example arcaded houses (or complexes thereof), which in the urban environment of Europe have their roots in medieval architecture. Their existence in cities is confirmed at least in 13th century, and the solution became incredibly popular throughout the centuries in many parts of the continent, also transpiring into the rural areas. The question of their origins and the routes along which they spread across Europe remains open.

In 1878, in Marburg a General Assembly of German Associations for History and Antiquities (*Gesamtverein der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine*), an organisation established 36 years earlier and grouping both scientists and amateurs interested in the history of German-speaking lands, took place.[6] The assembly can be regarded as a form of cornerstone for systematic research of historical houses in the mentioned area due to then-accepted postulate for carrying out a complex inventory of historical buildings.[7] Throughout the years, consistently conducted documentation,[8] historical and ethnographic works yielded data which allowed for attempts of creating architectural characteristics of houses in different regions,

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4 *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*, digitalisierte Fassung im Wörterbuchnetz des Trier Center for Digital Humanities, Version 01/21, https://www.woerterbuchnetz.de/DWB [accessed 30 August 2021].

5 Compare the remarks in: K. Dumała, "Przyrynkowa zabudowa podcieniowa. Źródła inspiracji drogi przenikania wzorców, analogie", in: *Dom w mieście średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, ed. B. Gediga, Wrocław, 2004, p. 106.

6 *Handbuch der völkischen Wissenschaften: Akteure, Netzwerke, Forschungsprogramme*, eds. M. Fahlbusch, I. Haar, A. Pinwinkler, vol. 1, Berlin–Boston, 2017, p. 1033.

7 Ibid.

8 An early result of such activity was a collection of graphics representing examples of wooden architecture, published in 1883 and edited by *Verbande Deutscher Architekten- und Ingenieur-Vereine* and *Gesammtvereine der Deutschen Geschichts- und Alterthums-Vereine*: H. Cuno, C. Schäfer, *Holzarchitektur vom 14-18 Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1883.

as well as singling out certain unique features and placing them in supraregional context.[9] Those final actions are typical for the research of arcaded architecture in the eastern fringes of German settlement area (mostly East and West Prussia and Silesia). Publications from the 19th and early 20th century usually mention the topic of arcades in broader works about rural architecture of particular areas, sometimes only in footnotes, sometimes dedicating whole chapters to it. Nevertheless, the question of origins of such constructions is always present.

Arcades were also spotted in the 19th century in other regions of modern-day Poland, identified as remnants of old cultures and featured in multiple articles published in hiking magazines. For instance, in 1838 an anonymous author in "Przyjaciel Ludu" ["The Folk's Friend"] mentioned arcaded cottages in the area around Jarocin, and in 1866 the town of Krosno and its market square arcades were described in "Tygodnik Ilustrowany" ["The Illustrated Weekly"], additionally illustrated by a famous Polish history painter Jan Matejko.[10] In both cases the houses were described as beautiful. Drawings by Matejko, presenting disappearing wooden architecture, including wooden arcaded houses, heavily influenced the consciousness of later researchers and were often cited as the most ornamental examples, such as houses in Wiśnicz or Muszyna.[11] However, more extensive and methodical research of arcaded architecture was conducted later, in the beginning of the 20th century.

As it has been already mentioned in the introduction, the researchers in particular regions reached into various themes in their attempts of drawing out the genesis of arcade architecture, often looking into the local historical and cultural (or even environmental) peculiarities. However, the same arguments were sometimes used to support completely different claims.

One of the early attempts of researching arcade architecture is the work by August von Haxtenhausen from 1839, which presents the characteristics of villages in East and West Prussia.[12] The author identifies two main types of rural residential buildings: the Prussian one, present across the entire East and West Prussia, and the Lithuanian one. One of the characteristics of the former type was supposedly its arcaded entrance (in the work called "Vorlaube"), also present in Prussian town-

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9 In 1906 a two-volume work, composed of a text and a collection of images was published: *Das Bauernhaus im Deutschen Reiche und in seinen Grenzgebieten*, Dresden, 1906. For the purposes of comparative research it was also useful to recognise the structures of houses in non-German speaking areas. E.g., the works of Karl Rhamm from the Germanic-Slavic borderlands were particularly appreciated: K. Rhamm, *Ethnographische Beiträge zur germanisch-slawischen Altertumskunde*, vol. 1: *Die Grosshufen der Nordgermanen*, Braunschweig, 1905; idem, *Urzeitliche Bauernhöfe in germanisch-slawischem Waldgebiet*, vol. 1: *Altgermanische Bauernhöfe im Übergange vom Saal zu Fletz und Stube*, Braunschweig, 1908.

10 "Ułamek o architekturze", *Przyjaciel Ludu*, 1838, 4, vol. 2, no. 49, pp. 386–387; "Okolica Krosna. Z notat podróżnych Józefa Łepkowskiego", *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1866, XIII, no. 329, pp. 17–18.

11 For instance: S. Szyller, *Czy mamy polską architekturę?*, Warszawa, 1916, p. 44; L. Puszet, *Studya nad polskiem budownictwem drewnianem*, part 1: *Chata*, Kraków, 1903, p. 63; K. Mokłowski, *Sztuka ludowa w Polsce*, Lwów, 1903, p. 270; C. Thullie, "Podcienia i arkadowane dziedzińce w zabytkowej architekturze Polski", *Teka Komisji Urbanistyki i Architektury*, 1971, vol. V, pp. 119–131.

12 A. von Haxthausen, *Die ländliche Verfassung in den Provinzen Ost- und Westpreußen*, Königsberg, 1839.

houses. The author sees this element as "something southern-oriental" and links its origins with the arrival of German knights in the discussed area,[13] probably earlier observed during the Crusades. Despite the fact that such architecture is present "here and there" all across Germany, the author considered it to be common and widespread only in Prussia.

Bernhard Schmid – a provincial conservation officer in West Prussia – also claimed in 1904 that arcades (Vorlaube) were uniquely characteristic for the rural architecture of the region.[14] The state of research on the origins of such forms was not advanced enough for him. Schmid only claimed that the presence of arcaded houses on the right side of the Vistula is limited to the Prussian core, dominated almost entirely by the German culture brought there by the Teutonic Order. Perhaps the forms of rural houses were influenced by the local urban landscapes, as most of the towns in the Order's territory featured arcades running around the central market square. Schmid also pointed at the fact that arcades have existed in towns founded on the Kulm law (Gniew, Olsztyn) since the medieval period. There is no doubt that they should be linked with German cultural sources, which were later borrowed by rural architecture.[15]

Schmid, in the catalogue of antiquities of the County of Marienburg, noticed that arcades in their basic understanding (Vorlauben) are usually such simple and obvious architectural forms that they have existed since the ancient times in all possible territories, from southern Greece to Scandinavia, in temples, townhouses and rural cottages.[16] Therefore the use of an arcade in architecture is nothing uncommon, but its form used in rural arcaded houses is uniquely Prussian. According to Schmid such forms might have arrived from the south, via Silesia, Bohemia and Tyrol, although examples from Bern and Münster show that arcaded houses were built virtually everywhere. A new thread in the issue of origins of such architecture in Schmid's work is the inspiration taken from the Teutonic Order castles and their cloisters.

As it can be seen, the researchers of East and West Prussia tried to solve the riddle of the origins of arcades in local history and noticed the possible influence of Teutonic Order castle cloister architecture, whose provenance might be "oriental". It should be mentioned that due to known examples of medieval arcaded townhouses, their precedence before their rural counterparts was widely accepted. This comes with surprisingly low awareness (or intentional ignorance) of the existence of arcaded houses in other German territories, perhaps resulting from the fact that the research was limited only to rural areas of a given region. The phrase "here and there" used by Haxthausen encompasses, for instance, an impressive number of towns with arcaded houses in Bavaria. An interesting addition to the theories

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13 Ibid., p. 69.
14 B. Schmid, "Westpreußische Holzbauten", *Mitteilungen des Westpreußischen Geschichts-Vereins*, 1904, 3, p. 26.
15 Ibid., p. 149.
16 B. Schmid, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Marienburg*, vol. 1: *Die Städte Neuteich und Tiegenhof und die ländlichen Ortschaften*, Danzig, 1919, p. LXXIX.

presented by the researchers of East and West Prussia was the hypothesis presented by Stefan Szyller according to whom "the masonry architecture was influenced by the Polish wooden arcades" and the "gothic cloister in the Marienburg castle" was provided as an example proving his hypothesis.[17] As Szyller wrote, "there would be no Marienburg cloister in its current form if there were no arcades in Polish towns and villages among which the castle stands". The architect tried to remind in that way about the Polish character of the Prussian territory and used similar reasoning to explain the origins of arcades in the case of the town of Marienburg and the stoops in Gdańsk.

A unique direction in the research of Prussian arcaded houses was the theory of Dutch influence, presented by ethnographer Karl Rhamm in his extensive work on Germano-Slavic antiquities. Rhamm claimed that arcaded houses in East Prussia are not of Slavic, but rather of Dutch origin,[18] as the settlers in the area stretching from Kuyavia to the Brandenburg March were called "the Dutch" (Olanders in Polish). This is connected to the memories of Dutch migrations reaching far into the east of Europe.

Among original theories, which do not appear in a broader discourse, but are rather connected with the characteristics of particular regions, there is one regarding arcaded houses as a characteristic motif of Jewish architecture, as multiple examples of well-preserved arcades survived in provincial towns dominated by Jewish communities. Such hypothesis is mentioned by Szyller, who tried to refute it in 1916, claiming that the Jews settled in the areas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the already existing houses, which then remained unchanged in later periods, as the local community did not care for the exteriors and comfort and therefore the houses "survived in their ancient shapes".[19]

A rather obvious path in the research of arcade architecture led to Italy. Italian arcaded houses were surely well known, as were the arcade constructions in the courtyards of Italian palaces.[20] Interestingly, this thread is present in the analysed literature mainly in the context of refuting the theory of Italian influence.

Kurt Plümecke, an architect active in Silesia, had particular merit in making the topic of Silesian arcades more widely known. In 1927 he published a dissertation titled "Schlesische Laubenhäuser" prepared at the Technical University of Dresden (Sächsischen Technischen Hochschule zu Dresden), which at that time was the first monograph about the arcades in Silesia.[21] It seems that the author, who himself came from the Silesian town of Nysa, did not visit the places he mentions in his work and did not conduct a proper source query – his primary cited source (the catalogue of historical buildings by Hans Lutsch) and chronological discrepan-

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17 Szyller, op. cit., p. 182.
18 Rhamm, *Ethnographische Beiträge…,* p. 191.
19 Szyller, op. cit., pp. 50–51.
20 K. Plümecke, *Schlesische Laubenhäuser*, Nimptsch, 1927, p. 8 gave as examples mainly arcade complexes from northern Italy, e.g. Trent or Riva del Garda.
21 Ibid.

cies decrease the value of his argumentation. This did not, however, stop him from doubting the accuracy of the opinion about the Italian provenance of arcades, which seemed to be very prevalent at his time. He then presented three arguments against it. Firstly, the Italian arcades were not direct descendants of the ancient Roman porticos, as their construction differed as the ancient porticos were not integral parts of houses. Secondly, if it is possible to prove the existence of arcades in Silesia already in the Middle Ages, then they cannot be a result of any Italian influence, which reached this area with the Renaissance currents. Thirdly, the Italian language uses the term "portico", but also "loggia", which according to Plümecke came from the east-Germanic "Loube". Perhaps then the arcades of northern Italy were shaped by the Eastern Germanic tribes, which settled there during the Migration Period. In that way Plümecke tried to make the Germanic peoples the original creators of arcaded houses.

In 1914 Jan Sas Zubrzycki published the work on the "Sigismundian style" (i.e. referring to the art created during the reigns of the last two Polish kings from the Jagiellonian dynasty: Sigismund I the Old and Sigismund II August), in which he provided an extensive study on arcades which supposedly did not come to Poland from the south, but have existed here since time immemorial[22] and were handed down through generations as something "bound to Slavic blood".[23] Therefore, the Italian architects who worked at the Renaissance reconstruction of the Wawel Castle were inspired by the local architecture and used the services of local sculptors who were still using mediaeval patterns. The same author wrote similarly about the absurdity of attributing Polish arcades in the city of Zamość to Italian inspiration, as such structures had been used in Poland long before.

As it can be seen, for both Plümecke and Zubrzycki we can talk about Italian inspirations only from the Renaissance onwards, and only to a limited extent. Any arcades existing in the discussed areas prior to that period made them reject that track. The former of the two wanted to derive the whole idea of arcaded houses from the Germanic culture, using, let us not deny it, rather poor arguments. The latter only pointed at the older tradition of constructing arcaded buildings in Poland, bound with the Slavic culture. The Italian architects who arrived here with their arcades and cloisters found themselves well received by the locals who were already acquainted with such forms.

Some of the authors who analysed architecture and layout of rural houses in various areas could not resist the impression that there was a series of similarities between them, which often led to misinterpretations. Some of the most interesting examples of such reasoning are the attempts to link rural architecture with ancient Greece.

Heinrich Hacker, referring to the conclusions made by August Meitzen, lists in 1883 four main types of West Prussian houses, among them the nordic (nordische)

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22 J. S. Zubrzycki, *Styl zygmuntowski jako odcień sztuki odrodzenia w Polsce*, Kraków, 1914, p. 83.
23 Ibid.

house.[24] Its main characteristic was the "Vorhalle" located at one of the gable walls with the main entrance. Such open structure, supported by posts, existed in primitive form in Scandinavia and its more developed variants could be found in West Prussia, Poznań (by which he most probably meant the Province of Poznań) and Poland. The researcher also pointed at the similarity between the simplest, "nordic" form and the ancient Greek temples.[25] The Eastern Germanic tribes (*Ostgermanen*) originally lived at the Danube and on the Black Sea coast, neighbouring the Greeks, which resulted in certain similarities in customs and culture. The author summarises by saying that whereas the Franconian house belonged to the western Germanic tribes, the nordic one should be considered as the most ancient and most popular among the eastern Vandal tribes. It appeared not only in the areas mentioned above, but was common in the territory stretching from the borders with the western Germans, the Danish isles and the border between Mecklenburg and Pomerania, up to the Oder and the Lusatian Neisse, along the Sudetes and into Pannonia. Hacker finished his text with a call for further research of already-disappearing country cottages, whose origins go back to the times of Greek temples and which, in the end, became "good old houses".[26]

Kazimierz Mokłowski in his work *Sztuka Ludowa w Polsce* (*Folk Art in Poland*) from 1903 presents a number of similarities, or even examples of identical houses constructed by various Germanic, Slavic, Greek and Roman peoples.[27] The similarities are apparent, for instance, in the use of arcades. The author claimed that the European climate used to be far harsher, even in modern-day Italy or Greece, which explains the need of constructing an additional buffer space between the proper living quarters and the outside world, which provided some protection from the elements. Mokłowski wanted, however, to show parallel solutions being created in various areas and wished to protect the reader from the observational mistakes made by his German counterparts, such as Henning or Meitzen, who absurdly wanted to bind the house layout with a specific human race. On the other hand, he agreed with Hoerns that in similar or identical conditions humans create similar works of art, architecture or even social structures. Mokłowski also called Henning's claims of Poles being descendants of the Vandals or Gepids due to similarities between the Mazovian and Norwegian cottages an example of "unwise Prussian greed". He summarises it by saying that a natural consequence of such thinking would be claiming that Greeks and Romans were descended from the Germans, as some of the Greek and Roman temples show some resemblance to the Norwegian ones.[28]

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24 H. Hacker, "Ueber Westpreußische Wohnhäuser in nordischem Typus", *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für den Reg.-Bezirk Marienwerder*, 1883, 7, p. 28.

25 Connections between east Germanic and ancient Greek houses were also described a year earlier by R. Henning, *Das deutsche Haus in seiner historischen Entwickelung*, in: *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, XLVII, eds. B. ten Brink, E. Martin, W. Scherer, Strassburg–London, 1882, p. 173.

26 Ibid., p. 39.

27 Mokłowski, op. cit.

28 Ibid., p. 258.

Mokłowski would probably be stunned by reading the book by Kulke, in which maybe not the Greek themselves are descended from the Germans, but their culture surely is.[29] The last of the mentioned researchers came to a conclusion that the abundance of arcaded houses in East Prussia (Ostpreußen) means that the eastern German territory (Ostdeutschland) should be considered the cradle of such form. The Slavs later borrowed it as an adjacent culture, as did the Greeks due to the migrations of the Germanic tribes south and south-east, only changing the construction material into stone - thus such forms as megaron or buildings with antae were born. Other arguments further fuelled Kulke's idea of the "northern" genesis of Greek buildings, for instance the fact of using hearths inside buildings, which according to the author made no sense in warm, southern climate. Similarly, gable roofs were considered by him as a typically nordic feature. Arcades, as east-Germanic legacy, were also brought by the Ostrogoths to northern Italy and by the Visigoths to Spain. In Kulke's work all forms of roof-covered elements, e.g. arcade galleries, grew from the idea of nordic arcades.

As it can be seen, an increasing interest in historical houses in various regions of Europe allowed for their comparison and attempts of drawing from such comparisons genetic conclusions. Claiming that Prussian arcaded houses were descendants of forms born out of Greco-Germanic cultural exchange seems in this context clearly abusive. A change in rhetorics can be observed in Kulke's work, who reverses the directions of cultural influences and makes the Greeks the recipients of purely Germanic achievements. Such attitude is tightly connected with Kulke's activity in the structures of the Third Reich. In March 1938, i.e. roughly a year before finishing his work on the arcaded houses,[30] Kulke presented the foundations of "Mittelstelle deutscher Bauernhof" work,[31] an organisation he was a leader of and which had five main goals. Firstly, the unit was supposed to analyse the history of development of German homesteads from the nordic perspective, not the southern-Roman one. Secondly, it was crucial to analyse whole farmsteads (Bauernhof), not just the residential buildings as it was done in earlier research. Thirdly, it was necessary to broaden the scope of research by the Germanic and German colonisation and the history of German settlement. The fourth area was dedicated to the protection of historical objects, which included treating old farmsteads as equally valuable as monasteries, castles or churches. The final point on the list was clearing the rural architecture of all foreign elements and promoting traditional building techniques. In this context Kulke's work on arcaded houses can be considered a model example,

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29 E. Kulke, *Die Laube als ostgermanisches Baumerkmal : unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bauernhöfe an der unteren Oder*, München, 1939.

30 Kulke did not abandon the topic of arcades after having written the described work, as he used his another work, *Die Laube als ostgermanischen Baudenkmal*, to achieve his habilitation at the Technischen Hochschule in Gdańsk, see C. Selheim, "Erich Kulke (1908–1997): Wandervogel, Volkskundler, Siedlungsplaner und VJL-Vorsitzender", in: *Ludwigstein. Annäherungen an die Geschichte der Burg*, eds. E. Conze, S. Rappe-Weber, Göttingen, 2015, p. 260.

31 Coordination Centre for German Farmstead. Ibid., pp. 263–264, also: K. Freckmann, "Hausforschung im Dritten Reich", *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 1982, 78, p. 174.

a benchmark of research discourse promoted by Mittelstelle deutscher Bauernhof. The work was also compliant with the official policy of NSDAP.

From the very beginning, a need to reject the idea of the Slavic origin of arcades and to look for their roots in the Germanic culture was apparent in the German literature on arcaded houses. Their original territories were later (the author never specified when) taken over by the Slavs, who recognised the advantages of Germanic houses and made them their own, also absorbing the arcades. During the eastern colonisation in the Middle Ages, the Germans once again came in touch with such a solution, and the cultural exchange enriched the form of the arcaded house even more. The colonists who settled in towns also saw the advantages of rural arcaded houses and transplanted the idea into their urban environment.

In 1929, Walter von Krause-Rokittnitz decisively rejected the ideas about the Italian, oriental (crusade-related) or Slavic origins of arcades. Referring mostly to the concepts of Rhamm and Plümecke, he claimed that arcaded houses were of undoubtedly German provenance, regardless of the technicalities, and explained their seldom appearance in western and southern Germany by the fact that such architecture spread eastwards and that after a thousand years more of its examples survived in the east.

A Silesian-Bohemian (schlesisch-böhmische) arcaded house is, according to Fritz Wiedermann, an original offshoot of constructions with nordic-Germanic roots (nordisch-germanische) and is typical for the areas of German colonisation, in which the colonists "reclaimed" old, Germanic architectural traditions used to lay dormant in regions occupied by the Slavs and later re-Germanised.[32] Wiedermann's argumentation contains certain clearly irrational threads, such as his vision of ancient Germanic instincts carried by the colonists and visible through their knowledge of wooden architecture. Wiedermann also saw a link between the arcaded architecture and the Germanic "Vorlaube" in the Lusatian-type houses found in the Kaczawskie Mountains. He was certain that urban houses were always and everywhere derivative from their rural counterparts. While discussing the Tyrolean arcaded houses, he also mentioned the racial aspect and made a clear distinction between the nordic-Germanic constructions and the loggias from the Venetian area of artistic influence. He finally remarked about ongoing research, which would perhaps prove how also the Venetian constructions stemmed from the original German arcade.

Increasingly stronger bond between the architectural forms, especially rural ones, and racial issues became particularly apparent at the end of the 1920s. In his book *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse* from 1929, Walther Darré tried to use arcades as a proof that the *Romanesque* style in architecture was only

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32 F. Wiedermann, "Das schlesisch-böhmische Laubenhaus", *Schlesisches Jahrbuch für deutsche Kulturarbeit im gesamtschlesischen Raume*, 1931, 4, pp. 67–73. He also presented the same thesis in: "Die schlesischen Laubenhäuser als Zeugen nordischer Baugesinnung", *Volk und Rasse*, 1931, II, pp. 115–120.

a transfer of the so-called *Laubenbogengänge* (i.e. arcaded walkways) from Germanic wooden houses into stone forms.[33]

Kulke, in his search for the beginnings of the use of arcades (Laube) in residential buildings, went as far as prehistory, understood by him as "pre-Germanic" times. In southern Germany he tried to see arcades in archaeological finds from the periods bordering the Stone and Bronze Age, discovered in peat bogs of Federsee. In the north he looked at the constructions left by the cultures of megalithic tombs (*Großsteingräberkultur*), e.g. Lührsberg near Dohnsen and in the Jutland area of the Corded Ware Culture, as well as the house of the dead from Haldorf near Melsungen. In the Brandenburg March he referred to the finds of stone-age post-supported houses from the counties of Ruppin and Lebus. Particularly surprising for Kulke was an arcaded sheepfold located in the vicinity of a house of the dead found in Baven (county Celle), which, according to him, had almost identical construction. Kulke wanted to see an unbroken tradition in building techniques, dating back to neolithic times. Despite having no hard proof for such statements, he also claimed that there is no evidence for the lack of such continuity.

Kulke considered the arcaded house discovered in the county of Dislaken and dated for the last century BC as "the first Germanic house of the central Rheinland" in the western area of the Germanic culture.[34] According to the researcher, in that territory, untouched by the civilisations of the south, survived a pattern of arcaded architecture which dates back to neolithic times. Also the East Germanic tribes (Ostgermanen), living between the Oder and the Vistula, favoured rectangular, elongated houses with a single or multiple rooms, although Kulke knew of no examples with arcades from the oldest phase. Only the later finds from the Silesian county of Freystadt (after 1945: Kożuchów), as well as the Pomeranian village of Weißhof (after 1945: Bystrzec, a no-longer existing village in the borough of Kwidzyn) showed houses featuring "Vorlaube" or "Vorhalle". Those examples, among others, supposedly proved that arcaded houses in East Prussia were originally local constructions and only required "final shaping" done by the returning German settlers, resulting in great popularity of such forms.

The Polish researchers had no need, or perhaps no sufficient arguments, to prove that arcades in other parts of Europe had their roots in Slavic forms. Szyller, in a way which was typical for the Polish researchers, tried to prove that local arcaded architecture was born independently from other cultures and nations, for instance presenting Cracow as an urban centre functioning long before its foundation on the Magdeburg law and the arrival of colonists from the West with their new construction ideas and technology. Such argumentation is, however, free of chauvinism, which Ludwik Puszet (among others) tried to defend himself from. By referring to certain hypothesis of German researchers, he clearly rejected the

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33 W. Darré, *Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse*, München, 1929. The book has been re-issued multiple times.
34 Kulke, op. cit., p. 23.

argumentation, in which everything can be explained by one culture influencing the other.[35] He claimed that physical contacts were not necessary for similar forms of buildings to appear in different areas, as those could have been as well the result of similar environmental conditions, such as the abundance of coniferous trees determining the appearance of log constructions. He criticised the German researchers for them deeming the Slavs incapable of creating their own culture and borrowing everything from the West. Puszet clearly opposed the historical approach of the Germans with logical and environmental arguments. He claimed that arcades were something purely local in Polish architecture and dating back to at least 11th century if one assumes that *soboty* around churches evolved from old pagan temples, such as one on Cape Arkona. He pointed, however, that he does not consider arcades to be a uniquely Polish feature, despite their significant role in local architecture.

The authors of *W obronie piękności kraju* (*In Defence of the Country's Beauty*), admiring the arcaded townhouses, formulated a simple interpretation of the arcade's origin, which was seen as an organic development of decorative beams protruded from the fronts of pagan Slavic temples towards later ornamental arcades in towns, country mansions and wooden Catholic and Orthodox churches surrounded by wooden galleries known as *soboty*.[36] The uniqueness of arcaded buildings was recognised in their specific construction elements and the local form of supporting posts.[37]

Moreover, Polish arcades were primarily connected with wooden architecture. Szyller wrote that brick arcaded houses were built in Poland undoubtedly due to foreign influence and "never became widespread", as they made the ground floors too dark and were ill-suited to the local climate.

The literature cited in the article is symptomatic for the increased interest in the rural areas in the 19th century, as researchers attempted to find the sources of national culture in villages. An important element of that process was analysing country cottages, in which the researchers tried to identify both regional and nationwide motifs. In this context, the interest in arcaded houses was quite prominent. However, quite frequent ignorance of urban arcaded houses led to distortions of the general image, in particular to determining the range, within which such architecture could be found.

The position of German and Polish researchers of country houses evolved from shy proposals of tracking back arcaded architecture to its best recognised and explored territories, such as Greece or Italy, as well as searching for its sources in the local characteristics of certain areas (e.g. the role of knightly orders in Prussia or the Jewish communities in small Polish towns) towards rejecting the theory of external genesis of arcades. This process is well illustrated by the opinions presented by Schmid, who in 1919 wrote in a neutral way about the omnipresence and universality of arcades as a construction element, with certain features unique to particular areas. Already twenty years later he claimed that there were no Slavs in the areas

35 Puszet, op. cit.
36 E. Łuskina, H. Kunzek, *W obronie piękności kraju*, Kraków, 1910, p. 42.
37 Ibid., p. 48.

which feature arcade architecture, as can be seen in the example of Silesia, which originally was a Slavic land ruled by the Piast dynasty and lacks such architecture.[38]

On the wave of rejection of external influence on Prussian, Silesian or Polish architecture, any possible inspiration taken from Greek, Italian, Slavic or Germanic arcades was ignored. To support that, the historical, or even prehistoric chronology of arcades was expanded. In order to reject the Italian influence it was enough to trace the arcade origins back to medieval or pre-Renaissance times. The role of German colonists was rejected by showing how Cracow functioned as a settlement long before its Magdeburg law founding. In order to prove pre-medieval origins of arcades, the researchers looked for analogies with Greek houses and temples, cited descriptions of pagan Slavic shrines, and even tried to show evidence for the existence of arcaded architecture in the late Stone Age. It should be stated that the Polish researchers mentioned above tried to prove that arcade architecture was developed by the Slavic nations independently, whereas their German counterparts attempted to prove the German provenance theory and its cultural impact bound with migration.

In both cases building national identity was at stake, and arcaded architecture was supposed to be a manifestation of the Slavic or Germanic spirit. Consequently, preserving the existing arcaded houses was promoted, as was clearing the villages and towns of foreign elements and using arcades in new constructions. Zubrzycki was deeply worried about the designs of the new university building in Lviv, which had no reference to Polish arcades.[39] He also wanted arcades to be present in the same city at Mariacki, Bernardyński and Halicki squares, as well as along Hetmańska street. In his publications he said that it was their duty to bring the idea of Polish arcades back to life. Ewa Łuskina and Henryk Kunzek called for ceasing complaints about the lack of compositional inspirations and patterns in local buildings – according to them a modern detached house can be reborn from a baroque mansion and old town square arcades and "enchant us with its beauty". The question which Szyller asks in the title of his work – "Do we have Polish architecture?" – is answered: yes, and one of its key elements is the arcade. It should, however, be clearly stated: the two greatest supporters of the role of arcades in Polish culture – Zubrzycki and Szyller, both professional architects – failed to implement arcade as an element of modern landscape. Perhaps the only successful project in that field was the perforation of the outbuilding in the Brühl Palace in Warsaw by Szyller, later coldly reviewed by Lauterbach.[40] Three designs of an arcaded cottage were submitted to the competition "Reconstruction of Polish village",[41] one of them by Karol Siciński who for many years was connected with the reconstruction of the town of Kazimierz Dolny.

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38 B. Schmid, *Das Bauernhaus der nördlichen Grenzmark*, Schneidemühl, 1938, p. 19.

39 Zubrzycki, op. cit., p. 87.

40 A. Lauterbach, "Restauracja gmachów monumentalnych", *Kronika Warszawy*, 1925, 1, p. 7.

41 *Odbudowa wsi polskiej. Projekty zagród włościańskich wyróżnione na konkursie ogłoszonym przez C. K. O. za pośrednictwem Koła Architektów w Warszawie*, Warszawa, 1915.

Kulke pointed at the advantages of bringing back arcades into the contemporary rural landscape and presented numerous modern examples. Arcades were supposed to be used in rural buildings (houses, forest infrastructure, stables, granaries, etc.), workshops, inns and petrol stations, village community centres and national-socialist formations, as well as other purposes, e.g. for Wehrmacht, urban buildings, monuments, etc.

Multitude of interpretations and certain ease in weaving arcades into nationalist narration seem to result from their genesis which is particularly difficult to pin down. Widespread use of arcades and their numerous local variants made many communities claim them as their own unique feature. This was further reinforced by circulated opinion on their picturesqueness and positive influence on the rural and urban landscape. A whole range of architectural solutions used for protection against bad weather and unclear definitions resulted in treating all sorts of constructions as arcades. All of these factors led to great difficulties in analysing the history of arcades in the 19th and early 20th century and allowed, paradoxically, for frequent abuse of the term to achieve personal goals.

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The Globetrotter's Identity: Michel Sittow in the International Historiographies

Abstract

Michel Sittow was a disciple of Hans Memling and a follower of the fifteenth-century school of Bruges, who led the art of northern portraiture through the Renaissance. This painter from Reval (currently Tallinn) travelled around Europe, working for the most significant monarchs of that time: Isabella of Castile, Margaret of Austria, Charles V, Christian II Oldenburg and perhaps Henry VIII. Even though studied by multiple researchers from Europe and the US, his oeuvre is still giving rise to many questions for art historians.

This study's aim is to analyse the international historiography of Michel Sittow, starting with the first attributions of his artworks, and comparative studies of German historians who called the painter Michel Sittow and the Spanish school where he was known as Melchior Alemán. In 1940 Paul Johannsen published the document that indicates Michel Sittow's stay in Spain. The post-war historiography was not interested in Sittow's life, except in the work of the Latvian origin Belgian researcher Jazeps Trizna, who published the first monograph on his artworks in 1976. He was the first to unify both historiographical personalities the one of Michel Sittow, and the one of Miguel Alemán. Meanwhile in Estonian literature, Sittow's story appeared as a romantic symbol of independence from the Soviet Union in Jaan Kross's novel.

In the last twenty years, with the development of the radiographic method of artwork analysis, researchers such as Else Kai Sass, Matthias Weniger, Chiyo Ishikawa, and Pilar Silva Maroto have revived many questions about Sittow's career, style, and globetrotting around European courts. However, the first exhibition that reunited Michel's artworks, held in 2018 in Washington and Tallinn marking the occasion of the 100th anniversary of Estonian independence, did not solve many of Sittow's life secrets.

Keywords: Michel Sittow, Fifteenth-century Art, Sixteenth-century Art, Habsburgs, historiography

Studies on artists' oeuvres with a biographical approach are the basis for understanding the past in a transversal and international way. Besides, it is noteworthy the reduced attention of researchers towards the cultural transfer between northern and southern Europe in the fifteenth century except some publications such as *Italia e Fiandra nella pittura del Quattrocento*,[1] or catalogues of exhibitions like *The Age of Van Eyck: The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430–1530* held in Bruges in 2002.[2] On that occasion the curators attempted to explain, side by side, the artistic consequences of commercial and cultural interactions between populations. In fact, this exhibition had several counterpart events south of the Alps demonstrating an increasing interest in the painting of the Flemish primitives by Italian researchers. For example, it seems appropriate to mention the monographic exhibition about Hans Memling complemented with an analysis of his Italian clients, held at the Galleria Scuderie del Quirinale in Rome in 2014,[3] or the exhibition *I fiamminghi in Sicilia* at Palazzo Reale in Palermo in 2018.[4] Both exhibitions presented original research carried out in conjunction with the museological effort that enriched the perspective on the cultural relationships between north and south, not only considered as artists' trips but also as one of the catalysts of the artistic production of the quattrocento. Finally, it is appropriate to draw attention to the studies on the Spanish-Flemish style that, outlining a pictorial trend with limited diffusion around the Iberian Peninsula, have allowed an understanding of the comparative relevance of several factors such as the travels of artists, artistic exchanges, and the flexibility and versatility of identity in the past.[5]

In particular, this study analyses the international historiography of Michel Sittow, an artist whose professional career encompasses various European territories and, in turn, can be used as an example to study the cultural transfer across the Alps. The objective of this research is to observe how, throughout the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, art historians have studied the work and life of a person whose presence is documented in several royal courts. Moreover, the case of this artist demonstrates how national schools used to focus on the historical narrative to appropriate this artist, pioneer of modern portraits, through the selective interpretation of the scarce documentation about his activity. After the analysis of the primary sources on Michel Sittow, this study addresses the issue of connecting the northern European artist with Miguel Alemán or Melchor Alemán, documented in Castile between 1492 and 1502, and also in 1515, proving the need to examine the history of this painter in an international context. Finally, the analysis moves to the contributions provided during the second half of the twentieth century. It is

1 L. Castelfranchi Vegas, *Italia e Fiandra nella pittura del Quattrocento*, Milan, 1998.
2 *The Age of van Eyck. The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430–1530*, eds. T.-H. Borchert, A. Beyer, London, 2002.
3 *Memling. Rinascimento fiammingo*, ed. T.-H. Borchert, Roma, 2014; See also: F. Veratelli, *À la mode italienne Commerce du luxe et diplomatie dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, 1477–1530*, Lille, 2013.
4 *Sicilië: Pittura Fiamminga*, eds. V. Abbate, G. Bongiovanni, M. de Luca, Palermo, 2018.
5 J. V. L. Brans, *Isabel la Católica y el arte hispano-flamenco*, Madrid, 1952; J. Yarza Luaces, *Los Reyes Católicos. Paisaje artístico de una monarquía*, Madrid, 1993.

worth highlighting the formalist and iconographic studies, the monographs on the painter's life, and the literary fiction inspired by his journeys. In this context the first monographic exhibition dedicated to the artist's production was entitled *Michel Sittow: Estonian Painter at the Courts of Renaissance Europe*,[6] and took place in 2018 in Estonia, with the collaboration of American museums, commemorating 100 years of the nation's independence. In conclusion, it is clear that the history and work of this artist continue to be part of the legacy of various contemporary nations.

Primary sources on the life of Michel Sittow

Michel Sittow was an artist originally from Reval (now Tallinn in Estonia), educated in Bruges, probably in Hans Memling's workshop.[7] He stands out for a complex biography, full of travels, stays, and visits to the various European courts of the Renaissance where he served as the personal painter of Isabella of Castile, Philip the Fair, Margaret of Austria, Christian II of Denmark, Charles V, and perhaps Henry VII or Henry VIII of England. His movements demonstrate the communication flow between the sovereigns and patrons in the late fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth century. In addition, they largely reflect the diplomatic interests of the House of Habsburg as, most likely, this itinerant and emigrant painter would have been their representative.[8]

With regard to his biography, in his hometown, Reval, his family was listed on property documents. His father Claus (Clawes van der Sittow), a settler established in Reval, was a member of the guild of St Kanut, while his mother came from a family of Finnish and Swedish origin.[9] From 1507 Sittow was a master in the same guild.[10] A year later, due to a conflict with his stepfather over the mater-

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6 *Michel Sittow: Estonian Painter at the Courts of Renaissance Europe*, eds. J. O. Hand, G. Koppel, Washington–Tallinn, 2018.

7 M. Weniger, "Bynnen Brugge in Flanderen: The Apprenticeship of Michel Sittow and Juan de Flandes", in: *Memling Studies*, eds. H. Verougstraete, R. van Schoute, M. Smeyers, Leuven, 1997, pp. 115–131.

8 This practice is not an exceptional case, since other diplomatic missions taken by painters can be documented, for example the case of Jan van Eyck and his travel to Portugal: T.-H. Borchert, "The Mobility of Artists: Aspects of Cultural Transfer in Renaissance Europe", in: *The Age of van Eyck…*, op. cit., pp. 42–43; B. Fransen, "Jan van Eyck y España. Un viaje y una obra", *Anales de Historia del Arte*, 2010, 22, pp. 39–58; M. Parada López de Corselas, *El viaje de Jan van Eyck de Flandes a Granada (1428–1429)*, Madrid, 2016. For more about the relation between diplomacy and portraiture, see: D. Eichberger, "Margaret of Austria's Portrait Collection: Female Patronage in the Light of Dynastic Ambitions and Artistic Quality", *Renaissance Studies*, 1996, 10, no. 2, *Women Patrons of Renaissance Art, 1300–1600*, pp. 259–279.

9 E. Kõks, "Michel Sittow: A painter from Tallinn", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 1978, 9, no. 1, p. 33.

10 A. Mänd, "Michel Sittow and Reval (Tallinn)": A New Look at Records in the Tallinn City Archives", in: *Michel Sittow 1496–1525: The Artists Connecting Estonia with the Southern Netherlands*, ed. T. Abel, Tallinn, 2001, p. 7.

nal inheritance,[11] he appears in the legal records of the supreme court in Lübeck. Around 1518 Michel married Dorothea and, in the following years, he led the guild of St Kanut.[12] However, these data do not offer any detailed information about his artworks, since most of the primary sources on his activity provide information about his salaries and family situation, without any detailed description of his works.

Likewise, the sources from Castile and the court of Mechelen did not provide any more specific data about this painter, but still point to the reputation of the artist.[13] However, words that clearly confirm his prestige and appreciation by his contemporaries can be found in a letter from Doctor Puebla, ambassador of Castile and Aragon at the English court, who, in 1505, wrote to Ferdinand the Catholic about the artist. The diplomat conveyed the advice of Catherine of Aragon, daughter of the king, to commission from Michel two portraits of Margaret of Austria, since he would be the artist who would most reliably and accurately paint them.[14]

Michel Sittow is one of the few artists indicated by name in the inventories, made in 1516 and 1526,[15] of the painting collection of Margaret of Austria in Mechelen. Thanks to them it is possible to identify the only work that has been both preserved to this day and corroborated by the documents: *Assumption of the Virgin* from the *Polyptych of Isabella of Castile* (currently at the National Gallery of Art in Washington; Fig. 1). Moreover, the fact that the artist's name appeared in the inventories and his works were preserved in the private chambers of the Governor of Flanders, clearly shows Sittow's significance at the court of Mechelen. His relevance is also substantiated by the indication that one of his works, *The Virgin and Child* was the favourite painting of Margaret of Austria,[16] and that he painted at least six more paintings, all owned by the Habsburgs,[17] as specified by the same document.

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11 Ibid., pp. 8–9; P. Johansen, "Meister Michel Sittow, Hofmaler der Königin Isabella von Kastillien und Bürger von Reval", *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1960, 61, pp. 22–26.

12 A. Mänd, "Michel Sittowi sotsiaalsed sidemed Tallinnas", *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, 2018, 24, pp. 24–48.

13 At the court of Isabella the Catholic, Sittow was the fourth highest-paid court employee, and the painter who earned more than any other court artist. A. de la Torre, *La casa de Isabel la Católica*, Madrid, 1954, p. 228.

14 *"le quería decir para le dar mayor placer que el venia a procurar cassamiento de la dicha duquesa con el rey de Inglaterra y que traya considdo dos figuras bien pintadas de la dicha duquesa para dar al Rey de Inglaterra, por las quales le rogo la señora princessa que embiase y el lo ascebto y fue luego por ellas y las mostró; la una era en tabla y la otra en lienço; dicho me a mi la señora princessa que mejor y más cierta y perfectamente las pintara Michel"*. (I wanted to tell him, in order to please him, that he came to procure the union of said duchess with the King of England and that that he brought with him two well-painted figures of said duchess to give them to the King of England, which the princess lady begged to send and he accepted and then went to fetch them and showed them; one was a panel and the other a canvas; the lady princess told me that better and more accurately and perfectly would have been painted by Michel). The text refers to two portraits of Margaret of Austria. Archivo General de Simancas, Patronato Real, leg. 54, fol. 18.

15 A. J. Le Glay, *Correspondance de l'empereur Maximilien Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche, sa fille, gouvernante des Pays-Bas, de 1507 à 1519*, t. II, Paris: X, 1839, p. 480.

16 D. Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst. Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande*, Turnhout, 2002, p. 215.

17 Ibid., p. 380.

Fig. 1. Michel Sittow, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 21.3 x 16.7 cm, Washington, The National Gallery of Art, inv. 1965.1.1.

Fig. 2a. Michel Sittow, *Diptych of Diego de Gueva-ra*, c. 1517, oil on panel, *Virgin and Child*, 33,2 x 25,7 cm, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1722.

Fig. 2b. *Diego's portrait*, 33.6 x 23.7 cm, Washington, The National Gallery of Art, inv. 1937.1.46.

Sittow was mentioned in the theory of art treaty by Felipe de Guevara. The author owned two portraits of his father Diego de Guevara and, according to the text, one of them was painted by Rogier van der Weyden and the other by his disciple Michel.[18] It is possible that Diego de Guevara was portrayed by both painters, but the indication about Sittow's apprenticeship in Rogier's workshop presents a historical incongruity, since his supposed master died in 1464 while Michel's training in Flanders should date approximately to around the eighties.[19] However, this writing reinforces the possibility of linking another painting to the hand of Michel Sittow, the portrait of the *Knight of the Order of*

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18 *Yo puedo mostrar en dos retratos de don Diego de Guevara mi padre. La una de mano de Rugier, y la otra de Michel discipulo del dicho Rugier. La de Rugier debe haber cerca de sus noventa años que está hecha, la de Michel más de sesenta, las cuales si las juzgáréis por pintadas, juraréis no haber un día que se acabaron.* (I can show [it] in two portraits of Don Diego de Guevara, my father. One by Rugier and the other by Michel, disciple of the said Rugier. Rugier's must be about ninety years old since it was made, Michel's more than sixty, which if you judge them by the brushstrokes, you would swear that not a day has passed since they were finished.) F. J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la Historia del Arte Español*, Madrid 1933, pp. 153–179; E. Vázquez Dueñas, *Felipe de Guevara. Comentario de la pintura y pintores antiguos*, Madrid 2016, p. 54.

19 Weniger, "Bynnen Brugge in Flanderen…", op. cit, pp. 115–131.

Calatrava also identified as Diego de Guevara, most likely made in Flanders circa 1517 (fig. 2). With this information it is possible to see how, already during the sixteenth century, Sittow's life was interpreted by historiographers highlighting specifically his prestige as a Flemish portraitist of the Castilian Royal Family and nobles, and the fact that he was trained by a distinguished master.

Finally, some researchers have attributed to Sittow paintings inventoried in the Monastery of Yuste, where Charles V spent the last years of his life after his abdication in 1556.[20] The inventories, drawn up in the year 1558, mention three panels made by Master Michael with the iconography of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, *the Crucifixion*, and the *Holy Sacrament Carried by Angels*.[21] However, after comparison between the inventory and the items preserved until today from the monastic complex, it is appropriate to deny this attribution since the panels were made by Michael Coxie,[22] another Flemish master whose works were appreciated in the Iberian Peninsula. Therefore, the inventory of the Monastery of Yuste does not provide any real evidence about the work of Michel Sittow.

Two identities: Master Michiel and Miguel Alemán

As far as the life of Michel Sittow is concerned, the nineteenth-century bibliography did not discover data regarding his works. On the one hand, his name as "Zittoz",[23] "Sithium", or "Master Michiel" is mentioned in the publications of sources of the court of Margaret of Austria as well as in sources farther related to it. On the other hand, the painter was called "Melchior Alemán" or "Miguel Flamenco" at the court of Isabella of Castile;[24] the "alemán" adjective could refer to his native language or his origin from a Hanseatic city, while the word "flamenco" could refer to his training at the workshops of Bruges.

Only the panels present in the inventory of the year 1516 of the Governor of Flanders were recognised as by the hand of Master Michiel, without precise identi-

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20 E. P. Richardson, "Portrait of a Man in a Red Hat by Master Michiel", *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 1958–1959, 38, no. 4, p. 80.

21 F. Mignet, *Charles-Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au Monastér de Yuste*, Paris, 1854, pp. 116–117; M. Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au Monastère de Yuste: lettres inédites*, Bruxelles–Gand–Lepzig, 1854; *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial* [*The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family*], ed. F. Checa Cremades, vol. 1, Madrid, 2010; AGS, CMC 1ª ep., leg. 1145, s.f.

22 Carmen García–Frías Checa in her research on the Royal Monastery of Jerónimos in Yuste identified the works mentioned in the inventory, which, to this day, remain part of its collection: C. García-Frías Checa, "La estampa de un emperador en su retiro: Carlos V en Yuste" in: *Carlos V en Yuste: Muerte y gloria eterna*, ed. C. García-Frías Checa, Madrid, 2008, pp. 23–25.

23 J. A. Crowe, G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Les anciens peintres flamands, leur vie et leurs oeuvres*, II, Bruxelles, 1862, p. 210.

24 M. Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Juan de Flandes. Drei Maler aus dem Norden am Hof Isabellas von Kastilien*, Kiel, 2011, p. 49.

fications. Among these panels, the following stood out: a *Portrait of Isabella of Castile at the age of thirty*; a *Portrait of Isabella of Portugal*, daughter of Isabella of Castile; a *Virgin with the child named "Mignonne"*; a small *Altarpiece with the Virgin on one side and St John and St Margaret on the other*; a *Diptych with the Ascension of Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin*; and finally a *Portrait of Charles Oursson* – although only one of these works (the *Assumption of the Virgin*) could be identified among those that have been preserved to this day.[25]

As a matter of fact, the Spanish researchers, knowing the data regarding the artist's activity at the court but without descriptions of his works, could not ascribe to his hand any specific panel, even knowing that he made them in Castile, a fact included in the royal inventories. For example, some devotional panels made by Michiel, copies of those of the Archbishop of Granada, accompanied Isabella of Castile in the last moments of her life.[26] It was intuitively assumed that Miguel Alemán could have been a member of guilds in Leuven or Bruges, and therefore, it was suggested that his name could have been Michel Beernaerts, Michel de Coninc, Michel Vander Valleporte, or Michel Walens.[27] Nevertheless, the studies on Flemish painting in Spain did not connect the information to the bibliography of Michel Sittow, but instead they analysed the artistic identity of Miguel Alemán with whom some assorted works with Hispanic Flemish characteristics were linked. Many of these works were later documented as works of an anonymous artist such as, for example, the Maestro de los Luna or the Master of the Catholic Kings (fig. 3).[28]

The first historian to consider the individual style of Master Michiel was Max J. Friedländer who examined his works as a part of circle of Hans Memling.[29] According to Friedländer, Master Michiel was a court portraitist in Mechelen.[30] Likewise, the connoisseur underlined the role of Memling's models for this artist, like the

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25 Matthias Weniger, in the monographic study on Sittow, suggested the hypothesis that the portrait identified by other researchers as Catherine of Aragon or Mary Rose Tudor could also be interpreted as the portrait of Isabela the Catholic. (Ibid., pp. 77–78).

26 P. de Madrazo, *Viaje artístico de tres siglos por las colecciones de cuadros de los reyes de España*, Madrid, 1884, p. 17. This mention resulted in the hypothesis that Sittow made the copy of the *Miraflores Triptych*, currently in the Royal Chapel of the Cathedral of Granada and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (J. Weiss, "Castilian Legacy and Juan de Flandes's Miraflores Copy", in: *Copies of Flemish Masters in the Hispanic World (1500–1700)*, eds. E. Lamas-Delgado, D. García Cueto, Turnhout, 2021, pp. 29–42).

27 P. de Madrazo, op. cit., p. 22.

28 A. L. Mayer, "Late XVth Century Castilian Painting", *Apollo* 1939, 29, p. 281; J. Brown, R. G. Mann, *Spanish Paintings of the Fifteenth through Nineteenth Centuries: The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue*, Washington, 1990, pp. 92–93.

29 M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Hans Memlinc and Gerard David*, vol. VI (2), London, 1967, p. 53. He followed the attribution of the Virgin and the Child from the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, by Baldass: L. Baldass, "Unbekannte niederländische Bilder in Wien und Budapest", *Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts,* 1917, vol. 11, pp. 1-3.

30 M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst*, vol. XII, London, 1967, p. 15.

Fig. 3. Master of the Catholic Kings, *The Marriage at Cana,* c. 1495-1497, oil on panel, 137.1 x 92.7 cm, Washington, The National Gallery of Art, inv. 1952.5.42.

copy of a *Virgin and Child* (Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest; fig. 4).[31] Additionally, the scholar put in relation three female portraits: *Virgin and Child* that formed a pair with the portrait of Diego de Guevara (Gemäldegalerie Berlin; fig. 2), and a portrait of an anonymous woman, identified as Catherine of Aragon (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien; fig. 5).[32] It is important to comprehend that the assumption about a common author of the aforementioned works gave rise to multiple interpretations, not only about the pictorial style of Michel Sittow, but also about considerations regarding female beauty in the fifteenth century, including in his *oeuvre* a panel with *Saint Magdalene* (Detroit Institute of Art; fig. 6).[33]

Fig. 4. Michel Sittow (?), *Virgin and Child*, mid--1480s, oil on panel, 33.7 × 23.9 cm, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 4327.

