

# IKONO THEKA

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*Małgorzata Smorąg-Różycka*

THE JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY

“Mary has filled me with amazement  
that she gave milk to the One  
who feeds the multitudes”:  
Notes on the Byzantine Iconography  
of Maria Galaktotrophousa

From 23 June to 9 October 2016 the National Museum in Cracow hosted an exhibition entitled *Maria Mater Misericordiae*, which was organised to celebrate World Youth Day in Cracow (26–31 July 2016).<sup>1</sup> The exhibition consisted of paintings and sculptures showing various depictions of the Virgin Mary that had been popular in European art in the period from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. They were arranged in six thematic groups, of which the largest, twenty-six paintings, comprised representations of the Virgin Mary breastfeeding the Christ Child. Representations of *Virgo lactans*, the Nursing Virgin, were not among the principal Marian images, but they were nevertheless popular throughout Europe. This beautiful and suggestive image of motherly tenderness must have spoken to the pious imagination of believers, who may have found it an echo of the most moving lines of poetry dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

The iconographic formula, formerly considered to have originated in Egyptian images of Isis breastfeeding the infant Horus, is currently associated mainly with Italian art, in which it was present from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In general, however, Byzantine elements of the style and iconography of many early Italian representations have prompted questions as to the possible Byzantine origin of this image – the issue remains a topic of scholarly investigation. All that seems certain at the current stage of research is that images of the Nursing Virgin gained considerable popularity in the post-Byzantine icon painting of the Cretan school, chiefly in the circle of Andreas Ritzos (1421 to before 1503), as well as in the Italo-Byzantine circles in Italy.

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1 *Maria Mater Misericordiae*, exhibition catalogue, ed. P. Krasny, Cracow 2016.

## Literary sources

The description of the Virgin Mary feeding the Christ Child with milk from her own breast appeared in the Gospel of St. Luke: “How blessed is the womb that gave birth to you and the breasts that nursed you!” (Luke 11, 27).<sup>2</sup> A similarly laconic passage is found in the apocryphal Protoevangelium of James: “(...) the young child appeared: and it went and took the breast of its mother Mary” (19, 5).<sup>3</sup> Even though rather enigmatically presented, this topic could not fail to have attracted the attention of Christian commentators, as it shed light on the fundamental issues of Christ’s nature, Mary’s virginity and motherhood, as well as her place in the history of salvation of mankind. The natural contradiction between Mary’s virginity and her breastfeeding was addressed by Clement of Alexandria (d. 215) in *The Paedagogus* (Παιδαγωγός), in which milk was considered in terms of metaphysics and the Passion, e.g. “The blood of the Word has been also exhibited as milk” or “The same blood and milk of the Lord is [...] the symbol of the Lord’s passion and teaching”.<sup>4</sup> The treatise concludes with a laudatory hymn in which Christ is presented as the heavenly milk and Christians as the infants that feed on it:

Nourished by the milk of heaven,  
To our tender palates given;  
Milk of wisdom from the breast  
Of that bride of grace exprest;  
By a dewy spirit filled  
From fair Reason’s breast distilled;  
Let us sucklings join to raise  
With pure lips our hymns of praise  
As our grateful offering,  
Clean and pure, to Christ our King.<sup>5</sup>

This thought was developed by St. Ephrem the Syrian (d. 373), an outstanding poet and fervent extoller of the Virgin Mary, whom he called “the queen of all”, “the most glorified, most excellent and most renowned”, or “brighter than sunrays and

2 Luke 11, 27 International Standard Version, <https://www.biblegateway.com> [accessed 24 August 2017].

3 Quoted after Book of James, or Protoevangelium, in: *The Apocryphal New Testament*, translated by and notes M. R. James, Oxford 1924, <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/infancyjames-mrjames.html> [accessed 24<sup>th</sup> August 2017].

4 Clement of Alexandria, *The Paedagogus*, Book 1, 6, after *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2, translated by William Wilson, eds. A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, A. Cleveland Coxe, Buffalo, NY 1885, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/02091.htm> [accessed 24 August 2017], cf. the Greek text in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*, ed. O. Stählin, Leipzig 1905, p. 119, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, vol. 1.

5 Clement of Alexandria, *The Paedagogus*, Book 3: *A Hymn to Christ the Saviour*; cf. the Greek text in Clemens Alexandrinus, *Protrepticus und Paedagogus...*, p. 292.

lightning bolts”, to quote just a few of the lofty epithets.<sup>6</sup> Considering the mystery of Mary’s virginity in his *Song of the Most Holy Virgin*, he stated: “Women do not keep virginity and bring forth milk. Where there is milk, there is no virginity. A miracle happened in the Virgin Mary: she gave birth as a Maiden”.<sup>7</sup> He began his *The Song of Mary to the Holy Infant* with the words: “Mary has filled me with amazement that she gave milk to the One who feeds the multitudes”.<sup>8</sup> Another text, dating from the same period and associated with Pseudo-Ephrem, proclaims: “Your breasts were to Him as wellsprings”.<sup>9</sup>

In the original Christian tradition, these and similar views were based on the Eve/Mary antinomy, but gradually the conviction that Mary had been the Mother of God, *Theotokos*, and her physical motherhood had not infringed her perpetual virginity, became entrenched.

It is traditionally assumed that the Council of Ephesus (22 June – 22 July 431) finally sanctioned the term “Mother of God” (*Theotokos*) as Mary’s epithet.<sup>10</sup> It is worth remembering, however, that the title *Theotokos* does not appear in any canon accepted by the Council, but only in the so-called Letter of Union, which was signed two years after the conclusion of the Council:

We wish to briefly expound how we think and teach about the Virgin Mother of God and about the manner in which the uniquely existing Son of God became a man [...] Thus, we believe that Jesus Christ our Lord, the uniquely existing Son of God, is a perfect God and a perfect Man [...], begotten before the ages from the Father as regards his divinity, and in the last days the same for us and for our salvation from the Virgin Mary as regards his humanity; consubstantial with the Father as regards his divinity, and the same consubstantial with us as regards his humanity. This is because a union of two natures has occurred. For this reason we declare our faith in one Christ, one Son, one

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6 Quoted after St. Ephrem the Syrian, *Ku chwale Bożej Rodzicielki Dziewicy Maryi* [In praise of the Virgin Mary Mother of God], in: *Ojcowie Kościoła greccy i syryjscy. Teksty o Matce Bożej* [The Greek and Syriac Church Fathers. Texts on the Mother of God], translated and ed. by W. Kania, Niepokalanów 1981, p. 69 (unless otherwise noted, the Early Christian texts included herein have been translated from Polish solely for the purpose of the current paper).

7 Quoted after St. Ephrem the Syrian, *Song of the Most Holy Virgin*, translated by W. Kania, in: *Muza chrześcijańska* [The Christian muse], vol. 1: *Poezja armeńska, syryjska i etiopska* [The Armenian, Syriac and Ethiopian poetry], ed. M. Starowieyski, Cracow 1985, p. 229, *Ojcowie żywi* [The living fathers], vol. 6.

8 Quoted after *Ojcowie Kościoła greccy i syryjscy. Teksty o Matce Bożej...*, p. 44.

9 *Muza chrześcijańska*, vol. 1..., p. 268.

10 Cf. recently L. Brubaker, M. B. Cunningham, *Byzantine Veneration of the Theotokos: Icons, Relics, and Eighth-century Homilies*, in: *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron*, ed. H. Amirav, Bas ter Haar Romeny, Leuven–Paris–Dudley, Ma 2007, pp. 235–250; *Wider Than Heaven. Eighth-century Homilies on the Mother of God*, translated and ed. by M. B. Cunningham, New York 2008; *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, ed. L. Brubaker, M. B. Cunningham, Burlington 2011; *Presbeia Theotokou. The Intercessory Role of Mary across Times and Places in Byzantium (4<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> Century)*, ed. L. M. Peltomaa et al., Vienna 2015, *Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, vol. 39.



Lord. Considering the union without amalgamation, we believe that the Holy Virgin is the Mother of God, since the Word of God became flesh, became Man.<sup>11</sup>

This text repeats the argumentation offered by Cyril, the bishop of Alexandria (d. 444), in answer to the statement of Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople (428–431), that it would be more proper to call Mary the “Mother of Christ” (*Christokos*) or the “Mother of Man” (*Anthropokos*). Let it be added that during the Council, both adversaries, Cyril and Nestorius, were deposed from their sees and subsequently imprisoned by order of Emperor Theodosius II. In the end, Nestorius was exiled to a monastery in Antioch and Cyril was freed. The formula found in the Letter of Union (433) was confirmed by the Council of Chalcedon (451): “[...] our Lord Jesus Christ [...] was begotten [...] from Mary, the virgin God-bearer as regards his humanity”.<sup>12</sup> Both texts contain the epithet “the Virgin Mother of God” (*Παρθένου Θεοτόκου*). The title *Theotokos* was first used by Origen (d. 254), who in his lengthy *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* repeatedly referred to Mary as the “Mother of God” or the “Mother of the Saviour”. Origen’s phrases were borrowed by Athanasius (d. 373), who developed the teaching on Mary’s divine motherhood and her perpetual virginity; hence the epithet the “Ever Virgin” (*Aeiparthenos*).<sup>13</sup>

After Mary was recognised as the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), over the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century the emphasis gradually moved towards Christology aligned with the teachings of the Council of Chalcedon (451). Yet it would be an exaggeration to state that the pronouncements made at these two councils materially influenced the shaping of Marian iconography, i.e. more impact was exerted by the more readily available descriptions found in hymns and religious poetry and established through homiletics and liturgy.

In the eucharistic anaphoras of both John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, Mary is called the Mother of God in the prayer recited aloud by the priest: “And above all for the Most Holy, Most Pure, Blessed and Glorious Our Lady, the Mother of God and the Ever Virgin, Mary”.<sup>14</sup> This formula was introduced in the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century and cemented the image of Mary the Mother of God in the collective awareness. The term *Theotokos* does not appear in Byzantine art. Images of Mary bear the epithet “Mother of God” (Μήτηρ (του) Θεοῦ), written as the abbreviation MP ΘΥ. This principle, however, became popular only in post-iconoclastic

11 Quoted after *Dokumenty soborów powszechnych* [Documents of general councils], vol. I (325–787), ed. A. Baron, H. Pietras SJ, Cracow 2001, pp. 177–179. The English translation is based on the translation of the *Definition of the faith* in the documents of the Council of Chalcedon, [www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0451-0451,\\_Concilium\\_Chalcedonense,\\_Documenta\\_Omnia,\\_EN.pdf](http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0451-0451,_Concilium_Chalcedonense,_Documenta_Omnia,_EN.pdf); the phrase “his uniquely existing Son” (John 3,16) comes from the International Standard Version; the King James Bible gives the more familiar phrase of “his only begotten Son” (translator’s note).

12 Ibid., p. 223.

13 Cf. W. Kania, *Wstęp*, in: *Ojcowie Kościoła greccy i syryjscy...*, pp. 10–12.

14 Quoted after *Wieczera mistyczna. Anafory eucharystyczne chrześcijańskiego Wschodu* [The mystical supper. Eucharistic anaphors of the Christian East], ed. H. Paprocki, Warsaw 1988, p. 128; cf. the Greek text in: J. Goar, *Euchologion: sive Rituale Graecorum*, Graz 1960, pp. 60–63.

monumental painting. Its earliest example seems to be a mosaic in the apse of the Constantinopolitan church of Hagia Sophia, dated to ca. 867.<sup>15</sup>

*The Greek Anthology* contains the following remark about a work entitled *An Eloquent Apology of a Homeric Cento* by one Patricius:

The book of Patricius, the God-fearing priest, who performed a great task, composing from the works of Homer a glorious song of splendid verses, announcing the deeds of the invincible God; how He came to the company of men and took human form, and was hidden when an infant in the blameless womb of a Virgin, He whom the infinite universe cannot hold; and how He sucked from the breast of the Virgin, once great with child from God, the stream of maiden milk it spouted (Book I, 119).<sup>16</sup>

Patricius (Patrikios) remains an enigmatic figure. It is assumed that he was active in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>17</sup> The passage quoted in the *Anthology* alludes to the theme of the incarnate God's human nature, made evident through a description of breastfeeding.

It is traditionally assumed that the most important hymn dedicated to the Mother of God is the *Akathist*, dated to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century and ascribed to the famous early-Byzantine poet Roman the Melodist or an anonymous poet of the same period. In the sixteen stanzas (*oikoi*) of this very intricately wrought, poetically complex text, historical and biblical themes are combined with a lyrical adoration of the Mother of God. Yet, although Mary's miraculous motherhood is its main theme, a reference to her feeding the Christ Child appears only once and, in addition, without explicitly mentioning feeding with milk: “Ἦκουσαν οἱ ποιμένες τῶν Ἀγγέλων ὑμνοῦντων τὴν ἔνσαρκον Χριστοῦ παρουσίαν· καὶ δραμόντες ὡς πρὸς ποιμένα, θεωροῦσι τοῦτον ὡς ἄμνον ἄμωμον ἐν γαστρὶ τῆς Μαρίας βοσκηθέντα, ἣν ὑμνοῦντες εἶπον”.

This passage in the translation is as follows: “On hearing the Angels praising the incarnate presence of Christ, the shepherds hastened as to a Shepherd, and beholding Him as a spotless Lamb, pastured in Mary's womb”.<sup>18</sup> Another variant of the translation has been proposed by N. Michael Vapori and Evie Zachariades-Holmberg: “The shepherds heard the appearance of Christ in the flesh being glorified; and hastening as to a shepherd, they beheld him as a spotless lamb who had been pastured in the womb of Mary”.<sup>19</sup> In this text, the recipient, referring to general knowledge,

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15 I. Kalavrezou, “Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary Became Meter Theou”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1990, no. 44, pp. 165–170.

16 *The Greek Anthology*, vol. 1, translated by W. R. Paton, London 1857, pp. 50–51.

17 Cf. M. D. Usher, “Prolegomena to the Homeric Centos”, *The American Journal of Philology*, 1997, vol. 118, no. 2, esp. pp. 315–319.

18 *The Akathist Hymn Preceded by the Brief Compline*, translated by Fr. George Papadeas, Daytona Beach, Florida 1980, <http://www.orthodoxchristian.info/pages/Akathist.htm> [accessed 23 November 2017].

19 *The Akathist Hymn and Small Compline*, translated by N. Michael Vapori and Evie Zachariades-Holmberg, [www.goarch.org/-/the-akathist-hymn-and-small-compline](http://www.goarch.org/-/the-akathist-hymn-and-small-compline) [accessed 23 November 2017]. For the Polish-language translations, cf. “Akathistos. Bizantyński hymn dziękczynny ku czci Matki Bożej” [Akathist. The Byzantine thanksgiving hymn in honour of the Mother of

most probably recognised this image as one of the breastfeeding Mary. In his other works, e.g. in the *Hymn on Mary at the Cross*, Roman the Melodist wrote explicitly about breastfeeding: "I bore Thee in my womb and I gave Thee milk from my breasts".<sup>20</sup>

In his *Sermon on the Annunciation*, Sophronius, the patriarch of Jerusalem (d. 638), was more explicit: "[...] when God became man, when God was conceived without semen, when God was born from a woman, when God suckled milk from a woman's breasts".<sup>21</sup> John of Damascus expressed this thought in a similar manner: "From thee, the Creator was born, the elements of our human matter. His body sprang from thine body, His blood from thine blood. God fed on thine milk".<sup>22</sup>

The motif of Jesus being breastfed does not disappear in the middle-Byzantine literature altogether, but, similarly to the period before the iconoclasm, it is seen relatively rarely. Among the few examples is the phrase in the *Hymn to the Most Holy Mother of God* by John Kyriotes Geometres (d. ca. 990): "Hail, o thou who have fed the Giver of food! Thine radiant breast nourished one of the three Divine Persons like a wellspring".<sup>23</sup> Other examples could probably be found in Byzantine literature, but this would not alter the fundamental observation that the topic of Mary's breastfeeding the Christ Child was not in the centre of the mediaeval writers' attention.

## The relic of Mary's milk in Constantinople

Mary's milk is mentioned as one of the Marian relics venerated in Constantinople.<sup>24</sup> *The Life of the Virgin*, ascribed to Maximus the Confessor, mentions traces of milk

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God], translated by M. Bednarz SJ, *Znak*, 1965, no. 131, p. 640, and "Hymn Akathistos" [The Akathist hymn], in: *Muza chrześcijańska* [The Christian muse], vol. 3: *Poezja grecka od II do XV wieku* [Greek poetry from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century], ed. M. Starowieyski, Cracow 1995, pp. 196 and 207, *Ojcowie żywi* [The Living fathers], vol. 12; cf. also L. M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, The medieval Mediterranean, Leiden 2001, vol. 35, but she does not discuss the theme of Mary's breastfeeding.

20 After the Polish-language version, "Maryja pod krzyżem", translated by W. Kania, in: *Muza chrześcijańska*, vol. 3, pp. 181; cf. also the commentary, p. 363.

21 After the Polish-language version quoted in *Ojcowie Kościoła greccy i syryjscy. Teksty o Matce Bożej...*, p. 137.

22 Ibid., p. 226.

23 After the Polish-language version: Jan Kyriotes Geometres, "Hymn ku czci Najświętszej Bogarodzicy" [Hymn to the Most Holy Mother of God], translated by J. Birkenmajer, in: *Muza chrześcijańska*, vol. 3, p. 285; on the life and oeuvre of John Kyriotes Geometres, cf. F. Scheidweiler, "Studien zu Johannes Geometres", *Byzantion*, 1952, no. 45, pp. 277–319; M. D. Lauxtermann, "John Geometres, poet and soldier", *Byzantion*, 1998, no. 68, pp. 356–380; E. M. van Opstall, *Jean Géomètre. Poèmes en hexamètres et en distiques élégiaques. Edition, traduction, commentaire*, The medieval Mediterranean, vol. 75, Leiden and Boston 2008.

24 Recently on the Marian relics at Constantinople, cf. J. Wortley, "The Marian Relics at Constantinople", *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 2005, no. 45, pp. 171–187; S. J. Shoemaker,

on the robe worn by Mary while feeding the Christ Child.<sup>25</sup> This remark does not derive directly from Maximus the Confessor, but was allegedly added in one of the versions of his text, edited by Theodore Synkellos in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and then repeated by Joannes Kyriotes Geometres (ca. 930–ca. 990) and Symeon the Metaphrast (d. ca. 1000). This remark was certainly intended to give credibility to the relic held in the Blachernae; according to the report ascribed to Theodore, it was to have protected the city against the invading Avars in the year 626.<sup>26</sup> This is an indirect indication that this theme was present in early Marian devotion, certainly as adopted from the literary tradition, i.e. homiletics and poetry.

Zosima, a deacon from the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius (Троице-Сергиева Лавра) in Sergiyev Posad near Moscow, a temple renowned throughout Rus', who visited Constantinople during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land made between the year 1419 and 1422, also mentioned the relic of Mary's milk.<sup>27</sup> As he reported in an account of his journey, which he entitled *The Xenos*, he had spent ten weeks in the capital of Byzantium.<sup>28</sup> According to Zosima, the relic of Mary's milk, as well as many other relics of the Passion of Christ which he mentioned, was kept at the monastery of St. John Prodromos at Petra (ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ).<sup>29</sup> This statement seems slightly enigmatic, considering that other travellers visiting this monastery in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century are silent on this subject.<sup>30</sup> The relic of Mary's milk was the only relic not to be mentioned among the Marian relics held in the chapel of the Pharos Palace, but it was among the twenty-two relics that Baldwin II sent from Constantinople to King Louis IX of France in the years 1239–1242: *Item de lacte matris Domini*, as stated by Gunther of Paris (1150–1220) in his famous *Historia Constantinopolitana*.<sup>31</sup>

The circumstances in which the monastery was founded are similarly unclear. Its foundation around the 5<sup>th</sup> century is reported by John Mauropous (ca. 1000 until 1075–1081), an outstanding humanist and writer who spent his twilight years there, having returned from Euchaita where he had been the metropolitan in the period ca. 1050–1075.<sup>32</sup> According to John Mauropous, the monastery was founded by an Egyptian monk by the name of Baras.<sup>33</sup> The first foundation most probably occurred

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“The Cult of Fashion: The Earliest “Life of the Virgin” and Constantinople’s Marian Relics”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 2008, no. 62, pp. 53–74.

25 Ibid., pp. 63–65.

26 Cf. A. Kazhdan, “Theodore Synkellos”, in: *The Oxford Dictionary...*, vol. 3, p. 2048.

27 G. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, vol. 19, Dumbarton Oaks 1984, p. 166.

28 Ibid., p. 181.

29 Ibid., p. 189.

30 Ibid., p. 344.

31 Quoted after P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, Geneva 1877–1878, vol. II, p. 122.

32 Cf. A. P. Kazhdan, “John Mauropous”, in: *The Oxford Dictionary*, vol. 2, 1991, p. 1319; idem, “Some Problems in the Biography of John Mauropous”, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 1993, no. 43, pp. 87–111; idem, “Some Problems in the Biography of John Mauropous”, *Byzantion*, 1995, no. 65, pp. 362–387.

33 X. Lequeux, “Jean Mauropous. Jean Mauropodès et le culte de Saint Baras au monastère du Prodrome de Pétra à Constantinople”, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 2002, no. 120, pp. 101–110,

in the 5<sup>th</sup> century and is associated with a group of monks who had arrived from Egypt. The second foundation is better documented. As ascertained by Elisabeth Malamut on the basis of an unpublished document, i.e. the so-called Testament of John (Cod. Ambros. 270 from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century), its founder was Hegumen John, particularly revered by “the *despoina* and mother of the God-crowned Alexios”, that is Anna Dalassene (d. 1101–1105), mother of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, who also bore the title of “lady and empress”. Another prominent protector of the monastery mentioned in this text was the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicholas III (August 1084–1111), which makes it possible to assume that the foundation occurred after the year 1084. The monastery owed its next flourishing, which occurred in the period of the Paleologian dynasty, to Emperor Andronicus II (1282–1328), and particularly to Stefan Uroš Milutin, the king of Serbia (1281–1321), married to the emperor’s daughter Simonis. King Milutin founded a hospital (*xenodocheion*) inside the monastery, while Emperor Andronicus II, in a chrysobull dated February 1321, made the monastery the seat of the hegumens of Hilandar during their sojourns in Constantinople. The Petra monastery’s rise in status was crowned with the decree (*sigillon*) of Nilus, the patriarch of Constantinople, from March 1381, by which the hegumen was accorded the rank of an archimandrite and protosynkellos, while the monastery itself was given the rank of the capital’s third principal monastery, after the Studion and the monastery of St. George of Mangana. Information that the monastery held numerous relics, not only of its patron, but also of other saints, as well as the relics of the Virgin Mary and of the Passion of Christ, recurs in reports of travellers who visited the monastery in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century; it must be noted that the relics of Christ were moved there from the Mangana monastery only in the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> century (between the year 1393 and 1403). In the last years of the empire the monastery at Petra was thus a depository of the most important relics of the Passion of Christ in all of Christendom, apart from those that had been taken away from the capital after the year 1204.

The location of the St. John Prodromos monastery at Petra is a matter of scholarly debate. Raymond Janin, an outstanding expert on the topography of Constantinople, situated it in the vicinity of the cistern of the city prefect Aetius, but its location is uncertain as well (it is usually assumed to have been located close to the Gate of Adrianople and the Palace of Blachernae, in the north-western part of the city).<sup>34</sup> Anthony of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople around the year 1200, noted: “[...] walking towards the Blachernae [one passes by] the monastery of St. John the Baptist”.<sup>35</sup> The earliest known plan of the city, made by Cristoforo

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questions Mauropous’s authorship and considers the account to have been written by John Mauropodes, a monk at the Prodromos monastery.

34 Cf. R. Janin, “Les sanctuaires du quartier de Pétra (Constantinople)”, *Échos d’Orient*, 35: 1936, no. 181, pp. 51–66; E. Malamut, “Le monastère Saint-Jean Prodrome de Pétra de Constantinople”, in: *Le sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident*, ed. M. Kaplan, Paris 2001 (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 18), pp. 219–233.

35 *Книга Паломник. Сказание мест святых во Цареграде Антония, архиепископа Новгородского в 1200 году*, ed. М. Лопарев, Санкт-Петербург 1899 (“Православный палестинский сборник”

Buondelmonti ca. 1422, shows the monastery at Petra as located between the imperial palace and the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>36</sup> The monastery is mentioned by a succession of Russian pilgrims coming to Constantinople in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century: Stephen of Novgorod in the years 1348–1349,<sup>37</sup> Ignatius of Smolensk in 1389–1392,<sup>38</sup> the Anonymus,<sup>39</sup> Precentor Alexander ca. 1389–1392<sup>40</sup> and Deacon Zosima in 1419–1422.<sup>41</sup> Finally, Ruy Gonzáles de Clavijo, a Castilian traveller and diplomat in the service of King Henry III of Castile, left a longer report on the monastery. Clavijo spent some months in late 1403 and early 1404 in Constantinople. He visited the Prodromos monastery on 30 October 1403, afterwards writing a detailed description of the church, its decorations and the relics held therein; but he did not mention the milk of Virgin Mary as one of them.<sup>42</sup>

## Maria Galaktotrophousa in Byzantine art

Byzantine Marian iconography hardly reflects the incredible wealth of verbal metaphors referring to the Mother of God as found in the homiletics and religious poetry. Also, many iconographic formulas were drawn from the repertoire of pagan art and modified accordingly. In the research on the genesis of the iconography of the Virgin Mary breastfeeding the Christ Child, usually described as the Galaktotrophousa (Greek: Παναγία Γαλακτοτροφούσα), *Virgo Lactans* or *Mlekoopitatelnitsa* (Russian: Млекопитательница), questions as to the possible Byzantine origin of this pictorial formula have been posed since the very beginning. The debate was initiated in 1901 by Umberto Benigni, who explicitly pointed to the Italian provenance of this image.<sup>43</sup> The Russian scholar Nikolai Petrovich Likhachev was of a different opinion; having recognised the image on the seal of Romanos, the metropolitan of Kyzikos, dated to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (held in the Hermitage), as the Galaktotrophousa, he assumed that this formula was present already in middle-Byzantine art.<sup>44</sup>

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T. 17, Вып. 3); Janin, op. cit., p. 57, assumes that Anthony's account more likely refers to the nearby monastery of St. Nicholas.

36 On Cristoforo Buondelmonti and his *Liber insularum archipelagi*, cf. e.g. H. Turner, “Christopher Buondelmonti and the Rise of the Isolaro”, *Terrae Incognitae*, 1988, no. 19, pp. 11–28; B. Bessi, “Cristoforo Buondelmonti: Greek Antiquities in Florentine Humanism”, *The Historical Review – La revue historique*, 2013, no. 9, pp. 63–76.

37 Majeska, op.cit., pp. 43–45.

38 Ibid., p. 95.

39 Ibid., pp. 151–153.

40 Ibid., p. 163.

41 Ibid., pp. 187–189.

42 Cf. De Clavijo, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*, translated by G. Le Strange, London 1928, pp. 62–64.

43 U. Benigni, “La Madonna Allattante è un motivo bizantino?”, *Bessarione*, 1900, no. 7, pp. 499–501.

44 Н. П. Лихачев, *Историческое значение итало-греческой иконописи. Изображения Богоматери в произведениях итало-греческих иконописцев и их влияние на композиции некоторых православных русских икон*, С.-Петербург 1911, pp. 163–164.

Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, the author of the fundamental typology of Marian iconography, classified the image of the *Mlekopitatelnitsa* (which is the Russian term he decided to use) as belonging to the group of formulas developed in the period between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century in the circle of Syriac and Egyptian Christianity, since this is where the greatest number of such images has survived.<sup>45</sup> In Kondakov's view, this type appeared in Byzantine art only as late as the 14<sup>th</sup> century, under the influence of Western models; he did not share Likhachev's view and he dated the seal of Metropolitan Romanos to the 13<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup>

Recently, John Cotsonis confirmed the dating of the seal of Metropolitan Romanos as assumed by Likhachev, adding four more examples of seals with the image of the Galaktotrophousa, namely three seals of Romanos of Kyzikos and one of the court official Michael Ophridas.<sup>47</sup> Also worth noting is Cotsonis's statistical observation that of the 9202 known seals with religious representations dating from the period from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, 3870 contain an image of the Virgin Mary, but only four of them are in the Galaktotrophousa type.<sup>48</sup>

The hypothesis on the Byzantine provenance of the representations of the Galaktotrophousa was taken up by Viktor N. Lazarev (Lasareff) in his outstanding work on the iconography of the Virgin Mary; its English-language version was first published in 1938.<sup>49</sup> Lazarev considered a fresco in the catacombs of Priscilla, which he dated in accordance with the then-current state of knowledge to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, to be the earliest representation of the Virgin Mary feeding the Christ Child.<sup>50</sup> Currently, this fresco is dated to the middle or the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (ca. 280?), and interpretations of the presented scene differ, also because of its poor condition, which makes it impossible to precisely discern all of the fresco's iconographic and compositional features.<sup>51</sup> The partially preserved image consists of a fragment of a seated female figure with an infant in her lap and a standing male figure (a prophet?) to her right, pointing to a star above the woman's head with his right hand. The infant is resting his right hand on the woman's breast, but his face is turned towards the observer.

45 Н. П. Кондаков, *Иконография Богоматери*, vol. 1, Санкт Петербург 1914–1915, pp. 255.

46 Ibid., pp. 257–258.

47 J. Cotsonis, "The Image of the Virgin Nursing (Galaktotrophousa) and a Unique Inscription on the Seals of Romanos, Metropolitan of Kyzikos", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 2011–2012, no. 65/66, pp. 193–207.

48 Ibid., p. 195.

49 V. N. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin", *The Art Bulletin*, 1938, no. 20, esp. pp. 27–36; idem, "Этюды по иконографии Богоматери", in: В. Н. Лазарев, *Византийская живопись*, Москва 1971, pp. 276–281.

50 Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin"..., p. 277; J. Wilpert, *Roma sotterranea: Le pitture delle catacombe romane*, Rome 1903, vol. 1, pp. 172–175, vol. 2, plate 22.

51 Cf. F. Bisconti, "La Madonna di Priscilla: Interventi di restauro ed ipotesi sulla dinamica decorativa", *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 1996, no. 72, pp. 7–34; V. Fiocchi Nicolai, F. Bisconti, D. Mazzoleni, *The Christian Catacombs of Rome: History, Decoration, Inscriptions*, Regensburg 1999, pp. 124, Fig. 140.

Lazarev accepts Likhachev's view, complementing the latter's argumentation with an example of a miniature in a manuscript of *The Smyrna Physiologus* (cod. B 8), which was lost after the city burnt down in September 1922 during the Greek-Turkish war.<sup>52</sup> The miniature on p. 163 (165v) shows the enthroned Virgin Mary who, according to Lazarev, is breastfeeding the Christ Child.<sup>53</sup> Lazarev did not see the original manuscript but only a black-and-white photograph of mediocre quality showing the miniature itself; his interpretation is therefore questionable, all the more so considering that Josef Strzygowski, who had known the manuscript first hand, did not see this iconographic feature.<sup>54</sup>

The first synthetic analysis of Byzantine representations of the Virgin Mary Galaktotrophousa was published by Anthony Cutler in 1987.<sup>55</sup> Among the early representations, Cutler pointed to the relief on a beautiful crater in the Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme.<sup>56</sup> The enthroned Galaktotrophousa is shown in it in the epiphanic scene of the adoration of the Magi. On the opposite side is a representation of the enthroned Christ among the apostles. Hans-George Severin dates this crater to the reign of Emperor Valens (364–378) and associates it with a Constantinople workshop.<sup>57</sup> If Severin's argumentation is considered valid, this is the earliest representation of the Virgin Mary Galaktotrophousa and, at the same time, the only work known to have been produced in Constantinople in the circle of imperial art. It must be noted, however, that the condition of the relief does not make it possible to indisputably identify the features of a Galaktotrophousa image, which Severin does not fail to point out.<sup>58</sup>

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52 *The Smyrna Physiologus* was analysed by, above all, J. Strzygowski, *Der Bilderkreis des griechischen Physiologus, des Kosmas Indikopleustes und Oktateuch nach Handschriften der Bibliothek zu Smyrna*, Leipzig 1899, Byzantinisches Archiv, vol. 2; O. Demus, “Physiologus von Smyrna”, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 1976, no. 25, pp. 235–257; M. Bernabò, *Il Fisiologo di Smirne. Le miniature del perduto codice B. 8 della Biblioteca della Scuola Evangelica di Smirne*, Florence 1998; K. Corrigan, “The Smyrna Physiologus and Eleventh-century Monasticism”, in: *Work and Worship in the Theotokos Evergetis 1050–1200*, ed. M. Mullet, A. Kirby, Belfast 1997, pp. 201–212; G. Peers, “Peter, Iconoclasm and the Use of the Nature in the Smyrna Physiologus (Evangelical School, B. 8)”, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 2000, no. 50, pp. 267–292.

53 Lasareff, *Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin...*, p. 30, Fig. 1; his interpretation was rejected by O. E. Etingof, cf. O. E. Этингф, *Образ Богородицы: очерки византийской иконографии XI – XIII вв.*, Москва 2000, pp. 48–49.

54 Strzygowski, op. cit., p. 57, Fig. XXVII.

55 A. Cutler, “The Cult of the Galaktotrophousa in Byzantium and Italy”, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 1987, no. 37, pp. 335–350 (reprinted in: *Byzantium, Italy and the North: Papers on Cultural Relations*, London 2000, pp. 164–89).

56 Ibid., pp. 336–337.

57 H.-G. Severin, “Oströmische Plastik unter Valens und Theodosius I”, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 1970, no. 12, pp. 211–252.

58 Ibid., pp. 237–238.



An excellent, if little known, study by Lazar Mirković presented at the 5<sup>th</sup> Congress of Byzantine Studies in Rome in September 1936 remains on the margins of the scholarly debate on the subject.<sup>59</sup>

Summing up the current state of research on the Byzantine iconography of the Virgin Mary Galaktotrophousa, it must be accepted that, in the period until the iconoclasm, the largest number of representations was produced in the circle of Coptic art, where images of the breastfeeding Virgin occupy a prominent position in ecclesiastical interiors.<sup>60</sup> According to many scholars, the popularity of this theme in Coptic art indicates that the Christian artists modelled their works on representations of Isis feeding the infant Horus.<sup>61</sup> It cannot be ruled out, however, that what was reworked in the circle of Early Christian Roman art was one of the variants of the allegorical formulas of *Fecunditas* (fertility/happy motherhood) or *Pietas* (motherly love), derived from the Hellenistic images of a breastfeeding mother.<sup>62</sup> The cult of *Fecunditas* acquired the rank of an official one during the reign of Nero, who erected a temple to this goddess as a sign of gratitude for Poppea Sabina's successful delivery in 63. In numismatic iconography, the motif of breastfeeding is discernible only as late as in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century; in the course of this century it was gradually transposed to sepulchral iconography as well.

The sarcophagus of Marcus Cornelius Staius, dating from ca. 150, is decorated with scenes from the life of the deceased young man; the first scene on the left shows his mother breastfeeding him and his father watching them tenderly.<sup>63</sup> The sarcophagus was commissioned by the parents of Marcus Cornelius, as stated by the inscription in its lower section: "M(arco) Cornelio M(arci) f(ilio) Pal(atina) Statio P[3] fecer[unt]".<sup>64</sup> The scene of suckling an infant (*γαλακτοτροφία*) has

59 L. Mirković, "Die nährende Gottesmutter (Galaktotrophousa)", in: *Atti del V Congresso internazionale di studi bizantini*, vol. 2, Rome 1940, pp. 297–303; idem, "Bogorodica Mlekopitateljnica", in: *Ikonografske studije*, Novi Sad 1974, pp. 239–251.

60 Coptic representations of the Virgin Mary Galaktotrophousa were listed by L. Langener, *Isis Lactans – Maria Lactans. Untersuchung zur koptischen Ikonographie*, Altenberg 1996; recently, cf. E. S. Bolman, "The enigmatic Coptic Galaktotrophousa and the cult of the Virgin Mary in Egypt", in: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. M. Vassilaki, Burlington 2005, p. 13, note 3; A. Effenberger, "Maria als Vermittlerin und Fürbitterin. Zum Marienbild in der spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Kunst Ägyptens", in: *Presbeia Theothokou...*, pp. 49–108.

61 Cf. Langener, op. cit.; S. Higgins, "Divine Mothers: The Influence of Isis on the Virgin Mary in Egyptian Lactans – Iconography", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies*, 2012, nos. 3–4, pp. 71–90.

62 Cf. T. Mikocki, *Zgodna, pobożna, płodna, skromna, piękna... Propaganda cnót żeńskich w sztuce rzymskiej* [Amiable, pious, fertile, modest, beautiful... The propaganda of female virtues in Roman art], Wrocław 1997, esp. pp. 121–185.

63 The Louvre, inv. no. Ma 659.

64 F. Baratte, C. Metzger, *Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne*, Paris 1985, pp. 29–31; J. Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi. Their Decoration and its Social Significance*, Oxford 1996, pp. 10–13, 22; cf. also Mikocki, op. cit., Fig. 81.

a clearly discernible genre character and is a touching reminder of a son that died far before his time.

Elisabeth Bolmann's study, *Milk and Salvation: The Nursing Mother of God in the Eastern Mediterranean*, which is currently in preparation, may offer important findings.

## The epithet “Feeding with milk” – Galaktotrophousa

The epithet ‘Galaktotrophousa’ (Γαλακτοτροφούσα) is composed of the words γάλα (= milk) and τροφούσα (= food/she who nourishes). The origins of the term are unclear. It was certainly used in post-Byzantine art, as demonstrated by inscriptions on icons. Also Dionysius of Fournia mentions this epithet in his *Hermeneia* as one of “the names and epithets which are written on the images of the Mother of God”.<sup>65</sup> Mediaeval Byzantine authors customarily described the action of breastfeeding, referring it, according to need, to the Virgin or to Christ.

Not all scholars have employed the term Galaktotrophousa in their analyses; as it has already been stated, N. P. Kondakov preferred the term *Mlekovitateľnitsa*. Dmitrij W. Ainalov used the charming epithet *Detopitateľnitsa* (детопитательница), typically referring to Aphrodite.<sup>66</sup>

In terms of credibility, the above examples of representations of the Virgin Mary breastfeeding the Christ Child, e.g. the fresco in the catacombs of Priscilla and the relief on the crater held in the Museo delle Terme in Rome, are questionable. Another work of Early Christian art, namely the relief on a funerary stele from Medinet el-Fayum, is similarly open to debate.<sup>67</sup> The small stone slab bears a frontal representation of a seated woman breastfeeding an infant. According to Klaus Wessel, this is the earliest representation of the Virgin Mary dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, but the identification is now being questioned, as Arne Effenbergger deciphered the Greek inscription containing a typical funerary formula: the name (illegible) of a woman who died at the age of 21 and an invocation: “Be of good cheer, O Good One”.<sup>68</sup>

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65 *The ‘Painter’s Manual’ of Dionysius of Fournia*, translated by Paul Hetherington, Sagittarius Press 1974, p. 88. For the Polish-language text, see Dionizjusz z Furny, *Hermeneia, czyli objaśnienie sztuki malarzkiej*, translated by I. Kania, introduction by M. Smorąg-Różycka, Cracow 2003, p. 285.

66 Д. В. Айналов, “Византийские памятники Афона”, *Византийский временник*, 1899, no. 6, p. 75.

67 Berlin, Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung, inv. no. 4726, size 50 cm × 34 cm.

68 Cf. K. Wessel, “Eine Grabstele aus Medinet el-Fayum: Zum Problem der Maria Lactans”, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 1954/1955, vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 149–154; idem, *Coptic Art*, London 1966, p. 97; J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture 300–1300*, London 1963, p. 17; E. Effenbergger, “Die Grabstele aus Medinet el-Fajum. Zum Bild der stillenden Gottesmutter in der koptischen Kunst”, *Forschungen und Berichte*, 1977, no. 18, pp. 158–168; idem, *Maria als Vermittlerin...*, p. 72; P. van Moorsel, “Galaktotrophousa”, in: *Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. A. Atiya, vol. 4, New York 1991, pp. 531–535; Bolman, op. cit., p. 13.

The identification of the Galaktotrophousa on a painting in the so-called Pantocrator Grotto in the monastic complex at Latmos, first reported by Oskar Wulff, remains unresolved. Marcel Restle confirmed his claim, but moved the dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>69</sup>

The question regarding the Byzantine provenance of the cult and iconography of the Virgin Mary Galaktotrophousa remains open as well, since traces of this tradition in the post-iconoclastic period are insignificant and debatable.

## The seals of Romanos, metropolitan of Kyzikos<sup>70</sup>

The obverse of the seal shows the enthroned Virgin feeding the Christ Child. The circular inscription reads: Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς μ]ου, ὁ εἰς σὲ ἐ[λ]πί[ζ]ων οὐ κ]αταισχύνε(αι) (“The Lord is my God. He whose hope is in Him will not be disappointed”).<sup>71</sup> The Greek legend on the reverse of the seal contains information about its owner: Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή) θ(ε) [τ]ω σω δού[λ(ω)] Ρ(ω)μανω [μ(η)τ]ρ[ο]πολίτη [Κυ]ζίκου (και) συνκέλλω – “Mother of God, support your servant Romanos, metropolitan of Kyzikos and synkellos”.<sup>72</sup> It is worth noting that, despite some simplification of the figural forms, the artist’s intention is unambiguous: the shape of the Virgin’s breasts and the position of the Infant’s head are clearly discernible.

Reliable information on Bishop Romanos is as follows: he participated in the Synod of Constantinople in 1072, where, in keeping with the protocol, he took fifth place among twenty-seven metropolitans.<sup>73</sup> During his stay in Constantinople he moved around in the circle of the local elites, being acquainted by, for example, John Xiphilinus, Michael Psellos or John Mauropous. His close ties with Psellos are confirmed by correspondence; three letters from the latter to Metropolitan Romanos have survived. With his characteristic propensity towards flattery and elaborate rhetorical figures, their author emphasises the metropolitan’s erudition.<sup>74</sup> It is still not known, however, what made Metropolitan Romanos choose the image of the

69 O. Wulff, “Die Malereien der Askethehlen des Latmos”, in: T. Wiegand, *Der Latmos*, Berlin 1913, pp. 196–198, Fig. 122; cf. K. Restle, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, vol. 1, Recklinghausen 1967, p. 78; Cutler, op. cit., p. 341.

70 On the Kyzikos metropolis, see R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins: Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galésios, Trébizonde, Athènes, Thessalonique*, Paris 1975, pp. 193–214; C. W. W. Foss, “Kyzikos”, in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan, vol. 2, pp. 1164–1165.

71 Cf. Cotsonis, op. cit., p. 193, translated by MSR.

72 Н. П. Лихачев, *Историческое значение итало-греческой иконописи. Изображения Богоматери в произведениях итало-греческих иконописцев и их влияние на композиции некоторых православных русских икон*, С.-Петербург 1911, pp. 163–164.

73 N. Oikonomides, “Un Décret Synodal Inédit Du Patriarche Jean VIII Xiphilin”, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 1960, no. 18, p. 60; *The Letters of Psellos. Cultural Networks and Historical Realities*, eds. M. Jeffreys, M. D. Lauxtermann, Oxford 2017, p. 399.

74 Oikonomides, op. cit., pp. 63–64.

Galaktotrophousa for his seal, as traces of her cult in Kyzikos have not been found so far. The most famous acheiropoietic icon venerated there was that of the Phaneromeni Virgin (Παναγία Φανερωμένη) in the Hodegetria type.<sup>75</sup> According to John Cotsonis, what we are dealing with here is a visualisation of literary tropes, fixed in the collective awareness by means of liturgy, homiletics and religious poetry – a process that was typical of the Middle Byzantine period.

## Icons of Maria Galaktotrophousa

Traces of Maria Galaktotrophousa iconography in middle-Byzantine art remain enigmatic, even though they indicate that such images were known at that time. The largest number of representations has survived in post-Byzantine icon painting, even though the exact figure has not been ascertained. In only one collection, i.e. the one held by the Museo Nazionale di Ravenna, Patrizia Angiollini-Martinelli identified forty-two icons of the Virgin Mary belonging to this type that originated from Cretan and Dalmatian workshops and were kept in the Graeco-Italian stylistic manner.<sup>76</sup> Icons dating from the period of the Byzantine Empire are still rare. The icon from the monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai, shown at the New York exhibition *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)* in 2004, is assumed to be the earliest known one.<sup>77</sup> This icon is absent from Georgios and Maria Sotiriou’s catalogue of icons held at Mt. Sinai.<sup>78</sup> Doula Mouriki, who was the first to publish this work, dated it to the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>79</sup> In her note in the catalogue of the aforementioned exhibition, Annemarie Weyl Carr opted for a broad dating bracket from ca. 1250 to 1350.<sup>80</sup>

The representation of Maria Galaktotrophousa in a half-figure was painted in tempera on a small-sized board.<sup>81</sup> She is shown in the typically Byzantine style: with an oval face, a narrow, slightly curved nose and large, almond-shaped eyes. Her head is surrounded with a purple maphorion edged with gold. The manner of showing the Christ Child contrasts with this strictly Byzantine type: he has the Byzantine face of the Emmanuel, but he is wearing a long white tunic with a characteristic pattern of slanted checkers and with a narrow red edge. Damaged paint in the central part of the body reveals the original (?) golden chiton, which indicates that this part of the icon may have been altered.

Two more icons of the Galaktotrophousa from Mt. Sinai show the Kykkotissa variant with a typical patterned veil on top of the maphorion. The Infant is shown

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75 Cotsonis, op. cit., pp. 196–198.

76 P. Angiollini-Martinelli, *Le icone della collezione classense di Ravenna*, Bologna 1982, pp. 71–111.

77 *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H.C. Evans, New York 2004, pp. 356–357.

78 G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icons du Mont Sinai*, vol. 1: *Album*, Athens 1956, vol. 2: *Text*, Athens 1958.

79 D. Mouriki, “Variants of the Hodegetria on Two Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons”, *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 1991, no. 39, p. 168–169, Fig. 31.

80 *Byzantium: Faith and Power...*, p. 356.

81 19.3 cm × 17.5 cm.

holding the Virgin's breast with both hands; the breast is barely visible between the folds of the maphorion.<sup>82</sup> The graphic and decorative style of both icons is close to many other works made at Mt. Sinai in the period of the Latin Empire.

In conclusion, it is necessary to mention an enigmatic icon (ζ) of the Galaktotrophousa as mentioned by Pope Gregory II in the so-called second letter to the emperor of Byzantium, Leo III (717–741). Views regarding the letter's authenticity and origin vary, but generally it is assumed that it was either written in Rome by some learned monk or fabricated in Constantinople in the circle of the iconodules.<sup>83</sup> While not trying to resolve this issue, it must be remembered that the letter contains an answer to the argumentation of the iconoclasts and a justification relying on, among others, the central meaning of images seen inside churches. One of those images to be mentioned there is that of the "Holy Mother with our Lord God in her arms, holding him at her breast and a circle of angels reciting the *trishagion*".<sup>84</sup> The phrase "Kyrion kai Theon (...) galouchounta" as used in the text, i.e. "our Lord God (...) suckling milk" indicates clearly that the described image is that of the Virgin Mary in the Galaktotrophousa type. If the text is authentic, this would be the earliest icon or painting of the Galaktotrophousa to be confirmed in the sources and, consequently, resolving the issue whether the letter had been written in Rome or in Constantinople would be of fundamental importance.

## Italo-Byzantine icons

Post-Byzantine icons, usually termed Italo-Byzantine ones, encompass a far more numerous group of representations of Maria Galaktotrophousa.

While trying to trace the paths along which the image of the Galaktotrophousa came to Post-Byzantine icon painting, it must be remembered that at the current state of research the Venetian Italo-Byzantine school, characterised by a diversity of iconographic and formal features, is considered distinct from the Cretan school, which is characterised by general stylistic and iconographic homogeneity and a clearly discernible tendency to imitate patterns known from the Paleologian art of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Master Teophanes the Cretan, active 1527–1559, is considered to have been the precursor of the Cretan school, and its main centre was the Cretan city of Candia (Heraklion), the administrative capital of the entire Aegean region under Venetian rule.<sup>85</sup> With the above distinction in mind, it is necessary to

82 J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291*, Cambridge 2005, Figs. 293 and 295.

83 Cf. L. Guérard, "Sur les lettres de Grégoire II à Léon l'Isaurien", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 1890, no. 10, pp. 44–60; H. Grotz S. I., "Beobachtung zu den zwei Briefen Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leo III", *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 1980, no. 18, pp. 9–40.