Fig. 5. Michel Sittow, *Portrait of a Lady (Catherine of Aragon, Mary Rose Tudor, Katherina van der Lieppe or Isabella the Catholic as a Saint?)*, c. 1505 or c. 1514, oil on panel 28.7 x 21 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, inv. Gemäldegalerie, 7046.

31 Idem, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Hans Memlinc and Gerard David*, op. cit., Catalogue number 53.

32 Idem, "Ein neu erworbenes Madonnenbild im Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum" *Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 36, 1915, pp. 179–181.

33 F. Winkler, "Neue Werke des Meisters Michiel," *Pantheon* 7, no. 4, 1931, pp. 175–178; M. Frinta, "Observation on Michel Sittow", *Atribus et Historiae*, 2009, 60, 30, pp. 139–156.

Fig. 6. Michel Sittow, *Saint Magdalene*, between 15th and 16th century, oil on panel, 30.7 × 24 cm, Detroit Institute of Art, inv. 40.50.

Following Friedländer's indications, the study of the *Polyptych of Isabella of Castile*[34] by Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón indicated that the set of forty-seven panels was made collectively by Juan de Flandes and Master Michel, to whom at least two panels of the polyptych were undoubtedly attributed. The researcher gathered the data on Michel's life assuming that he was active in the Iberian Peninsula as early as 1481,[35] a fact that cannot be corroborated by the sources until 1492. Likewise, Sánchez Cantón pointed out that Michel, after his activity in Castile, became a painter at the court of Margaret of Austria and Charles V.[36]

In 1930 Gustaf Falck published a study that added the portrait of Christian II of Denmark (fig. 7) to Michel's work. The document reproduced in his article confirmed that in 1514 a painter from Reval named "Mester Mechil" arrived in Helsingor and was presented to the King of Denmark, whom Charles V's sister, raised in Mechelen under the custody of Margaret of Austria, would soon marry.[37]

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34 Although different studies name the Altarpiece of Isabella of Castile, in this text it seems more appropriate to mention the interpretation of this work by Miguel Ángel Zalama Rodríguez, who argued that the panels form a polyptych and travelled together with the Castilian court through the Iberian Peninsula: M. Á. Zalama Rodríguez, "La infructuosa venta en almoneda de las pinturas de Isabel la Católica", *BSAA Arte*, 2008, 74, pp. 45–66.

35 F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "El retablo de la Reina Católica", *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, 1930, 6, pp. 97–133. Sánchez Cantón understood that Miguel Alemán painted the portrait of Isabella the Catholic at the age of thirty, precisely when she was at that age in 1481.

36 Ibidem.

37 G. Falck, *Master Michiel of Kunstmuseets Portraet af Christiern II*, København, 1928.

Consequently, Michel Sittow's travels and visits were even more attractive as a subject of international research. Along the same lines, in 1933, without unpublished new documentation, Gustav Glück linked Michel's hand to a Flemish portrait of Henry VII, King of England (National Portrait Gallery in London; fig. 8).[38] Many succeeding analyses questioned this attribution, as it was only an assumption but, at the time, it proved successful, as many studies since then have also claimed that Michel travelled to the Tudor court to make portraits. The painter's connection to a realist portrait of around 1500 also increased the interest of American researchers, a fact that resulted in the attribution of portraits and anonymous paintings to his hand. Likewise, three panels were included in his work even if the documentation could not be identified: the *Portrait of a Young Man in a Red Hat* (Detroit Institute of Art; fig. 9),[39] *Man in a Red Cap* (Milan, Castello Sforzesco; fig. 10), and *Holy Night* (Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien).[40]

Fig. 7. Michel Sittow, *Portrait of Christian II*, 1514-1515, oil on panel, 31 x 22 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSsp789.

Fig. 8. Unknown Netherlandish artist, *Portrait of Henry VII*, c. 1505, oil on panel, 42.5 x 30.5 cm, London, National Portrait Gallery, inv. NPG 416.

38 G. Glück, "The 'Henry VII' in the National Portrait Gallery", *The Burlington Magazine*, 1933, 68, pp. 100–108.
39 Richardson, "Portrait of a Man…", op. cit, pp. 79–83.
40 Idem, "Three Paintings by Master Michiel", *Art Quarterly* 1939, 2, no. 2, pp. 102–111.

Fig. 9. Michel Sittow (?), *A Young Man in a Red Cap*, c. 1512, oil on panel, 16.4 x 12.7 cm, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. 58.383.

Fig. 10. Unknown Netherlandish artist, *A Man in a Red Cap*, XVIth century, oil on panel, 18 x 23 cm, Milan, Castello Sforzesco, inv. 00660525

The suspicion that the Maestro Michel and Miguel Alemán were the same person was not corroborated by the archival documentation until 1940, when Paul Johansen included in an article the documents of Reval and Lübeck. According to them, Michel Sittow declared, while in his homeland, he had served at the court of Philip the Fair in Toledo around the year 1505. Finally, this document definitively allowed the building of a coherent biography of a traveller through the European courts, and to bring together the works of the two identities, for the first time, under one name by Trizna.[41] However, some researchers differentiate the identities of Master Michel and Miguel Alemán, attributing to both names works that have not been considered part of Michel Sittow's work.[42]

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41 J. Trizna, *Michel Sittow. Paintre revalais de l'école brugeoise (1468–1525/1526)*, Bruxelles, 1976.
42 Yarza Luaces doubts that Miguel Alemán was the same as Michel Sittow, a servant of Margaret of Austria (J. Yarza Luaces, op. cit., pp. 53–55). The same doubt appears in German historiography, where some studies have pointed out that the Master Michel investigated by Friedländer may have made works that have not been attributed to Sittow (P. Strieder, "Ein danziger Bildnisdiptychon von 1518", *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1959, 13, p. 15).

Post-war research difficulties and imagery regarding Sittow's life

In the second half of the twentieth century, studies on Flemish painting and in particular on the work of Michel Sittow stand out because of an increased interest, due to the publication of sources from the Castilian court, which facilitated the conveyance of a lot of information to a wider public. These documents, edited by Antonio de la Torre, allowed readers to follow in detail the economic dynamics of the artists who worked under the patronage of Isabella of Castile.[43] In addition, the works linked to the globetrotting painter were analysed with various approaches, among which it is worth highlighting the monographic studies dedicated to the artist, the technical studies of the panels related to Sittow's activity, and the iconographic and iconological analyses of his work. Interdisciplinarity, internationality, and the varied points of view, with which Michel's life has been analysed reinforce even more his position as an artist of relevance in the global conversation about Art History and, above all, as a representative of the Nordic styles of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The first monograph fully devoted to the life and work of Michel Sittow was published in 1976 by Jazsep Trizna, who recovered documentary sources by commissioning the transcription of a document from the General Archive of Simancas.[44] Additionally, Trizna, carrying out the bibliographic compilation, reviewed all the primary sources mentioned in the previous significant publications. It should be noted that Trizna, in seven chapters, accurately described Michel's life according to geographical and chronological criteria, arguing all the movements of the painter. The author also included some hypotheses that were not corroborated by the documents, as is the case of the possible trips that the painter made to the Tudor court in the period 1502–1505.[45] Creating the first complete chronology of the artist's life allowed several suppositions to be postulated for the periods when the primary sources are silent. It should also be noted that his study included a reasoned catalogue divided into sections following the trends of investigating art as a conesseur, as was the case with the analyses of the first half of the twentieth century. This catalogue included the descriptions of 59 works of which only three can be confirmed by documentary sources, eleven were lost or destroyed, and five can be linked with the hand of Sittow by a great similarity to the works actually documented and preserved, while the others were designated as uncertain attributions or rejected by the author of the catalogue.[46]

Going forward, after thirty-five years of publishing articles that contributed to the knowledge of Sittow, Matthias Weniger published a monograph dedicated to the three painters with Flemish training who worked at the court of Isabella of

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43 A. de la Torre, op. cit.; A. de la Torre, E. Alsina, *Testamentaría de Isabel la Católica*, Barcelona, 1974.
44 Trizna, op. cit., pp. 65–74.
45 Trizna, op. cit., pp. 31–37.
46 Ibid., pp. 91–103.

Castile. This study not only analysed the period of their stay in Castile, but also studied the life of Michel Sittow, Felipe Morros, and Juan de Flandes. The volume is divided into three parts, each one with its protagonist, with an analysis of the archival documentation, a bibliography, and observations of the author. As far as Sittow's life is concerned, the author gathered not only the bibliographic studies, but also the museum displays in which the painter had a relevant role, such as the exhibitions of the portraits of the Northern Renaissance. Moreover, Weniger's monograph included the analysis of the artist's *critical fortune* in the contemporary world as well as innovative technical analyses and x-rays that ended up reinforcing the attributions of the works to Sittow's hand. The reasoned catalogue, created with interdisciplinary methods, linked the artist to 111 works, even if only few are listed as certainly his, while several were possibly strongly influenced by his style.[47]

The fact that Matthias Weniger included technical studies in his monograph had its origin in the popularity of this method in the preceding decades. It is relevant to acknowledge that, thanks to this research, one of the works attributed to Michel Sittow gained a particular interest, demonstrating not only the excellence of its author, but also the practice of painting above other almost finished panels. In particular, the x-ray revealed a portrait, most likely of Charles V, which was covered by the artist with a new layer portraying the bust of Christian II of Denmark.[48] Due to the documentation, this portrait became very important in the career of the itinerant painter and, in turn, allowed the postulation of his connection or direct relationship with Bernard van Orley, an artist active at the Habsburg court. Thanks to documentation of the artist's arrival in Denmark, the precise dating of the portrait being established as in June 1514, and the confirmation by Charles V in 1515 of having met Michel Sittow in the past, the portrait became evidence that the painter had worked for the Habsburgs before 1514. Although the proofs provided by the analysis of the portrait cannot be corroborated by other sources, they undoubtedly provide relevant indications for the understanding of the painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the highlighting of certain pictorial practices.

Technical studies had a very significant role also in the research of Chiyo Ishikawa, author of the monograph on the *Polyptych of Isabella of Castile*.[49] In its publication, although Sittow did not have a central role, the possibility was posited that he was a collaborator of Juan de Flandes, another Flemish painter in Castile between 1496 and 1502.[50] Her research demonstrated the relevance of collaborations among courtly artists and was the first to clarify that complex works should not be considered as the result of the effort of a single author, but as the result of possible collective collaborations.[51] She also gave much relevance to iconographic

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47 Weniger, *Sittow, Morros, Flandes…*, op. cit.

48 E. K. Sass, *Studier i Christiern II's iconografi*, Copenhaguen, 1970; Eadem, "Autour de quelques portraits de Charles Quint", *Oud Holland*, 1, 1976, pp. 1–14; *Pictures and Power: The Visual Politics of Christian II*, ed. H. Kolind Poulsen, Copenhagen, 2017.

49 Ch. Ishikawa, *Retablo de Isabel la Catolica*, Turnhout, 2004.

50 Sánchez Cantón, op. cit.

51 Ishikawa, *Retablo de Isabel la Catolica*, op.cit, p. 63.

studies, which underlined the theoretical and theological knowledge possessed by the painters working for the power elites.[52]

The iconographical method was used also in other Sittow's attributions, his work was reimagined as in the cases of the *Portrait of a French nobleman* (fig. 11) or the compositions of *Virgin and Child*.[53] An example of iconographic and iconological study related to one of Sittow's works that generated more questions than answers was the analyses of the portrait of a lady (Kunsthistorishes Museum in Vienna; fig. 6). The hypotheses proposed by the first studies of this work identified the person portrayed as Catherine of Aragon, wife of Arthur, Prince of Wales and then Henry VIII, both sons of Henry VII, who's portrait according to some researchers was a Sittow's work (fig. 8).[54] However, in the early years of the twenty-first century this identification was questioned by Paul Methews, Mojmir Frinta, and Matthias Weniger. The first one contextualised the work among the premarital portraits of the Habsburgs, indicating that the portrayed person was Mary Rose Tudor and that her effigy was commissioned in order to be presented to her possible husband in the Habsburg family. Paul Mathews assumed that Sittow visited the English court in 1505 or in 1513, when the marriage between Mary Rose and Charles V was being negotiated, and later when the marriage between her and his father Maximilian I of Habsburg was being negotiated.

The iconographic analysis identified the initials on the necklace of the portrait with the acronym of the name Karolus; also, according to Mathews, the flowers were heraldic symbols of the Tudors. His study documented the tradition of dressing the future wife in the traditional outfits of the future husband's origin. In the case of Mary Rose this would entail dressing according to Burgundian or Flemish fashion.[55] To reinforce his assumption, the researcher gave more examples of this practice, such as the small portrait of Mary Tudor with the inscription "The Emperor" that alluded to her possible nuptials with Charles V, around 1521.[56] The fragility of this theory is caused by the documentary silence about Michel Sittow's visit to the English court, since the only testimony would be the portrait of the lady.

Similarly, Mojmir Frinta interpreted the brooch of the portrayed as an L, which is the initial of the noble family of van der Lieppe of Reval. In addition, he associated the letter K of the necklace with the German name Katharina, one of the members of the mentioned family, while the flowers on the necklace, according to Frinta, are not the symbol of the Tudors[57] and indeed, the comparison between the details of

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52 Eadem, "Hernando de Talavera and Isabelline Imagery", in: *Queen Isabel I of Castile: Power, Patronage, Persona*, 2008, pp. 71–82.

53 E. Haverkamp-Begemann, "Paintings by Michel Sittow Reconsidered", in: *Rubens and His World*, ed. A. Balis, Antwerpen, 1985, pp. 1–8.

54 Glück, op. cit., pp. 100–108.

55 P. G. Matthews, "Henry VIII's Favourite Sister? Michel Sittow's Portrait of a Lady in Vienna", *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien*, 2008, 10, pp. 140–143.

56 Ibid., p. 146.

57 Frinta, op. cit., p. 162.

Fig. 11. Michel Sittow (¿), *Portrait of a Man with the Pearl*, 1515–1517, oil on panel, 22.4x17.18 cm, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real de Madrid, inv. 10010169.

this portrait with some heraldic representations of the first half of the sixteenth century corroborate this assumption.

It is also worth mentioning the alternative, suggested by Matthias Weniger, that the portrait depicts Isabella of Castile at the age of thirty and was painted by Master Michel most likely between 1492 and 1502. This alternative is supported by two references in the inventories of Margaret of Austria of the years 1516 and 1524, which are the only sources on the paintings of Michel Sittow. However, the second inventory, the most detailed report of the Catholic queen's portrait, describes a necklace of emeralds and other precious stones, a ring and a pearl.[58] Clearly this description of the jewels does not correspond to anything that can now be seen in the panel. Once again, a portrait by Michel Sittow reveals the multiple options of interpreting the data according to the iconological method, when it is impossible to make any other identification due to the lack of documentary sources.[59]

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58 Trizna, op. cit., pp. 72–73.

59 Another example of the work recently attributed to Michel Sittow, thanks to the iconographic and iconologic method, were the lateral panels of the altarpiece of the parish church of Bollnäs: I. Björkman-Berglund, "Det stora altarskåpet i Bollnäs — ett verk av Michel Sittow¿", *Konsthistorik Tidsskrift*, 2008, 50, no. 3, pp. 105–118.

The Estonian point of view

In addition to the academic studies about Michel Sittow, it is appropriate to point out his impact in various literary creations and in particular the prominence of the painter's life in a novel by Jaan Kross. In 1970 this Estonian writer published the novel *Neli monoloogi Püha Jüri asjus* (*Four Monologues on the Subject of Saint George*)[60] whose protagonist was Michel Sittow just after his return to his hometown. Kross, in his narratives, alludes to the historical events of the sixteenth century with the intention of making a contrast with the political situation in Estonia under the communist regime. In this context Michel's story is told across four monologues. The first monologue revolves around the conflict between the painter and his stepfather Dierik over the maternal inheritance, as Johansen indicated in his article. The second account is about Michel's arrival to Reval and is told from the point of view of his engaged girlfriend, who actually does not understand the experiences and aspirations of her future husband. The third story is told by the master craftsman of the guild of St Kanut in Reval: on the one hand he recognises the international experience of the artist and his prestige but, on the other hand, he demands the fulfilment of the typical prescribed steps needed to include Sittow among the artisans of the city.[61] In the final monologue, Michel himself introduces his previous experiences, mentioning the works that real-life researchers have attributed to his hand. Kross's novel very faithfully summarises the state of affairs of the research regarding Michel during the seventies. The author follows the story presented by Paul Johansen and, at the same time, hides all the considerations on the Estonian political situation from the Soviet censorship.

Johansen's article and Kross's novel show Michel's hectic biography, reinforcing his national identity and, on the one hand his roots and inspiration in the Baltic art,[62] and on the other hand, his impact on it. The artist was considered a pioneer for painting production and an author of the first freestanding sculpture in Estonian Art.[63] The *oeuvre* of Michel should be enriched by his documented works from the current Estonian territory, produced between 1518 and 1525, that are not preserved anymore. Researchers points a decoration of the clock for the St Nicholas Church in Tallinn,[64] an Altarpiece for the goldsmith's guild in Dorpat (currently Tartu) and

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60 J. Kross, "Four Monologues on the Subject of Saint George", in: *Anthology of Estonian Literature: The Love That Was*, Moscow, 1982; J. Talvet, "'Paigallend', or the building of Estonia in the novels of Jaan Kross", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, 2000, 31, no. 3, pp. 237–252.

61 Johansen assumed that Sittow was not recognised in Reval as a prestigious artist and had to go through a learning process or sit the prescribed examinations. This fact was refuted by Anu Mänd, who documented that Sittow was included in the guild just six months after his return to the hometown: A. Mänd, *Michel Sittow and Reval …*, op. cit., pp. 7–9.

62 J. Maiste, "A genius and his myth: The known and unknown Michel Sittow", *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 2015, 9, p. 190.

63 S. Karling, *Medeltida träskulptur i Estland*, Stockholm, 1946, p. 64.

64 Mänd, "Michel Sittow and Reval…", op. cit., p. 8.

Fig. 12. Master of the Legend of St Lucy, *Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads*, before 1493, oil on panel, 2nd view and open view, Tallinn, Art Museum of Estonia – Niguliste Museum.

twelve roses for Holy Mary Chapel in the St Olaf's Church in Tallinn.[65] In addition, since Johansen's article – a gravestone of Johann Balliw, wooden sculpture of St George[66] and then St Anthony's Altar,[67] all from the St Nicholas Church in Tallinn were linked with Sittow.[68] However, the romantic aspect of Sittow as a genius was an invention of Johansen then revitalised and exalted by Kross, which was later refuted by Anu Mänd's archival research, which presented a more realistic and grounded view on the documents.[69]

Ultimately, Juhan Maiste analysing Sittow's life, remarked two contradictory approaches used to create discourses in Art History writing, mainly applied in the national history. He describes a "creative and inclusive" approach and, as the opposite one, a "critical and exclusive" tendency, both used in Michel's artistic biography. He concludes by suggesting that the Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads (fig. 12) attributed to the Master of the Legend of St Lucy[70] might be a document of friendship between three painters active in Bruges in last two decades of the fifteenth century: Memling, Sittow and the Anonymous Master.[71]

Conclusions

The investigation on Sittow highlights several research trends that exist in Art History; besides, being an international topic that has interested several researchers over the decades, it reveals the prominent historiographical trends of each moment in time and draws attention to the reception and survival of the successful ones.

First of all, it should be noted that Friedländer 's assumptions, thanks to connesseurship, were not notably questioned by the following generations of art historians. In the same way, the monographs dedicated to the artist by Trizna and Weniger were made with scientific rigour and are still current even if some of their assumptions have been updated by individual articles. At the end of their work, both biographers of the artist concluded their research wishing to establish a line of development of Sittow's pictorial style. However, both stated that, with the current knowledge, this question cannot be solved with a simple answer.

Sittow's international career allows us to put research questions not only by national and local historians, but also at a global level, since his work demands a transversal and interdisciplinary analysis. Partial studies of Michel's work have

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65 Ibid.; Maiste, op. cit., p. 185.
66 Johansen, op. cit.
67 M. Lumiste, "Antoniuse altari algsest maalikihist ja ülemaalingutest", *Kunst*, 1964, 2, pp. 34–35.
68 Currently those artworks are considered as works of his circle.
69 Mänd, "Michel Sittow and Reval…", op. cit., pp. 7–9.
70 A. Mänd, "The Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary of the Brotherhood of the Black Heads in Tallinn: Dating, Donors, and the Double Intercession", *Acta Historiae Artium Balticae*, 2007, 2, pp. 35–53.
71 Maiste, op.cit., pp. 216–217.

allowed the attribution of singular works whose provenance appears in documentation, as was the case of Gustaf Falck, followed by Else Kai Sass's studies on the iconography of Christian II of Denmark.[72] In this way, researchers underlined Sittow's role as the creator of a new Danish royal iconography, which did not survive the religious reform, but allowed the Oldenburg dynasty to establish a close political link with the Habsburgs. However, other attributions that were not verified by documents did not provide any reflection beyond the link between a panel and Michel Sittow.

As far as the question of the nationalisation of Sittow's career in the historiography about his life is concerned, it is necessary to underline that the artist, in addition to being part of the visual legacy of Estonia, was also incorporated in the national independence narrative. The dispersion of his works allows several states and several nations to claim that the panels related to Michel Sittow are part of their cultural property. As noted at the beginning of this study, the first monographic exhibition dedicated to the artist took place to celebrate 100 years of Estonian independence. This event, managed by Estonian public institutions in collaboration with the National Gallery of Art in Washington, allowed the gathering for the first time and in a symbolic way multiple works linked to the hand of Sittow and their examination all together. The results of the research and the bibliographic summaries were published in the form of a catalogue as they revealed, in a global way, the role of the artist as creator of the royal portraits during the first decades of the sixteenth century. It should be noted that no other traveller with such diverse experiences is known and that he probably portrayed in person many royal families in the Early Modern time. Therefore, classifying him according to criteria of contemporary national borders does not reflect the reality of the Habsburg patronage, spread throughout Europe, as all the portraits that could be confirmed by more than one historical source are related to this dynasty.

The life of Michel Sittow, although included in various studies on the Castilian court, often appears in a very limited way due to the lack of documentary sources and definitive works. Mentioned as one of the authors of the *Polyptych of Isabella of Castile*, Sittow did not gain prominence until the publication of Matthias Weniger's theory about the *Altar de los Luna* in la Catedral de Toledo[73] possibly being his first work in the Iberian Peninsula. This discovery invites reflection again on the need to vindicate the role of this artist, who incidentally was the most well paid by the Catholic monarchs, and to point out the importance of his arrival at court, as a bearer of modern trends and one of the first Flemish painters hired by the royal house that would then provide the necessary financial support for Columbus' expedition.

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72 E. Kai Sass, *Studier i Christiern II's ikonografi*, København, 1970.

73 M. Weniger, "Michel Sittow, a la luz del retablo de los Luna", in: *Retórica artística en el tardogótico castellano: la capilla fúnebre de Álvaro de Luna en contexto*, eds. O. Pérez Monzón, M. Miquel Juan, M. Martín Gil, Madrid, 2018, pp. 481–500.

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Left / abandoned / post-German. Late Gothic Silesian Retables and Their New Settings in the Monastery Church in Mogiła (Cracow), and the Cathedrals in Warsaw and Poznań in the 1940s and 1950s

Abstract

Based on three case studies, the text presents the analysis of the process of the reappropriation of three selected "left"/"abandoned"/"post-German" medieval artworks in the three important conservation projects from the first decade of the post-war reconstruction of Poland (1945–1955). The circumstances, course and consequences of mounting late gothic Silesian altarpieces in the presbyteries of the monastery church in Mogiła and in the rebuilt and restored cathedrals in Warsaw and Poznań will be traced. This will enhance the analysis of the process of post-war creation of three monuments of Polish medieval art, different in their architectural and artistic costume and history. They will be examined in the context of foreign artworks, which despite being "left"/"abandoned" remained the carriers of a complicated, multithreaded history, unknown to or ignored by decision-makers.

Key words: Late Gothic, altarpiece, Silesia, Recovered Territories, conservation, medievalism

"Left and post-German property" is a phrase introduced in the decree of 8 March 1946 sanctioning the taking over of two categories of property by the Polish State.[1] The first is "left property" (pol. *majątek opuszczony*), which the owner lost between 1939 and 1945 due to the war and did not regain until the end of 1950 (mova-

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1 Dekret z dnia 8 marca 1946 r. o majątkach opuszczonych i poniemieckich [Decree of 8 March 1946 on left and post-German property]. *Dziennik Ustaw*, 13 poz. 87, 8 March 1946.

bles) or 1955 (immovables). The second category included "post-German property" (pol. *majatek poniemiecki*), i.e. property previously owned by the Reich or the Free City of Danzig, German or Danzig legal persons and citizens. The ownership of such property was passed on to the Polish State on 19 April 1946. In earlier Polish legal acts regulating property issues, the term "abandoned" was used instead of "post-German".[2] Both terms played an important role in redefining material objects located or "found" by the Polish newcomers at the Recovered Territories, as they symbolically denuded the objects of their previous owners and effaced their previous historical, spatial and social context.[3] Nevertheless, despite the clear legal distinction, especially in official texts and correspondence exchanged between the representatives of state institutions (such as museums, conservators) and the (future) owners of the objects, the terms "left" (pol. *opuszczony*), "abandoned" (pol. *porzucony*), and "post-German" (pol. *poniemiecki*) were used interchangeably with reference to the artworks from the Recovered Territories, notably avoiding the last. This inconsistency, subconscious or intentional, as will be indicated in this text based on three case studies, made it possible to conceal the troublesome "German" past of objects integrated into national collections and historic church interiors in the reality of post-war Poland. As a result, their pre-war biography[4] was left unsaid or presented in broad strokes. At the same time, this practice facilitated coming to prominence of their "abandonment", neutrality and "availability to be claimed",[5] and, as a consequence, legitimised their free appropriation and domestication on the new Polish owners' terms. The ongoing discussion about the legal, moral, social and political consequences of the above-mentioned decree and the taking over (looting) of post-German property[6] will not be discussed in detail.

Based on selected examples, the text aims to analyse the process of the reappropriation of "left"/"abandoned"/"post-German" medieval artworks in the three important conservation projects from the first decade of the post-war reconstruction of Poland (1945–1955).[7] The circumstances, course and consequences of mounting

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2 Dekret z dnia 2 marca 1945 o majątkach opuszczonych i porzuconych Decree of 2 March 1945 on left and abandoned property]. *Dziennik Ustaw*, 9 poz. 45, 2 March 1945.

3 A. Zborowska, "'Abandoned' things: Looting German property in post-war Poland*", History and Anthropology*, 2021, 32, no. 5, pp. 7–9; idem, *Życie rzeczy w powojennej Polsce*, Warszawa 2019, p. 25.

4 I. Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process", in: *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai, Cambridge 2014, pp. 64–92.

5 Zborowska, "'Abandoned' things…", p. 2.

6 B. Sierzputowski, "Public international law in the context of post-German cultural property held within Poland's borders. A complicated situation or simply a resolution?", *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 2020, 33, no. 4, pp. 953–968; W. Kowalski, "Sytuacja prawna poniemieckich zbiorów bibliotecznych w Polsce", *Przegląd Biblioteczny*, 1997, no. 1, pp. 17–23; idem, "Międzynarodowo-prawne implikacje ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego na Zachodnich i Północnych Ziemiach Polski", in: *Ochrona dziedzictwa kulturowego Zachodnich i Północnych Ziem Polski*, ed. J. Kowalczyk, Warszawa, 1995, pp. 15–23.

7 The most comprehensive study devoted to rebuilding and conservation of Polish heritage, especially architecture, at that time see: P. Majewski, *Ideologia i konserwacja. Architektura zabytkowa w Polsce w czasach socrealizmu*, Warszawa, 2009.

late gothic Silesian altarpieces in the presbyteries of the monastery church in Mogiła and in the rebuilt and restored cathedrals in Warsaw and Poznań will be traced. This will enhance the analysis of the process of post-war creation of three monuments of Polish medieval art, different in their architectural and artistic costume and history. They will be examined in the context of foreign artworks, which despite being "left"/"abandoned" remained the carriers of a complicated, multithreaded history, unknown to or ignored by decision-makers. The three selected late Gothic Silesian retables, regarded explicitly as "left"/"abandoned" in the correspondence and official writings from the period in question, are the focus of attention in the text and each of them will receive a separate case study. Such an approach will help, on the one hand, trace and rethink the history of these objects in detail as unique situations, and, on the other hand, show the potential of the approach taken here in relation to other works moved from the Recovered Territories, which, when supported by archival research, can result in a synthesis tracing the most important problems and phenomena occurring in the first stages of the long process of adopting the "left" / "abandoned" / "post-German" objects by the patchwork family of Polish material heritage.[8] Although the findings presented here cannot serve as the basis for any generalisation, they will certainly serve the discussion concerning the existence of any coherent policy towards medieval artworks from the newly annexed territories of Poland in the period 1945–1955. What is more, the text will shed light on possible randomness of the actions taken, dictated perhaps as much by the personal preferences of the decision-makers as by the relatively high artistic class and availability of the artworks in question. In addition, three other issues will be reflected upon, namely the status and potential of the "abandoned" artwork itself, the processes of "naturalising its acquisition"[9] and new emplacement, as well as the objects' relationship to the new spatial-artistic-social context assigned to them after 1945, especially against a backdrop of the relationship of things to things and people to things. The analysis will focus on phenomena which run parallel to post-war art historians' research, especially in the field of so-called "Western research",[10] and have not yet been

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8 Selected problems concerning this issue were recently discussed in: T. Torbus, *Rekonstrukcje, dekonstrukcje, (nad)interpretacje*, Gdańsk, 2019.

9 Paraphrasing the term "naturalising of possession" used by: Zborowska, "'Abandoned' things…", op. cit.

10 For the outline and analysis of this research see: A. Labuda, "Polska historia sztuki i 'Ziemie Odzyskane'", in: idem, *Z dziejów historii sztuki. Polska Niemcy, Europa*, ed. R. Bąk, Poznań, 2015, pp. 69–104; idem, "Sztuka i historiografia artystyczna w polsko-niemieckiej debacie – zaniedbany problem badawczy", in: idem, *Z dziejów historii sztuki. Polska Niemcy, Europa*, ed. R. Bąk, Poznań 2015, pp. 105–123; idem, "Niemieckie dziedzictwo historyczno-artystyczne w Polsce. Sądy, stereotypy i opinie po II wojnie światowej", in: idem, *Z dziejów historii sztuki. Polska Niemcy, Europa*, ed. R. Bąk, Poznań, 2015, pp. 125–141. Earlier versions of these texts: idem, "Das deutsche Kunsterbe in Polen. Ansichten, Gemeinplätze und Meinungen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg", *Kunstchronik*, 1997, 50, pp. 325–333; idem, "Kunst und Kunsthistoriographie im deutsch-polnischen Spannungsverhältnis – eine vernachlässigte Forschungsaufgabe", in: *Deutsche Geschichte und Kultur im heutigen Polen. Fragen der Gegenstandsbestimmung und Methodologie*, ed. H.-J. Karp, Marburg, 1997, pp. 119–135.

determined by such investigations. Finally, the pre-war history of selected objects, although it was not present in the horizon of knowledge of the post-war Polish decision-makers, has been presented here on purpose. Such an approach, which does justice to the contemporary reader, although carrying the risk of anachronism, is aimed at showing the perverse and intricate history of works which, by their very nature lacking nationality, were involved not only in artistic ventures, but also in those motivated by different ideologies and historiographic concepts.

Mogiła (Cracow)

In 2014, Piotr Chojnacki, the Cistercian abbot in Mogiła, began efforts to acquire the missing sculptural parts of the late Gothic winged altarpiece, which was mounted in the presbytery of the Mogiła monastery church (Fig. 1) in 1948, during the conservation and restoration work held there shortly after the war.[11] The mentioned retable, originally from the church in Steinau an der Oder (after 1945: Ścinawa) in Lower Silesia, with two pairs of movable wings, was completed in 1514, most probably in the workshop of Jakob Beinhart in Breslau (now: Wrocław).[12] Historically and artistically, it had no connections with Lesser Poland and the Cistercians, and was transferred to Mogiła in rather unclear circumstances. Nonetheless, in several respects, the retable's fate seems symptomatic of the "post-German" medieval artworks' fortunes in Poland after 1945 and therefore merits consideration. Even though discussed as a background of the bespoken events, the restoration of the presbytery of the Mogiła church is also of great importance. In 1949, its effects differed drastically not only from its pre-war character, but also from the visions and initial projects created in 1945 by the initiators of the works. Abbot Chojnacki's efforts provide indisputable evidence that no matter the circumstances of its mounting in Mogiła, the Silesian altarpiece has been successfully domesticated over the years. In 21st century, it emerges as an indispensable part of the convent church's interior.

   The Cistercians settled in the village of Mogiła, now part of Cracow, not later than in 1225.[13] Even though their monastery church, consecrated in 1266, has undergone many renovations and alterations over the centuries, the late-Romanesque and Gothic forms remain prevalent in its oldest eastern part.[14] The abbey played

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11 Archiwum Ojców Cystersów w Mogile (Cistercian Archive in Mogiła, further in the text: ACM), Letters from Piotr Chojnacki to Agnieszka Morawińska, director of the National Museum in Warsaw, and to Piotr Oszczanowski, director of the National Museum in Wrocław, 25 April 2014.

12 W. Marcinkowski, *Gotycka nastawa ołtarzowa u kresu rozwoju - Retabulum ze Ścinawy (1514) w kościele klasztornym w Mogile*, Kraków, 2006; B. Maj, "Niezwykłe losy ścinawskiego retabulum. Z dziejów sztuki sakralnej w powojennej Polsce", *Perspektywy kultury / Perspectives on culture*, 2020, 29, pp. 225–230.

13 M. Zdanek, "Proces implantacji opactwa cystersów w Mogile", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 2001, p. 519.

14 M. Szyma, "Architektura kościoła Cystersów w Mogile w XIII i XIV w. Fazy budowy i ich datowanie", *Wiadomości Konserwatorskie Województwa Krakowskiego,* 1997, 7, pp. 141–162.

Fig. 1. Presbytery of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Wenceslaus, Mogiła Abbey, Cracow, photo: Wikimedia Commons.

a major role in the political and cultural history of Poland, sharing the country's fate also through invasions, wars and disasters. In January 1945, after the German army left its walls, the historic monastery needed to be renovated and restored to its former function.[15] This work was undertaken by abbot Augustyn Ciesielski. Few months after his arrival in Mogiła on 26 January 1945, he invited Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, one of the most famous Polish architects and conservators of the interwar period,[16] to collaborate in this enterprise. In many respects Szyszko-Bohusz seemed predestined for it. As a perennial supervisor of the restoration work in Wawel Hill in Cracow and designer of several churches, he also had experience in construction work and conservation of medieval architecture and monastery complexes (Jasna Góra, Tyniec).[17]

In June 1945, the first meeting was organised in order to develop a plan for further actions. It was attended by, among many others, the abbot, Szyszko-Bohusz as well as Bogdan Treter, the Cracow Province Conservator. During the meeting, the complexity of the historic and artistic fabric of the church, consisting of Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque elements, was recognised.[18] Symptomatically, the 19th and early 20th century additions turned out to be completely ignored, while the main altar was considered "quasi-baroque" and therefore of little value. In particular, the last object mentioned stood in the way of achieving the objectives formulated at that meeting and progressively implemented by February of the following year. The plan was to uncover all three Gothic windows bricked up in the eastern wall of the presbytery, and to restore, where possible, the Romanesque features of the church interior by exposing stone and brick walls, sparing only few selected remnants of the 16th century polychromes. In place of the dismantled Baroque retable, an altar in the "Romanesque spirit" was to be executed. The work progressed very quickly and its first phase was summarised during the next meeting held in January 1946.[19] The project of the altar space envisaged a stone altar designed by Szyszko-Bohusz, with a silver or gilded cross placed on mensa (Fig. 2). All newly-discovered remnants of Gothic polychromies were to be transferred to the refectory or to the cloister. The space above the newly-designed stained glass windows, was to be covered with a contemporary wall painting "free from naturalism and expressionism". The paintings covering the vaults from 1911 were also to be removed.

15 M. Starzyński, M. Zdanek, "Historiographius ordinis. O życiu i twórczości ojca Augustyna Ciesielskiego OCist (1909–1968)", in: *Dziedzictwo Cystersów: prace wybrane / Augustyn Ciesielski*, eds. M. Starzyński, M. Zdanek, Kraków, 2013, p. 24.

16 J. A. Mrozek, "Tradycja i awangarda w twórczości Adolfa Szyszko-Bohusza (na przykładzie wybranej grupy obiektów)", in: *Tradycja i innowacja. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Łódź, listopad 1979*, Warszawa, 1981, p. 278.

17 M. Wiśniewski, *Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz*, Kraków, 2013; M. Pilikowski, *Architekt Akademii: Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz w krakowskiej Akademii Sztuk Pięknych*, Kraków, 2020.

18 Records from this meeting are preserved in the collection of Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, zespół: Spuścizna profesora Adolfa Szyszko-Bohusza, (National Archive in Cracow, unit: The Legacy of Professor Szyszko-Bohusz, further in the text: APK), 29/651/0, p. 203.
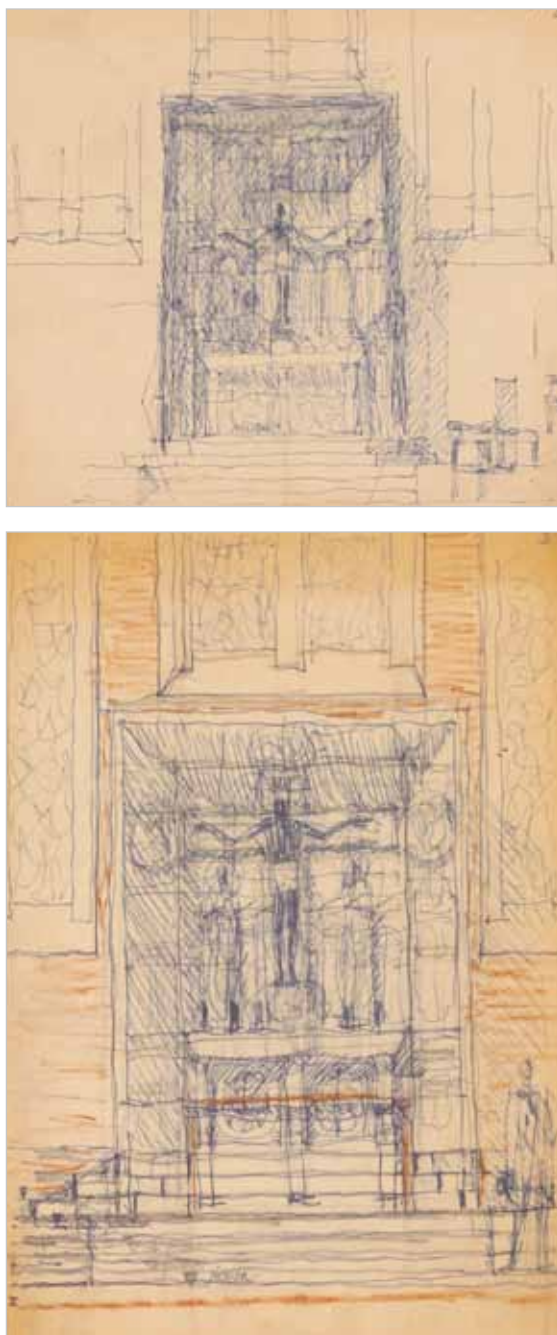
19 APK, 29/651/0, p. 213.

Fig. 2. Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, projects of the main altarpiece to the church of Mogiła Abbey, ca. 1945–1946, APK 29/651/0

Undoubtedly, the first stage of the restoration works in the Mogiła church was dominated by Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz's vision. The radical idea of uncovering the walls is reminiscent of similar actions he took during the restoration of churches in Wiślica, Inowłódz[20] or in Tyniec, where the presbytery of the monastery church was "liberated from the baroque varnish".[21] Experience gained during the work on the Wawel Hill must have played an important role. It is evidenced by the shape of the altar designed for the church in Mogiła, which imitates the form of the Neo-Romanesque altar designed by Eugéne Viollet-le-Duc and mounted in St Leonard's crypt in 1876.[22] Its restoration was carried out by Szyszko-Bohusz in 1937–1938.[23] It would be the second, after Przegorzaly,[24] quotation from this particular space introduced into the architect's projects. This time, however, it was unaccomplished. The preserved plans reveal Szyszko-Bohusz's inclination to symmetry and reduction of decoration in favour of simple and dominant form, in harmony with his declared reluctance to reconstruct and a tendency to introduce new designed elements that referred to the stylistic costume of the whole.[25] This approach, shaped in a completely different and bygone era, as well as Szyszko-Bohusz's health, could not withstand the confrontation with the new realities of post-war Poland.

As a result of the changes among the local authorities, the meeting of 28 February 1946[26] was attended by the new Province Conservator, Józef Dutkiewicz,[27] an experienced official, conservator, museologist, and painter, whose interests and education determined the rejection of many of Szyszko-Bohusz's ideas and the shaping of the Mogiła church's presbytery in its present form. Two decisions in particular, taken at this gathering, turned out to be crucial for further course of works. Firstly, examination of the plasterwork was commissioned, which led in the following months to the discovery of late Gothic wall paintings on the eastern wall of the presbytery featuring Annunciation scene, St. Veronica surrounded by two bishops, and a short painted inscription.[28] These and many other findings which followed were attributed to Stanisław Samostrzelnik, one of the most prominent Cracow painters of the first third of the 16th century and a Cistercian from Mogiła

20 Wiśniewski, *Adolf …*, p. 49, 65.

21 APK, 29/651/0, p. 189.

22 http://www.fototeka.ihs.uj.edu.pl/navigart/node/121612 [accessed 10 January 2022].

23 I. Płuska, "Konserwacja romańskiej krypty św. Leonarda pod katedrą wawelską", *Budownictwo*, 2009, 9, pp. 261–268.

24 W. Szymański, "Vernacularism, Lesser Poland's Heimat, and Auxiliary Sciences in the Study of Architecture for the Third Reich", *Kunsttexte.de*, 3/2019.

25 Pilikowski, op. cit., p. 335.

26 ACM, Protocole of the meeting held in Mogiła, February 1946, no. 130.

27 M. Ostaszewska, "Józef Edward Dutkiewicz a sztuka konserwacji", in: *Sztuka konserwacji i restauracji. Cesare Brandi (1906), jego myśl i debata o dziedzictwie. Sztuka konserwacji-restauracji w Polsce (The Art of Conservation and Restoration. Cesare Brandi (1906-1988), his thought and the heritage debate. Art of conservation-restoration in Poland*, eds. I. Szmelter, M. Jadzińska, Warszawa, 2007, pp. 216–229.

28 J. Dutkiewicz, "Nowoodkryte dekoracje malarskie", *Ochrona Zabytków*, 1948, 1, no. 2, pp. 69–70.

at the same time.[29] Abbot Ciesielski, the author of a 1945 master thesis about Samostrzelnik, immediately recognised the importance of the discoveries and asked Dutkiewicz in a letter not only to preserve the uncovered paintings, but also to reconstruct missing parts as "a valuable testimony of native Cistercian culture".[30] In 1948, due to Dutkiewicz's personal involvement in the work, his wish came true.[31] The second decision made at the meeting in February 1946, dictated by the desire to "bring out the historic shape of the church by exploiting existing values", involved mounting "an authentic Gothic triptych with the image of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary" on the main altar.[32] Beyond any doubts, Dutkiewicz, as an expert in medieval woodcarving,[33] influenced such a decision, in contrast to the abbot's declared desire to "restore the austerity of the Cistercian sacral space".[34] The Cistercians manifested their scepticism about Dutkiewicz's initiative and their willingness to materialize Szyszko-Bohusz's project of the main altar several times during the protracted process of providing them with an appropriate retable.

The search for a winged altarpiece began in March 1946 with a reconnaissance of the Wawel Castle's depot and collection, but it did not yield any results.[35] The second place of inquiry for a suitable retable was the National Museum in Warsaw. These two institutions stored artworks retrieved mainly in 1945–1946 from numerous depots arranged during the war by the Germans in Lower Silesia and other parts of Recovered Territories. The objects in question included not only Polish collections looted during World War II (recovered by the Poles), but also objects from German museum and church collections located mostly within the former territory of the Third Reich (which were, in turn, "secured").[36] In February 1947, Dutkiewicz's request to transfer a Silesian late Gothic Marian retable, the so-called Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych, from the National Museum in Warsaw to Mogiła was rejected.[37] At the time, the work was mistakenly thought to have originated from Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand in Wrocław (not Breslau anymore), and, according to the rejection letter, there were plans to return it "to its rightful place"

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29 M. Starzyński, "Humanism, Painting and Patronage at Mogiła Abbey in the Renaissance. Abbot Erasmus Ciołek and Artist-Monk Stanislaus Samostrzelnik", *Citeaux. Commentarii Cistercienses*, 2014, 65, pp. 301–327.

30 ACM, Letter from Mogiła to the Department of Museums and Monuments Protection of the Cracow Province, 2 December 1946, no. 119.

31 Dutkiewicz, "Nowoodkryte…", pp. 69–70.

32 ACM, Protocole of the meeting held in Mogiła, 28 February 1946, no. 130.

33 J. Dutkiewicz, *Małopolska rzeźba średniowieczna 1300-1450*, Kraków, 1949.

34 ACM, Letter from Mogiła to the Department of Museums and Monuments Protection of the Cracow Province, 2 December 1946, no. 119.

35 APK, 29/651/0, p. 221. In a letter written from Wawel, on stationery bearing the heading "Krakau Burg" (crossed out by its author), sketches of two triptychs were sent, but they turned out too small.

36 J. Kudelski, "Rewindykacja dóbr kultury na Dolnym Śląsku", *Kwartalnik Historyczny,* 2016, 73, pp.78–79.

37 ACM, Letter of the Chief Director of Museums and Monuments Protection to Józef Dutkiewicz, 17 February 1947, no. 108.

after the church was rebuilt (actually raised from the rubble after the catastrophe of Festung Breslau). Instead, the Cistercians and Dutkiewicz were offered to choose one of the altarpieces "from the left [sic!] property kept in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw". This seemingly laconic response perfectly illuminates the complicated and ambiguous approach of the Polish authorities, art historians, and museum professionals to the still dissonant heritage taken over (or "secured") at the Recovered Territories. Firstly, despite referring to artworks from the former territories of the Third Reich, the term "post-German" never came up, even though it was the only legally correct designation of the status of the mentioned objects. Instead, the term "left" was used, which was probably supposed to implicitly inform the addressee that the objects in question originated, indeed, from the Recovered Territories, but at the same time stress that they were unowned and available to be claimed. Secondly, in 1947, the word "left" was not-applicable to the Virgin of the Rosary Polyptych anymore, as according to the letter, the artworks' future location was, at least theoretically, determined. Hence it was no longer "left" because it had an owner. In this regard, the subject became the still-ruined Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand in Wroclaw, located at the territory of Poland since May 1945. Consequently, in 1947, the retable could be considered "owned", "domesticated" or even "ours" by the Polish authorities. Finally, within the group of "post-German" objects taken over by Poland, the most "lost" or, more appropriately "abandoned", were the objects whose previous place of storage (such as pre-war Silesian museums and churches) no longer existed, and whose future destination had not yet been determined.

The altarpiece from Steinau, transferred to the Cistercian church in Mogiła on 12 May 1947, complied with the requirements formulated by Dutkiewicz and the Cistercians in terms of both size and iconography. It is a monumental late Gothic pentaptych (only the shrine measures 2,5 x 2 m), featuring an oversized statue of Mary in festive opening and carved Marian scenes in its wings. Moreover, the artwork met the criteria of being "left" / "abandoned" formulated above, because in 1871 it was transferred from Steinau to the collection of Museum schlesischer Altertümer (since 1899: Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer in Breslau, see Fig. 3), and in 1946 transported from the depot in Henryków (at the Recovered Territories) to Warsaw.[38] Neither did the Silesian museum exist, nor were there any plans of returning the retable to Ścinawa (since 1945 not Steinau anymore). In 1948, after conservation, it was mounted in its present place, even though the restoration of the Mogiła church lasted one more year.

The history of the post-war conservation and restoration of the convent church in Mogiła seems worth elucidating for two reasons. First, the church became the arena where the concepts and personalities of two conservators, representing two different conservation universes, clashed. On the one hand, there was Adolf Szyszko-Bohusz, an architect and restorer with a propensity for historicism and modernism,

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38 Marcinkowski, op. cit., pp. 10–13.

Fig. 3. Altarpiece from Steinau in the permanent exhibition of Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer in Breslau, before 1945 (photo: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk)

responsible for the deliberate creation of many monuments to the Polish state reborn after 1918. On the other hand, there was Józef Dutkiewicz, a painter, active artist, and museologist, convinced of the necessity of compensating the lost aesthetic values by new inventions, including works "of equal creative potential", who believed that the conservator plays the role of an artist-director. What they had in common was the lack of respect for the late Baroque art and all the 19th and early 20th century's changes. As a result of this clash, a new sacral space came into existence, only partially based on historical substance, with many modern interventions and the late Gothic Silesian polyptych historically unrelated to this place.

Secondly, this story evidenced the existence of fundamental differences in the approach to the "post-German" heritage and its post-war allocation among contemporary Polish art historians and museologists. As mentioned in the introduction to this paragraph, in 2014, Abbot Chojnacki of Mogiła sent requests to the National Museums in Warsaw and Wrocław, asking for transferring small sculptural parts from the shrine and crowing of the Silesian retable, as a long-term deposit. As a consequence of the post-war chaos, not only were they not included in the winged altar-

piece sent to Mogiła, but also unwittingly divided between the two museums.[39] The aim of the abbot's initiative, based on earlier findings by Wojciech Marcinkowski, was to merge all the preserved elements of the retable to restore its "splendour and glory".[40] Such an enquiry also proves that the altarpiece, whose mounting in Mogiła in 1948 may appear a result of an odd twist of fate, in a relatively short period of time "grew into" the interior of the Cistercian church, largely created by the post-war conservators, and became domesticated in the minds of its owners and users. Also, from the perspective of the National Museum in Warsaw, the work lost its "abandoned" status and was considered an integral part of the convent church's furnishings, as the museum decided out of its own initiative, to give its own parts of the retable over to Mogiła, which indeed happened in 2017.[41] A completely different response was expressed by the National Museum in Wrocław, which, for the sake of the integrity of the collection and the artworks state of preservation, refused the abbot's request and made the sculpted Crucifixion group available only to make copies, which now crown the retable's shrine in Mogiła.[42] This refusal may have also been influenced by the fact that this particular institution continues the tradition of the pre-war Silesian museums, which is reflected not only in the profile of the collection, especially art before 1900, but also in revindication and popularisation activities. From this perspective, the domestication of the altarpiece from Steinau at Mogila may appear a far less obvious and justified process. In the near future, the issue of the continued existence of the borders of the Recovered Territories in Polish museology and conservation will certainly merit research.