84 Cf. the Greek text, Guérard, op. cit., p. 289.

85 Fundamental findings were determined by M. Chatzidakis, *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine*, London 1976 (Variorum Reprints); A. Embiricos, *L'école crétoise*, Paris 1967; M. Garidis,

assume that representations of the Galaktotrophousa in these separate currents of icon painting had a similarly distinct, Italian or Byzantine, source. It is also worth remembering that the ateliers of Candia usually made their icons in the manner desired by the commissioning party, painting the images of the Virgin Mary either *a la greca* or *all'italiana*.<sup>86</sup> This stylistic dichotomy, which does not depend on the chronological caesura, is evident in the icons of the Virgin Mary Galaktotrophousa.

The image of the Galaktotrophousa in the collection of Rena Andreadis is a typical rendering *a la maniera italiana* with a characteristic white veil showing from under a purple maphorion edged with a golden trim and clasped with a round golden brooch on the breast. In the lower section of the icon's field there is a conventional inscription in Latin capitals: REGINA CELI ORA PRO NOBIS. The icon is dated to the third quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and is compared with a similar image of the Galaktotrophousa in the Byzantine Museum in Athens.<sup>87</sup> A similar Italianate style can be observed in the icon in the collection of Antonio Papadopoulos shown at the exhibition in Cracow; here, however, the artist retained the Byzantine features of the original.<sup>88</sup>

A much later icon of the Galaktotrophousa in the collection of A. S. Onassis, in turn, signed by a painter named Ioannis in 1778, has typically Byzantine features.<sup>89</sup> The image of the Virgin is provided with the toponymical epithet *Spelaiotissa* (Η ΣΠΗΛΑΙΩΤΙΚΑ), derived from the Mega Spelaion monastery. According to an inscription running along the bottom edge, it is a copy of the icon painted by St. Luke.

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*La peinture murale dans le Monde orthodoxe après la chute de Byzance (1450–1600) et dans les pays sous domination étrangère*, Athens 1989; here a discussion of the state of research on post-Byzantine art, pp. 18–25, and an extensive bibliography, pp. 369–382; cf. also *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art* [exhibition catalogue], ed. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou et al., Athens 1986. The issue of the Greek diaspora in Western Europe is presented by I. Manoussacas, “Structure sociale de l'hellénisme post-byzantin”, in: XVI. *Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten I/2*, Wien 1981, pp. 791–821, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 1981, no. 31.

86 M. Chatzidakis cites a contract drawn up in 1499 by two merchants, a Venetian and a Greek, and three painters from Candia, binding the painters to produce 700 icons of the Virgin Mary in the course of 45 days, where it is precisely noted that 500 icons are to be painted *in forma alla latina* and the remaining 200 *in forma alla greca*; cf. M. Chatzidakis, “Les début de l'école crétoise et la question de l'école dite italogrecque”, in: Chatzidakis, *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine...*, p. 206.

87 A. Drandaki, *Greek Icons, 14th–18th century. The Rena Andreadis Collection*, translated by J. Avghe-  
rinos, Athens–Milan 2002, pp. 84–87.

88 *Maria Mater Misericordiae...*, pp. 198–199.

89 N. Chatzidakis, *Ikonen der Sammlung Velimezis*, Athens 2001 [1<sup>st</sup> ed., in Greek, 1997], pp. 406–409; M. Vassilaki, *The Painter Angelos and Icon-Painting in Venetian Crete*, Burlington 2009, pp. 317–322, Fig. 15.1.

## Maria Galaktotrophousa in the depictions of the Nativity

As far as Byzantine art is concerned, only two such depictions are known to exist outside the former borders of the Empire. The first is a painting in the church of Saints Theodoroi on Aegina, known as the *Omorphi Ecclesia*. Presumably erected in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the church was renovated in 1282 during the reign of Andronicus II Palaeologus (1282–1328), when Athanasius I was patriarch of Constantinople (1289–1293, 1303–1309). This information may be read on an original inscription on the church's façade, to the left of the entrance. At the time, Aegina was a part of the Duchy of Athens, a state that had been set up by the Crusaders in 1205.

The Nativity scene, included in the cycle of images from the New Testament, is represented in a manner typical of post-iconoclast Byzantine art. It is, however, unique due to the depiction of the Virgin Mary, who is shown with the Christ Child wrapped tightly in a white cloth. The Virgin is sitting by the manger and breastfeeding the child lying in her lap. The artist chose to present this motif with a substantial dose of realism. Virgin's bared breast is discernible between the folds of the maphorion; she is holding it between her two fingers and extending it towards the parted (?) lips of the Infant.

A similar image is found in the Nativity scene in the church of St. Nicholas of the Roof (*Agios Nikolaos tis Stegis*) in Kakopetria in Cyprus. The church was built early in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and expanded in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The interior features several layers of painted decoration dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Nativity scene, included in the cycle of images from the New Testament, is dated to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, which means it was painted during the rule of the French House of Lusignan that controlled Cyprus from 1192. Again, Virgin is depicted sitting by the manger breastfeeding the Christ Child who is resting in her lap. The Child is, again, wrapped in a decorative cloth and the Virgin's breast is visible between the folds of the maphorion. However, unlike on the Aegina fresco, Mary is not holding her breast but embracing the Child with both hands.<sup>90</sup>

Both of the compositions are in keeping with the stylistic and iconographic convention of Byzantine art. At the time when they were painted, Orthodox art in Aegina and Cyprus was gradually being infused with Western iconographic models. Thus, it is possible that the motif of the breastfeeding Mary in these Nativity scenes had Western origins.<sup>91</sup>

90 A. and J. A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, London 1985, pp. 53–75, Fig. 28; E. Hain, A. Jakovljević, B. Kleidt, *Zypern – byzantinischen Kirchen und Klöster. Mosaiken und Fresken*, Ratingen 1996, Fig. 45.

91 Cf. S. Kalopissi-Verti, "Representations of the Virgin in Lusignan Cyprus", in: *Mother of God...*, pp. 305–319; the author neglects to mention the representations of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa.

## The Virgin Mary in the Return from Egypt

Scenes from the life of the Virgin as depicted in the Basilica of St. Mark in Venice feature a depiction of the Return from Egypt, in which the Virgin is portrayed riding a donkey and breastfeeding the Infant held in her lap. The image also includes St. Joseph leading the donkey and a boy with a bundle of belongings walking behind the Holy Family.<sup>92</sup> Since this depiction differs from traditional Byzantine imagery, A. Cutler came to the conclusion that the motif of feeding the Christ Child could have been introduced to the original scene by a local artist employed to restore the piece, or that the mosaic had originally depicted St. Anne feeding the infant Mary.<sup>93</sup>

## Maria Galaktotrophousa in the Akathist cycle

Akathist cycles were among the most popular types of narrative art in the Paleologian period. Many examples have survived in a series of monumental paintings, icons and book illustrations from Serbia, Macedonia, Rus', Moldova and Wallachia.<sup>94</sup> Only two of them feature a depiction of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa in different iconographic and compositional variants. This means that they did not belong to typical images.

The first of the above-mentioned depictions is found on the southern wall of the narthex in the Orthodox church complex of the patriarchate of Peć. The complex comprises four interconnected churches – the Holy Apostles, St. Demetrius, the Holy Mother of God Hodegetria and St. Nicholas – built during the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century. Three of the churches are joined by a sizable narthex located to the west. The interior of the narthex, erected by Archbishop Danilo II (1324–1337), is divided into two transepts (eastern and western) by a row of five pillars supporting a barrel vault with transverse arches. Only fragments of the original painted decoration commissioned by the archbishop c. 1332 have survived to the present day. These include the family tree of the house of Nemanjić, the figure of King Dušan and a depiction of an enthroned Maria Galaktotrophousa. The remaining frescoes date from the final quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century or from 1565.<sup>95</sup>

The depiction of the Galaktotrophousa is located in the highest section of the decoration beneath the vault on the southern wall of the eastern nave of the narthex, opening towards the garden with a beautiful Diocletian window. The scene is arranged in an irregular field delineated by the curve of the vault and the archivolt

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92 O. Demus. *The Mosaics of San Marco in Venice*, Chicago 1984, vol. 1, p. 138, Fig. 156.

93 Cutler, op. cit., pp. 347–348.

94 Cf. A. Pätzold: *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jh.*, Stuttgart–Wiesbaden 1989; L. M. Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*, Leiden 2001, *The medieval Mediterranean*, vol. 35; I. Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos. Hymn for the Virgin*, Leiden 2005, here, older bibliography on the subject.

95 Cf. B.J. Ђурић, С. Ђирковић, В. Кораћ, *Пећка патријаршија*, Београд 1990.



of the Diocletian window. The Virgin Mary, seated on an ornamental throne, is breastfeeding the Christ Child seated on her right thigh. The throne is flanked by two archangels in poses of adoration; further to the left, three female figures can be seen, along with an inscription in Cyrillic, taken from the 12<sup>th</sup> oikos (incantation) of the *Akathist to the Holy Virgin*: “Rejoice, O Bride Ever-Virgin”.<sup>96</sup> The painter made use of the conventional representation of the enthroned Virgin with Child accompanied by the archangels. Such imagery frequently appeared in the apses of post-iconoclast churches, including the already mentioned Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The image is completed by motifs of a ciborium and a censer, which accentuate its liturgical and mystic significance. The presence of the three women, in turn, evokes associations with the custom of amphidromia (Greek: ἀμφιδρόμια), i.e. the ceremonial visit paid to a puerpera, which was practised since Antiquity. It hints at the historical, factual aspect of the Incarnation. In this context, the image of the Galaktotrophousa becomes one of the emblems of the dogma of Incarnation as well as a visualisation of its reality as a historical event.

The second image of Maria Galaktotrophousa may be seen in the Orthodox church of the Holy Virgin in Matejić near Kumanovo. The church was founded by Tsarina Helena (Yelena) when she was acting as regent for the underage king, her son Stefan Uroš V (1355–1371). The paintings are dated to between 1348 and 1352. The Galaktotrophousa appears as a part of the Akathist cycle comprising 24 scenes arranged in the altar space, on the southern wall of the nave and on the southern pillar of the nave.<sup>97</sup> The depiction of the breastfeeding Virgin found on the southern wall of the nave refers to the 16<sup>th</sup> stanza, which begins with the following passage: “All angel-kind was amazed by the great deed of Your Incarnation; for they saw the inaccessible God as Man accessible to all, dwelling among us and hearing from all”.<sup>98</sup> The Virgin Mary is shown surrounded by a spherical blue mandorla and standing on a subpedion, feeding the Child held in her arms. She is flanked by angels – a six-winged seraph on the right and two archangels in ceremonial robes with *loroi* on the left. As in Peć, the depiction of breastfeeding differs from typical representations of the motif as used in Akathist cycles. As Ioannis Spatharakis recently demonstrated, the usual depiction featured an enthroned Virgin with Child, an enthroned Christ-Emmanuel or Christ Pantocrator, always with an entourage of angels.<sup>99</sup> The depiction of Christ enthroned is also recommended by Dionysius of Fourni in his *Hermeneia*: “Christ seated on a throne, blessing; above him is heaven, and all the

96 J. Radovanović, “Bogorodica Mlekopiteljnica iz Pečke patrijaršije. Novo tumačenje”, *Balkanica*, 2002, no. 31–32, pp. 253–263; the English translation: *The Akathist Hymn Preceded by the Brief Compline*, translated by Fr. George Papadeas, loc. cit.

97 Cf. Spatharakis, op. cit., following the index.

98 *The Akathist Hymn Preceded by the Brief Compline*, translated by Fr. George Papadeas, loc. cit. For the Polish translation, cf. Akathistos. Bizantyjski hymn dziękczynny ku czci Matki Bożej, translated by M. Bednarz SJ, *Znak*, 1965, no. 131, p. 643.

99 Spatharakis, op. cit., pp. 143–144; the author does not note the motif of breastfeeding in this representation.

choirs of the angels in wonder, ascending and descending to it”.<sup>100</sup> Unusually, in the Tomić Psalter completed ca. 1360 (Moscow, the Historical Museum, cod. 2752), the so-called Serbian Psalter dated to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Slav. 4) and the icon from the Orthodox church of Our Lady in Livadia (Skopelos) painted in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, this stanza is illustrated with a nativity scene.<sup>101</sup> All of the above-mentioned depictions convey a single message, congruous with the 16<sup>th</sup> stanza of the Akathist, focusing on the supernatural significance of the Incarnation, believed to have been also a historical occurrence. The same idea is communicated by the image of Maria Galaktotrophousa, in which the naturalistic depiction of the act of breastfeeding (*γαλακτοτροφία*) emphasises the humanity of the Incarnated Logos. However, one cannot help but wonder whether the Byzantine recipients of art were willing to accept images that were so suffused with naturalism, and whether Byzantine artists would dare to create an image so different from the accepted canon? According to the Orthodox concept of an image, the credibility of a holy depiction depended on its affinity with the painterly tradition and carefulness in repeating the features of the prototype. The existence of this normative principle rooted in theology may lead to the conclusion that Byzantine art ossified in its repetition of established models and that all works which are at variance with this tradition were a result of external influences. In the case of the depiction of Maria Galaktotrophousa, scholars point to the art of ancient Egypt and to Italian 12<sup>th</sup>-century models. However, as noted above, in Roman art the meaning of *galaktotrophia* is both allegorical (*Pietas*, *Fecunditas*) and realistic. The same duality is embedded in the image of Maria Galaktotrophousa, which proves that it is rooted in tradition. Evidence for this hypothesis may also be found in other examples of *galaktotrophia* in Byzantine art – the infant fed by Saphora in the illustration depicting the journey to Egypt from an Octateuch dated to ca. 1070 (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. gr. 747, fol. 76v), John the Baptist in an illustration in the Homilies of Jacob Kokkinobaphos dated to the second quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, cod. gr. 1162, fol. 159r) and, most of all, the infant Mary breastfed by Anna, from paintings, for example, in the Orthodox churches of St. George in Kurbinovo (1191), St. Stephen in Kastoria (13<sup>th</sup> century) and St. Naum in Ohrid (formerly Holy Mary Peribleptos, dated to 1361).

Our knowledge regarding the depictions of Maria Galaktotrophousa in Byzantine art is still very limited, though it has been considerably expanded by research undertaken by many scholars in recent years. There can be no doubt that the new research reveals a specific aspect of Byzantine art, in which spiritualism blends with naturalism. An ordinary *galaktotrophia* constitutes an indisputable testimony of motherhood, but also a powerful sign of the Incarnation of the Logos. It insults no one, and captivates many.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

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100 *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fournia*, p. 52.

101 Spatharakis, op. cit., Figs. 207, 232, 246, 589–591.

## Abstract

The image of the Virgin Mary breastfeeding the Christ Child belongs to the most fascinating and yet least researched themes of Byzantine Marian iconography. In the past it has been assumed that the images of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa derived from the art of the Italian Duecento and Trecento in the post-Byzantine period. However, there is sufficient ground to assume that these images were known already in the Middle Byzantine period and were popular during the period of the Paleologian dynasty.

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## The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries (Greek: Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι) Cosmas and Damian, as Bequeathed by Zofia Ruebenbauer,<sup>1</sup> in the Collection of the National Museum in Cracow

### The circumstances of the icon's acquisition, a description of the icon and a preliminary analysis

Zofia Ruebenbauer died on 15 October 2010 in Ottawa; her last will and testament, revealed on the same day, included a generous bequest to the National Museum in Cracow (hereinafter: NMC), namely an icon of the holy physicians (Greek: Ἅγιοι Ἀνάργυροι, Agioi Anargyroi, Church Slavonic: Безсребренники, Bezszrebrrenniki) (Figs. 1–2), which proved to be extremely valuable. In January 2011 the executors of the will offered to hand the gift over to the NMC. The certificate issued by the Auction House in Ottawa (Walker's Auctions) identified it as a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russian icon.

Zofia Ruebenbauer *née* Kuczyńska (26 July 1913 – 15 October 2010), together with her husband, was a devoted activist of the Polish diaspora in Canada who organised events and actively participated in community work.<sup>2</sup> Born in 1913 in

1 This article was written as part of an academic grant in the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities (hereinafter – NPDH), financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education in 2015–2017. The grant, entitled *Katalog ikon XIV–XVI wieku w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Opracowanie i publikacja* [The Catalogue of 14<sup>th</sup>- to 16<sup>th</sup>-century Icons in the Collection of the National Museum in Cracow; no. 00627] was led by M. P. Kruk.

2 Based on the obituary published in "Ottawa Citizen" on 19 October – 23 October 2010 and available in digital version at: <http://www.legacy.com/obituaries/ottawacitizen/obituary.aspx?n=zofia-ruebenbauer&pid=146105409> [accessed 12 May 2017]. Her contribution included organising exhibitions, Christmas meetings and occasional lectures. The Ruebenbauer Foundation, established in 2003, worked to promote the study of Polish culture and heritage in Canada. One of Zofia's three sisters, Irena Kuczyńska, married Adam Gawlikowski, a graduate of the Lvov Polytechnic who had been a soldier of the Polish Army in France and a delegate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Polish government in exile (in London and,



**Fig. 1.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries:*  
recto – condition in 2011, NMC,  
inv. No. MNK XVIII-871



**Fig. 2.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries:*  
verso – condition in 2011. Photo by NMC

Włocławek, she received her academic degree at the Université Libre de Bruxelles. During the Second World War she became a member of the Home Army and fought in the Warsaw Uprising as a liaison officer. She was taken prisoner and was temporarily held at a number of German concentration camps. In 1952 she moved to Canada and worked first in a law firm in Montreal and then as a French teacher in Ottawa.

Jerzy Mariusz Ruebenbauer (1 October 1906 – 13 September 1998) (Fig. 3) was the first commandant of the Lvov District of the National Military Organisation/Home Army, a wartime officer of the Union of Armed Struggle and Home Army, and one of the organisers of the underground National Party (SN) and the National Military Organisation (NOW).<sup>3</sup> He worked as an academic scholar at the Lvov Polytechnic and, after the war, in Brussels; in Canada he became a Polish diaspora activist. He was born in Dąbrowa Tarnowska; his godfather was Jędrzej Moraczewski,

after 1945, in Belgium). From 1956 onwards he worked as an engineer in the United States, where he met his future wife who had emigrated from Poland in the 1950s (she had been working in the Art Objects Production Workshop in Pruszków) in order to join her sister in Canada. Adam and Irena Gawlikowski bequeathed their possessions to sponsor prizes for the best students of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw – <http://gawlikowscy.evot.org/index.php?m=1&menu=7&lang=pl> [accessed 24 June 2017].

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.1944.pl/powstancze-biogramy/jerzy-ruebenbauer,38371.html> [accessed 24 June 2017].

the Prime Minister of the first government in independent Poland (1918–1919).<sup>4</sup> He studied in Poznań (at the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences) and in Lvov (at the Faculty of Civil Engineering). He worked as a County Engineer in Tarnobrzeg; on 3 October 1938 he married Zofia Strycharska from Lvov (4 May 1913 – 26 June 1941). His wife, who had a degree in law, was arrested by the NKVD on 23 March 1940 and imprisoned in Lvov (in “Brygidki” and “Zamarstynów”) for over a year. She was killed on 26 June 1941 during the so-called “NKVD prison massacres” (between 25 and 28 June the NKVD and NKGB executed several thousand political prisoners).

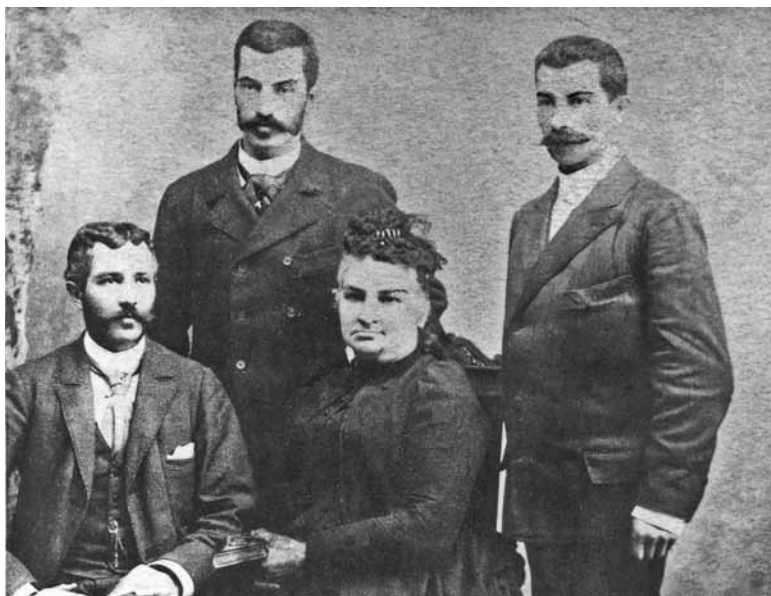


**Fig. 3.** Jerzy Ruebenbauer, Lvov, 30 March 1931. Photo from the archive of Zbigniew Lisiecki

After the Russians entered Lvov in 1939, Zofia Strycharska, Jerzy Ruebenbauer’s first wife, hid the icon behind a tile stove in the family home. Both she and Jerzy feared they would be arrested since they both belonged to structures of the underground movement and Zofia, despite Jerzy’s warnings, distributed underground press. Jerzy, in turn, had been designated by the Russians to become the head of the Laboratory at the Lvov Polytechnic. After his wife’s arrest the NKVD searched their house, most probably in June 1940, and confiscated various valuable objects, including the family documents. When the NKVD came, Jerzy was at the Polytechnic; when he returned home he looked for what remained and found the icon behind the

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4 Thanks to the kind help of Danuta Tardiff on 23 June 2017, I was able to contact Zbigniew Lisiecki, a relative of Zofia Ruebenbauer’s. By consulting the family archives, photographs and transcripts of genealogical data, Mr. Lisiecki was able to help me solve the problem regarding the origins of the icon and the inscriptions appearing on its verso. The remaining details of this extraordinary story were cleared thanks to a telephone conversation with Mr. Albin Ruebenbauer (88) on 11 July 2017 and with Mr. Łukasz Hoszowski on 2 January 2018; I am very grateful for their help.



**Fig. 4.** Haryklia Mavrocordatos-Serini with her sons Leander, Haryton and Robert. Photo from the archive of Zbigniew Lisiecki



**Fig. 5.** Ludwik Józef Hoszowski and the daughters of Jan Robert Hoszowski and Haryklia: Ewelina (wife of Ludwik Józef Hoszowski), Helena, Virginia and Irena. Photo by J. Henner (the imperial and royal court photographer in Lvov), from Albin Ruebenbauer's archive

stove. He took it and concealed it beneath his coat – this was possible due to the icon's small size. Whether he had any contact with Zofia after her arrest is unknown. Afterwards, fleeing his inevitable arrest, he left Lvov. The icon was the only object he had managed to salvage from the family home. He brought it to Warsaw, where he met Zofia Kuczyńska, who would become his second wife. Like him, she was a member of the Home Army and took part in the Warsaw Uprising. After a period of imprisonment in concentration camps, both Jerzy and Zofia arrived in Belgium and eventually left for Canada.

The fact that these extraordinary biographies resulted in such an exceptional bequest is no coincidence. It must be emphasised that the gift came from both Zofia and Jerzy Ruebenbauer; museum experts are satisfied to know that the old tradition of exceptional and honourable individuals donating works to national collections has not been entirely forgotten.

The icon that the NMC acquired is striking because of its small size (21.5 x 27 x 2.5 cm) and the fact that the painted surface is visible only through small apertures in a metal cover, revealing the heads and hands of the depicted saints. It was painted on a single wooden panel with a vertical crack running down the middle. The wood used as support is lightweight; the inscription on the verso includes the exact dates and names, which suggest a francophone environment. At the top there is a trace of apertures through which a cord or a leather band could be strewn to hang the icon. Another aperture is visible in the middle of the icon's lower side. The icon was in good condition when handed over to the museum, yet only the faces of the saints were visible; the cover had darkened due to oxidation and its upper right-hand corner was warped. For a time, the icon was kept in the storage room of the Department of Orthodox Art, yet the artistic quality of the faces prompted me to commission restoration and conservation works and to conduct research on it in 2013. Another incentive was provided by the opinion of Professor Eugenia Drakopoulou from Athens (National Hellenic Research Foundation), who confirmed my supposition that the work bequeathed to the museum's collection may in fact be a high-quality Greek icon from the Palaiologan period. Consequently, the icon was cleaned and studied at the Metal and Weapons Conservation Studio of the NMC (hereinafter: MWCS of the NMC) and later at the Laboratory of Analysis and Non-destructive Investigation of Heritage Objects (hereinafter: LANBOZ). The cover of the icon was cleaned in the first of the above-mentioned studios in May 2013; a month later it was studied at the LANBOZ using an XRF spectrometer to determine its exact composition. The icon itself was cleaned and analysed using IR, UV and RTG radiation.<sup>5</sup> Thus both the icon itself and its cover were cleaned and secured. It was decided to use the least invasive method of conservation, which is why the layer of old crystallised varnish was not removed. Since the surface of the icon was covered in dirt, there was no certainty that the painted layer would not

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5 P. Frączek, *Raport z badań fotograficznych i radiografii cyfrowej ikony „Św. Lekarze” (gr. Anargyroi) z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie* [Report from the photographic examination and digital radiography of the icon of the Holy Healers (Greek: Anargyroi) from the collection of the National Museum in Cracow], prepared at LANBOZ, dated 15 November 2013.



be limited to the faces and hands until the cover was removed. The first look at the revealed surface dispelled these doubts.

The XRF analysis conducted at the LANBOZ by Julio del Hoyo-Meléndez indicated that the metal of the cover was 50% copper, 30% silver and 5% lead.<sup>6</sup> The report from the study states that “an alloy of Cu and Ag was used to craft the metal revetment Pb, As, Zn and Ni commonly appear as contaminants in Cu, yet Au and Pb are usually associated with contaminants in Ag ores”.<sup>7</sup> The cover bore no punch marks and only a Greek inscription referring to the subject of the icon:

H APH ANAPTYP  
(= *Holy Unmercenaries*)

The inscription appears to be a distorted version of the writing which appears (in a correct form) in the paint layer (see below). A more interesting inscription appears in the middle of the lower frame of the cover:

KPNΣPN

This may be a family name of the previous owners of the icon; this is the theory I am willing to accept having consulted experts in different fields, e.g. historians, art historians, philologists and palaeographers.

After the revetment was removed it became apparent that the paint layer covered the entire icon (Figs. 6–7). Clearing away the accumulated dirt revealed extensive fissures in the varnish covering the surface of the saints’ robes. Hypothetically, the damage may have been caused by candles burning in front of the icon and heating the metal cover, which dramatically increased the temperature of the paint layer. The background of the icon is recessed from the frame, forming the so-called *kovcheg*. The frame is marked with a line of bright red with holes for mounting the metal covering placed at regular intervals of several centimetres. The second row of openings on the edge of the *luzga* and the central *polye* is less densely spaced; holes are also visible on the halos of the persons depicted.

Beneath the dirt and above the heads of the saints, an outline of a Greek inscription became visible. A photograph made with an IR spectrometer ultimately revealed the message stating the subject of the icon (Fig. 9):

OI AGIOI ANAPTYPOI  
[= *Agioi Anargyroi; the Holy Unmercenaries*, literally: “taking no silver”  
(for healing)]

For a long time it seemed that the icon bears no inscription identifying the figures by name, as was the custom; furthermore, there is no trace of a connection with the inscription on the icon’s cover, which seems to corroborate the hypothesis that

6 J. del. Hoyo-Meléndez, *Sprawozdanie z analizy składu pierwiastkowego metalowej sukienki*, MNK XVIII-871/2 [Report from the analysis of the element composition of the metal revetment, MNK XVIII-871/2], prepared at LANBOZ, dated 31 May 2013.

7 Ibid., p. 3.



**Fig. 6.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries: after the cover is removed. Photo by the Painting Conservation Studio of the NMC, 2013*



**Fig. 7.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries: before cleaning. Photo by P. Frączek, LANBOZ, 2013*



**Fig. 8.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries: after cleaning. Photo by P. Frączek, LANBOZ, 2013*



**Fig. 9.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries: after cleaning in IR light. Photo by P. Frączek, LANBOZ, 2013*



**Fig. 10.** *The Icon of the Holy Unmercenaries:* after cleaning in UV light. Photo by P. Frączek, LANBOZ, 2013

the revetment is a later addition to the work. Photographs made in RTG and IR light revealed a number of differences in the visible details and proved that the most original, virtually intact parts of the icon were the faces of the physicians. The face of Christ, in turn, suffered great discolouration. It must have been cleaned with some unfortunate, destructive substance in a liquid form which spilled beneath the cover and reacted with the varnish and the layer of the paint, as is apparent on the UV photography (Fig. 10).<sup>8</sup>

As indicated above, the only elements of the paint layer that were visible through the openings of the cover were the faces, whose dark surface was highlighted by very narrow strands of white. Cleaning the surface of the icon revealed a composition featuring in the centre two holy healers in a three-quarter view and the figure of Christ blessing them with both of his hands. Christ is emerging from a greenish semicircle decorated with golden stars and emitting rays that spread towards the edges of the icon (Fig. 8).<sup>9</sup> The background of the semicircle features the monogram of Christ, yet only its first element is clearly visible, and exclusively under IR light:

IC [XC]

8 Frączek, op. cit., p. 3: "Between the figures of the Holy Unmercenaries there is a stain on which the olifa varnish is much less cracked. The blemish is most probably a trace of a solvent, perhaps the one used to clean the face of Christ. The excess amount of the substance made its way beneath the metal cover, partially dissolved the layer of olifa and flowed vertically down".

9 Ibid, p. 2: "VIS photographs [i.e. taken in white light – M. P. Kruk] made from several angles demonstrate the current state of preservation. Photographs of the icon taken in diffused and raking light, after the silver cover had been removed, show a substantial amount of dirt on the surface (a layer of dust) and a thick layer of cracked and wrinkled olifa varnish".

The face of Christ clearly bears traces of washing, which is why the features are considerably blurred, particularly in the lower section. The head is encircled by a cruciform halo. The Greek inscription appearing in the upper section of the icon provides a general identification of the depicted figures yet does not mention their names. The saints are looking to the side; their faces are oval and slender, with long semicircular beards and drooping moustaches. Remarkable features include long, narrow noses; foreheads and cheeks are highlighted with light paint. The faces are shaded to appear three-dimensional; the sharp chiaroscuro creates an extremely austere impression. The outlines of the halos are accentuated by punched patterns. Above, the surface of the wood is incised with small dotted, equilateral triangles that are visible only under X-ray.

The saint on the right holds in his right hand an item that is impossible to identify in visible light. X-ray imaging revealed that it is a slender surgical knife with a pointed tip held vertically between the fingers. The saint's left hand is closed around an oblong object, which probably represents a case for medical tools. One interesting detail of the assumed case is a half-open conical lid with two hoops, of which one is an element of a latch mechanism and the other a part of a hinge. There is also a chain attached to the latter hoop and connecting it with the other end of the case. The upper part of the casing features black dots; both ends are decorated with a pair of parallel lines. The saint wears a two-piece robe; the cloak (*chlamys*) is dark red, while the tunic underneath is light red. The latter garb is additionally decorated with a broad border below the neck, with two parallel lines by the edges and a vertical stripe (*clavus*) associated with ancient Roman robes.

The physician on the left is holding a knife in his right hand. As with the other surgical tool in the icon, the item is barely visible to the naked eye, but easily identifiable in the X-ray. Both of the depicted tools are long and slender, with an element resembling a small hoop with a crossbar at the tip of the handle. A similar crossbar is visible at the base of the blade, which resembles an arrowhead. In his left hand, the saint holds an open chest filled with what, to the naked eye, resembles unidentified spots of colour. Under X-ray, however, the contents of the casket appear to have the form of cuboids. The saint's tunic is greenish in colour, with a very narrow red hem of the wide sleeve. The light red cloak is wrapped around the figure quite tightly; at the neck and left shoulder both the tunic and the *chlamys* are of a similar red hue and are decorated with chrysography. The tunic has another ornament in the form of a narrow band below the neck; a small oval brooch appears to be clasped at its centre, yet it is not visible in any other spectrum.

Another detail visible to the naked eye is the outline of a Greek cross with widening ends, on the chest of the healer on the right. X-ray spectroscopy revealed that the other saint also has a cross on his chest. Three arms have a round plaque at the end; the upper one ends in a large hoop for the chain.

When the paint layer of the icon is compared with its cover, it becomes apparent that the metal revetment (made mostly of silver) copies the general outline of the composition and adds a repoussée decoration in the form of vegetal and geometric motifs to the halos and to the background. The maker of the cover probably did not

notice the tools held by the physicians, since these were not included in the repous-sée details, even though the positions of the fingers were copied. It may be surmised that both of healers are performing a blessing; the one on the right appears to be holding an open book, whereas the one on the left is clutching an item resembling a stole, similar to the ancient *akakia* (gr. *ἀκακία*) – a roll of purple silk containing dust – which was an attribute of emperors in official iconography, serving as a reminder of the mortal nature of man. The sleeve of the physician on the left was interpreted as a rosary hanging loosely from his right hand. These discrepancies clearly indicate that the original attributes were misidentified; nevertheless, the motif of the crosses on the saints' chests was copied faithfully, although in daylight the crosses are nearly invisible to the naked eye. The vegetal decoration appears to corroborate the hypothesis that the cover was made in a later period than the icon itself, as the arrangement of the motifs resembles those on Greek icons from Epirus in modern-day Albania (the border region of Erseka) dated to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup>

The reverse side and the side panels of the work are covered with inscriptions i.e. names and exact dates. Those on the back are in French, whereas those on the sides are in Polish. The dates suggest that the inscriptions on the reverse side were made earlier (from the top) (Fig. 2):

<i>Mariés</i>	<i>6 Janvier 86</i>	
<i>Leandre</i>	<i>28 Novembre</i>	
<i>Irene</i>	<i>29 9=°</i>	
<i>Robert</i>	<i>24 Juillet</i>	
<i>Harus</i>	<i>21 Juin</i>	
<i>Virginie</i>	<i>28 Juin</i>	
<i>Helene</i>	<i>26 9=°</i>	
<i>Eveline</i>	<i>25 Septembre</i>	
<i>Urania</i>	<i>→→→→ 5/12<sup>11</sup></i>	
<i>Michell(eç)</i>	<i>Novembr. 8/</i>	
<i>Nace (ç) Eveline</i>	<i>25. 19(13ç)<sup>12</sup></i>	<i>Irene 23.11(ç).18(99ç)<sup>13</sup></i>
<i>Robert mort le</i>	<i>28 Fevrier 1892</i>	

Yellow UV light reveals traces of erased writing to the right of each line of the text. Unfortunately, the letters are almost entirely illegible, yet it may be surmised that the surviving lines are retraced and thickened versions of the earlier text. The

10 *Christ Pantocrator*, icon, 1635, 109 cm × 75.5 cm × 9 cm, from the monastery of St. Mary in Postenan, Erseka region – *Icons from the Orthodox Communities of Albania. Collection of the National Museum of Medieval Art, Korçë*, ed. by A. Tourta [The catalogue for the exhibition: Thessaloniki, the Museum of Byzantine Culture, 14 March – 12 June 2006], Thessaloniki, cat. no. and Fig. 28; *Christ Pantocrator*, icon, 1651, 93 cm × 63,8 cm × 3,5 cm, from the orthodox church of St. Peter in Bezhan, Erseka region – *ibid.*, cat. no. and Fig. 29; *St. John the Baptist*, icon, mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, 84 cm × 56,6 cm × 3 cm, Erseka region – *ibid.*, cat. no. and Fig. 31.

11 This part is only visible in UV light.

12 Date retraced.

13 Ditto.

final line contains a clue that identifies these inscriptions as mementoes related to significant events in the history of the family that owned the icon. In this case the entry refers to the death of Robert (on 28 February 1892). The dates are from the late 19<sup>th</sup>/early 20<sup>th</sup> century and encompass a period between 6 January 1886 and 23 November 19(13ζ). It must, however, be noted that almost all of the entries in between appear without yearly dates.

The sides of the icon feature the following inscriptions:

The upper side panel:

An inscription with letters(ζ) and numbers, illegible even in UV light.

The left side panel:

... (iζ) *Ludka* (ι) *urodzone* ... 7 8 1893 | *Jaś urodzony* ... 8/7 1900 *Irenka* 26/6 189 (7ι)  
*Janek* 19/8 198

The right side panel:

No traces of inscriptions.

The lower side panel:

Inscriptions invisible; traces of an engraving are discernible on the right-hand side.

The inscriptions on the left side panel are in Polish and refer to the period of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The last inscription, however, could have been added in the 1980s.

The complete list mentions twelve persons on the reverse side and four or five on the left side panel, not counting the illegible inscriptions on the top side panel. The use of diminutive name forms and the entries by some of them suggest that the family was noting down the dates of either the birth or death of its members. The first word in the series of the Polish-language entries is unclear – it should perhaps be understood as the word *wnuki* [grandchildren], or the name of a child. The people to whom these inscriptions refer were identified with the help of the members of the benefactors' family in June 2017.<sup>14</sup>

It is certain that the icon had a connection with Jerzy Ruebenbauer's ancestors: his grandmother Haryklia (Greek: Herakleia) Mavrocordatos-Serini, Sas-Hoszowska (1836 – 20 October 1906), was the last member of the princely house of Mavrocordatos.<sup>15</sup>

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14 See: footnote 5.

15 The famous Mavrocordatos family were Phanariot Greeks elevated to the title of rulers of Moldavia by the Ottoman Turks. The family was founded by a merchant from Chios; his son Alexander (ca. 1636–1709) became a doctor of philosophy and medicine at the University of Bologna and assumed the post of a translator at the court of the Ottoman Sultan in 1673. He participated in negotiations with Austria and prepared the peace treaty of Karlowitz (1699). He later became a secretary of state and a count of the Holy Roman Empire (*Reichsgraf*). Due to his authority at the court of Mustapha II he was able to improve the situation of the Christians under Ottoman rule. His son Nicholas (1670–1730) held a similar position until 1708, when he was appointed the *hospodar* of Moldavia and then Walachia. He was the first Greek raised

The photograph from Zbigniew Lisiecki's archive shows Haryklia with her sons Leander (the eldest; seated), Haryton and Robert (both standing in the background) (Fig. 4). Haryklia married Jan Robert Hoszowski (1826–28 February 1892), a member of the ancient family of Hoszowski of the Sas coat of arms which originated from Hoszów in Przemyśl Land. The couple had at least seven children: Wirginia Angela, Irena (married Władysław, another member of the Hoszowski family, born in 1858 in Żywisław), Leander, Robert, Haryton, Helena and Ewelina (Fig. 5). Their names appear on the reverse side of the icon with the exact dates of their birth.

Wirginia (1865–1936, buried at the Lvov cemetery), the daughter of Haryklia, married Col. Karol Teodor Ruebenbauer (1869–1917) on 26 October 1901. Her husband was an engineer constructing railway lines in Galicia. Karol and Wirginia had three sons: the above-mentioned Jerzy (1 October 1906–14 August 1998); Zbigniew (1905–1992), who was a minister in the Polish Government in London; and Janek, who died in infancy in 1902 (mentioned on the left side of icon as born on 8 July 1900). Leander married Miss Dwernicka; Haryton – a lady named Adelajda; Irena married a man named Władysław; Helena died young; and Ewelina married Józef Hoszowski and later Karol Kalinowski.

## The analysis of the icon conducted within the NPDH grant in 2015–2017

A more extensive and thorough study of the icon became possible thanks to the scientific grant of the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities titled *Katalog ikon XIV-XVI wieku w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie. Opracowanie i publikacja* [The Catalogue of 14<sup>th</sup>- to 16<sup>th</sup>-century Icons in the Collection of the National Museum in Cracow. Study and publication]. The study has been under way at the National Museum of Cracow since September 2015; when completed it shall result in an academic catalogue scheduled to be published in 2017. Fifty of the earliest icons in the Museum's collection were chosen for the project. Most of them can be seen on permanent exhibition in the Gallery of Orthodox Art of the Old Polish Republic situated in the Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace (a subdivision of the National Museum in Cracow; hereinafter BECP NMC) at 17 Kanonicza Street in Cracow.

The initial selection consisted of icons dated to between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries based on the iconographic and stylistic analysis. As well as being the earliest items in the collection, they display a number of features that categorise them into a distinct group, differing from later icons from the early-modern period. In general

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by the Porte to the position of ruler of the Danubian principalities. Famous descendants of the Phanariots also include Alexander Mavrocordato (1791–1865), who actively participated in the struggle for Greek independence (1821–1832) and the formation of a Greek government. He presided over the first national assembly meeting at Epidaurus. In 1833 he was appointed Prime Minister by King Otto – [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mavrocordatos\\_family](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mavrocordatos_family) [accessed 23 June 2017]; *Mavrocordato*, in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 17<sup>th</sup> Edition, Cambridge 1911, p. 917.

terms, they are more faithful to the earlier Byzantine tradition of icon painting, regardless of their place of origin – which could be Greece, the regions of Ruthenia (Rus' within the borders of the Polish Republic), northern Rus' (the Novgorod region, the Pskov region), or central Rus' (the Moscow region). The research project also encompasses an interdisciplinary analysis involving historians of art, conservators, philologists, physicists, chemists, geologists and experts in other fields.

Since analytic light examination had already been performed, the study of the icon of the Holy Unmercenaries could proceed to the next stage, i.e. the identification of the wood used as support. It was performed by Wojciech Ptak of the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts, on the basis of a sample taken by Dominika Tarsińska-Petruk, a restorer from the Painting and Sculpture Conservation Studio at the BECP NMC.<sup>16</sup> The conclusion of his report was as follows: “the identified structural features indicate that the analysed sample of the icon inv. no. MNK XVIII-871 was of chestnut wood (*Castanea*). The only species of chestnut naturally appearing in Europe is the sweet chestnut (*Castanea sativa* MILL.); it must be assumed that the icon was painted on the wood of this species of tree”.<sup>17</sup> Such wood cannot be analysed dendrochronologically, which is why it was disregarded in the next stage of research pertaining to supports of coniferous wood, conducted by Prof. Marek Krąpiec of the AGH University of Science and Technology in Cracow.

The principal phase of the icons' analysis was conducted between January and September 2016 at the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art of the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow. The chosen method was X-ray fluorescence (XRF) performed using a stationary spectrometer with the function of mapping the distribution of chemical elements on the painted surfaces. The analysis was completed by dr. Małgorzata Walczak and her team. For maximum effectiveness, traditional analysis of the cross-section was also performed on samples taken by Dominika Tarsińska-Petruk. Photographs of the cross-sections were made at the Cracow Academy of Fine Arts using an electron microscope.

Non-invasive spectrometer analysis revealed that the paint layer of the icon contains gold and silver (used most often in the halos and background), calcium (which was always present in the priming coats and earth pigments), chromium (appearing in the greens, oranges and yellows), copper (frequently found in azurite, malachite and green pigments), iron (appearing in the earth pigments, iron pigments and iron black), mercury (found in vermillion, manganese, earth pigments and manganese black), lead (lead white), titanium (titanium white) and zinc (present in barite white).<sup>18</sup> A cursory look at the photographs and results is sufficient to realise that the painter had to make do with a relatively limited palette, as was

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16 W. Ptak, *MNK XVIII-871: Identyfikacja rodzaju drewna podobrazia* [MNK XVIII-871: Identification of the type of wood used as support], a report made as a part of the NPDH grant *Katalog ikon XIV–XVI wieku...*, dated 22 December 2015.

17 Ibid.

18 M. Walczak, *MNK XVIII-871: Wyniki wielkoformatowego skanowania spektrometrem fluorescencji rentgenowskiej XRF* [MNK XVIII-871: Results of the large-format scan with X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectrometer], a report made at the Chair of Chemistry and Physics in Art Conservation



the case with works of art of this kind. The nuances of shades were achieved by choosing different kinds of pigment, e.g. iron red for the robes and vermillion for the border around the icon. The analysis of samples taken from three different sections indicated that the icon was painted on a gypsum primer, in each case overlaid with a layer of lead white, with the background covered with gold foil containing a small amount of silver.<sup>19</sup>

Thanks to the photographs made with a spectrometer, with the use of a gold filter, one can finally discern the names of Unmercenary Healers, inscribed vertically in the background: *Holy Cosmas* and *Holy Damian* – no longer visible in daylight:

ΟΙ ἉΓΙΟΙ		ΑΝΑΓΓΥΡΟΙ	
с	K	с	Δ
O	O	O	A
Α	C	Α	Μι
Γι	M	Γι	A
O	A	O	N
C	C	C	O
			C

The geological features of the priming coats on the icons were analysed in the latter half of 2016. It is known that works made in the South were usually painted on wood that was different from that from the North (e.g. chestnut, walnut, cypress) and covered with a primer that included a more pliable type of gypsum. Since the majority of the icons under analysis contained chalk, it was to be expected that microscope analysis would reveal remnants of ancient micro-organisms that had petrified and formed deposits of chalk. The analysis was conducted by Prof. Mariusz Kędzierski from the Institute of Geology of the Jagiellonian University. The available samples allowed him to identify more than eleven thousand species of micro-organisms; the results of the study were presented in the form of charts and relevant analyses of clusters of affinity between the identified fossil species.<sup>20</sup>

As expected, the icon under analysis did not contain a representative amount of nanofossils characteristic of chalk primers.<sup>21</sup> The report of the chemical analysis states that: “the acquired information, examined using the PDF-4+ database of the

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of the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow as a part of the NPDH grant *Katalog ikon XIV-XVI wieku...*, dated 30 September 2016.

19 M. Walczak, *MNK XVIII-871: Interpretacja wyników analizy SEM EDX* [MNK XVIII-871: Interpretation of the results of SEM EDX analysis], a report made at the Chair of Chemistry and Physics in Art Conservation of the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow as a part of the NPDH grant *Katalog ikon XIV-XVI wieku...*, dated 30 September 2016.

20 M. Kędzierski, *Analiza zespołów nanoplanktonu wapiennego z podkładów malarskich ikon znajdujących się w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie* [Analysis of calcareous nanoplankton accretions from the paint bases of icons held in the National Museum in Cracow collections], a report made at the Institute of Geology of the Jagiellonian University as a part of the NPDH grant *Katalog ikon XIV-XVI wieku...*, dated 13 September 2016.

21 Kędzierski, op. cit., p. 4.

diffraction data centre, clearly points to gypsum as the main crystalline component in the studied sample of the priming coat”.<sup>22</sup> The material is remarkably “pure”; samples taken from other icons usually contained various additives in the gypsum. These elements might allow researchers to identify the deposits from which the mineral originated.

Thus, the materials research unambiguously suggests that the icon came from the south of Europe, thus confirming conclusions drawn from the iconographic and stylistic analysis; this is evident both from the species of wood used as support (sweet chestnut) and the gypsum priming coat. The array of pigments that was used was fairly standard, yet the presence of gold and silver increased the value of the icon, particularly since the amount of gold was greater than that of silver. This indicates that no expense was spared in the process of the icon’s manufacture. As regards the green hue of the semi-circular mandorla from which Christ is emerging, it should be mentioned that copper – the main component of the pigment used to paint it – is frequently known to oxidise, yet the analysis provided no evidence to assume that the currently visible colour was due to this process. Proof of oxidation was found during analyses of other icons, as noted by Dominika Tarsińska-Petruk, who summarised and presented the results of the materials study in the form of a chart.<sup>23</sup> The analysis suggested, for example, that the icon was not backed with canvas and that the preliminary drawing, visible in infra-red photographs, was made with a fine and medium-sized brush with broad, sketchy strokes. The changes in composition were very slight, but the amber protective layer covering the entire surface of the icon effectively hinders the observation of specific elements of composition and the original colours, namely greens, blues and gold.<sup>24</sup> These conclusions correspond to earlier inferences that were made on the basis of analytic photography: “As demonstrated by the analysis of photographs, the processing of the paint layer is original and clearly apparent, conforming with the principles of painting icons and not disturbed by the presence of any other layers of paint. There is no trace of earlier artistic compositions or later modifications. The aesthetic properties of the work are significantly affected by the state of preservation of the olifa

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22 A. Rafalska-Łasocha, M. Grzesiak-Nowak, W. Łasocha, *Raport z badań za pomocą dyfrakcji promieniowania rentgenowskiego (XRPD) próbek zapraw pobranych z ikon należących do kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (Pałac Biskupa Erazma Ciołka)* [Report from the X-ray powder diffraction (XRPD) examination of primer samples taken from icons in the National Museum of Cracow collection (Bishop Ciołek Palace)], a report made at the Faculty of Chemistry of the Jagiellonian University as a part of the NPDH grant *Katalog ikon XIV–XVI wieku...*, dated 6 November 2016, unpaginated, chart 20.

23 D. Tarsińska-Petruk, *Zestawienie zbiorcze warstw technologicznych ikon z „Katalogu ikon XIV–XVI wieku w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie”, projekt 00672* [Collected record of technological layers in icons from the “Catalogue of 14<sup>th</sup>- to 16<sup>th</sup>-century icons in the National Museum of Cracow collection”, project no. 00672], a report made at the Painting and Sculpture Conservation Studio of the BECP NMC as a part of the NPDH grant *Katalog ikon XIV–XVI wieku...*, dated 3 November 2016, item 46.