Warsaw

The already mentioned Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych embellishing the presbytery of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand in Wroclaw since 1964 (Fig. 4)[43], which Józef Dutkiewicz had sought for the church in Mogiła in 1946, did not remain unused until the completion of works at the church. Being a deposit of the National Museum in Warsaw, it was lent to the presbytery of the rebuilt St. John's Archcathedral in Warsaw from 1953 to 1964, temporarily filling the space whose shape and decoration had been long debated (Fig. 5). Introducing the late

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39 ACM, Letters from Piotr Chojnacki to Agnieszka Morawińska, director of the National Museum in Warsaw, and to Piotr Oszczanowski, director of the National Museum in Wrocław, 25 April 2014.

40 Ibid.

41 Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Dział Głównego Inwentaryzatora, no. III-520/16 [National Museum in Warsaw, Chief Inventory Department. Handover protocol prepared on 25 November 2016 in Warsaw and signed on 9 February 2017.

42 ACM, Correspondence between the National Museum in Wrocław and the Convent in Mogiła written in the years 2014 and 2015.

43 A. Ziomecka, "Śląskie retabula szafowe w drugiej połowie XV i na początku XVI wieku", *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, 1976, 10, pp. 137–138.

Fig. 4. Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych in the presbytery of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand in Wroclaw, 2001, photo: Romuald Kaczmarek

Gothic Silesian altarpiece to the interior of the church rebuilt in the spirit of the "Mazovian Gothic",[44] was in line with the practices from the first decade of the post-war reconstructions of sacral architecture in Poland, as this article seeks to demonstrate. In the second half of the 1950s, however, such a practice proved dissonant with the constantly-evolving vision of the interior of the Polish capital's archcathedral. The vision was dictated mainly by the charismatic Primate Stefan Wyszyński, the organizer of the 1957-1966 celebrations of the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland. He would recognize the primacy of Gothic forms over Baroque ones and was averse to all „pre-war" transformations of medieval artworks.[45] Nevertheless, in all probability, the sacral space in question was to expose not only

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44 Archiwum Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, Prymasowska Rada Odbudowy Kościołów [Archive of the Arche of Warsaw, Primate's Council for the Reconstruction of Churches; further in the text: AAW], PR. 2 49, Katedra św. Jana, Protokoły komisji ds. Katedry [St. John's Cathedral, Protocols of the Committee for the Cathedral], p. 3.

45 S. Skibiński, *"Super fundamenta historiae spirituale extruere aedificium* (św. Hieronim). Powojenna regotyzacja katedr w Gnieźnie i Poznaniu", in: *Oblicza mediewalizmu*, eds. A. Dąbrówka, M. Michalski, Poznań, 2013, p. 154.

Fig. 5. Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych in the presbytery of the St. John's Archcathedral in Warsaw, ca. 1955, photo: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe

the "primeval" Mazovian traditions of Warsaw, but Polish Catholicism in general. Thus, two possibilities seem thought-provoking. Firstly, was the decision to mount the Virgin of the Rosary Polyptych in the presbytery of the Warsaw Archcathedral determined by the same factors that had led to the refusal of its transfer to Mogiła, i.e. that it was no longer "unowned" and thus the risk of taking it over seemed minimal? Or perhaps it was its unspectacular size and "extraneousness" that influenced the fact that from the late 1950s its structure was no longer taken into account in subsequent projects of the presbytery's furnishing? Tracing the circumstances and decisions connected with the mounting and functioning of this work in the interior of Warsaw Archcathedral reveals a very clear paradigm shift in the visions of reconstruction and in the approach towards the domesticated post-German heritage, which took place in the second half of the 1950s.

A misunderstanding or manipulation came up in a letter of refusal concerning the transfer of the Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych to Mogiła. The documented history of the retable does not begin until 1859, when it was found in the storerooms located in the former Canons Regular monastery on the Sand Island in Breslau, adapted for

library purposes at the time.[46] For this reason, the origin of this artwork was referred to as "from the Library" for many years. After conservation in 1862, it was included in the collection of the Schlesisches Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer in Breslau. The collection was secured by the Germans at the end of the World War II, and its part was moved by the Polish art historians and authorities to the National Museum in Warsaw after 1945.[47] Thus, the retable's history until 1947 was identical to the history of the already discussed altarpiece from Ścinawa. There are several hypothetical reasons why the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Sand was considered the place of origin of the retable. If Polish art historians had been at least vaguely familiar with the literature on this artwork, they might have suggested its "library" origin, associating it with the monastery church. It is also possible that they were following the findings of Paul Knötel, who in 1933 mistakenly identified the Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych with the retable of the main altar set up in 1487 in the presbytery of the Sand Church.[48] His hypothesis, however, failed to gain recognition among researchers.[49] According to the most recent studies, the Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych was executed ca. 1500 in a Breslau workshop associated with Jakob Beinhart and an anonymous painter from the circle of the so-called Master of the Helentreuter Triptych.[50] Its place of origin and storage until the 19th century remains unknown. Nevertheless, one cannot exclude that the refusal to return the work to Mogiła in 1946 was motivated by other, today unknown circumstances, and the reference to the intention to return the work "to its original place" was an excuse to conceal other plans. In 1947, however, this plan certainly did not include mounting it in the presbytery of one of the most important rebuilt cathedral churches in post-war Poland.

"What we consider today as historical Warsaw is actually a post-war creation based on academic premises, competent suppositions and arbitrary decisions".[51] This opinion, referring to the Warsaw Old Town as a whole, can undoubtedly be applied also to the process of rebuilding the Warsaw Archcathedral, almost completely destroyed after the fall of the Warsaw Uprising in 1944.[52] This "youngest cathedral in Europe", called "a damp Gothic flower under the cloudy skies of our

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46 A. Schultz, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Breslauer Maler-Innung in den Jahren 1345 bis 1523*, Breslau, 1866, p. 138.

47 Ziomecka, "Śląskie retabula…", p. 137.

48 P. Knötel, "Der Hochaltar der Sandkirche von 1487 in Schlesischen Museum für Kunstgewerbe und Altertümer", *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, N.F. 1933, 10, pp. 61–66.

49 The remnants of the Gothic retable which once embellished the main altar of the Sand Church in Wrocław are now considered to be a completely different group of objects, see: *Migrations. Late Gothic Art in Silesia*, ed. A. Patała, Wrocław, 2019, pp. 156–161.

50 A. Ziomecka, *Pracownie śląskie w końcu XV wieku. Wrocławski Mistrz Świętej Rodziny*, Wrocław, 1993, pp. 7–16; R. Kaczmarek, "Jacob Beinhart: The career of an immigrant", in: *Migrations. Late Gothic Art in Silesia*, ed. A. Patała, Wrocław, 2019, p. 75.

51 G. Piątek, *Najlepsze miasto świata. Warszawa w odbudowie 1944–1949*, Warszawa, 2020, p. 208.

52 T. Zagrodzki, *Gotycka architektura katedry św. Jana w Warszawie*, Warszawa, 2000, p. 7; for more comprehensive list of literature in this field see: Torbus, op. cit., p. 9; M. Popiołek-Roßkamp, "Warschau – Ein Wiederaufbau, der vor dem Krieg begann", Paderborn, 2021, pp. 264–269.

homeland" by a Polish poet,[53] was given its shape as a result of a very incomplete knowledge of its original Gothic form, the still persisting animosity to historicism and 19th century modifications, as well as the aspirations and aesthetic preferences of Jan Zachwatowicz, the Polish General Conservator between 1945-1957, one of the most meritorious architects for the reconstruction of post-war Poland. The temple's origins as a parish church date back to the 14th century.[54] Due to a Baroque reconstruction caused by the collapse of the western tower in 1602, its original Gothic shape is not fully known. It gained the status of a cathedral in 1798 and became an archcathedral in 1817. Another significant stage in its history came in 1837–1842, when, apart from lowering its roof, a controversial design of the neo-gothic interior and façade was implemented based on a project by Adam Idźkowski.[55] From the very beginning, these changes provoked criticism, which intensified in 1930s, accompanied by modernisation plans and work undertaken in Warsaw shortly before World War II.[56] The modernisation included certain measures taken in order to emphasise the "primeval", i.e. medieval origins of the Polish capital, such as the uncovering and reconstruction of the medieval city walls by Jan Zachwatowicz in 1938. According to the official narrative, those changes were supposed to provide references to the tradition of the so-called "Mazovian Gothic", a theoretical construct, which was revived after 1945. It was meant to embody the specificity and complexity of Polish culture, and in a broader perspective, its belonging to the Western Christianity.[57] Not surprisingly, in 1935, the English Neo-Gothic façade of the Warsaw Archcathedral was described as "false Gothic"[58] and in 1947 this opinion was maintained by using the term "pseudo-Gothic".[59] Therefore, the statement that the ideological reconstruction of the Warsaw cathedral began before the war seems quite correct.[60]

As early as 1943, i.e. after the destruction of the vaults during the bombardments of 1939 and before the catastrophe of the Warsaw Uprising, Jan Zachwatowicz presented the provost of the Warsaw Archcathedral with a plan to remove its neo-Gothic costume and restore its "old Mazovian" features, which theoretically referred to the local Gothic forms.[61] He sustained his disposition to work on rebuilding the ruined cathedral in 1945, and carried on with the preparatory and project works in 1946–1947. The reconstruction, inaugurated by Primate Augustine Hlond,

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53 T. Różewicz, *Równina*, after: M. Czermińska, *Gotyk i pisarze. Topika opisu katedry*, Gdańsk, 2005, p. 235.

54 Zagrodzki, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

55 A. Idźkowski, "Kościół Archykatedralny Śgo Jana w Warszawie", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1843, pp. 1–18.

56 J. Trybuś, *Warszawa niezaistniała*, Warszawa, 2012.

57 Ibid., pp. 18, 205, 253–254.

58 Popiołek-Roßkamp, op. cit., p. 265.

59 W. Podlewski, "Projekt odbudowy Starego Miasta", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, 1947, p. 39.

60 Popiołek-Roßkamp, op. cit., p. 265.

61 Ibid., pp. 265–266.

began in the spring of 1947 and was substantially completed in 1952.[62] Following the idée fixe of returning to the "most representative", that is 15th century's form of this church,[63] Zachwatowicz gave the archcathedral a gothic form with a high roof. He also planned to create an interior typical for the late Gothic churches.[64] The façade proved to be the most problematic element. In the absence of any sources that would allow for the reconstruction of its medieval form, Zachwatowicz searched for inspirations beyond the borders of Mazovia. According to some scholars, he modelled it on the façade of St. Dorothy's Church in Wroclaw.[65] Providing the archcathedral with Gothic forms can be associated with the tendency, existing already before 1939, to emphasize the long and far-reaching medieval history of Poland by means of architecture. However, interpreting Silesian inspirations as a manifestation of the propaganda search for artistic similarities and common past linking the capital of Poland with the Recovered Territories[66] seems a far-fetched conclusion. All the more so if official press releases continued to claim that the archcathedral represented "Mazovian Gothic".[67]

While decisions concerning the exterior of the rebuilt Warsaw's Old Town edifices were made relatively quickly, the shape and furnishings of their interior, including the archcathedral, was not a priority for the decision-makers.[68] Although the consecration of the Warsaw Archcatedral's presbytery took place on 24 June 1950, it was not until July 1954 that an application was sent, requesting allocation of the Gothic Annunciation with the Unicorn Polyptych to the Warsaw Archcathedral. The artwork was originally from St Elizabeth's church in Breslau (Fig. 6) and since 1946 had been kept at the National Museum in Warsaw.[69] The request was motivated by the need to set up the main altar stylistically uniform with the rebuilt cathedral. The designated work of art was well-preserved, fairly complete (with a predella and a crowning), undoubtedly monumental (the whole work is almost 8 m high) and of high artistic value. In its most general shape, it corresponded to the retable outlined in Zachwatowicz's projects from the years 1946–1951 (Fig. 7)[70] and, what is equally important, originated from the Recovered Territories, which implicitly meant that it was "left". Its availability resulting from being "left" or "abandoned", however, turned out to be controversial, since the handwritten notes

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62 M. I. Kwiatkowska, *Katedra św. Jana*, Warszawa, 1978, p. 222; I. Putkowska, "Jana Zachwatowicza projekt odbudowy katedry św. Jana w Warszawie", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 1994, 38, p. 302.

63 Putkowska, op. cit., p. 302.

64 Ibid., p. 305.

65 Popiołek-Roßkamp, op. cit., pp. 266–267.

66 Ibid., p. 269.

67 *Stolica. Tygodniowa Kronika Odbudowy Warszawy*, 1954 (11.07.1954), 28/342, p. 12.

68 Podlewski, op. cit., p. 39.

69 Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie, zespół: Urząd do Spraw Wyznań w Warszawie [Archive of New Files in Warsaw, unit: Office for Religious Affairs in Warsaw, further in the text: ANF], no. 2/1587/0/7.5/44/1328.

70 Putkowska, op. cit., p. 305.

Fig. 6. Annunciation with the Unicorn Polyptych in the St Elizabeth's church in Breslau before 1945, photo: National Archive in Wrocław
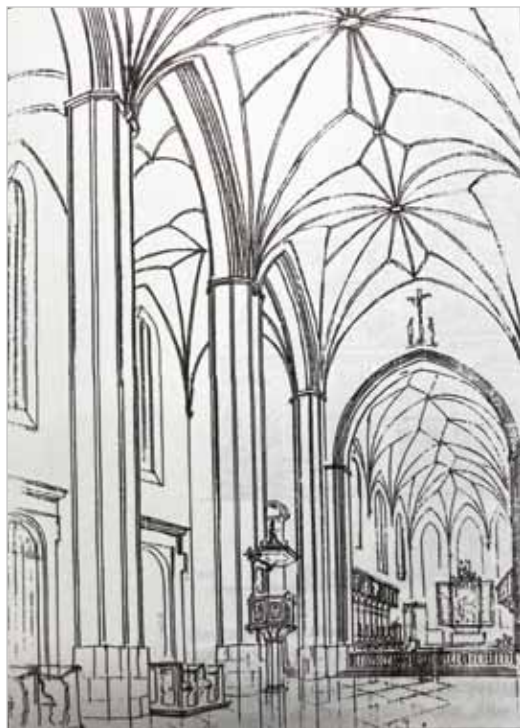
Fig. 7. Jan Zachwatowicz, project of the reconstruction of the St. John's Archcatedral in Warsaw, perspective drawing of the interior, 1946-1951, Warsaw Technical University, Department of Polish Architecture

on the above-mentioned application included a remark that the issue should be consulted with the Vicar of the Chapter of the Archdiocese of Wrocław, Kazimierz Lagosz. Does it mean that in 1954, the fate of the Silesian polyptych in question was not yet determined and someone considered its return to Wrocław? Such a hypothesis is contradicted by an event which took place a year earlier. On 17 March 1953, the National Museum in Warsaw received a letter of request, asking for "a triptych [sic!] Madonna with Unicorn for the presbytery of the Gniezno Archcathedral".[71] On 16 April of the same year, Stanisław Lorentz, a long-serving Director of the National Museum in Warsaw, refused to hand the work over, arguing that the retable, of great artistic value, is an exhibit of the National Gallery of Polish Art, and its removal would "impoverish the exhibition of late medieval art to a great extent".[72]

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71 Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Archiwum [Archive of the National Museum in Warsaw], no. VIII-1159/53.

72 Ibid.

According to Lorentz's opinion, already in 1953 the status of this polyptych was clear: it was neither "left" nor "post-German", but constituted an important element of the Polish art collection. In all probability, at that time, anyone was aware that in 1935–1937 the Annunciation with the Unicorn Polyptych underwent a very professional technically but at the same time strongly ideologically motivated conservation carried out under a close supervision of Günther Grundmann, the Conservator of the Lower Silesian Province between 1932 and 1945.[73] He planned to create an ideal, implicitly "Germanic", Gothic sacral space in St. Elizabeth Church in Breslau, in which the Annunciation with the Unicorn Polyptych at the main altar was to play an important role. Taking into consideration the obvious fact that attributing national characteristics to any work of Gothic art is a manipulation without any scholarly or logical basis, the polyptych in question, representing universal features of a Gothic artwork, matched both the Germanic vision of the sacral interior and the spaces determined by the Polish national discourse. Its artistic neutrality facilitated rewriting its history by every new owner. Shortly after 1945, its new meaning was written from the perspective of the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, where the polyptych remains to this day. Unfortunately, the justification for the refusal to transfer it to the Warsaw Archcathedral could not be established for the purpose of this article.

In January 1955, the local press reported that a Silesian Gothic retable, i.e. the Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych, previously deposited at the National Museum in Warsaw, was placed in the presbytery of the Warsaw Archcathedral.[74] The installation of the work had taken place in November or December 1954.[75] According to the author of the press release, this work stylistically corresponded with the form of the archcathedral, and the choice of such a work can be justified by the fact that until 1611 it used to house a Gothic triptych presumably executed in Silesia. Neither the journalist nor the decision-makers realised at the time that in Cegłów, some 70 km from Warsaw, survived the sculptures and the wings of a triptych considered to have been created in Cracow or Warsaw.[76] It was not until 1964 that the connection between the altarpiece from Cegłów and the archcathedral in Warsaw was finally confirmed,[77] but this discovery did not result in any actions leading to the restoration and re-establishing of the only preserved wooden Gothic artwork

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73 A. Patała, "Stary śląski mistrz w nowym blasku" – manipulacje i konteksty konserwacji Poliptyku Zwiastowania z Jednorożcem w latach trzydziestych XX wieku", in: *Ingenium et labor. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Ziembie z okazji 60. urodziny*, eds. P. Borusowski, J. Sikorska, Warszawa, 2020, pp. 329–336.

74 T. Komorowski, "Katedra warszawska na ukończeniu", *Stolica. Tygodniowa Kronika Odbudowy Warszawy*, 1955 (30.01.1955), 5/371, p. 4.

75 AAW, 1/0/1/28, no. 9 (as can be concluded from the inventory drawing documentation made by M. Marzyńska).

76 A. S. Labuda, "Malarstwo tablicowe w Wielkopolsce, na Kujawach i Mazowszu", in: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, eds. A. S. Labuda, K. Secomska, Warszawa, 2003, p. 331.

77 Z. Rewski, "Warszawska proweniencja tryptyku cegłowskiego", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1964, 26, p. 20–25.

historically connected with the Warsaw cathedral. It was too late for that. In all probability, the decision to place the Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych in the presbytery of the Warsaw Archcathedral was intentional and related to the fact that the vision of its furnishing had not yet been crystallised. According to the abovementioned article from January 1955, the presbytery of the archcathedral "had not yet received its final form", as installation of new stained glass windows and reconstruction of wooden balconies was still to be carried out. Moreover, in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Warsaw the projects of alternative visions of the archcathedral's presbytery furnishing can be found, including: a ciborium designed in Gothic forms (1957, see Fig. 8)[78], a sandstone and marble altar with a silver altarpiece above (project by Jan Zachwatowicz, 1959, see Fig. 9),[79] and a winged altarpiece.[80] The divergence of visions was very large, and references to medieval traditions competed with modern forms. Eventually, the latter prevailed.
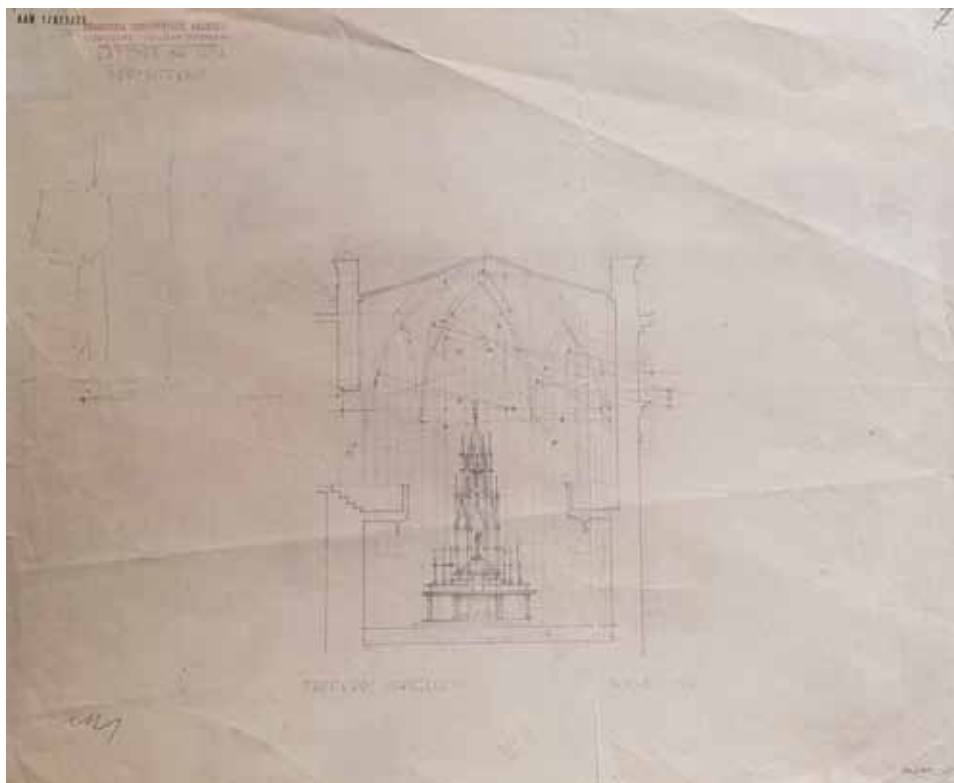

Fig. 8. Jan Zachwatowicz, project of the main altarpiece of the St. John's Archcatedral in Warsaw, 1957, AAW, 1/0/1/25, no. 7

78 AAW, 1/0/1/25, no. 7.
79 AAW, 1/0/1/28, no. 6.
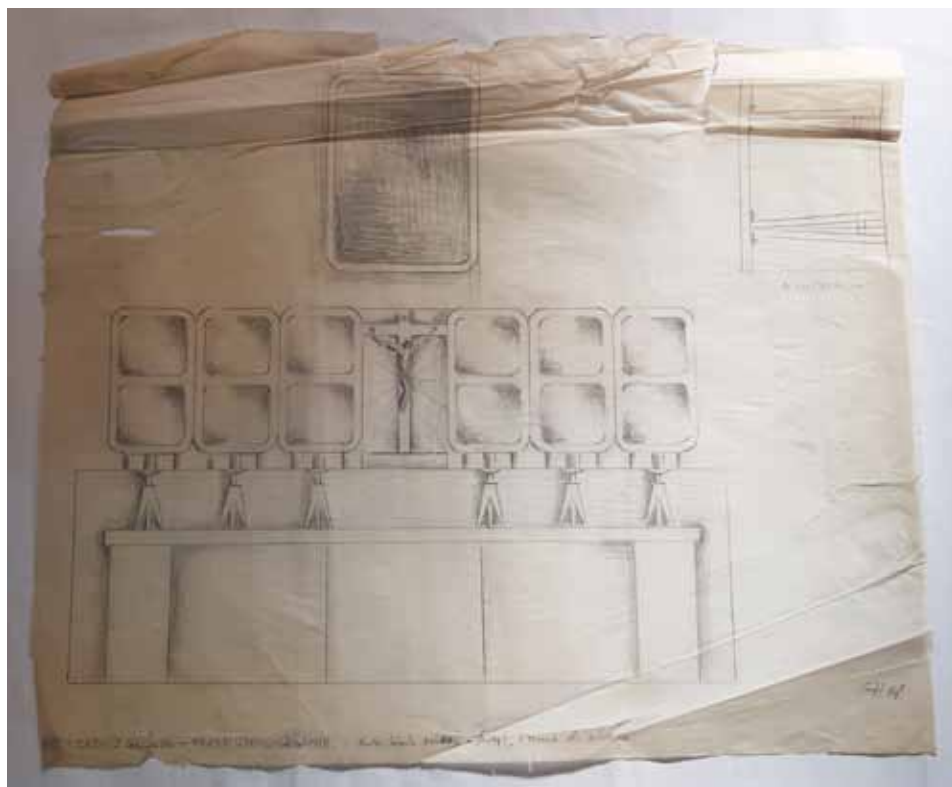80 AAW, 1/0/1/28, no. 7.

Fig. 9. Jan Zachwatowicz, project of the main altarpiece of the St. John's Archcatedral in Warsaw, 1959, AAW, 1/0/1/28, no. 6

The Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych stayed in the Warsaw Archcatedral presbytery only a few years – it was removed from the main altar in 1959 at the latest, but remained in the church until 1964, waiting for the completion of the works in Wrocław.[81] Undoubtedly, it seemed no longer suitable to the liturgical space entrusted to the special protection of Our Lady of Częstochowa (pol. *Matka Boska Częstochowska*) by Stefan Wyszyński. "The most exact copy" of the Częstochowa icon embellished the so-called Primate's Chapel during the consecration of the church in 1960, and consequently was placed in the main altar in 1966, complementing the silver antependium and the altarpiece by Adam Jabłoński.[82] Moreover, the terms and conditions of the 1960 contest for the projects of stained glass windows for the archcatedral's presbytery also indicated strengthening the new and beyond-regional narrative dominating the archcatedral's interior. The artists were asked to refer thematically to the history of the cathedral, Warsaw, Poland and the

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81 Ziomecka, "Śląskie retabula…", p. 137.
82 Kwiatkowska, op. cit., p. 230.

upcoming jubilee of the 1000th anniversary of the Baptism of Poland.[83] The Virgin of the Rosary Pentaptych clearly did not fit such a framework.

In the first decade of the Polish capital's reconstruction, the Recovered Territories, especially Lower Silesia, were considered as a reservoir of "left"/"abandoned" sacral furnishings, acquired for the needs of the rebuilt churches. One of the examples is the Field Cathedral of the Polish Army whose pipe organ, chandelier and altar were transferred from a Protestant church in Kamienna Góra in 1952.[84] In 1954, the Polish Catholic Church in Warsaw also received a permission to take over an altarpiece from a church nearby Wroclaw.[85] The efforts made by the Warsaw Archathedral in 1954 to retrieve the Gothic altarpiece from the large body of "left" property were well within this operation model. Nevertheless, at the moment of mounting the Polyptych of the Rosary in the presbytery of the archcathedral, it was probably already obvious that the formula of emphasising the long traditions of Polish statehood and its belonging to the Western Christianity by means of Gothic forms had run its course. It remains unknown, however, whether this phenomenon was noticed by Jan Zachwatowicz himself or the impulse came from the church hierarchy in need of a new and modern artistic language. Nevertheless, it was also a time when the movable property from the Recovered Territories had become domesticated enough to prevent it from being moved freely.

Poznań

The still-extant main altar retable of the Archcathedral Basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul in Poznań,[86] which undoubtedly harmoniously fills the space of its presbytery (Fig. 10), was acquired for this place only in 1952 "by permission of the state and church authorities, from the parish church of St. Catherine in Góra (Silesia) where it had recently stood without liturgical use in the side aisle on a separate foundation, without an altar support".[87] From today's perspective, the acquisition of this magnificent Gothic retable (the shrine measures 4 x 3.4 m) seems a natural consequence of the controversial decision taken in 1946 and carried out by 1957 to rebuild the Poznań Archcathedral in Gothic forms, whose effects are nowadays regarded as "unfortunate".[88] Moreover, the bespoken artwork originated from the Recovered Territories, but its "abandoned" / "post-German" status might have been disregarded

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83 AAW, PR. 2 50, pp. 2–3.

84 ANF, no. 2/1587/0/7.3/18/1057.

85 ANF, no. 2/1587/0/8.5/19/288.

86 Ziomecka, "Śląskie retabula…", pp. 80–81; A. Ziomecka, "Góra Śląska", in: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce*, vol. II: *Katalog zabytków*, eds. A.S. Labuda, K. Secomska, Warszawa, 2004, pp. 176–177; Marcinkowski, op. cit., chart no 1; *Migrations. Late Gothic…*, pp. 242–243.

87 J. Nowacki, *Dzieje archidiecezji poznańskiej*, Vol. 1: *Kościół katedralny w Poznaniu. Studium historyczne*, Poznań, 1959, p. 225.

88 S. Skibiński, "Królewski charakter katedry poznańskiej", *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2003, 1 (*W kręgu katedry. 80 lat kroniki miasta Poznania*), p. 136.

Fig. 10. Presbytery of the Archcathedral Basilica of St. Peter and St. Paul in Poznań, 2020, photo: Jarosław Jarzewicz

due to the fact that from the beginning of its existence it was owned by the parish of St. Catherine in Góra (before 1945: Guhrau) in Lower Silesia, since 1945 located in the territory belonging to Poland. Formally, the handed-over or sold retable was already "domesticated" by the new Polish parishioners. However, it remained unused in the church whose Gothic interior had been filled with Late Baroque furnishing since the end of the 18th century. Rationalising, one might assume that the artwork's potential, wasted in Góra, was given a chance to be fully exploited in Poznań Archcathedral where it was placed in one of the most prestigious sacral spaces of post-war Poland, regarded as the earliest Polish royal necropolis.[89] There, it received an exposition and viewers appropriate for its size and artistic value. However, it is worth mentioning that the above-mentioned potential was regained only in 1943, after a professional, yet not free from National Socialist propaganda, conservation conducted in Breslau under the supervision of Günther Grundmann. However, it is impossible to resist the impression, which will be justified later in the text, that the pre-war history of the retable and its never-articulated "post-German" status ceased to matter or became neutralised precisely because of the space where it was placed after the war. At the same time, one cannot forget that "works of art do not speak any language, or only a universal visual one",[90] hence the aforementioned conservation of 1938-1943 rather restored it to its universal form. Hence, it did not require much effort to include it in the Polish national discourse after 1945 and to place it in the presbytery of one of the ideologically most important Polish post-war sacral spaces.

According to the scholars, the polyptych in question is "one of the few larger Silesian polyptychs preserved in its essential parts to such an extent, that its present reconstruction corresponds with the original disposition and proportions".[91] This work received its late Gothic form twice. The first occurred at the time of its creation, around 1512, when the woodcarvers and painters active in one of the Breslau workshops formed its original shape and dimensions congruent with its destination – the equally magnificent parish church of St. Catherine of Alexandria in Guhrau.[92] The polyptych certainly embellished the presbytery of this church in 1687[93] and remained there until the great fire in 1759. At that time, the work was disintegrated and its parts decorated the Baroque main altar and the walls of the Corpus Christi cemetery church in Guhrau. For the second time, the Late Gothic form of the retable was determined in 1938–1943, already in the spirit of "creative monument conservation" (Schöpferische Denkmalpflege),[94] by German officials

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89 Ibid.
90 Labuda, *Z dziejów*, p. 74.
91 Ziomecka, "Śląskie retabula…", p. 81.
92 On the church in Góra: J. Adamski, *Hale z poligonalnym chórem zintegrowanym w architekturze gotyckiej na terenie Polski*, Kraków, 2010, pp. 21–46.
93 J. Jungnitz, *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau*, Bd. 3, Breslau, 1907, p. 458.
94 S. Fleischner, *"Schöpferische Denkmalpflege". Kulturideologie des Nationalsozialismus und Positionen der Denkmalpflege*, (Diss. Bamberg 1997), Münster, 1999; G. Grajewski, *Między sztuką, nauką a polityką. Ochrona zabytków na Dolnym Śląsku w czasach III Rzeszy*, Wrocław, 2014 (unpublished PhD), p. 4.

together with conservators and artists acting under their auspices.[95] Although his undertakings cannot be denied professionalism and concern for the fate of artworks, Günther Grundmann was well aware of the effectiveness and visual attractiveness of manipulated historical monuments for propaganda purposes.[96] In fact, he had a special share in this enterprise. It was also Grundmann who accidentally came across fragments of the polyptych in question in 1935. He recognised them as requiring immediate conservation and consolidation to their former shape,[97] and then with great commitment strove to obtain funds for the works conducted in 1938–1943 in the conservation workshop (germ. *Provinzial-Restaurierungswerkstätte*) operating at the *Schlesisches Museum für bildende Künste* in Breslau. Grundmann was committed to restoring the work's Gothic coherence, which led to the removal of modifications considered later than medieval and introduction of new elements reconstructed after other Gothic works (angels holding Mary's crown or a painted scene with St. Jerome).[98] In his justification of the need for this conservation, he wrote that the retable from Guhrau is "a manifestation of the influence of German art in Poland".[99] The peak of the ideological entanglement of the artwork in the Third Reich's propaganda in Silesia seems to be its participation in the exhibition *10 Jahre Denkmalpflege in Niederschlesien* organised in Breslau in the spring of 1943.[100] According to the press releases and lectures accompanying this event, the altarpiece from Gurhau belonged to the group of artworks representing typical "Germanic artistic forms".[101] Finally, in October 1943, the retable was installed in the side nave of St. Catherine of Alexandria Church in Guhrau,[102] from which nine years later it was taken to Poznań.

Next to Gniezno, Cracow and Wrocław, the Archcathedral in Poznań[103] belongs to the group of the oldest and most important Polish Gothic cathedrals. Stylistically,

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 95 Comprehensive documentation of the works carried out (excluding the iconographic material now belonging to the collections of the Herder Institute in Marburg and, to a lesser extent, to the Art Institute of the Polish Academy of Sciences) in the collection of Archiwum Państwowe Wrocław, zespół: Konserwator Zabytków Prowincji Dolnośląskiej we Wrocławiu (National Archive Wrocław, unit: Conservator of Monuments of the Lower Silesian Province in Breslau; further in the text: APWr), sign. 82/487/0/257.

 96 Grajewski, *Między sztuką…*

 97 APWr., sign. 82/487/0/257, p. 22 (61) – report from 13 May 1935.

 98 APWr., sign. 82/487/0/257, p. 147 (203).

 99 APWr., sign. 82/487/0/257, pp. 113 (160) – 114 (161), 7 June 1938.

100 G. Schmitz, "10 Jahre Denkmalpflege in Niederschlesien", *Schlesische Zeitung*, 1943 (11 April).

101 APWr., sign. 82/487/0/257, pp. 135 (190), 136 (191).

102 APWr., sign. 82/487/0/257, p. 154 (208).

103 Nowacki, op. cit.; K. Kalita, "Odbudowa i regotyzacja katedry poznańskiej w latach 1945–1956", in: *W służbie kościoła poznańskiego. Księga pamiątkowa na 70-lecie urodzin Arcybiskupa Metropolity Dr Antoniego Baraniaka*, Poznań, 1974, pp. 139–153; E. Linette, "O gotyckiej architekturze katedry poznańskiej", in: *Podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego. Studia z historii architektury, sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, Warszawa, 1988, pp. 92–104; S. Skibiński, *Katedra poznańska*, Poznań 2001; idem, "Królewski charakter…", op. cit.; idem, "*Super* fundamenta…", op. cit.; J. Jarzewicz, "Nowa katedra po 1945 roku. Odbudowa i rego-

these are multi-phase edifices whose Gothic features were brought out or restored in course of various conservation procedures carried out in the 19th and 20th centuries.[104] Until the battles for the liberation of Poznań that took place in February 1945, the cathedral remained in its baroque and classical forms. On 15 February 1945, "the entire cathedral, all its towers and roof went up in bright flames. The temple burned all night long. Its roofs and towers with bells, organs, pews, stalls, pulpit were destroyed".[105] Although the façade, high altar, and chapels with furnishings survived the fire, on 23 January 1946, it was decided to "strive to restore the cathedral to its medieval Gothic shape".[106] This decision was formulated, among others, by Jan Zachwatowicz, with the approval of the clergy associated with the archcathedral and art historians. It was controversial, for it assumed the destruction of a large part of the historical substance, yet remained not criticised. The choice was prompted by the discovery of Gothic relics beneath the Baroque layers of walls and plaster, including the triforium arcade in the presbytery, which remains unique among Polish Gothic architecture.[107] The construction and conservation work was preceded by an architectural study completed almost in its entirety in 1947, the results of which were supposed to support the already taken decisions.[108] Archaeological research, on the other hand, lasted much longer, until 1955, and resulted in many important discoveries, including the relics of the earliest Romanesque phases and hypothetical graves of two Piast rulers – Mieszko and Bolesław Chrobry. Nevertheless, in addition to the "tangible" evidence of Gothic relics, the decision to restore (or recreate) the Archcathedral's gothic forms was determined by several other factors. Firstly, there was a negative approach towards the baroque and classicist transformations of the Poznań Archcathedral, considered to be "ugly additions".[109] It was coherent with the decisions about the re-gothisation of Gniezno Archcathedral and carried out in parallel and under the dictation of Jan Zachwatowicz. Secondly, this approach was accompanied by the belief in the aesthetic, symbolic and ethical superiority of medieval architecture, which symbolised the thousand-year history of the first bishopric and state in Poland.[110] Moreover, the romantic view, with Primate Wyszyński among its proponents, remained in force, proclaiming that the Gothic cathedral is the most perfect architectural symbol of Christian culture, and „Gothic Poland" is „Christian Poland", implicitly also pre-Reformation Poland.[111] Finally, the

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tyzacja", in: *Katedra poznańska. Studia o sztuce*, eds. J. Kowalski, W. Miedziak, Poznań, 2022, pp. 353–381.

104 S. Skibiński, *Polskie katedry gotyckie*, Poznań, 1996; J. Jarzewicz, "Polskie katedry – świadkowie tysiącletnich dziejów chrześcijaństwa", in: *Wokół Wielkiego Jubileuszu 1050-lecia Chrztu Polski*, ed. R. Słowiński, Poznań, 2017, pp. 63–76.

105 Nowacki, op. cit., p. 168.

106 Ibid., p. 182.

107 Ibid.

108 Kalita, op. cit., p. 146.

109 Skibiński, *"Super* fundamenta…"*, p. 154.

110 Jarzewicz, "Nowa katedra…", op. cit..

111 Skibiński, *"Super* fundamenta…"*, p. 157.

purpose of the re-gothisation of the archcathedrals in Poznań and Gniezno was to raise their prestige, lost in the times of the partitions, as the oldest Polish cathedrals and thus to refer to the times of their greatest splendour.

Despite such a strong preference for Gothic forms and the desire to achieve the greatest possible formal and stylistic uniformity, many architectural inconsistencies and errors occurred in the reconstruction of the Poznań Archcathedral. These include: incorrect proportions of the western façade, chronological inconsistency of the vaults types, and incorrect form of the triforium in the presbytery. According to J. Jarzewicz, the Poznań Archcathedral is a "modern creation referring to its past medieval shape",[112] executed against the most essential conservation principles and at the cost of destroying significant authentic parts. Moreover, inconsistencies were not avoided in the process of furnishing the cathedral's presbytery either.

The process of purchasing and mounting the monumental altarpiece from Góra in the Poznań Archcathedral was neither complicated nor dramatic. According to J. Nowacki, the work was purchased in Góra and underwent conservation before its installation because of the damages caused by transportation. At the time of transaction or a little later, was anyone aware of the circumstances under which the polyptych regained its brilliance? Most likely not, since Nowacki reported that "before World War II, it was renovated in Breslau".[113] What is more, when selecting the altarpiece, the absence of any connections linking the iconographic programme of the retable and the patron saints of the cathedral, i.e. St. Peter and St. Paul, was ignored – the altarpiece in its festive opening features carved figures of 15 female saints: Mary with Child, St. Catherine and St. Barbara in the shrine and the remaining 12 in the wings. The other two painted openings feature passion scenes and depictions of St. John the Evangelist, St. John the Baptist, St. Christopher and St. Jerome. It cannot be excluded that other practical considerations prevailed – the large size of the polyptych, its good and complete state of preservation and the relatively high artistic class of the work. Did the same determine the process of purchasing it for the Poznań Archcathedral, which had only recently been "restored" to its Gothic forms and furnished with a stylistically relevant late-Gothic Silesian retable, a Baroque pulpit and baptismal font from the so-called Grace Church in Milicz in Lower Silesia[114] – a church erected for Protestants and used by their community until 1945? When pondering over the reasons for the described inconsistency, we can only assume that the furnishings were treated as a secondary, supplementary or even ideologically unimportant element in the process of the ideologically-motivated reconstruction of the archcathedral. Consequently, the post-war fate of the polyptych from Góra only gains significance, when examined from a broader, nationwide perspective. Then, it becomes clear that we are dealing with the manifestation of a more widespread tendency.

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112 Jarzewicz, "Nowa katedra…", op. cit.
113 Nowacki, op. cit. p. 225.
114 R. Gliński, A. Patała, *Dziedzictwo kulturowe gminy Milicz*, Wrocław, 2019, p. 98.

Conclusion

The presented post-war fates of the selected Late Gothic altarpieces from Lower Silesia, "domesticated", with varying success, in the interiors of the rebuilt and restored churches in Mogiła, Warsaw and Poznań, prove to be rather special cases. This uniqueness was determined by the high artistic value of the analysed retables, their good and complete state of preservation, and their complicated history. No less important was the fact that they were mounted in the churches considered to be among the most important examples of medieval sacral architecture in Poland. Nevertheless, not only these Silesian Gothic retables became incorporated into the sacral space of non-Silesian churches and museums after 1945. In addition to a retable from Ścinawa, a triptych from Szczodrowo was brought to Mogiła few years later.[115] In turn, an altarpiece from Tymowa (together with the furnishing of the entire church) was sold to the parish of Zalipie (Lesser Poland) and eventually mounted in the church in Żelichow.[116] The same happened in Poznań, where apart from the archcathedral, the presbytery of the St Martin's Church was and still is embellished with a Silesian Late Gothic altarpiece from Świerzawa (before 1945: Schönau).[117] Moreover, in 1956, the collection of the Museum of the Catholic University of Lublin was enriched by an official donation from the Metropolitan Curia of Wrocław, namely medieval and modern artworks from the collection of the Archdiocesan Museum established in Wrocław in 1898 and still functioning.[118] Taking into account the above-mentioned circumstances, this article has not provided a comprehensive study on appropriation of "post-German" works of medieval art in the churches and museums of post-war Poland, but nevertheless, it has drawn attention at least to some broader phenomena.

Undoubtedly, in the process of rebuilding and restoring church interiors in post-war Poland, artworks from the Recovered Territories were eagerly used, and new Polish autorities treated these territories as a reservoir of "unowned" objects that could be bargain-bought or legally taken over. The main criterion for selection in this process was the availability of the works and their "unowned" status, meaning that the current place of storage of such artworks (such as pre-war Silesian museums or churches, the reconstruction of which was not planned) no longer existed, and their future destination had not yet been determined. What is more, such objects had the potential to attract a new owner, and the only relationship that defined the artworks in question after the war was their relationship to their new owners and the interiors in which they were located.

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115 J. Odrobina, "Gotycki tryptyk ze Szczodrowa (1491) w opactwie cysterskim w Mogile", *Cistercium Mater Nostra*, 2012–2013, 6, pp. 179–196.

116 Ziomecka, "Śląskie retabula…", pp. 118–119.

117 Ibid., p. 116.

118 K. Przylicki, "Zbiory sztuki Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II w świetle najnowszych ustaleń", *Liturgia Sacra. Liturgia - Musica – Ars*, 2014, 20/2(44), p. 525.

The key or code to open the above-mentioned reservoir of artworks was the term "left", implicitly informing about the post-German origin of the work, its abandonment, and availability to be taken. The word "left", in reference to the retables analysed in this text, appeared primarily in correspondence exchanged between institutions and conservators, as well as in press reports. Therefore, we are dealing with a discourse parallel to the research on the heritage of the Recovered Territories conducted by art historians. "Left" was a common term, incompatible with the terminology used by the law introduced in 1946, but applied to the works of art on purpose. This purpose was to hide their "post-German" nature and sometimes awkward history, and to expose the potential of their apparent historical neutrality, making it possible to redefine them and adapt to the needs of newly created sacral spaces and historical narratives. Interestingly, this was the opposite of the phenomenon observed in the case of "post-German" non-artistic and everyday items "found" in houses and other "abandoned" edifices in the Recovered Territories.[119] In their case, "post-German" status was even welcome, as it faciliated acquiring rights to them by the new owners. In the first decade of the post-war rebuilding of Poland, the bespoken "left" altarpieces were turned into objects by means of which the social imaginary of Polish medieval art and this country's "primeval" beginnings was formulated. Applying such terminology resulted in an automatic removal of the word indicating the previous owner of the property (post-German), in favor of the broader and more neutral category of impersonal "leaving" and "abandonment".

Apart from the status of "left" and "unowned, a high artistic value, monumentality, completeness and good state of preservation must be mentioned among the selection criteria for the altarpieces in question. Their iconography or even their confessional context turned out to be less important. This is evidenced by the use of early modern artworks from Protestant churches in Catholic spaces, as exemplified by the Poznań Archcathedral or the Field Cathedral of the Polish Army in Warsaw, as well as the frequent lack of iconographic correspondence between the work of art and the church's patron saints, as occured in the Archcathedrals in Warsaw and Poznań.

There are many premises to believe that the appropriation of "post-German" medieval retables into restored and rebuilt sacral spaces in their Gothic forms was possible only in the first decade of Poland's rebuilt, i.e. in the times of the "gentle revolution" (1944–1949), socialist realism (1949–1955), and Polish thaw (1956).[120] During the first of these periods, in an atmosphere of discussion and dispute, views were formed on the shape and strategy of rebuilding the new post-war Poland. The winning position was represented, among others, by Jan Zachwatowicz who claimed that: "Unwilling to accept the tearing cultural monuments from us, we will reconstruct them, we will rebuild them from the foundations, in order to pass on to the generations, if not the authentic, then at least the exact form of these monu-

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119 Zborowska, "'Abandoned' things…", pp. 8–9.
120 Majewski, op.cit.

ments, alive in memory and available in materiality".[121] Importantly, however, the mentioned reconstructions, often based on speculations and imagination of architects, concentrated on the architectural forms of the edifices raised from the rubble, considering it a carrier of information about the age and rank of the object, and at the same time completely marginalising the issue of their furnishings and leaving much freedom and room for possible discussion in this respect. As a consequence of the imperative of "restoring" Gothic forms to objects functioning in a completely different stylistic forms until 1945, in the process of their furnishing, an attempt was made to maintain consistency and create a suggestive image of the past. For this reason, those monumental Gothic artworks were used, whose history could be rewritten. At the same time, it should be emphasised that the architects of the first years of the post-war reconstruction of historic buildings in Poland had already been active in the inter-war period, striving to implement the ideas developed at that time in the new reality. Therefore, in the first decade of their post-war activity, they continued their efforts to emphasize the long history of Polish Christianity and State, and the legitimacy of its history in medieval and especially Gothic art, giving vent to their aversion to Baroque forms and neo-styles. In this way, the ideas of the professionals, dating back to the pre-war period, met with the interests of the authorities of the post-war time.

The above-mentioned period of "gentle revolution" also turns out to be the time of cooperation between the Polish authorities and the representatives of the Catholic Church, especially with Primate Augustyn Hlond and later with Primate Stefan Wyszyński. The cooperation regarded mainly the reconstruction of sacral objects.[122] In this field, as in the final recognition of Poland's western borders, the interests of the communist state and the church proved to coincide. This difficult relationship became much more strained in the years to come, but the state government's support for sacral historic edifices never faded completely. Finally, the years 1945–1949 were also a time when about 4.5 million people arrived in the Recovered Territories, and along with the people, things were also put in motion.[123] Radical displacements – spatial, proprietary, and ontological – have occurred. In the subsequent periods mentioned, this movement lost momentum, but its consequences remain apparent today, both in liturgical and museum spaces. Moreover, the case of the church in Mogiła, and especially the events taking place recently, inform about the nascence of a rather new phenomenon of diversification of the approach to "domesticated" "post-German" property among the representatives of cultural institutions, the inhabitants of the former Recovered Territories, and the rest of Poland. This issue certainly requires observation and further research.

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121 J. Zachwatowicz, "Program i zasady konserwacji zabytków", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, 1946, 1–2, p. 52.
122 Majewski, op. cit., p. 45.
123 Zborowska, *Życie rzeczy…*, p. 37.

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The So-called Copernicus' Chapel: a Jubilee Creation in the Gothic St John's Cathedral in Toruń[1]

Abstract

The article is devoted to the history of transformation and re-arrangement of the first from the West chapel on the South side of the Gothic parish church of the Old Town in Toruń, at present the Toruń Cathedral of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist. The former merchants' chapel dedicated to St Nicholas over its history had changed its furnishing and *patrocinium* twice (St Michael the Archangel/ The Guardian Angels), which had been dictated by religious needs. In the 19th century it had also assumed the function of baptismal chapel and in 1973 – the Copernicus Jubilee Year – gained an entirely new arrangement to suit the *memoria* of the astronomer, who was born in this town. From than on it is universally referred to "The Copernicus Chapel". The Authors analyse the historic grounds for that commemoration (the Copernicus memorabilia collected in that interior), the principles of its new arrangement with the use of Medieval elements of the church furnishing, the elements of historic and emotional narrative as well as the contemporary implications of that creation.

Keywords: Nicolaus Copernicus, Toruń, St John's Church, "Copernicus chapel", medievalism

Over four hundred years of the history of transformations and changes of the medieval spatial layout of the church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist in Toruń begun in the time when the temple had been taken over by the Jesuits in early 17th century (the sources remain silent about earlier activity in this regard). From that time until the inter-war period any rearrangement of the interior and any translocation of the Medieval furnishing were dictated mainly by liturgical function, religious cult and devotion practiced by the Jesuits, fraternities etc. Research and restoration works in the chancel, that resulted in revealing the mural painting on its North wall (1908),[2] as well as scholarly analyses that allowed to associate and then rejoin the Beautiful Madonna with the Moses console (1921),[3] had opened a new chapter in the church's history: the execution of restoration works and creative rearrangements. Putting aside few changes related to transformations in the cult,[4] other modern alterations of the interior have been justified basically by factors other than liturgical. Their most significant outcome has been the post-war refurbishing of the chancel (bearing a strong mark of re-gothisation) and rearranging the former merchants' chapel devoted to St Nicholas and the to St Michael the Archangel and the Guardian Angels, located in the second span from the West on the South side. The first has been brought by necessity: after World War II the Early Modern retable of the main altar, under restoration from 1938 onwards has been finally dismantled following a war-time damage. As a consequence, the East wall has been revealed, with its tracery window and the images of the two patron Saints of the church, discovered already before the war.[5] The space required furnishing:[6] the interior has been cleared of whitewash, the newly discovered mural paintings – both on the east wall and on the vaulting have been restored and partly reconstructed (1947) and the window has been glazed with stained glass "in Medieval fashion" by Edward

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2 The file containing archival material and photographic documentation of discovering and revealing the mural as well as the first research and restoration works: AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 649, Aufnahmen des Wandbildes im Presbyterium der Pfarrkirche in Thorn – 1908–1911.

3 Following a hypothesis voiced by Bernhard Schmid (B. Schmid, "Die gotischen Bildwerke des St. Johanniskirche", *Mitteilungen des Coppernicus-Vereins für Wissenschaft und Kunst zu Thorn*, 1911, 19, pp. 9–12), the Moses console and the Beautiful Madonna have been put together in result of a decision taken by Jan Lankau, the then district conservation officer, see J. Lankau, *Monografia i przewodnik ilustrowany po Toruniu: z planem miasta,* Toruń, 1924, p. 59; ever since the two sculptures have been regarded as an integral group from late 14th century.

4 Among those belong: removing the communion rail and introducing new elements of furnishing to the chancel (1969) following the 2nd Vatican Council (see J. Kwiatkowski, "Przekształcenia wnętrza kościoła farnego p.w. św. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty w Toruniu od końca XVIII do XX wieku," in: *Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu. Materiały z konferencji przygotowanej przez Toruński Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki przy współpr. Instytutu Zabytkoznawstwa i Konserwatorstwa Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 22–23 III 2002*, eds. K. Kluczwajd, M. Woźniak, Toruń, 2003, pp. 308–309); relocating the pulpit, moved to the chancel (1999, the result of a new function of the church as a cathedral); erecting St John Paul II Retable by the first from the West pier of the nave on the North (2014).

5 They have been cleaned in 1947 under guidance of L. Torwirt.

6 Kwiatkowski, op. cit., pp. 306–308.

Kwiatkowski. The new retable for the main altar has been composed of two Gothic elements of furnishing – the former rood-beam Crucifix (mid-14th century) and St Wolfgang retable of a former side altar (1506) set on a modern predella designed by Stefan Narębski. The circumstances of that refurbishing deserve a separate analysis, that would exceed the limits of this study, focused on the second case: the chapel of Guardian Angels. Already before the war it used to be sometimes called the Copernicus Chapel[7] (because of the Copernicus mementos collected there). This name has established for good since the time of the celebration of Copernicus jubilee in 1973,[8] when the new arrangement has made it "a memorial to Nicolaus Copernicus in 500th anniversary of his birth".[9]

There is no doubt, that Nicolaus Copernicus, who had spent his childhood years in the house at No 36 Old Town Market,[10] used to be the member of St John's parish. Most probably he was baptised there and – according to a common belief – frequented local parish school.[11] It was St John's church where in 1589, that is almost fifty years after the astronomer's death, his memorial was hung to commemorate his brief connection (broken with Copernicus' departure to study in Cracow in 1491) with the parish (in 18th century it was even believed, that Copernicus was buried in St John's church – in 1766 Wraxandall wrote: "his remains are buried under a flat slab in one of the aisles of the oldest church").[12] Historically grounded belief, that this very church must have been frequented by the astronomer in his childhood,

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7 Lankau, op. cit., p. 67: Copernicus Chapel.

8 The same in more recent literature on the church see for instance: M. Woźniak, "Przestrzeń liturgiczna kościoła pw. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty w Toruniu", in: *Argumenta, articuli, quaestiones. Studia z historii sztuki średniowiecznej. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana Marianowi Kutznerowi*, eds. A. Błażejewska, E. Pilecka, Toruń 1999, p. 402: "tzw. Kaplica Kopernika"; J. Domasłowski, "Wyposażenie wnętrza", in: *Bazylika katedralna św. Janów w Toruniu*, ed. M. Biskup (TNT "Prace popularno-naukowe" 68, "Zabytki Polski Północnej" 12), Toruń, 2003, p. 114: "kaplica Kopernika (chrzcielna – Zaśnięcia NMP)", p. 214: "kaplica Kopernikańska"; Kwiatkowski, op. cit., p. 300: "Kaplica Kopernikowska"; A. Błażejewska, E. Pilecka, "Sztuka średniowieczna", in: A. Błażejewska et al., *Dzieje sztuki Torunia*, Toruń, 2009, p. 111: "Kaplica Kopernika", etc.

9 M. Dorawa, "Kościół św. Jana w Toruniu w czasach Kopernika. Próba rekonstrukcji wyposażenia", *Studia Warmińskie*, 1972, 9, p. 429.

10 Rich town house at No 36 Old Town Market was owned by the Copernicus family partly since 1468 and wholly since 1480. K. Górski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Środowisko społeczne i samotność*, Toruń, 1973, pp. 48–49 indicated that house as the most probable place of birth and a certain place of residence of the future astronomer during his childhood, which has been accepted in recent literature (e.g. K. Mikulski, *Mikołaj Kopernik. Życie i działalność*, Toruń, 2009, p. 25). The house was pulled down in 1906 to build Leiser's department store. However Jasiński, having analysed the sources claims, that the place of Copernicus birth and residence is uncertain, since uncertain is where the family seat in the period 1468 to 1480 was (see T. Jasiński, "Dom rodzinny Mikołaja Kopernika. Przyczynek do studiów nad socjotopografią późnośredniowiecznego miasta", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 1985, 92, no 4, pp. 861–884).

11 R. Heuer, *Thorn zur Zeit des Coppernicus*, Thorn, 1923, p. 15; Górski, op. cit., p. 52; Mikulski, op. cit., pp. 25–26.

12 Quotation after Górski, op. cit., p. 41.

accompanied his commemoration especially during jubilees. It also influenced the perspective of evaluation of Medieval heritage preserved in the church. It is also worth mentioning that both the astronomer's jubilees and commemoration from 18th century onwards had a peculiar character, marked with national tensions,[13] generated in Toruń by the town's complex history and changing geopolitical situation[14] (with its social and denominational implications).

It was St John's church, where Polish jubilee of the quatercentenary of Copernicus' birth was celebrated. The anniversary had a two-way celebration: separate by the German community (under the aegis of the Coppernicus-Verein) and separate – on the initiative of Father Ignacy Polkowski – by the Polish intellectual elite.[15] The highlight of the Polish-language celebrations was a religious service with elaborate, long sermons in the patriotic spirit, aiming to manifest Polish identity of the astronomer.[16] On the 450th anniversary of Copernicus' birth (1923) – celebrated in a town only recently Polish again – Reinhold Heuer summoned the christening of Nicholas at the bronze baptismal font and listed religious practices he took part in together with his father. Among the existing historic artefacts he pointed to those, that were already present in the church in those times and that could have been seen by Copernicus (like the Beautiful Madonna on the Moses console or the mural painting with Crucifixion in the chancel).[17] The magnificence of Gothic art – dating to the times of the Teutonic Order – was in Heuer's perspective one of the reasons for pride for the "Thorner Deutschen" celebrating Copernicus memory. The role of St John's church had been finally emphasised during the jubilee of 500th anniversary of the astronomer's birth, celebrated in the times of flourishing socialist-patriotic

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13 From a certain distance the general issue of controversies about Copernicus' nationality is characterised by O. Gingerich, "The Copernican Quinquecentennial and Its Predecessors: Historical Insights and National Agendas", *Osiris*, 1999, 14: Commemorative Practices in Science: Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Collective Memory, pp. 39–42 (on the 1873 jubilee), pp. 42–44 (on the 1923 jubilee), pp. 44–50 (on the 1943 jubilee).

14 In the Middle Ages Toruń had a status of one of the main cities of the state of the Teutonic Order in Prussia (with prevailing German population), after 1454 it was incorporated to Kingdom of Poland (the Royal Prussia), from 1793 – in the Kingdom of Prussia, from 1807 – in the Duchy of Warsaw (Polish formation), in the years 1815–1920 – again under the Prussian rule, and in 1920 – in the II Republic of Poland.

15 On this issue alone: U. Wencel-Kalembkowa, "Polskie obchody czterechsetnej rocznicy urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu", *Acta Universtats Nicola Copernici. Historia*, 1973, 9 (58), pp. 213–226. On the issue of nationalists' overtone of the dispute on Copernicus see also: E. Grotek, "Miejsca pamięci a toruńska tożsamość zbiorowa w XIX wieku. Przypadek Kopernika", in: *Pamięć w ujęciu lingwistycznym. Zagadnienia teoretyczne i metodyczne*, ed. W. Czachur, Warszawa, 2018, pp. 159–187.

16 Wencel-Kalembkowa, op. cit., p. 219; see also the report on the celebration: I. Polkowski, *Czterowiekowy jubileusz urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu*, Gniezno, 1873. Organising the service in St John's was made possible thanks to great commitment ("the most honest eagerness, the highest favour, help, work and efforts" – quoted after Polkowski, op. cit., p. 6) of the then Parish Priest, Father Emil Szmeja.

17 Heuer, op. cit., p. 14.

propaganda of the PRL (Polish People's Republic). As Marian Dorawa wrote then: "among the monuments of Gothic architecture related to that great Toruń citizen, particularly in the times of his childhood and youth, of particular character is St John's church".[18]

It is that particular perspective – of commemorating Copernicus and celebrating his anniversaries – that gave to works of Gothic art that were made in his times and were "seed by his eyes" a new, emotional dimension – of the witnesses to the period of his life spent in Toruń; the town's heritage was perceived as a setting for and introduction to his biography. This idea had in a way contributed to "discovering" in 1973 still little studied art of the Chełmno Land of the 2nd half of 15th century: this task was to be faced by a temporary exhibition staged in 1973 *The Artistic Culture of Chełmno Land in Copernicus' Times*, that was an impulse to undertake thorough studies in that field by Janina Kruszelnicka, a pioneer of research on Late Gothic sculpture of Toruń and the region.[19] In the concept for the exhibition one reads, that the choice of „the time frame was dictated by the dates of the astronomer's life, however the dates opening and closing the period match the periodisation of political and artistic phenomena in the Chełmno Land".[20] The jubilee of 500th anniversary had also brought a desideratum to make an inventory of historic monuments in Toruń.[21] It was also this very idea – a particular example of contemporary reception of the Middle Ages – that gave an incentive to a new creation in the chapel being the focal point of this study prompted by the upcoming next jubilee – 550th anniversary of the astronomers birth – in 2023.

The history of St Nicholas chapel

In the Middle Ages St Nicholas chapel had been coupled with *memoria* of the most significant group of Toruń burghers – merchants gathered in St George Fraternity.[22] The oldest records on the chapel date to 1426 however it is mentioned in the

18 Dorawa, "Kościół św. Jana", p. 407.

19 The exhibition was staged in the exhibition space in the cellars of the Old Town Hall. It was the first exhibition devoted to Gothic art (1450–1550) in Chełmno Land in the history of museology, and in the same time the first attempt of a comprehensive scientific approach to the issue of sculpture and painting of the region. See: J. Kruszelnicka, *Rzeźba i malarstwo*, in *Kultura artystyczna ziemi chełmińskiej w czasach Kopernika. Katalog*, Toruń, 1973, pp. 24–46. The dynamics of evolution of Toruń sculptors' milieu, with the leading "St Wolfgang's workshop" drafted here (ibid., p. 28–44) has been adopted in later studies on Late Gothic art of the region and still awaits the necessary revision.

20 Ibid., p. 24.

21 The leading member of Toruń conservators' milieu, prof. Jerzy Remer, had then postulated to prepare that volume by 1971 at the latest, see J. Remer, "Muzeum Epoki Kopernika (koncepcja i realizacja)", *Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu*, 1968, 3, p. 25; nota bene, *The Catalogue of Monuments of Art in Poland* for Toruń has not been published yet.

22 P. Oliński, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)*, Toruń, 2008, p. 201.

sources in following years several times more as "the merchants' chapel" (capella "mercatorum", "kauffmanne" "kouflute").[23] St Nicholas *patrocinium* is verified in the list of benefices from 1541[24] and in the list of silverware from 1596.[25] There is however no information on the décor and furnishing of the chapel in Copernicus times. The only Medieval artefacts preserved there are: the brick-build *stipes* of the altar with *armarium* closed with oak doors with wrought-iron fittings by the East wall and three sets of oak stalls along the South and the West walls, decorated with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic masks, dated in the literature to the period 1400[26]–1500[27] (Fig. 1). The stalls had been made to fit this very interior. Possibly, among the Medieval furnishing belonged some of the artefacts listed in the inventory of 1596.[28] The look and the fate of the original St Nicholas retable are not known. Jan Ludwik Strzesz, an auditor acting on behalf of bishop Andrzej Olszewski noted an old – possibly Medieval – retable in the chapel, with carved images of saints (with no identification).[29] This mention is sometimes being associated with a possible translocation of the retable of the Fourteen Holy Helpers into that spot, hovered such interpretation remains hypothetical;[30] perhaps canon Strzesz had still

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23 Ibid., p. 201; here also more on foundations till mid-16th century; on the incomes from the chapel in Middle Ages: ibid., pp. 356–357.

24 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 51, Regestrum Omnium Beneficiorum sive Ministeriorum Totius Civitatis Thorn pro Fraternitate Sacerdotum Anno 1541 conscriptum (further on referred to as Regestrum 1541), bp; see the commentary: K. Górski, "Spis beneficjów kościelnych Torunia z 1541 r.: nowe źródło do dziejów miasta (komunikat)", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 38, 1973, z. 3, pp. 83–87 and edition: K. Górski and M. Gołębiowski, "Wykaz prebend kościelnych Torunia z 1541 roku", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 42, 1977, z. 4, pp. 149–175.

25 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 27, Inventarium vasorum argenteorum aliusque suppellectis sacrae Templi Parochialis Tituli S. Joannis in antiqua civitate Thorun siti conscriptum in Praesentia Reverendorum Andreae Markowski Parochi moderni (...) manse Julio 1596 (further on referred to as Invetarium 1596), bp.

26 Domasłowski, op. cit., pp. 158–159; Błażejewska, Pilecka, op. cit., p. 111.

27 Vide M. Beek-Goehlich, *Die mittelalterlichen Kirchengestühle in Westpreußen und Danzig* (Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Deutschen Ostens Reihe B, 4), Stuttgart, 1961, pp. 99–100.

28 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 27, Inventarium 1596, bp., m. in.: "missale vetus […] manus scriptum", "capsula antiqua", "candelabra orychalcina vermiculata duos, sed destructa".

29 *Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis Andrea Olszowski Episcopo A. 1667–72 factae*, part 2 (Fontes TNT 7), Toruń, 1903, p. 200: "Capella posterior. Ubi altare vetustum minusculis sanctorum simulacris sculpturisque refertum, prout illius aevi statuendi aras ferebat usus. Post suppressas fulndationes contubernium piscatorum sibi vendicat locum facili ne gotiosus maneat."

30 This hypothesis, with a question mark, presented Woźniak, *Przestrzeń liturgiczna*, p. 402: "would that have been the retable of The Fourteen Holy Helpers?"; M. Woźniak, "Ołtarze w przestrzeni liturgicznej kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu", in: *Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu. Materiały z konferencji przygotowanej przez Toruński Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki przy współr. Instytutu Zabytkoznawstwa i Konserwatorstwa Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 22–23 III 2002*, eds. K. Kluczwajd, M. Woźniak, Toruń 2002, p. 284: "one has to notice the reoccurance of the Fourteen Holy Helpers in the merchants' chapel before 1671". *Patrocinium* of the retable of The Fourteen (in the sources described also as The Fifteen) Holy Helpers during the 17th century was transformed into *patrocinium* of St Rosalia; a respective retable was however not founded earlier than 18th century, see in detail: A. Grabowska-Lysenko, "Do rozmnożenia

described an original retable in the merchants' chapel. In the Middle Ages no artefacts or sources related to the chapel referred directly to the Copernicus family; the only thing linking this interior to the astronomer is the conviction voiced by Reinhold Heuer[31] that that was the chapel – as being under patronage of Toruń merchants – frequented by young Nicolaus, the one in which he attended services for the dead and kneeled in prayer.

Fig. 1. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Gothic stalls by the South wall, photo: J. Raczkowski

In the Early Modern period St Nicholas chapel had changed its patrons twice: in 17th century it belonged to the guild of fishermen (Latin *capella piscatorum*, *Seniores Piscatorum*) and in early 18th century the patronage was taken over by the guild of haberdashers, as indicated by Bishop Potocki episcopal visitations.[32] After 1701, the

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chwaley Pańskiey y czczci SS. Iego. O niektórych relikwiarzach z toruńskiego kościoła św. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty, związanych z nimi ołtarzach i ich znaczeniu dla dziedzictwa regionu – na marginesie niedawnego odkrycia zbioru relikwii w toruńskiej katedrze", in: *Dziedzictwo Torunia i ziemi chełmińskiej – odkrycia i reinterpretacje*, ("Studia i materiały z dziedzictwa kulturowego Torunia i regionu" 4), ed. M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, Toruń, 2021, pp. 160–171, 175–182. Archival sources do not supply reliable information on the time of removal of the older retable of the Holy Helpers; the sources also say nothing about it being transferred to the merchants' chapel.

31 Heuer, op. cit., p. 14.

32 ADP, Culmensia, C 33, *Visitatio generalis Ecclesiarum Diocesis Culmensis ex mandato revmi Domini D. Theodori Potocki Episcopi Culmensis et Pomesaniae feliciter moderni, per me infrascriptum commisarium anno 1700–1706 peracta*; here the information on the changed guild's patronage: "Altare in capella tertia quam olim vendicabant (!)ibi Seniores Piscatorum vulgo Galmirte Contubernium istud dictorum, Galmierano penitus evanuit nunc vero ad postulata Contubernis Szmuklerzów ab annis aliquot introducti ut in ea suas absolvant devotiones est concesta."

efforts of suffragan bishop Seweryn Szczuka led to changes in its furnishing that entailed also the change of *patrocinium*: the bishop had founded a retable dedicated to St Michael the Archangel (Fig. 2–3), adorn with coat of arms incorporating bishop's crest Grabie;[33] from the first quarter of 18th century for the next hundred of years the chapel had that dedication.[34] In late 19th century the *patrocinium* had changed once more – during restoration of the retable in 1883 the painting of St Michael was replaced by the present image of the Guardian Angel[35] painted in the Nazarene style by Julian Wałdowski.[36] It happened on the initiative of the Parish Priest Emil Szmeja (who had also commissioned a monumental painting of St Cecilia for the main altar from the same artist).[37] From then on the chapel had been called "the chapel of Guardian Angels" and this was its last dedication related with devotion. Father Emil Szmeja founded also new stained glass windows for the chapel (commissioned in Frankfurt am Main),[38] that were damaged during World War II. A very important addition to the chapel's function (also in the context of commemorating Nicolaus Copernicus) was introduction of a Medieval bronze baptismal font[39] with an 18th century carved wooden cover (Fig. 4) in 1880; hence the older customary name of

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33 At present it is placed on the former location of St Wolfgang's retable; the original patron's image is not preserved. On the foundation: B. Łyczak, "Uwagi na temat nastaw ołtarzowych ufundowanych w XVIII wieku do kościoła pw. śś. Jana Chrzciciela i Jana Ewangelisty w Toruniu", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 2015, 80/2, pp. 80–81. On the retable see also W. Kofel, "Problematyka konstrukcyjna zabytkowych retabulów toruńskich z XVII i XVIII wieku na przykładzie ołtarzy Zaśnięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny i Anioła Stróża z kościoła pw. św. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty w Toruniu", in: *Stare i nowe dziedzictwo Torunia, Bydgoszczy i regionu II*, eds. J. Raczkowski, M. Jakubek-Raczkowska (Studia i materiały z dziedzictwa kulturowego Torunia i regionu 3), Toruń, 2020, pp. 187–203, in particular pp. 196–197.
34 Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 42, Visitatio Decanalis Ecclesiae parochialis S. Joannis Thoruniensis 1731, p. 3, no 6: "Altare (…) sub titulo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli"; AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 45, Wizytacja ganaralna bp. Załuskiego, c. 1734: "Altare dictum Ołtarz Szmuklerski tituli S. Michaelis Archangeli Parochiale"; AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Liber visitationum Generalium ecclesiae Archypresbyterialis S. Joannis, 1798 (without page): "Altare S. Michaelis Archang"; AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Liber visitationum Generalium ecclesiae Archypresbyterialis S. Joannis, 1814 (further on referred to as: Liber visitationum 1814), p. 4: "Tertia Capella decorata est altari dat venum in honorem S. Michaeli Archan."; AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Inwentarz rzeczy w kościele św. Jana teraz rzetelnie znajdujących się, 1819 (further on referred to as: Inwentarz rzeczy 1819), no 48/55: "Ołtarz Archanioła Michała z drewnianemi kratami i ławkami".
35 As a result of renovation of the retable commisioned by the Parish Priest, Emil Szmeja
36 See: S. Majoch, "Nazarenizm w toruńskim kościele Świętojańskim. Julian Wałdowski (1854–1912) i jego zapomniane prace", in: *Kościół Świętojański w Toruniu – nowe rozpoznanie*, ed. K. Kluczwajd, Toruń, 2015, pp. 213–237.
37 Ibid., p. 227.
38 Lankau, op. cit., p. 68.
39 On this artefact and the history of translocations see in detail: M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, "XIII-wieczna chrzcielnica z Kaplicy Kopernika", in: *Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu. Materiały z konferencji przygotowanej przez Toruński Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki przy współpr. Instytutu Zabytkoznawstwa i Konserwatorstwa Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 22–23 III 2002*, eds. K. Kluczwajd, M. Woźniak, Toruń, 2003, pp. 237–255.

Fig. 2. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. View on St Michael the Archangel retable (18th century) with an image of the Guardian Angel (19th century), condition in 1940, photo: K. Grimm, from the collection of the District Museum in Toruń, ref. No. A. 1555 (detail)

Fig. 3. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, St Michael the Archangel retable (18th century) with an image of the Guardian Angel (19th century) located at the first from the West pier of the nave on the South side, present condition, photo: J. Raczkowski

the site, *Taufkapelle*[40] – the baptismal chapel.[41] During the translocation the font was fitted with a massive round foot made of ceramic stuff and cement mortar.

In the 19th century in the chapel or in its direct surrounding were located several objects that today are regarded as the most important Copernicus memorabilia in Toruń: the Nicolaus Copernicus Memorial, the memorial for his uncle, Lucas

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40 J. Heise, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Thorn*, ("Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreußen" 6/7), Danzig, 1889, p. 262.

41 Domasłowski, "Wyposażenie…", p. 114. Earlier the font was placed at the first from the East pier of the nave on the South side, in front of the altar of St Anne, see: *Visitationes ecclesiarum dioecesis culmensis et pomesaniae Andrea Leszczyński Episcopo A. 1647 curavit Adalbertus Pobłocki*, Toruń, 1900, p. 13; here it was still mentioned in 1872: W. Kolberg, *Napis na starej chrzcielnicy w kościele św. Jana w Toruniu, dokładnie przerysowany*, Warszawa 1872.

Fig. 4. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Bronze baptismal font (late 13th century) with carved, wooden cover (1st half of the 18th century), photo: J. Raczkowski

Watzenrode and a marble bust of the astronomer from the 18th century (Fig. 5–6). It is not known exactly when they were placed in their present spots within the chapel, on the West side of the arcade; the archival records in this respect are not clear. The most important Copernican artefact is undoubtedly the memorial, pained on wooden board, commemorating Nicolaus Copernicus as a physician and founded in 1580s by Melchior Pirnesius (Fig. 7).[42] It seems likely, that from the beginning it was located close to the chapel, but rather not inside it. Jan Ludwik Strzesz mentioned this work to be placed on the south side of the church, by the column, close to the entrance.[43] Similar location is described in early 18th century by Johann Baumgarten (south of the church portal; it was to be visible by the last column on the left

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42 On this issue in detail see: J. Flik, J. Kruszelnicka, *Epitafium Mikołaja Kopernika w bazylice katedralnej św. Janów w Toruniu*, Toruń, 1996; Domasłowski, op. cit., pp. 165–170.

43 *Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis…*, pp. 209–210: "E regione ingressus intra ecclesiam ab austro ad columnae superficiem appensa est lignea tabula, veram effigiem subtilis quondam mathematici Nicolai Copernici, canonici Varmiensis, praebens, anno 1543 picta".

Fig. 5a. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel, general view of the West side with Copernicus memorabilia, condition in March 1971, photo: B. Horbaczewski (after: Dorawa, M., *Dokumentacja historyczno-konserwatorska projektu wyposażenia Kaplicy Kopernikańskiej /Aniołów Stróżów*, Toruń, 1971, fig. 2)

Fig. 5b. Copernicus memorabilia – present condition, photo: J. Raczkowski

side of those leaving the church).[44] The inventory from 1814 conforms to the Strzesz description – it says about a column by the entrance on the South side of the church, adding however "In opposita huic Capelle" – opposite the chapel;[45] a note in the inventory from 1819 is not clear, it places the memorial "above the

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44 In Baumgarten's Memoranda a description of the Copernicus memorial has a separate position, see: *Miscellanea źródłowe do historii kultury i sztuki Torunia*, eds. B. Dybaś, M. Farbiszewski, ("Źródła i materiały do dziejów sztuki polskiej", ed. M. Arszyński, t. 27), Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź, 1989, pp. 119–120, on the location: "australem versus portam templi parochialis Johannitici, magnitudini gloriae suae mirum quantum inferius. Visitur ad ipsum ultimae columnae e templo egrediendo ad sinistram affixum" (ibid., p. 119).

45 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Liber visitationum 1814, p. 5: "In opposita huic Capelle columna in regione ingressus in Ecclesiam ab Austro appensa est lignea tabula veram Effigiem Subtilier qum dam Mathematici Nicolai Copernici Canonici Varmiensis exhibatur".

Fig. 6. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Nicolaus Copernicus Memorial (ca. 1570–1580) with elements added in 17th and 18th centuries, photo: J. Raczkowski

retable" [of St Michael the Archangel].[46] The inventory from 1842 again gives the location by the pier "opposite the chapel".[47] "Nach der südlichen Thire der Kirche" – behind the South portal (not indicating that in the chapel) had seen the memorial Julius Emil Wernicke before 1846.[48] The memorial's photograph can be found in an occasional Copernican album published in 1873, with a note informing that the work is located "by the pier".[49] All the texts are ambiguous, however none of them

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46 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Inwentarz rzeczy 1819, "Prosto nad ołtarzem jest obraz Kanonika i Matematyka Kopernika, króla Polskiego Jana Alberta i pod temż marmurowy obraz na postumencie" [Straight above the altar there is a painting of the Canon and Mathematician Copernicus and the Polish king John Albert, and below it a marble image on a plinth].

47 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 37, Inwentarien Nachweisung der Hl. Johannis Kirche in Thorn aufgenommen am 26, 27, 28 und 30 Septbr 1842 veridirt den 19 und 20 Septbr 1845 (further on: Inwentarien Nachweisung), no. 56: "An dem dieser Capelle gerade überstehenden Pfeiler in der Gegend des Eingangs in die Kirche, von Süden, ist eine Holzerne Tafel, auf welcher das Bildniß des ehemaligen ermländischen Dom Hernn Nicolaus Copernicus".

48 J. E. Wernicke, *Wegweiser durch Thorn und seine Umgebungen*, Thorn, 1846, pp. 33–34.

49 *Album Mikołaja Kopernika. Album wydany staraniem Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Poznaniu w czterechsetną rocznicę urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika*, Gniezno–Warszawa, 1873, Tabl. X, p. V–VI, the commentary of the priest, Ignacy Polkowski: "Znajduje się on [portret] w kościele Ś. Jana w Toruniu na ostatnim filarze w bocznej nawie. Szczupłość miejsca nie pozwala wprost

Fig. 7. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, South aisle, view to the West, photo: J. Raczkowski

mentions the artefact being inside the chapel. It seems, that in that time the memorial was positioned by the first from the West pier on the South side (under the tower), which is suggested by the phrase "opposite the chapel", or on the other side, next to the chapel's arcade (as suggested by Baumgarten's text saying that while exiting the church one could see it on the left). The memorial has been restored for the first time on the Jesuits' initiative (it was also when an image of King Jan Olbracht was added and the attributes transformed from medical to astronomical ones[50]). The subsequent restorations were performed in 1733 – on the initiative of

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ustawić aparatu, zdjęty więc jest z boku i dlatego wygląda krzywo nieco, ale inaczej nie udało się zrobić" ["It [the portrait] is located in the church of St. John in Toruń on the last pillar in the side aisle. Due to space constraints the camera can't be placed directly, so it's taken from the side, which makes it look a bit crooked, but I couldn't do it any other way"].

50 Flik, Kruszelnicka, op. cit., pp. 127–129.

Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski (with a text commemorating the founder added to the earlier epigram) and again in 1870, shortly before the jubilee of 400th anniversary of the astronomer's birth.[51] In 1873 the memorial was still hanging on the pier.[52] Assuming that earlier it was located opposite the chapel, than it had possibly been transferred due to building the entry way to the new organ erected between the piers under the tower (1878).[53]

Early in 19th century another image of Copernicus found its way to St John's church: a marble bust carved by the Lesser Poland guild sculptor, Wojciech Rojowski. The bust was granted to the town in 1766 by Duke Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski as a "leaven" for a memorial. The parish church was not an intended place for the sculpture[54] (Fig. 8). Perhaps its transfer to and exhibition in the church was stimulated by Father Stanisław Staszic, an eminent activist of the Enlightenment and a representative of the then most revered Polish scientific institution – The Society of Friends of Learning in Warsaw, who used to visit Toruń on behalf of the Society in the time, when the town was a seat of the Council of State of the Duchy of Warsaw (1809).[55] The bust had been placed in the church before 1812, when it was seen there by Polish writer and historian Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz.[56] In later sources 1814,[57] 1819[58]

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51 Ibid., p. 54 and 127.

52 *Album*, p. VI.

53 On building the new organ and transformation of the music gallery see: M. Dorawa, "Organy bazyliki katedralnej p.w. św. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty w Toruniu na tle dziejów budownictwa organowego w Polsce", in: *Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu. Materiały z konferencji przygotowanej przez Toruński Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki przy współpr. Instytutu Zabytkoznawstwa i Konserwatorstwa Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 22–23 III 2002*, eds. K. Kluczwajd, M. Woźniak, Toruń, 2003, p. 352.

54 Complicated history of the bust, for a long time kept in the Town Hall's cellars, presents H. Załęska, "Popiersie toruńskie Mikołaja Kopernika", *Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu*, 3, 1968, pp. 71–103. It is known that the bust – of mediocre artistic quality – had got a cold reception in Toruń. In 1783 it was publicly announced that the monument is of such poor quality, unskilfully executed, that the town council did not consider it appropriate to exhibit it in public (however the decisive factor was rather the political one – the inscription on the bust emphasised Polish origin of the astronomer: "Terriginae Borusso Polono").

55 Ibid., p. 87. On the last sitting of the council, on 11 May 1809 it was decided to erect a Copernicus monument in Toruń, which however had never happened, since on Staszic proposal voiced in 1815 it was finally decided to erect the monument in Warsaw (in 1820 Bertel Thorvaldsen was commissioned to design it and Staszic himself had bequeathed a considerable sum for its building in his last will), p. 85.

56 J. U. Niemcewicz, *Juljana Ursyna Niemcewicza, podróże historyczne po ziemiach polskich: od 1811 do 1828 roku*, Paryż–Petersburg, 1858, p. 105: "Książę Jabłonowski, wojewoda nowogrodzki, posąg Kopernika z białego marmuru uciosać kazał, i temuż piękny położył nagrobek. Ledwiem mógł docisnąć się do pomnika tego, tak kościół zawalony był beczkami sucharów i mąki" [Prince Jabłonowski, Voivode of Novgorod, had the statue of Copernicus cut out of white marble and placed a beautiful tombstone for him. I could barely reach that memorial, the church being crammed with barrels of biscuits and flour].

57 AADDT Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Liber visitationum 1814, p. 5, "Statua marmurea eiusdem Copernici eleganter sculpta".

58 AADDT, Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 44, Inwentarz rzeczy 1819, bp.

Fig. 8. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Nicolaus Copernicus bust, W. Rojowski, 1766, photo: J. Raczkowski

and 1842[59] it is mentioned as placed below the Copernicus memorial (probably on the south side). Emil Wernicke (1846) described it as located by one of the church piers (no precise indication) and with no relation to the memorial.[60] Heise (1889) mentioned the bust already in its present location, in the baptismal chapel, below the astronomer's memorial.[61] The two images of Copernicus are complemented with a memorial of two bishops of Warmia: Jan Abezier and Lukas Watzenrode (Nicolaus Copenicus uncle), founded in 1724 by Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski.[62]

Refurbishing the chapel for the 1973 jubilee of 500th anniversary of Nicolaus Copernicus birth

Rooted in the tradition presence of Copernicus memorabilia in the chapel of St Michael/Guardian Angels was a direct cause of its next, already non-liturgical arrange-

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59 AADDT Toruń – the cathedral, sign. 37, Inventarien Nachweisung: "Unter derselben ist eine geschmackvoll in Marmor aufgestellt".
60 Wernicke, op. cit., p. 35.
61 Heise, op. cit., pp. 262–263.
62 Domasłowski, op. cit., p. 214.

ment, on the occasion of the next great jubilee: the International Copernican Year 1973, announced by UNESCO[63] (Polish People's Republic declared in the same time "The Year of Polish Science").[64] Thanks to the support of the then state authorities,[65] Toruń had been preparing for those celebrations with a great flourish for over five years,[66] both by undertaking scientific research, inventories and publications[67] and by building investments that involved among others the University Campus[68] and the Copernican Library.[69] In the framework of preparing the Copernican Year belonged also an extensive restoration campaign in the historic centre of Toruń (which involved 106 Medieval burghers' houses)[70] and yielded numerous discoveries in the field of mural paintings in dwelling interiors.[71] The campaign aimed at restoring the

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63 https://en.unesco.org/courier/april-1973 [accessed 16 December 2021]. About the global celebrations see: Gingerich, op. cit., pp. 37–60. Official international celebrations (including the congress Colloquia Copernicana in Warsaw, Toruń and Cracow and a plenary session under the auspices of the UNESCO "Humanity and Cosmos" in Toruń) had been organised jointly by the UNESCO, the International Astronomical Union, the Polish Academy of Sciences, and the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, among others (see ibid., Appendix, pp. 55–57); the Copernicus Jubilee Year had been celebrated locally in many countries all over the world, most exuberantly – in Poland.

64 S. Kalembka, *Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w 1973 roku: rozbudowa i przygotowania do obchodów kopernikowskich*, Toruń, 1973, p. 4.

65 The financial outlays had been specified by the government of Polish People's Republic in special resolutions.

66 For a cross-cutting report on the jubilee in Toruń see: W. Polak, "Obchody pięćsetlecia urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w 1973 roku w Toruniu", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2013, 3, pp. 573–584. See also an official programme of celebrations organised by the Nicolaus Copernicus University: S. Kalembka, A. Czaharowski, *Informator o obchodach 500-lecia urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika w 1973 roku*, Toruń, 1973; compare: *Zaproszenie na uroczystości kopernikowskie* at the NCU, access: https://kpbc.umk.pl/dlibra/publication/33010/edition/41837/content [accessed 16 December 2021].

67 On the most significant scientific activities (conferences) and publications (including the edition of Copernicus' *Opera Omnia*) see Kalembka, Czacharowski, op. cit., pp. 6–7; Kalembka, op. cit, pp. 5–6; on publications and lectures organised by the Scientific Society in Toruń see: "Sprawozdanie z czynności Towarzystwa Naukowego za rok 1973", *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, 1973, 27, pp. 24–27 (Komisja Kopernikańska), pp. 29–30 (Komisja Redakcyjna – Biblioteczka Kopernikańska), pp. 38–39 (Akcja popularyzacji wiedzy). About publications and travelling exhibitions organised by the District Museum in Toruń see: *Program Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu w zakresie przygotowania do obchodu 500. rocznicy urodzin Mikołaja Kopernika*, Toruń, 1972, p. 4.

68 Kalembka, Czacharowski, op. cit., p. 3; cf. M. Pszczółkowski, "Z dziejów budowy toruńskiego kampusu uniwersyteckiego 1967–1973", *Zapiski Historyczne*, 2010, 75/2, pp. 151–170.

69 Polak, op. cit., pp. 573–574.

70 The campaigne was managed by a specially set up Office for the Renovation of the Old Town Complex Kampanią kierowało specjalnie powołane. See: Kalembka, Czacharowski, op. cit., p. 3; Polak, op. cit., p. 574.

71 Ibid., p. 574; see also M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, J. Raczkowski, T. Kowalski, *Średniowieczne malowidła ścienne w kamienicach mieszczańskich Starego i Nowego Miasta Torunia / Medieval Wall Paintings in Burghers' Houses of the Old and New Town of Toruń*, Toruń, 2017, pp. 30–32.

quarters "in direct vicinity of the Great Astronomer's family home[72] to their former glory, within the boundaries of the historic centre of the Old Town of Toruń, that "during his childhood was […] the most beautiful".[73] There were also attempts to create the Museum of Copernicus' Times, that was to be housed in the Old Town Hall and the complex of "The Copernicus' House".[74]

Extensive restoration activities within the boundaries of Toruń historic town centre included also St John's church; the parish itself applied for financial support of the refurbishing works – already in 1965 a letter concerning refurbishing the Copernicus' Chapel wrote to the Town Heritage Office the then Provost of St John's basilica, in 1968 a similar application was addressed to the Ministry of Culture and Art by the Chełmno Bishop's Curia in Pelplin.[75] Certain pragmatism of those activities, that had a better chance of realisation in the conditions of the Copernicus' Jubilee Year, can be illustrated by a passage from a letter addressed to the Primate's Secretariat:[76] „refurbishing [the chapel] after the war damage with the effective State aid is now the most urgent matter in view of the forthcoming Copernicus celebrations. It is small wander, that the works undertaken in that space were justified by that very argument: to properly present the space that was the most strongly related to the astronomer.[77] In documents the parish argued, that the works in question concerned the chapel „where that brilliant Pole was baptised" (sic!). As Marian Dorawa, responsible for the design of new arrangement of that space commissioned by the Regional Heritage Office in Bydgoszcz in 1971 wrote – it was to gain "a suitable character, focused on the times and memory of Nicolaus Copernicus"[78] (Fig. 9).

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72 Kalembka and Czacharowski, op. cit., p. 3; The authors argued: "While refurbishing the flats in the spirit of the 20th-century requirements, those houses regain the beauty once obliterated by time", ibid.

73 B. Rymaszewski, "Dzielnica Staromiejska Torunia – środowisko rodzinne Mikołaja Kopernika", *Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu*, 1968, 3, p. 104.

74 Remer, op. cit., pp. 23–37; Program Muzeum, p. 3. The first such activities were undertaken already during the earlier jubilee in 1953, when one of the houses had been restored for a seat of the Copernicus' Museum (see: B. Popławski, "Obchody rocznic historycznych: Rok Kopernika i Rok Odrodzenia 1953", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 2010, 101/3, p. 405). The museum have never came into being in the shape suggested in the 1960s, it has been replaced by the present Copernicus' House, branch of the District Museum in Toruń set up in 1973 in houses located at No. 15 Copernicus' Street (restored in that time and handed over to the museum) and at No. 17 Copernicus' Street; the then exhibition had functioned for over half a century. Since 2028 the branch gained new arrangement after a thorough renovation and transformation of the interiors within the operational programme "Toruń Historic Town Centre – Stage II".

75 The information is contained in a letter dated on 7 July 1969 written by the parish Provost, Father Wincenty Kolczyk to the Primate's Secretariat addressed to His Excellency Bishop Dąbrowski in Warsaw no. 22/69 (access: Archiwum Wydziału Konserwatorskiego Kurii Diecezjalnej Toruńskiej).

76 Ibid.

77 Dorawa, "Kościół", p. 428.

78 M. Dorawa, *Dokumentacja historyczno-konserwatorska projektu wyposażenia Kaplicy Kopernikańskiej /Aniołów Stróżów*, [typescript] Toruń 1971 (access: Archiwum NiD, Toruń, sign. 398, dok. hist.), p. 31.

Fig. 9. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. View on the East wall with the Dormition Retable (bas-relief with The Virgin's Last Prayer, ca. 1500, retable 1620–1630), photo: J. Raczkowski

The chapel was being refurbished from 1971 on. The works were preceded by investigation of plasters covering the outer walls; the preserved Copernicus memorabilia were restored,[79] new paving was laid, the stained glass window damaged in 1945 was replaced with a new one: an abstract, geometrical glazing designed in 1973 by Władysław Kozioł (realisation: 1975)[80] (Fig. 10). The works had consumed so much funds, that already in 1971 the Regional Heritage Office advised to take a brake in spending money.[81] The range of actions was however not restricted to refurbishment and restoration; except for the Copernicus memorabilia, the stalls

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79 A letter by the parish Provost, Father Wincenty Kolczyk dated on July 7th 1971 to the Bishops' Curia in Pelplin; no. 81/71 (access: Archiwum Wydziału Konserwatorskiego Kurii Diecezjalnej Toruńskiej).

80 See the design: https://ksiaznica.torun.pl/muzeumcyfrowekoziol/monografia/ [accessed 16 December 2021].

81 A handwritten note ("Ps.") by the parish Provost Father Wincenty Kolczyk (access: Archiwum Wydziału Konserwatorskiego Kurii Diecezjalnej Toruńskiej).

Fig. 10. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Stained glass windows by W. Kozioł (1975), photo: J. Raczkowski

and the baptismal font the chapel's furnishing has been composed anew. The idea behind those changes is known thanks to an unpublished preliminary report developed by Dorawa in 1971,[82] the main purpose of which was to gather all the movable historic artefacts "scattered over the aisles and side chapels dating from Gothic and Renaissance times or related to Nicolaus Copernicus and as such qualifying to be placed in the "Copernicus' chapel".[83] The planned actions were of entirely non-liturgical character (not related to the needs of religious cult) and decidedly non-historical one.[84] They were intended was to decorate the place, that had already earlier housed the images of Copernicus, with historic artefact that had never been there, but whose age had predestined them to evoke "the Copernicus' times". The list of items and rationale for the choice are contained in the quoted proposal by Marian Dorawa; the plan of refurbishment and arrangement of the interior had been approved by a board comprising representatives of the diocesan curia, the parish and local authorities, including the regional and local heritage officers.[85]

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82 Dorawa, *Dokumentacja…*, passim.

83 Ibid., p. 2.

84 This was emphasised by Michał Woźniak, who wrote about transformation that was not justified by liturgical or cult needs: "in early 1970s a heritage and commemorative creation appeared here, one to honour Nicolaus Copernicus", see: Woźniak, "Ołtarze w przestrzeni…", p. 291.

85 See the preserved minutes of the seating of the "Joint Committee", 28 Aug. 1971 concerning the restoration of the Copernicus' Chapel (access: Archiwum Wydziału Konserwatorskiego Kurii Diecezjalnej Toruńskiej).

And so, the former retable of St Michael the Archangel with a 19th-century painting of the Guardian Angel was removed from the chapel and transferred to the first from the West pier on the South side (Fig. 3) – that is to the historic location of the Medieval altar dedicated to St Wolfgang (whose retable – as it was mentioned above – has been moved to the main altar after World War II). Then, the Medieval altar in the chapel has been combined with a Late-Mannerist retable from the Jesuits' period (Fig. 11), with the central wood-work bas-relief with The Virgin's Last Prayer ca. 1500 – the latter was to suggest "the Copernicus' times" (Fig. 12). That retable had been originally located at the first from the West pier on the North side,[86] and in 1973 stood at the East wall of the North aisle;[87] for that transfer it had been restored.[88] On a new console on the wall (the previous, Gothic-revival one has been discarded) went a wooden sculpture of the Flogged Christ of the late 15th century,[89] subjected to a limited conservation treatment[90] (its present look, with an astonishing blue perizoma, is a result of a recent restoration carried out in 2017)[91] (Fig. 13).

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86 Since 1671 reported in this location had been the altar of Dormitionis Mariae, described by Canon Strzesz as follows: "Ad altare Dormitionis Mariae, veteri sculptum arte, nec usquequaqnam vulgari, optima consertum mensa" (*Visitationes episcopatus Culmensis*, p. 209). It is not certain, whether that bas-relief had been associated with this location from the very beginning, originally most probably a centre piece of a Late-Gothicwinged retable. In the literature that image is mostly assumed to be associated with the first retable of an altar dedicated to Beatae Mariae Virginis founded in 1500 r. (Oliński, op. cit., p. 203) by the Chełmno canon and parish priest in the years 1497–1510, Jan Schmolle (Smolle).

87 Marian Dorawa had suggested, that its transferring would "lighten the composition of the wall, overcrowded with the three retables" (Dorawa, *Dokumentacja…*, p. 30).

88 The treatment involved removing the oil overpaintings, reintegrating the gildings (with bronze and Dutch matal leaf) and silvered areas. In the scene of Dormition the missing fragments of tracery were reconstructed as well as the Virgin's headscarf, the paint layer in flesh areas was reintegrated and varnishes (the works were executed by Krystyna Dąbrowska, PPKZ Toruń); another restoration took place in 2017 r.: J. Ziemlewicz *Dokumentacja prac konserwatorskich i restauratorskich przy elementach wyposażenia wnętrza kapicy tzw. kopernikowskiej w toruńskiej katedrze p.w. św. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty*, [typescript] Toruń, 2017 (access: Archiwum Miejskiego Konserwatora Zabytków w Toruniu, sign. 7911), pp. 5, 6, 8–9, 15–17, 18, 19–21, 22–23, 24–25.

89 Its original location is unknown. In the literature it is sometimes being wrongly associated with the Holy Family retable in the raftsmen chapel, together with a wing with partly preserved Annunciation (*Ars Sacra. Dawna sztuka diecezji toruńskiej, katalog wystawy Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu 5 XI–31 XII 1993*, Toruń, 1993, no. 25, p. 46 [J. Kruszelnicka], with the Corpus Christi retable (Błażejewska, Pilecka, op. cit., p. 169) or with the Crown of Thorns retable (Woźniak, "Ołtarze w przestrzeni…", p. 287). The ideas behind that artwork indicate associations with a retable devoted to Christ /the Passion, thus the latter suggestion seems more probable. For the state of research and stylistic issues see: M. Kurkowski, "Rzeźba Chrystusa z tzw. kaplicy kopernikańskiej w kościele Świętojańskim w Toruniu", *Rocznik Toruński*, 47, no. 220, pp. 259–293.

90 In the restoration atelier of the District Museum in Toruń in 1972 (infilling the gaps, impregnation of the base, after: Kruszelnicka, *Rzeźba i malarstwo*, p. 36–37, 38, kat. 18, pp. 90–92).

91 During the restoration the historic infills made with plaster of Paris were removed, the wood has been impregnated, the overpaintings removed, new infills have been applied, some restora-

Fig. 11. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so--called Copernicus Chapel. View on the East wall with the Dormition Retable (bas-relief with The Virgin's Last Prayer, ca. 1500, retable 1620–1630). Photo: J. Raczkowski

Fig. 12. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Bas-relief with The Virgin's Last Prayer, ca. 1500, photo: J. Raczkowski

In late 19th century the sculpture used to be kept in the vestry, and after the war in the chapel of the Sacred Heart. In 1971 it was – justly, as it seems – decided that it was not well visible in that spot;[92] on that occasion it had been restored for the first time.[93] Of the historic furnishing of the chapel – of course beside the Copernicus memorabilia themselves[94] – were left *in situ* the Gothic stalls custom-made for their location, that had also been restored in that time,[95] which involved however remov-

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tion of missing details and the reintegration of paint layers with watercolours, Ziemlewicz, op. cit., pp. 6–7, 12, 17, 21, 22, 26, 47;

92 Dorawa, *Dokumentacja…*, p. 30.

93 J. Kruszelnicka, "Rzeźba i malarstwo", pp. 36–37, 38, 90–92, no 18; the works executed in the restoration atelier of the District Museum in Toruń.

94 The Copernicus' memorial was restored, see: H. Drążkowski, L. Bliskowski, *Dokumentacja konserwatorska, Toruń, Epitafium M. Kopernika, PP. Konserwacji Zabytków, Oddział w Toruniu*, [typescript] Toruń, 1972 (access: Archiwum NiD, Toruń).

95 The stalls were preserved in a dicmal condition, the structure being weekened and the wood infested with woodworm, see: Z. Balewski, *Stalle gotyckie z Kaplicy Kopernikowskiej Kościoła p.w.*

ing the historic addition, that is the Gothic-revival backs.[96] Also a 19th-century low iron-work banister had been preserved. In the centre of the chapel the baptismal font was displayed – as the oldest piece of the church furnishing, being associated with Nicolaus Copernicus – to create a particular space of commemoration.

Fig. 13. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. The Flogged Christ, late 15th cent. on a modern console by the South wall, photo: J. Raczkowski

Summing up, the direct consequence of the preformed actions was depriving the chapel of its historic furnishing and fitting it with artworks, that had not been intended for it. According to the argumentation supplied by the project's author, the basic criteria for choosing particular items was their age and the fact, that they were not in their original setting anyway and already "not in harmony with their surrounding".[97] In itself, relocating the Gothic artworks from their already non-historic locations and arranging them in new location within the church would per-haps not have been controversial, if it had not involved reaping the former Baroque

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św. Jana w Toruniu. Dokumentacja konserwatorska, P.P. Konserwacji Zabytków, Oddział w Toruniu, [typescript] Toruń, 1973 (access: Archiwum NiD, Toruń, sign. 181).

96 These have been counted among the elements, that were considered as "dating to later times or of mediocre artistic value", and as such not conforming with "the gravity of the chapel's décor", Dorawa, *Dokumentacja…,* p. 29.