24 A more detailed report will be published in the forthcoming catalogue of icons.

varnish. It had become greatly discoloured, turning brown and chipped, with traces of damage inflicted by high temperature and solvents, which has a significant adverse effect on the perception of the composition and the colour palette”.<sup>25</sup>

## The iconography of the painting

The cult of the holy physicians was well-established already in the early Byzantine period. Many of its features suggest that it constituted a continuation of the ancient cult of Asclepius. The central figures were the two most renowned healers – Saints Cosmas and Damian – yet other doctors were also venerated in Byzantium. The two saints, born ca. 300 AD, became famous for not taking any remuneration for their work as physicians, hence the title *Ἀνάργυροι*, *Anargyroi* (rendered in the Church Slavonic language as *Безсребренники*, *Bezsrebrenniki* = *taking no silver*). Kosmidion, a church in their name, was built outside the walls of Constantinople as early as in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; it was founded by Paulinus, advisor to Emperor Theodosius II. The gravely ill travelled there seeking a miraculous recovery, which was expected to occur during sleep – a belief that had originated in Antiquity.<sup>26</sup> One of the earliest portrayals of both saints also comes from that period; it may be found among the mosaics in the Saint George Rotunda in Thessaloniki. The saints are depicted in the orant pose, wearing white robes and presented against a background of architectural elements. A description of thirty-nine miracles performed by Saints Cosmas and Damian was penned in the 6<sup>th</sup> century; thirty of these events took place in infirmaries (Greek: *Ξεῶν, xenon*).<sup>27</sup> One of the stories includes the motif of an afflicted person praying before the icon of the Holy Mary with Christ and the Saints Cosmas and Damian, hung in the courtyard of the temple. Having returned to his bed in the church, the patient was healed in his sleep, since the Holy Mary had requested this of the two saints. The vision of healing mentions Saint Cosmas using a surgical knife, the same tool with which the two saints are portrayed in the icon under analysis here.<sup>28</sup>

Although until recently the saints were seemingly not identified by their names in the icon, they were recognisable as Saints Cosmas and Damian on the basis of many other examples from the Orthodox iconography.<sup>29</sup> The lack of direct identification is, in fact, peculiar. The inscription on the cover (appearing in a rather distorted form: “H APH / ANAPTYP”) refers to healers but lacks the suffix “OI”, which

25 Frączek, op. cit., p. 4.

26 The custom of incubation was practised in the temples of Asclepius – T. S. Miller, *Hospital Dreams in Byzantium*, in: *Dreams, Healing, and Medicine in Greece. From Antiquity to the Present*, ed. S. M. Oberhelman, Farnham – Burlington 2013, p. 201.

27 *Cosmas und Damianos*, Greek text and commentary by L. Deubner, Leipzig–Berlin 1907, pp. 97–197.

28 Miller, op. cit., p. 202.

29 Iconography: Father M. Janocha, *Ikony w Polsce. Od średniowiecza do współczesności* [Icons in Poland. From the Middle Ages to the present day], Warsaw 2010, p. 334.

would turn the word into its plural form. The meaning of the word “ΚΡΝΣΡΝ” = “KRIZRI” that appears at the bottom of the cover remains unclear. It may be the name of the family who commissioned the cover.<sup>30</sup>

The motif of a semicircle decorated with golden stars, visibly separated from the earthly realm, is known from ancient works of art.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, the gesture of extending both arms in a blessing, as depicted in the figure of Christ, resembles early Christian models, e.g. the 6<sup>th</sup>-century mosaic in the domed roof of the apse in the northern chapel of the Euphrasian Basilica in Parenzo (present-day Poreč). The pose also invokes ancient symbols, since the Saints Cosmas and Damian are being rewarded laurel wreaths held by Christ in the above-mentioned example.

The semicircle of the sky is filled with multicoloured clouds. This motif is common in Roman mosaics dated to the first millennium, e.g. those in the apse of the Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian. It is sometimes interpreted as apocalyptic aurorae portending the *Parousia*, or the second coming of the Messiah during the Last Judgement, when all martyrs and saints are to receive the wreaths of eternal life and all sinners the punishment of eternal damnation. In later iconography this scene was modified to emphasise the role of the saints as healers; e.g. in the miniature found in the late 11<sup>th</sup>-century *Lectionary* from the library of the Dionisiou Monastery on Mount Athos (Fig. 11) Christ is emerging from a semicircle of the sky to present the saints with items resembling scrolls, which probably ought to be interpreted as cases containing medical tools.<sup>32</sup> Both saints are depicted as wearing dark cloaks draped over their hands. This was a sign of respect, as is apparent also from depictions of angels receiving, for example, the instruments of the Passion of Christ. A miniature found in the *Menologion of Basil II* portrays a scene with a *Manus*

30 Consultations on the subject held, for example, with experts in various disciplines and philologists specialising in different fields, brought no definitive conclusion. The inscription was examined by Prof. Eugenia Drakopoulou, Prof. Maciej Salamon, Jan Stradomski PhD (habil.) and Bojan Popovic PhD. I would like to express my profound gratitude to Anna Zachwieja MA for granting me access to the visual materials which she had collected for her forthcoming doctoral dissertation on the Holy Unmercenaries. The images proved very helpful in specifying the dating of the icon under analysis.

31 The motif of a blue sky filled with bright stars was present in Byzantine art, in 13<sup>th</sup>-century Italian painting as well as in the art of the Romanesque and Gothic periods – S. Stawicki, “Techniczne i technologiczne problemy ściennych malowideł bizantyńsko-ruskich w kościele zamkowym w Lublinie” [Technical and technological problems posed by the Russo-Byzantine wall paintings in the castle church in Lublin], in: *Kaplica Trójcy Świętej na Zamku Lubelskim. Historia, teologia, sztuka, konserwacja. Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej w Muzeum Lubelskim 24 – 26 kwietnia 1997 roku* [The chapel of the Holy Trinity at Lublin Castle. History, theology, art, conservation. Materials from the session organised at the Lublin Museum 24 – 26 April 1997], eds. B. Paprocka, J. Sil, Lublin 1999, p. 118, footnote 8. The use of green colour for the sky is therefore unusual.

32 *Cod. 587 (Lectionary)*, late 11<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 159v, Athos, Monaster Dionisiou – *Οι θησαυροί του Αγίου Ορους: σειρά Α; εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα, παραστάσεις – επίτιλα – αρχικά γράμματα. Πρωτότον, Μ. Διονυσίου, Μ. Κουτλουμουσιού, Μ. Ξηροποτάμου, Μ. Γρηγορίου*, eds. Σ. Μ. Πελεκανίδες, Π. Κ. Χρήστος, Χ. Μαυροπούλος-Τσιούμη, Σ. Ν. Καδά, Αθήνα 1973, p. 214, Fig. 269.

*Dei* emerging from a starry semicircle holding a medical bag. The motif of Christ holding laurel wreaths above the heads of the saints also appears on frescoes in the church in Ohrid (*Mali Sveti Vrači*), dated to the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century. A gesture of Christ blessing the two saints, similar to the one depicted on the icon from Cracow, may be seen on a 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon originating from Mount Athos, now in the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (hereinafter: TG). The arrangement of the hands and the attributes of both physicians is the same in both icons, albeit in the TG icon the saints are presenting open cases containing medical tools. Tool cases should therefore be considered as one of the typical attributes of the two physicians; they appear already on a Christian fresco from Egypt (6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century, Wadi Sarga, moved to the British Museum). A similar depiction of the figure of Christ as a source of light (emphasised by the rays) emerging from a semicircle of the sky with both hands extended in a blessing appears on a 14<sup>th</sup>-century icon of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste from the gallery of icons in the crypt of the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sofia.



**Fig. 11.** *The Holy Unmercenaries*, a late 11<sup>th</sup>-century lectionary from the library of the Dionisiou Monastery on Mount Athos

Another important detail is the tool case in a shape that resembles a scroll. Such items frequently appear, for example, in the hands of prophets. Interestingly, in the icon in question the case is open and features a conical cover connected to the main body with a hinge. Saints Cosmas and Damian were depicted with open cases in the shape of a scroll in 12<sup>th</sup>-century frescoes in the narthex of the Panagia Asinou Church in Cyprus. The faces of the saints in the frescoes are youthful and beardless, while their robes feature rich appliqué with imitations of precious stones and pearls. The tools they are holding in their hands are very similar to those depicted in the icon under analysis. The gesture of one of the holy healers depicted in paintings in the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century Church of the Resurrection of Christ in Veria<sup>33</sup> hints at the function of the cases, as he appears to be putting a medical tool back into the container (Fig. 12). A unique version of the open case appears in the depiction of Saint Damian in a 14<sup>th</sup>-century painted decoration at the Church of Saint John Chrysostom (Greek: *Άγιος Ιωάννης Χρυσόστομος*) in Geraki on the Peloponnese Peninsula.<sup>34</sup> The case contains three long tools; the fourth tool is held by the saint (Fig. 13). Saint Pantaleon, shown in the neighbouring medallion, is also holding a tool, yet the case in his left hand is closed. The conical cover of the case, depicted as ajar, is decorated with a row of tiny pearls. The paintings in Geraki are also exceptional because they include the entire group of Unmercenary Healers, even those depicted much less frequently, such as Saint Hermolaus or Saints Cyrus and John the Wonderworker (Gr. *ο Θαυματουργός*, *Thaumaturgos*) (Fig. 14).<sup>35</sup> The first of the above-mentioned healers is holding a vessel, in the shape of a convex body that is decorated with geometric patterns, and a stopper to which he is pointing with his right hand. Saint John, in turn, appears to be pointing a sharp surgical tool towards a case with a conical cover that is depicted as ajar and is very similar to the one in the icon under analysis here. The above-mentioned type of case/container also appears in the hand of Saint Euplius, depicted in the fragment of a painting in the Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas in Melnik and currently on display at the gallery of icons in the crypt of the Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Sophia. The painting is dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> or early 13<sup>th</sup> century.

The 12<sup>th</sup>-century chapel of Saints Cosmas and Damian in Nomitsi on the Mani Peninsula features frescoes from the 14<sup>th</sup> century in which the two physicians appear with attributes similar to those as in the analysed icon, yet their relative position is inverted (Fig. 15). Saint Damian, here on the left, is holding a closed tool case with both hands, whereas Cosmas is raising his hand over a casket. The lid of the box is slightly open, revealing the outlines of three quadrilateral elements. A detail that proves interesting in the context of the icon under analysis is the presence of a cross

33 Georges Kallergies, a painter active in Thessaloniki, *Saints Cosmas and Damian*, the Orthodox Church of the Resurrection of Christ, lower panel of the western wall – G. Gounaris, *The Church of Christ in Veria*, Thessaloniki 1991, p. 45.

34 N. K. Μουτσόπουλος, Γ. Δημητροκάλλης, *Γεράκι. Οι εκκλησίες του οικισμού*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1981, Fig. 39.

35 Ibid., Figs. 34–37.





**Fig. 12.** *The Holy Unmercenaries*, fresco, early 14<sup>th</sup> century, Veria, Church of the Resurrection of Christ, photo by A. Zachwieja, 1999



**Fig. 13.** *The Holy Unmercenaries*, fresco, c. 1300, Geraki, Church of John Chrysostom, photo by A. Zachwieja, 1999



**Fig. 14.** *The Holy Unmercenaries*, fresco, c. 1300, Geraki, Church of John Chrysostom, photo by A. Zachwieja, 1999



**Fig. 15.** *The Holy Unmercenaries*, fresco, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Nomitsi, Orthodox Church of the Holy Unmercenaries, photo by A. Zachwieja 1999



on Saint Damian's neck and – as may be suspected – a similar one on the chest of Saint Cosmas. The cross is slightly different, featuring a diamond-shaped element at the intersection of the arms. A tool case resembling the one in the Cracow icon was depicted in the hand of Saint Cosmas in the lower row of the saints on the western nave wall in the Žiča monastery (Serb. Жича, Žiča). The saint is standing alongside Saints Pantaleon and Damian.<sup>36</sup> As in the case of the analysed icon, the case in Saint Cosmas's hand is decorated with a double line. The outline of tiny dark pierced dots and a chain may also be inferred.

Another example of a similar case is found in the hand of Saint Damian in the painting on the northern side of the south-western pillar in the nave of the *katholikon* of Saint Varlaam in Meteora, dated to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 16). Saint Damian is looking to the side and is wearing a cloak, yet in general terms he is more similar to the depiction of Cosmas in the Cracow icon (with a casket). In his hand he is holding a similar surgical knife with a cross-shaped point. An identical knife can be seen in the hand of Saint Cosmas painted on the southern side of the north-western pillar. It is he who is holding an open, rectangular box whose interior is divided into six parts. The saint's robe is exceptionally decorative, featuring floral motifs as well as appliques of pearls and precious stones. Saint Pantaleon from the Church of Taxiarchis in Kastoria is also holding a box of medical supplies filled with three cuboid elements, just as the one in the icon under analysis here.<sup>37</sup>



**Fig. 16.** *The Holy Unmercenarys*, fresco, mid. 16<sup>th</sup> century, Meteora, Orthodox Church of Saint Varlaam, photo by A. Zachwieja, 1999.

<sup>36</sup> М. Кашанин, Ђ. Бошковић, П. Мијовић, Жича, *Историја, архитектура, сликарство*, Београд, 1969, Fig. on p. 169. The most recent monograph on the paintings: М. Чанак-Медић, Д. Поповић, Д. Воводић, *Манастир Жича*, Београд 2014.

<sup>37</sup> S. Pelekanides, M. Chadzidakis, *Kastoria*, Athens 1985, Fig. 1306.

A capsule with a semi-spherical stopper may be seen in the miniature depicting the two saints included in Codex 412 from the collection of the Koutloumous monastery on Mount Athos. The illustrations in this work were clearly modelled after earlier *menologia*.<sup>38</sup> A very similar semi-spherical cover is visible on the tube-shaped case in the left hand of Saint Damian from the Church of Saint Paraskevi in Geraki (*Αγία Παρασκευή, Agia Paraskevi*). The depiction, dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, also features Saint Cosmas holding a vessel (Fig. 17). This form of container for medical tools appears to have been widespread in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as evidenced by the presence of such an element in the hand of a holy healer from the frescoes in the Peribleptos monastery in Mystras.



**Fig. 17.** *The Holy Unmercenaries*, fresco, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Geraki, Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskevi, photo by A. Zachwieja, 1999

The above-mentioned examples delineate the artistic circle from which the icon under analysis might have originated. As far as its style is concerned, one should note the exceptional quality of the saints' faces; together with the *Glykophilousa*-type icon from the monastery of the Order of Saint Claire in Cracow, the icon represents a unique example of the art of the late Paleologian period in Polish collections.<sup>39</sup> The nature of the linear highlights (smudges of light) on the saints' faces

<sup>38</sup> *Cod. 412*, fol. 38a – *Οι θῆσσυροι του Αγίου Ορου*, 1, 1973, Fig. 318.

<sup>39</sup> M. P. Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Icon as paintings in the Roman Catholic churches of the old Commonwealth], Cracow 2011, cat. no. 4.

calls to mind the late 14<sup>th</sup>-century works of Theophanus the Greek. Other examples of similar Greek icons painted in this style include magnificent depictions of Christ Pantocrator – one from ca. 1363, currently in the collection of the Hermitage in Petersburg,<sup>40</sup> the other dated to the 1370s, held at the Byzantine Museum in Mytilene.<sup>41</sup> Yet another may be found in the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos, which is a fragmentarily preserved icon of Saint Theodore Tiro.<sup>42</sup> The surviving elements include the edge of a mandorla with the hand of Christ extended in a blessing, similar to the gesture apparent on the icon from the NMC collection.

All the above-mentioned works fall into the category of Byzantine painting of the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Their common features include the tendency to depict faces as almost triangular, narrowing pronouncedly towards the chin. The contrast between the dark tone of the skin and the white highlights on the forehead and cheeks is clearly visible in many of them. In the case of the NMC icon, the skin tone is clearly dominant, with no larger areas of white; the only highlights appear below the eyes, on the nose and lips, and they take the form of sharp lines. The mouths of both physicians are turned downwards, giving their faces a particularly austere, “monastic” demeanour.

The physiognomy of the saints’ faces and the rendering of their attire bears some similarity to the icon of Saints Cosmas and Damian kept at the Byzantine Museum in Kastoria. This latter work, dated generally to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, features an even sharper contrast between the highlights and the shadows. It is unique in terms of iconography, as it includes a half-figure of a holy woman (Saint Paraskevi?) depicted between the two physicians. The woman is holding a scroll in her right hand; her left arm is raised in a gesture of acclamation. The icon is also lined with red, but here the painted frame covers the sides of the board entirely and not only half of it, as is the case in the Cracow icon. Significantly, the Byzantine Museum in Kastoria has ca. seven icons with Cosmas and Damian depicted in the same conventional manner, i.e. frontally and together, with surgical tools in their hands. The works are dated to between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. The apparent popularity of the two Holy Unmercenaries in Kastoria finds corroboration in the painted decoration of

40 *Christ Pantocrator with donors*, icon, ca. 1363, tempera on wood, 106 cm × 79 cm × 2.8 cm, from the Pantocrator Monastery on Mount Athos, now in the Hermitage in Petersburg, inv. No. I-515 – *Sinai. Byzantium. Russia. Orthodox Art. From the Sixth to the Twentieth Century*, eds. Y. Piatnitsky, O. Baddeley, E. Brunner, M. M. Mango, St. Petersburg 2000, cat. no. B125 (ed. Y. Piatnitsky).

41 *Christ Pantocrator / Saint John the Evangelist*, double-sided icon, ca. 1370–80, tempera on wood, 107 cm × 69.5 cm, Mytilene, The Museum of Orthodox and Byzantine Art – *Byzantium 330–1453*, eds. R. Cormack, M. Vassilaki [exhibition catalogue: the Royal Academy of Art in London, 25 October 2008 – 22 March 2009], London 2008, cat. nos. 240–241 (ed. M. Vassilaki). According to M. Vassilaki, the icon originated from the workshops of either Constantinople or Thessaloniki; the dating was based on the above-mentioned analogous work from the Hermitage collection.

42 D. Vojvodić, *Serbian art from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century till the fall of the Nemanjić state*, in: *Sacral Art of the Serbian Lands in the Middle Ages*, eds. D. Vojvodić, D. Popović, Belgrade 2016, Fig. 234.

the local churches, of which more than seventy have survived to this day. Similarly to the icons, the unique complex of architecture and visual arts in Kastoria is yet to be described in a fully comprehensive monograph. It may be surmised that the icon makers from the Ruthenia had many connections with the region of Kastoria, as evidenced by the icon of the Holy Unmercenaries from Jablonica Ruska.

Another formal analogy for the icon under analysis may be found in the paintings of Saints Cosmas and Damian from the church of John the Baptist in Axos in Crete, dated to the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> The faces of the two saints are slightly more expressive, yet the arrangement of their hands and the shape of the tool held by Saint Cosmas is very similar to the one seen in the icon under analysis here.

The motif of a faintly outlined fringe on the forehead of the physician holding a tool case also appears in the depiction of Saint Damian in the Orthodox Church of Saint George (*Црква Светог Ђорђа*) in Staro Nagoričane (presently in Macedonia),<sup>44</sup> which was renovated by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1253–1321), who around the year 1318 commissioned the artists Michael Astrapas and Eutybios to paint the interior. The decoration of the church now belongs to the best surviving examples of late-Byzantine painting in the Paleologian style. The faces of the physicians in the icon under analysis here represent the type of physiognomy that was favoured in Greek painting in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, as exemplified by the depiction of Saint Cosmas in another interior decoration linked with patronage of Stefan Uroš II Milutin, namely in the Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki, dated to 1310–1320 (Fig. 18).<sup>45</sup> The rectangular neckline of the saint's robes is also similar. Yet another analogy for the facial features of the physicians in the Cracow icon may be found in the painting of Saint Damian from the Serbian church in Psača, dated to 1366.<sup>46</sup> The edifice was used as the monastic church of Saint Nicholas. The physiognomic features of the saints as well as the arrangement of their hands and the folds in their robes are analogous to the depictions of Saints Cosmas and Damian from the former Orthodox church in Constantinople that is now the Atik Mustapha Pasha Mosque. The edifice has traditionally been identified with the church of Saints Peter and Mark, yet more recent sources associate it with Saint Thekla of the Palace of Blachernae.<sup>47</sup> Regrettably, the surviving frescoes have not yet undergone a systematic study.

The tradition to paint in this stylistic manner continued throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Similar depictions of saints, i.e. slightly turned towards what was probably a figure of Christ in a semicircle (this part of the paint layer is missing), appear in

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43 I. Spatharakis, *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete, 2: Mylopotamos Province*, Leiden 2009, Fig. 469.

44 Б. Тодић, *Старо Нагоричино*, Београд 1993, Fig. 20.

45 Gounaris, op. cit., table 97.

46 G. Millet, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, Paris 1969, Fig. 132.

47 T. F. Mathews, E. J. Hawkins, "Notes on the Atik Mustafa Pasa Camii in Istanbul and Its Frescoes", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 1985, no. 39, Figs. 21–22.



**Fig. 18.** *Saint Cosmas*, fresco, 1310–1320, Thessaloniki, Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas Orphanos, photo by A. Zachwieja, 1999.

the icon from the collection of the Museum in Pskov. The work is dated to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and is close in size to the icon from Cracow.<sup>48</sup> A similar rendition of the eyes, with deep convex shadows near the nose, may be observed in the icon painted by Andreas Ritzos (ca. 1421–1492) that is being kept at the Monastery of Saint John the Evangelist in Patmos.<sup>49</sup> However, the shadows in the Cracow icon are not applied with such strong lines and the highlights on the brow are placed differently, i.e. not in the form of vertical lines but as long horizontal ones, as in another early 15<sup>th</sup>-century icon in this circle depicting Saint Nicholas.<sup>50</sup> When describing this work of art, Manolis Chatzidakis noted the “impressionist” manner of rendering the features that is reminiscent of the best examples of Paleologian paintings from the Kariye Djami which were imitated in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> Another remarkable feature that the icon of Saint Nicholas shares with the one in

48 *St. Cosmas and Damian*, icon, early 15<sup>th</sup> century, tempera on wood, 22 cm × 15 cm, inv. ПГОИАХМ 25350 (5) – *Иконы Пскова*, (= *Древнерусская живопись в музеях России*), ed. А.С. Преображенский, 1–2, Москва 2012, cat. no. and Fig. 9.

49 Andreas Ritzos, *St. John the Evangelist*, icon, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, tempera on wood, 165 cm × 91 cm, Patmos, the Monastery of Saint John the Evangelist – M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos. Questions of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Painting*, Athens 1985, cat. no. 9, Tables 13, 15.

50 *Saint Nicholas*, icon, tempera on wood, early 15<sup>th</sup> century, 100 cm × 52 cm, Patmos, the Monastery of Saint John the Evangelist – *ibidem*, cat. no. 8, Table 10–11.

51 *Ibid.*, p. 56.

the Cracow collection are the schematically rendered folds of the robes, with deep lines accentuated with broad strokes of dark paint and highlights.

The icon is decorated with a fine punched decoration that is also known from Italian art. Ornaments that were incised and punched with ready-made tools or stamped using a template were typical of Italian painting as early as in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A similar set of dots and tiny circles (ca. 0.5–1.5 mm in diameter) filled with stars appears in one work by Meo di Guido da Siena (active 1319 – died before 1334, Perugia).<sup>52</sup> The outline of the halo surrounding the head of Saint Andrew features a motif of three points forming triangles filled with evenly-spaced pinholes. Such a decoration was popular in the Cretan school and also used in the icon of the holy healers. It also originated from Italian art, as evidenced, for example, by the ornaments on the halo around Saint Agnes in a triptych by Andrea Vanni (ca. 1332–1414).<sup>53</sup> By the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of outlining haloes with triangles composed of three punctures became popular in the southern schools of icon painting, particularly in the so-called Cretan school. Ornaments composed of incised circles filled with rosettes, in turn, may be seen on some icons produced before the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Notes on the attribution

The stylistic features of the icon in the collection of the NMC point to the late-mediaeval Greek circle. Possible places of origin include northern Greece, with its significant centres of icon making from Kastoria and Veria, through Mt. Athos and Thessalonike to Constantinople. The above-mentioned features also set the time of the icon's manufacture in the 14<sup>th</sup> century; a more precise time period is difficult to achieve due to the uncertain dating of the existing analogies, e.g. the wall paintings in Geraki. It should be noted that many of the identified analogies are found among works of art commissioned by the Serbian king Stefan Uroš II Milutin, who employed Greek painters. In terms of style, the work under analysis appears to bear more resemblance to icons of the later Paleologian period than to the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century ones.

To recapitulate, it may be assumed that, due to its small size, the icon of the Holy Unmercenaries from the NMC collection functioned as a private object of cult. Throughout its history the icon had been venerated by a narrow circle of people. It is likely to have been made by Greek artists in the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and owned by people following the Greek tradition. It seemed that silver cover (without the punch marks) could be added around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Macedonia, perhaps in Kastoria. The icon was painted in tempera on

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52 Meo di Guido da Siena, *Christ Enthroned with the Twelve Apostles*, Frankfurt, Städel-Gaertringer 2004, table 14; Fig. 42, see p. 101.

53 Andrea di Vanni (D'Andrea Salvani), *Saints Anna, Ursula and Agnes*, Frankfurt, Städel-Gaertringer 2004, Fig. 75.

a wooden support (sweet chestnut), with a substantial amount of lead white and some gold and silver.

Since the mystery of the inscriptions on the back of the icon has been solved, it is now known that in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the icon was in the hands of the Lvov branch of the famous Greek family of the Mavrocordatos. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the work of art found its way, in dramatic circumstances, to occupied Poland and later to Canada; it was taken there by Jerzy Ruebenbauer. The numerous names listed on the icon's verso and the side panels indicate that throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century the icon was regarded as a precious family heirloom. It became a part of the NMC collection in 2011, and since 2014 it has been displayed in Room VII of the BECP as a part of "The Orthodox Art of the Old Polish Republic" permanent exhibition. It constitutes another rare and excellent example of late-Byzantine panel painting in Polish collections.

*Translated by Julita Mastalerz*

## Abstract

In 2011 the National Museum in Cracow received a bequest that had been specified in the last will and testament of Zofia Ruebenbauer from Ottawa. The gift was described as a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russian icon. Comparative stylistic analysis complemented by restoration work and a material study revealed an exquisite paint layer, for which analogies may be found in the mid-14<sup>th</sup>-century Greek art of the Paleologian period. The icon was probably painted in the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in one of the centres in northern Greece including Kastoria, Veria, Mt. Athos, Thessalonike and Constantinople itself. The collection of the Byzantine Museum in Kastoria includes many icons of the holy physicians depicted in a similar pose. Iconographical details such as the surgical knives in the hands of the physicians and in the open tool case find close analogies in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century wall paintings in Peloponnese, e.g. in the Church of Saint Paraskevi (*Αγία Παρασκευή*, *Agia Paraskevi*) and Saint John Chrysostom (*Άγιος Ιωάννης Χρυσόστομος*, *Agios Ioannes Chrisostomos*) in Geraki, as well as in the Orthodox Church of the Holy Unmercenaries (*Άγιοι Ανάργυροι*, *Agioi Anargyroi*) in Nomitsi. The conclusions of the analysis regarding the icon's provenance find indirect corroboration in the recently discovered fact that in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the work of art was owned by Haryklia Mavrocordatos-Serini, Sas-Hoszowska (1836–1906), a member of the Lvov line of the Greek princely family of Mavrocordatos. The names of her children with the exact dates of their birth appear on the reverse side of the icon. The work of art was passed down to Jerzy Ruebenbauer, who carried it away from Lvov during the Second World War, taking it first to Warsaw, where he met his future wife Zofia, and after the war to Canada via Belgium.



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## The Icons of Military Saints in Rus'. An Attempt at Classifying Iconographic Types from before the Beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century

The present article attempts to classify a number of depictions, in relevant literature referred to as “images of military saints”, into types. It pertains exclusively to the art of Rus', mainly the regions of Veliky Novgorod and Muscovy. As far as Byzantine art is concerned, the issue has been discussed in numerous detailed monographs; yet publications on Russian art (from catalogues to prints of icons and purely devotional literature) are scattered and regard certain depictions as to some extent obvious, categorising them *a priori*, partially based on pure intuition and not detailed on analysis.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, works dating from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and after are yet to be

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1 The most important monographs on this iconography in Byzantine art are still Ch. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition*, Oxford 2003, M. White, *Military Saints in Byzantium and Rus, 900–1200*, Oxford 2013; in Polish: P. Ł. Grotowski, *Święci wojownicy w sztuce bizantyńskiej (843–1261)* [Holy warriors in Byzantine art (843–1261)], Cracow 2011; publications on Russian art which mention these images include: В. Н. Лазарев, *История византийской живописи*, Москва 1986; idem, *Русская иконопись от истоков до начала XVI века*, Москва 2000, idem, *Искусство Древней Руси. Мозаики и фрески*, Москва 2000, А. И. Кирпичников, *Св. Георгий и Егорий Храбрый: Исследование литературной истории христианской легенды*, Санкт Петербург 1879, М. В. Алпатов, “Образ Георгия-воина в искусстве Византии и древней Руси”, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, 12, 1956, В. И. Антонова, Н. Е. Мнева, *Каталог древнерусской живописи XI – начала XVIII в.в. Опыт историко-художественной классификации. В 2-х томах*, Москва 1963, Л. М. Евсеева, “Московские житийные иконы Георгия Великомученика и их литературные источники”, *Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы*, 38, 1985, В. П. Степаненко, “Образ святого Георгия-всадника в византийской и древнерусской сфрагистике домонгольского периода”, in: *Новгородская Русь: историческое пространство и культурное наследие*, Екатеринбург 2000, pp. 106–117, *Святой Георгий Победоносец – небесный покровитель Москвы. 10-летию восстановления исторического герба Москвы посвящается: Каталог выставки*, Москва 2003, Э. С. Смирнова, *Русские изображения чуда от образа св. Георгия в контексте тематики иконопочитания*, in: *Искусство христианского мира*, Москва 2003, pp. 108–118, О. В. Губарева, Н. М. Турцова, *Великомученик Георгий Победоносец*, Санкт Петербург 2013, В. В. Филатов, “Икона св. Димитрия Солунского – воина-всадника”, in: *Искусство христианского мира*, Москва 2003, pp. 295–300,



described in the context of historical and cultural transformations. This task is all the more worthwhile given that new items, including icons from northern Russia, continue to appear in museums and private collections. There is also a need for a more systematic and classifying approach which would lead to a synthesis. The present article is to serve as an introduction thereto.

The proposed classification considers primarily panel paintings (icons) and is based on existing artefacts. Its goal is to gather and organise the scattered source material and present previously unpublished works in the context of known artefacts. It is also intended to shed light on the principal directions of changes and constitutes a part of an in-depth analysis of the cult and iconography of the saints, which I intend to publish in a more detailed study. In addition, the present article aims to demonstrate the dynamics of changes in iconography and to list the impulses that induced them.

To classify images on the basis of iconographic types seems to be a natural tendency in Orthodox art, if we refer to the features which describe this art most aptly, i.e. its canonicity (adherence to the theology of icons) and hierarchic structure.<sup>2</sup> Both these features were adopted from Byzantine culture; it may be assumed that they were present, to the varying degree, in Russian culture until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> Canonicity manifested itself, above all, in the iconographic canon intended to ensure that icons stayed faithful to their prototype (i.e. the figure of the saint).<sup>4</sup> Through it, icons were to fulfil their basic role of making the depicted person present and allowing the believers praying before the image to come into direct contact with the saint. Adherence to a given canon also emphasised the timelessness of the depiction and its lack of spatial connections.<sup>5</sup>

The hierarchic structure as evident in art, clearly noticeable also in the iconographic canon, emphasised not only the obvious references to the structure of the imperial court, the army and specific social groups, but also the rank of saints, which constituted the source of their power, i.e. their effectiveness in passing the believers' pleas and supplications to God.<sup>6</sup> The hierarchical division of saints appeared as early

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Н. В. Герасименко, *Великомученик Димитрий Солунский*, Sankt Petersburg 2014, А. Г. Векслер, В. А. Беркович, "Находки нательных крестов с изображением святого Никиты-бесогона из раскопок на улице Б. Дмитровка в Москве", in: *Ставрографический сборник. Книга третья: Крест как личная святыня*, Москва 2005, pp. 223–230, D. Likhachov, *Novgorod Icons 12th–17th Century*, Leningrad 1980, Э. С. Смирнова, *Живопись Великого Новгорода. Середина XIII – начало XV века*, Москва 1976, И. А. Иванова, *Музей древнерусского искусства имени Андрея Рублева*, Москва 1968, *Искусство строгановских мастеров*, Ленинград 1987, В. Г. Брюсова, *Русская живопись 17 века*, Москва 1974, О. В. Куликова, *Древние лики Русского Севера. Из музейного собрания икон XIV – XIX веков города Череповца*, Москва 2009.

2 В. В. Бычков, *Византийская эстетика*, Москва 1977, p. 145.

3 Ibid., p. 153.

4 Cf. Г. К. Вагнер, *Канон и стиль в древнерусском искусстве*, Москва 1987, pp. 48–52.

5 Ibid.

6 A. Sulikowska, *Ciała, groby i ikony. Kult świętych w ruskiej tradycji literackiej i ikonograficznej* [Bodies, graves and icons. The cult of saints in the Russian literary and iconographic tradition], Warsaw 2013, pp. 56–57.

as in the first centuries of Christianity;<sup>7</sup> the development of forms of devotion and the addition of new holy persons did not influence the presence of cults regarded as ubiquitous (i.e. known in the entire Orthodox world). This being said, different periods and regions did, however, add their own layers of meaning, stemming from local conditions, pre-Christian beliefs, as well as political affairs. In extreme cases, these processes resulted in the contamination of certain figures: some features, or 'attributes', became interchangeable (depending on the place, a given saint could be a contamination of several persons, or one saint's attributes could be associated with a different person; such details were reflected in relevant icons).

Since the very beginning, all attempts at creating a hierarchy of saints granted a very high status to martyrs, the "group of the elect" who conquered death through their perseverance until the end. The cult of these persons usually developed around their earthly remains and contributed to the profound shift from the pagan world of Antiquity towards Christianity.<sup>8</sup> This group of saints was also divided into "sub-groups" in accordance with their function in life. Thus, there existed cults of lay martyrs, currently referred to as *великомученики* (English: Great-Martyrs), which included knights/military men, e.g. George, Theodore Tyro, Demetrius of Thessaloniki, Theodore Stratelates and Nicetas the Goth.<sup>9</sup> These saints have been venerated in Kievan Rus' and Novgorod Rus' since the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Their cult has undergone constant development, as indicated by both the number and the quality of extant artefacts dating from between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century, from monumental works such as wall paintings and icons to smaller ones, e.g. encolpia, talismans, amulets, small stone icons.

The "military" character of this group of martyrs was emphasised in Byzantium ca. the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century, a fact which may be regarded as resulting from the changes taking place within the society at the time.<sup>10</sup> Scholars state that the Church's acceptance of military campaigns may have been a factor in facilitating this shift; yet the main impulse is supposed to have come from imperial propaganda and from customs upheld within the army.<sup>11</sup> This indicates that Eastern Orthodox

7 This classification is derived from the practice of listing the names of the saints during liturgy. As the cult of the saints developed, specific groups were defined and named and "categories of sainthood" ("categories of saints") introduced, culminating in the emergence of catalogues and records of saints. Another justification for such hierarchic structure is found in the Epistles of St. Paul: Eph 2, 19-22 and 1 Cor 12, 28, cf. J. Charkiewicz, *Kult świętych w Kościele prawosławnym. Teologia, historia, formy, typologia* [The cult of saints in the Orthodox Church. Theology, history, forms, typology], Warsaw 2015, pp. 328–330.

8 Cf. P. Brown, *Kult świętych. Narodziny i rola w chrześcijaństwie łacińskim*, Cracow 2007, pp. 4–7 and pp. 59–72.

9 These included lay martyrs, hierarchs/priests, monks/nuns and sufferers, cf. Ibid., p. 355.

10 Grotowski, op. cit., pp. 109–112. Cf. also earlier depictions, such as the 7<sup>th</sup>-century Sinai icon depicting the Virgin and Child between saints Theodore and George, which are shown in opulent courtly robes holding crosses of martyrdom in their hands. The imagery makes no reference to the "military" role of these saints; Лазарев, *История византийской...*, pp. 51–52.

11 Grotowski, op. cit., p. 118.

art was sensitive to changes and could be influenced by factors originating outside the Church.

The development of the cult and the end of iconoclastic conflicts were conducive to the solidification of depiction types, which became “sanctioned” when an iconographic canon emerged, i.e. ultimately around the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup>

This canon included two variants of representation. The first one involved depicting the military saint on horseback, trampling a demon, dragon or devil and piercing it with his spear. The second type, functioning concurrently with the equestrian one, showed the saint as a foot soldier. He would be depicted *en face*, standing, clad in armour and a mantle, armed with a sword and a spear. The functions which military saints fulfilled in Byzantium included, above all, being “Christ’s warriors”, symbols of spiritual fight, protectors of the army (along with the Virgin Mary Mother of God and Archangel Michael), patrons of military aristocracy and the imperial family. The latter role was also apparent in iconography, namely in the details referring to courtly fashions and ceremonial robes worn by rulers in the periods to which the works are dated.<sup>13</sup> To some extent, all of these functions were brought to Rus’ with the arrival of Christianity.

The earliest known, and still extant, depictions of military saints from Russian lands come from Kiev and Novgorod. Dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century, they may be regarded as fully adherent to the Byzantine canon. The first of them is the mosaic from the monastery of St. Michael the Archangel in Kiev, depicting St. Demetrius (dated to ca. 1113)<sup>14</sup> and the icon of St. George from the monastery in Novgorod (1130), currently in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow.<sup>15</sup> The Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev houses images of saints Demetrius, George and Theodore dated to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The image of Saint Demetrius is situated in the main nave, on the south-western pillar beneath the dome. He is depicted as a warrior,<sup>16</sup> whereas Saint George is presented as a martyr with no military attributes.<sup>17</sup> The fact that the northern side altar of the church is devoted to Saint George is interpreted as a manifestation of the saint’s spiritual patronage over the building’s donor, Yaroslav the Wise (whose baptismal name was George).<sup>18</sup> Moreover, seven scenes from the

12 According to some scholars, the final establishment of the iconographic canon occurred in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. They see it as emerging on the basis of artistic practice and in a certain sense reflecting the religious and political situation. It could also have been more flexible than one could assume; more than a fixed set of rules, the canon could have allowed for some changes; cf. Бычков, *Византийская...*, pp. 150–151.

13 Grotowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 150–174.

14 Антонова, Мнева, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 49–51.

15 Inv. no. 28711, the icon of St. George from the St. George monastery in Novgorod, dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Likhachov, *Novgorod...*, p. 278.

16 *Собор Святої Софії в Києві*, Київ 2001, Fig. 194.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 121, Н. А. Демина, *Отражение поэтической образности в древнерусской живописи (на примере иконы «Георгий-воин» XI–XII веков)*, in: *Древнерусское искусство. Художественная культура домонгольской Руси*, vol. 6, Москва 1972, pp. 7–24.

18 А. Ф. Литвина, ф. Б. Успенский, *Выбор имени у русских князей в X–XVI вв.*, Москва 2006, table no 2.

saint's life used to depicted on the dome above and in front of the altar; only "The inquisition of St. George by Emperor Diocletian" has survived.<sup>19</sup>

The fact that the image of the prince's patron saint appeared in a liturgical space testifies to be his importance as the chosen holy intercessor, as does the prince's seal with a depiction of St. George found in Novgorod in 1994.<sup>20</sup> The silver coins minted by Yaroslav also bore the image of the saint.<sup>21</sup> To complete the picture, Russian chronicles mention that in 1030 the prince established a *gorod* named Yuryev (presently Tartu).<sup>22</sup> In fact, this refers to the conquest of a settlement at the borders of his principality and the erection of a fortified town in its vicinity; subsequently, the name of the entire settlement was changed in order to honour St. George, who also became the patron of the church built in the town.<sup>23</sup> This practice of renaming the settlement after a patron saint (as a votive offering in gratitude for victory) and erecting a church devoted to that saint was adopted from Byzantium.<sup>24</sup> It took root during the reign of successive rulers, such as Yuriy Dolgorukiy (Long-Handed), who is reported to have founded a *gorod* named after his patron St. George, i.e. Yuryev Polsky, in 1152 and paid for the construction of a church bearing his name.<sup>25</sup>

During Yaroslav the Wise's reign over Novgorod, the cult of St. George achieved a special status in northern Rus'. The practice continued in the following centuries, in time influencing other centres, for instance Moscow, which, in search of its own identity, began to adopt earlier cults in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>26</sup>

The monastery of St. George in Novgorod was established as early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century and was subsequently expanded.<sup>27</sup> It is most probably the place of origin of the two icons of St. George currently held in Moscow – the full-length depiction from the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery<sup>28</sup> and the half-length one now housed in the Cathedral of the Dormition at the Kremlin in Moscow.<sup>29</sup> The former is considered to be a patronal (temple) icon, whereas the latter, dating from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, is thought to have been commissioned by one of Prince Andrey Bogolubsky's sons, whose name was Yuriy (George). Although differing in terms of style, both

19 В. Н. Лазарев, *История византийской живописи*, Москва 1986, p. 78.

20 <http://www.museum.ru/C605> [accessed 15 December 2016].

21 Cf. М. П. Сотникова, *Древнейшие русские монеты X–XI веков*, Москва 1995, pp. 115–117.

22 *Полное Собрание Русских Летописей*, vol. 1, Ленинград 1926, p. 78.

23 В. К. Труммал, *Археологические раскопки в Тарту и поход князя Ярослава в 1030 г.*, in: *Советская Археология*, vol. 2, Москва 1971, pp. 265–267.

24 E.g. Dorostolon, renamed Theodoropolis by John Tzimiskes in 971, etc., cf.: Grotowski, op. cit., pp. 152–154.

25 *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. 21, Санкт Петербург 1908, p. 273.

26 A. Sulikowska-Gaska, *Spory o ikony na Rusi w XV i XVI wieku* [Debates on icons in Rus' in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century], Warsaw 2007, p. 154.

27 П. П. Сойкинъ, *Православныя русскія обители*, Санкт Петербург 1910, pp. 138–146.

28 Inv. no. 28711, cf. Алпатов, *Образ Георгия-воина в искусстве...*, pp. 292–310, В. Н. Лазарев, *Новый памятник станковой живописи XII в. и образ Георгия-воина в византийском и древнерусском искусстве*, in: *Русская средневековая живопись: Статьи и исследования*, Москва 1970, p. 55–102.

29 Inv. no. 966 соб/ж-135, cf. Лазарев, *Русская иконопись...*, p. 34, 164.

icons have been preserved almost in their original form; both represent a canonical iconographic model common in Byzantium and Rus’.

Other known depictions demonstrate that the same iconographic type was used in the region in the following centuries. St. George appears in the Novgorod icon of St. John Climacus dated to the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (The State Russian Museum in Petersburg).<sup>30</sup> The full-length depiction includes military attributes, as does his image in the icon of St. Nicholas from Lipno (currently in the Novgorod State Museum),<sup>31</sup> the icon with Christ Enthroned from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>32</sup> and the “Pokrov” icon from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

The inclusion of St. George (or St. George and St. Demetrius) in the above-mentioned icons was most probably related to the men who commissioned them. This may be inferred from the fact that later variants of the “Pokrov” icon follow an iconographic model that does not include figures with the attributes of these saints (or any other saints depicted in a representative manner).<sup>34</sup>

In the period when the above-mentioned depictions were created, Novgorod also experienced the development of the cult of St. George as the slayer of a dragon/serpent (Russian: *змея*) and the evolution of that motif in icon painting. Depictions of equestrian warriors were known since Antiquity, yet they never became a dominant type in Byzantine portrayals of military saints.<sup>35</sup> As regards the Novgorod region, between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century equestrian depictions seem to become over-represented, which may in a sense signal a departure from Byzantine traditions and should be considered a unique phenomenon.

Surviving Novgorod icons showing a mounted St. George slaying a reptile include “St. George and the Dragon, with the Saint’s Life” dated to the beginning or the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, held in the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg;<sup>36</sup> the icon of “St. George Slaying the Dragon” dated to mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, in the Tretyakov

30 Inv. no. 2774, cf. Likhachov, *Novgorod icons...*, p. 282.

31 Inv. no. 2147, originally from the Orthodox church of St. George in Lipno, *Ibid.*, p. 283.

32 St. George appears alongside other saints, yet the composition of the icon suggests his depiction should be regarded as a pair to St. Demetrius. Both saints are shown *en face* as infantrymen (wearing armour and carrying swords), with crosses of martyrdom in their hands (i.e. also as holy martyrs). Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 284.

33 The lower right-hand corner of the icon features a depiction of two military martyrs, presumably saints Demetrius and George. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

34 Cf. “Pokrov”, a Novgorod icon from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, inv. no. 12009, Антонова, Мнева, *op. cit.*, p. 109, ‘Pokrov’, a Pskov icon from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Hermitage, Petersburg, inv. no. ДРЖ 1557, А. С. Косцова, *Древнерусская живопись в собрании Эрмитажа. Иконопись, книжная миниатюра и орнаментика. XIII – начало XVII века*, Санкт Петербург 1992, pp. 322–324, “Pokrov”, a Novgorod icon from the 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century, the State Russian Museum in Petersburg, inv. no. ДРЖ 1557, «Пречистому образу Твоему поклоняемся...»: *Образ Богоматери в произведениях из собрания Русского музея*, Санкт Петербург 1995, pp. 132–113 ff.

35 Grotowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–137.

36 Inv. no. 2118; Смирнова, *Живопись Великого Новгорода...*, p. 188.

Gallery;<sup>37</sup> “St. George and the Dragon” dated to the late 14<sup>th</sup> or early 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the State Russian Museum in St. Petersburg (Fig. 1);<sup>38</sup> “Saint George and the Dragon” dated to the first quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in the Tretyakov Gallery;<sup>39</sup> two more icons in the same museum: “St. George Slaying the Dragon” dated to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>40</sup> and “St. George Slaying the Dragon” featuring a depiction of St. Nicholas (Fig. 2)<sup>41</sup> and “St. George Vanquishing the Dragon” dated to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, housed in the State Russian Museum in Petersburg.<sup>42</sup> The same iconographic model also appeared on liturgical vestments<sup>43</sup> and on small metal ornaments, e.g. pendants that could have been used as talismans<sup>44</sup> and fulfilled an apotropaic role, or on small-scale stone sculptures.<sup>45</sup> It could be found on icons originating from other regions of northern Rus', such as Vologda (an extant 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon),<sup>46</sup> Yaroslavl (a late 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon),<sup>47</sup> Rostov-Suzdal (two 16<sup>th</sup>-century icons, in the Tretyakov Gallery).<sup>48</sup> The only work that does not conform to this model is the early 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon of “Saint George with the Saint's Life”, now in the collection of the Andrei Rublev Museum in Moscow, where the saint is shown as a foot soldier.<sup>49</sup>

Three basic models can be singled out. The first of them involves St. George on horseback, slaying a dragon, with the Hand of God (*Manus Dei*) in the left or right upper corner. The saint and the horse may be presented in more or less sophisticated poses, from very simple depictions to highly complex ones with the bodies of both the horse and the rider bent and the entire composition dynamic. The saint

37 Inv. no. 12868; Антонова, Мнева, op. cit., p. 88.

38 Inv. no. 2123; Likhachov, *Novgorod...*, p. 305.

39 Inv. no. 12015; Антонова, Мнева, op. cit., p. 109.

40 Inv. no. 12036; Ibid., pp. 108–109.

41 Inv. no. 168, mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, Likhachov, *Novgorod...*, p. 315.

42 Inv. no. 2088, Ibid., p. 320.

43 E.g. the early-16<sup>th</sup>-century podea from Novgorod, now in the State Russian Museum in Petersburg, inv. no. ДРТ-41, cf. *Русские монастыри: искусство и традиции*, Sankt Petersburg 1997, p. 136.

44 E.g. items held in the Andrei Rublev Museum in Moscow: a plaque depicting the miracle of St. George, cf. С. В. Гнутова, Е. Я. Зотова, *Кресты, иконы, складни. Медное художественное литье XI – начала XX века. Из собрания Центрального музея древнерусской культуры и искусства имени Андрея Рублева*, Москва 2000, p. 63, the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *zmeevik* depicting two warriors on horseback, identified as St. George and Theodore (Stratelates or Tyro); the reverse of the pendant features a mask encircled by 12 serpents, inv. no. КП 4580, cf. Т. В. Николаева, А. В. Чернецов, *Древнерусские амулеты-змеевики*, Москва 1991, pp. 72–73, the copper plaque depicting the miracle of St. George, cf. Гнутова, Зотова, op. cit., p. 60, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century pendant from Rostov, cf. Т. В. Николаева *Древнерусская мелкая пластика XI–XVI веков*, Москва 1968, Fig. 43.

45 The State Historical Museum in Moscow, no inv. no. *Государственный исторический музей*, Москва 2006, p. 86.

46 Антонова, Мнева, op. cit., p. 479.

47 Ibid., pp. 191–192.

48 Inv. no. 7306, cf. Ibid., p. 183, inv. no. Др. 49, cf. Ibid, p. 231.

49 Inv. no. КП 3482, Евсеева, *Московские житийные иконы...*, pp. 86–100.



**Fig. 1.** *Saint George and the Dragon*, tempera on wood, 58 cm × 41.5 cm, 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, the State Russian Museum in Petersburg



**Fig. 2.** *Saint George Slaying the Dragon, with St. Nicholas*, tempera on wood, 89 cm × 67 cm, 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow

is shown holding a sword or piercing the dragon with a spear. In some cases, a narrative element – that of saving the princess<sup>50</sup> – is added to this depiction, as is the image of an angel placing the crown of victory on the knight's head. In time, the preference for more narrative depictions became more pronounced.

It is unclear why this iconographic variant gained such popularity. The three most popular hypotheses do not seem mutually exclusive. The first one, proposed by Boris Uspensky, connects the cult of saints with pre-Christian beliefs. According to this theory, St. George would replace and take over the functions of Perun, the principal deity of the Slavs; this would explain the popularity of his cult. Uspensky also points to George as the “princely saint” in folk beliefs, as juxtaposed with St. Nicholas, who was dubbed the “peasant god”.<sup>51</sup> If this analogy is to be accepted, one should also note St. George's image as a dragon/serpent slayer, which could also explain the popularity of such depictions in Rus' (as opposed to Byzantium). The second hypothesis refers to folk tradition related to agriculture and animal husbandry, according to which on the feast day of St. George (23 April), the saint

50 On the literary sources of the legend: Иванович, *Св. Георгий и Егорий Храбрый...*, p. 176.

51 B. A. Uspieński, *Kult św. Mikołaja na Rusi* [The cult of St. Nicholas in Rus'], Lublin 1985, pp. 63–67.

would ride out on a white steed to protect the cattle grazing on the pastures.<sup>52</sup> The last of the three theories stipulates that George was a saint who achieved a special status in Novgorod and was considered the patron of the region, offering support to its inhabitants in battle and in times of war.<sup>53</sup> The first two hypotheses are still questioned and do not fully explain the popularity of the specific iconographic type, especially since very often no direct analogy can be found. The issue of chronology is equally problematic, as the pre-Christian art to which 15<sup>th</sup>- or 16<sup>th</sup>-century works allegedly refer remains in the realm of hypothetical reconstruction, which in turn implies the need for a new comprehensive analysis of the question.

Another noteworthy iconographic type portrays St. George as an archer. It is a rare one; only two examples are known to have survived, namely the 15<sup>th</sup>-century icon with St. George<sup>54</sup> and "Saint George as an Archer"<sup>55</sup> attributed to the painter Danil Mozhaitsky, dated to the same century and originating from Moscow. Holy warriors were not presented in this manner in Byzantine art and a bow was even used as a devil's attribute;<sup>56</sup> yet from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards deviations from this iconographic standard began to appear.<sup>57</sup> The above-mentioned icons could have been modelled on Balkan ones. The work attributed to Danil Mozhaitsky bears the most pronounced resemblance to the early 15<sup>th</sup>-century icon from Belgrade, depicting St. Demetrius as an archer.<sup>58</sup> The similarity is, however, slight, and given the difference in artistic level, any conjectures regarding shared inspirations might be questioned due to the lack of extant analogous icons. What is more, these icons depict two different saints. The shift in iconography may have also been influenced by the forms of weaponry used in the period in question: bows were still a part of basic equipment<sup>59</sup> and decorative quivers were popular.<sup>60</sup>

The variant with the saint depicted as a foot soldier still appeared in later periods, outside of Novgorod. Extant examples include three Moscow icons (now in the Andrey Rublev Museum) showing St. George as an infantryman, with scenes from his life in the kleyma.<sup>61</sup> Two of them, both entitled "Saint George the Martyr, with

52 Лазарев, *Русская иконопись...*, pp. 56–57.

53 Ibid.

54 From the State Museum in Novgorod, inv. no. 10921, cf. М. В. Алпатов, *Древнерусская иконопись*, Москва 1978, p. 178.

55 Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. 15025, Danil Mozhaitsky, Ibid., p. 48, *Словарь Русских иконописцев XI – XVII веков*, [http://rusico.indrik.ru/artists/m/mojaysky\\_daniil/index.shtml?adm=ad568d aa22c43e551d5bf08466c9aef2](http://rusico.indrik.ru/artists/m/mojaysky_daniil/index.shtml?adm=ad568d aa22c43e551d5bf08466c9aef2) [accessed 15 December 2016].

56 Grotowski, op. cit., p. 421; he notes that in Byzantium the practice was mainly influenced by war experience and stories from the Bible.

57 Cf. e.g. frescoes by Manuel Panselinos in the Protaton church in Karyes on Mount Athos, dated to 1290–1310. Saints Demetrius and Mercurius are depicted with bows.

58 Алпатов, *Древнерусская...*, p. 12.

59 Cf. С. Герберштейн, *Записки о Московии*, Москва 1988, pp. 114, 721.

60 Ibid., pp. 722, 742.

61 Евсеева, *Московские житийные...*, pp. 86–100.



the Saint's Life"<sup>62</sup> are dated to the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>63</sup> the third was made at the beginning of the century.<sup>64</sup>

The context and a natural analogy for the above depictions of St. George is provided by the cults and images of other military saints in Rus'. More prominent figures include Demetrius of Thessaloniki. The cult of this saint was developing in Rus' from the very beginning of its Christian history. The earliest depiction of Demetrius comes from Kiev; it is the already-mentioned mosaic dated to ca. 1113, now housed in the Tretyakov Gallery.<sup>65</sup> Demetrius was the baptismal patron of Vsevolod the Big Nest, who brought his relics from Thessaloniki; he was also particularly venerated by all descendants of the prince.<sup>66</sup> Sources also mention him alongside saints George, Boris and Gleb as one of the great allies invoked before the battle at Kulikovo Field.<sup>67</sup>

Five general iconographic variants of his image may be distinguished in the art of Rus'. The first of them involves depicting Demetrius as an enthroned warrior positioned in the centre of the icon and surrounded by kleyma with hagiographic scenes. Extant examples include the icon from Vladimir, dated to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 4)<sup>68</sup> and the Novgorod icon of "Saint Demetrius, with the Saint's Life" from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>69</sup> The second type presents the saint as a military martyr. It is represented by the late 15<sup>th</sup>-century icon from Pskov (Fig. 3).<sup>70</sup> The third type, showing Demetrius as a martyr, encompasses a heterogeneous group; icons classified in this category have fulfilled different roles. Examples include the early 15<sup>th</sup>-century icon originating from Novgorod, now held in the Museum in Recklinghausen,<sup>71</sup> and the depiction from the Deesis row of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius, attributed to Andrei Rublev.<sup>72</sup>

Since the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki began to be depicted in the orant pose, facing Christ or the Virgin with Emmanuel

62 Inv. no. КП 828; Ibid.

63 Inv. no. КП 824.

64 Inv. no. КП 152; Ibid.

65 Currently in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, inv. no. 25532, cf. Антонова, Мнева, op. cit., pp. 49–50.

66 А. Ф. Литвина, Ф. Б. Успенский, *Выбор имени у русских князей в X–XVI вв.: Династическая история сквозь призму антропоники*, Москва 2006, pp. 183–184.

67 *Летописная Повесть о Куликовской битве*, quoted after <http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4981> [15 Dec. 2016].

68 Cf. *Государственная Третьяковская галерея. Каталог собрания. Древнерусское искусство X – начала XV века*, vol. 1, Москва 1995, pp. 66–67.

69 The Hermitage, without inv. no., Алпатов, *Древнерусская...*, p. 309. Also, one example of a sculpture in stone has survived: it is a small stone icon with St. Demetrius enthroned on the obverse side and St. Nicholas with seven sleeping youths, the State Historical Museum in Moscow, inv. no. 74467, after: *Государственный исторический музей: Альбом*, Москва 2006, p. 86.

70 The State Russian Museum in Petersburg, inv. no. 2096; Лазарев, *Русская иконопись...*, p. 78.

71 Inv. no. 176, И. Бенчев, *Иконы святых покровителей*, Москва 2007, p. 344.

72 Inv. no. 3048; Лазарев, *Русская иконопись...*, pp. 108–109.



**Fig. 3.** *Demetrius of Thessaloniki*, tempera on wood, 67 cm × 57 cm, second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the State Russian Museum in Petersburg



**Fig. 4.** *Demetrius of Thessaloniki Enthroned*, tempera on wood, 156 cm × 108 cm, 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow

(i.e. depicted in side view), sometimes alongside Tsarevich Dmitry (canonised in 1606; the cult of that saint was intensely promoted, especially in the Moscow circles and by the artisan workshops of the Stroganov family). Examples include the Stroganov school icon from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>73</sup>

The last iconographic type only appears from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards and illustrates “the Miracle of Saint Demetrius of Thessaloniki”. The saint is presented on a black or bay horse, spearing the Bulgarian tsar, Kaloyan, who is fleeing on a white steed. This is a reference to the legend about the siege of Thessaloniki in 1207.<sup>74</sup> At least three such representations have survived: two late 15<sup>th</sup>- or early 16<sup>th</sup>-century icons kept in the museum in Cherepovets (near Vologda)<sup>75</sup> and a Stroganov icon, most probably made in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, now in the collection of the State Russian Museum in Petersburg.<sup>76</sup> The composition loosely resembles that of St. George slaying the dragon and it can be assumed that it was based thereon. It is all the more probable given the fact that the motif has already been appearing in 15<sup>th</sup>- and 16<sup>th</sup>-century kleyma of the above-mentioned icons with scenes from the

73 В. И. Антонова, *Древнерусское искусство в собрании Павла Корина*, Москва 1966, pp. 98–100.

74 George Akropolites, *The History*, Oxford 2007, pp. 140.

75 Inv. no. № 658/1 oraz № 1003/1. Куликова, *Древние лики...*, p. 36 and p. 68.

76 Inv. no. 1037; *Искусство строгановских мастеров*, Ленинград 1987, p. 49.

life of the saint, where St. Demetrius is also presented as a rider on a white steed, similarly to St. George.<sup>77</sup>

The group of military saints also includes Theodore Stratelates and Theodore Tyro. In Russian art, the former is depicted exclusively as a foot soldier; the scene referring to his fight with a dragon appears occasionally in the kleyma of icons with scenes from his life. Among extant works showing this saint there is a Novgorod icon from the late 15<sup>th</sup> or early 16<sup>th</sup> century, now kept in the Tretyakov Gallery. Saints Theodore Tyro and Stratelates appear on it together, presented frontally, in military attire.<sup>78</sup> Another example is provided by a late 15<sup>th</sup>-century Novgorod icon (in the Novgorod Museum), with a full-length image of the saint.<sup>79</sup> The depiction is surrounded with border scenes presenting scenes from Theodore's life; the cycle begins with the slaying of the dragon, followed by Theodore's martyrdom, death and the transmission of his body. Another icon, originating from Yaroslavl (now in the Yaroslavl Museum) is dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>80</sup> Fifteen out of its sixteen border scenes refer to the life of the saint. The cycle starts with the depiction of his birth. The scene of slaying the dragon is absent, substituted with an image of Christ enthroned, placed in the middle kleymo in the upper row. The same model can be found on the Pskov icon of St. Thodore Stratelates with His Life, dated to the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>81</sup> The saint (depicted as a foot soldier) also appears on metalwork<sup>82</sup> and miniatures.<sup>83</sup>

Depictions of Theodore Tyro are different. The earliest surviving Russian image of that saint is the icon "The Annunciation with St. Theodore Tyro", kept in the Novgorod Museum.<sup>84</sup> Dated to the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it shows Theodore as a knight on foot. The addition of the saint is unanimously interpreted as requested by the patron who commissioned the icon.<sup>85</sup> A different iconographic type,

77 The Tretyakov Gallery has one more icon depicting St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki as an archer, inv. no. 22946. It used to be dated to the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, but currently it is believed to have been painted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. Т. М. Мосунова, *Иконы-врезки. Экспертиза и атрибуция произведений изобразительного искусства*, Москва 2007, pp. 38–39.

78 Inv. no. 22034, Антонова, Мнева, op. cit., pp. 163–164.

79 Inv. no. 11159, cf. Лазарев, *Русская иконопись...*, pp. 64, 244.

80 Inv. no. КП 53403/1026, cf. *Ярославский художественный музей. 101 икона из Ярославля*, Москва 2007, p. 35.

81 Saints Mary and Christopher Orthodox church in Kalbeinsteinberg, cf. В. М. Сорокатый, *Икона св. Феодора Стратилата XVI в. в церкви св. Марии и Христофора в Кальбеништайнберге (Бавария)*, in: *Древнерусское искусство. Художественная жизнь Пскова и искусство позднелизантийской эпохи. К 1100-летию Пскова*, vol. 28, Москва 2008, pp. 261–284.

82 E.g. the 13<sup>th</sup>-century *zmeevik*, on which the saint is depicted as a foot soldier; the Andrei Rublev Museum in Moscow, cf. Николаева, Чернецов, op. cit., pp. 74–75.

83 E.g. the 14<sup>th</sup>-century miniature from Yaroslavl, cf. С. И. Масленицын, *Ярославская иконопись*, Москва 1983, p. 17.

84 Inv. no. 2178, cf. Likhachov, *Novgorod...* p. 228, Э. А. Гордиенко, *Новгородское «Благовещение» с Феодором Тироном*, in: *Древнерусское искусство. Зарубежные связи*, Москва 1975, pp. 215–222.

85 The basic iconography of this work is very simple and is sometimes interpreted as a copy of an even earlier (i.e. 12<sup>th</sup>-century) painting. The supposed original would be the patronal icon commissioned by Prince Mstislav for the church of the Annunciation in Gorodishche

depicting the saint as a dragon-slayer, is represented by an icon of the Stroganov school painted in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Savin Nikifor Istomin, now in the collection of the State Russian Museum.<sup>86</sup> The type is based on apocryphal literary sources, in which the saint is portrayed mainly as a serpent-slayer (Russian: *Змееборец*).<sup>87</sup>

The last saint that must be mentioned here is Nikita, or, more accurately, Nicetas. The cult originated in Byzantium, where Nicetas the Goth was venerated as a saint. In Rus', the canonical original functioned alongside an apocryphal version of the saint's life. The earliest surviving example of the latter dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In this version, the life of the Byzantine military martyr merges with a legend about a slayer of a mythical beast.<sup>88</sup> The enriched story is reflected in iconography – in Rus', Nicetas was either depicted as the slayer of a beast (in this case portrayed not as a dragon, but as a winged spirit) or as a martyr (in the attire of a foot soldier). The latter type is represented by two extant works. The first of them is the Yaroslavl icon (now in the Yaroslavl Museum) from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, where Nicetas appears in full armour, with a shield and an unsheathed sword. The central image is surrounded by kleyma with scenes from his life.<sup>89</sup> The other work is a late 17<sup>th</sup>-century icon from Novgorod (now in the Hermitage), whose surviving kleyma depict scenes from the lives of three saints: Nicholas the Wonderworker, Alexander Svirsky and Nicetas the Martyr.<sup>90</sup>

The type with Nicetas as a devil-slayer (Russian: *бесоголн*) appeared as early as in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, mainly on small items, such as the *zmeevik* amuletic medallions<sup>91</sup> and small double-sided icons.<sup>92</sup> Their reverse sides feature serpents or sometimes St. Nicholas or St. George, which emphasises the apotropaic role of these objects and demonstrates the significance of this function of St. Nicetas. Extant works include e.g. "St. Nicetas the Exorcist", now in the Tretyakov Gallery (Fig. 5) and the 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon from Tver (now in the State Russian Museum in Petersburg).<sup>93</sup> The latter work consists of three parts (from the bottom): St. Nicetas killing a beast,

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in 1103 (commemorating the birth and christening of his son Vsevolod, whose baptismal patron was St. Gabriel; Mstislav's own patron was Theodore Tyro). Гордиенко, *Новгородское «Благовещение»...*, p. 220.

86 Inv. no. ДРЖ2146; *Искусство строгановских...*, p. 50.

87 *Апокрифы Древней Руси*, Санкт-Петербург, 2008, p. 310.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 311.

89 Inv.no. 40964, *op. cit.*, p. 27-28.

90 Inv. no. ЭРИ-442; А. С. Косцова, А. Г. Побединская, *Русские иконы XVI – начала XX века с надписями, подписями и датами: Каталог выставки*, Ленинград 1990, pp. 14–15, 79–80.

91 *Zmeevik* from the Andrei Rublev Museum in Moscow, inv. no. КП 4476/165 Novgorod, 15<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Гнутова, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

92 The 17<sup>th</sup>-century icon from Novgorod, now in the Andrei Rublev Museum in Moscow, inv. no. КП 4872, obverse side: St. Nicholas; reverse side: St. Nicetas vanquishing a devil, cf. Гнутова, Зотова, *op. cit.*, p. 55, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century pendant from Rostov depicting saints Nicetas and George: Николаева, *op. cit.*, Fig. 43.

93 Cf. Е. Ф. Каменская, *Шедевры древнерусской живописи. Альбом*, Москва 1971, no. 20.



**Fig. 5.** *Nicetas the Exorcist*, tempera on wood, 34 cm × 27 cm, first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow

St. George slaying a dragon and a depiction of Deesis. The icon was placed on the side door of the iconostas.<sup>94</sup>

The icons of the Stroganov school made in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century may be considered a separate group. The majority is now in the collection of the Tretyakov Gallery and the State Russian Museum in Petersburg; very many of them feature a depiction of St. Nicetas.<sup>95</sup> The saint is depicted as a military martyr in the orant pose, turning towards Christ who appears in a cloud in one of the upper corners of the icon. The choice of this type indicates that the donor's individual prayer offered through the intercession of the patron saint was so important that it influenced the form of the work. The saint appears in a similar role in the following works: "Acheiropoieton, Do Not Weep for Me Mother, selected saints: Gregory of Naziansus, Nicetas the Martyr, martyrs Mavra and Eupraxia" painted by Stefan Arefiev;<sup>96</sup> the

94 The icon was displayed at the 2006 exhibition in the State Russian Museum in Petersburg entitled "Святой Николай Мирликийский", cf. [http://work18.peterlink.ru/exhibitions/ex\\_463/#foto](http://work18.peterlink.ru/exhibitions/ex_463/#foto) [accessed 15 December 2016].

95 Prokopy Chirin: *Nicetas the Warrior*, 1593, the Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. DR1190, 29 × 22cm; *Nicetas the Warrior*, late 16<sup>th</sup>–early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the museum in Solvychegodsk, inv. no. 6930, 35 × 28 cm; *Nicetas the Warrior*, late 16<sup>th</sup>–early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. 12109, 38 × 30 cm; Alexis: *Nicetas the Martyr with Scenes from his Life in 16 kleyma* (no longer extant); Grigoriy: *Nicetas the Warrior*, 1602, the museum in Perm, inv. no. I54.

96 Stefan Arefiev: *Acheiropoieton, Do Not Weep for Me Mother, selected saints: Gregory of Nazianzus, Nicetas the Martyr, martyrs Mavra and Eupraxia*, early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the State Russian

late 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon of "The Virgin as Inviolable Mountain",<sup>97</sup> featuring a depiction of St. Nicetas and St. Eupraxia; the late 16<sup>th</sup>-century icon of "Saint Nicetas with Scenes from his Life", the icon from the Church of the Annunciation in Solvyche-godsk commissioned by Nikita Grigorevich Stroganov,<sup>98</sup> the icon of the Pechersk Virgin with saints Nicetas and Anastasia, early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>99</sup> Nicetas was the baptismal patron of Nikita Grigorevich Stroganov, while Eupraxia was the patroness of Evpraksiya Fedorovna, his wife.<sup>100</sup> There is reason to argue that the choice of the subject matter was an expression of individual religiosity and deliberate selection. Changes in the iconographic type of the saint indicate that his role as an intercessor (and not only as a patron saint) was of paramount importance.

The cult of military martyr saints was developing in Rus' from the beginning of its Christianisation. For the first few centuries the local population adopted Byzantine models which may be described as canonical both in terms of iconography and religious practice in general. New iconographic forms appeared between the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These were often quite local in scope; such was the nature of the cult of St. George in the north, especially in Novgorod, where the variant with the saint presented as a horse-rider slaying the dragon, known since the 14<sup>th</sup> century, was gradually expanded to include successive layers of narration. Icons painted in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the trend culminated, were very elaborate and strayed far from their initial form, and indirectly also from their function. Changes in iconography can also be linked to the transformations that took place in Rus' between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The first of those involved the emergence of a new state – the Grand Duchy of Moscow, which incorporated old cults, particularly those characteristic for the families of dukes and boyars, such as the veneration of St. George or St. Demetrius. Other changes included territorial expansion to pagan lands. Conquered with sword, these regions also became the field of a spiritual fight; Orthodox churches were built, monasteries founded and populations incorporated into the Holy Rus'.

Characteristic features of popular religiosity in Rus' included the clearly apotropaic character of the cult of military saints. It is apparent from the sheer number of works showing saints vanquishing dragons, devils, serpents or heathens (symbolising Satan) as opposed to images with the saints in their representative form. The "courtly" aspect of the cult added a layer of exclusivity related to the saint's

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Museum in Petersburg, inv. no. 1016; Istoma Savin: *Selected saints: St. Nicetas the Warrior, Gregory of Naziansus, martyrs Mavra and Eupraxia*, late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Tretyakov Gallery, inv. no. 14220; Posnik: *Our lady of Vladimir with saints in polya*, before 1589; the saints depicted include Gregory the Great and Nicetas the Warrior (standing) and Mavra and Eupraxia (kneeling), Pavel Korin's, Moscow.

97 *The Virgin as Inviolable Mountain*, late 16<sup>th</sup> century, currently in the museum in Solvychegodsk, inv. no. CM547Ж.

98 *Иконы строгановских вотчин XVI–XVII веков: По материалам реставрационных работ ВХНРЦ имени академика И. Э. Грабар. Каталог-альбом*, Москва 2003, pp. 40–41.

99 Cf. Антонова, op. cit., p. 97.

100 *Русский биографический словарь*, vol. 25, Санкт-Петербург 1913, pp. 507–512.

guardianship over a given person or family. This was the third significant phenomenon developing in Rus' from the 1550s onward with regard to forms of individual piety, manifested e.g. by the above-mentioned Stroganov-school icons with St. Nicetas. The patron saint is always presented in the orant pose, facing the figure of Christ or the Virgin with Child depicted in one of the icon's corners. The saint has an inseparable connection to the donor who places him or herself closer to Christ indirectly, through the image of the patron saint.

It may therefore be argued that Russian iconography of military saints underwent many changes throughout the centuries, reflecting changes in the forms of local religiosity. Its diversity and transformations show a certain feature characteristic of Russian art: the fact that iconographic types are mixed and complex (in terms of the saint's function and the manner of depiction) makes Russian works ambiguous and difficult to study. The popularity of certain dominant iconographic types has not yet been thoroughly explained and merits a new analysis. References to folk religiosity and the presence of pagan beliefs – which are often used to explain the apotropaic features and deviations from canon – are a separate issue for further study. The final question that leaves room for scholarly debate is the development of narrative elements in icons, related to formal changes that led to the development of entirely autonomous forms of religious art.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

## Abstract

Depictions of military martyrs were among the most popular subjects in icon painting in Rus'. Between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> century local workshops adopted canonical Byzantine models and gradually developed and changed them depending on local factors and conditions. The present article attempts to classify the most common iconographic types and to describe the dynamic of the changes in the iconographic canon on the basis of a qualitative and quantitative analysis of extant and known works.

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## Old Believers and the World of Evil: Images of Evil Forces in Old Believer Art

I stood vigilant: and lo, two men in white robes lead to me a naked man – whole body malodorous and greatly disgusting, breathes fire, a noisome flame comes out of the mouth, nostrils and ears. Behind him walks our Tsar and the rulers, and a crowd of people.

Avvakum, *Eighth Homily*<sup>1</sup>

Old Ritualism – a religious movement that arose within the Moscow Patriarchate in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century – began with a schism which resulted from reforms initiated by Patriarch Nikon.<sup>2</sup> A huge majority of the faithful felt that Nikon's actions were blasphemous and an insult to tradition.<sup>3</sup> Those who rejected the new customs, seeking to preserve the old rite, were persecuted by both the Orthodox Church and the state.<sup>4</sup> The Old Believers were, and still are, extremely conservative in both doctrine and morality, including their beliefs on the proper forms of art and aesthetic tastes. Their collective convictions continue to stem from the Old Russian traditions that they have preserved mostly intact and unchanged and which they perceive as fundamental to their group's survival. Although Old Ritualism is not a unified movement and has split several times in its history, its constitutive parts are united by great esteem for the Old Russian tradition and by a negative attitude towards official state and Church institutions, which Old Believers consider to be in Antichrist's thrall.<sup>5</sup> Persecuted and rejected, followers of the "old Orthodoxy" began

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- 1 All passages from Avvakum translated from Polish per *Żywot protopopu Awwakuma przez niego samego nakreślony i wybór innych pism* [The life of Protopope Avvakum written by himself and a selection of other writings], translated and provided with a foreword and commentary by W. Jakubowski, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk 1972, p. 265.
  - 2 С. Зеньковский, *Русское старообрядчество. Духовные движения семнадцатого века*, Москва 1995, pp. 185–257.
  - 3 E. Przybył, *W cieniu Antychrysta. Idee staroobrzędowców w XVII w.* [In the shadow of the Antichrist. Old Believer ideas in the 17<sup>th</sup> century], Cracow 1999, p. 84.
  - 4 See Зеньковский, op. cit., pp. 258–339.
  - 5 O. Tarasov, *Icon and Devotion. Sacred Spaces in Imperial Russia*, translated and edited by R. Milner-Gulland, London 2002, p. 144; *Старообрядчество. Лица, события, предметы и символы. Опыт*



to see everything that was novel and reformist as a sign of evil and a manifestation of Antichrist in the world, thus adopting a negative attitude not only towards matters essential to the Old Russian tradition but also towards trivial (or seemingly trivial) issues of morality, such as the use of samovars, which many northern followers saw as a part of Antichrist's domain.<sup>6</sup>

Considering how important all matters tied to eschatology, Antichrist and the relationship between good and evil were to the Old Believer culture, I have sought to examine here the links between Old Believer literature, philosophy and art. I shall thus attempt to determine whether the artistic traditions of the followers of the "old Orthodoxy" may be interpreted simply as a part of the common East Christian legacy or whether they are a clear manifestation of a unique attitude towards the world. I shall also review the significance of evil in Old Believer art, which – as I will demonstrate – has been one of the most crucial themes of Old Believer literature.

One of the most important sources for all Old Believer communities was the Revelation to John.<sup>7</sup> The text was commonly known and featured widely in Old Believer writing collections. Many communities, such as the Vyg Community in north-western Russia, owned numerous copies of the Apocalypse.<sup>8</sup> The version of the text that was most frequently available in the vicinity of the Urals and Siberia in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries contained, apart from the main text, a commentary by Andreas of Caesarea. Many Old Believer groups relied on various annotated versions of John the Theologian's work; the most popular was the so-called *Апокалипсис трехтолковый*, which included three separate commentaries.<sup>9</sup> This was the text to which the greatest thinkers of Old Ritualism referred in their writings. Judging by how widespread it was, the Apocalypse was frequently and commonly read by the Old Believers. It may also be assumed that its text was read in the light of the current events and as a prediction.

Aside from the Revelation to John, the Old Believers valued many other patristic eschatological works, such as *The Apostle*, *The Chrysostom* or *Admonitions* by

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энциклопедического словаря, Москва 1996, pp. 29–30; see also R. O. Crummey, *Old Believers and the World of Antichrist: Vyg Community and the Russian State, 1694–1855*, Madison 1970, passim.

6 В. В. Власова, "Эсхатологические представления коми староверов", *Арт*, 2004, no. 4, p. 136.

7 Ф. И. Буслаев, *Свод изображений из лицевых Апокалипсисов по Русским рукописям с XVI-го века по XIX-ый*, Москва, 1884, p. 197; Z. Jaroszewicz-Pierśławcew, "Tekstowe i plastyczne wizje czasu Apokalipsy w piśmiennictwie starowierców" [Textual and visual images of the time of Apocalypse in Old Believer writings], in: *Czas Apokalipsy. Wizje dni ostatecznych w kulturze europejskiej od starożytności do wieku XVII* [The time of the Apocalypse. Visions of the judgment days in European culture from antiquity to the 17<sup>th</sup> century], ed. K. Zalewska-Lorkiewicz, Warsaw 2013, p. 120.

8 Е. М. Юхименко, *Выговская старообрядческая пустынь: духовная жизнь и литература*, vol. 2, Москва 2002, pp. 364–412; cf. В. В. Керов, "Эсхатология старообрядчества конца XVII – первой половины XVIII в. и новая хозяйственная этика старой веры", in: *Старообрядчество в России (XVII–XX вв.)*, вып. 3, отв. ред. и сост. Е. М. Юхименко, Москва 2004, p. 414.

9 Ibid., p. 416.

Ephraim the Syrian.<sup>10</sup> Also popular were later texts, particularly those published in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as the *Book of Cyril* (1644) or *Book on Faith* (1648),<sup>11</sup> and even in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, such as the *Book on Antichrist* (1707).<sup>12</sup> Some groups of the Old Believers perceived several of the above texts, e.g. the *Book on Faith*, as equal to the *Annotated Apocalypse*.<sup>13</sup> The last chapter of the *Pomorian Answers* (1723) attests to the importance attached by the Old Believers to the subject of the Antichrist's rule over the world – and to the heated debates it stirred.<sup>14</sup>

Numerous texts authored within this group expressed the belief that the world the faithful found themselves in had become hostile and alien. In this world, good was replaced by evil, the true (i.e. Orthodox) faith was overturned by blasphemy and mockery of holy rites, and the Antichrist was felt to preside over all of this.<sup>15</sup> The first Old Believers proclaimed that Patriarch Nikon, who had introduced the Orthodox Church reforms, was the Antichrist incarnate. Many followers, however, considered the patriarch only a harbinger; much as in several other matters, the “old Orthodox” differed on the issue of who the Antichrist was, or was to be, as well as whether he already reigned on earth or was he only about to take power – and if so, when. Some thought that this period in time was still to come and waited for the Antichrist's future dominion; others believed he would not assume a physical form at all and was, instead, a spiritual construct; thus, being incorporeal, he was able to rule over the entire world.<sup>16</sup>

Many Old Believers proclaimed the year 1666 as the definite beginning of the Antichrist's reign.<sup>17</sup> The *Zhalobnitsa* (“Book of Grief”, 1691, Solovetsky Monastery) states that it was then that “in the tsar's city of the Great Russian state there was a deviation from the piety of the fathers of the Orthodox faith”, and “consumed with anger, vile Patriarch Nikon turned into a wolfish creature and raging against the flock of Christ's sheep scattered it around the mountains and earthly

10 Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, op. cit., p. 120.

11 Н. С. Гурьянова, „Книга о вере” в системе авторитетов старообрядчества, in: *Старообрядчество в России*, Москва 2003, pp. 205–223; Jaroszewicz-Pieresławcew, op. cit., p. 120; cf. Р. С. Гранин, “Эсхатологические представления в Русской религиозно-философской традиции: от апокалиптики к утопизму (часть 1)”, *Пространство и время*, 2016, nos. 3–4, p. 153.

12 Н. С. Гурьянова, “К вопросу о складывании системы авторитетов старообрядчества”, in: *Проблемы истории, русской книжности, культуры и общественного сознания. Сборник научных трудов*, ред. Е. К. Ромодановская, Новосибирск 2000, pp. 16–17.

13 Cf. Гурьянова, „Книга о вере”, pp. 208–209.

14 *Поморские ответы*, Москва (Типография П. П. Рябушинского), 1911, Answer 106.

15 U. Cierniak, “Apokalipsa rosyjskich staroobrzędowców” [The Russian Old Believer Apocalypse], in: *Apokalipsa. Symbolika – tradycja – egzegeza*, I, eds. K. Korotkich, J. Ławski, Białystok 2006, pp. 71–98.

16 Н. Д. Зольникова, “Стихотворение о всеядцах” (Памятник старообрядческой полемики), in: *Проблемы истории, русской книжности, культуры и общественного сознания*, Новосибирск 2000, pp. 42–51.

17 See Cierniak, op. cit., pp. 83–84; Гранин, op. cit., p. 153; Przybył, op. cit., pp. 85–86.

chasms".<sup>18</sup> Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich was another putative incarnation of the Antichrist, although it has to be emphasised that many first-generation Old Believers, including Protopope Avvakum, the most important leader of his time, for many years remained convinced that the tsar knew nothing of the injustices and oppression the Old Believers had to suffer, as he himself had been tricked by the wicked Nikon. Later, however, the myth of the benevolent tsar faded away. Peter I, who was exceptionally unpopular among the believers, was quite unequivocally identified as the Antichrist.<sup>19</sup> One of the Old Believer spiritual poems encapsulates the common perception regarding that monarch: "For Antichrist won in the world now, he wants to destroy the holy faith everywhere, he wants to build a false Church. He orders all to shave their beards, forces all to make the sign of the cross with the pinch – he wants to uproot the true faith, my faith".<sup>20</sup>

Similar descriptions were bestowed upon foreign rulers who left their mark on Russian history, such as Napoleon, or modern Russian leaders, such as Lenin or Stalin, and, more recently, Mikhail Gorbachev.<sup>21</sup> It may therefore be assumed that a leader whose rule brought change to the existing order or some kind of reform was usually viewed as the Antichrist. Another of the Antichrist's "faces" was that of the ruler who brought death and suffering to the believers. Many Old Believers assumed that their archenemy was not a single person but a disjointed entity of many forms that acted through many rulers (and non-rulers) and reigned across the entire world.<sup>22</sup> The words of Avvakum were valid to the Old Believers regardless of the period they lived in: "Satan pleaded with God for bright Russia so that he might redden it with the blood of the martyrs. Good thinking, devil; and for us it is pleasant to suffer for our beloved Christ".<sup>23</sup> The protopope called earthly life "accursed" and "dark", and his writings describe earth as a place where his homeless

18 „Жалобница” поморских старцев против самосжжений (1691), in: *Памятники старообрядческой письменности*, Санкт-Петербург 2000, pp. 152–153.

19 B. Uspienski, *Raskol i konflikti kulturowy XVII w.* [The raskol and the 17<sup>th</sup>-century cultural conflict], in: B. Uspienski, *Religia i semiotyka* [Religion and semiotics], translated by B. Żyłko, Gdańsk 2001, pp. 80–81; cf. N. V. Riasanovsky, *The Image of Peter the Great in Russian History and Thought*, New York–Oxford 1992, pp. 78–80.

20 *Pieśń o niebieskiej księdze. Antologia rosyjskiej ludowej poezji religijnej* [The song of heavenly book. Anthology of religious folk poetry of Russia], selected and translated by R. Łużny, Warsaw 1990, p. 266.

21 Е. А. Агеева, „Век минувший и век нынешний в эпистолиях старообрядческих писателей Я. Е. Ларина и А. К. Килина”, in: *Skupiska staroobrzędowców w Europie, Azji i Ameryce: ich miejsce i tradycje we współczesnym świecie* [Old Believer centres in Europe, Asia and America; their place and traditions in the contemporary world], eds. I. Grek-Pabisowa, I. Maryniakowa, R. Morris, Warsaw 1994, p. 79; *Старообрядчество. Лица, предметы, события и символы...*, pp. 29–30; Jaroszewicz-Pieriesławcew, op. cit., p. 122; cf. Власова, op. cit., 138.

22 Cf. Cierniak, op. cit., pp. 96–97; Гурьянова, „Книга о вере”..., pp. 211–212.

23 *Żywot protopopra Awwakuma...*, p. 193.

and excommunicated remains will be laid to rest.<sup>24</sup> He preached that the purpose of the faithful is death and only in it may they find solace.<sup>25</sup>

Many Old Believer communities were convinced that they were living in the last times, just before all history would come to a close.<sup>26</sup> For that reason, some of them chose to flee from the world, or even commit suicide, to end their tormented earthly existence. In the *Tale of Those Who Suffered Torture in Russia for Old Church Pious Traditions*, Avvakum wrote: "There are those devoted defenders of the tradition, who, understanding the evil of the schism, gather with their wives and children in their cabins and, so as not to perish pitifully in their spirits, burn themselves voluntarily in a fire. A fortunate choice in the Lord!"<sup>27</sup> Self-immolations took place all across Russia – in Siberia, Pomoria and in the Novgorod, Pskov and Olonets regions. Hundreds and even thousands of believers set themselves on fire.<sup>28</sup> According to the *Zhalobniisa* of the Pomeranian elders, which features passages against self-immolation, the reason behind many of the Old Believer mass suicides was that "the present time belongs to Antichrist" and that it was "better to kill oneself than to be tortured to death by oppressors".<sup>29</sup> The faithful often burnt themselves in prayer houses where icons were kept, and images destroyed in this manner were considered "ascended", i.e. taken to heaven.<sup>30</sup>

For the Old Believers, earth was a place of the greatest sorrow and alienation. To them, the entire point of imitating Christ was to negate the corporeal dimension of existence, to deprive it of "earthly nourishment", a place or any support. "The world loves its own and persecutes those of Christ. And devil is the ruler of the world", preached Avvakum.<sup>31</sup> The question is whether those sombre thoughts and the expectation of the end of times, which were so typical of Old Believer attitudes, were reflected in their art. To answer this question we must first specify what Old Believer art is. I attempted to define this phenomenon in my article *Two Marian icons from the National Museum in Warsaw collection (Dwie ikony maryjne z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie)*, which was published in *Ikonotheka* over ten years ago. I wrote that the mid-17<sup>th</sup>-century debates over rites and ceremony had a large impact on icon painting both then and later. Works associated with the Old Believers are considered intentionally archaic, consciously drawing on traditional Russian

24 Ibid., p. 305.

25 Ibid., p. 260.

26 Власова, op. cit., pp. 136, 138.

27 *Żywot protopopa Awwakuma...*, p. 259.

28 А. Т. Пашков, "Неизвестная „гарь“ 1685 года в верховьях Кокшеньги (К изучению истории старообрядческих самосожжений конца XVII века)", in: *Проблемы истории...*, op. cit., pp. 104–109; cf. Гурьянова, *К вопросу о складывании системы авторитетов...*, pp. 16–19.

29 „Жалобница” поморских старцев..., p. 156.

30 B. A. Uspienski, *Kult św. Mikołaja na Rusi* [The cult of St. Nicholas in Russia], translated by E. Janus, M. R. Mayenowa, Z. Kozłowska, Lublin 1985, p. 267.

31 *Żywot protopopa Awwakuma...*, pp. 262–263.

painting and consistently applying the historical iconographic canon.<sup>32</sup> An analysis of icons from Old Believer workshops reveals, however, that “Old Believer icons changed greatly over the course of more than three centuries. They were created in various environments of different economic status and were meant to satisfy a demand of the faithful and therefore fit their tastes. For this reason, there are significant (...) artistic differences between the various centres, such as Vietka, Starodub, the Vladimir governorate, Ural or northern Russia”.<sup>33</sup> However, differences between the workshops did not destroy the communality of all works originating within the Old Believer groups, which were based mostly on their intellectual meaning, expressed by a constant set of iconographic subjects or the meaning of iconographic programmes represented by Old Believer artworks.

In terms of iconography, many pieces created in this environment fit the general Orthodox tradition. The 19<sup>th</sup>-century icon of *John the Baptist, Angel of the Desert*, now at the National Museum in Warsaw (Fig. 1), shows the saint from the waist up, turned three quarters to the left.<sup>34</sup> He has wings on his shoulders and holds a *poteiron* with Christ represented as a Child (Amnos); John is pointing to him with a finger of his right hand. Jesus is naked, with his legs drawn up and hands raised in a blessing. The saint holds an ornate scroll which reads: *Азъ видѣх и свидѣтельстввах сей агнецъ бжйй вземляй грѣхи всего міръ. Покаитесьа приближ...* “I have seen and I witness that lo, the Lamb of God has taken the sins of the entire world. Repent, for near [is the Kingdom]”. John the Baptist, described as the predecessor of the Saviour, but also as a prophet, a witness to the Epiphany and a champion of the human race, was one of the East’s most popular saints. He constantly appears in Old Believer icons as a part of the pantheon of saints.<sup>35</sup> The post-Byzantine variant of his depiction, which is very common in Russia, may be associated with liturgical texts calling him “an angel on earth” and “a man of heaven”. The image described here has a Eucharistic meaning as well – by pointing to Christ, John reveals the mystery of the divine sacrifice. However, the words he addresses to the faithful by means of the scroll, namely “Repent, for near is the Kingdom”, announce the Last Judgement and direct the faithful towards a spiritual way of life and mental asceticism. In this

32 A. Sulikowska-Gąska, “Dwie ikony maryjne z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie. Na temat pojęcia ikony staroobrzędowej” [Two Marian icons from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. On the concept of an Old Rite Icon], *Ikonotheke*, 2005, no. 18, p. 7.

33 Ibid., p. 20.

34 A. Sulikowska, “Ikony Jana Chrzcziciela w kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie – ciało anioła, męczeńska śmierć, święte zwłoki” [Icons of St. John the Baptist in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw: the angel’s body, a martyr’s death, holy remains], *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, 2013, no. 2 (38), p. 186, Fig. 1.

35 Антонова, op. cit., Figs. 124–125, 136; Ю. Е. Горбунов, В. Г. Херсонский, *Липованская икона XVIII–XIX в.в.*, Одесса 2000, pp. 68–69, Fig. 26; Г. Г. Нечаева, *Ветковская икона*, Минск 2002, pp. 34–39; Т. Н. Нечаева, М. А. Чернов, “„Гуслицкие письма”: иконы и иконописцы”, *Антиквариат. Предметы искусства и коллекционирования*, июль-август 2012, Fig. 3; cf. *Невьянская икона*, Екатеринбург 1997, Fig. 88; *Уральская икона. Живописная, резная и литая икона XVIII – начала XX в.*, Екатеринбург 1998, cat. no. 21.

sense, the icon in question expresses the Old Believer ideology; it is also one of the works directly referencing the historical 17<sup>th</sup>-century icon painting style (which is, in fact, typical of many Old Believer works), in this case from the Volga region.<sup>36</sup>



**Fig. 1.** *Saint John the Baptist, Angel of the Desert*, Russia, Palekh, first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 81 MNW

Another extremely popular motif in Old Believer iconography was the Archangel Michael as the Archistrategos of the Heavenly Hosts.<sup>37</sup> In an 18<sup>th</sup>-century icon from the National Museum in Warsaw (Fig. 2),<sup>38</sup> which was most likely created in northern Russia, the Archangel is shown in the centre, as a red-faced young man wearing armour and riding a fiery-winged horse. With his spear he is impaling a devil lying under the horse's hooves in a lake that almost covers the submerged towers of Babylon. Michael is holding a closed book in his left hand and in his right hand a trumpet he is blowing. A rainbow is seen between his raised arms. In his right hand he is also holding a long spear with which he is striking the devil in the lake. The fiend is a winged, animal-like creature with a fairly long pointy beard. Above the

36 В. Г. Брюсова, *Русская живопись XVII века*, Москва 1984, Tabs. 54, 68, Fig. 141; Tarasov, op. cit., pp. 322–325, Figs. 172–174.

37 See Нечаева, op. cit., pp. 155–161.

38 *Apocalisse. L'ultima rivelazione*, eds. A. Geretti, S. Castri, Ginevra Milano 2007, cat. 65; A. Sulikowska-Gąska, „Mijają lata naszego świata”. Rzeczy ostateczne w sztuce staroobrzędowców” [‘The years of our world are passing’. The ultimate things in Old Believer art], in: *Apokalipsa...*, p. 482.



**Fig. 2.** *Archangel Michael, Archistrategos of the Heavenly Hosts*, northern Russia, Old Believer workshop, 18<sup>th</sup> century, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 62 MNW

Archangel, within the *kovcheg*, is a handwritten inscription: *лукъ облачный послѣждь всей твари еже есть зав...* ("Clothed with a cloud: and a rainbow was upon his head", Revelation 10,1, KJV), and another below the devil: *морю Возшумевшу Врагу Бску. дѣша орудіе В'конецъ игоады Разрушилъ Еси и пмать его погибѣ сшумомъ* ("Into a raging sea [he cast] the enemy, having deprived him of arms. In the end he brought down the cities too, and memory of him fell with great noise"<sup>39</sup>). To the right, the Christ Child is shown sitting behind an altar upon which lies a closed book. The right-hand side *polye* reads: *престоль твои бже в' вѣке вѣка жезль правленію жезль црствіа твоего* ("Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom"; Hebrews 1,8). The upper *polye* features an inscription written in an ornamental script: *СТЫИ АРХИСТРАТИГЪ МИХАИЛЪ ГРОЗНИ СИЛ ВОЕВОДА* ("St. Michael Archistrategos, Terrible Voivode of the Forces").

<sup>39</sup> An interpretation of a passage from Psalm 9. Cf. Revelation 20,10; 20,14. See also the passage from *Interrogations of John (Interrogatio Ioannis)*, often called the Bogomilist catechism: "Satan and all of his army will be bound, and they will be cast into (...) a lake of fire," *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu*. III. *Listy i apokalipsy chrześcijańskie. Apokryfy syryjskie* [New Testament apocrypha. III. Christian letters and apocrypha. The Syrian Apocrypha ], ed. M. Starowieyski, Cracow 2001, p. 324.

Depictions of angels are frequent in Old Believer art. They often feature arch-angels, particularly the Guardian Angel (Fig. 11).<sup>40</sup> That last motif, usually featuring an angel dressed in white and holding a sword, may even be considered emblematic of Old Believer painting.<sup>41</sup> However, it appears that depictions of the Archangel Michael, Archistrategos of the Heavenly Hosts, are more popular, as they appear in both icons<sup>42</sup> and drawings<sup>43</sup> from all Old Believer centres. The diversity of angelic iconography is also reflected in the miniatures of the *Annotated Apocalypse*, which was frequently found in Old Believer communities, including private houses. A copy at the Polish National Library, which can be dated to the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>44</sup> includes a full set of miniatures typically found in such books. The iconographic programme of such sets of illustrations is very complex; here we shall focus on only a few examples of how evil manifests itself.

The lower part of the image shown in fol. 90v (Fig. 3)<sup>45</sup> depicts a devil painting markings on the foreheads of people with a pen; this may be considered an illustration of Revelation 13, 16: "And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads". Above, two monsters are facing each other, their maws open; a small human figure floats from the maw of one to the other. This probably refers to an earlier passage: "And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed" (Revelation 13, 15). Displaying souls as small humanoid beings is characteristic of Old Russian iconography.<sup>46</sup> Within the context of the Old Believer doctrine this is a very important scene, as it touches upon an issue that recurs frequently, particularly in the *beguny* doctrine, namely the issue of people

40 G. Kobrzeniecka-Sikorska, *Ikony staroobrzędowców w zbiorach Muzeum Warmii i Mazur, Olsztyn* 1993, cat. nos. 31, 33, 35, 36, 38; Горбунов, Херсонский, op. cit., pp. 75–77; Н. В. Пивоварова, "Об одном эпизоде из истории „борьбы с расколом” в середине XIX в. Судиславские моление Н. А. Папулина и их судьба по документам Российского Государственного Исторического Архива", in: *Старообрядчество в России...*, Fig. 64, p. 371, no. 15; Tarasov, op. cit., Fig. 54.

41 М. Чернов, "Народная икона и старообрядчество", *Антиквариат. Предметы искусства и коллекционирования*, сентябрь 2011, p. 75; see Нечаева, Чернов, op. cit., passim, Fig. 58.

42 Cf. Антонова, op. cit., Fig. 116; Брюсова, op. cit., Fig. 177; Чернов, op. cit., Fig. 18; Нечаева, op. cit., p. 155–161; *Невянская икона*, Figs. 74, 95, 135, 145; *Уральская икона...*, cat. nos. 71, 106.

43 Нечаева, Чернов, op. cit., Fig. 9; *Русский рисованный лубок конца XVIII – начала XX века*, Москва 1992, cat. no. 80.

44 A. Sulikowska, "Znaki Antychrysta. Miniatury starowierskiej *Komentowanej Apokalipsy* z kolekcji Biblioteki Narodowej" [Marks of Antichrist. Miniatures in the Old Believer *Annotated Apocalypse* in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw], *Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej*, no. 45, 2014, pp. 80–81.