97 Dorawa, *Dokumentacja…,* p. 28.

retable out of its historic context (see Fig. 2). Also removing the historic, Gothic-revival backs of the stalls – of undisputable historic value (see Fig. 5) – has stripped the walls of the interior, giving a very purist impression. The interior – deprived of the custom made Baroque retable with exuberant acanthus ornamentation and distinguished crowning and stripped of the wall panelling, with its modern flooring – has the air of artificial void, especially in comparison with other side chapels of the cathedral. The effect is even enhanced by the impact of modern, abstract stained glass window, acting as a serious discord in this interior.[98] It is also worth mentioning, that relocations within the chapel itself resulted in a number of other alterations of the church interior – they forced new location of St Michael the Archangel retable, left an empty place where the Dormition retable used to be. Moreover, from the imminent surrounding of the chapel a Lourdes Grotto was removed (see Fig. 3)[99] – perhaps lacking in artistic value, but witnessing a certain phase of modern piety.

Instead, the chapel has been bestowed with a new, emphatic Copernican narrative: the information that the future astronomer had been baptised at the bronze font is probably true (Fig. 14), but indirectly it suggests – entirely wrongly – that the interior had served as a baptismal chapel already in the Middle Ages (and that it was here, where Copernicus had actually been baptised). Since that time that interior and the font – admittedly an artefact of great importance for the studies

Fig. 14. Toruń, St John's Cathedral. Plaque by the baptismal font (1973), photo: J. Raczkowski

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98 Prof. Wiesław Smużny, Toruń artist, characterised this creation as follows: "with their abstract and non- semantic structure as well as the colouring of commiserating with Siberia survivors [the stained-glass windows] are highly intriguing. They make one to ponder – not as much over the fate of art, as over the fate of sacral window-glazing in the context of explorations of the 20th-century art and its attitude towards the past", see: W. Smużny, "Gotyk na dotyk i witraż… dla oczu i duszy'", in *Witraż w Toruniu – dawny i dzisiejszy / Glasmalerei in Thorn – gestern und heute*, ed. K. Rochecki, Toruń, 2005, p. 25.

99 M. Dorawa had argued, that it was worthless and proposed introducing in its place the Renaissance memorial of Krzysztof Florian (ibid., p. 31); neither that artwork nor the memorial of Anna Pirnesius (pendant to the Copernicus memorial) are not in the then suggested locations.

on Medieval crafts in Chełmno Land, but of mediocre artistic quality – became the obligatory stopping point for every group of tourists visiting the church.

Epilogue

The climax of not so long history of "the Copernicus' Chapel" was a visit of pope John Paul II to Toruń, during his VII Apostolic Journey to Homeland, on June 7th 1999. His stay in the town the Pope began with the words: "Greetings to Toruń, which is close to my heart and to the beautiful Pomerania on the Vistula River. I am happy to be able to come to your town, made famous by Nicolaus Copernicus". Within the tight schedule of the visit (the important part of which made the celebrations organised at the Nicolaus Copernicus University, sic) took place a spontaneous gesture – the pope made a short visit to the cathedral and right in front of the Copernicus' Chapel intoned the hymn *Salve Regina.*[100] The moment of his reflection by the baptismal font has been recorded not only by photographs, but first of all by a painting by Ewa Mika, depicting that prayer (Fig. 15). The painting has been introduced in 2014 to the most recent liturgical foundation in the cathedral church, that is the retable holding John Paul's II relics (Fig. 16), designed by Andrzej Ryczek and located at the first from the West pier on the North side (the original location of the aforementioned Dormition retable, since 1973 in the Copernicus' Chapel). The association seems to be of particular significance for establishing local cult of Copernicus: here (the future saint) John Paul II prays before the chapel dedicated to (no saint indeed) Nicolaus Copernicus. That association has been further strengthened by another action: the throne and prie-dieu, used by the pope during the pilgrims' mass celebrated on the airfield in Toruń, make the latest addition to the furnishing of the Copernicus' Chapel (Fig. 17).

Conclusion

The case of the Copernicus' Chapel in St John's church proves the longevity of local traditions that – however not documented – define still today the sense of identity, historical importance, even fame, nourished in Toruń at least since 18th century and

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100 https://www.niedziela.pl/artykul/53045/Pielgrzymka-do-Torunia [accessed 13 December 2021]. The significance of that event for Toruń is mentioned often, see for example *Toruń – miasto papieskie*, homepage of *Polska Organizacja Turystyczna*, https://www.polska.travel/pl/poznaj-atrakcje-i-zabytki/szlaki-i-miejsca-papieskie/torun-miasto-papieskie [accessed 13 December 2021]: "Poza programem [wizyty], co było częstą praktyką papieża w czasie pielgrzymek do Ojczyzny, wstąpił on na krótko do gotyckiego kościoła św. św. Janów, gdzie obejrzał Kaplicę Kopernikowską z chrzcielnicą, przy której ochrzczony został przyszły polski astronom" [Apart from the visit program, which was a frequent practice of the Pope during his pilgrimages to his homeland, he briefly entered the Gothic church of St John's, where he saw the Copernicus Chapel with the baptismal font at which the future Polish astronomer was baptized].

Fig. 15. Toruń, St John's Cathedral. Painting from St John Paul II Retable, E. Mika (2014), photo: J. Raczkowski

Fig. 16. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. St John Paul II Retable by the first from the West pier of the nave on the North, the structure designed by A. Ryczka (2014, with sculptures from the former Jesuits' mail altar retable, 1638), photo: J. Raczkowski

Fig. 17. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. John Paul's II throne and prie-dieu designed by A. Ryczka used during the papal Holy Mass in Toruń in 1999, photo: J. Raczkowski

Fig. 18. Toruń, St John's Cathedral, the so-called Copernicus Chapel. Present condition with Nicolaus Copernicus and Pope John Paul II commemorative elements, photo: J. Raczkowski

focused on the Astronomer. This sense has been shaped in changing historical and geopolitical circumstances, the milestones being jubilee celebrations that provided (regardless of the times) opportunities for patriotic demonstrations. The actions undertaken in the chapel during the years 1971–1973 on the wave of the Copernicus Jubilee Year – most of all the relocation of Late-Gothic elements of furnishing that assumed the role of "memorabilia" loosing their historical contexts in the process – have significant consequences for the impact and perception of the interior of the present cathedral. The memory of a merchants' chapel as the most prominent space in the Medieval parish church of the Old Town of Toruń, strongly associated with the most eminent group of the patritiate, has been obliterated. The original patrocinium – St Nicholas – has perversely interweaved with the modern customary name "The [Nicolaus] Copernicus' Chapel". In that respect particular, quasi-religious connotations have such events as placing there the sarcophagus with the astronomer's earthly remains on 537th Copernican anniversary, before their re-burial in Frombork Cathedral in 2010).[101] The Baroque retable has been removed – the one carrying the memory of later religious history of the place, in which significant roles had played clergymen distinguished for St John's church – bishop

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101 W. Rozynkowski, "Z historii parafii katedralnej św. Jana Chrzciciela i św. Jana Ewangelisty (1992 –2013)", in *Opus temporis. Toruńskiej katedry historia najnowsza. Prace konserwatorskie i restauratorskie w latach 2000–2013*, eds. K. Kluczwajd, M. Rumiński, Toruń, 2013, p. 34, fig. 5.

Seweryn Szczuka and parish priest Emil Szmeja. Today the *memoria* of the eminent citizen of Toruń has been coupled with commemoration of John Paul II (mostly due to the Copernican narration given to his visit to Toruń) and the chapel in its present form assumes a novel symbolic meaning – of a place of remembrance of "great countrymen" (Fig. 18).

Transl. by Joanna M. Arszyńska

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Relief with Crucifixion Scene in St Martin's Church in Jawor – the Oldest Silesian Pictorial Epitaph and its Ideological and Artistic Contexts

Abstract

This paper provides an analysis of the relief block with the Crucifixion scene preserved in the St. Martin's parish church in Jawor, an important town in the Duchy Jawor-Świdnica in the 14th century. According to the 17th century's written sources the relief was originally located on the wall of the church's cemetery mortuary, however the primary written source pertaining to the artwork in question is the inscription running along its three sides. The slab commemorates Johann Sapiens and his family. It is the earliest preserved pictorial epitaph in Silesia and in this part of Europe. Its votive purpose is stated. Moreover, a passage referring to biblical texts as well as formulations, which entered into the consecration rites of churches and altars, provide a premise to interpret this family memorial and epitaph, at the same time, also as an ossuary foundation memorial. These circumstances allow searching for possible models and references in places where the pictorial epitaph found favourable conditions for development already at the dawn of its existence as a type of sepulchral monument. At first sight, Thuringia with Erfurt seem the place geographically closest to Silesia, where stylistically and typologically related artworks have been preserved. However, the crucifix depicted in the relief from Jawor turned out to be rather typical for the contemporary Silesian sculpture too, in contrast to the assisting figures of Virgin Mary and St. John. In consequence, the references and sources of inspiration applied in the process of creation of the assisting figures in relief from Jawor should be searched in western territories of Silesia or having regard to the possibility of drawing inspiration from much older portable microplastic objects as, for example, Byzantine or Romanesque ivory.

Keywords: pictorial epitaph, gothic sculpture, Silesia, devotional image, foundation inscription, Thuringia, ivory microsculpture

I

Among the many works of medieval stone sculpture, which were given a shelter in St. Martin's parish church in Jawor (before 1945: Jauer), an important town in the Duchy Jawor-Świdnica in the 14th century, the relief block with the Crucifixion scene may not represent the highest level of art, but its form and function certainly deserve interest (see Fig. 1).
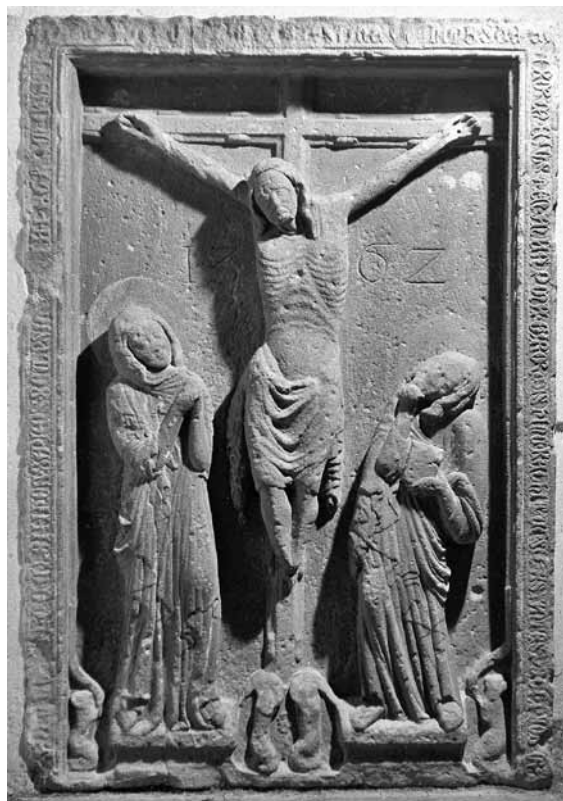

Fig. 1. Epitaph of Johann Sapiens' family in the church of St. Martin in Jawor, 1362, photo: R. Kaczmarek

The artwork, carved in sandstone, in the form of vertical rectangle, measures 150 cm high, 103 cm long, by a 22 cm thick (the slab alone), whereas the relief reaches 10 cm. The stone frame is 9.5 cm wide. The recessed bas-relief image, featuring Crucifixion with Virgin Mary and St. John, is surrounded on three sides by a band of bordering rim, with cambering on the inner edges. From the bottom the relief block is framed by a plain edge without any decorations. The band is filled with a majuscule inscription across its width. Christ is stretched on a cross with narrow beams, with recessed edge profiles and regularly spaced schematic branch knots. All ends of the cross beams meet the edges of the image field. Titulus with the letters

INRI is already placed on the bottom of the upper border of the slab. Christ's rather slender body hangs almost symmetrically on diagonally straightened arms. The deviation of the body from the cross axis to the right (from the viewer's side) is almost imperceptible. Despite the noticeable inclination of the head towards the right shoulder the face remains visible, facing straight ahead, oval in shape, surrounded by slightly wavy strands of hair that fall across the chest. The beard appears very sparse (the lower part of the chin is stubbled). The head shows a fine, rolled form of a crown of thorns. Christ's face, expressing suffering, was formed with moderate expression and by means of lines: a few wrinkles run across the forehead, the lines of the eyebrows rise up over the nose and droop noticeably at their edges, whereas furrows run from the nose toward the slightly drooping corners of the mouth. The tendon tension of the crooked neck seems more clearly and artfully marked. The rotund and somewhat flatly rendered torso, is marked by schematically engraved bowlike ribs, with a triangle of Christ's belly cutting in between them, on which several upwardly directed arched folds of muscle in contraction can be discerned. The chest crumples flat in the upper torso. The perizoma, covering the hips and slightly the knees, is laid out in small, parallel V-shaped folds, more voluminous in the central part, with a slight disruption of its rhythm at the top. At the sides hang conical festoons, of almost equal length, the surface of which is decorated with S-shaped curve lines at the edges. Legs with marked shin edges, now devoid of foot parts, are grinding together.

The figures of Mary (on the left) and St. John the Evangelist (on the right), with their heads turned towards the Crucified Christ, are placed on small, rectangular, pedestals on both sides of the cross. Despite the severe damage to the faces of both (especially St. John), the essentially linear shaping of the eyes and mouth, similarly to Christ's face, remains apparent. Mary's head is wrapped tightly in a shawl, the right end of which, drawn under her chin, falls along her left shoulder, and the left end, thrown back, is hooked over her right shoulder. John's oblong face is fringed by strands of long, slightly wavy hair. While Mary's posture, with slightly tilted head, joined hands raised in a gesture of despair, and minimally bent left leg, is fairly typical, things are different for the figure of St. John, being almost convulsively distorted. The lowered elbow of his left hand, in which he is holding the book, reaches down to the hip, while the right hand, with the forearm almost vertically positioned, supports the chin of the upraised face and the unnaturally tilted head. This gesture simultaneously imposes an arched and taut line on the entire backward-tilted figure. The robes of these two figures are gouged with vertical, parallel folds, the surface of which is varied here and there by a delicate grid of S-shaped curve lines marking the flow of the robe edges. The three-dimensionality of the folds seems only reinforced at the hip level of the figures, on the outer sides of the composition, where the robes slacks form the V-shape. At the bottom of the scene, squeezed between the pedestals, kneel tiny figures of orants facing the cross - one pair between Mary and John, the other at the edges, in the corners of the slab (see Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Epitaph of Johann Sapiens' family in the church of St. Martin in Jawor – lower part with the figures of the commemorated family members, photo: R. Kaczmarek

Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation of this fragment of the artwork makes impossible determining the gender of the kneeling persons. Perhaps the figure on the left in the central pair is wearing a shorter gown (caftan reaching mid-thigh?), judging by the more clear-cut form of the thin legs than it is among other kneelers. They all are basically of the same scale and follow a similar scheme of elongated figures, almost squatting in a kneeling position and holding in their folded hands flat ribbons of tightly rolled bands (phylacteries). Amid the outermost figures they run upwards, while in the central pair they wrap over their heads to fall behind their backs. A small, schematically rendered skull can be discerned between these orants, lying beneath the cross. Faint traces of red and blue in the background and intrados, red and green on the cross, and red alone on the mantle of St. John, are evidence of the panel's former polychromy. There are also traces of polychrome on halos of Virgin Mary and St. John.[1]

II

The state of research on the discussed artwork is rather inconsiderable. Its findings are limited to establishing the artwork's role, dating, as well as formal and stylistic analogies of the cross itself. The relief in question has been referred to as

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[1] In the 2nd half of the 19th century, the relief was covered with oil paint, removed during the restoration in the 20th century. See: *Prace konserwatorskie na terenie województw jeleniogórskiego, legnickiego, wałbrzyskiego, wrocławskiego w latach 1974–78*, Wrocław, 1985, p. 65.

a grave stone (*Grabstein*),[2] a memorial stone (*Denkstein*),[3] a votive relief (*Votivrelief*)[4] or simply as a "relief with the Crucifixion",[5] "gravestone"[6] or "tombstone".[7] At the end of the 1980s, the term epitaph began to be used, somewhat intuitively, as the content of the inscription was not yet full deciphered.[8] The dating of the artwork has always oscillated around the date "1362", placed in the background of the scene, on the sides of the cross, written in Arabic numerals, the role of which has not been identified so far. All scholars, except perhaps Alwin Schultz, have doubted the possibility of its simultaneous graving together with the whole relief.[9] It was not stated, however, when this would take place.

The artwork's form and style was explored most extensively by Erich Wiese, who saw certain similarities between the crucified Christ depicted here and the wooden crucifix from the church of the Ursulines (originally the Poor Clares) in Breslau (since 1945: Wrocław). He compared the shape of the cross in the form of Tree of Life with the crucifix, which at that time was mounted in the northern gallery of the St Barbara's Church in Breslau (both works are now in the National Museum in Warsaw). At the same time, he pointed to the „very old hand gestures" („sehr alten Gestus der Hände") of Mary and St. John the Evangelist, the emphasis on suffering in the expression on Christ's face, and the artist's familiarity with the ivory carving technique evident in the relief, similarly to the Crucifix from the Poor Clares. Four small figures, kneeling at the bottom, were identified as the supposed funders.[10]

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2 "Die Pfarrkirche zu St. Martin und die Engelsburg in Jauer", *Silesia. Museum für schlesische Vaterlandskunde mit Inbegriff der Lausitz*, 1841, 1, Lief. 6, p. 55; A. Schultz, "Analecten zur schlesischen Kunstgeschichte", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertum Schlesiens*, 1870, 10, H. 1, p. 143.

3 A. Knoblich, "Das Pacificale von Liebenthal", *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, 1866, 1, Bericht 6, p. 46.

4 E. Wiese, *Schlesische Plastik vom Beginn des XIV. bis zur Mitte XV. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 21.

5 H. Lutsch, *Verzeichnis der Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Schlesien*, Bd. III, Breslau, 1891, p. 403; Wiese, op. cit., pp. 73, 100, 102; O. Koischwitz, *Jauer. Ein Wegweiser durch die Heimat und ihre Geschichte*, Jauer, 1930, p. 55.

6 S. Jastrzębski, *Jawor i okolice. Przewodnik turystyczny*, Wrocław, 1973, p. 90.

7 *Prace konserwatorskie…*, loc. cit.

8 I. Błaszczyk, "Temat drzewa w średniowiecznej sztuce śląskiej", in: *Sztuki plastyczne na średniowiecznym Śląsku. Studia i materiały*, Wrocław – Poznań, 1988, p. 12; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, "Ze studiów nad gotyckimi epitafiami obrazowymi mieszczaństwa na Śląsku", in: *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV-XVIII w. w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej*, ed. J. Harasimowicz, Warszawa, 1990, p. 171; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski,"Gotyckie epitafia obrazowe na Śląsku, cz. I", in: *Sztuki plastyczne na średniowiecznym Śląsku. Studia i Materiały II*, Wrocław – Poznań, 1990, p. 19; R. Kaczmarek, J. Witkowski, "Gotyckie epitafia obrazowe na Śląsku, cz. II, Zarys Katalogu", in: *Sztuki plastyczne na średniowiecznym Śląsku. Studia i Materiały III*, Wrocław – Poznań, 1990, p. 113.

9 Schultz, op. cit.: 1362; Knoblich, op. cit., probably mistakenly provides the date 1363; Wiese, op. cit.: ca. 1360; *Prace konserwatorskie…*, ca. mid-14th century; Kaczmarek, Witkowski, *Gotyckie epitafia,* cz. II: ca. 1360.

10 Wiese, op. cit., p. 21, fig. II,2.

III

The present location of the artwork in the Gothic Marian Chapel, which opens into the northern aisle of the church, is not the original. The earliest information about its location provide two sources written in Jawor. The first is a manuscript by Joachim Profe, an Evangelical archdeacon at St. Martin's Church, written around 1624. It states under the date 1362 that in addition to the information about the fire in Złotoryjska Street, "auch das Epitaphium am Beinhause aufm Kirchhofe aufgerichtet".[11] This is also confirmed by a passing reference in the *Annales Jaurani*, ending in the year 1619 and published in fragments in 1693. It refers to the same artwork: "Optimum Antiquitatis monumentum in ossuario Dormitorii S. Martini exstare scribit, ubi haec leguntur verba: Johannes sapiens me sculpsit, additis numeris 1363".[12] The wall of the mortuary (*ossuarium*, *karner*, *Beinhaus*) was therefore probably the original location of the relief in question. The building was once located within the church cemetery and is also mentioned by Christian Friedrich Emanuel Fischer, who provided the date 1363 as the year of its construction without any indication of its source.[13] The mortuary may have been erected earlier (the church itself existed before the mid-12th century), and such dating was most likely based on a misread or incorrectly transcribed date shown on the relief in question.[14] The original church cemetery was enclosed to the north and northeast by the town wall; near the presbytery to the east stood the parsonage building, which has survived to this day. The mortuary was probably located in the south-eastern part of the church square, judging by its present topography, but especially deducing from the description in the church visitations. According to the visitations, the ossuary is mentioned in 1651 as a place where water from the washing of liturgical vessels and used water from the baptismal font was poured out, and also in 1677, when more details were provided. A large stone building, which the visitor associated

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11 *Joachimi Profii Javoriensia Memorabilia…,* manuscript from the collection of University Library in Wrocław (pol. Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Wrocław, BUWr.) in the Department of Manuscripts (pol. Dział Rękopisów), sign. R 613, pages have no numbers, in chronological order. About the author see: G. Schönaich, *Die alte Fürstentumshauptstadt Jauer. Bilder und Studien zur jauerischen Stadtgeschichte*, Jauer, 1903, p. 95.

12 *Godofredi Rhonii Vratislaviensis Epistolarum Historicarum secunda de Quibusdam Ineditis Historiae Silesiacae Scriptoribus*, Wratislaviae, 1693, p. B2, the term "Dormitory" used here certainly refers to the cemetery grounds; there is an obvious mistake in the date.

13 Ch. F. E. Fischer, *Geschichte und Beschreibung der schlesischen Fürstentumhaupstadt Jauer*, Th. 1, Jauer, 1803, pp. 72–73. The incorrect date of 1363 with reference to the epitaph was first provided by G. Rhonius, op. cit. which can probably be regarded as a printing or reading error. He was probably followed by Fischer, op. cit., who regarded it as the date of construction of the mortuary. Similarly it is written with an error by Knoblich, op. cit.

14 Examples of charnel houses preserved in Silesia: at the parish church in Lwówek and in Słup near Jawor, see: R. Kaczmarek, "<Ossuarium> przy kościele w Słupie. Funkcje i analogie", in: *Cysterskim szlakiem przez województwo legnickie. Materiały z konferencji w Muzeum Okręgowym w Legnicy*, ed. A. Niedzielenko, Legnica, 1995, pp. 49–57.

with some kind of "mausoleum", stood to the south of the parsonage building; it was to be decorated with some unspecified statues (*statuae*) carved in stone and already at that time bearing traces of neglect menacing further deterioration.[15] The demolition of the ossuary must have taken place between the end of the 17th and the end of the 18th century and was the reason for moving the Crucifixion slab to the church wall.[16] From there, it was moved before 1866 (perhaps in 1864) – possibly during one of Pastor Neugebauer's first restoration campaigns (1855-1899) – to its present location in the Marian Chapel.[17] Here, then, the lower edge of the slab was obscured with ceramic flooring and its surface covered with oil paint. Both were removed during a comprehensive restoration in 1976–1977.[18]

IV

The primary written source pertaining to the artwork in question is the inscription running along its three sides (Fig. 3). So far overridden, it daunted researchers by its bad state of preservation and illegibility increased by layers of paint. In 1879, Alwin Schultz had already lamented that the inscription was "nur stückweise erhalten" and "längere Zeit zur Entzifferung in Anspruch nehmen würde, als ich ihr widmen konnte".[19] Today its fragments are completely obliterated, especially on the upper band of bordering trim. The Latin inscription begins in the lower left corner of the slab and ends in the lower right corner.[20] The text is in relief, gothic majuscule, char-acterised by rather slender proportions. A clear tendency to form letters with closing forms is regarded as typical of the time around the mid-14th century. The typeface of the individual letters, which form numerous ligatures, varies. There are also two dif-ferent types of the same letter (e.g. H, N, T, U). The following reading is based on an *in situ* inspection,[21] then verified with photographs taken under oblique illumination.

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15 *Visitationsberichte der Diözese Breslau. Archidiakonat Liegnitz,* ed. J. Jungnitz, Breslau, 1908, pp. 2, 70 – "In aditu coemeterii (…) aedificium ex meris lapidibus valde spatiosum per modum mausolei. Pulchram illud e lapidibus excisae statuae administrant apparentiam et venustatem. (…) sensim per iniurias aeris interibit."

16 Rhonius, loc. cit., writing in 1693 about the mortuary could only quote an older chronicle. Fischer, op. cit., pp. 72–73, wrote in 1803 about the mortuary as "once existing", at the same time in that year the "Monument mit der Jahreszahl 1362" was already "in der hintern Kirch-enmauer", cf. ibid., p. 66, note 20.

17 By the time of Knoblich, op, cit. the epitaph was already standing in its present location. On the activities of parish priest Neugebauer see: Schönaich, op. cit., p. 9.

18 *Prace konserwatorskie…*, p. 65, fig. 18a-b – the works were carried out by students of the Conserva-tion Department of the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow under the tutelage of Ireneusz Płuska.

19 Schultz, loc. cit.; Lutsch, loc. cit. found it similarly unreadable – in ganz unleslichen Majuskeln".

20 Wiese, op. cit., p. 73, suggested that the text was supposed to be Czech: "Stark verzierte Majuskel. Tschechisch⸮".

21 It took place in the late 1980s. At that time I was assisted by Jacek Witkowski.

Fig. 3. Band of bordering rim with inscription from the epitaph of Johann Sapiens' family in the church of St. Martin in Jawor, 1362, photo: R. Kaczmarek

A[NNO] D[OMI]NI MIL[LESSIMO] · CCC · LXII · I[O]H[ANN]ES[22] · SA-
PIENS · SCULPSIT …. IH · PETRAM · C[H]RISTI / . . . . SIME ·
ET · ANIM[A]E · SU[A]E · ET · / UXOR[A]TA[23] · H[V]IVS + EN · ANNA · P[RI]MA
· GIRTRUDIS HINC · KATH[AR]I[N]A · UT · SIT[AE] · ASTANTES · PETI[UNT]
· P[RO] NO[BI]S · ORA.
(Translation: In the year of our Lord 1362 Jan Sapiens sculpted …… the stone of
Christ ………………. and of his soul and that of his wife + Behold, Anna the first,
Gertrude next, Catherine as buried ask passersby, pray for us)

The provided reading of the inscription,[24] although hypothetical in several places, gives premises to formulate the following conclusions. First, the dating of the artwork in question to 1362 should be accepted as certain. Secondary chiseling of the same date in Arabic numerals in the center of the relief occurred probably in the late 16th century at the earliest.[25] This can be inferred from the date 1573 with a similar typeface, also carved secondarily on the lintel of the entrance to the stair turret at the tower in the northwestern corner of the nave, with an inscription stating that its portal was erected in 1446. In this case, it may have been to immortalise the construction work carried out at that time on the church and its surroundings.[26]

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22 The abbreviation "Ihes" for the name Johannes is noted for the late 14th century (A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed Italiane…*, Milano, 1954, p. 175).

23 This term, rare in inscriptions, meaning married or married persons, is recorded for the Middle Ages, see. Ch. du Fresne (Du Cange), *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Vol. 6, Paris, 1846, pp. 899–900.

24 Rhonius, loc. cit., cites only a fragment of the inscription in the version: "Johannes sapiens me sculpsit".

25 Arabic numerals appear in wider use in Europe only from the late 14th century, see: *Clavis Mediaevalis. Kleines Wörterbuch der Mittelalterforschung*, eds. O. Meyer, R. Klauser, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 112. At least since the mid-16th century there has been a tendency in humanistic circles to use "retrospective" typefaces, e.g. in tombstones of people who had died much earlier; there is also an "ancient" interest in old lettering connected with a more general one concerning the history, see: R. M. Kloos, *Einführung in die Epigraphik des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, Darmstadt, 1980, pp. 131–143. Taking into consideration both these trends, the incising of the new date on the epitaph in Jawor should be interpreted.

26 F. A. Zimmermann, *Beyträge zur Beschreibung von Schlesien*, Bd. VI, Brieg, 1786, pp. 63, 71, mentions the construction of a new school "behind the church" (at its northwest corner) in 1573 and a complete renovation of the church in 1577.

An indication of the moment *ad quem* of the chiseling of the Arabic numerals on these two stone blocks in the church may be the phrase quoted after the *Annales Jaurani* – "additis numeris 1363 [sic!]", i.e. they were considered then (the annals end in 1619 and were published 1693) as an added element.[27] An example of a similar procedure, i.e. the posterior dating of a medieval stone artwork, is the relief in Würzburg, featuring the couple of funders kneeling before the Throne of Grace. It was originally placed in the *Totenkapelle* of the urban hospital. Dated around 1340-1350, it bears the date 1319 on its base, the same date as the foundation of the hospital, which was rebuilt at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries after being destroyed. Then this inscription was applied to the transferred slab.[28]

Secondly, the slab commemorates Johann Sapiens with his family. Johann appears in the sources for the history of Jawor only once, among the witnesses on a document issued in Jawor on 31 May 1359.[29] He was a town juror, just like his father (?) Konrad (Cunrad) Sapiens, who testified on a document dated 11 January 1324.[30] The inscription also mentions Johann's probably already deceased wife. However, it is difficult to decide which of the three female names refers to her. Most probably the first one - Anna. The next two, Gertrude and Catherine, refer to his subsequent wives or deceased daughters of Johann and Anna.[31] Thus, the number of people mentioned in the inscription corresponds to the number of figures kneeling under the scene of the Crucifixion.[32] The inscription does not include a date of death for any of the women mentioned or a formula that refers to them (e.g., *obiit*).

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27 Rhonius, loc. cit.

28 See: *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Bayern*, Bd. 3, *Die Kunstdenkmäler von Unterfranken und Aschaffenburg*, XII. *Stadt Würzburg*, ed. F. Mader, München, 1915, pp. 535, 538–539; *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern. Ein Handbuch zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums in der Kunsthalle Köln*, ed. A. Legner, Köln, 1978, Bd. 1, p. 349 (entry by: T. Breuer).

29 E. Graber, *Die Inventare der nichtstaatlichen Archive Schlesiens. Kreis Jauer* (Corpus Diplomaticus Silesiae, Bd. 35, further CDS), Breslau, 1930, p. 40, no. 20; *Regesty śląskie*, vol. 4: *1358–1359*, ed. J. Gilewska-Dubis, K. Bobowski, Wrocław – Warszawa (no publication date given), p. 202, no. 509.

30 Graber, op. cit., p. 34, no. 4, and *Regesten zur schlesischen Geschichte 1316–1326* (CDS, Bd. 18), eds. C. Grünhagen, K. Wutke, Breslau, 1898, p. 237, no. 4316, in the index (pp. 377, 387) suggestion concerning the identity of the surnames Sapiens and Weise (Wyse). If this is accepted, then another progenitor of the family in Jawor would be a member of the city council of Wrocław elected in 1316, Nikolaus der Weise (Nyckil Wyse) (ibid., pp. 6–7), who was recorded in Jawor as a juror in 1335, as a councillor in 1343, and as a mayor in 1357 (Graber, op. cit., pp. 36, 39).

31 A separate issue that requires verification is the possible identity of Johann, the founder of the 1362 slab, with Johann Sapiens, a burgher appearing in the Wroclaw sources, including his wife Anna (sic!) between 1366 and 1397, see: R. Stein, *Der Rat und die Ratsgeschlechter des alten Breslau*, Würzburg, 1963, p. 82; *Katalog dokumentów przechowywanych w Archiwach Państwowych Dolnego Śląska*, vol. 7, 1392–1400, ed. R. Stelmach, Wrocław, 1993, pp. 34, 41, 64, 82 (no. 123, 157, 271, 359).

32 This is not the rule in epitaphs, but in the early artworks dating from the 14th century the rule practice to keep the congruence between the number of people mentioned in the inscription and featured in the epitaph image, seem to be followed more strictly.

However, that all three or at least some of them were dead in 1362, can be inferred from the passage "ut sitae astantes petiunt pro nobis ora".

Thirdly, Johann Sapiens is also the founder of the artwork, for this is how the words "sculpsit (...) petram" should be understood. The phrase equating the act of foundation with the personal execution of the work has a parallel in German inscriptions, e.g. on Tile von Dale's epitaph featuring the Crucifixion between the saints and the kneeling founder (c. 1350), located in the north wing of the cloister of the monastery church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Magdeburg, which reads "dissen sten het ghegheven tile von dem dale got si em gnedich"[33] or very similarly worded on an epitaph or foundation slab (?) from the former church of St. Gangolf in Erfurt (1356).[34]

Fourthly, the inscription text makes it possible to clearly identify the relief memorial in Jawor as an epitaph founded by Johann Sapiens for his wife or wives, daughters and himself. It is the earliest surviving pictorial epitaph in Silesia and in this part of Europe. The mid-14th century is commonly referred to as the beginning of the popularity of this form of sepulchral monument.[35] At the same time, one cannot deny the founder's intentions to create some kind of votive work, which may be evidenced by the original location of the relief on the wall of the cemetery ossuary. Although the graves of Johann Sapiens' family may have been located near it, the image of the Crucified Christ also had the customary function of a crucifix in a cemetery, as a sign of the promise of salvation (the Tree of Life!) and a request for intercession.[36] Such a "monumental" and votive aspect of the foundation is emphasised by the first part of the inscription, in which Johann's personal contribution to the founding of the work is highlighted by its significant and symbolic designation as the "Christ Stone".[37] The play on the meanings of the word "petra", originating in the text of Matthew's gospel (16.18), is known from medieval epigraphy. Mostly, however, these words referred directly to the sepulchral stone (*sepulcro lapideo*),

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33 K. Weidel, H. Kunze, *Das Kloster Unser Lieben Frauen in Magdeburg*, Augsburg, 1925, p. 111, fig. 115; H. Möbius, *Das Liebfrauenkloster in Magdeburg* (Das christliche Denkmal, H. 84), Berlin, 1972, p. 28.

34 R. Jahr, W. Lorenz, "Die Erfurter Inschriften bis zum Jahre 1550", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertums von Erfurt*, 1915, H. 36, p. 138. The slab in the collection of Angermuseum in Erfurt.

35 P. Schoenen, "Epitaph", in: *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. 5, 1967, pp. 874, 877.

36 A similar case of a personal, private devotional (?) foundation determined by the common good can be found in Erfurt. There, a depiction of the Man of Sorrows and the monk-founder kneeling before him with a phylactery reading "Christ geruche zu labine di sele der begrabine Amen" (ca. 1350–1370) is carved on the wall of St. Peter's Church and is undoubtedly associated with the entire cemetery that once surrounded it, see among others: Jahr, Lorenz, op. cit.; O. Buchner, *Die mittelalterliche Grabplastik in Nord-Thüringen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Erfurter Denkmäler*, Strassburg 1902, p. 52.

37 Also in Erfurt, inscriptions on carved epitaphs (J. v. Allenblumen + 1432, 1429) or votive works (inscription from the former church of St. Gangolf, 1356) emphasise the merit of the founder in the execution of the work, but refer to it only as "steyn" without reference to the subject of the image, see: Cf. Buchner, op. cit., pp. 169–170; Jahr, Lorenz, op. cit., p. 138.

sometimes using wordplay when the commemorated person was named Peter.[38] In medieval Latin "petra" was even synonymous with stone – "petra seu lapis".[39] However, finding analogies for the wording used in Jawor in epitaph inscriptions turned out to be impossible.[40] The closest to it seems a passage in St. Paul's I Corinthians (I Cor. 10:4), which speaks of the spiritual rock that was Christ ("petra autem erat Christus"). These words echoes clearly in texts for the consecration of churches, such as the treatises of St. Bruno of Segni or Sicard of Cremona.[41] The same is true of Paul's words in his letter to the Ephesians (Eph. 2:20–22), in which he calls Christ the cornerstone on which "all building is erected".[42] The meaning and context of the wording used in the inscription in Jawor makes probable the multiple intentions of the founder of the bas-relief and its function on the ossuary wall. Among the multiple aspects and functions of epitaphs, a possible reference to foundations of another kind (chapel, altar, mass, light), linked to the founding of this artwork itself, is also indicated. The pictorial epitaph itself, with its devotional image – in this case Christ on the Cross of Life could also be regarded and treated as a devotional object.[43] The memorial purpose of the Jawor epitaph is obvious, as it commemorates four specific persons, and possibly more, not necessarily indicated by name, if we assume that the missing part of the inscription mentioned, for example, the founder's parents. The votive purpose is stated – despite the absence of the destroyed key word defining the intention, we can guess it from the phrase "et animae suae" as the salvation of souls. Finally, a passage containing multilevel references to biblical texts as well as formulations, which entered into the consecration rites of churches and altars, provide a premise to interpret this family memorial and epitaph, at the same time, also as an ossuary foundation memorial. Of course, this is

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38 As in the case of the Bishop of Exeter, Peter de Quivil (d. 1291) – "Petra tegit Petrum..." (F.P. Weber, *Des Todes Bild*, Berlin, 1923, p. 86), or the Archbishop of Mainz, Peter von Aspelt (d. 1320) – "Petrum petra tegit", see:https://www.inschriften.net/suchergebnis. html?tx_hisodat_search%5BsearchMode%5D=20&tx_hisodat_search%5Bquery%5D=searc hstrings%3A10%3B1%3BPetra%3B0&tx_hisodat_search%5BitemsPerPage%5D=10&tx_hiso-dat_search%5BorderBy%5D=70&tx_hisodat_search%5BascDesc%5D=10&tx_hisodat_search%5BcurrentPage%5D=3&tx_hisodat_search%5Bsource%5D=4325&tx_hisodat_search%5Baction%5D=searchdetails&tx_hisodat_search%5Bcontroller%5D=Sources&cHash=039c 95a0637c73c66cadf49f14ef6963 [accessed 16 February 2022].

39 Ch. du Fresne (Du Cange), op. cit., t. 5, Paris 1845, pp. 228–229.

40 Jean Michaud (+2001), with whom I consulted this passage of the inscription from Jawor in Poitiers in 1989, was not familiar with the phrase "petra Christi" in connection with the Cru-cifixion scenes, but he expressed the conviction that its origins should be sought in the liturgy and in the dedication inscriptions of altars and churches.

41 J. Michaud, *Les inscriptions de consécration d'autels et de dédicace d'églises en France du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle. Épigraphie et liturgie*, (thèse de 3e cycle), Poitiers, 1978, pp. 30–32, 45–46.

42 See: C. Treffort, "Une consécration <<à la lettre>>. Place, rôle et autorité des textes inscrits dans la sacralisation de l'église", in: *Mises en scène et mémoires de la consécration de l'église dans l'Occident médiéval*, D. Méhu (dir.), Turnhout, 2008, pp. 227–228.

43 Schoenen, op. cit. – "Auch das E. selbst konnte als Andachtsbild mit der Stiftung gemeint sein, wobei der Verstorbene als Dank ein Gebet für seine Seelenruhe erwartete".

solely on the assumption that the ossuary was not erected earlier, which could only be verified by archaeological research. It probably consisted of a crypt for bones and an upper storey with a chapel and altar. Johann Sapiens would thus have provided a "public utility" foundation, intended for the community of the dead buried in the cemetery and those whose bones had already been dropped into the ossuary crypt. It was primarily for their intentions that masses were offered in such *Totenkapellen*. The depiction of Christ on the cross shaped as the Tree of Life seem an appropriate image to all these potential aspects of the foundation.

V

One of the reasons why the epitaph in question can be regarded as being an artwork of value is its status of the "first work" in Silesia in the category of a pictorial epitaphs, regardless of its other potential functions. Additionally, remarkable seem the time gap separating the Johann Sapiens family epitaph from subsequent stone epitaphs in the region, executed as early as in the 1490s.[44] Before this date, however, painted epitaphs preserved at this territory came into existence. In the 14th century in Silesia, the epitaph from Jawor is both the first and an unique work, as the time of popularity of this type of stone epitaphs in the region came only at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, although limited mainly to Breslau.[45]

These circumstances allow of searching for possible models and references in places where the pictorial epitaph found favourable conditions for development already at the dawn of its existence as a type of sepulchral monument. At first sight, Thuringia with Erfurt seem the place, geographically closest to Silesia, where stylistically and typologically related artworks have been preserved. In the 14th century, the flourishing of Erfurt found reflection in numerous artistic foundations, among which, in the middle of this century, the carved stone epitaphs emerged as the most preferred type of sepulchral monument among the wealthy burghers.[46] The earliest Erfurt epitaphs date from the 1360s.[47] In the following decades, a few major formal and compositional types of this artworks emerged, repeated with only minor modifications until the first half of the 15th century. The essential elements constituting the form of the epitaph from Jawor bore analogies to them, including: the shape of vertical rectangle with an inscription border covering only three sides; a hugely popular theme of the Crucifixion with figures of Mary and St. John

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44 Pictorial epitaphs dated to 1494 in Wroclaw: Fogelers in St. Mary Magdalene Church and Catherine Eszligeryn from the cemetery at St. Elizabeth Church.

45 Kaczmarek, Witkowski, "Ze studiów…"; idem, "Gotyckie epitafia…".

46 See among others: Buchner, op. cit.; H. Kunze, *Die Plastik des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Sachsen und Thüringen*, Berlin, 1925.

47 The oldest in Thuringia is an epitaph from the Dominican church in Eisenach, dating to around or just after 1350, see: Buchner, op. cit., pp. 81–82.

placed on consoles;[48] a cross with a horizontal beam elevated high to the edge of the epitaph slab, which means that the titulus must often be placed already in the field of the bordering rim with inscription;[49] finally, the very type of the crucified Christ with a straight-up body, symmetry of which is disturbed only by the inclination of the head, an articulated torso and a perizoma with two evenly flowing cascades on the sides[50] (see Fig. 4). However, all the features provided are at most contemporary to the relief from Jawor, never earlier.

Fig. 4. Epitaph of Johann Sapiens' family in the church of St. Martin in Jawor, 1362, fragment, photo: R. Kaczmarek

Recognising the unquestionable commonality of the forms of the artworks from Jawor and Erfurt, the sculptures executed in the workshops connected to "the artistic circle of Magdeburg and Halberstadt", as the monographer of Saxo-Thuringian

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48 The early Franconian and Swabian epitaphs, dating from the 1360s., are dominated by Marian scenes, which do not begin to predominate in Thuringia until the late 15th century (Buchner, op. cit., p. 62).

49 E.g., relief from the tower of St. Nicholas Church (1361); epitaph with the Crucifixion from the Franciscan Church, now in the Angermuseum in Erfurt (1360–1370); epitaph of Rudolf von Vitztum and his daughters in the Dominican Church (c. 1365).

50 Among others, the first two examples in the footnote no. 49.

art Hans Kunze called them, should be also taken into consideration. According to Kunze's findings, it was an artistic region that, like Nuremberg, adopted certain tendencies of Strasbourg sculpture in the 2nd quarter of the 14th century. In these circumstances, shortly after 1360, a workshop emerged, which would determine the character of stone sculpture in Thuringia, and to some extent Saxony, for many years to come.[51] The origins of the formal and stylistic features of Johann Sapiens' epitaph would not, of course, lie in the leading works from Halberstadt or Erfurt, but in certain sculptures dependent on the main workshop. Before they appeared, there were some prototypical solutions applied in this artistic circle, although stylistically different. They are exemplified by the already mentioned Magdeburg epitaph of Tile von Dale (ca. 1350), which featured a crucifix type repeated by the another and later active workshop (see Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Epitaph of Tile von Dale (ca. 1350), Magdeburg, Unser Lieben Frauen Monastery, photo: R. Kaczmarek.

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51 Kunze, op. cit., pp. 53–64.

A type of crucifix similar to the one in Jawor can be found on the stone retable of St. Elisabeth in Magdeburg Cathedral, dating from the 1360s (see Fig. 6).
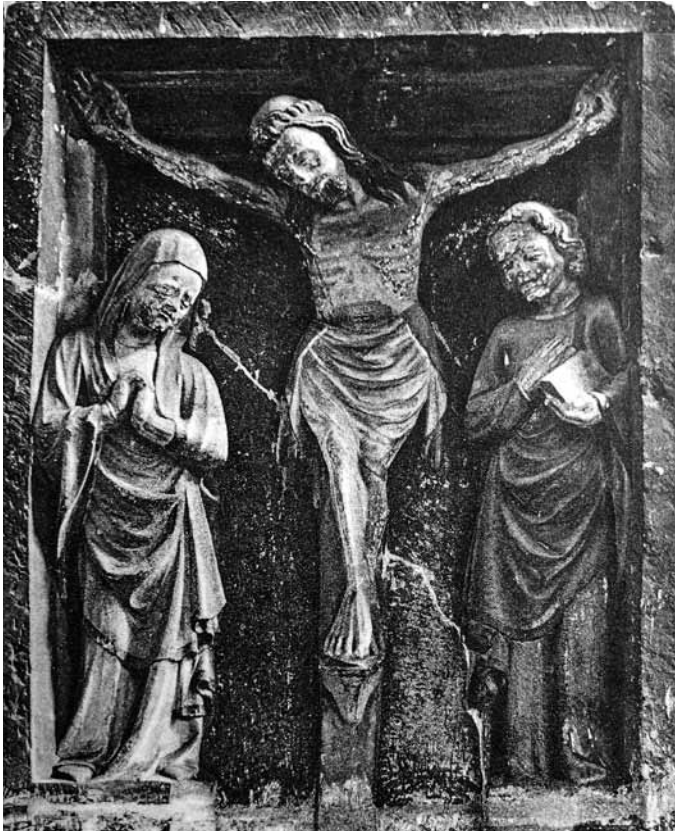
Fig. 6. Crucifixion – upper part of St. Elisabeth's altarpiece in the Magdeburg Cathedral, ca. 1360, photo after: H. Kunze, *Die Plastik des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Sachsen und Thüringen*, Berlin, 1925.

This work is stylistically related to the earlier and precisely dated epitaph of Sophie von Warberg (+1358) at the Marienberg monastery near Helmstedt,[52] important in this research, as it is the earliest precisely dated example from that area of a fully developed epitaph form, which also had a strong impact on Erfurt art. The functional aspect of the new type of sepulchral monument is important with reference to the Jawor artwork, but so is the pose of the kneeling and almost squatting orant with the band wrapped above her back, as seen in the microminiaturised and multiplied version in the Jawor relief. As analogies from Erfurt itself, two other early examples of the stilistic transfer of the "artistic circle of Magdeburg and Halber-

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52 See: ibid., pp. 53–56, 79–80.

stadt" to this area need to be provided. In the epitaph (?) featuring the Crucifixion, preserved in the Angermuseum in Erfurt and dated to 1360–1370 (see Fig. 7), the crucifix type mentioned above appears, while the large-scale figure of the founder can be traced back to the epitaph of Sophie von Warberg.[53] However, the closest in time and composition to the Silesian epitaph is the foundation relief from 1361, now built-in the tower of St. Nicholas Church in Erfurt[54] (see Fig. 8).

Fig. 7. Slab of stone epitaph (?) from Franciscan monastery church in Erfurt, ca. 1360–1370 (Erfurt, Angermuseum), photo from R. Kaczmarek's archive.

Even though it is impossible to provide a detailed comparison of these two objects, mostly due to the poor state of preservation of the relief, the already described form of the crucifix, as well as the similar pose of St John, characterised by a curve of the silhouette similar to the one in Jawor, emphasising the fact, that he is looking at Christ, can be observed in the artwork from Erfurt. What is more, it is also an example, rather rare in the sculpture of Erfurt in the years 1360s–1370s, of featuring the donors in a notably reduced scale, characteristic for the relief from Jawor.

53 Ibid., pp. 17, 55, 74.
54 Ibid., pp. 18, 76. Kunze dates it to 1360–1370, while Jahr, Lorenz, op. cit., p. 138, give an inscription with the date 1361, read despite heavy deterioration.

Fig. 8. Relief from the tower of St. Nicholas Church in Erfurt, 1361, photo after: H. Kunze, *Die Plastik des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts in Sachsen und Thüringen*, Berlin, 1925.

The presumption of a connection between the Silesian epitaph and the sculptures of the "circle of Magdeburg and Halberstadt" may also be strengthened by the dependence on ivory carving emphasised in both cases. However, Kunze rightly put it, when he claimed that "if types come from ivory relief, they are already rooted in the homeworkshop".[55] A similar view has recently been expressed regarding the role of Byzantine patterns in late 12th- and early 13th-century sculpture in the territory of German Reich, which "had already incorporated Byzantine elements into its stylistic and motivic canon".[56] In a similar way, the characteristic gestures and postures of Mary and John in the Byzantine Crucifixion scenes and their imitations probably influenced the monumental sculpture of the 1st half of the 13th century, such as the groups of figures mounted on the beams of chancel archs or rood screens (Wechselburg and Freiberg in Saxony, or Gualöv in Skåne).[57]

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55 Kunze, op. cit., pp. 54–55.

56 M. Beer, *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zu Typus und Genese im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler*, Regensburg, 2005, p. 618.

57 Cf. D. Schubert, *Von Halberstadt nach Meißen. Bildwerke des 13. Jahrhunderts in Thüringen, Sachsen und Anhalt*, Köln, 1974, pp. 73–74, 249.