45 Ibid., pp. 84, 92, Fig. IX; cf. *Sztuka iluminacji i grafiki cerkiewnej. Katalog wystawy, październik – listopad 1996, Biblioteka Narodowa* [The art of Orthodox illumination and graphics. Catalogue of the exhibition, Oct. – Nov. 1996, National Library], Warsaw 1996, Fig. 47.

46 See A. Sulikowska, *Ciała, groby i ikony. Kult świętych w ruskiej tradycji literackiej i ikonograficznej* [Bodies, graves and icons. The cult of saints in the Old Russian literary and iconographic tradition], Warsaw 2013, pp. 274–283.





**Fig. 3.** Marks and Number of the Beast: 666. Miniature from the *Annotated Apocalypse*, Russia, early 19<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 90v., National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 12372



**Fig. 4.** Vision of an Angel Preaching the Teachings on the Beast and Condemning Those Who Serve It. Miniature from the *Annotated Apocalypse*, Russia, early 19<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 96v., National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 12372

accepting the marks of the Antichrist and the believers' attempts to avoid any connection with the Antichrist's world. Accepting "the mark of Antichrist" consisted in, according to the Old Believers, making the sign of the cross with three fingers instead of two.<sup>47</sup> The Old Believers also considered the tattoos made on the left arm of every soldier by order of Peter I, or even passports, to be such marks; the latter were seen as meant to put "the number of the Beast" on the people of Russia.<sup>48</sup> The Old Believer concept of evil and destiny is also depicted in another miniature in fol. 96v (Fig. 4), which shows a vision of hell awaiting those who worship the Beast and accept its mark (Revelation 14, 9).<sup>49</sup> It shows a group of people bowing low before the crowned Beast, as well as the abyss of hell and the people inside it. The abyss contains pits for the tortured souls; a devil with a club stands watch over them.



**Fig. 5.** Vision of an Angel Standing on the Sun: The Casting of the Beast and the False Prophet into a Fiery Lake Burning with Sulphur. Miniature from the *Annotated Apocalypse*, Russia, early 19<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 133v., National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 12372

47 Przybył, op. cit., pp. 122–124.

48 *Старообрядчество. Лица, события, предметы и символы...*, p. 30; Зеньковский, op. cit., p. 469; cf. E. Iwaniec, *Z dziejów staroobrzędowców na ziemiach polskich XVII-XX w.* [From the history of Old Believers in Poland, 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century], Warsaw 1977, p. 45. Radical groups also rejected books with watermarks containing dates after the birth of Christ, as well as stamps, which they considered to be "marks of the Antichrist" as well. E. И. Дергачева-Скоп, В. И. Алексеев, *Репертуар традиционного чтения старообрядческих согласий Сибири. Этюды нравственной философии*, in: *Skupiska staroobrzędowców...*, p. 47.

49 Sulikowska, *Znaki Antychrysta...*, pp. 84, 92, Fig. X.

The picture on folio 133v (Fig. 5) depicts the ultimate confrontation between the Word, that is, the Son of God, shown sitting astride a horse and surrounded by angels in heaven, and the forces of darkness.<sup>50</sup> It shows birds attacking people, called in by an angel standing on the sun: “Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great” (Revelation 19, 17–18). It is also a representation of the moment when the Beast and the False Prophet “both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone” (Revelation 19, 20). This situation continues into the miniature of fol. 136v (Fig. 6), where an angel binds the dragon, “that old serpent” (Revelation 20, 1–2), kept in a bottomless pit, so that he may “shut him up, and set a seal upon him” (Revelation 20, 3).<sup>51</sup> The miniature on fol. 141v (Fig. 7) depicts the events to come after a millennium – the liberation of Satan and his attack at the head of the nations of Gog and Magog upon “the camp of the saints” and the “beloved city” (Revelation 20, 9), the fire falling from heaven on the attackers, and the devil cast into “the lake of fire and brimstone” (Revelation 20, 10).<sup>52</sup> The miniature of fol. 143v (Fig. 8)



**Fig. 6.** *Vision of an Angel Binding the Dragon.* Miniature from the *Annotated Apocalypse*, Russia, early 19<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 136v., National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 12372

50 Ibid., pp. 89–90, Fig. XII.

51 Ibid., pp. 84, 90, Fig. XIII.

52 Ibid., pp. 85, 90, Fig. XIV.





**Fig. 7.** Satan Freed from Prison; Vision of the Nations of Gog and Magog. Miniature from the *Annotated Apocalypse*, Russia, early 19<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 141v., National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 12372



**Fig. 8.** Vision of The One Who Sits On The Throne. Judgement over the Dead. Miniature from the *Annotated Apocalypse*, Russia, early 19<sup>th</sup> century, fol. 143v., National Library in Warsaw, Akc. 12372

shows the judgement over the nations.<sup>53</sup> Christ Pantocrator is portrayed in heaven, among books, while the lower half of the image depicts the moment that Death and Hell give up the bodies of the dead before being thrown into the lake of fire as well (Revelation 20, 13).

These icons and miniatures belong to a larger group of representations that were created from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in places linked with the Old Believers. Although their iconography has roots in Byzantine and Old Russian traditions, they were mostly connected with the current situation of Old Believer communities, particularly with the prevalent eschatological moods. These tensions caused some topics to gain popularity among the faithful and their Old Russian versions were reinterpreted. An example of this process is the popularity of the depictions of Archangel Michael, Archistrategos of the Heavenly Hosts, in Russia of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, even though these depictions are essentially absent from the post-Byzantine iconography. They were most definitely inspired by the Revelation to John, as attested by their various elements which copy the motif of the book; it has to be pointed out, however, that icons of the Archistrategos cannot be treated as simple illustrations to it. This is because the image connects various motifs appearing throughout the text of the Revelation, such as, for example, the Archangel's horse, the book in his hand, the trumpet he is blowing or the rainbow above him. All of these motifs may, in fact, appear in miniatures of Old Believer editions of the Apocalypse. Yet those themes, particularly the killing of the devil as seen in the icon of the Archistrategos, were reassembled in order to summarise, so to speak, those passages of the Apocalypse which describe the fight of good against evil, and to add a Eucharistic sense to a depiction thus interpreted by showing Christ behind the altar. Therefore, by drawing on eschatological and Eucharistic subjects at the same time, the image of the Archangel Michael retains an ideological link to the depictions of *John the Baptist as the Angel of the Desert*.

Nevertheless, it certainly has to be stressed that inspirations for the painting of the Archangel as the Archistrategos make reference not only to the Apocalypse but also to numerous other descriptions of the end of the world that date from various periods.<sup>54</sup> In a popular apocryphal book, *The Journey of the God-bearer through the Places of Torture*, Michael is called the "Archistrategos", the "first warrior", "first among the army of heaven" or "the pride of the heavenly hosts".<sup>55</sup> In spiritual poems circulating among the Old Believers he is dubbed "the terrible Voivode of the heavenly force", "hetman of the heavenly forces" and the "terrible hetman of heaven's army".<sup>56</sup> One of the texts describes the Archangel as follows: "There is a place on earth where a river flows, an unusual river, with fire instead of water.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp. 85, 90, Fig. XIV.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Нечаева, op. cit., p. 160.

<sup>55</sup> *Хождение Богородицы по мукам*, ed. М. В. Рождественская, in: *Библиотека литературы Древней Руси*, vol. 3, <http://lib.pushkinskijdom.ru/Default.aspx?tabid=4930> [accessed 9 January 2017].

<sup>56</sup> *Pieśń o niebieskiej księżdzie...*, pp. 238–239.

Over the fiery river only Michael the Archangel sails and he carries the dead people's souls, the souls of the just to the bright paradise, heavenly light".<sup>57</sup> Thus construed, the archangel was a mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead, and it is as such that he must be viewed in the icon of the Archistrategos of the Heavenly Hosts; in a sense, this representation is equivalent to, for example, depictions of Christ's descent into hell, where angels are shown impaling devils on spears and killing them (Figs. 9–10).<sup>58</sup>



**Fig. 9.** *Resurrection of Christ.* Old Rus', Stroganov School, 17<sup>th</sup> century, icon from an Old Believer collection. National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 60 MNW



**Fig. 10.** *Resurrection of Christ.* Rus', Palekh, 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 53 MNW

The depictions of infernal forces, devils, fiends, and Satan himself, as seen in the images discussed herein, were occasionally disputed among the Old Believers – the controversy stemming from the traditional conviction that the purpose of icons is to picture God's reality, a "world turned unto divine", a holy world where there was no place for devils and profane beings. In both 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century Rus', the appropriateness of the fact that ordinary and (especially) sinful people prayed in front of icons was occasionally criticised.<sup>59</sup> The 16<sup>th</sup>-century tale of Basil the Blessed

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 220.

<sup>58</sup> I. Bentchev, *Engelikenen. Machtvolle Bilder himmlischer Boten*, Freiburg–Basel–Wien 1999, pp. 150–151.

<sup>59</sup> Д. И. Антонов, М. Р. Майзульс, *Демоны и грешники в древнерусской иконографии. Семиотика образа*, Москва 2011, p. 19

supposedly destroying an icon of the Virgin Mary on the Varvarskye gate in Kitaygorod, as he saw a devil painted in it (even though in a concealed way), is also well known.<sup>60</sup> This act was considered a sign of the *yurodivy*'s wisdom and insight, of his ability to "see beyond the image".

Many of the Old Believers feared to worship icons featuring elements of an "ungodly" world, such as the sun and the moon in a scene of the crucifixion.<sup>61</sup> They were afraid of the depictions of Christ's entry into Jerusalem, believing that by venerating them the faithful would worship the donkey.<sup>62</sup> They even doubted whether it was right to pray before the images of St. George killing the dragon (Fig. 11), concerned that such a prayer would amount to the veneration of animals.<sup>63</sup> However, their greatest worry were icons depicting devils, even in unequivocally holy contexts, such as the Resurrection (Figs. 9–10).<sup>64</sup> This matter was problematic for the Old Believers, as their culture was, to a considerable degree, built on a fear of the Antichrist and of demonic activity.

A fine example of this can be found in Nikolai Leskov's short story *The Sealed Angel*, published in 1873. It describes the search by a group of Old Believers for proper, that is traditional, icons for their house of prayer. "That evening I had a long talk with two painters (...). One of them sold me an icon for forty roubles and went away. The other painter said, 'You won't care to offer prayers before this icon. (...) Because,' said he, 'it is hell-painted'; and then with his nail he scratched, and a layer of the paint flew off from one corner, and on the background below was painted a devil with a tail. He rubbed away another piece and another devil appeared."<sup>65</sup> This passage fully demonstrates the Old Believers' fear of devils and their conviction that they could easily be tricked into praying before an icon of one and should therefore be wary of the images they worshipped (much like Basil the Blessed was). Aside from the fear of Satan and the devils, it also shows how important icons were to the Old Believers. This was partly the reason why they were so insistent that the faithful pray before icons painted according to the old style. They were constantly anxious that the icons of the official Church could be used to hide evil and that their worship could lead believers to bow before fiends. Avvakum believed that the "Nikonians" would utter the words "I pray to thee, O impure spirit" while making the sign of the cross,<sup>66</sup> and all Old Believers were willing to suspect that the icons and crosses coming from the mainstream Church represented the Church of Satan. A number of Old Believer drawings (e.g. in the early 20<sup>th</sup>-century *Tale of Patriarch Nikon*) show the Patriarch Nikon praying before a four-shouldered ("Nikonian")

60 B. Uspiensky, *The Semiotics of the Russian Icon*, Lisse 1976, p. 28, note 52.

61 Антонов, Майзульс, *Демоны и грешники...*, pp. 19–20

62 Ibid., p. 20; Tarasov, op. cit., p. 161.

63 Cf. Uspiensky, *The Semiotics...*, p. 67.

64 Tarasov, op. cit., p. 161.

65 N. Leskov, *The Sealed Angel*, translated by B. L. Tollemache, in: *Russian Sketches, Chiefly of Peasant Life*, selected by B. L. Tollemache, London 1913, p. 66–67.

66 Список 1 с писем страдальческих священнопротопопа Аввакума, in: *Памятники старообрядческой письменности*, op. cit., p. 282; cf. Przybył, op. cit., p. 124.



**Fig. 11.** *Saint George Slaying a Dragon*, Russia, Old Believer workshop, 19<sup>th</sup> century, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 72 MNW



**Fig. 12.** *Saint Nicetas Slaying a Devil*, Old Rus', 16<sup>th</sup> century, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 209 MNW

cross with a serpent writhing around it.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, these fears were reflected in a number of Old Believer moral rules, such as avoiding uttering of the words “fiend”, “devil” or “Satan” in order to avoid tainting one’s lips with the sinful name.<sup>68</sup>

The surviving Old Believer works indicate that, declarations aside, artistic practice did not refuse to depict fiends and other evil entities; moreover, it can be stated that these pieces drew on ancient traditions, both Byzantine and Old Russian, and in some periods and areas they became quite popular. One subject that was present already in Old Russian art, namely Saint Nicetas slaying a devil, became common among the Old Believers. The saint is shown in a dark cell, beating the fiend with a heavy instrument.<sup>69</sup> This motif was frequently depicted on small metal icons

<sup>67</sup> Tarasov, op. cit., Fig. 51; cf. Гранин, op. cit., Fig. p. 55.

<sup>68</sup> Jaroszewicz-Pieriesławcew, op. cit., p. 125.

<sup>69</sup> Д. И. Антонов, М. Р. Майзульс, *Анатомия Ада. Путеводитель по древнерусской визуальной демонологии*, Москва 2014, 2013, p. 228; В. В. Хухарев, *Сюжет из жития “Никитино мучение” на предметах личного благочестия*, in: *Демонология как семиотическая система*, вып. 2, Москва 2013, pp. 141–153; Нечаева, Чернов, op. cit., Fig. 8; *Russische Ikonen und Kulturgerät aus St. Petersburg*. Staatliche Kunsthalle Baden-Baden. 5. Oktober 1991 – 6. Januar 1992, cat. no. 59.



(Fig. 12) which the Old Believers carried on their chests to protect themselves from evil.<sup>70</sup>

A similar notion was expressed in the icons of the Guardian Angel, where he was shown fighting with devils over human souls.<sup>71</sup> Old Believer drawings also display such depictions, e.g. in illustrations teaching the proper way of making the sign of the cross<sup>72</sup> or in images of evil people who are shown with fiends on their shoulders.<sup>73</sup> The drawings in *Pure Soul* show the titular heroine standing before the Lord of Hosts. She is depicted as a crowned virgin with flowers in her right hand, pouring a jug of tears onto a devil.<sup>74</sup> Elsewhere, similar images show angels fighting devils; the latter are accompanied by a personification of the world, which symbolises its temptations.<sup>75</sup> Depictions known as *The Death of a Just and Unjust Man* display the former in a bed surrounded by angels on the one side and on the other by an evil man at whose bed stand devils and a single angel.<sup>76</sup> An interesting and fairly unique example is *Satan's Tree*, a picture from a *shornik* produced in the Onega region between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It displays a peculiar family tree – the branches covered in fiends grow out of the body of an enthroned Satan.<sup>77</sup> In most cases, in icons, craftworks and drawings alike, Satan and the devils are shown in profile (in contrast to the saints), so that the faithful do not run the risk of making eye contact with them.<sup>78</sup>

The presence of evil forces in Old Believer art is certainly a consequence of their focus on issues of conflict between good and evil. The fight between the Antichrist and the stuck-in-the-past world was real to the Old Believers, i.e. it took place in the here and now. The Old Believers believed that the religious and cultural changes that had occurred in Russia after the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century caused God's grace to abandon the land, but that they had chosen the correct side in this war, fighting and dying for the "faith of their fathers" and thereby they had become the chosen righteous who would be granted eternal life. "We shall stand before the just God," Avvakum assured them, "stand as men who have not sold the true faith. Now it is still severe winter, but a sweet paradise [it is], now – painful suffering, but what a pleasure it is to endure it".<sup>79</sup> This confidence in such a fate was significant in the context of the Antichrist's supposed rule of the earth, which induced the faithful to wait for the

70 Cf. Хухарев, op. cit., pp. 142, 153.

71 Bentchev, op. cit., Fig. p. 115.

72 *Русский рисованный лубок...*, Fig. p. 124, cat. no. 75; Fig. p. 127, cat. no. 76; Fig. p. 137, cat. no. 89.

73 Ibid., cat. no. 62.

74 Ibid., cat. no. 22, 24, pp. 180–181.

75 Tarasov, op. cit., Fig. 55.

76 *Русский рисованный лубок...*, cat. 28; Tarasov, op. cit., Fig. 57.

77 Антонов, Майзулис, *Анатомия Ада...*, Fig. 5, p. 218; Брюсова, op. cit., Fig. 176.

78 М. Р. Майзульс, "Бес за спиной: жесты дьявола в древнерусской иконографии", in: *Демонология как семиотическая система* вып. 2, Москва 2013, p. 108; Антонов, Майзульс, *Демоны и грешники...*, pp. 285–291.

79 *Памятники литературы древней Руси. XVII век. Книга первая*, Москва 1988, p. 556.

end of the world (*parousia*) and believe that they were living at a time when the chosen would undergo trials. This line of thought is present in most Old Believer writings and is often expressed directly: "So we may save ourselves, give us the strength to bear the cross [...]. Look upon the innocence of hearts, O Father, our guardian. [...] Here we spend our days in tears, our joy is in heaven".<sup>80</sup> This perception of their own group as the chosen people<sup>81</sup> was expressed even more forcefully in spiritual poems alluding to the Old Believer rejection of passports: "We have a passport from the high city of Jerusalem," states one such text, "we have run away from an evil master, another Lord set us free – supreme and only God! [...] He summons us to him, reaches out to us, does not bring up our sins".<sup>82</sup>

However, even though eschatology is a focal point of Old Believer culture which constantly returns to the subject of the Antichrist and evil in the world, its presence in art seems much less pronounced than in the writings. It may be stated that everything connected with Old Believer icons relates to eschatology one way or another; but while issues of the Antichrist and the expected end of the world have been spectacularly expressed in Old Believer literature, panel painting was historically more reserved in that respect. It features few grand depictions of the Last Judgement, with monumental scenes of suffering sinners and the rejoicing righteous.<sup>83</sup> Apocalyptic – or, more broadly, eschatological – subjects are present here only as a part of a larger, often complicated, whole, as is the case in a small household icon painted in northern Russia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century which is now at the National Museum in Warsaw (Fig. 13). It shows Saint Nicholas surrounded by six paintings of the Mother of God as well as (in the upper part of the work) a scene of the Resurrection of Christ and twelve depictions of church holidays and saints. This is a fairly unique version of this iconographic subject, as it only shows Christ Pantocrator between Mary and John the Baptist with the angels, and the *etimasia* among the assembled saints.

Sometimes these themes appear in Old Believer art as something of an aside, on the margins of other depictions, often ones focusing on the fight between good and evil. Nevertheless, it bears highlighting that these themes were very popular, as attested both by the fact that miniatures such as those in the *Annotated Apocalypse* were in large circulation and by how numerous apocalyptic and eschatological icons and drawings were. They came from all centres of Old Believer art and were diverse in their artistic quality. This also means that they made their way into various social groups within the Old Faith and that all of them had a profound influence on how the believers' views of the world were shaped.

80 Т. С. Рождественский, *Памятники старообрядческой поэзии*, Москва, 1910, p. 145.

81 Cf. M. Perrie, "Moscow in 1666: New Jerusalem, Third Rome, Third Apostasy", *Questio Rossica*, 2014, no. 3, pp. 82–83.

82 Рождественский, op. cit., p. 131.

83 Cf. N. Anufrieva, "Иконография Страшного Суда по двум памятникам книжных собраний Урало-Сибирского региона" [Iconography of the Last Judgement on the Example of Two Book Monuments from Collections of the Regions of Urals and Siberia], *Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski*, 2016, no. 7 (1), pp. 68–69; Tarasov, op. cit., Fig. 52.

**Fig. 13.** *Saint Nicholas among the Images of the Mother of God, Resurrection of Christ with prazdnik icon miniatures, and Last Judgement with prazdnik icon miniatures and images of saints, northern Russia, 18<sup>th</sup> century, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. IK 383 MNW*



In the Old Believer perception of the world, art was unequivocally a part of the sacrum as a value that – according to doctrine – could not be tainted in any way and was not subject to any sort of gradation. Even though Old Believer art was intended to be tightly bound to tradition, the way of thinking about icons gradually diverged from “traditional Orthodoxy”, which had focused on contemplation and epistemology. Over time, depictions following not only Russian 16<sup>th</sup>- and 17<sup>th</sup>-century traditions but also the principles of Western iconography became accepted. This paved the way for new themes, including parts of the apocalyptic and eschatological repertoire.

Icons were a part of life for Old Believer communities detached from the outside world they considered foreign, dangerous and threatening – the world of the Antichrist. Fearing Satan and his deceptions, the Old Believers considered their own groups and their icons sacred and divine, and therefore also thought the icon painters should be a part of this sanctified reality – and a guaranteed way to connect to it was to stay true to the old traditions.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, the Old Believers could reject outside (i.e. official Church) icons that included suspect depictions of Satan or the devils, but the images of evil forces in their own icons were always understood

<sup>84</sup> Tarasov, op. cit., pp. 167–184.

within the context dominated by faith in the ultimate victory of good over evil and of the Old Believer traditional order over the world which, in their perception, was still ruled by the Antichrist.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

## Abstract

The article considers the Old Believers' beliefs about, and the manner of depicting, the Antichrist, the end of the world, Satan and the devils. It discusses how both Old Believer literature and philosophy relate to their art, which was created between the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and 1917. The subject matter includes popular images from Old Believer iconography, such as images of John the Baptist, the Angel of the Desert, the Archangel Michael, the Archistrategos of the Heavenly Hosts, Saint Nicetas fighting a devil, or Saint George slaying a dragon, as well as several illustration sets from various editions of the Old Believer *Annotated Apocalypse*. Many of the Old Believer icons, drawings and craftworks from various groups and workshops display angels, but also Satan and the devils. The latter may be considered particularly controversial in the light of the doctrine of icon painting and of the Old Believers' particular beliefs. The article attempts to answer the question as to what reasons stood behind the fear of such representations and why they were ultimately accepted by the faithful.



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## The Icon and the Hatchet. The Motif of Aggression against Icons in Russian Literature before the Revolution

Reading 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russian novels, it is impossible to overlook the recurring motif of aggression directed against icons. This hostility manifests itself in varying forms – icons are hacked with an axe, smashed to pieces, spat on, mutilated or ridiculed; yet the theme of targeting icons was a fixture which appeared in the works of various Russian authors from the earliest literary texts in that language to the October Revolution. Writers who tackled the issue of aggression against icons include Nikolai Gogol, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Lev Tolstoi, Nikolai Leskov and Dmitry Merezhkovsky.

As Dorota Jewdokimow observes, “An icon has the value of a religious symbol with the power to expose spiritual reality [...] in every case, the attitude a given character displays towards an icon is also a manifestation of their attitude towards the reality of the divine”.<sup>1</sup> I believe this view to hold true in reference to the works of various Russian authors; it is worth considering, however, whether revealing a character’s view of religion – in this case a decidedly negative one – was indeed the main reason behind the author’s choice to include the motif of aggression against icons in his text. To what extent do such scenes serve as the means for presenting the author’s own outlook on religion? To what extent are they a way of identifying the icon destroyer as an “enemy”, an “other”, a foreigner, an unbeliever or a revolutionary “nihilist”?

No monograph written so far presents a thorough analysis of the issue of aggression against icons in Russian literature, even though literary texts are a valuable source for studying the phenomenon, since they contain an apt portrayal of 19<sup>th</sup>-century beliefs on iconoclasm and the possible motives behind destroying holy

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1 D. Jewdokimow, *Człowiek przemieniony. Fiodor M. Dostojewski wobec tradycji Kościoła Wschodniego* [A changed man. Fyodor M. Dostoyevsky vs. the tradition of the Orthodox Church], Poznań 2009, p. 87.

images. Remarks on specific acts of aggression as described in the works of a given author are scattered throughout many academic texts pertaining to broader issues.<sup>2</sup>

The present article aims at conducting a detailed analysis of descriptions of acts of aggression against icons found in the works of Russian literature written before 1917. The designated scope of interest includes the authors' choices of the situations in which icons are destroyed or defiled, and the actions directed against holy images. I will specify who the literary characters appearing in the role of "iconoclasts" are and investigate whether they are more likely to be "others" (foreigners and followers of a different religion) or Russians ("nihilists"). I will also examine their apparent motives: a fear of the personages depicted therein, the wish to offend the religious sensibilities of the Orthodox people, a revolutionary desire to combat religion, or a simple expression of hatred and violence.

The people of Rus', who adopted Christianity in its Eastern variant in the year 988, embraced not only the elaborate cult of icons, but also various other aspects of Byzantine culture. For instance, translations of Greek legends and fables about the destruction of images circulated in Russian territories. In these tales, the role of iconoclasts was played primarily by Jews.<sup>3</sup> The native sects of Strigolniki and the Judaisers (Russian: *жидовствующие*), which appeared in Novgorod and Muscovy in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, were both accused of hostility towards images.<sup>4</sup> According to Barbara Dąb-Kalinowska, this could entail either acts of simple vandalism or a conscious iconoclasm.<sup>5</sup> The first political use of iconoclasm in Rus' is recorded to have occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century; the tsar of Muscovy Ivan the Terrible attempted to justify his invasion of Livonia by claiming that the Lutheran inhabitants of the region were destroying Orthodox icons by placing them in "foul places".<sup>6</sup>

The 17<sup>th</sup> century brought a complete re-evaluation of the definition of a Russian "iconoclast". Before, the rulers and Orthodox hierarchs had unanimously supported the cult of holy images and persecuted their annihilators; the current ones began to be perceived, at least by a portion of the society, as being principal iconoclasts

2 Cf. В. Лепяхин, *Икона в русской художественной литературе*, Москва 2012; Н. А. Тарасова, "Интермедияльные связи в романе Ф. М. Достоевского «Подросток» (икона, картина, храм)", in: *Знание. Понимание. Умение*, 2010, no. 4, pp. 139–145; Jewdokimow, op. cit., pp. 85–87; P. Evdokimov, *Gogol i Dostojewski, czyli Zstąpienie do Otchłani* [Gogol and Dostoyevsky, or a descent into the abyss], translated into Polish by A. Kunka, Bydgoszcz 2002; K. A. Grimstad, *Stylizing Russia. Structuring Mechanisms in the Prose Fiction of Nicolai Leskov*, The Hague 2000, p. 133.

3 A. Sulikowska-Gąska, *Spory o ikony na Rusi w XV i XVI w.* [Debates on icons in Rus' in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century], Warsaw 2007, p. 29.

4 Н. А. Казакова, *Антифеодалные еретические движения на Руси XIV – начала XVI века*, Москва–Ленинград 1955, p. 34.

5 B. Dąb-Kalinowska, "Heretycy i ikony" [Heretics and icons], in: *De Gustibus. Studia ofiarowane przez przyjaciół Tadeuszowi Stefanowi Jaroszewskiemu z okazji 65 rocznicy urodzin* [De Gustibus. Studies presented to Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski by his friends on the 65<sup>th</sup> anniversary of his birthday], ed. Robert Pasieczny, Warsaw 1996, p. 260.

6 A. Giza, "List Iwana IV Groźnego do cesarza Ferdynanda I z 1560 r. w zasobie Archiwum Państwowego w Szczecinie" [A letter of Ivan IV the Terrible to Emperor Ferdinand I from 1560 in the State Archive in Szczecin], *Szczeciński informator archiwalny*, 1995, no. 9, pp. 40–46.

themselves. This happened when, in 1654, Patriarch Nikon of Moscow publicly destroyed a number of icons he declared to be “poorly painted” and “too Western” in style.<sup>7</sup> This public act of iconoclasm caused such uproar among the faithful that many pronounced Nikon to be the Antichrist. The resulting split in the Russian Orthodox Church led to the emergence of the group of Old Believers, derogatorily dubbed “raskolniki” (“schismatics”). Since the times of Peter I the Orthodox Church had been rather sceptical towards “miraculous” icons, which began to be examined by separate church committees.<sup>8</sup> At the same time the Russian society, especially its educated part, was beginning to display an increasingly negative view of icon painting, commonly regarded as ugly, primitive folk art. Members of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century leftist intelligentsia often spoke against the cult of icons.

The term “iconoclasm” (иконоборчество) as such was not popular in Russian literature. The only example of its usage which I have been able to locate comes from Dmitry Merezhkovsky’s novel *Peter and Alexis. The Romance of Peter the Great*. The word “иконоборец” (iconoclast) is used in relation to a barber by the name of Fomka, who chops an icon to pieces using a cleaver.<sup>9</sup> However, it may constitute an element of deliberate archaic stylisation of the language evident elsewhere in the novel.

Other works do not give any specific term to describe acts of image-breaking; only the manner in which an icon was destroyed or defiled is mentioned. In Fyodor Dostoyevsky’s *Demons* (1872), the description of the act of putting a mouse behind the glass which protects the icon includes the word “кошунство” (blasphemy).<sup>10</sup> The lack of terminology to describe aggression against icons is notable; in Dostoyevsky’s novella *A Gentle Creature*, a pawnbroker refuses to accept an icon, telling his customer that taking icons as pawns is not, as such, illegal, but, as he puts it, “it feels, you know, wrong”.<sup>11</sup>

According to the American scholar W. J. T. Mitchell, iconoclastic behaviour may be divided into three categories: annihilating, disfiguring and concealing the image.<sup>12</sup> The simplest and most radical method of destroying an icon is to cut it to pieces. Dostoyevsky’s novel *Demons* mentions an officer who, prompted by revolutionary propaganda, first bit his commander and then destroyed some icons by hacking them with an axe.<sup>13</sup> The axe as a weapon of choice seems significant in this context. The symbolical meaning of an axe in Russian culture was discussed by James H.

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7 B. Dąb-Kalinowska, *Między Bizancjum a Zachodem. Ikony rosyjskie XVII–XIX wieku* [Between Byzantium and the West. Russian icons of the 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries], Warsaw 1990, p. 12.

8 О. Тарасов, *Икона и благочестие. Очерки иконного дела в императорской России*, Москва 1995, p. 69.

9 Д. С. Мережковский, *Антихрист. Петр и Алексей*, in: idem, *Собрание сочинений в четырех томах*, vol. 2, Москва 1990, p. 452.

10 F. Dostoyevsky, *Demons*, translated by R. Pevear and L. Volokhonsky, London 1994.

11 Idem, *Кроткая. Фантастический рассказ* in: idem, *Полное собрание сочинений*, vol. 24, Ленинград 1982, p. 8.

12 W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want? The Lives and Loves of Images*, Chicago–London 2005, p. 132.

13 Dostoyevsky, *Demons*, p. 346.



Billington: “[It] lived on as a symbol of rebellion. The radical intellectuals were accused by moderate liberals as early as in the 1850s of ‘seeking out lovers of the axe’ and inviting Russians to ‘sharpen their axes’”.<sup>14</sup> The motif of an icon being attacked with an axe is found in Merezhkovsky’s works as well; the already-mentioned Fomka was accused of destroying an icon with an iron axe.<sup>15</sup> In Merezhkovsky’s novel *Alexander I*, Kapiton Alliluyev, a painter, attacks an icon with a knife.<sup>16</sup> The fact that the icon is assaulted with a sharp tool testifies to its being treated as a living being who can be killed. This is a distant reflection of both the theology of icons and magical thinking; the assailant believes that the person depicted is truly present in their image.

Smashing icons to break them into pieces is also a recurring motif in Russian literature. Such an act is committed by Andrey Versilov, a character in *A Raw Youth* (*The Adolescent*), written in 1874.<sup>17</sup> Andrzej Walicki claims this action has ideological significance: “The symbolism of this scene [Versilov’s smashing the icon – D.W.] is clear: shattering traditional (Orthodox) heritage, internal conflict (the icon split into two halves), a foreshadowing of the return of the prodigal son – a return facilitated by Sofya, a common woman”.<sup>18</sup>

Nikolai Leskov’s novella *The Sealed Angel* highlights the motif of mutilating and deliberately damaging an icon as if it were a living thing. The authorities confiscate icons from stonemasons who are Old Believers. In their desperation, the group attempts to conceal the titular icon of the angel; the furious official enacts his revenge by branding their precious icon with his seal.<sup>19</sup>

The motif of mutilating an icon appears again in Leskov’s novel *At Daggers Drawn*, where several peasants are talking about their faith in spectres and phantoms: “A peasant with a booming voice spoke at that, explaining that their village had an image of the prophet Sissinios and the twelve demons of fever, all of them depicted as naked women, whose faces had been burnt with fire, because whoever comes to burn a candle for the prophet strikes the women’s faces with that same fire, so that their faces would not be seen”.<sup>20</sup> In this case, however, the aggressive behaviour did not stem from a lack of piety, but served as proof for the strength of the common people’s faith. In this sense, the peasants’ behaviour resembled the famous act by Vassily of Moscow, who smashed an icon, which had an image of the devil depicted

14 J. H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe: An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*, New York 1970, p. 28.

15 Мережковский, *Антихрист...*, p. 452.

16 Idem, *Александр I*, in: idem, *Собрание сочинений в четырех томах*, vol. 3, Москва 1990, p. 276.

17 Ф. М. Достоевский, *Подросток* in: idem, *Полное собрание сочинений*, vol. 10, Ленинград 1975, p. 409.

18 A. Walicki, *Zarys myśli rosyjskiej: od oświecenia do renesansu religijno-filozoficznego* [The outline of Russian thought: from the Enlightenment to the renaissance of religion and philosophy], Cracow 2005, p. 491.

19 Лесков, *Запечатленный ангел*, 1889, p. 580.

20 Idem, *На ножжах*, in: idem, *Собрание сочинений в двенадцати томах*, vol. 9, Москва 1989, p. 323 (passage translated for the purpose of the present publication).

beneath the painted surface.<sup>21</sup> Such practices are magical in character and are based on the assumption that one can destroy a demon by damaging its image.

More often than physical aggression, literature includes the motif of a symbolic battle, in which images are ridiculed and caricatured in order to be discredited in the eyes of the faithful or as means of defaming the Orthodox community itself. In Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (1879–1881), the old Fyodor Karamazov tells his son Alexei the story of how he wanted to spite his late wife, the boy's mother: "'Look', I said, 'look, here is your icon, here it is, look, I'm taking it down from the wall. Now then: you believe it has the power to work miracles, but I'm going to spit on it before your very eyes and nothing will happen to me afterwards!'"<sup>22</sup> Karamazov wanted to vilify the icon not only to express his anger at his wife, but also to convince her that the icon, in whose intercession she believed so much, was a powerless piece of wood that could not even defend itself from aggression.

Defaming icons also occurs as a motif in another novel by Dostoyevsky, namely *Demons*. The instance of robbing a holy image described there is not, in itself, perceived as either terrifying or shocking. It is not the theft of the icon's revetment that is considered blasphemy, but the fact that a mouse is let behind the glass protecting the holy image: "But the main thing is that besides the theft a senseless jeering blasphemy was committed: behind the broken glass of the icon a live mouse is said to have been found in the morning".<sup>23</sup> Stripping an icon of its cover was naturally an evil deed, yet, according to Dostoyevsky, deliberate defamation was far worse.

In the already-mentioned novel *Peter and Alexis* by Merezhkovsky, the titular Tsarevitch Alexis reproaches his father Peter for pursuing an anti-Orthodox policy: "They call the holy icons idols, the church singing bulls' roaring. [...] They take miracle-working icons away on stinking dung carts under dirty mats, thus insolently defiling them before the people. In this way they attack the Orthodox faith, under the pretext that it is not Christianity but only useless and harmful superstitions. [...] If you ask for a reason, the only answer you get is: they were superstitious, bigots, sanctimonious humbugs! He who keeps fast is a bigot; he who prays, sanctimonious, he who adores the icons, invariably (they say) a hypocrite".<sup>24</sup> Alexis is convinced that combating hypocrisy and false piety through jeering may easily turn from fighting 'superstitions' to attacking faith itself.

Merezhkovsky also describes Peter I's actions against icons. The tsar wishes to "expose the deception" of a false miracle-working icon whose fame is clearly directed against him. The icon is said to be weeping due to the ruler's reforms and to portend disaster. The act of "exposing" the icon evolves into public ridicule, which Tsarevitch Alexis cannot bear.

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21 C. Wodziński, *Św. Idiot. Projekt antropologii apofatycznej* [Saint Idiot. A project in apophatic anthropology], Gdańsk 2000, p. 101.

22 F. Dostoyevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, translated by D. McDuff, London 2003, p. 183.

23 Idem, *Demons*, p. 324.

24 D. Merezhkovsky, *Peter and Alexis: the Romance of Peter the Great*, London 1905, pp. 104–105.

Peter left the table and coming out in front of the statue, where there was more room, he, leaning with his back against the marble pedestal and holding the image in his hand, began to give a careful and elaborate description of the deceptive mechanism. [...] Peter removed the silver trimmings set with priceless gems; it came off easily, having been already loosened during the first examination. He then unscrewed the brass screws which fastened a small piece of new lime-wood to the back of the icon; in its centre there was fixed a smaller piece; it moved easily on a spring, a pressure of the hand was sufficient to work it. [...] Peter proved it by an experiment: he moistened the sponges, put them into their cavities, pressed the board and the tears began to flow.<sup>25</sup>

In the end, the icon is destroyed; somebody steps on it in the panic caused by the storm. But the actual act of iconoclasm is committed by Peter through his act of “exposing” the icon. Significantly, the examination is performed during festivities organised to commemorate the arrival of a statue of Venus into Petersburg. The juxtaposition of these two depictions of women – the icon of the Virgin Mary and the nude, sensual Venus, sounds a strong note in Merezhkovsky’s description. The scene seems all the more significant given the fact that in defaming the icon Peter is assisted by members of the clergy, most actively by Theodosius Janovsky. Peter declares the weeping icon a curio and plans to put it in a *Kunstkammer* to demonstrate that he does not feel any respect towards it. The mocking of the icon is interrupted by a storm, which may be interpreted as a manifestation of God’s wrath at the tsar.

Literary portrayals of the perpetrators of aggression against icons and their motivation are an equally interesting issue. An unusual example of blasphemy comes from Nikolai Gogol’s story *The Vii*. There, the icons are destroyed directly by an evil power. The praying Khoma evidently lacks faith and is therefore afraid of the “monstrous creatures” who, for example, throw the images off the walls of the church and toss them around the protagonist.<sup>26</sup> Yuri Mann, an authority on Gogol’s works, writes that interference by a higher power is typical for Gogol’s imagery: “In Gogol’s stories, higher powers explicitly interfere with the plot. They are images personifying the unreal element of evil: the devil or people in alliance with him”.<sup>27</sup> This isolated example aside, the categorisation of literary “iconoclasts” runs along the axis of “domestic” versus “alien”. A large portion of the image-breakers depicted in prose are people from outside Russia, “foreigners” and “non-believers”, often appearing as invaders and assailants. The “domestic iconoclasts” are usually revolutionaries, anarchists, freethinkers or reformers.

The works of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russian authors often featured portrayals of iconoclasts who were foreigners and non-believers. The role is usually assumed by the invaders, or less often by the members of ethnic minorities and followers of religions regarded as “iconoclastic”, i.e. Jews or Tatars. In historical novels set at the time of Napoleon’s Russian campaign in 1812 the part of image-breakers is played by the

25 Ibid., pp. 28–29.

26 Н. В. Тоголь, *Вий*, in: idem, *Полное собрание сочинений и писем в семнадцати томах*, vol. 2: *Миргород*, Москва–Киев 2009, p. 448.

27 Ю. Манн, *Поэтика Гоголя*, Москва 1988, p. 68.

French, whom the authors portray as having been affected by anti-religious state propaganda.

The iconoclast in Aleksey Konstantinovich Tolstoy's novel *The Silver Prince* is a Tatar that wandered deep into the Muscovite state, almost reaching Moscow. In his descriptions of the image-breaker, the author emphasises his foreign origins.<sup>28</sup> Tatars are perceived as destroyers, invaders, enemies of Christianity and everything Russian. Tolstoy juxtaposes Tatars (Muslims) with Russian (of the Orthodox faith). This contrast is aimed at uniting Russians against Tatars, despite all internal divisions and conflicts. Prince Serebryany says: "Will we let the holy icons be insulted? [...] Will we allow the unbaptised to burn our Russian villages and kill our brothers?"<sup>29</sup> Tolstoy does not mention the ideological motivation of the Tatars; the description suggests that the destruction of icons is brought about only by their desire for material profit.<sup>30</sup>

In Lev Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and Grigory Danilevsky's *Moscow in Flames*, acts of iconoclasm are committed by French soldiers. Tolstoy's protagonist, the Russian aristocrat Pierre Bezukhov, witnesses the departure of the French army from Moscow. Napoleon's soldiers are carrying spoils of war; the crowd surrounding Bezukhov offers the following comments: "Look at those furs', they said. 'See what the vultures have looted... Behind there, on the cart, it's from an icon, by God!...'".<sup>31</sup> In his biography of Lev Tolstoy, Viktor Shklovsky emphasises that this monumental work focuses neither on the position of the French or Russian army nor on battle scenes; in his view, Tolstoy examined there the issues of the meaning of war, the underlying reasons for historical events, and the significance of national self-awareness in a war as experienced by ordinary people.<sup>32</sup> Tolstoy presents the anger sparked by the destruction and theft of Moscow's icons as a force unifying the Russian nation.

*Moscow in Flames* by Grigory Danilevsky describes the looting of Moscow's churches by the French:

The holy images taken from the walls had been placed upon boxes containing groats or flour, and served the soldiers as seats; in the sanctuary a couch had been made with the doors of the Holy of Holies placed against the altar and was covered with a lilac silk priestly garment. It was occupied by the regimental cook, a chubby, ruddy lady, who was busy paring carrots. The table and the altar were heaped with numerous kitchen utensils; geese and pieces of game hung from the big chandelier; nails had been driven into the iconostasis and supported quarters of bleeding beef, which were carefully

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28 After A.K. Толстой, *Князь Серебряный*, Москва 1977, p. 213. In the English-language translation: Alexey Tolstoy, *The Silver Prince*, by Nikita S. Galitzine, Trafford Publishing 2007, pp. 201–202, the prince's speech is rendered as follows: "Do you see how the cursed Tatars mock the Christian faith? [...] Are we going to let pagans burn our Russian villages and slaughter our brothers?" (translator's note).

29 Ibid., p. 215.

30 Ibid., p. 214.

31 L. Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, translated by R. Pevear and L. Vorokhonsky, New York 2007, p. 1018

32 В. Шкловский, *Лев Толстой*, Москва 1963, p. 404. Cf. the English translation, Viktor Shklovsky, *Lev Tolstoy*, translated by Olga Shartze, Moscow 1978.

enveloped in a rich altarcloth; soldiers were smoking and playing cards; the atmosphere was suffocating.<sup>33</sup>

Jews as iconoclasts appear in *The Egyptian Darkness*, the first volume of an anti-Semitic trilogy by Vsevolod Krestovsky. A group of Jews raids a monastery demanding that Tamara Bendavid – who is the granddaughter of a local rabbi and has converted to Orthodox Christianity – and others be handed over. Although the attack does not result in any serious damage, a rumour begins to spread through the populace:

And so, little by little, vague rumours and talks started to be heard in the market and the square, saying that someone had gone to the nunnery in the night and smeared the holy doors with tar and stained the holy images depicted thereon with mud, or something worse. And it is known what it means for the southern Russian folk to have someone's door smeared with tar. Who would do such an abominable thing and why? – Questions subconsciously arose among the people.<sup>34</sup>

Slowly the rumour about the extent of the “crime” spreads and the tales of the alleged blasphemy become increasingly serious in nature. The growing anger of the crowd leads to a spontaneous pogrom of the Jews. The local community regards Jews as enemies; instigators of the massacre recognise Jewish households and shops only by the fact that their windows are not adorned with icons.<sup>35</sup> Krestovsky, himself displaying a decidedly antagonistic attitude towards the Jewish community, presents the ever-expanding rumours of the desecration of images as groundless and harmful, yet does empathise with some of the voices from the crowd: “[...] they had given too much leeway to the Jews! They had been sitting on top of the christened folk entirely!”<sup>36</sup> The author appears to share the belief that unfounded allegations are a consequence of the actions of the Jews – a community which isolates itself from Russians and exhibits a hostile attitude towards its Christian neighbours.

The actions of the “domestic iconoclasts” are entirely different in nature than those of foreign image-breakers. Tight connections between religion and politics, as well as the sacralisation of the monarchy, prompted rebels to turn against the Orthodox church, which legitimised the tsarist rule and defended it. This also meant turning against its main symbols, that is, the icons. Those opposing the tsarist rule, the so-called “new men”, had a negative view of the authorities, and thus also of the Orthodox faith and religious art. The majority of revolutionists agreed with Nicolai Chernyshevsky, who said that art ought to be ideologically useful.<sup>37</sup> As Andrzej

33 G. P. Danilevski, *Moscow in Flames*, translated by A. S. Rappoport, London 1917, pp. 148–149.

34 В. В. Крестовский, *Тьма Египетская*, vol. 1, Москва 1993, p. 233.

35 Ibid., p. 326.

36 Ibid.

37 A. Walicki, “Lwa Tołstoja poglądy na sztukę w związku z estetyką rewolucyjnych demokratów” [Lev Tolstoy's views on art in connection with the aesthetics of the revolutionary democrats], *Materiały do Studiów i Dyskusji z Zakresu Teorii i Historii Sztuki, Krytyki Artystycznej oraz Badań nad Sztuką* (henceforward: MSD), 1954, vol. 5, no. 1, pp. 229–230.

Walicki observes: "The principal concern in revolutionary-democratic aesthetics is the issue of the ideological directionality of works of art".<sup>38</sup> The harshest opinion on the artistic quality of icons was expressed by the unofficial leader of revolutionary democrats, the literary critic Vissarion Belinsky.<sup>39</sup> The biography of the philosopher and theologian Vladimir Solovyov contains the information that in his youth he befriended revolutionaries and "threw all icons out of his house".<sup>40</sup>

The negative attitude towards icons displayed by "nihilists" was used by authors active in the genre of the so-called anti-nihilistic novel (Russian: *антинигилистический роман*). This genre, characteristic to Russia, criticised the existing social reality, in particular the revolutionary and anarchistic movements.<sup>41</sup> Dostoyevsky's *Demons* are unquestionably a lampoon against the Narodnik version of socialism and a criticism of the worldview proposed by Nechayev ('nechayevschina'), even though the book contains more general and deeper thoughts on the essence of revolution and on human nature.<sup>42</sup>

Several scenes in *Demons* feature icons being destroyed or defamed by revolutionists. The already cited passage concerning the icon-destroying officer contains the information that "in his room he had placed the works of Vogt, Moleschott and Büchner on stands like three lecterns, and before each lectern kept wax church candles burning".<sup>43</sup> The place of icons is taken by works of three authors representative of the so-called vulgar materialism; this demonstrates that the human nature abhors a vacuum – having renounced God, a man must put something in His place. Billington mentions a similar tendency in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Russia; in his view, revolutionaries often wore the image of Rousseau around their necks instead of Orthodox medallions.<sup>44</sup> As noted by Dorota Jewdokimow, "in destroying the icon, the revolutionary in *Demons* denies that which is symbolised by it, i.e. the reality of the divine, replacing icons with books carrying a materialistic message".<sup>45</sup>

Another case of iconoclasm in *Demons* is the already-mentioned incident with the theft of an icon's revetment and putting a mouse behind the glass protecting the image. Dostoyevsky states that the assailant had a connection to Verkhovensky's "five" and that the act of defiling the icon was directed against the Orthodox Church, and thus indirectly against the State itself. Dostoyevsky saw the

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38 Idem, "Zagadnienie piękna w estetyce rosyjskich rewolucyjnych demokratów. W 125-lecie urodzin M. Czernyszewskiego" [The issue of beauty in the aesthetics of the Russian revolutionary democrats. On Nicolai Chernyshevsky's 125<sup>th</sup> birthday anniversary], *MSD*, 1953, vol. 4, no. 3–4, p. 169.

39 Billington, op. cit., p. 33.

40 В. Л. Величко, *Владимир Соловьев. Жизнь и творения*, Санкт-Петербург 1904, pp. 17–18.

41 В. Л. Терехин, «Против течений»: утаенные русские писатели. Типология антинигилистического романа, Москва 2002, p. 104.

42 L. Bazyłow, *Historia nowożytnej kultury rosyjskiej* [The history of modern Russian culture], Warsaw 1986, p. 509.

43 Dostoyevsky, *Demons*, p. 346.

44 Billington, op. cit., p. 396.

45 Jewdokimow, op. cit., p. 85.

direct relation between the icon, the Church and the State, apparent in Captain Lebyadkin's note written to governor von Lembke: "If you want a denunciation to save the fatherland, and also the churches and icons, I alone can".<sup>46</sup> The author clearly links iconoclasm with anti-government activism, disrupting the society and robbing it of the support of religion. Henryk Paprocki claims that iconoclasm is, essentially, the negation of God in oneself, and that this was the reason why Verkhovensky and Karamazov destroyed icons.<sup>47</sup> It is not by coincidence that Dostoyevsky portrays the antagonists of his novels as iconoclasts.