VI

The artist responsible for the execution of the stone epitaph from Jawor, as this text has attempted to demonstrate, could have been familiar with the art of Saxony and northern Thuringia, especially with the sculptural production of the workshop that came to Halberstadt in the 1350s, and in the following years remained active in the region, making Erfurt an important centre of medieval sculpture. He was no stranger to certain formal and content-related "innovations" in sepulchral art emerging at the time. At the same time, in terms of technique, the artwork in question does not exceed the average for Silesia, which in the 14th century experienced its first heyday of stone sculpture and woodcarving. Taking into consideration its functional type, however, the epitaph from Jawor remained unique in Silesia. Thus, we are dealing with a singular order, not to say accidental, at least against the background of Silesian works preserved to our times. But are the formal and stylistic features of the Crucifixion relief in question as distinct in Silesia in the mid-14th century as the functional type of this work? Erich Wiese did, after all, point to a Breslau context for it in the two wooden crucifixes. Undoubtedly convincing is his comparison of the form of the cross itself, the one on the epitaph, and the one from the group from St. Barbara's Church: their proportions, the cambering on the edges of the beams, and the truncated branches placed in them. Currently it is an individual preserved example of such, from many that surely existed, not only in Silesia. More significant, therefore, are certain similarities in the shape of the figural part that seem to occur when comparing the Christ from the Jawor epitaph to several other Silesian sculptures of the Crucified Christ. Erich Wiese pointed to a crucifix from the former church of the Poor Clares (later known as the Ursulines) in Breslau, which would also bear some analogies to the image from the epitaph.[58] Of the individual features of the first sculpture listed by him, only "a certain tendency to keep flatness", "a flat torso and thin, short arms", "a slight inclination of the head and a moderate tilt of it to the right" are actually similar.[59] The crucifix from the Poor Clares has a decidedly dynamic composition and a different form of the perizoma. Dating its composition to the 2nd third of the 14th century[60] may be subject to correction if compared with the well-dated Crucifixion in Missal R 164, on which work began in 1325.[61] However, among quite a number of preserved Silesian crucifixes of that time, there are also a few others, which partly show some formal similarities with the stone crucifix in

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58 Wiese, op. cit., p. 21 – "hat manche der genannten Eigentümlichkeiten (…) gemein".
59 Wiese, op. cit., p. 21, 94 – "Streben nach Wahrung der Fläche", "der flache Oberkörper und die dünnen, kurzen Arme", "Haupt (..) nur leicht herabgesunken und mäßig nach rechts geneigt".
60 Wiese, op. cit., pp. 21, 94; *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters. Kritischer Katalog der Ausstellung in Breslau 1926*, eds. H. Braune, E. Wiese, Leipzig, 1929, p. 16; *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Breslau* [Die Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Niederschlesien Bd. I], Teil 2, ed. L. Burgemeister, G. Grundmann, Breslau, 1933, p. 35; M. Wisłocki, "XIV-wieczne krucyfiksy na Śląsku", *Dzieła i Interpretacje*, 1993, 1, pp. 13, 19.
61 E. Kloss, *Die schlesische Buchmalerei des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1942, p. 221, fig. 46. Wisłocki, op. cit., compared a crucifix from the Poor Clares with this miniature, but placed it shortly before 1350.

question. When excluding from the further considerations crucifixes characterised by a more three-dimensional shape of the chest, characteristic intercostal M-shape below the sternum, pronounced bending of the legs and a different composition of the perizoma (e.g. crucifixes from the churches of St. Barbara and St. Elizabeth and Corpus Christi in Breslau), then in addition to the sculpture from the Poor Clares, two others objects, both currently stored in the Archdiocesan Museum in Breslau, should be taken into account. The first is a crucifix of unknown origin (see Fig. 9), the second is a torso of a crucifix from the church of St. John the Baptist in Kunzendorf (pl.: Chichy) (see Fig. 10, 11).

Fig. 9. Breslau, Crucifix (Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław), photo: M. Kujda.

Fig. 10. Torso of a crucifix from the church of St. John the Baptist in Kunzendorf (Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław), photo: M. Kujda.

What they do have in common with the relief form Jawor is primarily the general composition of the figure stretched almost symmetrically on the cross, with its legs only slightly bent at the knees and its head tilted to the side, but with its face still clearly visible to a viewer situated straight ahead. What is more, the same shape of the body with the chest flattened from above, the slight arches of the ribs falling horizontally, separated by a sharp triangle of the rib arch can be observed. Within it, muscles above the slight protrusion of the belly has been marked.

Fig. 11. Crucifixes: a) from Jawor epitaph, photo: R. Kaczmarek; b) from Kunzendorf (in 1926), photo after: *Schlesische Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters. Kritischer Katalog der Ausstellung in Breslau 1926*, eds. H. Braune, E. Wiese, Leipzig, 1929.

The perizomas slightly covering the knees, below which the almost symmetrical festoons end, differ in the details of the middle part. Undoubtedly, however, these three crucifixes (from the epitaph and the two carvings) demonstrate some unity – the application of similar formular by three different artists at a similar time and within the broader Silesian artistic community.

The abovementioned conclusion seems crucial for defining the chronology of wooden crucifixes, as it can be related to the precisely dated image from Jawor. The crucifix from Kunzendorf has been dated to the 2nd half or the end of the 14th century,[62] whereas the second sculpture to ca. 1380.[63] One can, of course, assume the persistence of certain formal types, but the examples compiled here do not reveal any changes of a stylistic nature that would justify a significant extending of their chronologies. Thus, in all probability, the carved crucifixes in question were created around 1360, or in the years 1350–1370. This assumption in no way alters the chronology of other Silesian wooden crucifixes of the type mentioned above from the churches of Corpus Christi, St. Barbara, St. Elizabeth, and related to them,

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62 Braune, Wiese, op. cit., p. 19; Nowack, 1932, pp. 55–56; Wisłocki, op. cit., p. 11.

63 A. Ziomecka, "Materiały do drewnianej rzeźby XIV wieku na Śląsku", in: *Sztuki plastyczne na średniowiecznym Śląsku. Studia i Materiały III*, Wrocław – Poznań, 1990, pp. 48–49; Wisłocki, op. cit., p. 11.

whose proposed time of execution is determined to the 3rd quarter or 2nd half of the 14th century. They do represent only a slightly different and simultaneously applied formal modus. The origin of both *modi* characterised here goes back at least to the 2nd half of the 13th century.

The crucifix depicted in the relief from Jawor turned out to be rather typical for the contemporary Silesian sculpture, in contrast to the assisting figures of Virgin Mary and St. John, whose archaic nature of gestures was pointed out by Erich Wiese. In Silesia, Bohemia and Poland, however, no examples of sculptural assisting figures from before the beginning of the 14th century have survived. In consequence, the references and sources of inspiration applied in the process of creation of the figures of Virgin Mary and St. John in relief from Jawor should be searched for in territories west of Silesia or having regard to the possibility of drawing inspiration from portable microplastic objects and miniature painting. The closest sculptural precedents for this 'archaic' expression of gestures of ancient origin in the relief from Jawor, especially the figure of St John with his right forearm raised vertically and his hand touching the cheek in a gesture of grief, can be found in the above-mentioned examples of monumental groups of Crucifixions from Germany and in the microplastics of the 11th–13th centuries (see Fig. 12, 13).

Gestures made their home in Silesian miniature painting for a long time, as they continue into the 14th and up to the early 15th century. The fact is that with reference to all examples given, the composition of the figures and draperies are definitely in keeping with the style trends of the era.[64] What distinguishes the figure of St. John in the work from Jawor, is the dynamics of bending his body backwards, corresponding with the face directed upwards towards Christ, and the gesture of touching or supporting the beard. One cannot exclude that the artist compiled two main types of St. John's figure – the first of presentational mode appearing in Crucifixion scenes and the second one that appeared in more dramatic, narrative compositions or being supplemented with personifications of the Ecclesia and Synagogue. Such dynamic poses of the two assisting figures representing both mentioned types can be found in microplastics, but are seemingly more natural in their second type, from which they probably originate.[65] Interestingly, similar dynamism of the poses and the gesture of the upraised hand can be found among the secondary figures in the Crucifixion scene – such as in the depiction of the centurion standing under the cross in the miniature in the Breslau Missal of 1366.[66] The origins of the parallel and vertically running folds of Mary's and John's robes on the epitaph from Jawor, in turn, should be searched for in the monumental wooden sculpture of the 1st half of the 13th century as well as in microplastics, sometimes passing on distant traditions of Byzantine reliefs, or in the miniature painting of that time.

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64 Kloss, op. cit., fig. 36, 37, 46, 51, 84, 147.

65 A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII. – XI. Jahrhundert*, Bd. II, Berlin, 1918, Pl. XVIII,57; idem, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI.–XIII. Jahrhundert*, Bd. IV, Berlin, 1926, p. 41, Pl. XLIX,137.

66 Ibid., p. 211, fig. 88; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu, Oddział Rękopisów, sign. B 1711.

Fig. 12. Assisting figures of Virgin Mary and St. John of monumental Crucifixions from: a) Altenstadt bei Schongau, beginning of the 13th century, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, München, photo after: M. Beer, *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zu Typus und Genese im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Mit einem Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler*, Regensburg, 2005; b) Kathedral in Freiberg, source: *Freiberg Dom*, Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Freiberg,_Dom,_romanische_Kreuzigungsgruppe-005.jpg [accessed 16 February 2022]

What should direct attention to microplastics in particular, however, is the peculiar wrapping of Mary's maphorion with one end flipped from the front and the other at the back. For both of the above-mentioned formal features there is no analogy in Silesian, Bohemian and, it seems, also Central European sculpture of the 14th century.[67] The composition of the maphorion's folds seems as archaic as the gestures of the figures. Even more telling is the lack of analogies for the specific wrapping of Mary's head in the German sculptural Crucifixion groups of the 12th–13th centuries, gathered together in the publication of Manuela Beer. In contrast, they were

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67 An exception is the painting of the Throning Madonna of Archbishop Ernst of Pardubice from around the mid-14th century, where the maphorium has a similar arrangement, which is supported by the Italian-Byzantine origins of the work (Gemäldegalerie Berlin, inv. no. 1624).

detected in microplastics between the 9th and mid-12th century[68] (see Fig. 14). On the other hand, precedents for the use of pedestals under the assisting figures in the Crucifixion group appear both in ivory reliefs and in monumental sculpture.[69]
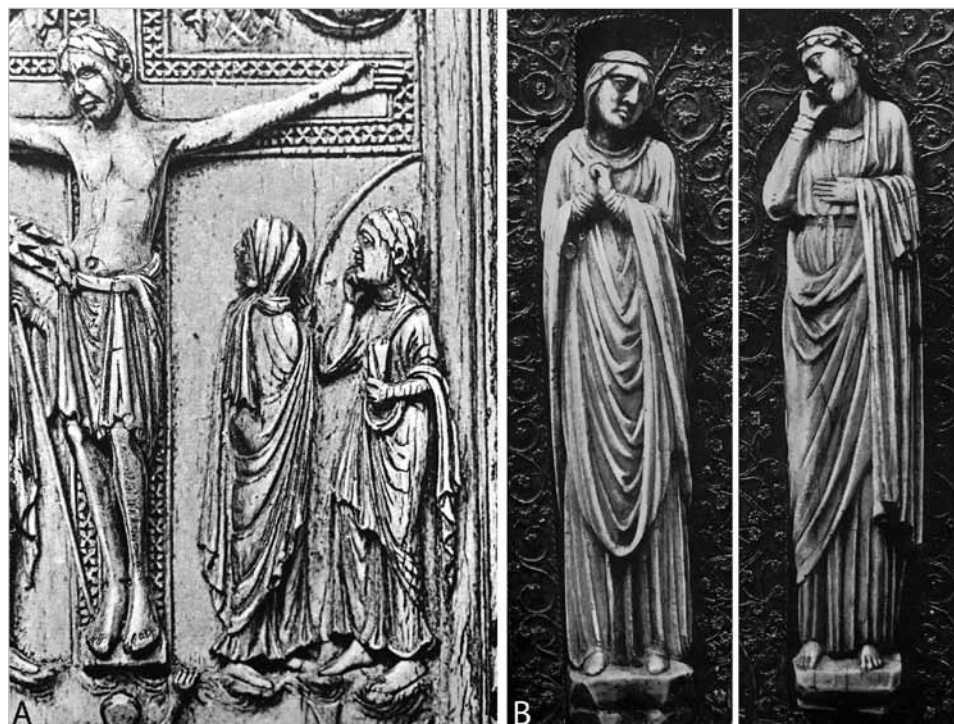
Fig. 13. Assisting figures of Virgin Mary and St. John in microplastic: a) Cathedral of Tongeren, fragment of a cover, 1st half of the 11th century; b) Fragment of a codex cover, ca. 1250, Nationalmuseet København; photos after: A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert*, Bd. II, Berlin, 1918.

It turns out that the relief, which for various reasons has not aroused much interest so far, gives rise to many interesting epigraphic, iconographic and artistic problems and controversies. As far as its function is concerned, it is the oldest known example of a pictorial epitaph in Silesia, definitely predating the local development of this type of sepulchral monument. Perhaps the founder intended

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68 A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII. – XI. Jahrhundert*, Bd. I, Berlin, 1914, p. 48, Pl. XXXVI,86; Goldschmidt, op. cit., Bd. II, Berlin, 1918, p. 50, Pl. XLVI,163; p. 50, Pl. XLVII,167; idem, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI.–XIII. Jahrhundert*, Bd. III, 1923, p. 14, Pl. VII,24.

69 Cf. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen ...*, Bd. III, Taf. VII,23, XLVI,27.

Fig. 14. Maphorium of Virgin Mary from the crucifixion scenes: a) Jawor epitaph, photo: R. Kaczmarek; b) Belgium/Rhineland (⚥), ca. 1100, Aachen Domschatz; c) Belgium/Rhineland (⚥), ca. 1100, British Museum, London; d) Belgium, ca. 1150, Sigmaringen; photos after: A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser, VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert*, Bd. II, Berlin, 1918.

the memoria of his own family to be linked to a more general purpose – the good of the community – as a sign of salvation placed in the space of the parish cemetery. This was expressed in the iconography, the soteriological aspect of which was raised in an erudite passus in the inscription. In terms of formal and stylistic characteristics a multi-layered genetic threads has been revealed, linking the work to both chronologically and geographically distant European pictorial tradition, furthermore showing the most probable location from which the new functional type was drawn, and finally allowing it to be well embedded in local Silesian art around the mid-14th century. Finally, the epitaph slab became a testimony of interest of an unknown antiquary-epigraphist, focused on the local history, who may have read the inscription at the end of the 16th century and had it engraved with the date of the artwork's execution, which was already defined as "Optimum Antiquitatis monumentum", for the benefit of others.

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Architectural Designs Attributed to Simon Pitz in the Collection of the Jesuit Archive in Glatz

Abstract

Simon Pitz (1592–1625) was a Jesuit architect providing designs for numerous Jesuit buildings in Czechia, Moravia, Silesia and Poland. His oeuvre was known from several designs preserved in archives in Czechia, as well as the Jesuit Archive in Cracow (some of which were published in both Czech and Polish literature). An inventory in this order's archive in Glatz (pol.: Kłodzko), drawn in 2018, revealed some previously unknown designs by this architect, some of which show alternative versions of designs already linked with Pitz, others can be attributed to him on the basis of distinctive architectural motifs or details. The article presents some of these previously unknown drawings by the architect, preserved in Polish archives, among others: alternative designs for the Jesuit church in Jitschin, additional designs of the college and church in Königgrätz, Jesuit novitiate (seminary) in Böhmisch Krumau and five versions of designs for the church in Komotau. Some designs may have been developed for Kuttenberg – they depict a huge complex of buildings (approx. 182 by 104 m), with a church surrounded by five courtyards. Designs preserved in Glatz indicate also that Pitz was the author of the Jesuit church in Lutsk, which has been previously linked with Giacomo Briano. At the present state of knowledge it can be concluded that Pitz's legacy is among the largest and most interesting collections of designs by Jesuit architects active in Central Europe in the seventeenth century.

Keywords: Simon Pitz, Glatz, Kłodzko, Jesuit architecture, architectural drawings

Simon Pitz was born in Mesocco (nowadays part of canton of the Grisons in Switzerland) in 1592. At an early age he started to work for the Jesuit Order, which he joined as a lay brother in 1625. Since then he had worked as the architect of the province of Bohemia, providing designs for numerous Jesuit establishments in Czechia, Moravia and Silesia. He died on 15 June 1669 in Glatz (czech.: Kladsko, pol.: Kłodzko) leaving there an extensive collection of architectural drawings.

Until recently, Pitz has been known only from a short note in an article by Josef Špatny.[1] New information appeared in two works, written under the supervision of prof. Jiří Kroupa at the Masaryk University in Brno. Lenka Čéšková gathered archival notices about the architect and discussed his designs for the Jesuit church and college in Troppau (czech.: Opava, pol.: Opawa),[2] and Dana Toufarová wrote an outline of his life and artistic output. In an extensive dissertation, she ascribed to him several designs preserved in the Archive of the Southern Poland Province of the Society of Jesus in Cracow (APPPTJ), identified many buildings for which they were intended, analysed archival documentary sources and tried to compile his biography.[3] Nevertheless, her study may be supplemented with some previously unknown designs, preserved in the Jesuit Archive in Kłodzko (AKJK), as well as a few drawings in Cracow, which have not been included in previous publications.

The AKJK's collection, kept in the Jesuit house in Glatz, comprises 282 documents. Many of them, dating back to times, when the Knights Hospitaller had the right of patronage over the local parish church, are original vellum deeds, valuable as sources for the history of Glatz County and whole Kingdom of Bohemia. Since 1624, when the church was taken over by Jesuits, the archive has also kept documents of the Jesuit Order, related to their college, and various architectural drawings.[4] After Glatz was incorporated into Poland, the archive aroused no one's interest, the room in which it was housed was publicly accessible and unsecured. In the 1980s some documents, including a significant part of the graphic collection, were moved to the Jesuit archive in Cracow (APPPTJ).

The documents removed to Cracow attracted attention of some scholars. For example, Dariusz Galewski[5] published several articles on architectural drawings,

1 J. Špatný, "Výtvarní umělci a umělečtí řemeslníci mezi jesuity staré provincie české", *Zprávy České provincie T. J.*, 1940, 3, p. 8.

2 L. Čéšková, *'Collegii Societatis Jesu conceptus, et ideae'. Plánování, výstavba a funkce jezuitských kolejí v Opavě a v Jihlave ve druhé polovině 17. a na počátku 18. století*, master thesis under the supervision of prof. Jiří Kroupa, T.G. Masaryk University in Brno, 2005, pp. 49–53, https://is.muni.cz/th/mcldy/?so=ta;objem=1 [accessed 20 February 2021].

3 D. Toufarová, *Jezuité a architektura v české provincii v letech 1625 až 1675. Tradice a stavební praxe řádu na příkladu několika jezuitských kolejí*, doctoral dissertation under the supervision of prof. Jiří Kroupa, T.G. Masaryk University in Brno, 2019, https://is.muni.cz/th/dg9r0/ [accessed 20 February 2021].

4 About history of the archive see: B. Bretholz, *Das Pffarei-Archiv in Glatz und das Köglersche Urkunden- u. Aktenarchiv in der Pffarrei Ullersdorf*, Glatz, 1928.

5 D. Galewski, "Zespół siedmiu rysunków projektowych z XVII i XVIII wieku dotyczących kościoła jezuitów w Kłodzku", in: *Z dziejów rysunku i grafiki na Śląsku oraz w kolekcjach i zbiorach ze Śląskiem związanych. Materiały sesji Oddziału Wrocławskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Wrocław,*

including some of Pitz's designs, but did not identify them or specify their authorship.[6] All drawings kept in Cracow were inventoried in 2012–2013 by students of the Institute of Art History (Jagiellonian University), under the supervision of prof. Andrzej Betlej and photographed by Agnieszka Borkowska. Drawings preserved in the AKJK were discovered thanks to the recent works on securing, restoration and survey of all archival resources, initiated by the parish priest, Fr Robert Mól and Henryka Szczepanowska, with the support of the historian Mieczysław Kowalcze and engineer Grzegorz Zajączkowski. In 2018, we drew up an inventory of documents, which showed that only about 48 percent of archival materials recorded in the inventory from 1928 have survived.[7] It turned out that, apart from documents, the archive holds also numerous drawings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Having documented the collection,[8] we proceeded to the analysis of architectural designs, which allowed us to identify drawings by Pitz. Some of them show alternative versions of designs already linked with the architect, others can be attributed to him on the basis of distinctive architectural motifs or details such as distinctive linear scale marked with dots, or the way of drawing crosses. Some purely hypothetical conclusions can also be made on the basis of watermarks on paper used by Pitz. Our conclusions, presented in May 2019, were consistent with the results of Toufarová's research, published shortly thereafter.[9]

23–24 marca 1999, eds. B. Czechowicz, A. Dobrzyniecki, I. Żak, Wrocław, 1999, pp. 35–43; idem, "Wanitatywny rysunek ze zbiorów kłodzkich jezuitów", in: *Sztuka i dialog wyznań. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Wrocław, listopad 1999*, ed. J. Harasimowicz, Warszawa, 2000, pp. 351–356; idem, "Projekt prospektu organowego w kościele jezuitów w Kłodzku. Przyczynek do związków pomiędzy sztukami plastycznymi a muzyką w 1 połowie XVIII wieku", in: *Materiały z ogólnopolskiej sesji naukowej Rafał Maszkowski (1883–1901)*, *Tradycje Śląskiej Kultury Muzycznej*, 2005, 10, pp. 127–131; idem, "Castrum doloris generała Towarzystwa Jezusowego Goswina Nickela (1582–1664)", *Zeszyty Muzeum Ziemi Kłodzkiej*, 2011, 11, pp. 159–163.

6 D. Galewski, "Architektura budowli zakonnych w świetle projektów ze zbiorów kłodzkich jezuitów", in: *Silesia Jesuitica. Kultura i Sztuka zakonu jezuitów na Śląsku i w hrabstwie kłodzkim 1580–1776. Materiały konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Oddział Wrocławski Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki (Wrocław 6–8 X 2011) dedykowane pamięci Profesora Henryka Dziurli*, eds. D. Galewski, A. Jezierska, Wrocław, 2012 pp. 111–123.

7 We are grateful to all who have made it possible for us to conduct this research. In particular to: Henryka Szczepanowska, for the initiative and encouragement; Fr Robert Mól, for hospitality and zealous support of extensive scholarly and conservation work; Grzegorz Zajączkowski for logistical help and care for the entire project; and Mieczysław Kowalcze for kind and fruitful cooperation. We would also like to thank our colleagues and former students of the Art History Institute of the Jagiellonian University, who compiled an inventory of graphic collections transferred from Kłodzko to Cracow, especially prof. Andrzej Betlej, dr Agata Dworzak and Agnieszka Borkowska, who kindly provided us with high quality photographic documentation. We are also grateful to dr Joanna Wolańska for proofreading this text.

8 Designs preserved in Glatz (AKJK) have not been provided with shelf marks.

9 The first results of our works were presented at the meeting of the Commission on Art History of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow on 14 March 2019. A brief summary of the speech has been published as: K. Blaschke, M. Kurzej, "Rysunki ze zbiorów Archi-

The design for the Jesuit college in Lublin (preserved in Cracow) (Fig. 1) may be Pitz's earliest surviving work.[10] The drawing was inscribed in pencil: "Kolege Lublinensis Simon Bic". However, mistakes and poor handwriting suggest that this is not an autograph inscription, but rather was copied from another piece of paper, originally attached to the design (maybe a binding). Even though an indirect source, it may be considered reliable. Toufarová dated it to c. 1620, which means that it was drawn when the church's façade[11] (finished in 1617)[12] had already been built. Unfortunately, Pitz did not distinguish between the existing and planned walls. However, it should be noted that there are some noticeable differences between the drawing and the completed church (the former depicts square-plan towers, while in the latter they are on a rectangular plan), so the design must have been made before the construction had begun. It can't be a mistake: the architect precisely showed the differences between the two chapels in the eastern part of the church. Therefore it must be assumed that Pitz's designs preceded those by Giacomo Briano, must date from before 1616 and thus are the first proof of the former's architectural activity prior to his works in Bohemia and Moravia.
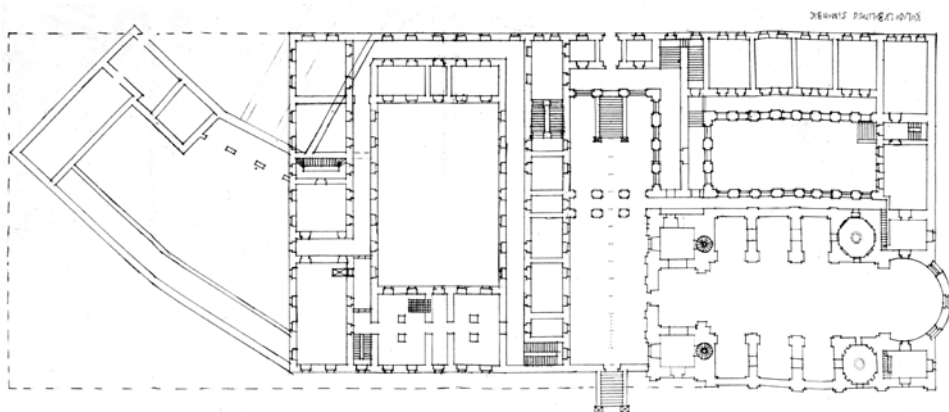
Fig. 1. Simon Pitz, design for the Jesuit college in Lublin, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/135, photo: A. Borkowska

Pitz's design for the Lublin college was not fully realised, but served as a starting point for elaborating the final version. According to the design, the gallery that connected the old college with the sacristy to the north of the church, above the

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wum Klasztoru Jezuitów w Kłodzku" in: "Kronika Komisji Historii Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności za rok 2019", *Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa*, 2020, 18, p. 112.

10 Blaschke, Kurzej, op. cit., p. 112.

11 Toufarová, op. cit., p. 311.

12 For the church façade see: J. Paszenda, *Budowle jezuickie w Polsce XVI-XVIII w.*, vol. 1, Kraków, 1999, pp. 149, 255, Fig. 15. A notice (p. 249) about a construction of tower helms in 1615–1616, more likely refers to the turret.

passage to the city, was to be retained. In order to reduce the difference between levels in the passage, the architect designed two flights of stairs. Pitz also planned to tear down a tower, forming part of the town's defence walls, which was eventually preserved.

Among the earliest and most important of Pitz's designs are those for the Jesuit church in Lutsk (pol. Łuck, ukr. Луцьк) (Fig. 2). One of them, surviving in Cracow (Fig. 3), was published by Galewski, who interpreted it as an eighteenth-century survey drawing.[13] Toufarová noticed minor differences between the drawing and the existing building, in the plan of one of the towers and domes in the corners of the building. She recognised Pitz as the author of the drawing, but interpreted it as a copy of a design by Briano, who was regarded as the author of the church in the earlier literature. Moreover, she considered Pitz too young to have designed the church himself, as in 1616, when the foundations were laid, he was only 24 years old.[14]
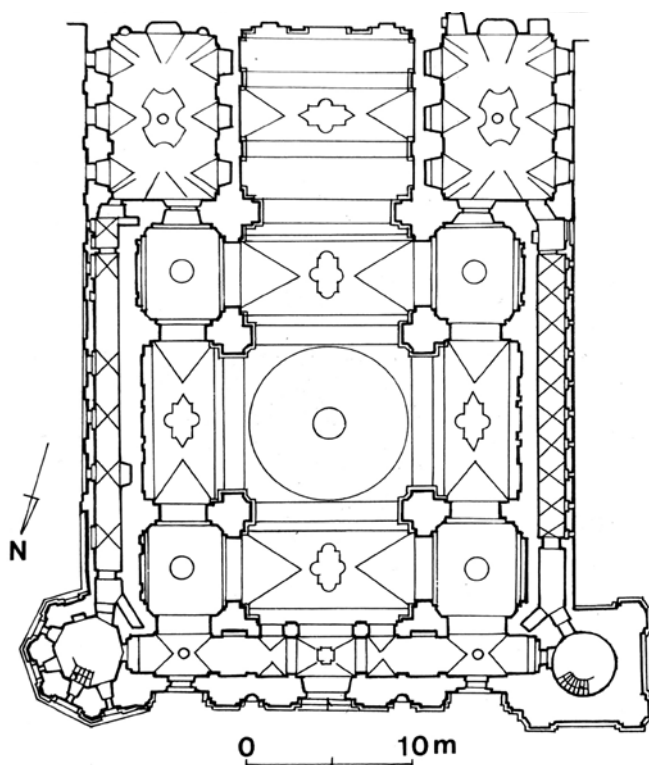
Fig. 2. Lutsk, former Jesuit church (now Cathedral), floor plan (after: Brykowska, M., "Kościół Jezuitów w Łucku i architektura zakonu jezuitów na Wołyniu i Podolu w 1. Połowie XVII wieku", in: *Sztuka kresów wschodnich,* II, ed. J.K. Ostrowski, Kraków, 1996, pp. 65–84)

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13 Galewski, "Architektura…", p. 85.
14 Toufarová, op. cit., pp. 307–309.
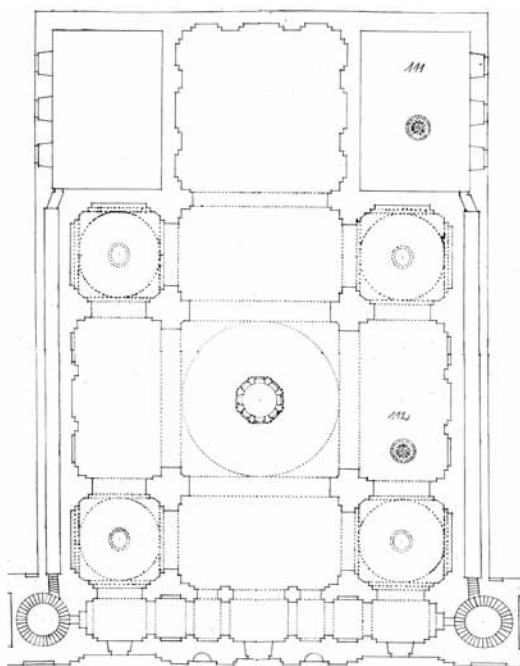
Fig. 3. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit church in Lutsk, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/111–112, photo: A. Borkowska

However, the AKJK archives hold three more drawings that can be associated with this church. One of them shows a cross section (Fig. 4), almost identical to the completed church, and two other designs (Fig. 5), drawn on a single sheet of paper, present two alternative versions of the plan: a conventional, cruciform arrangement, and in a form similar to the final design, with square nave and characteristic corridors inside the outer walls. The floorplan of the church, shaped as a cross-in-square, with a spacious porch, and a short chancel, may have been inspired by the church of the Escorial, which was widely known at the time from the etchings by Pieter Perret. Another similarity shared by these two plans are the corridors in the thickness of the wall, which in Lutsk were replicated on the upper floors, probably for defensive purposes.

The church in Lutsk was built according to above-mentioned plans with only minor adjustments.[15] Therefore the previous views on the authorship of the Lutsk

15 The church in Lutsk was completed in the 1630s and consecrated in 1639. A different, octagonal plan of the north tower results from its adaptation to an earlier well head, preserved in its foundations. See: M. Brykowska, "Kościół Jezuitów w Łucku i architektura zakonu jezuitów na Wołyniu i Podolu w 1. połowie XVII wieku", in: *Sztuka kresów wschodnich,* II, ed. J.K. Ostrowski, Kraków, 1996, p. 66.
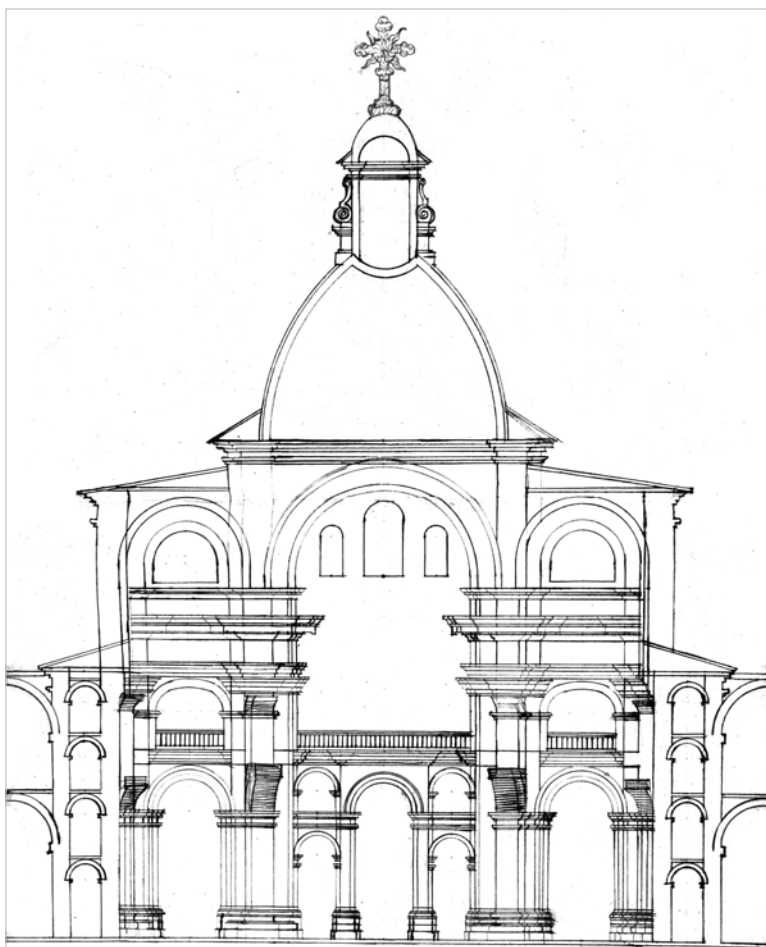
Fig. 4. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit church in Lutsk, section, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

church must be revised.[16] So far, it has been linked with Giacomo Briano, an outstanding Jesuit architect, known for his great talent as well as for his quarrelsomeness, documented by numerous sources. This attribution, although widely accepted, is only a hypothesis based on relatively weak premises. Briano's stay in Lutsk was documented in 1616–1617 and 1619–1620, but his involvement in laying the church's foundation is attested indirectly. It is known that Briano arrived in Ostrog several years later, when the foundress of the college asked to be sent "the brother

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16 Blaschke, Kurzej, op. cit., p. 112.
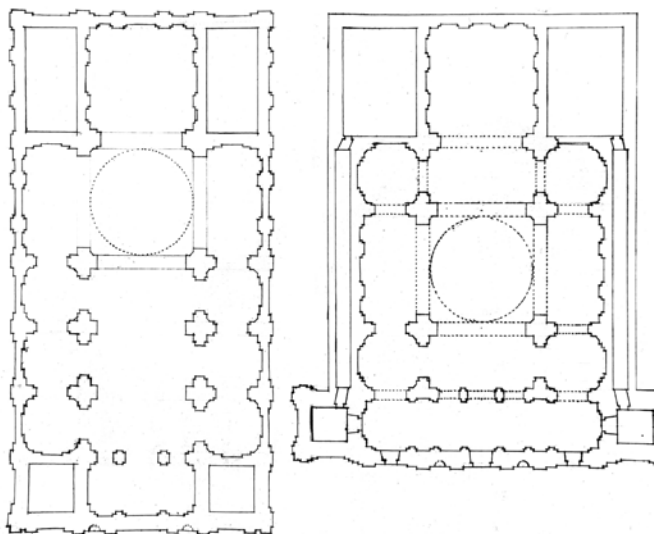
Fig. 5. Simon Pitz (attributed to), two designs for the Jesuit church in Lutsk, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

Italian, who laid the foundations of the Lutsk church without a single crack".[17] Briano's authorship had already been questioned, e.g. by Jerzy Paszenda, who noted that between the architect's arrival in Lutsk in March 1616 and the blessing and laying of the cornerstone on 6 August of that year there was enough time to make the designs, but it would not be enough to send them to Rome for approval.[18] Young age is not a convincing argument against his authorship, as Briano, just three years older than Pitz, at the exactly same age (24 years) had become the main architect of the Jesuit province of Venice.[19] The designs do not prove, however, that Pitz had visited Lutsk: he may have just as well drawn them knowing only the size of the plot and general guidelines.

A similar dating of the designs for Lutsk and Lublin is indicated by the presence of the same watermarks with the motif of a jug with flowers. The same watermark is also present on a design for a church façade (Fig. 6) and a parapet wall (Fig. 7), so it's likely that they too were planned for buildings in Poland. These two designs were neither drawn nor composed very skilfully. Unusual features of the façade – the only such design in the surviving oeuvre of Pitz – are the disproportionally tall upper storey and the central part projecting forward in relation to the side towers. The parapet has stocky arches with no organic connection to the crowning.

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17 J. Paszenda, "Biografia architekta Giacomo Briano", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 35, 1973, pp. 11–12; idem, "Dzieje budowy kościoła i kolegium Jezuitów w Łucku", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 45, 2000, pp. 34–44.

18 See: Paszenda, "Biografia...", p. 12.

19 J. Poplatek, J. Paszenda, *Słownik jezuitów artystów*, Kraków, 1972, pp. 89–92.
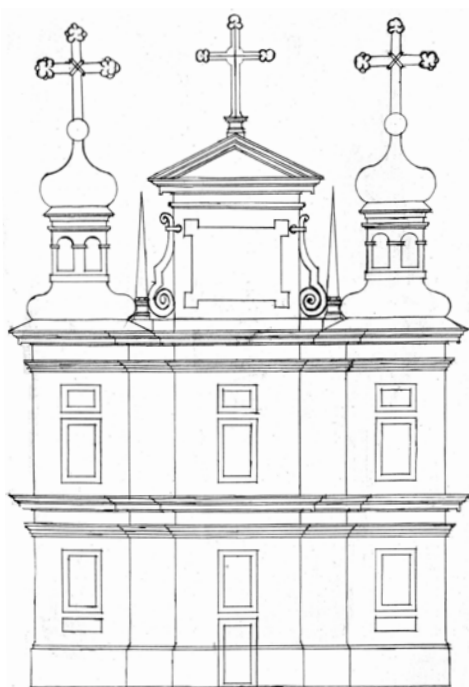
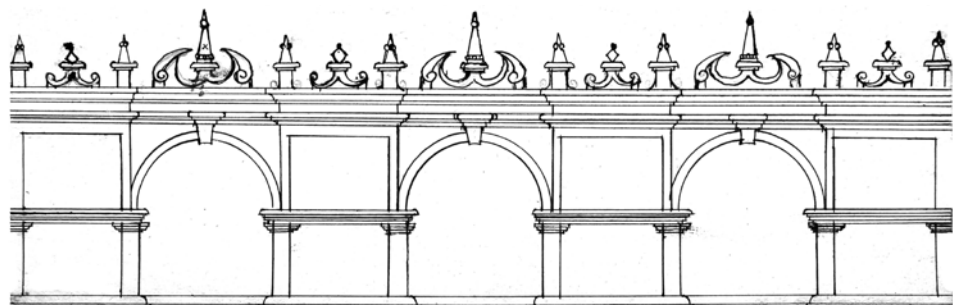**Fig. 6.** Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a church, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

Fig. 7. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a rooftop parapet, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

Another group consists of designs Pitz made for the Jesuit church in Jitschin (czech.: Jičín). Toufarová devoted special attention to this architectural complex, and published three drawings (APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/100, 5016/105, 5016/113), which she dated to the period shortly before the death of the founder, Albrecht Wallenstein, in 1634.[20] In the same archive there are two additional projects related to this building, which – like the previously mentioned – depict a church whose

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20 Toufarová, op. cit., p. 117.

chancel is incorporated within the college buildings, while the nave is flanked by chapels and a twin-tower façade, which would have been clearly visible from Jitschin's main square. Both versions are similar to one of the designs published by Toufarová.[21] Its characteristic features are a chancel divided into two bays, one of which is surmounted by an oval and the other by a circular dome, and pairs of domed chapels adjoining every second bay of the nave. In one of the designs, Pitz included two pairs of such chapels (on square, not rectangular plans, as in the version published by Toufarová) (Fig. 8), and in the other one, as many as three, which makes it one of the most monumental and complex buildings in his oeuvre (Fig. 9).
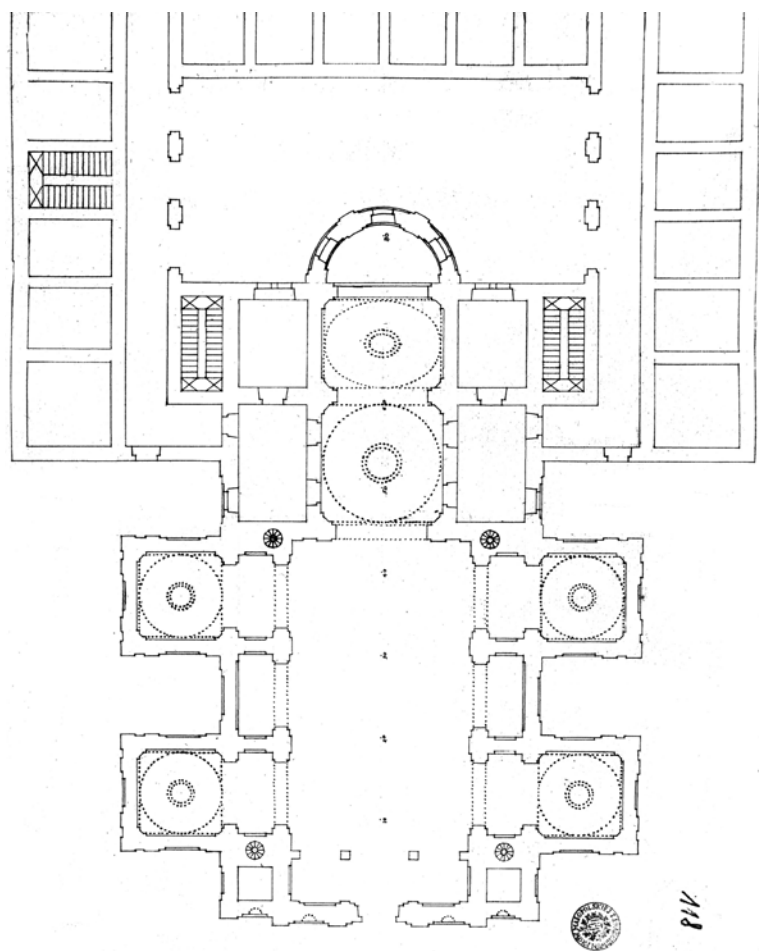
Fig. 8. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit church in Jitschin, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/118, photo: A. Borkowska

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21 Ibid., p. 119 (there is a wrong reference number–5016/113 instead of 5016/118).
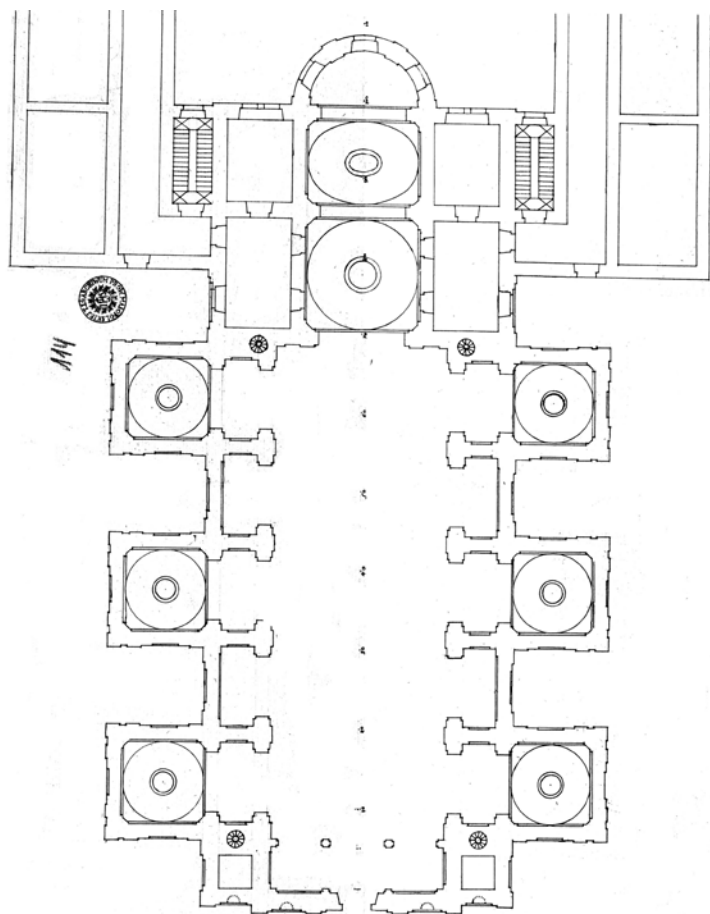
Fig. 9. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit church in Jitschin, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/114, photo: A. Borkowska

The AKJK preserves one more design for the Jesuit church in Jitschin, but not by Pitz. Compared with his works, this one depicts a more standard building, with a semicircular apse, three pairs of rectangular chapels flanking the nave and a twin-tower façade facing south (Fig. 10). The design differs from the works of Pitz not only in the architectural composition, but also in details such as the marking of altars or numbers indicating the function of rooms in the cloister. The building shown on it is almost identical to the church marked on a city plan drawn by Nicolò Sebregondi in 1633.[22] According to Toufarová, from Jitschin Pitz moved to

22 For this plan see: M. Ličeniková, "Uloha Niccola Sebregondiho ve službach vevody Albrechta z Valdštejna", in: *Albrecht z Valdštejna. Inter arma silent musae¿*, eds. E. Fučíková, L. Čepička, Praha, 2007, pp. 245–248.
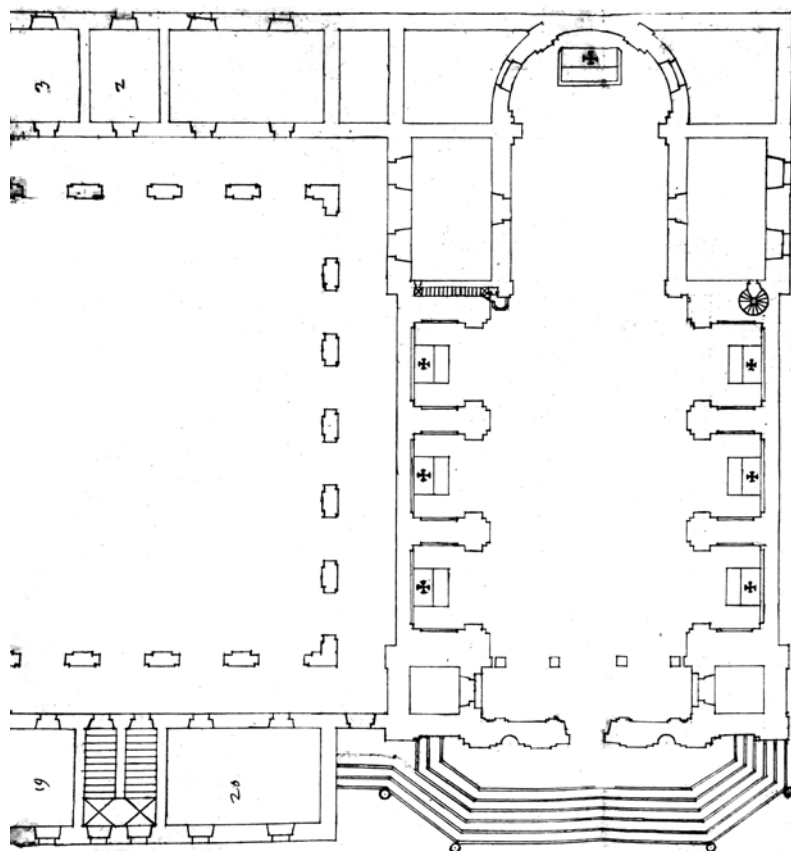
Fig. 10. Unknown architect (perhaps Nicolò Sebregondi), design for the Jesuit church in Jičín, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

Kuttenberg (czech.: Kutná Hora), where he stayed from 1634 to 1641, and probably executed some designs that have not survived.[23] Among the plans preserved in the Cracow archive there is a series of designs that can be linked with Kuttenberg. One of them (Fig. 11), depicting a whole complex of buildings, with a church surrounded by five courtyards, is measured. The units have not been specified, but if, similarly to other projects, the measurement is in ells (1 ell = approx. 70 cm), the size of the building plot may be estimated at approx. 182 by 104 m. Such a huge building complex could probably fit only in Kuttenberg, where the Jesuits owned a very spacious square, acquired as early as 1626.[24] Other designs (APPPTJ, shelf marks:

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23 Toufarová, op. cit., p. 314.

24 See: J. Frolík, "Archaeological examination of medieval towns in Bohemia (An overview by an archaeologist)", *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoviensia*, vol. 7: *Archeology in Town. a Town in Archeology*, 2012, p. 83; J. Záhorka, "Jezuitská kolej v Kutné Hoře", in: J. Záhorka, L. Jouza,
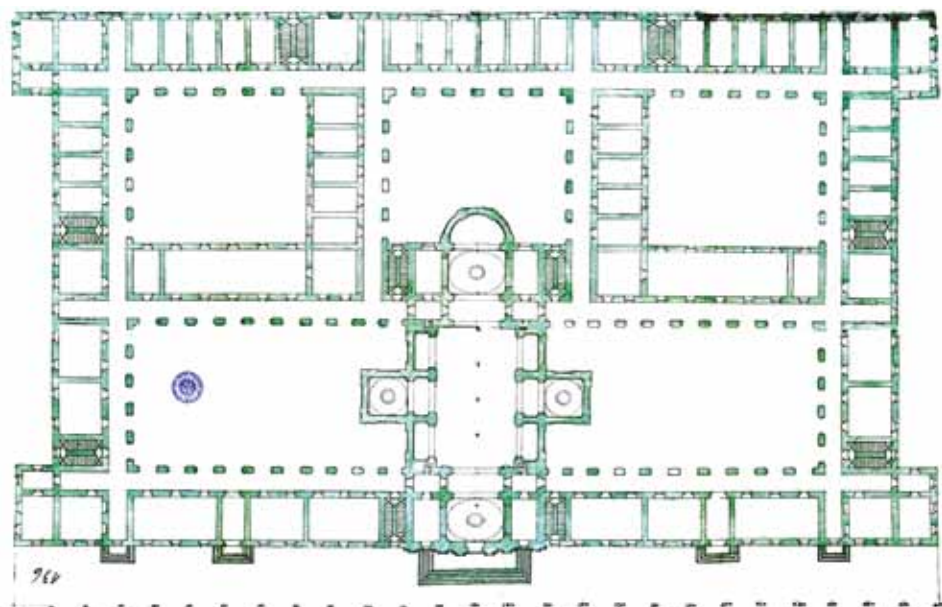
Fig. 11. S. Pitz (attributed to), design for a complex of buildings with a church, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/136, photo: A. Borkowska

5016/115, 5016/124, 5016/126) depict different versions of an imposing church with a façade incorporated into a building frontage and a transept reduced to two symmetrical chapels. This group also includes an interesting object, preserved in the AKJK: a cardboard sheet on which Pitz impressed the outlines of walls with a stylus but had not marked them with ink. Later (probably when the archive was organised in 1690), the unfinished drawing was used as a cover of another document (Fig. 12).