Dostoyevsky was not the only author to equate iconoclasm with "nihilism". The negative attitude towards icons as displayed by the "new men" was also emphasised by Krestovsky in his anti-nihilistic novel *Krovavyyi puf*. Lidhinka Zayc, a nihilist, teaches children to be "godless", saying that "an icon is not God, but an ordinary wooden board. God, my dear, does not exist and never has, and if they tell you that he does, they are deceiving you".<sup>48</sup> Lidhinka, a member of "nihilist" youth, persuades her pupils to accept the inexistence of God by negating the purpose of the icons' existence.

Kirillov, the "religious revolutionist" from Dostoyevsky's *Demons*, is an interesting case. He is presented as an apologist of suicide, claiming that the human race had conceived God because of its fear of death, and that only suicide, being a manifestation of courage, may free a man from superstition and allow him to become a god in human shape. Yet Kirillov keeps an icon of Christ in his room and burns a candle before it, despite trying to belittle this fact in public.<sup>49</sup> Neither does the old revolutionist Stepan Trofimovich Verkhovensky, a democrat and liberal, denounce God; he even converts to Christianity at the end of his life. Although posing as a free-thinker and atheist, he keeps icons in his house and turns to them when he is afraid of being arrested.<sup>50</sup>

Also in Andrei Bely's novel *Petersburg* (1912) there is a character who despite being a revolutionary always carries an icon "just in case". The abode of Aleksandr Ivanovich Likhutin, a member of a revolutionary group, is described in the following manner: "In addition to the bed, yes, here I must say, hung a small icon of Seraphim of Sarov's thousand nights of prayer amidst the pine trees, on a stone (here I must say – Aleksandr Ivanovich wore a small silver cross under his shirt)".<sup>51</sup>

Andrey Petrovich Versilov, the protagonist of *A Raw Youth*, may also be considered a free-thinker. His life is hardly an example to follow: he has two illegitimate children and his mistress, Sofya, is married to another man. He is nonetheless still seeking God and experiencing moral turmoil. Dostoyevsky portrays him as a man posing as a liberal, but desperate in his search for faith and the meaning of life;

46 Dostoyevsky, *Demons*, p. 360.

47 H. Paprocki, *Lew i mysz, czyli tajemnica człowieka. Esej o bohaterach Dostojewskiego* [The lion and the mouse, or the human mystery. On Dostoyevsky's heroes], Bielsko-Biała 1997, p. 52.

48 B. B. Крестовский, *Кровавый пuf*, Москва 2007, p. 326.

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid., p. 334.

51 A. Bely, *Petersburg. A Novel in Eight Chapters*, translated by D. McDuff, London 2011, p. 330.

his attempts at converting to Catholicism and periods of asceticism are also mentioned.<sup>52</sup> In the already cited passage, Versilov destroys an icon and proceeds to explain the motivation behind his deed to Sofya: "Don't take it for a symbol, Sonia; it is not as Makar's legacy I have broken it, but only to break something... [...]. You may take it as a symbol, though; of course, it must have been so!..."<sup>53</sup> In the specialist literature, Versilov's symbolic iconoclasm is interpreted in a number of ways. Jewdokimow and Walicki agree that the breaking of the icon is a pivotal point in Versilov's fate, constituting the lowest point in his downfall and the beginning of his journey towards redemption: "In Versilov's character, through the icon and the repudiation of the image and the rejection of God, the author shows a descent towards the bottom, so as to show the ascent of the image, i.e. the healing of the split in the protagonist's nature".<sup>54</sup> A different motivation is presented in the case of another of Dostoyevsky's protagonists, namely Fyodor Karamazov. He is portrayed as a man known for his decadent lifestyle and following a hedonistic philosophy. Fyodor Pavlovich expresses a negative view of Orthodoxy and regards the restrictions of religion as a hindrance.

The portrayal of icon-breaking and acts of iconoclasm committed by members of the authorities, or even by the tsar himself, appears to be a uniquely Russian phenomenon. Such actions are motivated by the desire to either combat the excessive (in the iconoclast's opinion) cult of icons, or to oppose "heretics". The motif appears in a particularly elaborate form in Merezhkovsky's novel *Peter and Alexis*.

Merezhkovsky's Peter I is a dualistic figure full of internal contradiction. He is presented as both a reformer attempting to inculcate Russians with the appreciation for European culture and education, and as a ruthless eradicator of old Russian traditions, which he views as a sign of ignorance and superstition. Peter even turns against his own son Alexis. According to Bernice Rosenthal, in Merezhkovsky's novel Alexis represents Christ, a martyr giving his life for the old faith in tradition.<sup>55</sup> The author apparently sides with Alexis. As Ludwik Bazylow observes, Merezhkovsky "prefers to support traditions on the verge of extinction. He saw the sophistication of new ideas, yet regarded their implementation as requiring too great a sacrifice".<sup>56</sup>

In his novel, Merezhkovsky portrays Peter as a ruler certain of his civilising mission and internally obliged to educate his subjects. Paradoxically, however, the monarch chooses to introduce "education" and "civilisation" by very uncivilised means. The author is trying to show that many actions of the reformist tsar were directed against the Orthodox Church; their aim was to limit its privileges and make it subordinate to the tsar's authority. Merezhkovsky's Peter is not an enemy of the Orthodox faith and does not view himself as fighting with religion as such, but only with

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52 F. Dostoyevsky, *A Raw Youth*, translated by C. Garnet, Overland Park 2009, p. 24.

53 Ibid., p. 328.

54 Jewdokimow, op. cit., p. 85.

55 B. G. Rosenthal, *D. S. Merezhkovsky and the Silver Age: The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality*, The Hague 1975, p. 104.

56 L. Bazylow, *Historia*, pp. 540–541.



the superstitions that had arisen around it. Grażyna Kobrzeniecka-Sikorska states that “although Peter I did not declare an open war on the cult of icons, he did act against the excessive forms of that cult. The fight was mostly directed against miracles allegedly worked by icons [...]. Peter saw the belief in miracle-working icons as synonymous with backwardness and was motivated by the wish that superstitious practices were no longer mocked by foreigners”.<sup>57</sup> According to Sergiusz Michalski, Peter was against the cult of icons, as his sympathies lay with Protestantism.<sup>58</sup> This opinion seems to be shared by Merezhkovsky, who writes that Peter I “delighted” in talking about false miracles and exposing them.<sup>59</sup> Revealing the deceitful trick was a game; he did not view the act of disclosing the fallacy of a miracle-working icon as blasphemous. “His face was calm, as if he had just been describing a curious trick of nature or some unusual object in the *Kunstkammer*”.<sup>60</sup> In Merezhkovsky’s novel, Peter I is a scholar performing experiments, who thinks that by revealing the falsehood of miracles he is not fighting religion, but creating a new, more rational and “enlightened” version of it. According to Leonid Dolgoplov, Merezhkovsky’s opinion of the reformist tsar was too harsh: “To Merezhkovsky, the disruptive activity of Peter I is but a reconstruction of external forms of life that does not affect the transformation of an individual’s soul. Only Alexis holds the potential for a true change – hidden, internal and spiritual. The entire novel aims to substantiate this view. Peter’s actions suffer due to narrow-mindedness, as they reflect only one side of the issue, namely soulless rationalism. To Merezhkovsky, he seems a despot introducing new forms of state activity with a typically Eastern cruelty. He is creating a new State, devoid of religion and morality”.<sup>61</sup>

In his novel, Merezhkovsky attempted to demonstrate that an example works “top down”: all dignitaries, state officials and even ordinary citizens strove to imitate the ruler. In Alexis’ eyes, the barber Fomka was a continuator of the trend started by Peter I; his act of iconoclasm was ideologically motivated, even though the barber went a step further than the tsar, destroying the icon “because he did not revere the holy icons, the life-bringing cross nor holy relics; the holy icons, said he, and the holy cross are merely the work of man; and he did not believe that relics brought pardons for his own transgressions. Neither did he accept the church dogma and traditions, nor did he believe the Eucharist to be the true body of Christ, but simply bread and wine”.<sup>62</sup> Peter’s anger when Fomka is burnt at the stake indicates that the tsar was on the barber’s side and agreed with his actions.<sup>63</sup>

57 G. Kobrzeniecka-Sikorska, *Ikona, kult, polityka. Rosyjskie ikony maryjne od drugiej połowy XVII wieku* [An icon, the cult, politics. Russian Marian icons after the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century], Olsztyn 2000, p. 123.

58 S. Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*, London–New York 1993, p. 156.

59 Merezhkovsky, *Peter and Alexis*, p. 28.

60 Ibid., p. 29.

61 Л. Долгополов, *Андрей Белый и его роман «Петербург»*, Ленинград 1988, p. 292.

62 Merezhkovsky, *Peter and Alexis*, p. 106.

63 Ibid., p. 106.

Another author to mention the destruction of icons perpetrated by the authorities is Leskov. In his short story *The Sealed Angel* the act of iconoclasm is committed by officials and the defiling and confiscation of icons constitutes a personal revenge by one of the clerks who feels wronged by the Old Believers: the prayers they offered for the success of his planned business endeavour had not been effective. He offers to return the icons in exchange for a substantial bribe: "Give me a hundred roubles for each picture, otherwise I will burn them all".<sup>64</sup> Learning that the stonemasons do not have such a sum, the official feels disappointment and his anger turns to fury when he realises that they are trying to conceal their most precious icon, that of an angel. The act of destroying the icon by branding it with a seal is an expression of his rage.

Leskov's intention in describing the mutilation and confiscation of the Old Believers' icons was to demonstrate the utter lack of restraint with which the officials treated the members of that religious group. In his interpretation, members of the state authorities believe the Old Believers to be lawless, so they confiscate and damage the icons they possess, even though they do not have the authority to do so; after all, they do not need to justify their actions if these concern outlaws. The head official is not dissuaded by the arguments used by the chief of the stonemasons, Luka Kirillov, who begs for the icons to be spared as they are "holy" and constitute "the wonderful artistic heirloom of [their] forefathers".<sup>65</sup> The icon has no religious or artistic value for the chief official; it is used only as an outlet for his anger and the means of exacting revenge on the Old Believers, who care deeply about their "Guardian Angel". This attitude is very apparent in his words: "Oh, you rascals, you wanted to steal it that it might not hang on the rod, but as it is not there see now what I will do to it".<sup>66</sup> Taking the icons away from the Old Believers as an act of repression by the authorities is also described by Krestovsky in the already-mentioned anti-nihilistic novel *Krovavyy puf*.<sup>67</sup>

Iconographic acts motivated by religious faith constitute a separate category. A clear example of such actions comes from the already cited passage from Leskov's novel *At Daggers Drawn*, in which peasants damage the faces of demons depicted on icons. The female figures, appearing all the more diabolical since they are depicted naked and shameless, are attacked by the faithful, who collectively destroy them.<sup>68</sup> Iconoclasm caused by strong beliefs may also be identified in Merezhkovsky's novel *Aleksandr I*. The painter Kapiton Alliluyev is driven by madness rooted in religion: "He was pious and wanted to become a monk since his early years".<sup>69</sup> When Arakcheev demands that Alliluyev paints a blasphemous depiction of the Mother of God, with his mistress Nastasya Minkina portrayed as the Virgin, the "split" causes

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64 Leskov, *The Sealed Angel*, in: *Russian Sketches, Chiefly of Peasant Life*, translated by B. L. Tollemache, London, 1913, p. 44.

65 Ibid., p. 44.

66 Ibid., p. 45.

67 Крестовский, *Кровавый пух*, p. 165.

68 Idem, *На ножжах*, p. 323.

69 Мережковский, *Александр I*, p. 276.

the artist to lose his senses. The painter, “who regarded blasphemous images to be a mortal sin”, ultimately attacks the icon of Mary he created.<sup>70</sup> “He was tortured by his conscience; he started to drink and drank himself feverish. He wanted to drown himself; he was pulled out and flogged. He drank more and one day in a bout of madness he threw himself at the icon of the Virgin Mary, the one he himself painted, the one with the face of Nastasya Minkina, wishing to cut it with a knife. When he was caught, he declared that he would stab the real Nastasya as well”.<sup>71</sup> The painter wanted to destroy his own work because, in his eyes, depicting Mary with the features of the lewd Nastasya made it not an icon, but an “anti-icon”, a demonic image that worked not to strengthen people’s faith, but to make them lose it.

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The motif of aggression appears frequently in Russian literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was used both by the so-called “classic” authors (Gogol, Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy) and writers representing the second or third rank (Danilevsky, Krestovsky). The chosen means of aggression differed – icons are presented as cut to pieces, chopped, mutilated, defamed or ridiculed. The literary accounts are, however, quite one-sided, since the motif of image-breaking was usually used by “conservative” authors who felt a strong connection with the Orthodoxy, and not by those identifying with the revolutionary intelligentsia.

It is impossible to ignore the fact that the literary iconoclast is invariably an “other”, a person from outside the given community or the cultural circle. That can mean a foreigner, an unbeliever (a Tatar, a Jew, a Frenchman), but also an “ideologically estranged” Russian, i.e. an atheist, a revolutionary, a person devoid of traditional values. “He is a true poet and loves Russia, yet denies her absolutely. He is without any sort of religion, but yet almost ready to die for something indefinite, to which he cannot give a name, but in which he fervently believes, like a number of Russian adherents of European civilisation of the Petersburg period of Russian history” – this is how Dostoyevsky described the iconoclast Versilov.<sup>72</sup> The image-breakers portrayed in Russian literature are people who put themselves outside of Russian society and are alien to it, cut off from their roots.

Literary reactions to iconoclasm often assume a collective form which unifies the Russians against a common blasphemous enemy, be it internal or external. The middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a formative period for modern European nationalism. In Russia the greatest contributions to this process were made by the so-called Slavophiles, who believed in the extraordinary quality of the Russian people. According to Walicki, they saw profound significance in juxtaposing the “atheist” West with the “truly Orthodox” Russia, and the “religious” Russia of the past

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Dostoyevsky, *A Raw Youth*, p. 364.

(i.e. before Peter I) with the Europeanised modern face of the country.<sup>73</sup> While the Russian elites had become secularised and made themselves similar to western-European circles, the common people managed to preserve the “ancestral faith” in an unsullied form, including rituals and the cult of icons, which the intelligentsia was no longer able to accept or understand. Observing peasants praying to an icon, Ivan Kireyevsky came to the conclusion that the faith of people who pray to an image with such fervour simply must be genuine.

“The people hardly know faith, you may say, they cannot even say a prayer, but bow down before a piece of wood and mutter some nonsense about the Good Friday and Florus, and Laurus. [...] The common people know Christ, their God, perhaps better than we do, even though they were not taught at schools”, wrote Fyodor Dostoyevsky to the liberal critic Avsenko, referring to the Slavophile notion that only the common people of Russia had adhered to the pure Orthodoxy and were able to defend it.<sup>74</sup>

The so-called “classical” Slavophiles praised the piety of the simple people, juxtaposing it with the hierarchic Church, which they regarded as tainted with Western rationalism, and distanced themselves from the authority of the tsar.<sup>75</sup> Representatives of the later iteration of the movement expressed very different views in this respect. Within a few decades, Slavophilia had taken a strong turn towards state nationalism. Danilevsky was an apologist of both the official Orthodox faith and tsarist autocracy.<sup>76</sup> The rank of the highest values was granted to Orthodoxy and “Slavness” as expressed in the framework of statehood. From the 1860s onwards, the Slavophile movement was becoming increasingly nationalistic and “pro-state” in nature. The state began to be identified with religion, and the tsarist regime with Orthodoxy. Defending the faith and its symbol, the icon, from an enemy, be it a foreigner or a revolutionary, became tantamount to defending the state and the nation.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

## Abstract

The present work focuses on the motif of aggression against icons introduced in the works by many Russian writers before the Revolution. Analysed material includes the works of Nikolai Gogol, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Nikolai Leskov, Lev Tolstoy, Dmitri Merezhkovsky and Vsevolod Krestovsky.

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73 A. Walicki, *W kręgu konserwatywnej utopii. Struktura i przemiany rosyjskiego słowianofilstwa* [In the circle of the conservative utopia. The structure and transformation of the Russian Slaviphilia], Warsaw 2002, p. 14.

74 Достоевский, *Дневник писателя за 1876 год*, in: idem, *Полное собрание сочинений*, Ленинград 1981, p. 113.

75 Е. А. Дудзинская, *Славянофилы в общественной борьбе*, Москва 1983, pp. 33–34.

76 Walicki, *W kręgu...*, p. 370.

The main aim of the article is to define how the authors imagined an act of image-breaking and to determine who played the role of an iconoclast and what the presented motivation of such actions were. It attempts to answer the question of why so many authors felt the need to incorporate the motif of aggression against icons in their works, what literary and propagandistic aims this motif served, what feelings it was meant to evoke in the readers and what image of the world it strove to create.

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## Two Orthodox Churches (the Old and the New) of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz

Orthodox churches in Kalisz have been the subject of strictly historical studies, yet so far no broader context has been outlined for their architecture. They have been categorised as Byzantine or associated with the Romanesque style, or even with Roman-Catholic (!) Baroque architecture.

The architecture of the Orthodox churches in Kalisz has been analysed as an aside to discussions on local minorities or on the functioning of the Orthodox Church on Polish territories during the period of partitions.<sup>1</sup> The *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego* notes that “Kalisz has two Catholic parish churches, an Orthodox church, an Evangelical church (formerly a Jesuit church), and a synagogue”.<sup>2</sup> The text most probably mentions the first (“old”) Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. The catalogue of monuments in Poland (*Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*) only states that “the Orthodox church built in the years 1928–32 [houses] an icon of the Theotokos of Tichvin [painted] on wood, most likely originating from the

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1 Cf. I. Barańska, *Architektura Kalisza w dobie Królestwa Kongresowego* [Architecture of Kalisz in the period of the Congress Kingdom], Kalisz 2002; *Dzieje Kalisza* [The history of Kalisz], ed. W. Rusiński, Poznań 1977; W. Kościelniak, *Zabytki architektury Kalisza* [Architectural monuments of Kalisz], Kalisz 1987; idem, K. Walczak, *Kronika miasta Kalisza* [The Kalisz chronicle], Kalisz 1989; S. Małyszko, *Zabytkowe cmentarze przy Rogatce w Kaliszu* [Historical cemeteries at the tollbooth in Kalisz], Kalisz 2003; E. Polanowski, *W dawnym Kaliszu: szkice z życia miasta 1850–1914* [In old Kalisz; sketches of town life 1850–1914], Poznań 1979; S. Przygodzki, *Kalisz wielokulturowy* [Multicultural Kalisz], Kalisz 2012; Archbishop Szymon, “230-lecie parafii i 75-lecie świętych apostołów Piotra i Pawła w Kaliszu” [The 230<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the parish and the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of St. Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz], *Wiadomości PAKP* 2004, 178, no. 9, p. 10; *Kalisz – miasto otwarte: mniejszości narodowe i religijne w dziejach Kalisza i ziemi kaliskiej* [Kalisz: an open city. National and religious minorities in the history of Kalisz and its region], eds. K. Walczak, E. Andrysiak, Kalisz 2006.

2 *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* [Geographical dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavonic lands], eds. F. Sulimierski, B. Chlebowski, W. Walewski, vol. 3, Warsaw 1882, p. 685.

Moscow school", dated to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. An illustration of this work of art appears in the catalogue.<sup>3</sup> But this note refers to the second ("new") church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul. The edifice itself was not deemed a monument worth cataloguing, thus the publication does not include its description, nor does it mention the Orthodox church built in the 1870s, even though the use of the former drill hall at the cadet corps is noted: "erected in 1825, subsequently used as an Orthodox church, then as an officers' mess hall".<sup>4</sup>

The first attempt at defining the stylistic affiliation of the Orthodox churches in Kalisz can be found in the *Sites and Monuments Record Card* of the "new" Orthodox church in Kalisz that was completed in 1993 by Ewa Andrzejewska and Dorota Rutkowska. The document is currently in the archive of the Kalisz branch of the Provincial Heritage Monuments Protection Office. The origins of the style of the "old" Orthodox church in Kalisz are also mentioned in Paulina Cynalewska-Kuczma's doctoral dissertation on the architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Orthodox churches.<sup>5</sup> An attempt at retracing the history of Orthodox structures in Kalisz was made by Dominika Płócienniczak,<sup>6</sup> whereas Piotr Zubowski provided a broader context for this discussion by describing the situation of Orthodox churches in the Łódź region during the interwar period.<sup>7</sup>

## The history of Orthodox Christians in Kalisz and their first churches

Until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Orthodox Christians in Kalisz was marginal. It is assumed that the local parish was established by Greek immigrants who had arrived in the Commonwealth of Poland in the 1750s from the territory of present-day Macedonia. Initially, the Orthodox community gathered in a private chapel in one of the tenements on the south side of the town square. In 1818, when the city was already under Russian administration, the authorities handed over the buildings in Św. Stanisława Street (formerly belonging to the monastic order of the

3 *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [Catalogue of historical monuments in Poland], eds. T. Ruszczyńska, A. Sławska, vol. 5: *Województwo poznańskie* [Poznań voivodeship], issue 6: *Powiat kaliski* [Kalisz county], Warsaw 1960, p. 38.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 35.

5 See P. Cynalewska-Kuczma, *Architektura cerkiewna Królestwa Polskiego narzędziem integracji z Imperium Rosyjskim* [Orthodox church architecture in the Kingdom of Poland as a tool for the integration with the Russian Empire], Poznań 2004, p. 94.

6 Cf. D. Płócienniczak, "Budynki cerkiewne Kalisza w XIX i XX w." [Orthodox churches in Kalisz in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century], *Zeszyty Kaliskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauki*, no. 12: *W kręgu kaliskich badań nad sztuką i kulturą artystyczną*, Kalisz 2011, pp. 40–61.

7 Cf. P. Zubowski, *Cerkwie prawosławne Łodzi i regionu łódzkiego w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym (1918–1939)* [Orthodox churches in Łódź and its region in the interwar period (1918–1939)], Białystok, 2014; the author was drawing on an article by D. Płócienniczak and did not consult the original documents from the Kalisz archive.

Franciscan Sisters) to the Orthodox parish. The church there was converted into the Orthodox Temple of Saint Athanasius, which remained in use until the 1830s.<sup>8</sup> Afterwards, services were held in the repurposed weapons' hall at the local cadet corps.<sup>9</sup> A vestibule with an octagonal tower was added to the western side of the building. The garrison chapel in Kalisz, currently at 6 Łazienna Street, served as the parish church between the 1830s and 1918, when Poland regained its independence. It functioned as the Regiment Orthodox Church of Saint George.<sup>10</sup>

After the failed November Uprising (1831) the Orthodox community in Kalisz steadily expanded, accommodating members of the Russian administration, both civil and military. As a result of the administrative reform that was introduced in 1867, the city became the capital of a governorate and received new territorial limits:

The Kalisz governorate lies in the west of the Kingdom of Poland, with the Warsaw governorate to the north and east, the Piotrków governorate to the east and south, its north-western reaches neighbouring with Silesia and the Grand Duchy of Posen [...] It is divided into 8 counties, 142 communes, 3 Orthodox parishes [...].<sup>11</sup>

The number of officials and military personnel increased when Kalisz regained its status as the capital of a governorate. In 1882 there were 769 Orthodox believers living in the governorate; they constituted ca. 16% of the entire population.<sup>12</sup> At the turn of the century the community in Kalisz itself was significantly larger – in 1893 Orthodox Christians constituted 3% of the city's population, by 1909 this figure had increased to ca. 10% and on the eve of war to almost 17%.<sup>13</sup> The capital of the Kalisz governorate was inhabited by an ever increasing number of tsarist officials; the city also served as a garrison for numerous Russian units guarding the western border of the Romanov empire.<sup>14</sup>

## The 19<sup>th</sup>-century Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz

In the 1870s a decision was taken to erect a masonry Orthodox church, mainly for Christians of Greek origin (Fig. 1).<sup>15</sup> The idea came from the head of county administration, Pyotr Dmitrievich Snaksaryev, who in 1874 had purchased a suitable plot of land, paying for it from state funds. The plot was located on the corner of

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8 For more on edifices taken over from the Franciscan Sisters see I. Barańska, op. cit.

9 See Przygodzki, op. cit., pp. 125–126.

10 Cf. Płócienniczak, op. cit., p. 45.

11 *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego...*, p. 693.

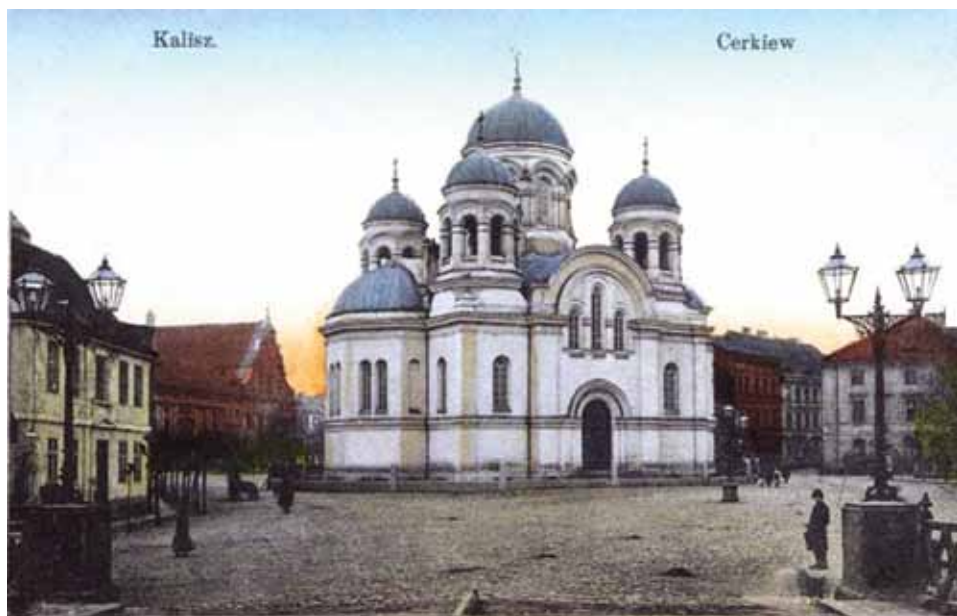
12 Ibid., p. 696.

13 Cf. J. Janczak, "Stosunki ludnościowe" [Population ratios], in: *Dzieje Kalisza...*, pp. 332, 337; Przygodzki, op. cit., p. 108.

14 Ibid.

15 Cf. Archbishop Szymon, op. cit.





**Fig. 1.** Postcard with the “old” Orthodox church (from the collection of K. Sokoł and A. Sosna: <http://www.chram.com.pl/sobor-sw-sw-apostolow-piotra-i-pawla/> )

Warszawska Street (now Zamkowa Street) and Panny Marii Street (now Jan Paweł II Square). Construction work began in 1875, again financed from a state fund (one allocated to the erection of Orthodox churches throughout the Russian Empire). The new Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul was consecrated in 1877 by Warsaw archpriest Leontius in the presence of the general governor of Warsaw, Paweł Kotzebue.<sup>16</sup>

## The Orthodox church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul (1877–1919) – architecture

Built on the plan of a Greek cross inscribed in a square with a polygonal sanctuary (Fig. 2), the church was covered with five domes (the so-called *pyatiglavye*, Russian: *пятиглавие*; *пятиглавый храм*; *пятиглавая композиция*, an arrangement of four smaller domes at the corners of the square and the largest one in the centre of

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Płócienniczak, op. cit., pp 47–48; Cynalewska-Kuczma, op. cit., p. 94; Czyżewski, op. cit., p. 323; the event was not noted in the governorate news in 1877; Yuriy R. Savyelyev also dates the church to 1877 (Ю. Р. Савельев, *Византийский стиль в архитектуре России*, Санкт-Петербург 2005; idem, *Искусство историзма и государственный заказ*, Москва 2008, p. 148).



such a floor plan, external shape and decoration stemmed from Kiev architecture of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>18</sup> Yuriy R. Savelyev emphasises that this was one of the first Russian Orthodox churches in the governorships of the Kingdom of Poland commissioned by the Ministry of War to imitate Byzantine architecture.<sup>19</sup>

## Arguments used in the discussion over the fate of the Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz in the interwar period

When Poland regained its independence, real estate belonging to Orthodox communities (in the case of Kalisz this included the Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul and the parish buildings in Niecała Street) became the property of the Polish military authorities.<sup>20</sup> Initially, the Orthodox church was converted into a Roman-Catholic one (1919), yet ultimately a decision was taken to destroy it.<sup>21</sup> The construction files of the Orthodox church pertaining to its conversion into a garrison church and its eventual demolition contain letters that reflect the general attitude towards Orthodox architecture and the needs of the local community that were prevalent at the time.<sup>22</sup> Orthodox churches were purposefully closed down so that they would not become a place of propagating anti-Polish sentiments among the minority groups.<sup>23</sup> This was usually the first step towards demolition which, in turn, was explained by the fact that a given building was not in use.<sup>24</sup>

The interwar discussion regarding the fate of the Orthodox church in Kalisz revolved around four main groups of arguments for its destruction. First, the need to dismantle the building was justified by its low artistic quality, as evidenced, for example, by a letter written by the president of Kalisz to the solicitor Piotr Engelhardt, dated 10 July 1919:

In February this year the City Council decreed that the Orthodox church in Św. Józef Square in Kalisz be dismantled. In this matter the Magistrate turned to the Ministry of Culture and Art to offer its opinion from the artistic point of view.

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Russia. Interpretations of Aristotele Fioravanti's cathedral of the Dormition at the Kremlin], *Ikonotheka*, 1996, no. 11, p. 59; P. Krasny, *Architektura cerkiewna na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej 1596–1914* [Orthodox church architecture in the Ruthenian lands of the Commonwealth 1596–1914], Cracow 2003, p. 315.

18 Cynalewska-Kuczma, op. cit., loc. cit.

19 See Савельев, *Византийский стиль...*, p. 105.

20 See Przygodzki, op. cit., p. 110.

21 Cf. Płocienniczak, op. cit., p. 48; K. Sokoł, A. Sosna, *Cerkwie w centralnej Polsce 1815–1915* [Orthodox churches in central Poland 1815–1915], Białystok 2011, p. 50.

22 The State Archive in Kalisz, Kalisz city records, signature no. 4315.

23 See M. Papierzyńska-Turek, *Między tradycją a rzeczywistością. Państwo wobec prawosławia 1918–1939* [Between tradition and reality. The state vs. the Orthodox Church 1918–1939], Warsaw 1989, p. 325.

24 Ibid., pp. 323–377.

The Ministry has notified the Magistrate that, having considered the photographic images of the Orthodox church in question, they have come to the conclusion that the edifice lacks any artistic value and its appearance is contrary to the character of architecture in the lands of Poland, which makes the Ministry offer no objection to the notion that this building be dismantled.<sup>25</sup>

The church was deemed entirely alien to the local tradition; yet the principles of evaluation remain very unclear. The phrasing of the letter seems to suggest that the verdict was not supported by any thorough stylistic analysis, i.e. the personnel of the Ministry of Culture and Art simply passed their judgement. The architecture of the Kalisz church was observed through the lens of the politics of the Second Republic of Poland, which were aimed at eradicating all traces of the Russian “invaders”. Notes to the urban plan of Konstytucji Square in Kalisz also present the Orthodox church as an alien and undesirable element in the city’s fabric. A document pertaining to the “issue of the disposal of the Orthodox church” states that:

[...] In debating the issue of the exit of Grodzka Street, it must also be taken into consideration that it is not in line with the times to refrain from extending it directly, since the curve of Warszawska Street was designed during the occupation with the sole purpose of directing the traffic away from the Orthodox church, so that the view from the street would open to the square (presently Konstytucji Square) and not the Orthodox church. [...] the existing building, its architectural style alien to the city and the surrounding architectural complexes, is an eyesore and a cause of vexation to the people.<sup>26</sup>

The rhetoric of this passage clearly illustrates the policy applied in the Second Republic towards the “mementoes” of the partitions. Orthodox churches were portrayed as an element that was incongruous with the local architectural landscape. Similar argumentation also appears in a letter written by the president of Kalisz on 2 April 1926, addressed to the Minister of Public Works in Warsaw:

In Konstytucji Square in Kalisz there stands an edifice of the Orthodox church which lacks any artistic value and is, in its appearance, contrary to the character of architecture in the lands of Poland. [It is] a blemish on the face of the city and a reminder of the Russian yoke.<sup>27</sup>

Like many other Orthodox churches at the time, the Kalisz temple was regarded as a symbol of the partitions, the architecture of the “other”. Artistic quality was determined according to the associations that were evoked by a given structure. The Orthodox church in Kalisz was an eyesore inasmuch as it reminded the city’s inhabitants of the times of subjugation. The church was not perceived as an example of 19<sup>th</sup>-century historicism but as a symbol of tsardom.

The second argument used to justify the need for the church’s demolition was its poor state of preservation, as the ruined structure was a direct hazard to the

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25 The State Archive in Kalisz, Kalisz city records, signature no. 4315, pp. 15–16.

26 Ibid., pp. 122–123.

27 Ibid., pp. 127–128.

city's inhabitants. One example of such reasoning comes from a report that was made after an inspection conducted on 19 August 1922. The committee, "having thoroughly and carefully examined the former Orthodox church in Kalisz on 9 August 1922, established that the state of dilapidation of the dome roofing, cornices, external layers of plaster, flooring, windows and suchlike elements constitutes a safety hazard".<sup>28</sup> Some years later, on 8 January 1926, a delegation sent by the Ministry of Public Works (i.e. Kalisz county architect, engineer Albert Nestrypek, and his deputy, technician A. Czyżewski) and the Magistrate of the City of Kalisz (i.e. engineer K. Laskowski and his deputy, engineer architect J. Lipski) described the state of the unwanted edifice as follows:

1. The roof above the main dome continues to lose its metal covering owing to atmospheric phenomena and is increasingly leaking, as is the roof above the naves. / 2. The fissures in the vaults over the left aisle and the presbytery have grown significantly, and blocks of brick falling from such a height damage the marble floor, which is why, to prevent further losses, the Committee deems it necessary to remove the flooring and store it in a safe location. / 3. Water is pouring down the external walls, stripping the walls of their plaster covering. Sections of weathered brick are visible.<sup>29</sup>

The letter by the president of Kalisz that was written on 2 April 1926 uses the allegedly lamentable state of the Orthodox church as another argument for its swift destruction:

The said Orthodox church has stood empty for a number of years and the Committees have deemed it dilapidated and a hazard to the city's inhabitants. The edifice is an eyesore on the city square and interferes with the course of Warszawska Street. Due to this state of affairs, having considered that dismantling the Orthodox church is contingent on the decisions of the central government, since the edifice is state property, during a meeting on 12 March 1923 the City Council of Kalisz unanimously decreed to apply to the relevant authorities for a swifter demolition of the said Orthodox church, which obstructs the view of the harmonious structures of Warszawska Street.<sup>30</sup>

When the demolition works commenced, it soon became apparent that the reports were inaccurate in their descriptions of the state of the building. On 10 October 1928 Józef Kical, the master mason in charge of the demolition, wrote to the Magistrate of Kalisz in the following manner:

I kindly inform that works on the demolition of the Orthodox church have been dissatisfactory to me. To be exact, the domes, vaults and pillars proved to have been constructed using a very strong cement mortar. The cleaning of bricks also posed much difficulty due to the overly strong mortar [...] I ask that you put my request under your kind consideration and assign a sum which the Magistrate sees fit, so that the demolition works can be completed, without any personal gain on my part [...].<sup>31</sup>

28 Ibid., p. 46.

29 Ibid., pp. 113–114.

30 Ibid., pp. 127–128.

31 Ibid., pp. 284–285.

It appears, therefore, that despite the visible neglect the Orthodox church was not yet in a state that would indicate the need for an immediate demolition (Fig. 3).



**Fig. 3.** Photograph of the “old” Orthodox church (Kalisz, the State Archive, Witold Wardęski Legacy, sign. no. 47)

The third argument used to obtain the Ministry’s approval lay in the plan to hire unemployed inhabitants of the city in the demolition works. An official letter dated 23 February 1926 even states that removal of the Orthodox church would enable city planners to restore the original layout of the square and to remodel the locale to fit the actual needs of the Kalisz population:

The square layout that will emerge after the elimination of the Orthodox church and the rerouting of the adjacent street so that the planned Post Office building stands in line with the houses of Warszawska and Marjańska Streets is suitable for a postal establishment, owing to its location. This solution will, to some extent, open up the possibility of returning the square to its original state from before when the Orthodox church was erected and the characteristic colonnade at the exit of Warszawska and Marjańska Streets was demolished. [...] Seeing the above solution as the issue of the new Post Office in Kalisz as the most appropriate, the District Office – the Regional Department of Public Works – appeals to the Ministry for a favourable decision [...] owing to offering employment to those out of work who will be the first to be hired in the demolition of the Orthodox church.<sup>32</sup>

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32 Ibid., pp. 125–126.

The letter from the city's president to the Minister of Public Works in Warsaw, written less than two months later, displays full support for the idea to remodel the square. Wishing to obtain the Ministry's consent to commence demolition works, the president presented his view mainly as a method of alleviating unemployment in Kalisz:

[...] In recent years the issue has assumed a more realistic form in the proposal to use the space that would open up after the demolition of the Orthodox church to erect an edifice for postal and telegraph services. The lack of such a building is deeply felt in Kalisz, yet it is not certain when this project can be completed, while works could provide job opportunities for several dozen unemployed citizens.

The Orthodox church's demolition was to serve as a kind of catharsis for the inhabitants of Kalisz, offering them the possibility to rebuild the state they had regained, to cleanse the city of unwanted "enemy architecture" and to engage in honest work for the national authorities. It should be noted that this occurred before the great economic crisis (1929–1935), thus unemployment rates were not a pressing concern in the Republic of Poland.

The fourth group of arguments comprises attestations that the Orthodox community was not in the least interested in repossessing the building. Intriguingly, many letters present the prospective works on removal of the "eyesore" as a very urgent matter. The most emphatic of all the appeals to commence the demolition can be found in the 1926 letter from the city president, which was already cited several times above:

[...] I permit myself to turn to the Ministry with a heartfelt plea to have the kindness to order the former Orthodox church in Kalisz to be demolished as swiftly as possible. The issue is of profound importance here in the city [...] Resolving the matter favourably will therefore be met with general approval and will calm public opinion. [...]

On the other hand, I feel obliged to report to the Ministry that the Orthodox community in Kalisz now amounts to circa 400 persons, who lay no claim to their former church, as they would not be able to maintain it. They are indifferent to the issue also due to the fact that they have regained a sizable parish house / the former abodes of the priests and the church attendants /, in which they have arranged a chapel that offers an entirely sufficient substitute for the church edifice.<sup>33</sup>

It is possible that in 1926 the Orthodox community in Kalisz finally abandoned their endeavours to reclaim their temple, as these were slow-going and did not bring about the desired results. The letter from the Ministry of Religion and Public Enlightenment to the Łódź voivode (Warsaw, 17 January 1921) emphasises that "the inhabitants of Kalisz following the Orthodox creed have, in these past months, made attempts to reclaim the local Orthodox temple for their use".<sup>34</sup> In the years that followed the community appealed for the creation of a suitable place of

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 127–128.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

worship, as evidenced by a letter by the government board of the Orthodox parish in Kalisz to the city magistrate, written on 25 January 1921:

owing to the local authorities having requisitioned the parish Church of Peter and Paul as well as the parish house, the so-called parsonage, the parish members have no possibility of holding services on every Sunday and on holidays since the departure of the occupying German forces. Consequently, the parish members have pleaded with the reverend pastor Wende to arrange a provisional chapel in the Protestant school for such a period as is needed [...] The governing board of the Orthodox parish is thus extending a kind request to the magistrate of Kalisz to grant permission to hold a weekly service every Sunday at the Protestant school in Niecała Street.<sup>35</sup>

In response to this appeal, a chapel in Niecała Street was opened. It was to serve as a temporary solution to the pressing problem.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, attempts were still being made to present the issue in such a manner that the monumental Orthodox church would appear as a redundant edifice disturbing the architectural harmony of the urban landscape, or even as a burden to the inhabitants of Kalisz, even those of the Orthodox faith. The letter written by the city's president to the Ministry of Religion and Public Enlightenment on 16 March 1927 may serve as an example:

The governing board [...] of the Orthodox parish makes no attempts to reclaim the former church because, owing to its dilapidated state, the parish would be unable to restore it and maintain it with its funds. At the same time, however, the same board requests to receive the material obtained during the demolition works so that it can be used in the construction of an Orthodox chapel with a capacity of 500 persons, to be erected on the plot at 1 Niecała Street, which is the sole property of the Orthodox parish. The Orthodox community now owns a very elegant chapel seating 120, located in the parish house on the said plot, yet the place is slightly too small and the Magistrate is actually willing to provide financial support for the project to build a new, larger chapel in that location in order to advance the removal of the desolate, decaying and disfiguring edifice of the former church [...].<sup>37</sup>

Similar claims may be found in a letter from the Kalisz starost to the voivode of Łódź, dated 12 April 1927:

According to the oral testimony of the president of Kalisz [...] neither the local Orthodox parish amounting to circa 450 souls nor the government of the said parish is raising any objections to the demolition of the Orthodox church, as it is in possession of a chapel at 1 Niecała Street, which is entirely sufficient for their religious needs.<sup>38</sup>

This allegedly indifferent attitude towards the fate of the church was explained by a lack of financial resources. In reality, however, the Orthodox inhabitants of the re-established Polish state made efforts to secure government subsidies to restore their

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35 Ibid., p. 35.

36 Ibid., p. 38.

37 Ibid., pp. 163–164.

38 Ibid., p. 176.



churches.<sup>39</sup> Late in the 1920s, the Minister of Religion and Public Enlightenment received a letter from Dionizy, the metropolitan bishop of the Orthodox Church in Poland, discussing both the preservation and restoration of the church in Kalisz as an important place of worship for the Orthodox denizens of the city. A passage from this document (dated 3 March 1928) may serve as the conclusion to the analysis of the heated discussion on the fate of the church in Kalisz:

The dismantling of the Orthodox church is, in itself, such a sad eventuality that the Church Authority may only agree to it under certain circumstances: if the necessity of the demolition is indisputably proven from the perspective of public interest and a replacement is offered to satisfy the spiritual needs of the Orthodox community. The fact that the Orthodox church in Kalisz is partially ruined and in bad condition, while its furnishings have been appropriated by third persons, can only lead to the necessity of bringing it to order using state funds earmarked for the needs of the Orthodox church [...] I may give my consent to the demolition of the church only if there is an actual possibility for the Orthodox people in Kalisz and its vicinity to satisfy their spiritual needs.<sup>40</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain whether the city authorities managed to provide a satisfactory place of worship for all Orthodox inhabitants of Kalisz and its vicinity. It remains a fact that the members of the local parish were unable to negotiate restoration of the church financed from state funds allocated to the “needs of the Orthodox Church” or to save their temple from the “sad eventuality”.<sup>41</sup> The old church was dismantled in 1928. By then, the iconostasis and the side chapels had already been removed. The building materials obtained from the dismantling of the church were used to build a new one, which has survived to the present day and functions as the parish church.<sup>42</sup> The building was designed by Michał Zenowicz; its plans were approved on 26 September 1928 and construction was concluded in 1930.<sup>43</sup> The works were supervised by Albert Nestrypke, one of the architects who had supported the idea to demolish the old Church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>44</sup> This new church is still in existence and is looked after by state conservators; on 3 February 1994 it was added to the list of monuments.<sup>45</sup>

39 Cf. Papierzyńska-Turek, op. cit., p. 328.

40 The State Archive in Kalisz, Kalisz city records, signature no. 4315, pp. 254–255.

41 Ibid.

42 Cf. Płócienniczak, op. cit., pp. 55–56.

43 The State Archive in Kalisz, Kalisz city records, signature no. 2878, pp. 30–31.

44 The artistic legacy of the architect A. Nestrypke (mainly in the context of architecture in Łódź and Poznań) was discussed in more detail by J. Bruś-Kosińska in her doctoral dissertation submitted in 2012: J. Bruś, *Albert Nestrypke (1887–1977) – życie i twórczość kaliskiego inżyniera architekta, propagatora architektury modernistycznej* [Albert Nestrypke (1887–1977) – the life and oeuvre of an engineer architect from Kalisz, a promoter of modernist architecture], doctoral dissertation written at the Institute of Art History and the Faculty of Humanistic Sciences, John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin, under the supervision of Prof. Lechosław Lameński PhD. (habil.), Lublin 2012.

45 Cf. The National Heritage Board of Poland; Register of Monuments – the Greater Poland Voivodeship (20 April 2016).

## The architecture of the “new” Orthodox church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz (1928)

The church has the floor plan of a Greek cross, with a substantially extended southwest axis. A tripartite vestibule is located on the western side and a rectangular naos is found in the central part of the building. On the eastern side the temple features a polygonal sanctuary. It also has a tower, rising above the vestibule in the western part. The tower has a quadrilateral base and an octagonal upper section. It is covered with a polyhedral pyramid roof accentuated with an onion-shaped dome. The dominant elements of its form are the tower and the nave covered with a square hip roof featuring a small octagonal tower with an onion dome. The façade is symmetrical, organised along a single axis, with a centrally located entrance (Figs. 4–5). Pilasters divide the elevation into several fields filled with arched windows. The initial design included an inscription, but it was changed to a floral decoration with blind arcades.

It is a tower church, and its architecture is characteristic of the Russian national style as inspired by old-Russian buildings. The tradition of erecting such churches in Russia can be traced back to the Church of the Ascension in Kolomyenskoye (1530–1532) on the outskirts of Moscow. As was mentioned above, the nave section is accentuated by an octagonal tower crowned with an onion dome. This solution may frequently be seen in Orthodox churches which were constructed during the period of the partitions. The decoration on the façade also seems fairly standard and features an arcade frieze (on the nave and on the western wall) and floral motifs (stylised scrolls on pilaster capitals, rosettes above the pilasters, and a foliate frieze on the apse). The decoration is modest, which is a nod to both old-Russian buildings and the style of Russian church architecture, blending historicism with modernism. The tendency is all the more noticeable given the fact that the elevation features two shades of beige (with the details in a lighter tone), which accentuate the monumental silhouette (Fig. 6).

Ewa Andrzejewska and Dorota Rutkowska associate the style of the Kalisz orthodox church with architecture inspired by the Romanesque style. The registry note includes the phrase: “A building in pseudo-Romanesque form”. Dominika Płócienniczak seems to follow this line of reasoning, stating that “the form of the Orthodox church refers to the neo-Romanesque style”.<sup>46</sup> The architecture of the church also bears resemblance to the so-called round-arch style (*Rundbogenstil*), which drew inspiration from Byzantine, early Christian and Romanesque art as well as from the Quattrocento. The style is Western in provenance and stems from creative inspiration from the works of previous epochs.<sup>47</sup> Its characteristic features include the use of an arcaded frieze pierced with windows. In this respect, the church

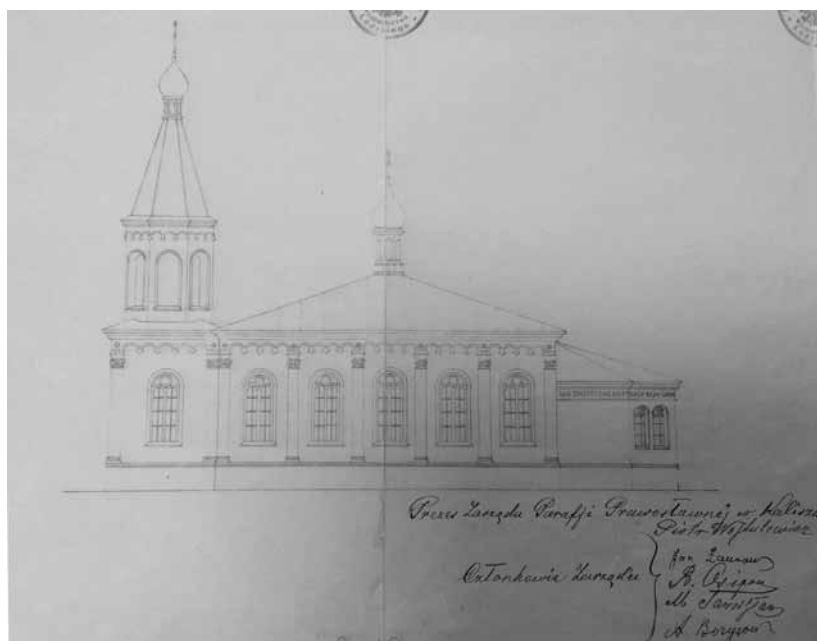
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<sup>46</sup> Cf. Płócienniczak, op. cit., p. 58; the author presents this statement with no footnote.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. M. J. Lewis, *Rundbogenstil*, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, vol. 27, London–New York 1996, pp. 334–336.