The Cracow part of the collection includes a design for the Jesuit novitiate (seminary) in Böhmisch Krumau (czech Český Krumlov) (the identification raises no doubts, as one of the sheets is inscribed on the reverse: "pro seminario Crumloviensi ideae variae") (Fig. 13). It may be assumed that Pitz's concept was developed before the construction of the existing building, which started in 1650.[25] Pitz planned a much bigger complex, the eastern part of which was to be broader than in the completed edifice, with one more bay in the front. Moreover, an h-shaped junction with a corridor and two staircases was planned to the west of the completed part (in the place of the present garden), and another vast building with four big rooms separated with cross-shaped corridors was envisioned behind it. Its implementation would have been very difficult, because it would require not only the

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M. Vinglerová et al., *Jezuitská kolej v Kutné Hoře: stavba – dějiny – umělecká výzdoba*, Kutná Hora, 2011, pp. 5–24.

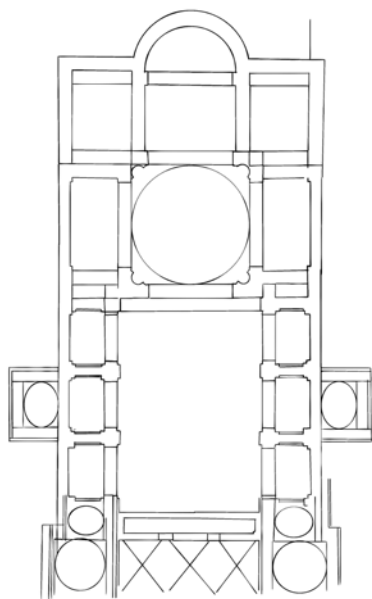25 See: *Umělecké památky Čech,* I, Praha, 1977, p. 219.

Fig. 12. Simon Pitz (attributed to), unfinished design for a church, AKJK
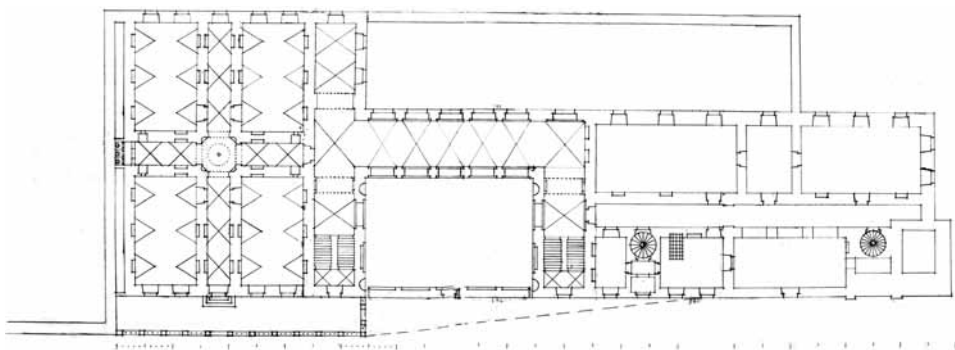

Fig. 13. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit seminary in Böhmisch Krumau, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/134

purchase of three more houses, but also the construction of a high platform in the place of their backyards. The AKJK holds also an alternative design for this part, on a roughly square plan (Fig. 14), in which the body of the church is two bays shorter.

Toufarová drew attention to a group of Pitz's plans for the Jesuit church and college in Königgrätz (czech.: Hradec Králové), preserved in Cracow, which she dated to 1650–1651. None of them was implemented, but they are easy to identify thanks to the fact that an old tower, called Kropačka,[26] located near the chancel

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26 Toufarová, op. cit., pp. 169–176.
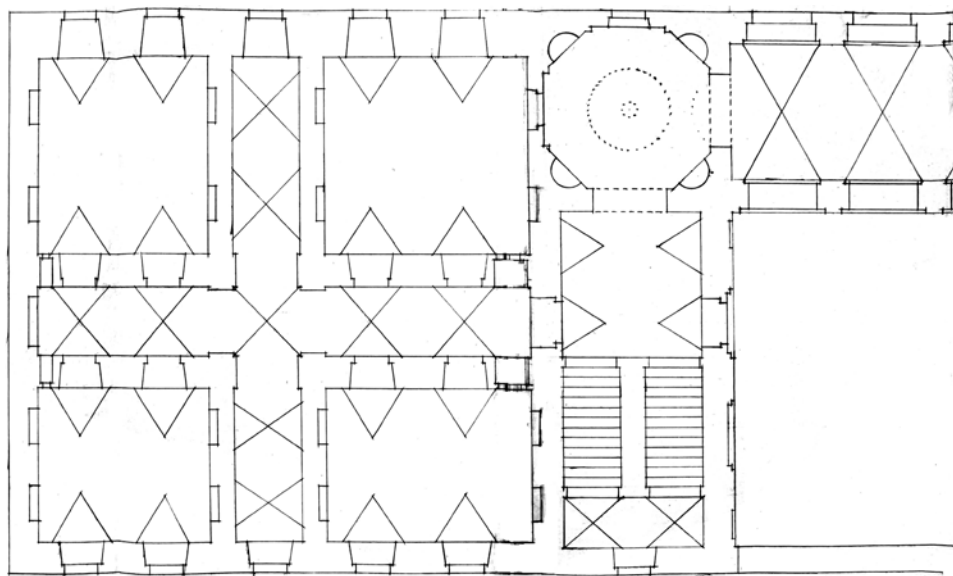
Fig. 14. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit seminary in Böhmisch Krumau, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

of the church, was marked on the drawing. A design for the eastern part of the southern elevation of the same complex survives in the AKJK (Fig. 15). It shows that Pitz wanted to visually connect the elevations of rooms behind the chancel with the college façade using cornices and frames. The dominant feature of this part of the building was the tower, distinguished by its rustication and a cupola extending above the ridge of the church roof. The drawing does not match exactly any of the known floorplans, so it may be concluded that originally there must have been other Pitz's designs.

According to Toufarová, in the 1650s Pitz was present also in Klattau (czech.: Klatovy), Neisse (czech.: Nisa, pol.: Nysa) and Komotau (czech Chomutov), making designs for the local Jesuit establishments. The most numerous group of drawings, for Komotau, consists of five versions of designs for the church structure (APPPTJ, shelf marks: 5016/125, 5016/131, 5016/139, 5106/141 – Fig. 16, 5016/143). The main differences between them are the shape of the chancel's end, and a corridor along the sidewall. The sixth drawing (Fig. 17), described as a project for the local seminary ("pro seminario Commotoviensi"), shows a probably freestanding building with an unusual layout of three piles, with the front one made up of two galleries spanned between three avant-corpses.

A large number of surviving drawings allows for a reconstruction of Pitz's working method. Like many other architects of his time, he first traced the main outlines of walls on paper, using a ruler and a stylus, which made it easier to change
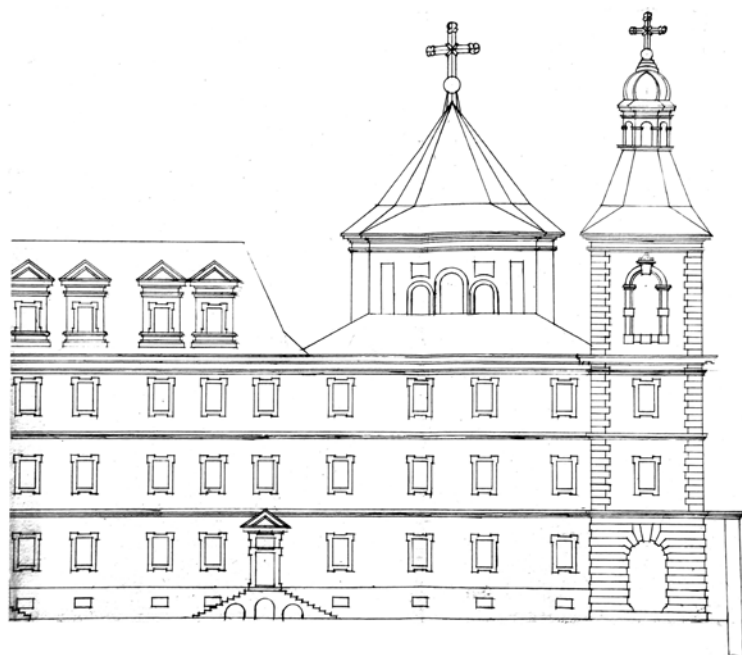
Fig. 15. Simon Pitz, design for the Jesuit church and college in Königgrätz, elevation, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke
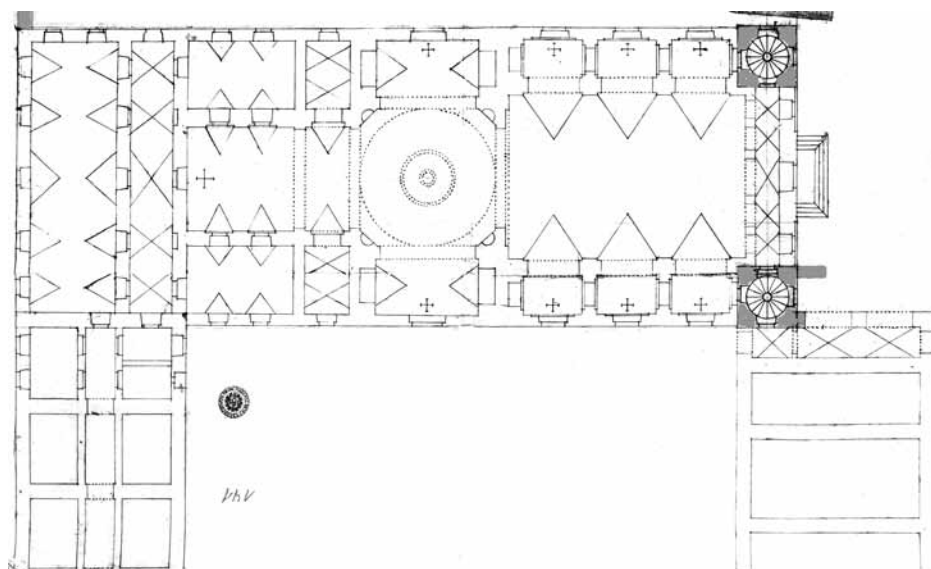

Fig. 16. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit church in Komotau, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/141, photo: A. Borkowska
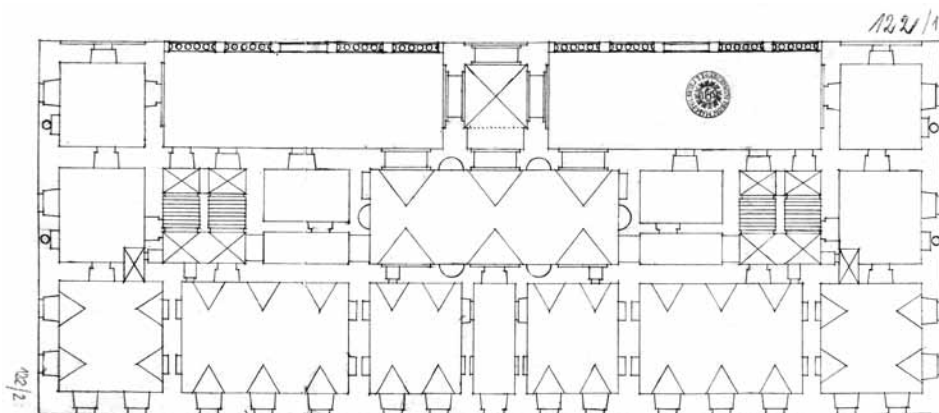
Fig. 17. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for the Jesuit seminary in Komotau, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/122, photo: A. Borkowska

the concept during work. Then he drew the final version in ink, applied details, and sometimes also coloured the walls using quite random colours in wash (in buildings undoubtedly built of brick it is grey, green or yellow). It may be assumed that Pitz, like e.g. Giacomo Briano,[27] copied his drawings sent for approval and stored their copies, and it is precisely of such drawings that a significant part of the Glatz collection made up.

Many of Pitz's surviving designs are preliminary drawings. He usually drew multiple versions of the same design, and many of those versions shows enormous structures, sometimes bigger than anything ever built by Jesuits in this part of Europe. As an example may serve the extremely complex and at the same time unusual shape of some churches, a case in point being the designs for Jitschin, distinguished by the multiplication of domed annexes. A group of drawings showing a monumental-scale complex with three large courtyards and a free-standing church on a symmetrical, elongated Greek-cross plan, set within one of the courtyards, is also of a similar character.[28] Two further designs, depicting a very similar church (APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/107, 5016/138) and a building with two huge courtyards (Fig. 18) were probably made for the same complex. Those designs probably exceeded both the needs and means of the Order, so they served only as a basis for developing the final, much more modest proposals. This suggests that Pitz often started to work without a full awareness of what was expected from him, and the entire building process had not been as precisely thought out as one might imagine.

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27 See: Paszenda, "Biografia...", p. 17.
28 This design (APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/137) was published by Galewski, "Architektura", p. 87, fig. 7, who thought that it depicts a pilgrimage site or contemplative monastery.
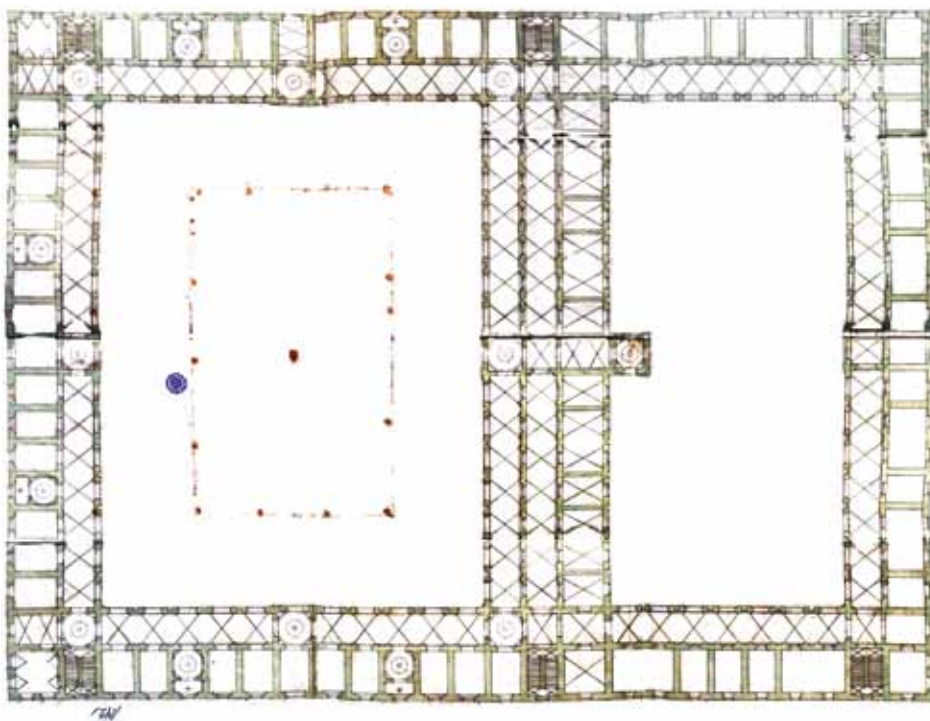
Fig. 18. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/142, photo: A. Borkowska

There are a few further drawings by Pitz in the AKJK, which we were unable to link with any particular location. One of them is a design for a large building with a cloister and a garden (Fig. 19). It has a simple plan, with domes over corridors' crossings, commonly applied by Pitz. He used a similar layout – of a single-pile plan with a corridor in the wings – in two other designs preserved in the APPPTJ, (shelf marks: 5016/119 – Fig. 20, 5016/140 – detail), but it is unclear whether they were made for the same site. This archive also holds several drawings depicting details of such corridors (5016/92) and their domed crossings (5016/93 and 5016/91–97 – one design on two sheets). The sheets 5016/119 and 5016/97 have the same watermark (an open gate with three towers).

A group of designs by Pitz for smaller buildings is made on sheets with the same watermark – an empty cartouche (with or without a crown). There are three designs of square domed chapels (Fig. 21), incorporated within bigger buildings in the APPPTJ, while in the AKJK there are designs for a chapel in the shape of an elongated octagon and two square chapels with a cross-vault and an apse (Fig. 22). One of them is the only known sheet bearing Pitz's signature (‘*Simon Pitz Soc. Jesu delineavit*’). Another design (Fig. 23) depicts a corner junction between two buildings, consisting of a T-shaped corridor and a pair of domed chapels. The last project
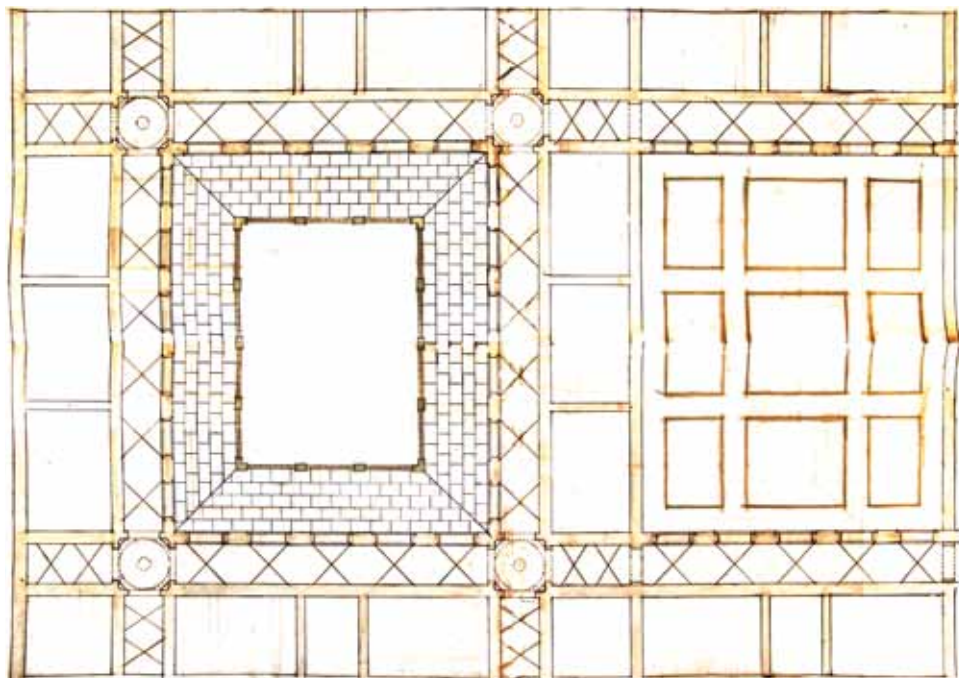
Fig. 19. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

in this group is a modest church – the only such example in Pitz's surviving oeuvre – perhaps for a rural parish in Jesuit possession (Fig. 24). Apart from the previously mentioned drawing of a church façade, there is one of a secular building of three bays with two gables (Fig. 25) (the sheet also bears a watermark with a cartouche). Its distinctive twin windows resemble those in designs associated with Baldassare Maggi.[29]

Another design shows an unusually narrow three-bay elevation with rich Tuscan articulation (Fig. 26) (the sheet bears identical watermark as the APPPTJ drawings, shelf mark: 5016/119 and 5016/97). Proportions of the design are similar to the western façade of the seminary in Krumau, but the small tower and crosses on the roof depicted in the drawing suggest a sacred function of the projected building. There are also two designs of façades of three bays but one storey – a more modest (Fig. 27) and a richer one (Fig. 28), articulated in Tuscan Order and with a domed roof (two variants on separate sheets). Other drawings show a floorplan and a design for a façade (both on one sheet) of a two-stage tower, its helm, as well as a cross-section of a domed chapel (Fig. 29). In the AKJK there are also several designs for minor architectural details. One of them, showing twin tablets (perhaps a memorial tablet), may be linked with Pitz thanks to a watermark known from

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29 See J. Krčálová, *Renesanční stavby Baldassara Maggiho v Čechách a na Moravě*, Praha, 1986.
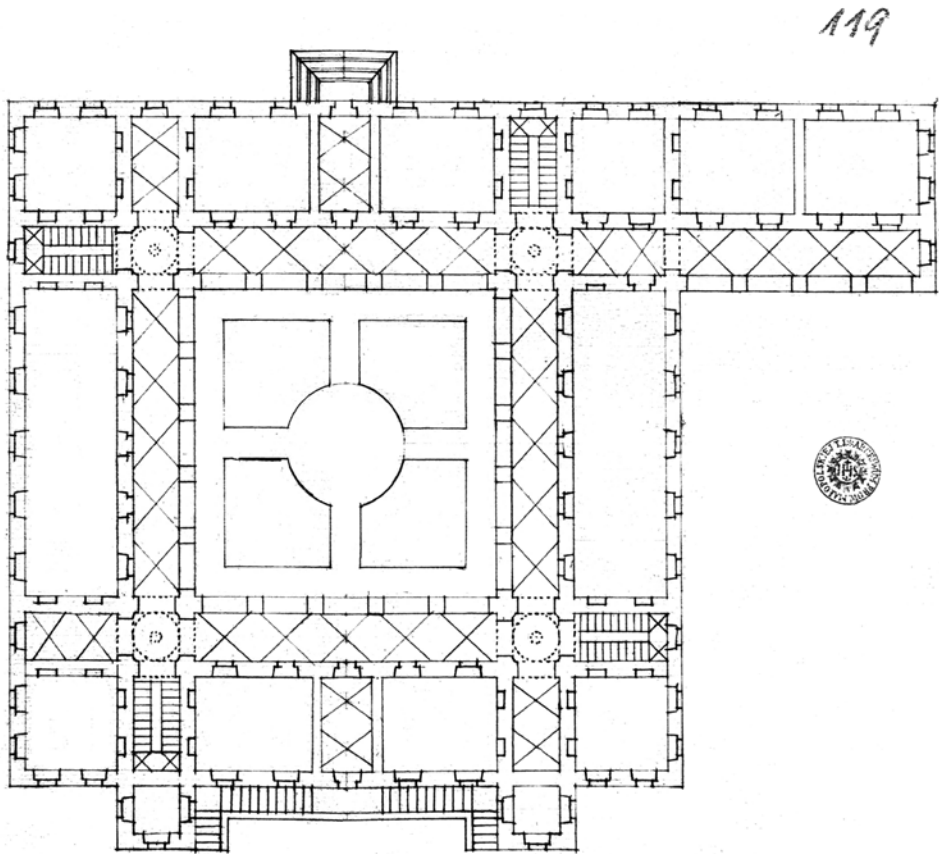
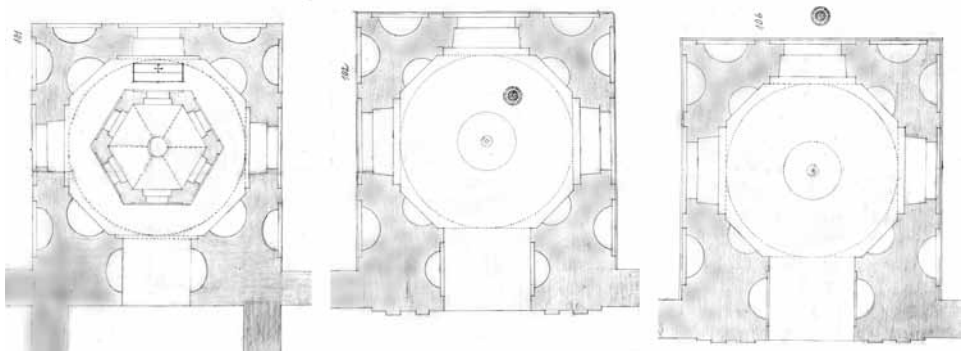**Fig. 20.** Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, APPPTJ, shelf mark: 5016/119, photo: A. Borkowska

Fig. 21. Simon Pitz (attributed to), designs for chapels, APPPTJ, shelf marks: 5016/101, 5016/102, 5016/106, photo: A. Borkowska
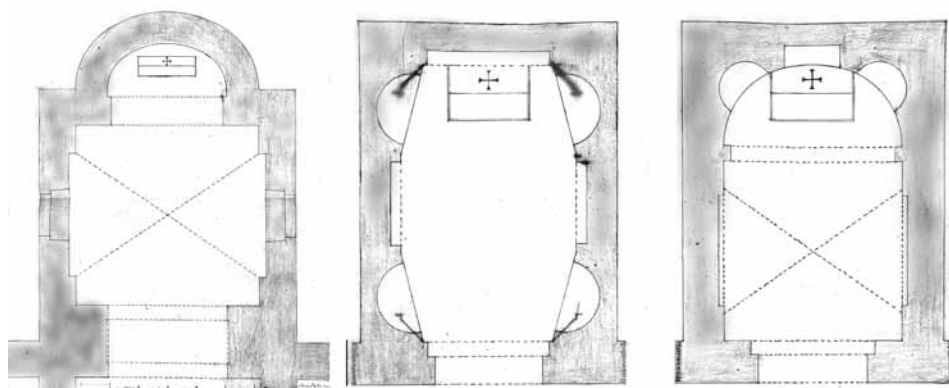
Fig. 22. Simon Pitz, designs for chapels (left – signed, center and right – attributed to), AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke
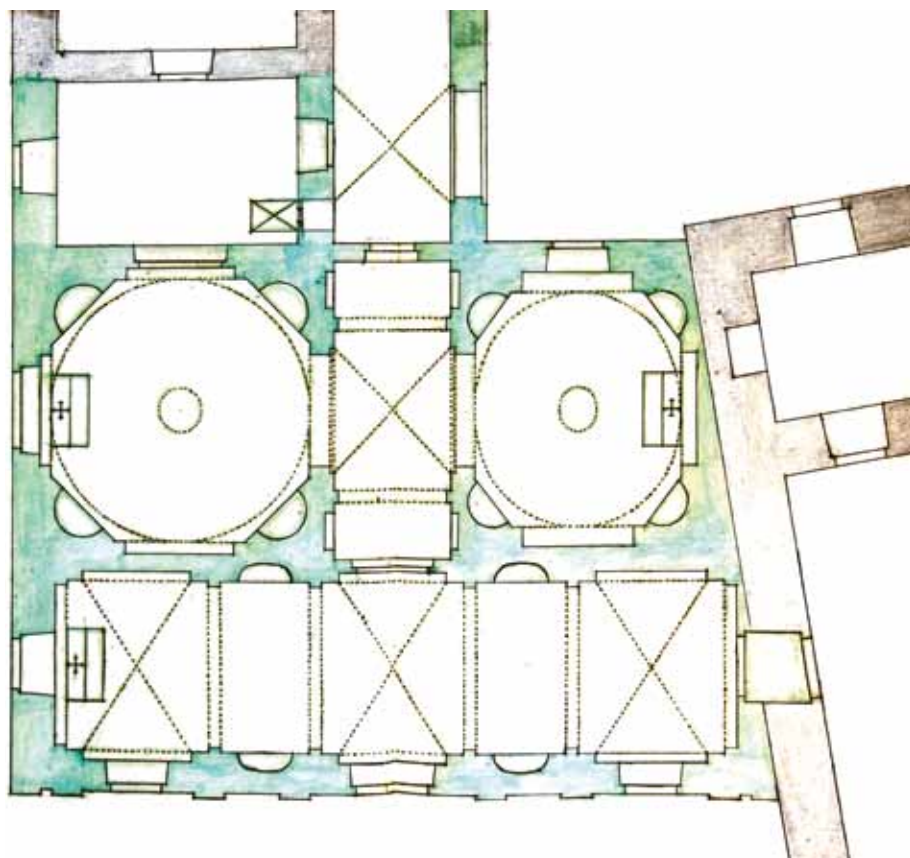

Fig. 23. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for chapels, AKJK, photo K. Blaschke
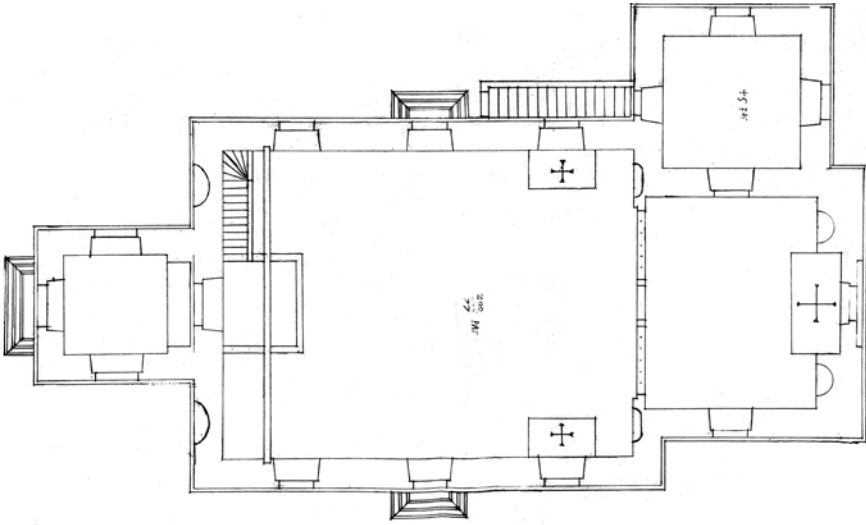
Fig. 24. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a church, AKJK, photo K. Blaschke

Fig. 25. S. Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, elevation, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

Fig. 26. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, elevation, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

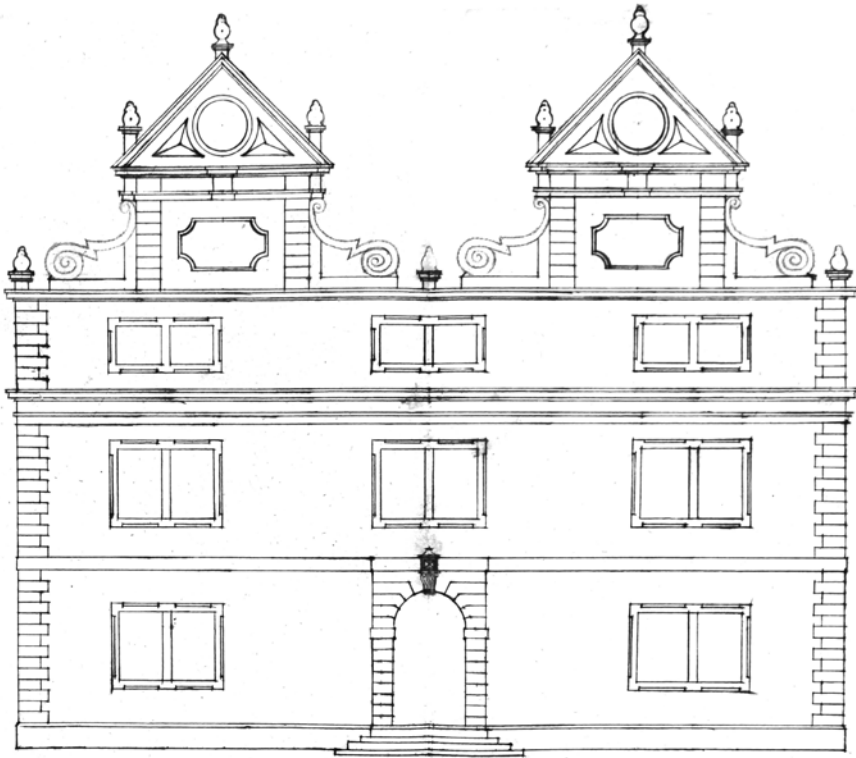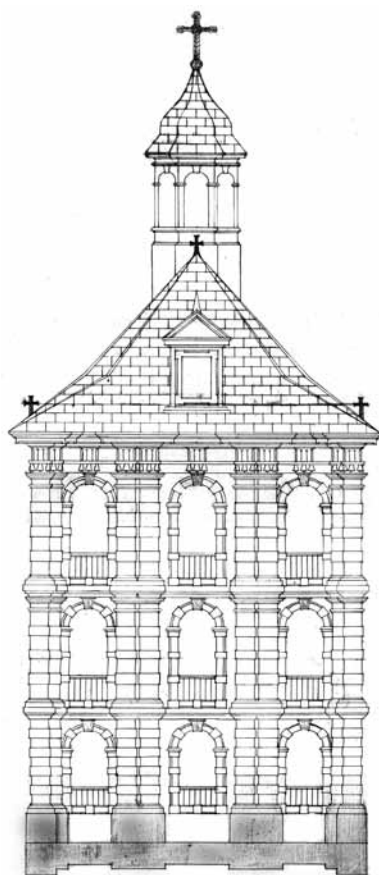**Fig. 27.** Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, elevation, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

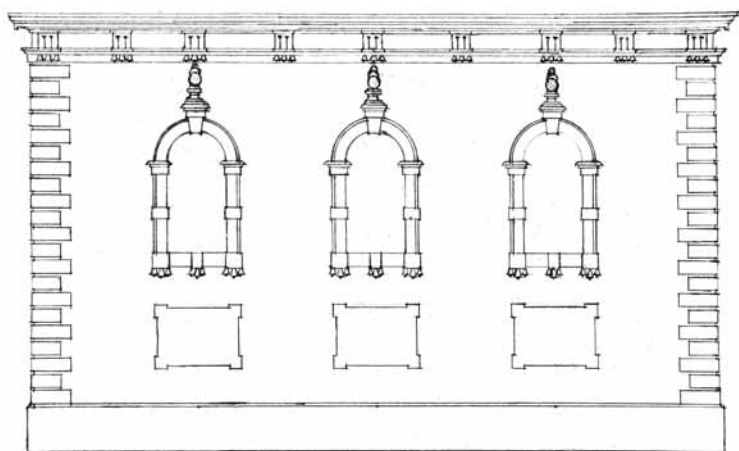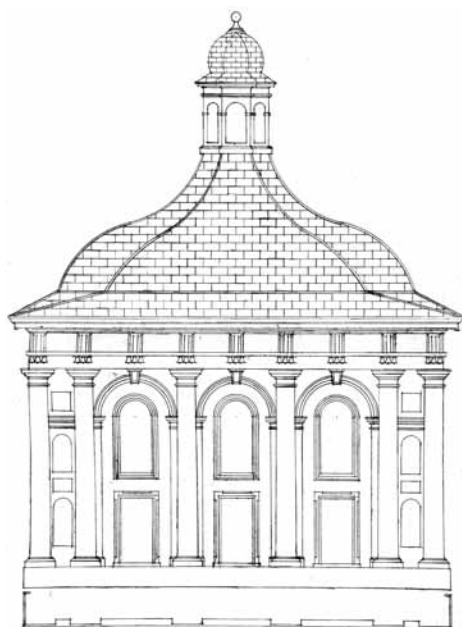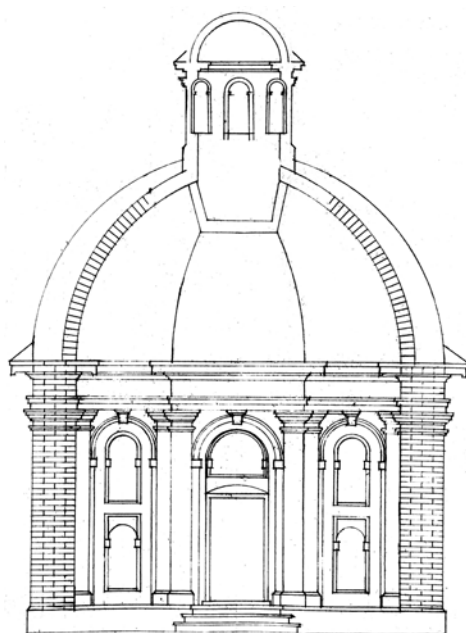**Fig. 28.** Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a building, elevation, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

Fig. 29. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for a chapel, section, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke
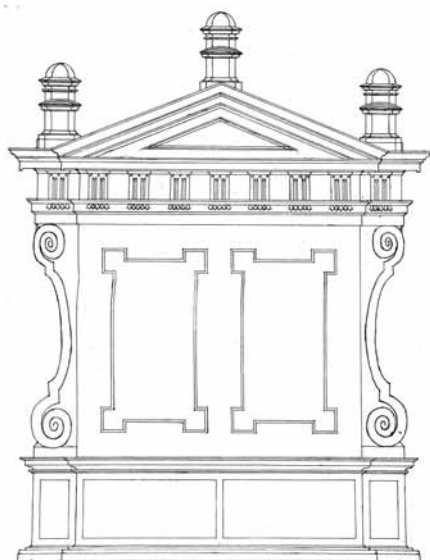

Fig. 30. Simon Pitz (attributed to), design for framed boards, AKJK, photo: K. Blaschke

one of his designs for Jitschin. The authorship of other elements, such as finials with a knob or cone, a small tower, or lateral ornaments with strapwork, is uncertain.

On the basis of Pitz's preserved works, an attempt can be made to outline the sources of his work. We do not know where he was trained, but some motifs recurring in his projects, strongly rooted in the architecture of northern Italy suggest that he must have been familiar with it well before he started working in Central Europe. North-Italian inspirations are demonstrated, among others, by his use of a dome over the chancel (and – more broadly – his treatment of the church as a complex of masses crowned with domes), which has precedents mainly in the architecture of Venice, where such a design gained popularity under the influence of medieval basilicas of St. Mark and St. Anthony in Padua. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, both of these buildings inspired remarkable structures – the former, the church of St. Salvator in Venice,[30] and the latter, the Church of St. Giustina in Padua.[31]

Characteristic motifs that appear in Pitz's projects are also symmetrical domed chapels forming branches of the transept, employed, among others, in the designs for Jitschin, Troppau and an unidentified complex that may have been intended for Kutttenberg. The transept created by domed annexes gained popularity probably under the influence of the Milan church of Santa Maria Presso San Celso, in which – as in some of Pitz's designs – the crossing is also crowned with a dome. In the Marian sanctuary in Milan, these annexes were supposed to be much more exposed – the church, now an aisled basilica with an ambulatory was rebuilt possibly only after the mid-sixteenth century, according to a design from 1513, but in the original plan, approved in 1493, it was supposed to have a Latin cross plan, with the aforementioned annexes, the nave was extended by shallow niches and a polygonally closed chancel.[32]

Models for another unusual motif recurring in Pitz's designs – a dome above the first bay of the nave – can also be found in the architecture of northern Italy. Pitz used it in a design, allegedly for Kuttenberg, and it may have been modelled on another outstanding Lombard building, namely the Church of San Sisto in Piacenza (1499–1511).[33] North Italian art was an obvious source of inspiration for the architect from the Alpine Moesa Valley, a tributary of the Tessin (It.: Ticino) river, from which, via Lake Maggiore, one could easily reach Milan and other cities of the Po River plain. In the homeland of Pitz and in other mountain villages of the Grisons region, the building crafts were especially popular.[34] It can therefore be assumed

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30 G. Bellavitis, "Il complesso di San Salvador nel Cinquecento: Restaurationem cum consequenti reformatione", *Venezia Arti*, 1990, 4, pp. 57–69.

31 See: P.L. Zovatto, *La basilica di santa Giustina. Arte e storia*, Pavia, 1970, p. 134.

32 N. Riegel, "Santa Maria presso San Celso a Milano", in: *Bramante milanese e l'architettura del Rinascimento lombardo*, eds. C.L. Frommel, L. Giordano, R. Schofield, Venezia, 2002, pp. 315–337.

33 R. Arisi Riccardi, *La chiesa e monasterio di S. Sisto a Piacenza*, Piacenza, 1977, pp. 34–50.

34 See: M. Pfister, *Baumeister aus Graubünden – Wegbereiter des Barock: die auswärtige Tätigkeit der Bündner Baumeister und Stukkateure in Süddeutschland, Österreich und Polen vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Chur, 1993; M. Kühlenthal, "Einführung", in: *Graubündner Baumeister und Stukkateure: Beiträge zur Erforschung ihrer Tätigkeit im mitteleuropäischen Raum*, ed. M. Kühlenthal, Locarno,

that the beginning of his career was similar to that of many other local architects and builders. Pitz's work has its place in the broader current of architecture in the Czech lands. A number of minor similarities links it with works of Giovani Maria Filippi or architects connected to the courts of Albrech Wallenstein (czech.: Albrecht z Valdštejna).[35]

Although Pitz by no means counts among the most brilliant architects of his time, and his drawing skills were far inferior to those of e.g. Briano, he stands out, however, by his fantasy, as well as involvement in numerous particularly prestigious projects carried out by the Jesuit Order. At the present state of knowledge it can be concluded that Pitz's legacy is among the largest and most interesting collections of designs by Jesuit architect active in Central Europe in the seventeenth century. Therefore, a monograph comprising a catalogue of all the drawings preserved in the Cracow and Glatz archives, as well as in the archival collections of the Czech Republic remains an important research object.

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1997, pp. 11–15; M. Pfister, "Die Graubündner Baumeister im Umfeld ihrer Region und Zeit", in: Ibid., pp. 27–33.

35 About Czech architecture of that time– see: J. Bachtík, P. Macek, "Giovanni Maria Filippi", in: *Barokní architektura v Čechách*, eds. J. Bachtík, R. Biegel, P. Macek, Praha, 2015, pp. 61–70; M. Líčeníková, "Architektura na dvoře Albrechta z Valdštejna", in: *Barokní architektura v Čechách*, eds. J. Bachtík, R. Biegel, P. Macek, Praha, 2015, pp. 79–100.

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Aquatic Imagination or Unweaving the Rainbow: Introduction to Hydro-Stories about American Art[1]

Abstract

As early as the 1940s, the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard was convinced that the eye itself is weary of solids. It was obvious to some American artists almost at the same time, because aquatic imagination has accompanied American art at least since the discovery of the fluidity of paint and the oceanic boundlessness of Pollock's paintings. However, only Robert Smithson has opened the water discourse in contemporary art, which is not about the representation of water but about the specific relation between the subject and its background. Moreover, a liquid mind opens up to the unplanned. This also happens in Ellen Gallagher's art, because her counter-memories from the future evoke sea creatures, their mutations and their post-human condition.

Key words: American art, liquidity, ontology of pregnancy, postcolonial studies, post-humanist discourses, watery imagination

> *And the unceasing movement of two springs feeding each other could be the pledge of eternal happiness*
>
> Luce Irigaray,
> *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche,*
> transl. by G. C. Gill, New York, 1991

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1 I first took up the subject of aquatic imagination at the Edward Aleksander Raczyński Art History Methodological Seminar in Rogalin (21–23 October 2021), however, in the context of Polish art. The article will be published in the conference proceedings.

Introduction

The canon of high art created by art history, providing points of reference and standards of excellence, was until recently considered an integral part of the values of liberal-democratic society in the West. It began to fall apart, when it was argued that its supposed neutrality camouflages injustices and inequalities. It deprives the excluded of their dignity and strength, does not support them in their aspirations and dreams, and consequently calls into question the sense of their lives, which are condemned only to conform to the rules invented by others. For instance, it was noticed some time ago that in his popular book *The Story of Art*, published also in the United States, Ernest Gombrich did not include a single woman,[2] he treats all artists as having the same basic goal and convinces the reader that the story of art should be monocultural and therefore told using just one time line.[3] Today this classic book may serve rather as a textbook for unlearning, because in the nowadays postcolonial and posthumanist discourses the very way certain issues are approached and the reasons for their choice seem to belong to a bygone era. For as the prefixes "un-" and "post-" and "alter-" in various contemporary concepts indicate, scholars and activists emphasise the need to turn back from the once taken paths and to change their thinking. The art history aim of producing "a universal medium of (formerly religious, latterly scientific) truth"[4] has evolved. Now it obligatorily tackles the issue of who and why was given a voice – and whom it was denied – in telling the story of art and creating the image of the world. Instead of the illusory elevation and uplifting through art that is the dream of finding oneself "somewhere over the rainbow way up high", as Judy Garland sang, today's art involved in aquatic imagination serves rather to unweave the rainbow. In fact, this is not a new idea, as it was already considered in the early 19th century by the English poet John Keats. Unweaving, as Navajo people believed, reverses the flow of water, the flow of time.[5] The unweaving of time has been known at least since Penelope wove and unwove her fabric waiting for her husband, Odysseus, who was in trouble at sea, the domain of Poseidon, god of the seas, rivers, and lakes. But perhaps she did not want him back at all, because she was enjoying successfully slipping out of the phallogocentric sphere and gaining her agency in the male world. Thus, Poseidon's taking command over Odysseus' life changed the hierarchy of power on land. Contemporary aquatic imagination resurrects Poseidon for precisely the same purpose: endowing counter-hegemonic thinking, associated with an activity that Soja called "thirding-as-Othering".[6]

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2 J. Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction*, London–New York, 2001, p. 37.
3 D. Carrier, *A World Art History and Its Objects,* Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008, pp. 29–44.
4 D. Preziozi, *The Art of Art History. A Critical Anthology,* Oxford, 2009, p. 498.
5 D. Jongeward*, Weaver of Worlds: From Navajo Apprenticeship to Sacred Geometry and Dreams. A Woman's Journey in Tapestry*, Vermont, 1990, p. 65.
6 E. W. Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places,* Blackwell, 1996, p. 5.

Legacy of modernism

Feeling and seeing through water differs from feeling and seeing through air. It is no wonder then that underwater optics inspires spaces of dream, hallucination, and marvels.[7] Undoubtedly *désirs liquids* (liquid desires) of French Surrealists who came to the United States during the wartime were disrupting the Puritan US culture. However, in doing so they demonstrated a pervasive misogyny and idealising woman while marginalising real women.[8] It was perfectly embodied by inside-the-aquarium photographs of Jacqueline Lamba (who fled from Vichy, France to the US with Andre Breton). The surrealists' watery imagination immobilised the objects of their dreams and, by creating a hierarchy of power, prevented sharing and relations. Lamba commented on her relation with Breton: "He saw in me what he wanted to see, but he really didn't see me".[9] The Surrealists were unable to see the real Lamba because they perpetuated perceptual stereotypes and claims of control. After all, one of the most famous Victorian pornographic magazines was called "The Oyster".[10] Hence, surrealistic "mermaids" do not fit the aquatic imagination, the framework of which I would like to present here. Nor does Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*, which more than two decades earlier (1917) divided the members of the Society of Independent Artists. *Fountain* was completely dried out, there was no moisture in it, and that also implies certain inabilities. However, before we unleash our unfettered water fantasies, we should also emphasise the fact that the lack of access to water is one of the key indicators of poverty. Therefore, as bell hooks noted, an American, even when they are black underclass and unemployed, but still able to turn off the tap are "in a relative position of power".[11] Thus, there is no single realm of the aquatic imagination, as it must be apprehended within its changing parameters of historical moment, class, race, gender, and cultural capital.

Nowadays putting Lamba in an aquarium seems interesting because of her feelings, not because of the feelings of male voyeurs. Avoiding adoption into a misogynistic world and perpetuating harmful fantasies is at stake.[12] By immersing herself in water Lamba entered the portal to imagining an altered reality that she later developed in her art. The aquarium was her half-way point – treated as a muse, but becoming someone else, rediscovering herself as an artist. Liquid male desires might have also been turned into a vivid and real experience of sharing, if only they had not been associated with an unwillingness to stop at just personal visions and fantasies and allowed to involve attentiveness and respect.

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7 M. Cohen, "Underwater Optics as Symbolic Form", *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 2014, 32, no. 3, pp. 1–23.

8 D. Ades, "Surrealism, Male-Female", in: *Surrealism. Desire Unbound,* ed. J. Mundy, Princeton, 2001, p. 171.

9 S. Grimberg, "Jacqueline Lamba: From Darkness, with Light", *Woman's Art Journal*, 2001, 22, no. 1, p.7.

10 R. Stott, *Oyster,* London, 2004, p. 10.

11 P. Gilroy, *Small Acts: Thoughts on the Politics of Black Cultures,* London, 1993.

12 L. Irigaray, *Marine Lover of Friedrich Nietzsche,* transl. by G. C. Gill, New York, 1991.

Thinking and acting not through water, but with water, with moisture that changes body resonances, the skin and breath cause a different perception of the space we occupy. It no longer seems empty. The palpable and intense feeling of the space around and in us convinces us that we are not isolated from our surroundings. Such situation inspires investigations concerning relations with the environment, which are not expressed in Cartesian geometry. Re-situation of a human in water leads to a different mobilisation of all our senses and to unlearning naturalised patterns of thinking and behaving. It is a chance to abandon anthropocentrism and its hierarchy of power. This includes rethinking the legacy of modernism, with its misogyny and racism, for, as Toni Morrison wrote, the experience of black slavery made them the first truly modern people.[13] So the first truly modern individuals crossed the Atlantic on slave ships. And although humans cannot live underwater, the creation of fiction on that theme might be seen as a mode of producing reality. One such fictional tale, for example, is the myth of the underwater land of Drexciya, populated by children born to pregnant black women who were thrown overboard as unnecessary ballast during their passage across the Atlantic. This Black-Atlantean mythology of free people breathing underwater was conceived as a counterfactual narrative about the Middle Passage (described by Arthur Jafa as an "Auschwitz on the water"[14]), by a group of electronic musicians from Detroit for the album *The Quest* (1997). It has become an important element of Afrofuturism, enabling critical insight into the current situation of the Afro-diaspora.[15] Indeed, counterfactual stories reveal ways of thinking absent from the dominant narrative, and for that very reason, they are a handy tool for judging history. They also express desires for justice to triumph. Drexciya and other Afro-American ensembles were featured in the exhibition *Aquatopia: The Imaginary of the Ocean Deep* (2013) at London's Tate. As James Attlee explained, Drexciya's music is "a great storehouse of techniques for coping with the vagaries of life" and has a rich tradition of creating "alternate mythologies for a people whose individual histories have been stolen".[16] Ruth Mayer, on the other hand, claimed that while listening to Drexciya's music "we are literally forced into an underwater sound pattern meshing together the synthetic and the natural, bubble tones and electronic scales which could be called breathtaking in more than one sense".[17]

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13 Gilroy, op.cit., p. 178.
14 G. Tate, *Flyboy 2: The Greg Tate Reader,* Durham and London, 2016, p. 200.
15 K. Eshun, "Further Considerations on Afrofuturism", *CR: The New Centennial Review,* 2003, 3, no. 2, pp. 300–302.
16 J. Attlee, "Gazing into the Watery Abyss", *Tate Etc,* 14 November 2013, https://www.tate.org.uk/tate-etc/issue-29-autumn-2013/gazing-watery-abyss [accessed: 15 April 2022].
17 R. Mayer, "Africa As an Alien Future: The Middle Passage, Afrofuturism, and Postcolonial Waterworlds", *Amerikastudien / American Studies,* 2000, 45, no. 4, p. 563.

New idea of the subject

Drexciya's example shows how much we need new imagination, new inspiring images, sounds, and stories. Instead of land-based imageries, today we are witnessing a shift towards seas and oceans. So-called wet ontologies provide tools not only for diaspora studies, but also for indigenous, feminist and posthuman studies. What is more, the ontology of pregnancy (with the indispensable foetal water component) implies, on the one hand, a radical hospitality and thinking of the subject as a relational being, ready to affirm the unknown,[18] but, on the other hand, when teardrops transform into wombs, holding small blue bodies, we get (as Astrida Neimanis put it) a repetition of decades-old anti-abortion imagery that sacralises the foetus.[19]

Some photographs by Cindy Sherman seem to invoke the foetal water metaphor, opening a phenomenological perspective on pregnancy[20] and revising the theories on the subject. It seems that Laurie Simmons expressed these ideas in *Swimming Women, Water Ballet (Cindy Sherman)* (1980). Also Robert Gober explores motherhood.[21] The exploration of male motherhood, supported by aquatic references, stems from a desire to rethink the established stereotypes of military and heroic masculinity, pointing to the frustrating adversarial and dry relationship between body and thought.

The concept of the maternal might be interpreted as implicated in Derrida's notion of radical hospitality and ambivalent *hostpitality* [hospitality+hostility] a disconcerting experience fraught with perils.[22] Thus the Birthing and its Unborn evokes the religious term 'visitation' (instead of invitation) and the secular trust in the process of mutual recognition. What is more, Gober's installations with their dysfunctional storm drains, plumbing systems, sinks and urinals stir up personal psychodrama, as related to predicaments of the heteronormative culture and the AIDS crisis of the '80s and the '90s. When one knows Gober's art, washing dishes in the kitchen sink can turn into an epiphany. It is possible that keeping plates and cups clean is not the most important aim of pouring water on them. No doubt,

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18 T. Welsh, "The Order of Life: How Phenomenologies of Pregnancy Revise and Reject Theories of the Subject", in: *Coming to Life: Philosophies of Pregnancy, Childbirth and Mothering,* eds. S. LaChance Adams, C. R. Lundquist, New York, 2013, pp. 283–299.

19 A. Neimanis, *Bodies of Water: Posthuman Feminist Phenomenology,* London–Oxford–New York–Sydney, 2017, p. 180.

20 "where the labours of maternal bodies are still undervalued and denigrated, where these bodies are still and increasingly subject to marginalization and technologized colonialism, and where they still enact a profound material connection between a present life and a becoming life in an (as of yet) non-substitutable way, there is still reason to attend to the specificity of maternal bodies within a broader ethics of responsivity to other kinds of life" – wrote Neimanis, op.cit., p. 91.

21 A. Markowska, "Macierzyństwo w twórczości Mary Kelly i Roberta Gobera" [Maternity in Mary Kelly's and Robert Gober's Art], *Quart*, 2007, no. 2(04), pp. 73–91.

22 I. Aristarkhova, "Hospitality and the Maternal", *Hypatia*, 2012, 27, no. 1, pp. 163–181.

the autonomous and ultra-rational subject in many artworks inspired by aqueous imagination is philosophically insufficient. Although pregnancy and birthing compel a future-oriented attitude (an expectation) and constitute a creative process of change, they do not enable omnipotence. In this context, unrestrained openness meets the requirement of humbleness here and leads to the acceptance of the force that takes possession of the subject. By rejecting controlling and disciplining elements in his unrestrained fantasies and not defending his integrity, Gober actually opens himself up to otherness.

Nevertheless, hosting is not a matter of good intention, willed desire and elaborate protocols because then it is reduced solely to political calculation.[23] Therefore, although aqueous imaginary easily becomes a political statement, here it means first of all different possibilities, consent to fluidity and ambiguity, uncertainty and leaving something to follow its own course.

Turning to testing other ways of inhabiting the world and the unclear ways, in which art can be used imply accepting the possibility of failure and call for the development of broader solidarity rather than the creation of artist-leaders who provide mandatory models of form. Both the artist and the viewer somehow have to surrender to the environment and defamiliarise their human perspective, which is characterised by an endorsement of individualism and exploitation.

Between Pollock and Cage

Aquatic imagination has accompanied American art at least since the discovery of the fluidity of paint and the oceanic boundlessness of Pollock's paintings. Viewers looked at these huge canvases, and to grasp their deep meaning and better see the watery part of the world they read experts' comments about the development of the Post-Cubist work and re-read *Moby Dick* to recall how the narrator stumbles through pitch-black wet darkness. Quotes from Herman Melville's masterpiece helped to describe the abstract canvases and at the same time emphasised their tragic nature (all the watery world of woe, the heathenish sharked waters, the wild watery loneliness of life, forever exiled waters, depressions of the watery horizon), because painting was a risky venture into an unknown world. Today it is not Pollock's canvases themselves, but their interpretations, focusing on autonomous form, that seem obsolete. This explains why younger artists, while paying homage to him, at the same time made their "misinterpretations". When Douglas Kahn remarked that the moment Pollock ceased dripping, it was John Cage who began pouring, he emphasised, on the one hand, how much the young were indebted to Pollock, and on the other, how much they did not want to follow the supposedly masterly path of interpretation focusing on a flat abstract image.

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23 C. McNelly Kearns, "Mary, Maternity, and Abrahamic Hospitality in Derrida's Reading of Massignon", in: *Derrida and Religion: Other Testaments,* eds. Y. Sherwood, K. Hart, New York–London, 2005, pp. 73–96.

Water Music (1952) with actual water sounds by John Cage heralded not only forbidden extramusical sounds but also the dissolution of media and a period concerned with the ephemeral and an increased osmosis between art and life.[24] Shortly thereafter, *Drip Music* by George Brecht (1959) continued Cage's idea of rejecting the attitude of the solitary genius immersed in regions inaccessible to the profane. Chance imagery was a joke on the gravity of Pollock's paintings, enhanced with heroic narratives about pioneers in the unknown world (i.e. known only to experts). No wonder that his high seriousness was overturned in the next generation ("noisy, wet, and performative"[25]), not only by Cage. It still drew on the source of watery imagination, as seen even in the playful and technologically advanced container of bubbling mud by Robert Rauschenberg (*Mud Muse*, 1968–1971), but evoked ordinary everydayness. *Mud Muse* can be considered both an homage to Pollock and distanced water-gazers, as well as a continuation of wet dreams evolving in muddy nightmares. Although the experts are still intermediaries, commanding the audience what to think, works like *Mud Muse* seem to be more democratic because Rauschenberg (and his generation) used ordinary, not artistic materials, suggesting that all of us are in the middle of the world to be explored as art. Rauschenberg, however, insisted on the ordinary viewer and the ordinary world; because a work of art could become an ordinary object from everyday life, it meant that its context gradually became more and more visible. However both Cage and Rauschenberg did not push the artist out into society, but pulled the audience into the work.[26] For Allan Kaprow, in turn, the scale of Pollock's paintings provoked immersion and a state of delirium, hypnotising the viewer. This is why he developed the immersive tactics of dissolution through performance.[27] His happenings rarely took place in galleries. A visit to the gallery became almost unnecessary. Ideal access to the works of art, made possible by close inspection in specialised institutions and through photographs, allowed to increase specialisation and expand knowledge, but it separated people from art. Kaprow, meanwhile, was all about deconstructing the expert attitude. This is why the emphasis in his works is on processes rather than on work-products, and on art embedded in the everyday, in which there is no audience because everyone is a participant. *Fluids* (1967), for example, is an action-instruction involving the placement of about twenty blocks of ice in a city, which were to remain there until they melted. In addition to the frozen water, the artist also used warm water. For instance, in the *Affect* action/instruction it was a matter of putting one hand into warm and the other into cold water, so as to feel simultaneously warm in one hand and cold in the other. The knowledge one gained from Kaprow's happenings was aversive to what Cynthia Townley termed acquisitive epistemo-

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24 D. Kahn, *Noise, Water, Meat: A History of Voice, Sound, and Aurality in the Arts,* Cambridge, London, 2001, pp. 242, 260.

25 Ibid., p. 242.

26 C. Bishop, *Artificial Hell. Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship,* Verso, London–New York 2012,, p. 166.

27 Kahn, op cit., p. 274.

logy focused on collecting data, which benefits members of certain social groups from which experts are selected.[28] The price for this was an autonomous work of art, existing in an extra-temporal and non-relational state. Neither *Fluids* nor *Affect* need experts as guardians of appropriate behaviour and understanding; they need hospitable participants, ready for the unexpected and for sharing direct experience.

Robert C. Morgan described the series of photographs *Nine Swimming Pools and a Broken Glass* (1968) by Ed Ruscha as "simply facts – data which will later be applied to a system, only without a conclusion".[29] It appears that the photographs of similar-looking Las Vegas pools are taken as an illustrative part of a real estate rental ad. You can estimate the size, shape, and the view around them, all things that might be helpful in deciding whether to rent or buy the property. The last, tenth, photo seems to be from a different classification system, as it shows broken glass and spilled water on an unidentified dark reflective ground. A blue glow and the reflection of a rectangular window can be seen against the dark background. Formally, the last image repeats all the essential elements of the previous images: the colour blue, reflections and water. What makes it different is that in the nine images the water is confined in closed containers, while in the last image it has broken free from its confinement. The damp patches of water are irregular, disorderly, and the broken glass is potentially dangerous because you can injure yourself with it. Was Ruscha alluding in his illogical systems to Cage's idea of simultaneous events during his happening that have nothing to do with each other, to show entrapment in worn-out narrative patterns? He certainly realised that water can be a social status symbol as long as it is tamed. And subjugation and classification are part of the logic of capitalism. Disrupting the system is also about Ruscha's *Liquid Words,* introducing entropy into the system of language.

Pernicious desiccation of fluidity

"The artist or critic with a dank brain is bound to end up appreciating anything that suggests saturation, a kind of watery effect, an overall seepage, discharges that submerge perceptions in an onrush of dripping observation. They are grateful for an art that evokes general liquid states, and disdain the desiccation of fluidity," – wrote Robert Smithson in *A Sedimentation of the Mind: Earth Projects* (1968),[30] thus opening the water discourse in contemporary art, which was not about the representation of water but about the specific relation between the subject and its background.[31] The

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28 C. Townley, "Toward a Revaluation of Ignorance", *Hypatia*, 2006, 21, no. 3, p. 40.
29 R.C. Morgan, *Conceptual Art. An American Perspective*, Jefferson–London, 1994, p. 69.
30 *Robert Smithson: The Selected Writings*, ed. R. Flam, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, 1996, p. 109.
31 A. Markowska, "Mokre oczy w muzeum. Częściowo zagrzebana szopa Roberta Smithsona a muzealne dylematy" [Wet Eyes in the Museum. Robert Smithson's Partially Buried Woodshed and Museum Dilemmas], in: *Muzeum sztuki. Od Luwru do Bilbao* [Art Museum. From the Louvre to Bilbao], ed. M. Popczyk, Katowice 2006, pp. 163–171.

background usually (on land) denotes the continuum behind the figure, but also names that what is outside the main focus of attention. Therefore, it also concerns the relationship between the subject and its environment and defines a situation of mutual dependence, responsibility and care for the common "we". Robert Smithson seems more interesting as an artist who affirms not a finished work, but being on the way, suspended in-between, leaving the solid ground. Flying in a helicopter and making circles over the Great Salt Lake, Smithson was searching for his inspiration in Cézanne's strolling around Mount St. Victoria and his diabetic coma dreams rather than in paintings-'products' revered by aesthetes in galleries.

Converting painterly Pollock's whirls into real muddy circles and watery vortexes might be retold as a story about Rauschenberg's *Mud Muse* or Smithson's *Spiral Jetty.* It would be a story not about something happening inside a work of art, but a story where something is happening with the onlookers. Not keeping the required distance from the *Mud Muse*, one can be theoretically splashed with a mucky substance. However, such lack of hygiene and tidiness is, of course, not allowed in any museum. That is why *Spiral Jetty*, a form made of stones, accessible after a long journey whose destination is not a museum institution, opens potential viewers to an adventure understood differently than by abstract expressionists. Moreover, the rise and fall of Great Salt Lake water levels make the form of the work changeable, occasionally even invisible.

And yet, even hampered by the museum's guardians of order or seated in front of a computer screen, we can nevertheless escape the imposed restrictions of perception through the power of imagination triggered by the new research methodologies offered by humanities. Situating themselves in the midst of mud splashes of *Mud Muse* the onlooker seems on the way to an unknown destination. Their goal is obscure. They are a distant observer no more but not a mud swimmer yet. However, half way through, with their affirmative approach – becoming wet and staying dry – they would also remain altered, contaminated by a pulsating substance. Oscillating between watery matter and air, the observer might become an object of the "amphibious anthropology".[32] The amphibious participant of *Mud Muse* or *Spiral Jetty,* dazed and confused, is not driven by conscious intentionality and agency, but by attention to the unknown. The irregularly repeated rhythm of emerging bubbles in *Mud Muse* describes unknown life cycles hidden in the opaque matter and resonates with the onlooker's body. It trembles in response, corresponds with the movement of mud. Smithson highly valued the "leaky mind" and transformation of the dry into the wet, hence probably his comment: "brain drain leads to eye drain".[33] It was with great aptitude that he used terms associated with softness, impermanence, fluidity: watery syntax, liquid mind, mind of mud.

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32 F. Krause, "Towards an Amphibious Anthropology of Delta Life", *Human Ecology,* 2017, 45, no. 3, pp. 403–408.
33 *Robert Smithson…,* op. cit., p. 42.

Dynamic "in-betweenness"

My concept is also to offer a different view and a different way of thinking, when it comes to in-between relationships. In the subject-background contextual relation, emphasised in Smithson's work, the linguistic specificity might be taken into consideration. Whereas a background in English, like *Hintergrund* and *Grund* in German, is directed towards ground references related to a solid surface, something heavy and stable, in Polish *tło* refers to *otulanie*, i.e. wrapping/embracing/tucking with care. It connotes softness, tenderness and lack of distance. As a Polish scholar, in my introductory project of new and revised hydro-stories, I would like to transfer this idiosyncratic meaning from my native language to the analysis of background-figure relations, in the aqueous perspective, to American art. However, it is also important to keep in mind, when it comes to background expressing care that relational and affirmative *otulanie* might unexpectedly change into liquefaction, the evaporation of structures, "this flaccid leaking away of substance that makes everything – us, our ideas, and the ambience in which we live-like jellyfish or octopi"[34] and, as Yve-Alain Bois remarked, lead to entropy. Both the affirmative enveloping and liberating evaporation of structures occur, for example, in many works by Roni Horn. For her water enables reflection on the fluid nature of identity.[35] In her cycle *Haraldsdóttir* (1996) the face of a young girl changes because of the weather. Once there is a mist on her face, at other times small drops of moisture or streaks of water, sometimes the contours of the cheeks and chin become unspecified and the colour fades. The girl is not a stable figure with defined contours and therefore has the potential for change. Following Tim Ingold's concept of the ontological difference between "between" and "in-between", perceiving *Haraldsdóttir* should focus on her melting figure, steam, water and beholder's affects – corresponding and midstreaming, developing feelings for one another. While being "between" one point and another, between two terminals or stops, for Ingold means that we know where we are going; being "in-between" implies uncertainty and ignorance concerning the final destination. The dynamic "in-betweenness" of sympathetic relations implies inarticulate manifestations of consciousness "that streams around and amidst the fixed points"[36] suggesting impossible bodies and limitless possibilities. What has hitherto been silenced and submissive is expected to have a "voice". Nothing is known in advance because the "in-betweenness" is a world of becoming, a movement of generation and dissolution, flows and inhalations. Why is turning to the water so important in this

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34 M. Leiris, quoted in: Y.A. Bois, R.E. Krauss, *Formless. A User's Guide*, New York, 1997, p. 181.

35 A. Markowska, "Pary-nie-do-pary oraz inne fragmentaryczne kolektywy. O twórczości Roni Horn" [The Unmatched Couples and Other Fragmentary Collectives. About the Work of Roni Horn], in: *Zawsze fragment. Studia z historii kultury XX i XXI wieku* [Always a Fragment. Studies in the History of the 20t[h] and 21st Century Culture], eds. M. Kitowska-Łysiak, M. Lachowski, Lublin, 2011, pp. 271–302; W. Szymański, "Hornitologia" [Hornitology], in: idem, *Argonauci* [Argonauts], Kraków, 2015, pp. 203–261.

36 T. Ingold, *The Life of Lines,* New York, 2015, p.148.

search? A "between" with fixed joints, dry terminals and purely instrumental and rational thinking is typical for modernism, while the "in-between" in watery conditions enables the un-learning of modernist thinking. "Between" expresses itself in a modernist culture of planning and projects,[37] eviscerated of affects, focused on acquisitions, products, commodification. Nothing unexpected can happen because everything is predicted in advance, prepared as a product. Obviously, *Haraldsdóttir* lives in the realm of "in-betweenness" and her status quo depends on weather conditions as well. As Lynn Cook remarked "we're very conscious of reading the face as a physical surface."[38] It seems that Horn shows a different girl in subsequent photographs because the model is constantly changing under the influence of water. The collective of multiplied *Haraldsdóttirs* shows the inconsistency of the human being and the potentiality of multiple personalities that can be developed under (un-)/favorable conditions. In a way, the girl is decapitated because she stands in a warm spring submerged up to her neck. What is below is fluid, unknown, related to either *otulanie* or "flaccid leaking". Her body has become water and her head might also dissolve soon. Looking directly at the viewer, she provokes their imagination, seems to encourage them to immerse themselves and take a dive together. Without a full understanding of the situation and a rational calculation of gains and losses, the artist suggests "fiat" (let it be) to make unexpected events unfold – all that can be found in the abysses of immersion.

Aquatic communities

In my yet unwritten story I would like to ask how and what binds the aquatic imagination, and what horizons it expands. Water might no longer be an abstract symbol of purity or an anthropocene liquid (bottled and sold, carried in pipelines to heavily polluting coal-fired stations), but with its materiality and potentiality it would become an invitation to imagine, inhabit and share otherwise. It is Proteus, son of the sea god Poseidon, with his constantly changing nature and mutable forms, who rules the watery realm.[39] Therefore, things, plants and animals (and in fact the whole world) can no longer be treated merely as substitutes for human ideas. For Horn a sort of aquatic community was built, when she included a collection of reports about the weather (spoken testimonies of 75 people living in or near Stykkisholmur) in the *Water Library* (2007).[40] Given that the presence of air is so natural and obvious that it feels almost non-existent, it is weather that seems

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37 L. Porter, *Unlearning the Colonial Cultures of Planning,* London, 2010.
38 L. Neri, L. Cooke, T. du Duve, *Roni Horn,* London, 2000, p. 17.
39 *Kulturgeschichte des Wassers,* hrsg. von H. Böhme, Frankfurt am Main, 1988; T. Dobrowolski, *Mity morskie antyku* [Maritime myths of antiquity], Warszawa, 1987; *Estetyka czterech żywiołów: ziemia, woda, ogień, powietrze* [Aestetics of the Four Elements: Earth, Water, Fire, Air], ed. K. Wilkoszewska, Kraków, 2002.
40 R. Horn, *Vatnasafn/Library of Water,* London, 2007.

to become a true social bond. The library is a space of many events integrating the global community with the local rain, fog, wind, puddles and swamps. (Did Horn have to leave America to reveal people's deep ties with their environment?)

In turn, the community that Cindy Sherman offers brings about mixing the natural with the artificial, the mechanical and the virtual and results from her experiments with the camera angle. The represented figures are neither vertical nor coherent, neither real nor figments of imagination. Most of them are also a bunch of pretenders and crooks, in the state of in-betweenness, neither that nor the other, neither women nor mannequins. The transformation of a figure into a "landscape" and back is one of the principles of the ontology of pregnancy. One figure is a background for another and vice versa. With the artificial body or face emerging from the real, the new parasitises on the old in a never-ending pregnancy and unfinished transmutation. Wounds on the skin turn into landscapes and shifting ways of looking at the work are crucial here. But in the artist's world of props and repetition, where everything has already been finished, the hope of new life lies in humidity, so rare and precious. In her analysis of Sherman's photographs Rosalind Krauss underlined "the refractive surface of water" which sparkled and produced multiple points of light.[41] However, for the scholar it was only "the formless pulsation of desire",[42] as if there was no routine there and as if that routine with irony did not suppress desire. What is interesting in Sherman's masquerade is Oneness in trouble, exceeding the bounds not only by desire but by really being "in-between". Robert Gober in turn was referring among others to amorous dating in men's restrooms, to disrespectfully treated HIV-afflicted people, to the Catholic symbolism of living water and to Our Lady's springs. In his art the plumbing system is fertile. Fertility is bizarrely and surprisingly displaced, both redundant and welcome. The birth is never complete as the tap gives birth to just a single leg. Heads are absent. Gober's monstrous entities are born on something like an island – a meticulously elaborated environment. The island character of created places prevents the maternal genealogy of Gober's work to be supplanted by the patriarchal order. There is no All Powerful One to explain and rationalise the unexpected appearance of legs in wet pipes. Last but not least, during his work on *Spiral Jetty* Smithson thought about the communities of indigenous people and intercultural solidarity, about those who failed and whose various business ventures (undertaken, among others, around the Great Salt Lake) were unsuccessful. Remnants of these enterprises rest at the bottom of the lake. Smithson thought of art exploring failure, vulnerability and mortality. The watery syntax implied mental weather (so important later for Horn) and a climatology of the brain and eye. A liquid mind opens up to the unplanned. In fact, in the 1940s, the French philosopher Gaston Bachelard was convinced that the eye itself is weary of solids.[43]

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41 R. Krauss, *Cindy Sherman, 1975-1993,* New York, 1993, p.111. See also: K. Šantová, "Aesthetic Evaluation of the Water Element: The Metaphor of the Mirror in the Works of Cindy Sherman ans Lucia Nimcová" , in: *Scientia Nobilitat Studies,* Łask, 2015, pp. 16–22.
42 Krauss, op.cit.
43 G. Bachelard, *L'eau et les rêves. Essai sur l'imagination de la matière* (1942), Québec, 2016.

Counter-memories from the Middle Passage

Returning to reflections on the Middle Passage in today's art and culture is not only a consideration of history, but also of all those people who, every day today, lose their homes and are forced to exile themselves into unknown territories. In Steven Spielberg's film *Amistad* (1997) – which tells the story of rebellious slaves kidnapped from Africa and willing to return to it – particularly moving is the portrayal of desperate Cinqué (Djimon Hounsou), the leader of the rebellion, who does everything to avoid being captured by American soldiers. Once he realises that the boat chasing him is going faster than he is, he decides to make a hopeless escape into the ocean. Although we know this may be a dive into death, watching Cinqué underwater we see a man fighting for his inherent dignity. As Ruth Mayer put it: "The scene is fascinating because it is both utterly hopeless and absurdly enticing: for once, Cinqué's way out is obviously no way out, his effort at getting away a suicidal undertaking. But on the other hand, and simultaneously, the scene is replete with an aura of a total escape, absolute freedom. Briefly, Cinqué seems to have drifted into a realm, where the laws of the land do not hold. Of course, once the African comes back to the surface, Spielberg's film sets out to follow an altogether different course, leaving the underwater world and its strange logic behind and turning to the world of American law and order."[44] Regrettably, with Cinqué not rescued by any of the submarine Drexciyans, Spielberg's story does not veer toward a comforting fantasy. While Spielberg's aquatic imagination intended to portray the utterly tragic fate of Africans, Drexciya's project is ambivalent, and the message ambiguous and dehumanising, aimed at the unexpected work of imagination. It may be defined as "future-memories", i.e. remembrances of liberatory things not yet happened and seen.

Hydro-stories employ a variety of narrative patterns, from tragedy to romance. They also use humour and irony, as Ellen Gallagher's example shows. Richard Schur has called her aesthetic post-soul because in the post-Civil-Right era she and many other artists (e.g., Jean-Michel Basquiat before her) are no longer concerned with the social construction of race. From her work we can deduce the observation that the tradition of African American art is not only complex but also incoherent.[45] Greg Tate has called Ellen Gallagher "our high priestess of ambiguity, ambivalence, and incisive ephemerality",[46] and described her work as "the visual analogue to Thelonious Monk's music: hard edged, whimsical, laconic, eccentric, historically conscious, hypnotic, and precise".[47] In her *Watery Ecstatic* series (2001 – present), which includes works on paper, objects, and short animated films, Gallagher returns to the murders of women on slave ships crossing the Atlantic. She is preoccupied with counter-memories: not only the transformation of women into aquatic crea-

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44 Mayer, op. cit., p. 555.
45 R. Schur, "Post-Soul Aesthetics in Contemporary African American Art", *African American Review*, 2007, 41, no. 4, pp. 641–654.
46 Ibid., p. 645.
47 Tate, op.cit., p. 210.

tures breathing efficiently in the Atlantic depths, but also the current situation of African-Americans in the USA. Depicted within the framework of underwater life, her counter-memories from the future reveal the extraordinary sea creatures, their mutation, and the post-human condition that resists heteronormativity: "the remnants of words unmoored from the burden of racial signification, in dazzling aqua-/ Afrofuturist migrations".[48] After a detailed examination of her works with three different subjects (a dancer Clayton "Peg Leg" Bates, a mysterious jellyfish-like creature and the artist's self-portrait as an odalisque) Suzanna Chan described the eclectic maritime aesthetics of her work as aquafuturist. As Chan believes, a posthuman and interspecies imagery defies the historical animalisation of the African people and her queer aquafuture images challenge Freud's foundational myths. Post-traumatic stories of murdered mothers are evoked by the artist through, among others, an alien jellyfish mother. This strange creature obviously might be an object of the "amphibious anthropology". She inscribes "a future of coexistence with difference, outside of a phallic either/or model of assimilation or expulsion".[49]

In light of the changes in the writing and telling of American history, it should be also noted that in New Orleans in 2022 *Monument to a Water Deity* by Simone Leigh replaced the statue of confederate general Robert E. Lee (removed in 2017 as a symbol of "a menacing white supremacist presence that loomed over the city").[50]

Summary of the unwritten story

By all means, the list of works and artists analysed in my yet-unwritten story should be expanded (e.g. Betty Beaumont, late Joan Jonas, Allan Sekula, Trevor Paglen, Buster Simpson, Helen and Newton Harrison). Emily Dickinson, Roni Horn's favorite poet, about whom she wrote that each thing she named "breaks with symbolic meaning and takes its place in the actual",[51] gave a simple framework for thinking about water and structuring the book – from "a neighbour from another world residing in a jar" to "My Caspian – thee". After all, "water, is taught by thirst". Dickinson begins with ordinary colloquiality and arriving at non-knowledge or she can be silent and wait to give voice to what has no language yet. But looking for inspiring and encouraging masters should be especially deliberate. As a documentary film *My Teacher Octopus* (2020) by a South African filmmaker Craig Foster shows, we don't have to learn necessarily from humans. Revised hydro-stories are expected to reveal humans as beings expanded by their diverse human and non-

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48 S. Chan, *"Alive…Again*. Unmoored in the Aquafuture of Ellen Gallagher's *Watery Ecstatic"*, *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 2017 (Spring/Summer), 45, no. 1&2), p. 261.

49 Ibid., p. 255.

50 B. Sutton, "Simone Leigh statue of African deity installed at former site of Confederate monument in New Orleans", *The Art Newspaper*, 24 January 2022, https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2022/01/24/simone-leigh-statue-new-orleans-confederate-monument [accessed 04 February 2022].

51 Neri, Cooke, Duve, *Roni Horn,* op. cit., p. 118.

human environment. One way or another, the structure of the hydro-stories should be an assemblage of incommensurable parts that do not complement each other to make a whole. Aquatic imagination is governed, like cosmos, by infinity.

Reinterpretation means searching for a new viewpoint which paves the way to genuinely welcoming the other (also "I" as another) and to considering relations. What does it mean to discover the possibilities for being and thinking differently? Many attempts have been recently made to imagine a different kind of thinking – from assemblage thinking (Jervis, after Manuel DeLanda),[52] and thinking "with pelage" (Lestel)[53] to tentacular thinking (Haraway),[54] so bravely incorporated into life and art by Gallagher. The off-shore and off-ground aquatic perspective is meant to show the different status of the subject, its protean instability and the possibilities of different identities and becomings. The tangibility of space disrupts the boundaries of bodies and opens up to their surroundings. Dynamic interactions in an aquatic imaginary open up to be in wet contact in-between and to include environmental qualities. Not knowing our boundaries, we must face our ignorance. The under-water world is less known. In this situation epistemologies of ignorance – a tool urging us to look at types of knowledge – can be deemed dangerous – will prove to be useful. A positive kind of ignorance (termed "loving ignorance" by Tuana[55]) might be an epistemology of resistance against reinforcing the established patterns of dominance. The imposition of "correct" knowledge is exclusory in its character. The weak, vulnerable and silent subject (i.e. not imposing ways of understanding) makes listening and understanding possible; it enables meeting and sharing.

Following Astrida Neimanis's concept of posthumanist feminist phenomenology of water, the yet non written hydro-stories about American art should focus on a more capacious aqueous imaginary for being responsive to other human and non-human bodies with whom we share our existence. The project challenges modernist isolationism which subscribes to Western ontologies assuming dichotomies and hierarchical oppositions of cognition and performance. The crucial argument of this challenge is the ontology of pregnancy developing a new concept of identity and hospitality. It might be encapsulated in a paraphrase of Bruno Latour's statement that "we have never been individuals" or in Gaston Bachelard's belief that water generates a long dream of bonding.

Art allows the imagination to work. Today's art is understood as a communal activity in which different resources of "I", "you" and "we" are discovered. Since the contemporary art world has recognised the significance of art practices beyond individual ambition, a space for collaborative art projects has opened up. The aqueous

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52 B. Jervis, *Assemblage Thought and Archaeology*, London–New York, 2019.
53 D. Lestel, "Myśleć sierścią. Zwierzęcość w perspektywie drugoosobowej" [To Think Hairy. Animality from the Point of View of the Second Person], in: *Zwierzęta i ich ludzie. Zmierzch antropocentrycznego paradygmatu* [Animals and Their People. A Decline of the Anthropocentric Paradigm], eds. A. Barcz, D. Łagodzka, Warsaw, 2015.
54 D. Haraway, *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*, Durham–London, 2016.
55 N. Tuana, "The Speculum of Ignorance: The Women's Health Movement and Epistemologies of Ignorance", *Hypatia*, 2006, no. 3, pp. 1–19.

imagination, as applied in the discussed artworks, can be useful tool for revising the concept of the subject and can help foster a change from the autonomous and enclosed towards that, which is protean, entangled with other entities, open to mutual trust, care, loving ignorance and relations beyond the all-human world. Instead of the modernistic planning culture based on ultra-rationality and mono-linearity, water imaginary recovers the religious concept of unplanned visitation. I claim that ecological and aquatic interconnectedness might built an alternative understanding of the subject and create a new collective identity.

When viewed through the lens of the ontological turn, today's art is part of life's experience and activity. The blue humanities place "cultural history in an oceanic rather than terrestrial context" and believe that the prehistory of the posthuman lies underwater.[56] What this means today, however, is not expanding exploitive/instrumental thinking, but becoming more sensitive to the interrelationships between different ecosystems. While evoking the colour blue, it should not be forgotten that it might be lined up with such projects of capitalist and colonial cleanliness as greenwashing and whitewashing.[57] Utopian thinking rooted in modernism continues to produce sterile visions of the future, without respect for the intricate relationships that cannot be contained within old classifications. The main goal of art in the domain of aquatic imagination, which wants to give a voice to those who have been denied it so far or to those whom they did not want to listen to, is to overcome cultural and social (gender, ethnic, class) inequalities and speciesism. Many art historian are nowadays interested in the arts going hand in hand with the recent social movements and postulates reimagining the late capitalist world of ecological disaster and dramatic social inequalities for future generations and keeping alive hope instead of scepticism. Ewelina Jarosz who wrote recently about the American ecosexual artists Annie Sprinkle and Beth Stephens and their marrying-water ceremonies, claims that "the navigating tools offered by the blue humanities are to argue for a visually non-obvious and discursively experimental narrative, sensitive to the areas of ignorance and embarrassing truths hidden behind colors"[58]. What really matters is the quality of the established ties with the surrounding world and human and non-human persons. The eponymous imagination has a reference to *imaginaries* – enabling, through making sense of certain ideas, the practices of a society. Yet imagining a different relationship with disenfranchised subjects is not just about intentions that replicate old ways of thinking. Aquatic imagination has the potential to turn good intentions into reality. Experimenting with research methods may be cogent if epistemic triumphalism – appropriative, colonialist and other oppressive ways of knowing – is replaced by doubts and transitional ignorance

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56 S. Mentz, "Blue Humanities"*,* in: *Posthuman Glossary*, eds. R. Braidotti, M. Hlavajova, London–Sydney, 2018, p. 69–70.

57 Neimanis, op.cit., p. 180.

58 E. Jarosz, "Hydro-sztuka w Polsce z perspektywy błękitnej humanistyki jako tratwy ratunkowej wobec katastrofy ekologicznej" [Hydro-art in Poland from the Perspective of the Blue Humanities as a Life Raft in the Face of Ecological Catastrophe], *Przegląd Kulturoznawczy*, 2021, no. 2 (48), p. 294.

(a temporary denial of information), which corresponds to aposiopesis, the figure of silence in rhetoric and to staying "in-between" – in "a movement of generation and dissolution in a world of becoming where things are not yet given".[59]

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59 Ingold, p. 147.

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REVIEWS

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Review

Inventing Medieval Czechoslovakia 1918–1968. Between Slavs, Germans, and Totalitarian Regimes,

eds. Ivan Foletti, Adrien Palladino, Rome, 2019, 200 pp.

The book contains six case studies (including the Introduction), analysing the specific social and historical conditions for the functioning of the humanities, in this case medieval art history, within the timeframe 1918 – ca. 1968, sometimes, however, reaching as far back as the early 20th century and looking out to the end of this same century.

1. The introduction outlines the intellectual framework for the interest shown by art historians in the history of their own discipline, which arouse after the First World War and has intensified in recent decades. The editors of this volume present the discussed phenomenon in the European perspective, mentioning a number of regional and general studies, including selected Polish publications. When discussing the Czech perspective, in addition to the study by Jiří Kroupa, a number of problem papers by Milena Bartlová are found worthy of attention. Finally, the authors point out the importance of this research, especially in the aspect of confronting attitudes resulting from the researchers different national backgrounds, which seems signifi-cant in the current era of forced or voluntary migration, of ordinary citizens, as well as within the orbit of science.

2. Ondřej Jakubec has extensively characterised the emergence of Slavic myth and, in particular, the "Bohemian Renaissance". Taking as a basis the concept of the Czech nation, its features, detailed by František Palacký, were transferred to the 16th century architecture. The heyday of such a nationalistic approach came in the last third of the 19th century, but it persisted for nearly a century, even echoing in publications of the 1960s–1970s. In an astonishing way, the nationalistic concept of the "Czech Renaissance" worked, changing its colours (the association with club colours is not far from the point) from Slavophile nationalism, to a determined defence against cosmopolitan modernism, ending at anti-fascism and Marxism.

Permanent in the characterisation of the thus conceived "Czech Renaissance" were categories formulated apriori at the very beginning, such as: "picturesqueness," "cheerfulness," "tunefulness," "softness," etc., which, by the way, were also applied to the characteristics of Czech painting of the period, as well as the national character of the Czechs in general. Typical elements of Bohemian architecture in this sense included the use of gables, lunette cornices, and sgraffito decorations, especially with motifs of sunflowers and apple and pear branches, being considered native. The theoretical concepts of historiographers, also developed by architects, were reflected in the forms of Neo-Renaissance architecture in the region. As a parallel in the history of Polish art Jakubec cited Jan Białostocki's concept assuming the distinctiveness of Polish art of the second half of the 16th and early 17th centuries as an effect of a specific interpretation of Mannerism. At the same time, he remined about the criticism of this approach by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, who generally rejected the search for "indigenous" stylistic forms as growing out of nationalisms of all kinds. It should be added here that in such a brief presentation, Białostocki's concept has been definitely oversimplified. Moreover, in Polish historiography as well as in architectural reflection and practice, the national interpretation of the Renaissance and its incorporation into local, indigenous tradition took place much earlier than in the mentioned Białostocki's study. Meanwhile, back to range of Polish art history research after Second World War – not every reflection devoted to searching for specific features, predilections for certain motives or artistic solutions in some geographically and politically separated territory deserves *a priori* a charge of continuing a nationalistic approach. Mieczysław Zlat, who noticed a certain predilection for formally limited attics in the 16th-century Lower Silesian architecture, cannot be accused of forcing a national approach. After all, Silesia is a specific region within post-war Poland, and the study of art in the "Recovered Territories" after 1945 by Polish art historians necessitated a decidedly balanced approach that focused on local geographic and cultural conditions, arising at the intersection of different cultures and authorities, rather than national ones.

3. The issue of the functioning in Prague during the German occupation of the *Institutum Kondakovianum* – a Russian academic institution created in 1931 by emigrants continuing the legacy of the protoplast of Russian art history Nikodim Kondakov (d. 1925) – was taken up by Ivan Foletti. It is a survival story with some sensational threads – internal dissensions, denunciations to the occupation authorities, support of Prince Karel Schwarzenberg, making their living thanks to the reams of paper preserved from the good times, and finally the post-war fading away of the institution after its incorporation into the structure of the Czech National Academy (1952). The international recognition of Byzantine and Eastern studies by Kondakov and his students, and their position as a "white émigré" allowed the institution to survive Prague's most perilous wartime period, but the consequence of the latter was its erasure in the era of the Third Republic.

4. Jan Klípa provided an analysis of the research on medieval art in Silesia. It is a region of great interest to Czech art historians because for centuries it functioned within the structure of the Bohemian Crown. He first presented the change in ap-

proach to the problem of the origins and networks of Silesian art that occurred in the research of German scholars between the 1920s and 1930s., beginning with the monumental 1926 exhibition of Silesian Gothic art catalogue published by Heinz Braune and Erich Wiese. These two authors, according to Klípa, showed a surprising lack of nationalistic approach to the question of the origin of medieval Silesian art, and in reference to painting, the application of an admittedly vague category of "Silesian-Czech" epoch, art, master. However, they derived it from formal and stylistic analyses rather than *a priori* assumptions of nationalistic policy. The change came about a decade later, exemplified in a text by Dagobert Frey, who searched for the constants and peculiarities of local art not so much as the result of mutual transregional contacts, but in the implementation of specific Germanic attributes in the areas of German "Ostraum". In the search for justification for the originality and peculiar self-sufficiency of Silesian art growing out of the roots of Germanic "Ostsiedlung", not even the category of "Silesian-Czech" art persisted. Even Ernst Troche's article on Silesian painting included in the same volume of "Die Hohe Strasse" [sic!], although not characterised by such a nationalistic approach, tried to replace Czech artistic connections by pointing to Silesian-German relations. The following post- Second World War period of Polish publications on Silesian art is characterised by Klípa as almost copying the German approach of the 1930s, but with changed poles. It was not the German-Silesian artistic relations, but the Polish-Silesian connections that became the postulated and pursued research issue. Here Klípa points to the political and social demand associated with the propagandistic idea of the Recovered Territories. However, the concept of Silesian-Czech ties has come back into favour, as it facilitated removing the contemptuous label of German art from at least some of the Silesian artworks.

At this point it is important to note the fundamental difference between the situation of pre-war German art history and post-war Polish art history. While some of the German scholars can be attributed to the conscious pursuit of a nationalist party-political line, the issue of Silesian art historiography was indeed more complicated. Just as the everyday reality of post-war Silesia in the People's Republic of Poland differed from that in the Czechoslovak Republic (from 1960 Socialist Republic). This is not the place to consider the above-mentioned situation broadly. Just to mention a few: huge destruction of all kinds of infrastructure as a result of warfare, including large numbers of monuments, artworks and collections, almost complete replacement of the existing population and alienation of the Polish immigrant community, the so-called repatriates. The objectivism of science is not supported by its incorporation into the political and social functions implemented by a given authority. In the case of Polish art historians writing about Silesia after the war, it was not this criterion that played a role, but a combination of wartime experiences, animosities and traumas, patriotic responsibility for the new cultural region perceived through the prism of the so-called Piast heritage, and educational needs – to familiarise the Polish society with Silesian history and art.

Klípa did not cover the whole subject of "medieval art in Silesia as a battlefield of national historiography", for he was mainly interested in the aspect of panel paint-

ing. He acknowledged the work of two scholars, who, beyond any doubts, were active already in the 2ⁿᵈ half of the 20ᵗʰ century, namely Anna Ziomecka and Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa. Above all, he appreciated their openness to Silesian-Czech ties in the Luxembourg era, although he credited the last scholar with differentiating the approach depending on whether the text was addressed to a Polish reader or a more international and specialised one. It seems to be an overinterpretation – Karłowska-Kamzowa devoted the last chapter of her book simply to the issue of the connections between Silesian painting and the painting of Lesser Poland and Greater Poland. This important problem simply seemed less suitable as a topic for foreign publications and speeches. Anyway, the dominant view in her publication is that Silesian painting was more important for the above-mentioned regions. As she puts it in the Conclusion (p. 90), one of the problems is: "Did Silesia assimilate the achievements of this monarchy [Bohemia] and pass them further east to Cracow and north to Greater Poland?". Either way, a more nuanced view of the matter of Silesian-Czech artistic relations in painting is noticeable starting with the work of these scholars. On the Czech side, in addition to Klípa himself, the previously cited Milena Bartlová did so. At the end of his paper, Klípa presented the case of the painting of St. Anne from Strzegom in order to illustrated the complexity of this problem in the epoch of International Style. Outlining the views of Polish researchers he omitted, let us note, the last publication,[1] but generally accepted the course of their findings. He was probably right to relativize the significance of the uncertain information about the painting's origin from the Carmelites in Strzegom, which allowed him to propose a later date of the painting's creation than previously assumed.

5. The text by Adrien Palladin and Sabina Rosenbergová is devoted to two national perspectives in the creation of the biography of Anton Pilgram, an artist active at the turn of the Medieval and Early Modern eras. It appears that diminishing the significance or even denying his early activity in Brno as a period of "immaturity" went hand in hand with emphasising the mature phase, already classified as Renaissance, of the "genius"'s work achieved in Vienna. Czech scholars, in turn, pointing to Pilgram's Moravian ancestry and acknowledging the German roots of his work, focused on his Brno works, if they included him at all in the spectrum of Czech art.

6. Jan Galeta, the author of the last study in this volume, provides the fascinating story of binational and bilingual Brno, seen through the prism of historical literature written in the century 1850–1950 and devoted to the art of the former capital of Moravia. Its authors were citizens of Brno, belonging to one or the other nationality group described as "German Moravians" (66% of the city's citizens in 1910) and "Czech Moravians". Depending on their nationality, they set the perspective, in which they portrayed the city's history and the executors of monuments

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1 M. Kapustka, "Część I. Gotyk. Wstęp do Katalogu", in: *Op Nederlandse manier. Inspiracje niderlandzkie w sztuce śląskiej XV–XVIII w. Katalog wystawy* [exh cat. Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy maj – lipiec 2001], eds. M. Kapustka, A. Kozieł, P. Oszczanowski, Legnica, 2001, p. 7 and the catalogue entry no. I.1. in this publication (pp. 10-11). This publication is also not cited in the excellent book J. Klípa, *Ymago de praga…* published in 2012.

to its past. The disputes went back as far as the Pre- and Early-Medieval periods. In the modern history of the city, this has been accompanied by fluctuations in the political predominance of one or the other option, marked by periods: before the First World War, after it, when Czechoslovakia was established, then after the establishment of the occupation protectorate 1939-1945, and after the end of the Second World War, whose radical repercussion was the expulsion of "German Moravians." A comparison of the historical literature and that devoted to the history of art shows that greater objectivity on both sides of the dispute characterised the art historians. It is significant that the latter from both national groups joined together in protest (unsuccessfully) against the planned 1904–1908 demolition of the "Royal Chapel" founded by King Wenceslas II.

The book under review provides a very interesting insight into the issues of art history's dependence on social and political conditions, in particular in the aspect of nationality. Undoubtedly new is the focus on the framing of the problem of medieval studies (with an excursus to the Renaissance) in the service of the young Czechoslovak republic. What is surprising, however, is the complete absence of Slovaks and Hungarians, who, along with the German minority, constituted another quantitatively and politically significant national group and who wrote about medieval art from the area of Czechoslovakia. Geographically and politically speaking, the Slovak (and Upper Hungarian) part of Czechoslovakia did not exist in the study in question, which was also not explained. One wonders, then, if this is not a kind of exclusion in a book that, among other things, discusses this problem in historiography?

Finally, the aesthetic aspect of the publication should not be overlooked. It consists of Amber Volume bulky paper in the inside of the book and winged cover pasteboard, as well as sophisticated Kitsch and Kitsch Text font. The decoration of the cover dominated by lettering (pp. 1 and 4), and a triad of black, red, and white-cream background colours was variegated by a small pattern created by multiplying the cross section of a Gothic vault rib. On a somewhat different note, the concept of the rib cross-section is used on the pre-title page, creating a quasi-architectural plan by superimposing and multiplying overlapping cross-sections of four different rib profiles. Black and white reproductions are contrasted with touches of red on the interleaf pages, main and intertitle titles and initials, captions of illustrations in the margins, and pagination. Petr M. Vronský has designed a book-object that is a pleasure to hold in your hand.

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Review

Jakub Banasiak, *Proteuszowe czasy. Rozpad państwowego systemu sztuki 1982-1993*,
Akademia Sztuk Pięknych w Warszawie, Muzeum Sztuki Nowoczesnej w Warszawie, Warszawa, 2020, 596 pp.

The impressive length of Jakub Banasiak's book is a result of the impressive scale of the scientific research undertaken by the author. It is not only about the accuracy of the research, the variety and length of the analysed archives, but also about the complexity of the goals set by the author.

On a basic level, the book shows the transformation of the art system from the times of martial law in the Polish People's Republic from 13 December 1981 to the first state laws towards art after 1989. The author analyses the mechanisms of state art trade, financing methods, gallery activities, groundbreaking exhibitions, cultural and art press. The research covers primarily the state circulation of art, but also the "church circulation", which flourished after the introduction of martial law. The research is based on books, press, interviews, state and private archives. His postulate of returning art history to basic research Banasiak carries out very carefully. The result is the art history focused on a material, legal and institutional basis of artistic life. This base is very often overlooked in books dedicated to art, which is seen rather as the area of aesthetic or even metaphysical decisions.

The book also shows the changes within the state circulation of art: the emergence of the first private initiatives, galleries. The author proves that the transition from the socialist to the capitalist model of art did not happen suddenly, in June 1989, but was evolutionary. It was initiated by reforms in the second half of the 1980s, concerning not only art but the state economy system in general. This is another great advantage of Banasiak's book: demonstrating the changes in the art market against a broader economic background.

Doing so, Banasiak proves one of the basic theses of his book, which says that "in relation to the state system of art from 1986–1989 one can speak of a 'second

thaw'" (p. 41). The author refers to the so-called October thaw in Poland after Stalin's death, which peaked in 1955–1956. This is, of course, controversial because it ignores the complexity of the causes, mechanisms and effects of changes in the two political periods. However, this controversy is here conscious and purposeful: it is about giving a new focus to the thesis, which is not as well established in the field of art history as it is in cultural studies.

However, Banasiak's ambitions go further: it's not only about a new kind of art history (focused on the economic basis), but also about changing the historical and artistic narrative. He wants to overturn the great national narrative, which makes us believe that back in the 1980s there was a binary opposition between a communist state and a "rebel nation" (p. 30), which resulted in a general boycott of the state circulation of art by artists. Banasiak proves that the cooperation and partnership between artists and operators of the state circulation of art was more than common. It is not, however, about "accusing" the artists. Contrary. Banasiak's proposal is consistent with the postulates put forward in the field of cultural studies in recent years: to look at PRL in a sober, non-ideological way as a system that apart from totalisation of social life offered also its egalitarisation and modernisation. Banasiak proposes that one should move beyond the moral criteria commonly adopted in historical and artistic narratives, focused on dissident and anti-communist attitudes, presenting the 1980s in a bipolar division: conformism versus heroism. This is where Banasiak's book becomes truly inspiring and – which is natural – provokes polemics. I will present two topics for discussion.

Proving that the history of art in Poland is a totalitarian history the author draws on the works of Piotr Piotrowski, primarily *Dekada* (Decade). The problem is that this book is devoted to Polish art in the 1970s and was written 30 years ago. Since then, many studies on Polish art of the 1980s were built on various, also "non-totalitarian" assumptions. Banasiak includes them, but mainly in the footnotes. Besides, it's hard to agree with the claim that Piotrowski was responsible for creating "totalitarian" narration in Polish art history. Even in the last chapter of *Dekada* dedicated to the art in the 1980s he makes "dissident art" a subjects to devastating criticism. It is then exactly the opposite of what Banasiak suggests: hardly anyone has done as much as Piotr Piotrowski to depart from heroic, nationalist narratives in the history of Polish art and to promote leftist, critical attitudes, narratives and methodologies.

I totally agree with Banasiak that looking at Polish art of the 1980s through the prism of moral attitudes leads to its distortion. This is, in my opinion, one of the most important postulates of the art history proposed by the author. However, I understand it differently: as a challenge addressed to the authors of historical analyses, but not as an element that should be excluded from the analysis of artistic life. "I am not interested in the moral attitude [...] of the participants of the state art system," writes Banasiak, "but the reasons and methods of the participation" (p. 38). There is a question: is it possible to separate the two? It is "moral attitude" – understood as internalised set of social norms, in other words: the kind of self-censorship – that is the key factor in behaviour of the individual and the community. The right

postulate of moving in describing artistic reality "beyond good and evil" does not, in my opinion, mean the negation of the Imaginary order, but its deconstruction, which allows to show the true impact of the Imaginary on reality. The result of its omission by the author is, for example, the lack of gender issues in his book – the issues belonging to the Imaginary order and having a key significance for artistic life in every dimension.

I consider provoking discussions to be a value of Banasiak's book. It's not only original analysis of artistic life in Poland in the 1980s, but also the work that offers a fresh perspective on the dynamics and development of both Polish art and Polish history of art. This is "must read" for anyone interested in contemporary and in the methodology of historical research.