**Fig. 4.** Design of the “new” Orthodox church – façade (Kalisz, the State Archive, Kalisz city records, sign. no. 2878, p. 144)



**Fig. 5.** Design of the “new” Orthodox church – side elevation (Kalisz, the State Archive, Kalisz city records, sign. no. 2878, p. 145)



**Fig. 6.** Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz (a contemporary view of the “new” building; photo by Anita Kunikowska)

in question does indeed repeat certain elements that are typical of “Romanesque” or “pseudo-Romanesque” art. Piotr Zubowski, in turn, categorises the building as “referring to Roman-Catholic Baroque architecture” and notes that it does not seem associated with “the ecclesiastical architecture of Russia”.<sup>48</sup> His hypothesis would be difficult to defend, even if we invoked the architecture of the Occidentalisation period (which Zubowski, incidentally, fails to do). The above analysis clearly indicates that the church is typically Russian in form and follows the academic strand of the neo-Byzantine style which originates from the works of K. A. Thon. It is therefore highly surprising that, at a time when Orthodox churches were razed to the ground en masse (as symbols of the despised tsarist government), the authorities of the newly re-established Polish state authorised the erection of a building that was representative of the national Russian style.

## Remarks on revivalist Orthodox churches on Polish territory and their fate in the interwar period

Regrettably, the number of Orthodox churches in Poland that were demolished (particularly in the interwar period) exceeds that of the surviving ones. In the Kalisz governorate alone, almost all Russian places of worship were destroyed; the only

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48 Cf. Zubowski, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

one that is still in existence is the garrison church in Kalisz.<sup>49</sup> The aim was thus to eliminate all Russian Orthodox churches regardless of their style or architectural value. This fate befell, for instance, the neo-Byzantine churches of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in Łęczyca and of St. Seraphim in Sieradz, as well as the neo-Russian churches of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in Słupca, the Holy Mary Mother of God Church in Wieluń and the Holy Trinity Church in Konin.<sup>50</sup> It should be emphasised that the demolished temples were often very small, serving only the local communities, such as the already mentioned church in Sieradz, which could seat ca. 300, or the one in Słupsk, with a maximum capacity of 350 worshippers.<sup>51</sup>

The Kalisz governorate is hardly an exception in this respect, as Orthodox churches were being dismantled throughout the entire territory of the Second Republic since they were regarded to be a tangible reminder of Russian rule. Between 1919 and 1939, the government of the re-established Polish state brought the Orthodox churches under its control on the basis of temporary legislation. These were rooted in two legal acts: the decree of the Chief of State dated 16 December 1918 on the compulsory administration of property formerly owned by the Orthodox Church (and others) and the so-called “lex Żeligowski”, which was an ordinance

49 In the interwar period the edifice was used as a Centre for Culture and the Arts; the tower and the decoration of the façade were not removed, which makes the original form of the building entirely discernible even today.

50 The source material on the architecture and history of these churches is very scarce. Documents from the governorate office of Kalisz dated to 1867–1914 (now held at the State Archive in Łódź) do not contain the architectural plans of the Orthodox churches erected in the administrative region. The archives are incomplete – they are estimated to contain only 30% percent of the documents produced by the government of the Kalisz governorate (See C. Ohryzko-Włodarska, “Archiwum Państwowe miasta Łodzi i Województwa Łódzkiego” [City of Łódź and Łódź Voivodeship State Archive], in: *Dzieje Poznania i województwa poznańskiego: informator o materiałach archiwalnych* [The history of Poznań and Poznań Voivodeship: information on archival records], ed. C. Skopowski, Warsaw–Łódź 1972, p. 726). The surviving files include correspondence on the erection of the Orthodox churches in Kalisz (signature no. 2310) and in Sieradz (signature no. 3935, 4195), the transfer of property ownership in Konin (signature no. 1200), as well as the allotment of a municipally owned plot to erect the Orthodox church in Łęczyca (signature no. 4195) and in Wieluń (signature no. 3695). Documents related to the demolition of the Orthodox churches are much more numerous; such files can be found in the archives in Łęczyca (Łęczyca city records, signature no. 439 and 484), Sieradz (Sieradz city records, signature no. 127) and Kalisz (Kalisz city records, signature no. 4315). The architecture and style of the Orthodox churches in the Kalisz governorate may only be inferred from picture postcards, e.g. the collection of Kirił Sokoł and Aleksander Sosna, published in Sokoł, Sosna, op. cit., pp. 71, 119, 123, 156, 57 (the page numbers refer to the churches mentioned in the main body of this article, in the order in which they appear here; the book is the second edition of the album: K. Sokoł, A. Sosna, *Kopuły nad Wisłą. Prawosławne cerkwie w centralnej Polsce w latach 1815–1915* [Onion domes by the Vistula. Orthodox churches in central Poland in the years 1815–1915], Moscow 2003). The collection is also available in digital form; it is constantly being expanded and popularised through the website: *Prawosławne cerkwie na starych pocztówkach* [Orthodox churches in old postcards] <http://www.chram.com.pl/>. The picture postcards presented there come from the archives of local museums.

51 See Sokoł, Sosna, op. cit., p. 123.

issued by the Commissioner General of the Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands on 22 October 1919. The 1918 decree stipulated that the government had the right to appropriate Orthodox churches abandoned by those communities that had chosen to participate in the mass exodus (Russian: беженство) to Russia. In accordance with the 1919 legislation, "all temples of the Greek-Russian faith" that had been either erected where Roman-Catholic ones had once stood or adapted from them were to be surrendered to the Roman-Catholic church authorities.<sup>52</sup> The two ordinances became the legal basis for many bills, including the order that Orthodox parishes were to close down their unused churches and leave the keys at the police station.<sup>53</sup> In practice, however, the authorities of the Second Republic seized even those churches that had from the very beginning of their existence served only the needs of the local Orthodox people, who became national minorities after the end of the First World War. This policy was justified by the wish to extend state protection to the gradually decaying church edifices. *De facto*, most of them were converted into Roman Catholic churches; the remaining ones were dismantled or remained permanently closed. The decisions were justified by the alleged poor artistic quality of the edifices, their inconsistency with the local architectural tradition and unfortunate political connotations.<sup>54</sup> Research conducted so far suggests that initiatives to eliminate Orthodox churches intensified in the years 1918–1924, 1929–1934 and 1937–1938, with the greatest number of temples of considerable artistic and historical significance being demolished just before the outbreak of the Second World War.<sup>55</sup>

To recapitulate, throughout the interwar period the Polish authorities strove to integrate the population of Poland under the wing of the Roman Catholic church, which is why the Orthodox architecture of the partition period was sentenced to a ruthless annihilation. The Polish government worked towards the aim of breaking all political and cultural ties with national minorities of Russian, Belarusian and Ukrainian origin. Initially, attempts were made to make it more difficult for the Orthodox communities to use their places of worship. Such methods were facilitated by the structural disorganisation of the Orthodox church and the process of transporting church furnishings to the East, which was associated with the

52 The Journal of Laws of the Polish Republic 1918, no. 21, item 67; The Official Journal of the Civil Administration of the Eastern Lands 1919, no. 25, item 256 (quoted after Papierzyńska-Turek, op. cit., pp. 324–325).

53 This regulation was issued by the Ministry of Religious Creeds and Public Enlightenment in 1919 (eadem, p. 325).

54 See P. Paszkiewicz, "Spór o cerkwie prawosławne w II Rzeczypospolitej. „Odmoskwianie” czy „polonizacja”?" [The debate on Orthodox churches in the Second Republic. 'De-Muscovited' or 'Polonised'?), in: *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1950* [Nationalism in art and art history 1789–1950], eds. D. Konstantynow, R. Piaseczny, P. Paszkiewicz, Warsaw 1998, pp. 228–229.

55 Por. Ibid., p. 228–232; Papierzyńska-Turek, op. cit., pp. 331–377; the scale of Orthodox church destruction in the late 1930s is best illustrated by the collection of photographs: *Akcja burzenia cerkwi na Chełmszczyźnie i Południowym Podlasiu* [Systematic demolition of Orthodox churches in the Chełm region and southern Podlachia], available at <http://cerkiew1938.pl/>.

withdrawal of the Russian army from Polish territory, starting in 1914.<sup>56</sup> The media often presented the need to cleanse the urban space from symbols of the partitions as a national issue, even against the actual wishes of the local residents. The fact that a portion of the society was against the demolition of Russian churches is evident, for instance, from the public discussion regarding the destruction of the Orthodox church in Saski Square in Warsaw.<sup>57</sup>

It may therefore be hypothesised that the conversion into Catholic churches was what saved many Orthodox edifices from complete devastation. Orthodox buildings utilised as storage spaces in the interwar period became dilapidated, as was the case, for example, with the Church of St. George the Victorious in Suwałki (demolished in the 1960s).<sup>58</sup> Churches converted into state institutional buildings were substantially transformed, e.g. the Orthodox Church of Our Lady of the Sign Icon in Końskie (1903) was to become an old people's home,<sup>59</sup> whereas the Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in Sierpc (1894–1897) was converted into a district court in 1926–1928 and lost its tower and all its domes. The existing building was enlarged, the decoration, which was Russian in provenance, was painted over and replaced with ornaments imitating the Doric style.<sup>60</sup> Thus the form of the edifice was altered so much that its original function became almost indiscernible.

As has already been mentioned, most of the existing Orthodox churches survived the difficult period only because they had been converted into Roman Catholic ones. This shift in function did not result in any significant changes in the appearance of the buildings.<sup>61</sup> Their interiors were adapted to a different liturgy,

56 Cf. A. Mironowicz, *Kościół prawosławny na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku* [The Orthodox Church in the territories of Poland in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century], Białystok 2005, pp. 84, 125–129.

57 Cf. A. Haska, *Rozebrać czy zostawić? Sobór pod wezwaniem św. Aleksandra Newskiego a Pałac Kultury* [To demolish or to let it stand? The Alexander Nevsky Orthodox Cathedral vs. the Palace of Culture], in: *Pałac Kultury i Nauki: między ideologią a masową wyobraźnią* [The Palace of Culture: between ideology and collective imagination], eds. Z. Grębecka, J. Sadowski, Cracow 2007, pp. 51–58.

58 See Sokoł, Sosna, op. cit., p. 133.

59 Existing documents include a structure alteration plan made by a Radom-based architect, Kazimierz Prokulski, in February 1927 (Kielce, the State Archive, assemblage 21/460/4, signature no. 9). It was never implemented; the Orthodox church was torn down in the 1930s.

60 See T. Kowalski, *Śladami rosyjskiego garnizonu* [Following the Russian garrison], Sierpc 2013, p. 135.

61 In some cases, architectural interference in the form of the churches, although substantial, did not alter the appearance of the temples to any significant degree, simply because they constituted a new variation on the original features. One example here is the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker (1896–1909) that was converted into a Roman Catholic church (of Our Lady of Częstochowa) in Augustów. The decoration, Russian in provenance, was left intact. The *kokoshnik*-shaped arched panel now features a crucifix. The dome, apparently associated with the tsarist government, was removed in the interwar period. Another change was made in the 1980s: “a modernist-style tower was erected above the entrance” (Sokoł, Sosna, op. cit., p. 36). The characteristic tented roof of the tower above the *prytvor* (vestibule) of the Orthodox church was therefore removed and replaced with a very similar polygonal roof (sic!)

and the only elements of the exterior that were removed were the domes and the Orthodox crosses. The buildings were adjusted to fit their new function, but the neo-Byzantine architecture remained almost intact, even though contemporaneous experts almost invariably described the style as alien to the local architectural tradition, which was associated with the tsarist government and as marring the urban landscape. The circle of “experts on architecture” passing judgement on the Russian Orthodox churches included the presidents of many Polish cities. The most emphatic comment is found in a letter from the president of Sosnowiec to the chief conservator of the Częstochowa region regarding the Orthodox Church of St. Nicholas in Sosnowiec: “Its style, very Byzantine indeed, mars the city greatly, robbing it of its domestic charm. The Orthodox church ought to be removed without delay as a symbol of tyranny and violence done to our country”.<sup>62</sup> “Domestic” was a term that was frequently invoked in the interwar period by Polish architects working towards establishing a national style that would legitimise the restored Polish state.<sup>63</sup> This letter also mentions the fact that the inhabitants of Sosnowiec voluntarily donated their funds for the erection of this temple; nevertheless, the president of Sosnowiec argued that the church, as a *pars pro toto* of Byzantine revivalist architecture in its Russian version, was at variance with Polish national art (the picturesque domestic style). From a purely artistic point of view, this “antistyle” of the Russian temples is an example of historicism in 19<sup>th</sup>-century church architecture. Thus far, the style has not been clearly defined in academic literature – it has been described in such terms as Byzantine (from the Russian византийский), pseudo-Byzantine, Russian, synodal, official, neo-Byzantine, post-Byzantine and meta-Byzantine. In Polish literature, the style is most often associated with the fact that, as the national style of Russia, it became a political tool of the Romanovs.<sup>64</sup>

The periodisation of Russian revivalist church architecture has been analysed by a number of scholars, e.g. by Boris Kirikov, Evgenya M. Kishkinova and Yuriy R. Savelyev.<sup>65</sup> For the purposes of this article it is sufficient to apply the following

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in a slightly modernised form. Now the original function of the edifice is evident not only due to the decoration on the elevation but also due to the characteristic tower above the façade, whose shape mirrors the earlier form of the vestibule.

62 Kielce, the State Archive, assemblage UWK WKZ, signature no. 21747.

63 For more on the domestic style and its equivalent in lay architecture – the manor-house style – as well as other variants of Polish national architecture, see K. Stefański, *Polska architektura sakralna w poszukiwaniu stylu narodowego* [Polish church architecture in search of national style], Łódź 2002.

64 Cf. P. Paszkiewicz, *W służbie Imperium Rosyjskiego 1721–1917. Funkcje i treści ideowe rosyjskiej architektury sakralnej na zachodnich rubieżach Cesarstwa i poza jego granicami* [In the service of the Russian Empire 1721–1917. Functions and ideological messages of Russian ecclesiastical architecture in the western borderlands of the Empire and outside its borders], Warsaw 1999; Cynalewska-Kuczma, op. cit.

65 Cf. A. Biertasz, “Rosyjski styl narodowy w architekturze cerkiewnej okolic Petersburga (połowa XIX – początek XX wieku)” [Russian national style in ecclesiastical architecture of the St. Petersburg region (the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – early 20<sup>th</sup> century)], in: *Nacjonalizm*



classification: until the 1830s the dominant architectural style was Palladian neo-Classicism of model designs by K. A. Thon. Since the 1880s, two variants of national architecture developed side by side: the Academic style (inspired by Thon) and the anti-Academic one (inspired by I. P. Ropet and hence called *ropetovshchina*). The latter was characterised by opulent decoration and multiple references to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century architecture of Moscow and Jaroslav. The style of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century combined eclecticism with modernism. The architecture in the westernmost reaches of the Russian Empire essentially followed the same trends.

The appearance of Orthodox churches in Kalisz resulted from the needs of the local community, i.e. the Macedonian diaspora. Only later did the development of such architecture become associated with Russification of the western regions of the empire. The church that deliberately referred to the Byzantine style of architecture was built precisely at that time. Kalisz was one of the westernmost cities in the Russian domain and fulfilled important administrative functions throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century – first as the capital of one of the voivodeships in the Kingdom of Poland (1816–1837), then as the capital of the Kalisz governorate (1837–1844 and 1867–1918). The fact that the city had a railway connection was also significant – the line built in 1900–1902 ran from Kalisz to Warsaw, thus making it a part of the Warsaw–Vienna network.<sup>66</sup>

The first Orthodox Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in Kalisz was built on a plot of land purchased from private owners – a married couple by the name of Nerger. The magistrate had bought the land with an existing building (which was subsequently demolished) for the sum of 13 900 roubles. The church, which replaced the house known as “Under the Pillars”,<sup>67</sup> was mainly built for the garrison stationed in the governorate capital. It stood near a Roman Catholic church, in an open square, i.e. in accordance with the principles of spatial planning that were followed at that time.<sup>68</sup> Thus the history of the edifice had nothing to do with Latin liturgy; yet despite this fact it was taken over and converted into a Roman Catholic church as early as in 1919. In later years it was shut down and stood empty. The extant letters from the interwar period indicate that demolition of the temple was lobbied for mainly by the municipal authorities. Their initiative was injurious to the local people of the Orthodox faith, but the Orthodox minority

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w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1950, op. cit., pp. 157–170; Dąb-Kalinowska, op. cit., pp. 49–63; P. Krasny, “Е. М. Кишкинова, “Византийское возрождение” в архитектуре России Середина XIX – начало XX века, Санкт-Петербург 2007, 256 p., 204 fig.; Ю.Р. Савельев, Пемербурская школа „византийского стиля” в Российской империи, in: Санкт-Петербург и архитектура России, ed. И. А. Бондаренко, Комкнига, Москва 2007, pp. 445–448, 17 fig.”, in: *Modus: Prace z historii sztuki*, ed. W. Bałus, vol. 8–9, Cracow 2009, pp. 322–334; Савельев, *Византийский стиль...*; idem, *Искусство историзма ...*, Москва 2008.

66 Cf. Płócienniczak, op. cit., pp. 40–62; M. Bandurka, *Zmiany administracyjne i terytorialne ziem województwa łódzkiego w XIX i XX wieku* [Administrative and territorial transformations of the Łódź voivodeship territory in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century], Warsaw 1974, p. 45.

67 Kalisz, the State Archive, Kalisz city records, signature no. 4315, pp. 127–128.

68 See Савельев, *Византийский стиль...*, loc. cit.

did not, however, resort to actions such as those undertaken in the Lublin region, where people protested by holding services in front of the closed churches, wrote numerous petitions or even spread news of miracles happening in the temple and forced its doors open.<sup>69</sup>

In 1928 there were nearly 200 unused Orthodox churches in Poland.<sup>70</sup> The issue of closing the one in Kalisz is therefore not an isolated case; however, the erection of a new Orthodox church does seem remarkable. In the interwar period very few temples of the Orthodox faith were built due to the policy of consolidating the state under the aegis of the Roman Catholic Church. The government of the Second Republic was reluctant to issue permits to build chapels, let alone to finance the erection of new churches.<sup>71</sup> It may be argued that the new Orthodox churches were to be built as a means of compensation for the destruction of the existing houses of prayer. This hypothesis may be illustrated by two examples from two different regions of Poland – the Orthodox church in Baranowicze (in the east of the Second Republic) and the church in Sosnowiec (on the western borders of the former Russian partition).

The Orthodox church in Baranowicze was consecrated in 1908 and was destroyed in a fire that broke out in unexplained circumstances on 19 April 1921. The locals made ardent efforts towards rebuilding it and even acquired state funding for the purpose. The new church was consecrated in the late 1920s. It housed the surviving mosaics from the dismantled Orthodox church in Saski Square and icons from other temples stored in the Orthodox church in the Praga district of Warsaw.<sup>72</sup> The fact that the state agreed to co-fund the construction became the principal argument against the theory that the government of the Second Republic was unfavourably disposed towards people of the Orthodox creed.<sup>73</sup>

The Church of St. Nicholas the Wonderworker in Sosnowiec (1901–1906), in turn, was renovated in the years 1935–1936. Further works, aimed, for example, at changing the architectural style of the domes, were planned to commence in 1937. However, on 21 May 1938 the City Council in Sosnowiec ordered the temple's demolition, a notion that had been lobbied for in 1920 by the president of Sosnowiec, who wrote that it "ought to be removed without delay as a symbol of tyranny and violence done to our country".<sup>74</sup> The building was torn down in 1938, with considerable effort. The destruction of the domes required the use of dynamite, for which the municipal authorities had to take a loan amounting to 25,000 zloty.<sup>75</sup> The dismantling of the church was protested against not only by the

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69 See Papierzyńska-Turek, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 328.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 329.

72 *Ibid.*, p. 328; A. Radziukiewicz, "Fragmenty świętości" [Pieces of glory], *Przegląd Prawosławny*, January 2003, no. 1(211), [http://www.przeglądprawosławny.pl/articles.php?id\\_n=283&id=8](http://www.przeglądprawosławny.pl/articles.php?id_n=283&id=8) [accessed 30 October 2016].

73 See. Papierzyńska-Turek, *op. cit.*, loc. cit.

74 Katowice, the State Archive, Sosnowiec city records, signature no. 2547, pp. 30–31.

75 Katowice, the State Archive, Sosnowiec city records, signature no. 4184, p. 572.

Orthodox community but also by a representative of the Roman Catholic church – the dean of Będzin, Father Franciszek Gola.<sup>76</sup> Late in 1938, the president of the city promised to allot a sum of 50,000 zloty for the construction of a new Orthodox church; the plot on which it was to be built was selected a year later.<sup>77</sup> The plans were interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War and abandoned after the war was over.<sup>78</sup>

## Conclusion

The example of the two Orthodox churches in Kalisz demonstrates the state of our knowledge regarding the (neo) Byzantine style in the interwar period. The neo-Byzantine temple in Kalisz was demolished and replaced by one that was typically Russian (or Russo-Byzantine) in style. In the light of the above analysis, the campaign to demolish the Orthodox church in Kalisz was a part of a larger process of cleansing the lands within the newly restored Polish state from elements that were “alien” to national Polish architecture. The decision to build a new church, taken at a time when Orthodox temples and small parish churches were being torn down, remains truly remarkable, particularly since the style of the edifice referred to Russian historicism. This could indicate that either the style was not identified correctly or that it was a conscious attempt to emphasise the Orthodox community’s affinity with Russian culture.

*Translated by Julita Mastalerz*

## Abstract

The Kalisz Orthodox church from the 1870s (Fig. 1) was demolished in the interwar period and quickly replaced by a “new” Orthodox church by the same name (Fig. 6). The surviving official correspondence reveals a specific set of arguments for the dismantling of the “old” church, e.g. that it was becoming dilapidated, was a threat to public safety and constituted an alien addition to the architectural landscape of the city. The demolition of the Orthodox church was to provide jobs for the unemployed and to open up the possibility of erecting a post office in that spot. The municipal authorities convinced the Ministry of Culture and Art that the local Orthodox parish was not interested in reclaiming the church for their own needs, even though this was not the case. The community ultimately conceded to having the church dismantled but demanded that a new temple be erected as compensation.

76 Cf. M. Dziewiatkowski, *Dziedzictwo diaspory. Monografia parafii prawosławnej w Sosnowcu* [Heritage of the diaspora. Monograph of the Orthodox parish in Sosnowiec], Sosnowiec 2010, p. 39.

77 Katowice, the State Archive, Sosnowiec city records, signature no. 4184, p. 29.

78 See Dziewiatowski, op. cit., p. 40.

The example of Kalisz aptly illustrates the attitude the authorities of the Second Republic of Poland had towards Russian Orthodox churches that had been erected in the partition period. The situation mirrored the controversies around the fate of the Orthodox church in Saski Square in Warsaw, if in a more provincial environment. The architectural style of the “new” Orthodox church in Kalisz puzzles many authors – the building, clearly representative of Russian historicism, is associated with *Rundbogenstil* and Latin- and Occidental-style Orthodox churches, which were spared by the interwar Polish authorities who wished to convert Orthodox citizens to Catholicism within the framework of the so-called neo-Union.



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## The Image of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian Legacy of the Jagiellons in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century Pictorial Catalogues of Polish Monarchs\*

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, new forms of social communication allowed the process of universalisation and integration of historical representations to gain momentum.<sup>1</sup> This process encompassed multi-ethnic communities and led to a gradual consolidation of national polities. This article focuses on selected aspects of this phenomenon as illustrated by a sample of both visual and literary materials dedicated to the Lithuanian and Ruthenian heritage of the Jagiellons in the pictorial catalogues of Polish monarchs. These aspects mainly centre around the role of the pictorial catalogue – a popular medium that sustained the collective memory – in the integration of Lithuanian and Ruthenian traditions in the Kingdom of Poland.

The chronological framework of the following reflections includes the dynamic development of Polish historiography and of the illustrated printed book. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, modern Polish historiography took growing interest in Lithuania and Ruthenia, deepened by the preparations for and the signing of the Union of Lublin treaty (1569) on the one hand, and by discussions on the distinctiveness of these territories and their connection to the Crown on the other. This was also a time when the first works that considered the history of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as inseparable were written. Simultaneously, one can notice increased production and widespread reception of the illustrated printed book, which was eagerly used to disseminate current political messages.

The transition from a personal union between Poland and Lithuania to a real union, the subsequent political, legal and structural changes, and the preparations

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1 The animated debate on the role of prints in nation-building processes, initiated by Benedict Anderson’s influential study *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1983), was summarised e.g. by Trish Loughran, *Books in Nation*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Leslie Howsam, Cambridge 2015, pp. 36–52.

for the union of churches, signed in Brest (1596), were all inseparably connected with the concept of the “cultural union” or, to cite the conception proposed by Oskar Halecki, the coexistence and mutual influence of the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian traditions.<sup>2</sup> This raises the question of the role of the printed visual and textual message in facilitating the coexistence and gradual assimilation of these traditions in the Crown.

Surprisingly, the 16<sup>th</sup>-century popular image of the first Jagiellons and their spouses remains peripheral to the contemporary scientific interests of historians in general and historians of art and literature in particular. In fact, only two researchers, namely Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg and Alvydas Nikžentaitis,<sup>3</sup> pursued this subject, albeit viewing it from entirely distinct perspectives. Bömelburg focused on Polish literary sources and observed that, in the Crown, the aforementioned century lacked a consistent image of the Jagiellons and that opinions about the first Jagiellons in the first two decades of the century were largely negative. These opinions were disseminated through antecedent chronicles, in particular the *Annals* of Jan Długosz.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, Nikžentaitis focused on the polarised, stereotypical evaluation of Ladislaus Jagiello and his cousin Vytautas in Lithuanian historiography and

2 O. Halecki, “Zagadnienia kulturalne w dziejach Unii Jagiellońskiej” [Cultural issues in the history of the Jagiellonian Union], *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1926–1927, no. 26, pp. 396–408; G. Błaszczyk, “Zagadnienia kulturalne w unii polsko-litewskiej (1385–1569)” [Cultural issues in the Polish-Lithuanian union (1385–1569)], in: *Kultura Litwy i Polski w dziejach. Tożsamość i współistnienie. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji zorganizowanej w dniach 15–17 października 1998* [The culture of Lithuania and Poland throughout history. Identity and coexistence. Materials from the international conference organised on 15–17 October 1998], ed. J. Wyrozumski, Cracow 2000, pp. 31–49.

3 H.-J. Bömelburg, “Das polnische Geschichtsdenken und der Piasten- und Jagiellonenkult in der Frühen Neuzeit”, in: *Die Konstruktion der Vergangenheit. Geschichtsdenken, Traditionsbildung und Selbstdarstellung im frühneuzeitlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. J. Bahlcke, A. Strohmeyer, Berlin 2002, pp. 193–220; idem, “Historia narodowa w interregnach (1572–1587). Jej popularyzacja i zorientowanie na „Piastów” i „Jagiellonów”” [National history in the interregnum periods (1572–1587). Its popularisation and orientation on ‘Piasts’ and ‘Jagiellons’], in: idem, *Polska myśl historyczna a humanistyczna historia narodowa (1500–1700)* [Polish historical thought and humanistic national history (1500–1700)], translated by Z. Owczarek, Cracow 2011 (German ed. 2006), pp. 213–234 [with interesting remarks on Ladislaus Jagiello being evoked in texts supporting Ivan IV as a candidate to the Polish throne, pp. 220–221]; A. Nikžentaitis, *Witold i Jagiello. Polacy i Litwini we wzajemnym stereotypie* [Vytautas and Jagiello. Lithuanians and Poles in mutual stereotypes], translated by I. Fedorowicz, K. Korzeniewska-Wolek, K. Linka, Poznań 2000. For the perception of Ladislaus Jagiello during and immediately after his reign, see K. Biedrowska-Ochmańska, J. Ochmański, *Władysław Jagiello w opiniach swoich współczesnych. Próba charakterystyki jego osobowości* [Ladislaus Jagiello in the opinions of his contemporaries. An attempt at assessing his personality], Poznań 1987; S. K. Kuczyński in the synthetic text *Władysław Jagiello* [Ladislaus Jagiello], in: *Życiorysy historyczne, literackie i legendarne* [Historical, literary and legendary lives], series 2, ed. Z. Stefanowska, J. Tazbir; selection of illustrations Sz. Gąsowski, Warsaw 1989, pp. 47–78, briefly discussed the image of Jagiello in texts of culture, starting from the *Annals* of Jan Długosz through 18<sup>th</sup>-century operas and ending with the *Idea i miecz* [An idea and a sword] television show (1978).

4 Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 150.

journalism, seeking to discover a reflection of contradictory interests and political relations between Poland and Lithuania. He also observed that “in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, not only did the dynasty become an important consolidating agent of the Lithuanian national polity, but it also brought Lithuanians and Poles closer”.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, the cultural consequences of this proximity remained beyond the scope of Nikžentaitis’ short study.

On the other hand, the depictions of Ladislaus Jagiello were analysed relatively well, even though the authors of the iconographic studies seldom took into consideration the genealogical context in which the vast majority of the monarch’s depictions existed between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>6</sup> The dynastic aspect of the representations of the Jagiellons was more prominent in research on the symbolism of power and on graphic art and pictorial catalogues of the 16<sup>th</sup>-century monarchs. These studies underlined the importance of royal representations in research on the collective imagination, with a focus on the mechanisms shaping historical representations and national awareness.<sup>7</sup> The research perspective assumed in those

5 Nikžentaitis, op. cit., pp. 47.

6 J. Ruszczycówna, “Z badań nad ikonografią Władysława Jagiełły i Zygmunta Augusta” [From the research on the iconography of Ladislaus Jagiello and Sigismund Augustus], *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, 1979, no. 23, pp. 211–260; J. T. Petrus, “Ikonomia króla Władysława Jagiełły” [Iconography of King Ladislaus Jagiello], in: *Na znak świetnego zwycięstwa. W sześćsetną rocznicę bitwy pod Grunwaldem. Katalog wystawy* [As a sign of a glorious victory. On the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Grunwald. Exhibition catalogue], vol. I: *Studia*, scientific ed. D. Nowacki, pp. 221–268; and the popular version of the study: idem, *Portrety króla Władysława Jagiełły* [Portraits of King Ladislaus Jagiello], Cracow 2010; M. Walczak, “Portret konny króla Władysława Jagiełły w kaplicy Trójcy Świętej na zamku w Lublinie” [Equestrian portrait of King Ladislaus Jagiello in the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Lublin Castle], in: *Patronat artystyczny Jagiellonów* [The Jagiellons’ artistic patronage], ed. M. Walczak, P. Węcowski, Cracow 2015, pp. 305–320. The publications on Ladislaus Jagiello’s tombstone constitute a separate group, recently summarised by M. Janicki, “Problem datowania nagrobka Władysława Jagiełły w świetle źródeł i dotychczasowej literatury” [The issue of dating Ladislaus Jagiello’s tomb in the light of the sources and existing literature], in: *Patronat artystyczny Jagiellonów*, pp. 321–358. The iconography of Jagiello in foreign works of art, however, was studied to a small extent.

7 B. Miodońska, “Władca i państwo w krakowskim drzeworycie książkowym wieku XVI” [The ruler and the state in book woodcuts made in Cracow in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia. Materiały sympozjum naukowego Komitetu Nauk o Sztuce PAN, Kraków, czerwiec 1972, oraz sesji naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Kielce, listopad 1973* [The Renaissance. Art and ideology. Materials from the scholarly symposium of Art Research Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow, June 1972, and the scholarly session of the Association of Art Historians, Kielce, November 1973], scientific ed. T. S. Jaroszewski, Cracow 1975, pp. 45–96; E. Chojecka, “Znaczenie kulturowe grafiki polskiej XVI wieku” [Cultural significance of Polish graphic art of the 16<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Dawna książka i kultura. Materiały międzynarodowej sesji naukowej z okazji pięćsetlecia sztuki drukarskiej w Polsce* [Books and culture in the past. Materials from the international scholarly session to celebrate the 500<sup>th</sup> anniversary of printing in Poland], Wrocław 1975, pp. 86–114; T. Jakimowicz, “Przeszłość i teraźniejszość w sztuce wieku XVI w Polsce” [The past and the present in Polish art of the 16<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Świadomość historyczna Polaków. Problemy i metody badawcze* [Historical awareness of the Polish people. Issues and research methods], ed. J. Topolski, Łódź 1981, pp. 154–204; eadem, *Temat*



works was reinforced by a deeper understanding of genealogy, which took into consideration its role in enhancing the dynasty's prestige and legitimacy, as well as its organisational and explanatory function in terms of the historical and social reality, particularly in the culture of the nobility. This perspective allows for a deeper understanding of the role the pictorial catalogues of the monarchs played in the 16<sup>th</sup> century with regard to the assimilation of the Jagiellons' Eastern lineage in the Kingdom of Poland.

An investigation into the perception of Ladislaus Jagiello and the first two generations of his descendants, as well as their family connections, in 16<sup>th</sup>-century pictorial catalogues is crucial for understanding the ambiguous role that the image of the ruling dynasty played in consolidating the multi-ethnic national polity and its diverse heritage. In this context, the perception of the Jagiellonian dynasty's founder, who was born of a Lithuanian father and a Ruthenian mother, is of great importance. Długosz also mentions the reluctant opinions about the Lithuanian duke as expressed by noblemen during the Council of Cracow (1385), as they "considered it upsetting and hurtful to put on the throne a foreign, barbaric duke, disregarding their own Catholic princes".<sup>8</sup> However, these opinions are not recalled in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century pictorial catalogues.<sup>9</sup> It is not the "foreign" or "barbaric" origin of the monarch, but his Lithuanian descent that is accentuated. It is therefore crucial to examine the significance of this change and to observe how the ethnonym for Jagiello was perceived and represented in the visual and literary contents of 16<sup>th</sup>-century pictorial catalogues. Where would the adjective "Lithuanian" be situated on the semantic "ours – theirs" axis?

The subsequent noteworthy aspects pertain to the popular 16<sup>th</sup>-century perception of both the Eastern royal spouses and speculations over the legitimacy of

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*historyczny w sztuce epoki ostatnich Jagiellonów* [Historical topic in the art of the late Jagiellon period], Warsaw–Poznań 1985; eadem, "Wizerunki władców Polski w „Chronica Polonorum” Macieja z Miechowa. Problem kreacji i funkcjonowania źródła obrazowego" [Images of Polish monarchs in *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów. The issue of the creation and functioning of a pictorial source], in: *Studia nad świadomością historyczną Polaków* [Studies on the historical awareness of the Polish people], ed. J. Topolski, Poznań 1994, pp. 68–81; Z. Piech, *Monety, pieczęcie i herby w systemie symboli władzy Jagiellonów* [Coins, seals and coats of arms in the system of symbols of Jagiellon power], Warsaw 2003.

8 In the original version: Grave enim et molestum nonnullis consiliariis videbatur propriis principibus et catholicis neglectis preteritisque extraneum et barbarum ad fastigium regale evehere: *Ioannis Długossi Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*, vol. 10, 1370–1405, board of eds. S. Gawęda et al., Latin text prepared by D. Turkowska, commentary Z. Perzanowski, Warsaw 1985, p. 145. Polish translation: *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli Kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego* [Annals or chronicles of the famous Polish Kingdom, by Jan Długosz], vol. 10, 1370–1405, board of eds. S. Gawęda et al., Latin text prepared by D. Turkowska, M. Kowalczyk, translated by J. Mrukówna, ed. and commentary Z. Perzanowski, Warsaw 2009, p. 192.

9 The account of the nobility's reluctance to accept Jagiello during the Council of Cracow was omitted in Maciej of Miechów's chronicle, which was based on the *Annals*. The chronicles of Marcin and Joachim Bielski do not mention it either.

Jagiello and Sophia (Sonka) of Halshany's children. The first concern involves dynastic marriages and their role in facilitating mutual political and cultural connections.<sup>10</sup> The long tradition of Polish–Lithuanian marriages went back to the 1279 marriage of Boleslaus II, the prince of Plock and Masovia, and Gaudemunda, the daughter of Traidenis.<sup>11</sup> This union secured peaceful contacts between the lands, laid the foundations for the marriage of Jagiello and Hedwig, and broke the taboo on marriages with “pagans” or with spouses of a different faith.<sup>12</sup> Jagiello's first marriage legitimised his reign in Poland, even though it did not produce a male heir and only his sons from his fourth marriage, to Sophia of Halshany, established the Jagiellonian dynasty. Attempts to challenge the legality of his marriage to Hedwig, based on her betrothal to William the Courteous, and rumours of Sophia's infidelity spread in the early years of Ladislaus of Varna's reign, undermined the House of Jagiellon's legitimacy and their reign over Poland. The gradual disappearance of these accusations from the pictorial catalogues proves that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century the prestige of the dynasty was on the increase and that its members had obtained the status of hereditary heirs to the throne.

The depiction of Elena of Moscow's parentage remains a secondary topic. This Muscovite princess, related to the Paleologian dynasty and wife to Alexander Jagiellon, is still considered a controversial figure.<sup>13</sup> Did the Byzantine connections of the daughter of Ivan III the Great and Zoe Paleologina surface in the analysed material? If so, how were they represented in the visual and literary representations?

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10 Multiple studies on this subject were conducted in recent years, e.g. T. Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe*, New York 2013, *The Man behind the Queen: Male Consorts in History*, ed. C. Beem and M. Taylor, New York 2014 and *Queens Consort, Cultural Transfer and European Politics 1550–1800*, ed. A. Morton and H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, London 2016. For the political and culture-forming role of Polish–Lithuanian marriages, see e.g. G. Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* [The history of Polish–Lithuanian relations form the earliest period to the present day], vol. 1: *Trudne początki* [The difficult beginnings], Poznań 1998, pp. 106–129, with extensive references to previous literature on the subject.

11 Ibid., pp. 89–90, 107.

12 Ibid., p. 107. Following the synod convened in 1309 by the papal legate, it was forbidden to wed daughters, granddaughters and cousins to “heretics, schismatics, Ruthenians, Bulgarians and Lithuanians”: A. F. Grabski, *Polska w opiniach Europy Zachodniej XIV–XV w.* [Poland in Western European views, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century], Warsaw 1968, p. 152.

13 Cf. Z. Wdowiszewski, *Genealogia Jagiellonów i Domu Wazów w Polsce* [The genealogy of the Jagiellons and the House of Vasa in Poland], Cracow 2005, p. 108; U. Borkowska, *Dynastia Jagiellonów w Polsce* [The Jagiellon dynasty in Poland], Warsaw 2011, pp. 515–517. That Ivanovna was ambiguously perceived in the Crown in the 16<sup>th</sup> century has been recently mentioned by G. Mickūnaitė, *United in Blood, Divided by Faith: Elena Ivanovna and Aleksander Jagiellończyk*, in: *Frictions and Failures. Cultural Encounters in Crisis*, ed. A. Bues, Wiesbaden 2017, pp. 181–200, with extensive references to sources and previous literature on the subject.

## Maciej of Miechów and Justus Decius. The beginning of dynastic history

The *Chronica Polonorum* of Maciej of Miechów, first published in Cracow in 1519 and later reprinted in an extended and revised version in 1521, is a source of inestimable value for research on the perception of the Jagiellons and the changes it underwent in the first two decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest example of a conceptually unified pictorial catalogue of monarchs comprises representations of 24 princes and kings of Poland, from the legendary Lech to Alexander Jagiellon. The iconography was modelled on book illustrations (the *Liber chronicarum* of Hartmann Schedel, 1493, and the title page of *Chronicon Abbatis Urspergensis* of Konrad of Lichtenau, 1515), individual images (prints by Urs Graf) and seals of majesty. The set of woodcuts depicting the monarchs was widely reproduced and promptly acquired the status of a reliable historical source.



**Fig. 1.** Representation of Casimir the Great, in: Maciej of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, Cracoviae 1521, p. CCXXII; National Library in Warsaw, SD XVI.F.803 adl. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/3807850/249/>. [accessed 30 May 2017]

The woodcuts feature the genealogy of Sigismund the Old as connected to his royal power, the roots of which go back to the coronation of Boleslaus the Brave. The iconographic programme of the chronicle emphasised the close connection between the monarch and the state, as it was the monarch who guaranteed the state's



**Fig. 2.** Representation of Louis the Great, in: Maciej of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, Cracoviae 1521, p. CCXLVIII; National Library in Warsaw, SD XVI.F.803 adl. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/3807850/275/>. [accessed 30 May 2017]



**Fig. 3.** Representation of Ladislaus Jagiello, in: Maciej of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, Cracoviae 1521, p. CCLXVIII; National Library in Warsaw, SD XVI.F.803 adl. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/3807850/295/>. [accessed 30 May 2017]

sovereignty.<sup>14</sup> The iconographic scheme of the reigning monarchs, based on seals of majesty, was used to portray kings from Casimir the Great (Fig. 1) to Alexander Jagiellon.<sup>15</sup> It implied a conceptual compatibility of the image of a king seated on the throne with that of a sovereign ruler. The consistent employment of this convention to portray every member of the Jagiellon dynasty emphasised their family connections to the Houses of Piast and Anjou, and pictured them as their political heirs. The heraldic programme of seals became reduced to its most significant components – the coat of arms of the Kingdoms of Poland and Hungary (in the representations of Louis the Great, Fig. 2, and Ladislaus of Varna).<sup>16</sup> The title of Grand Duke

<sup>14</sup> Jakimowicz, *Przeszłość i teraźniejszość...*, pp. 170–171.

<sup>15</sup> Teresa Jakimowicz was the first to observe the conceptual and iconographic correlation between the depictions of enthroned monarchs in Maciej of Miechów's chronicle and the seals of majesty: eadem, *Problem kreacji...*, pp. 76–77.

<sup>16</sup> In the case of Casimir the Great, also the coat of arms of Sieradz Land was emphasised. Cf. the 1336 seal of majesty of Casimir the Great, National Archives in Cracow, signature Perg 20.

of Lithuania as held by Jagiello (Fig. 3), Ladislaus of Varna, Casimir the Jagiellon and Alexander Jagiellon was in no way emphasised in the heraldic programme of the woodcuts as the chase (Polish: Pogoń) coat of arms was omitted, even though it was shown in their seals of majesty. The Lithuanian roots and Ruthenian family connections played a secondary role in the *Chronica Polonorum*. The dynastic aspect, included in an extension of the pictorial programme, was only introduced by the genealogical woodcut and by Decius's texts appended to the second edition of the chronicle.

The pictorial catalogue of monarchs, identical in both editions, was complemented by the textual message of the chronicle, the first edition of which (from before 1514) included a synthesis of Polish history until 1480, whereas the section on the period 1480–1506 was developed between 1515 and 1518.<sup>17</sup> Maciej of Miechów based his work mostly on Długosz's *Annals* and, later, on his own observations and reflections. Just as the chronicler, he painted an unfavourable image of Jagiello and his mother, who was of "Greek faith" (*ritu Graecorum femina*) and from whom the Polish monarch had supposedly inherited his belief in all sorts of superstitions.<sup>18</sup> Following Długosz, the chronicler also summarised the trial

17 H. Barycz, "Życie i twórczość Macieja z Miechowa" [Maciej of Miechów: life and work], in: *Maciej z Miechowa 1457–1523. Historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki* [Maciej of Miechów 1457–1523. A historian, geographer, medic, organiser of scholarship], ed. H. Barycz, Wrocław 1960, p. 45; idem, *Szlakami dziejopisarstwa staropolskiego* [Tracing the Old-Polish historical writings], Wrocław 1981, p. 34; Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 127.

18 Interestingly, when enumerating the pious deeds of Jagiello (p. 291), Maciej of Miechów does not list the enterprises the king founded in "Ruthenia" as quoted by Długosz, nor does he mention his alleged preference towards them. Cf. W. Swoboda, "Bizancjum w przekazach *Annales* Jana Długosza" [Byzantium as recorded in the *Annales* by Jan Długosz], *Balkanica Posnaniensia*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 27–55; G. Jurkowlanec, "West and East Perspectives on the "Greek Manner" in the Early Modern Period", in: *East Meets West. At the Crossroads of Early Modern Europe*, ed. G. Jurkowlanec, J. J. Łabno, Warsaw, 2010 [= *Ikonotheka*, 22], pp. 83–84; eadem, "The Artistic Patronage of Ladislaus Jagiello: Beyond the Opposition Between Byzantium and the Renaissance", in: *Bizancjum a renesansy. Dialog kultur, dziedzictwo antyku – tradycja i współczesność* [Byzantium and Renaissances. Dialogue of Cultures, Heritage of Antiquity, Tradition and Modernity], ed. M. Janocha et al., Warsaw 2012, pp. 271–281. For the "Ruthenian-Byzantine" foundations of Jagiello and the discussion on their function and specificity, see A. Różycka-Bryzek, "Bizantyńsko-słowiańskie malowidła w gotyckich kościołach Polski pierwszych Jagiellonów" [Byzantino-Slavic paintings in the Gothic churches of the first Jagiellons], in: *Dzieje Lubelszczyzny*, vol. 6: *Kultura artystyczna* [History of the Lublin region, vol. 6. Artistic culture], Lublin 1992, pp. 313–347; eadem, "Bizantyńsko-ruskie malowidła w Polsce wczesnojagiellońskiej. Problem przystosowań na gruncie kultury łacińskiej" [Byzantino-Ruthenian paintings in Poland of the early Jagiellons. The questions of adaptation within Latin culture], in: *Polska – Ukraina. 1000 lat sąsiedztwa* [Poland – Ukraine, a 1000 years of neighbourhood], vol. 2, Przemyśl 1994, pp. 307–326; eadem, "Malowidła ścienne bizantyńsko-ruskie" [Byzantino-Ruthenian wall paintings], in: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* [Gothic painting in Poland], ed. A. S. Labuda, K. Secomska, Warsaw 2004, vol. 1, pp. 155–184; A. Sulikowska, "At the Crossroads of Traditions: Orthodox Church Paintings in the Reign of the Jagiellons", in: *East Meets West...*, pp. 33–41.

of Queen Sophia, who had been accused by Vytautas of infidelity. Even though Maciej of Miechów criticised the calumny spread by the Lithuanian duke, this passage was censored, as it attacked the good name of the dynasty.<sup>19</sup> Another delicate aspect which failed to gain the approval of Jan Łaski, the primate of Poland, and his entourage, concerned Lithuania's independent position in the royal elections. As Ferdynand Bostel observed, the first edition of the chronicle included a passage stating that, following the death of Casimir Jagiellon, the Lithuanians elected his son, Alexander, to be their grand duke, which is why only John Albert and Sigismund the Old were considered as pretenders to the Polish throne. It was thought that this passage overly emphasised the Lithuanian hegemony.<sup>20</sup> In consequence, a small but significant alteration was introduced into this passage, stating that Alexander was elected "in compliance with the desire and will of Casimir, who on his deathbed revealed to the Lithuanians this wish".<sup>21</sup> This adjustment can be classified among the numerous allusions that emphasised not so much the want for closer ties with Lithuania, as Bostel would see it, but rather Poland's leading political role in the union, increasingly apparent in Polish chronicles and poetic pictorial catalogues of the monarchs. These shifts in emphasis, which the censors introduced particularly frequently in the passages on Alexander's reign,<sup>22</sup> were well in accordance with the chronicle's visual programme that focused on underlining the legitimacy of Jagiellon reign in Poland and Hungary. This further confirms that the iconography of the chronicle's *editio princeps* did not raise the censors' doubts.

After the 1519 edition was banned from circulation, a new version of the chronicle was developed in Cracow in 1521. As Decius mentions in the revised edition, "in the passages on the lives of John Albert and Alexander, some information was added and some omitted at the senate's request".<sup>23</sup> The passages that presented Jagiello in an unfavourable light and raised doubts as to the dynasty's legitimacy were thoroughly rephrased.<sup>24</sup> Three texts by Justus Decius, Sigismund the Old's secretary, were also appended to the new edition, namely *De vetustatibus Polonorum*,

19 F. Bostel, "Zakaz Miechowity" [Maciej of Miechów's ban], *Przewodnik Naukowy i Literacki*, 1884, no. 12, p. 19.

20 Ibid., p. 19.

21 Translated after Bostel, op. cit., p. 20.

22 The negative accounts of Alexander Jagiellon's reign did not influence the assessment of his Muscovite wife. Two cursory comments, describing Elena Ivanovna as "filia Iwan ducis Moskouiae" (p. CCCLXIII) and "Helena de Moscouia, scismatica" (pp. CCCLXXII), focus solely on her line of descent and faith.

23 The passage on the senate's censorship also mentions the first edition of the chronicle: In Alberti Alexandrique regum vita, quaedam cum indice non concordant, quod biennio posteaquam opus absolutum erat, addita quaedam sunt, quaedam etiam reiecta senatus iussu accedente, illa tu quoque cognoscens emendabis: Maciej of Miechów, *Chronica Polonorum*, Cracoviae 1521, p. CCCLXXIX. Polish translation: Bostel, op. cit., p. 14.

24 Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 132; K. Podlaszewska, "Pierwsze wydanie *Kroniki Macieja z Miechowa* w zbiorach UMK w Toruniu" [The first edition of Maciej of Miechów's Chronicle in the collection of the Copernicus University in Toruń], in: *Studia o Działalności i Zbiorach Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika* [Studies on the Endeavours and

*De Iagellonum familia* and *De Sigismundi regis temporibus*,<sup>25</sup> which were more successful in eulogising the Jagiellons than the censors' efforts.<sup>26</sup> The first text lays the foundations for acceptance of Jagiello's eastern roots by introducing Rus into the founding myth of Lech and Czech.<sup>27</sup> Decius also equates the Polish-Lithuanian state with Sarmatia, which is an opportunity to accredit Sarmatian ancestry to the Prussians, Lithuanians and Ruthenians.<sup>28</sup> The two remaining texts describe the dynasty's ancient lineage and its contributions to the Kingdom of Poland.

In the very introduction to the *De Iagellonum familia* treatise, Decius remarks that "foreign, but vastly distinguished [is] the House of Jagiellon that comes from the Lithuanians",<sup>29</sup> and that Lithuania was a part of Sarmatia, its people becoming Catholic together with the Jagiellons. "And since to this day many kings born in this dynasty reigned over the Kingdoms of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia, [since] it is said that distinguished maidens [of this House] were wed to many a noble ruler, it appeared beneficial to me to describe this dynasty in one book, and to append their depictions in a [family] tree".<sup>30</sup> The two-page family tree (Fig. 4) of the Jagiellons on the opening pages of *De Sigismundi regis temporibus* should therefore be regarded as an inseparable component of Decius's works which intends to glorify the royal family that exercised power in the three kingdoms.

*De Iagellonum familia* includes a favourable description of Algirdas, presented as a brave warrior, and of Jagiello, the victor of battles with the Teutonic Knights and an eager promoter of the Catholic faith in Lithuania. The description of Jagiello's fourth wife, in the text named Sophia of Kiev, who was baptised in the Western

Collections of the Copernicus University Library], scientific ed. B. Ryszewski, vol. 1, Toruń 1980, pp. 189–210.

25 Of these three texts, only the treatise on the reign of Sigismund the Old was published in a critical edition and translated into Polish: *Jodoci Ludovici Decii De Sigismundi regis temporibus liber 1521*, Kraków 1901; J. L. Decjusz, *Księga o czasach króla Zygmunta* [A book about the times of King Sigismund], translated by a team [...] under the supervision of Kazimierz Kumaniecki, Warsaw 1960.

26 The widespread influence of Decius's work and its effect on the perception of Jagiellons, also beyond the boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland, is observed by Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 138.

27 J. Decius, *De vetustatibus Polonorum*, Craccoviae 1521, p. 3; Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 148. Prior to Decius, the legend of Lech, Czech and Rus appeared in *Kronika Pulkawy* [Pulkava's Chronicle] and *Kronika wielkopolska* [The Greater Poland Chronicle]. On the other hand, Rus is mentioned neither by Długosz nor by Maciej of Miechów: W. Paszyński, *Sarmaci i uczeni. Spór o pochodzenie Polaków* [The Sarmatians and the scholars. The debate on the origins of the Polish people], Cracow 2016, pp. 91, 217.

28 Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 134.

29 *Externa sed longe clarissima Iagellonum ex Lithuanis accita familia*: J. Decius, *In librum de Iagellonum familia praefatio*, p. XXXIV.

30 *Quom uero ex ea familia in hanc aetatem Poloniae Hungariae Bohemiaeque regnis plures reges nati sunt, ac plerisque clarissimis principibus inclytae uirgines per connubia iunctae tradantur. Ex usu mihi uisum est libro uno eam familiam describere, in arbore quoque depictam hic inserere*: idem, *De Iagellonum familia*, p. XXXVI. I would like to thank Katarzyna Jasieńska-Zdun for her linguistic help with Latin citations.





**Fig. 4.** Two-page family tree of the Jagiellons, in: Justus Decjusz, *De vetvstatibvs Polonorum liber I; De Iagellonvm familia liber II; De Sigismvndi regis temporibvs liber III*, Craccoviae 1521, family tree [n.p.]; National Library in Warsaw, SD XVI.F.643 adl. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/9908504/61/>, <https://polona.pl/item/9908504/62/> [accessed 30 May 2017].

rite and gave birth to heirs to the throne, is more detailed. Rumours of her alleged infidelity are completely omitted. Decius then mentions Ladislaus of Varna and his ill-fated campaign against the Ottomans, and moves on to the accession of Casimir Jagiellon to the throne, the royal origins of his wife, and the long list of their descendants. The laconic remarks about Algirdas and Alexander are uncontroversial. The denial of the crown to Elena of Moscow (or *Ruthena* in Decius's terms) was interpreted as a proof of respect for and protection of the Catholic faith by the Poles. Although the author makes frequent references to Maciej of Miechów, he draws selectively on his texts, thus completely disregarding information that was inconvenient to the court's policy and critical of the Jagiellons.

The anonymous family tree shows a genuine Jagiellon lineage, incorporating 87 figures differentiated by physiognomy, pose, attire, attributes and gestures, just as the treatises on the House of Jagiellon and on the reign of Sigismund the Old included short descriptions of every member of the dynasty and their kin, from Algirdas to Sigismund the Old and his wife Bona.<sup>31</sup> The family tree depicts every

31 Barbara Miodońska associated the creation of the family tree with the Master of the Wawel *Collectarium*, who may have made preparatory drawings for the woodcut: B. Miodońska,





**Fig. 5.** Representation of Ladislaus Jagiello, a part of the family tree illustrating Decius's treatise, in: Justus Decjusz, *De vetvstatibvs Polonorum liber I; De Jagellonvm familia liber II; De Sigismvndi regis temporibvs liber III*, Craccoviae 1521, family tree [n.p.]; National Library in Warsaw, SD XVI.F.643 adl. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/9908504/61/> [accessed 30 May 2017].

member of the dynasty and their numerous kin from neighbouring ruling Houses (the Habsburgs, the Griffites, the Silesian Piasts etc.). Each representation is accompanied by an inscription with the name and office held by the depicted person (*rex*, *dux*, *palatinus*, *cardinalis*) and/or their family connections; the latter being the main means of identification for women (*uxor* or *coniunx*, *filia*, *filius*). The woodcut does not run short of references to Maciej of Miechów's chronicle either. The representations of Jagiello (Fig. 3, Fig. 5), Ladislaus of Varna, Casimir Jagiellon and John Albert correspond to those seen on the pages of the *Chronica Polonorum*. All iconographic details, such as the absence of the crown in the depiction of Elena of Moscow, are explained in the contents of the chronicle and in Decius's texts.

The oldest known history of the Jagiellonian dynasty, which circulated in 1521, changed the unfavourable image of the Jagiellons that, owing to medieval sources, was still current in the first two decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. By means of its passages and illustrations it established a laudable narrative of Sigismund the Old's predecessors, which offered no space for controversies related to Jagiello's "pagan" roots or to the legitimacy of his heirs. The origins of the Jagiellons, presented on a semantically capacious network of ethnogenetic references, allowed for the image of both Algirdas and Jagiello to be rooted in Polish historical representations, and for the Polish and Lithuanian histories to be bound together more tightly.<sup>32</sup>

*Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe 1320–1540* [Book painting in Lesser Poland 1320–1540], Warsaw 1993, p. 152.

<sup>32</sup> The incompatibility of Polish and Lithuanian ethnogenetic myths and the divergent understanding of the Sarmatian image in the Crown and the Grand Duchy is mentioned in

## The Jagiellons in the noblemen's narratives of Marcin and Joachim Bielski

The emphasis on genealogical categories was stronger in the Polish-language narratives of the nobility than within court circles. The works of Marcin and Joachim Bielski, i.e. noblemen's narratives, adopted the perspective of Maciej of Miechów's chronicle and Decius's texts from the second edition of the *Chronica Polonorum*. They tied the dynasty's lot to the history of the nobility, presenting it in the context of the religious, heraldic and socio-ethical interests of Polish noblemen.

The first two generations of Jagiellons were still represented in an unfavourable way, although the pejorative assessment of Jagiello, visible in Długosz's *Annals*, was significantly played down. In the *Kronika wszytkiego swiata* [Chronicle of all the World], of which three editions with a non-unified set of illustrations were published in Cracow under the reign of Sigismund Augustus (*in quarto* in 1551 and *in folio* in 1554 and 1564, with new visual content), Marcin Bielski puts emphasis on Jagiello's contribution to promoting Christianity and erecting churches in Lithuania. He mentions, however, that "with his brothers, [he] used to be a great oppressor of the Kingdom of Poland, until the good Lord opened his eyes with Holy Baptism".<sup>33</sup> The text also enumerates the superstitions, or "practices bordering on witchcraft" in Bielski's terms, that Ladislaus Jagiello was believed to have inherited from his Ruthenian mother.<sup>34</sup> Nevertheless, the author does not allude to accusations regarding Sophia of Halshany's infidelity; the only reason for the noblemen's dislike for Ladislaus of Varna's accession to the throne was supposedly his young age.<sup>35</sup> It is noteworthy that Jagiello allegedly favoured the Lithuanians over the Poles. This reflects the xenophobic attitude of the nobility towards foreign pretenders to the throne, which was particularly visible in the times of interregnum.<sup>36</sup>

In the "re-Catholicised" and significantly expanded edition of the *Kronika polska* [Chronicle of Poland], initiated by Marcin and completed by Joachim Bielski, published in Cracow in 1597, the image of Ladislaus Jagiello was further modified in response to the actual religious and cultural needs following the signing of both

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A. Tereškinas, *Imperfect Communities: Identity, Discourse and Nation in the Seventeenth-century Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, Vilnius 2005, pp. 282–284.

33 M. Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego swiata na sses wyekow, monarchie cztery rozdzielona, s Kozmografią nową y z rozmaitemi krolestwy tak poganskimi zydowskymi yako y krzescianskymi, s Sybillami y prorocctwy ich, po polsku pisana s figurami [...] od poczatku aż do [...] 1551 [...] między ktoremi też nasza Polska na ostatku zosobna yest wypisana* [The Chronicle of all the world divided into six centuries, four monarchies, with a new Cosmography and various kingdoms pagan, Jewish and Christian, with their Sibyls and their prophecies, written in Polish with figures [...] from the beginning to [...] 1551 [...] among which also our Poland is described separately, at the end], w Krakowie 1551, fol. 237.

34 Ibid., fol. 237.

35 Ibid., fol. 238.

36 See Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, p. 227.

the Union of Lublin and the Union of Brest.<sup>37</sup> The *Kronika polska* did not mention the Lithuanian duke's attacks on Poland, and the king's uncommon practices were alluded to without bringing up their supposedly Ruthenian origins or connections to witchcraft. What was more prominent in this edition, as opposed to the previous ones, was the relationship between the king and the Lithuanian nobility, which was detrimental to Polish political interests. According to Jagiello's description that completes the account of his reign, the king "cherished his Lithuanian people more than he did ours, so that every Lithuanian distress, especially from Prussia, was to be relieved by Poland. Rightful would Lithuania then be to call him the father of fatherlands, and to consider him a saint".<sup>38</sup> Just as Długosz's *Annals*, the *Kronika polska* also mentions the Ruthenian paintings funded by Jagiello in Gniezno, Sandomierz and Wiślica. The first king of the Jagiellonian dynasty was thus pictured as a leader of two clearly distinct nations (Polish and Lithuanian) and a man operating at the intersection of two diverse cultures which were not subjected to any evaluative assessment unless they were detrimental to Polish traditions and interests.

The descriptions of the reigns of Casimir the Jagiellon, John Albert and Alexander Jagiellon are free from the pejorative opinions that were still present in the first edition of Maciej of Miechów's chronicle. A significant role in the interpretation of their respective periods of reign is attributed to the religious aspect, which is particularly visible in the passage on Elena of Moscow. Marcin Bielski observes that the "Muscovite queen" was the daughter of Prince Ivan and was not crowned as she would not renounce her "Ruthenian" faith. "Indeed," he continues, "she had her Ruthenian chapels in the castle, yet in church she would run from the pipe organs, calling them bagpipes".<sup>39</sup> With this curious detail the chronicler, an ardent advocate of the Reformation, recorded that Alexander's Muscovite wife was culturally alien. The fact that this passage might contain a criticism of the customs accompanying the Catholic liturgy is implied by its omission from the 1597 edition of the *Kronika polska*. Joachim Bielski, who had converted to Catholicism in 1595 and tried to underplay the dissenting perspective of his father, added in its lieu a passage on the queen's negative attitude towards the Catholic Church and the Pope's aversion to her upholding the "Ruthenian customs and Greek faith".<sup>40</sup>

Despite the numerous supplements incorporated into the chronicle's contents between the years 1551 and 1564, the literary narration of the first Jagiellons remains unchanged. Greater discrepancies occur in the texts of *Kronika wszytkiego swiata* and

37 Permission to circulate the chronicle was granted posthumously: *ibid.*, p. 182.

38 J. Bielski, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana* [The Polish chronicle of Marcin Bielski newly published by his son Ioach(im)], w Krakowie 1597, p. 248.

39 Bielski, *Kronika wszytkiego swiata*..., fol. 258 v.

40 This passage is worth quoting in full: "[Queen Elena] was not crowned, for she would not renounce her Greek faith and abhorred the Catholic faith. And she had her chapels, where she would partake in Ruthenian service. The Pope was not content to hear that the king could not put an end to it": Bielski, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego*..., p. 494.

the *Kronika polska*, the latter edited by Joachim Bielski.<sup>41</sup> These differences suggest that the figures of the first Jagiellons were used in religious disputes and in attempts to formulate the first confession-oriented descriptions of the history of Poland.

The visual content differs in each of the three editions of the *Kronika wszytkiego swiata* and the *Kronika polska*. In Marcin Bielski's works, the pictorial catalogue of monarchs is non-uniform and embedded in a broader visual narration that unveils the history of the world, from its biblical origins to contemporary times.<sup>42</sup> The woodcut series opens with a scene of the creation of Adam and Eve and with representations of biblical and ancient rulers followed by Christian rulers and "Turkish kings". The pictorial catalogue of the kings and princes of Poland, in a separate book and with a portrait of Sigismund Augustus at the very end, concludes the series. The illustrations were modelled after woodcuts from Schedel's chronicle, Maciej of Miechów's *Chronica Polonorum*, Protestant bibles, and numismatic and cosmographic treatises (in particular after Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*).<sup>43</sup> The depictions of the Jagiellons in the 1551 edition were based on woodcuts from Maciej of Miechów's chronicle. The same woodblock was used for depictions of Casimir the Great and Ladislaus of Varna (Fig. 6); such is also the case of the prints showing Ladislaus Jagiello (Fig. 7) and Casimir the Jagiellon. The majority of Jagiellon kings, just as in the case of Ladislaus the Short and Casimir the Great, were portrayed with a closed crown on the head, which was a way of emphasising the sovereignty of their power<sup>44</sup> that dated back to the coronation of Ladislaus the Short. Interestingly, only Jagiello and Casimir the Jagiellon are shown with the escutcheon of the Kingdom of Poland. The depictions of John Albert and Alexander Jagiellon indicate them as less important to the visual message of the chronicle since they are both represented with an open crown, i.e. in a convention typical of the depictions of princes in Maciej of Miechów's *Chronica Polonorum*.

41 D. Śnieżko, *Kronika wszytkiego swiata Marcina Bielskiego. Pogranicze dyskursów* [Marcin Bielski's Chronicle of all the world. The borderline of discourses], Szczecin 2004, pp. 34–55.

42 Cf. I. Chrzanowski, *Marcin Bielski. Studium historyczno-literackie* [Marcin Bielski; A critical historical study], Lviv–Warsaw 1926; Śnieżko, op. cit., pp. 12–13.

43 Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny...*, p. 74.

44 Cf. A. Gieysztor, "„Non habemus caesarem nisi regem”. Korona zamknięta królów polskich w końcu XV i w wieku XVI [“Non habemus caesarem nisi regem”. The closed crown of Polish kings in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Muzeum i twórca. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury ku czci prof. dr. Stanisława Lorentza* [The Museum and the creator. Studies in the history of art and culture in honour of Prof. Stanisław Lorentz PhD], Warsaw 1969, pp. 277–292; B. Miodońska, "Korona zamknięta w przekazach ikonograficznych z czasów Zygmunta I. (Uwagi w związku z rozprawą Aleksandra Gieysztor, „Non habemus caesarem nisi regem”. Korona zamknięta królów polskich w końcu XV wieku i w wieku XVI. Muzeum i Twórca. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury ku czci prof. dr. Stanisława Lorentza)" [The closed crown in iconographic records from the period of Sigismund I. (Notes on Aleksander Gieysztor's study "Non habemus caesarem nisi regem". The closed crown of Polish kings in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Museum and the creator. Studies in the history of art and culture in honour of Prof. Stanisław Lorentz)]], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1970, no. 32, pp. 3–18.



**Fig. 6.** Representation of Ladislaus of Varna, in: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika wszytkego swyata*, Kraków 1551; Jagiellonian Library, „Cim. 4059, fol. 238. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/11232558/556/> [accessed 30 May 2017].



**Fig. 7.** Representation of Ladislaus Jagiello, in: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika wszytkego swyata*, Kraków 1551; Jagiellonian Library, Cim 4059, fol. 228. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/11232558/536/> [accessed 30 May 2017].

The most significant change in the representations of the Jagiellons in Bielski's chronicle concerns the way in which Ladislaus Jagiello is depicted in the 1554 and 1564 editions. The woodcut accompanying the description of his reign stands out among the other illustrations of the chronicle due to its considerable size (17 cm × 15 cm, Fig. 8). It shows the monarch in profile, dressed in a fur cloak and in a hairnet that was fashionable in 16<sup>th</sup>-century courts. Above the king's head are the Polish and Lithuanian coats of arms. Originally, this woodblock was used to portray Sigismund the Old in the 1524 edition of the Sejm (parliament) statutes.<sup>45</sup> Janina Ruszczyćówna claims that the use of Sigismund the Old's woodblock to illustrate the text on Ladislaus Jagiello in the 1554 and 1564 editions of the chronicle suggests that this version of the royal portrait was outmoded in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>46</sup>

45 H. Blumówna, "O pierwszych portretach świeckich w krakowskich drukach renesansowych" [On the first lay portraits in Cracow Renaissance prints], in: *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Rozprawy i sprawozdania, rok 1952* [The National Museum in Cracow. Studies and reports, 1952], Cracow 1954, p. 82; J. Ruszczyćówna, "Nieznane portrety ostatnich Jagiellonów" [Unknown portraits of the last Jagiellons], *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, 1976, no. 20, p. 20; Śnieżko, op. cit., p. 45.

46 Ruszczyćówna, *Nieznane portrety...*, p. 20.



**Fig. 8.** Representation of Ladislaus Jagiello, in: Marcin Bielski, *Kronika, tho iesth, Historia Swiata, ...*, Kraków 1564, University of Warsaw Library, fol. 381r. Source: University of Warsaw Library

The image was repeatedly published and imitated between the years 1524 and 1554 as the portrait of Sigismund the Old. Thus, it cannot be ruled out that the analogy between the founder of the Jagiellon dynasty and his recently deceased descendant had been intentional. This would confirm that Jagiello was seen as a worthy forefather of the last Jagiellons.

Joachim Bielski's *Kronika polska* is illustrated with numerous heraldic representations and images taken directly from Maciej of Miechów's work (the woodcut on the opening pages of the *Kronika polska*) and from the third edition of Marcin Bielski's *Kronika wszytkiego swiata* (the depictions of twelve voivodes, Leszko's race for the crown and the battle scenes of Wiśniowiec, Orsza and Obertyn).<sup>47</sup> A set of 42 depictions of monarchs was prepared for the chronicle, from Lech to Stephen Báthory, in which each of the rulers and their reign was distinguished by the insignia, symbols and allegories.<sup>48</sup> A distinct subset in the pictorial catalogue are depictions of monarchs from Ladislaus the Short to Casimir the Jagiellon (with the exception of the equestrian depiction of Ladislaus of Varna), which are faithfully modelled after the seals of majesty.<sup>49</sup> They emphasise not only the prestige of sovereign royal authority but also its territorial extent.

47 E. Chojecka, "Drzeworyty *Kroniki* Joachima Bielskiego i zaginione gobeliny Anny Jagiellonki. Ze studiów nad związkami artystycznymi Krakowa i Brzegu w XVI wieku" [Woodcuts from Joachim Bielski's *Chronicle* and Anna Jagiellon's lost tapestries. Studies on artistic connections between Cracow and Brzeg in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], *Roczniki sztuki śląskiej*, 1970, no. 7, p. 39.

48 Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny...*, p. 86.

49 Ibid., s. 86. The exceptional meaning of Ladislaus of Varna's depiction in the iconographic programme of *Kronika polska* is discussed by Jakimowicz (pp. 111–112).



**Fig. 9.** Representation of Ladislaus Jagiello, in: Joachim Bielski, *Kronika polska Marcina Bielskiego nowo przez Ioach. Bielskiego syna iego wydana*, W Krakowie 1597; Jagiellonian Library, Cim. 8176, p. 271. Source: POLONA, Cyfrowa Biblioteka Narodowa, <https://polona.pl/item/11232853/288/> [accessed 30 May 2017].



Due to a different arrangement of the legend, the equal status of Poland and Lithuania are more strongly emphasised in the programme of the prints showing Ladislaus Jagiello (Fig. 9) and Casimir the Jagiellon than they were in their seals of majesty. The image from Jagiello's seal, faithfully copied by the printmaker, features the king seated on a Gothic throne of a complex architectural structure, including a polygonal canopy with tracery and pinnacles, and a footrest.<sup>50</sup> A patterned fabric with a heraldic eagle motif, supported by two figures, adorns the splat. The king holds an orb topped with a cross in his left hand, and a sceptre ending in a trefoil in his right. The crown on his head features three trefoils. He has a cloak thrown over his shoulders, beneath which a tight-fitting doublet and hose are visible. Seven

50 For Ladislaus Jagiello's seal of majesty, see M. Gumowski, *Pieczęcie królów polskich* [Seals of Polish kings], Cracow 1919, No 13, 14, p. 14; I. Sułkowska Kurasiowa, *Dokumenty królewskie i ich funkcja w państwie polskim za Andegawenów i pierwszych Jagiellonów 1370–1444* [Royal documents and the function in the Polish state during the Anjou and early Jagiellon rulers, 1370–1444], Warsaw 1977, p. 51; S. K. Kuczyński, *Polskie herby ziemskie. Geneza, treści, funkcje* [Coats of arms of Polish lands. Origins, contents, functions], Warsaw 1993, pp. 25–26; Piech, op. cit., pp. 44–54; R. Jaworski, "Władca idealny w świetle alegorycznego opisu pieczęci majestatowej Władysława Jagiełły" [The ideal ruler in the light of the allegorical description of Ladislaus Jagiello's seal of majesty], in: *Monarchia w średniowieczu – podstawy ideowe, władza nad ludźmi, władza nad terytorium. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi* [Monarchy in the Middle Ages – rule over the people, rule over the territory. Studies presented to Prof. Henryk Samsonowicz], ed. J. Pysiak, A. Pieniądz-Skrzypczak, M. R. Pauka, Warsaw–Cracow 2002, pp. 321–333.

heraldic shields surround the monarch: the Eagle (functioning as the coat of arms of both Poland and Cracow Land) and the Chase (*Pogoń*, the emblem of the Grand Duchy and possibly of Vilna Land; the Eagle and the Chase are depicted in accordance with heraldic courtesy),<sup>51</sup> followed by the coats of arms of Kalisz Land (Greater Poland), Sandomierz Land, Kuiavia, Dobrzyń Land and Ruthenia.<sup>52</sup> Each shield, with the exception of Ruthenia's, is carried by an angel. The styles in the seal's inscriptions emphasise Jagiello's royal status and his supreme authority over Cracow Land, Sandomierz Land, Sieradz Land, Łęczyca Land and Kuiavia. His authority over the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well as over Pomerania and Ruthenia plays a secondary role.<sup>53</sup> In the print, the same circumscription was typeset in Antiqua font and divided into two rows. That way the inscription about Lithuania and Jagiello's royal status was placed in the upper middle part of the print.<sup>54</sup> An analogous measure was applied in the print showing Casimir the Jagiellon in order to demonstrate appreciation for the title of Grand Duke of Lithuania.

## The "Eastern" representation of Jagiello in Tomasz Treter's pictorial catalogue of monarchs

Tomasz Treter's depiction of the ruler, created for the *Regum Poloniae icones* cycle of copperplates that was published in Rome in 1591, constitutes an unprecedented representation of Jagiello's Eastern heritage. The cycle, currently known from three

51 Cf. Piech, op. cit., p. 54.

52 I adopted the alternating order of enumerating the coats of arms, starting from the dexter side, from Zenon Piech: *ibid.*, p. 45. A different order was adopted by an anonymous author of the *Figurae sigilli Regis* blazon at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The first part of his work is dedicated to the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the following chapter refers to the coat of arms of Sandomierz Land and Dobrzyń Land, and at the end he blazons the coats of arms of Ruthenia, Kuiavia, Kalisz Land, and the Eagle.

53 The legend, printed in gothic minuscule, is as follows: s[igillum] · wladislaus · dei · gra[tia] · rex · polonie · n[ec]no[n] · t[er]raru[m] · cracovie · s[an]domirie · syradie · la[n]cie · cuyauie · litwanie · p[ri]nceps · sup[re]m[us] · pomoranie · russieq[ue] · d[omi]n[us] · [et] he[re]s · e[tc].

54 LITWANIAEQ[UE]. WLADISLAUS DEI GR[ATIAE] REX: Bielski, *Kronika polska...*, p. 271. The same print was used in a 17<sup>th</sup>-century edition of Klemens Janicki's *Vitae regum Polonorum*, which was accompanied by the Polish-language work by Jan Głuchowski *Ikones Książąt Y Krolow Polskich... Do tego są przyłożone wiersze lacińskie Iana Ianiciusza ... De vitis Regum Polonorum* [Icons of the Polish Princes and Kings... To those appended are Latin verses by Ian Ianicius... De vitis Regum Polonorum], W Krakowie 1605, p. 80; J. Głuchowski, *Ikones książąt i królów polskich, reprodukcja fototypiczna wydania z 1605* [Icons of the Polish Princes and Kings, phototypic reproduction of the 1605 edition], Wrocław, 1979. In both verse lives, preceded by the woodcut, the Lithuanian descent of Jagiello is emphasised in the opening verses. The first two verses of Janicki on Jagiełło are as follows: "Hic gentilis errat, Litauus, de stirpe Iagello / Vir bonus, et tantas inter honestus opes". Głuchowski, however, puts the following words in Jagiello's mouth: "I am the famous Jagiello Ladislaus / a man of virtue and grandeur / the last idolater of the foul Perkunas / of the false Lithuanian deity".



copies, contains 44 representations of Polish monarchs, from Lech to Sigismund III Vasa.<sup>55</sup> Specialist literature discusses at length the sphragistic, painterly, sculptural and graphic designs used by Treter, and describes the artistic and conceptual message of the pictorial catalogue.<sup>56</sup> It has also been noted how unique the representation of Jagiello was, modelled on the Ruthenian paintings that decorate the walls of the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Lublin.<sup>57</sup> However, the significance of using a Ruthenian pattern and the reason for its long presence in the king's iconography in 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century pictorial catalogues remain a question that has yet to be answered in full.

Ladislaus Jagiello's depiction in the *Regum Poloniae icones* was modelled on a painting of the king kneeling in an "act of personal religious devotion",<sup>58</sup> which

55 Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, A.gr.: 296/1–44; Royal Library in Stockholm, 161 I 2 j.; Escorial, 28–III–9bis, fol. 69–79; G. Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin. Rzymska twórczość graficzna Tomasza Tretera i jej europejskie oddziaływanie* [The causality of prints. Tomasz Treter's Roman graphic output and its European influence], Cracow 2017, p. 268. The description of the Swedish copy of the *Icones* with a suggestion of a new publishing attribution can be found in: K. Mroziejewicz, *Regum Poloniae icones* Tomasza Tretera ze zbiorów Królewskiej Biblioteki w Sztokholmie i szwedzkie wątki w losach serii [Tomasz Treter's *Regum Poloniae icones* from the collection of the Royal Library in Stockholm and the Swedish episodes in the history of the series], *Folia Historia Artium. Seria Nowa*, 2017, no. 15: pp. 25–34. Another widely recognised version is the 18<sup>th</sup>-century edition of the series, which served as an illustration to *Polska Kongars Saga*, a Swedish-language pictorial catalogue of monarchs by Johan Göstaf Hallman, Stockholm 1736; H. Widacka, "Szwedzki poczet władców polskich czyli Tomasz Treter redivivus" [The Swedish pictorial catalogue of Polish rulers, or Tomasz Treter redivivus], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 69, 2007, Nos. 3/4: pp. 189–201; E. Zillén, "Poczet królów polskich i bajka lafontenowska w moralizatorskim dziele osiemnastowiecznej literatury szwedzkiej" [The catalogue of Polish rulers and La Fontaine's fable in the moralising work of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Swedish literature], *Prace Polonistyczne*, 2014, no. 69, pp. 131–143.

56 M. Ochońska, "Zabytek szesnastowiecznego rytownictwa "Regum Poloniae Icones" Tomasza Tretera w zbiorach Ossolineum" [The monument of 16<sup>th</sup>-century engraving: Tomasz Treter's *Regum Poloniae Icones* in the Ossolineum collection], *Ze skarbca kultury. Biuletyn informacyjny Zakładu im. Ossolińskich – Biblioteki Polskiej Akademii Nauk*, 1955, vol. 1, no. 7, pp. 273–289; Chojecka, *Drzeworyty kroniki Joachima Bielskiego...*, pp. 60–62; L. Kajzer, "Średniowieczne źródła pomysłów ikonograficznych Tomasza Tretera" [Medieval sources of Tomasz Treter's iconographic ideas], *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 1972, no. 4, pp. 507–514; B. Stawiar-ska, "Źródła ikonograficzne pocztu władców polskich Tomasza Tretera" [Iconographic sources of Tomasz Treter's catalogue of Polish monarchs], *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział Nauk o Sztuce*, no. 98 from the 1980 cycle of publications (Poznań 1981), pp. 63–67; T. Chrzanowski, *Działalność artystyczna Tomasza Tretera* [Tomasz Treter's artistic activity], Warsaw 1984, pp. 163–173; Jakimowicz, *Temat historyczny...*, pp. 85–86; J. Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce. Funkcje, ośrodki, artyści, dzieła* [17<sup>th</sup>-century graphic art in Poland. Functions, centres, artists, works], Warsaw 2011, pp. 106–107; Bömelburg, *Polska myśl historyczna...*, pp. 419–420; Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin...*, pp. 268–277.

57 Ruszczykowa, *Z badań nad ikonografią Władysława Jagiełły...*, p. 231; Petrus, op. cit., pp. 230–241.

58 Ruszczykowa, *Z badań nad ikonografią Władysława Jagiełły...*, p. 231; Petrus, op. cit., pp. 230–241.



**Fig. 10.** Representation of Ladislaus Jagiello, in: Tomasz Treter, *Regum Poloniae icones*, Romeae 1591; print No 35. A copy of a pictorial catalogue in the collection of the Royal Library in Stockholm, 161 I 2 j. Photo by Lina Löfström Baker, Royal Library in Stockholm

decorates the south-west corner of the chapel.<sup>59</sup> This was a part of a multi-figural foundation composition, where the Virgin enthroned with Christ-Emmanuel was the conceptual centre.<sup>60</sup> As Anna Różycka-Bryzek observed, the Lublin depiction of the king has the features of a portrait and is congruent with the comprehensive description of the monarch's appearance in Długosz's chronicle.<sup>61</sup>

In his own rendition of the portrait (Fig. 10), Tomasz Treter did not forgo the particular characteristics of the original. He did, however, reject the kneeling pose, which was typical of the images of donors and founders, and instead showed the monarch from the waist up. He also slightly modified the monarch's attire, adapting it to the fashion of his times.<sup>62</sup> It is difficult not to agree with Janina Ruszczyćówna's claim that portraying the king in more modern robes might have facilitated the wide reception of this representation in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>63</sup> In contrast,

<sup>59</sup> It is possible that the printmaker used the same model when working on Jagiello's representation for the famous *Treter's Eagle* (1588). However, as Ruszczyćówna observes, the correlation between the depiction of the monarch and its Ruthenian origin is not as striking as it is in the copperplate from *Regum Poloniae icones*: Ruszczyćówna, *Z badań nad ikonografią Władysława Jagiełły...*, p. 231.

<sup>60</sup> Różycka-Bryzek, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie malowidła...*, pp. 117–121.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118. The widespread familiarity with Długosz's literary portrait of Ladislaus Jagiello, in particular among the sixteenth-century chroniclers, is discussed by Janina Ruszczyćówna: *Z badań nad ikonografią Władysława Jagiełły...*, p. 218.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

the founder's gesture, which Treter copied, gradually became incomprehensible and, in consequence, it started to be omitted in the 17<sup>th</sup>- and 18<sup>th</sup>-century iconography of the monarch.<sup>64</sup>

An attempt to answer the question regarding the significance of selecting a Ruthenian model and the popularity of Treter's depiction of Ladislaus Jagiello would necessitate a reconstruction of Treter's view on the church union, which would be complicated due to the scarcity of sources, as well as a deeper analysis of the perception of the so-called Ruthenian paintings in late 16<sup>th</sup>-century Poland, which exceeds the scope of this article. What is worth noting is the more profound interest in Eastern artistic heritage that is closely related to the imminent signing of the union. References to Jagiello's foundations, which were absent since the times of Długosz and reappeared in, for example, Joachim Bielski's *Kronika polska*, can be considered proof of this heightened interest. Furthermore, 16<sup>th</sup>-century historiography, along with the pictorial catalogues discussed herein, laid the foundations for an evaluation-free acceptance of the Ruthenian and Lithuanian tradition of the Jagiellons, as well as for its gradual incorporation into the cultural legacy of the Commonwealth. It is also worth mentioning that the review of available iconographic sources, which was the basis for Treter's critical apparatus, and the choice of the Lublin painting as a model for his work, suggest that in the eyes of the artist this painting had the authority of an ancient, credible visual message. Treter's *Regum Poloniae icones* included individualised depictions of monarchs that aimed to represent a faithful and synthetic image of their personalities and reign. Referring to the Ruthenian artistic legacy from the period of the king's lifetime can therefore be considered an attempt at a more comprehensive description of both the monarch and his reign.

## Conclusion

Ethnic traits and a shared origin were important cognitive categories in the period when national polities in Poland were being formed.<sup>65</sup> An analysis of the dynamics discernible in the representation of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian legacy of the Jagiellons is therefore of great importance for understanding the nation-building processes ongoing at the time. The bonding material of these processes was the community of representations as based on the ethnogenetic myth and on symbols of continuity and sovereignty of the royal authority. What is typical of 16<sup>th</sup>-century works on the first Jagiellons is that the literary narrations were not uniform, as

<sup>64</sup> Petrus, op. cit., p. 236.

<sup>65</sup> M. Niendorf, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie. Studia nad kształtowaniem się narodu u progu epoki nowożytnej (1569–1795)* [The Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Studies on the shaping of a nation at the threshold of the modern era (1569 – 1795)], translated by M. Grzywacz, Poznań 2011, p. 104.

opposed to the relatively steady image of the Jagiellons that was discernible in the pictorial catalogues of the monarchs.

Textual narratives were much quicker to react to the actual political, cultural and religious needs than their visual counterparts. The publishing history and reception of Maciej of Miechów's chronicle is a good example of this phenomenon. The intervention of a censor caused the original text of the *Chronica Polonorum* to lose its critical tone towards Ladislaus Jagiello and his descendants. The subsequent authors who quoted this source selectively chose the information that was needed and disregarded the chronicler's unfavourable assessments; meanwhile, the anonymous woodcuts illustrating the volume were remarkably popular, to the extent that they were repeatedly copied and imitated. The visual narration of Maciej of Miechów's work, which referred to the iconography of seals of majesty, depicted Ladislaus Jagiello and his descendants as sovereign rulers, relatives of the Piast and Anjou monarchs and continuers of their political legacy. In this way it put an end to speculations about the legitimacy of their reign and facilitated integration of the new dynasty into the long tradition of Polish kingship.

The Lithuanian roots and Ruthenian family relations of the Jagiellons began to be emphasised only in the second edition of the chronicle thanks to Decius's treatises which focused on the dynasty and to the family-tree woodcut that accompanied it. The appended narrations incorporated the Lithuanians and Ruthenians into the Sarmatian shared origin and glorified the royal family by depicting its numerous connections with neighbouring ruling houses, among which were Lithuanian, Ruthenian and even Muscovite families.

Finally, the Eastern heritage of the Jagiellons in the Polish-language narrations of the nobility were, in turn, presented in the light of the religious, socio-ethical and political attitudes of Polish noblemen, to whom a xenophobic perspective was quite familiar. The main emphasis was on the connection of the king to his lands and people. It encouraged the recipients to reflect on the nature of the relationship between Poland and Lithuania as well as on the relationship between Polish and Lithuanian nobility. In this context, the image of the Jagiellons was subordinate to the nobility's discourse of identity.

The use of a Ruthenian painting as a model for the depiction of Jagiello in Tomasz Treter's *Regum Poloniae icones* constitutes a unique way of invoking the monarch's Eastern heritage. This act is proof of interest in the Eastern artistic tradition and of its gradual integration into the cultural heritage of the Crown on the eve of the Union of Brest. In these attempts at both a universalisation and integration of Lithuanian and Ruthenian traditions, the image of Jagiello played a leading role.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

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## Abstract

This article analyses the dynamics that were present in the manner of representing the Lithuanian and Ruthenian legacy of Ladislaus Jagiello and of the first two generations of his descendants in popular 16<sup>th</sup>-century pictorial catalogues of Polish monarchs. The catalogues actively supported the collective memory and facilitated the integration of Lithuanian and Ruthenian traditions in the Kingdom of Poland.

An analysis of the textual and visual message of Maciej of Miechów's *Chronica Polonorum* (1519, 1521), of the treatises by Justus Decius appended to it in 1521, the illustrated chronicles of Marcin (1551, 1554, 1564) and Joachim (1597) Bielski, and the visual contents of Tomasz Treter's *Regum Poloniae icones* (1591) series has shown that a typical feature of 16<sup>th</sup>-century works on the first Jagiellons is the non-uniformity of their literary narrations, which contrasts with the relatively stable image of the Jagiellons in the pictorial catalogues. The textual narratives were much quicker to react to the current political, cultural and confessional needs than their visual counterparts, and they accordingly adjusted the literary image of the first Jagiellons. In the dynastic narrations the unfavourable image of the Jagiellons, still present in the first two decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, was replaced by a laudatory narrative concerning the predecessors of Sigismund the Old, which brought into prominence the dynasty's ancient lineage and its contributions to the Kingdom of Poland. The Eastern roots of the Jagiellons were assimilated into the Polish historical representations by crediting the Lithuanians and Ruthenians with a Sarmatian genealogy. The narratives of the nobility dating from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century associated the dynasty's history with that of the nobility and presented it in the light of the religious, heraldic and socio-ethical interests of Polish noblemen. Ladislaus Jagiello was therefore depicted as a leader of the Polish and Lithuanian nations, operating at the intersection of two diverse cultures, i.e. cultures which were not subject to any evaluative assessment unless they were detrimental to Polish traditions and interests. The last discussed pictorial catalogue, i.e. a series of depictions of monarchs by Tomasz Treter, is a rare example of reaching back to Jagiello's Eastern heritage by choosing a Ruthenian painting as a model for his depiction. The use of a Ruthenian representation of the king from all the paintings funded by Jagiello is proof of interest in the Eastern artistic tradition and of its gradual integration into the cultural heritage of the Crown on the eve of the Union of Brest (1596).

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## Biblical Typologies as Means of Visual Exegesis: The Case of Aleksander Tarasewicz

Aleksander Tarasewicz (ca. 1650–1720/27?) is a good example of a modern-era artist who originated from a cultural borderland – a conclusion that springs from an analysis of his surviving prints and documents which confirm the commissions he received from various patrons. Viewed against the background of the rather unoriginal works of graphic art that were produced in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Commonwealth, his artistic maturity and successful commissions for very diverse milieus are indeed surprising. In addition, his extant works attest to his mobility – he worked in Hłusk, Vilnius, Lvov, Zamość, Cracow, Słuck, Czernihów and at the Pechersk Lavra in Kiev.<sup>1</sup>

The illustrations for religious prints made by Tarasewicz were commissioned by Orthodox, Uniate and Roman Catholic patrons. But it is most probably his secular works – portraits and illustrations for occasional prints, theses or panegyrics – that are the best testimony to his talent; for instance, one of Tarasewicz's works also constitutes one of the most interesting portraits of King John III in the graphic medium.<sup>2</sup> He was also able to adjust his means of artistic expression to the background of his patrons and the topics they commissioned him to illustrate.

It must be noted that the scholars who researched the graphic output in the region in question differ in their assessment of Tarasewicz's identity. Mieczysław Gębarowicz suspected that the first name initial referred to two men, i.e. father and son – Aleksander and Antoni – whose work he considered to be quite distinct

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1 The most recent analysis of the life and oeuvre of Aleksander Tarasewicz is found in Jolanta Talbierska's monographic study on graphic art in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The monograph includes the summary of the current state of research on Tarasewicz's oeuvre: J. Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku w Polsce: funkcje, ośrodki, artyści, dzieła* [17<sup>th</sup>-century graphic art in Poland: functions, centres, artists, works], Warsaw 2011, p. 191.

2 Most probably modelled on the half-length portrait of the king in the Nieborów Palace. Cf. H. Widacka, *Lew Lechistanu* [The Lion of Lechistan], Warsaw 2010, p. 50; Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku...*, p. 196.

in terms of stylistics.<sup>3</sup> Some historians of art, e.g. Waldemar Deluga, also share this view.<sup>4</sup> Jolanta Talbierska, in turn, believes that we are dealing with the work of a single artist whose output was varied in its form precisely because he was adjusting the means of his artistic expression to the expectations of the denominational group commissioning a given work. In her opinion, Aleksander assumed the monastic name of Antoni while working for the Lavra.<sup>5</sup>

In the Polish collections, the largest number of prints by Aleksander Tarasewicz is held by the National Library in Warsaw (including loose prints from books illustrated by the artist) as well as in the University Library in Warsaw, the library of the Metropolitan Seminary in Warsaw, the National Museums in Warsaw, Cracow (The Princes Czartoryski Collection) and Poznań, and at the National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław.<sup>6</sup>

The relatively high artistic level of Tarasewicz's output has encouraged scholars to seek connections that might link him to Western European centres of graphic art, which attained technical mastery at that time and played a significant cultural role. It is assumed that he may have travelled throughout Europe and may have even been an apprentice at one of the leading Western European workshops.<sup>7</sup>

While this hypothesis has so far not been verified, it is beyond doubt that Tarasewicz was familiar with Western European graphic patterns and made use of them in designing his own compositions. Regardless of whether he had the opportunity to become acquainted with them during a European journey or whether he came to know them from prints and engravings found in various libraries in the Commonwealth, elements attesting to connections with Western European graphic art are clearly discernible in some of his works. In order to understand the artistic life of the Commonwealth of that time and to discover what cultural patterns (and to what extent) were crucial in those days, it is important to identify and describe these connections.

Jolanta Talbierska discusses the portrait of Tomasz Piasecki of the Janina coat of arms, which includes the allegories of virtues based on the works of Marten de Vos, as an example of Tarasewicz's inspiration with Western prints.<sup>8</sup> A similar artistic circle can be cited as an inspiration for various elements in Tarasewicz's graphic cycle illustrating a prayer book compiled by the Augustine monk, Fulgenty Dryjacki,

3 M. Gębarowicz, "Wawrzyniec Laurenty Kszczonowicz, nieznaný sztycharz drugiej połowy XVII wieku" [Wawrzyniec Laurenty Kszczonowicz, an unknown engraver of the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century], *Folia Historiae Artium*, XVII, Warsaw 1981, pp. 49–117.

4 W. Deluga, *Grafika z kręgu Ławry Pieczarskiej i Akademii Mohylańskiej XVII i XVIII wieku* [Graphic art from the circles of the Pechersk Lavra and Mohyla Academy in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century], Cracow 2003, p. 31.

5 Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku...*, p. 204.

6 Cf. Ibid., pp. 359–364, with a full list of works in Polish collections.

7 The hypothesis that Tarasewicz was an apprentice at the Kilian workshop in Augsburg was first proposed by Georg K. Nagler (G.K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten*, vol. I, Leipzig 1887, p. 571, no. 1356). Cf. Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku...*, p. 205.

8 Ibid., p. 197.

published in Vilnius in 1682. I wish to propose here that the formal and ideological basis for this cycle derives from the same Western circle.

I shall attempt to demonstrate that, when compared with engravings by Theodor Galle of Antwerp, this cycle proves similar on many levels – from the details through the compositional schemata and the contents of selected representations to the structure that determined the manner of using the image and thinking about the Bible. In Tarasewicz's culturally diverse oeuvre, this cycle is an excellent indication that he was a part of a Western European circle within which compositional patterns and iconographic motifs were exchanged. Moreover, the artists from this milieu developed a characteristic type of illustrated prayer book that was popular in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (particularly in milieus associated with the Jesuits).<sup>9</sup>

According to surviving documents researched and published by Konstancija Čepienė and Irena Petrauskienė, Aleksander Tarasewicz was active in Vilnius in the 1680s and worked for the Vilnius Academy publishing house.<sup>10</sup> The city, which boasted Jewish, Catholic (Jesuit, Franciscan and Basilian) as well as Uniate (The Holy Ghost House) printing presses, was an important centre of multi-cultural book printing and graphic production.<sup>11</sup> In the last quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Academy's publishing house was decidedly in the lead.<sup>12</sup>

Concurrently, it seems important to note that this publishing house was managed by the Jesuits, who were famed throughout Western Europe for the value they attached to cooperating with leading centres of printing production.<sup>13</sup> Their impressive achievements in this respect, e.g. loose prints and illustrated books

9 From the most recent studies on the topic, see the analysis of illustrated prayer books and catechisms by Jan David in: A.-K. Sors, *Allegorische Andachtsbücher in Antwerpen*, Göttingen 2015.

10 K. Čepienė, I. Petrauskienė, *Vilniaus akademijos spaustuves leidiniai, 1576-1805. Bibliografija*, Vilnius, 1979.

11 Cf. M. Kałamajska-Saeed, "Wilno jako ośrodek graficzny w XVII w. Postulaty badawcze" [Vilnius as a centre of graphic art in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Research postulates], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1993, vol. 55, no. 2–3, pp. 199–211; *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, part 5, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie* [Printers in Old Poland from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, part 5, Grand Duchy of Lithuania], ed. A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, K. Korotajowa, W. Krajewski, Wrocław–Cracow 1959, pp. 141–148.

12 The printing house was moved from Brześć by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in 1575 and turned over to the Jesuits. The monks, who arrived in Vilnius in 1569, operated the Vilnius Academy from 1579 onwards. Ca. 1586 Radziwiłł's printing house was taken over by the Academy, becoming one of the leading centres of printing in the country. Talbierska believes that the Jesuits actually wished to organise a school of graphics, since basic drawing and graphic skills were taught at the Academy. Cf. Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku...*, p. 91. Subsequent chapters in the history of the Vilnius Academy are described by Ludwik Piechnik in the series *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej. Rozkwit Akademii Wileńskiej w latach 1600–1655* [The history of the Vilnius Academy. The heyday of the Vilnius Academy in the years 1600–1655], 4 volumes, Rome 1984–1990.

13 An emblematic example of this is the connection between the Jesuits and the Plantin-Moretus publishing house, developed due to Jerónim Nadal's prolonged effort concerning the publication of his famous *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*, See M. B. Wadell, "Evangelicae



produced by the most outstanding graphic artists of the era, are widely known. It is therefore not surprising that Talbierska postulates that it was actually one of Vilnius's Jesuits who stood behind the iconographic programme of Tarasewicz's cycle. Whereas this issue is difficult to resolve unless some additional archival information is found, the influence of the Jesuit printed materials that arrived in the Commonwealth at the time and provided inspiration for local artists is evident in the prints themselves.<sup>14</sup>

Dryjacki's prayer book was printed in two parallel language versions: in Latin, as the *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi in augustissimo Missae sacrificio depositus*,<sup>15</sup> and in Polish, as *Skarb żywota y krwie Iezusa Pana z Oyców SS. w ofierze Mszy S. złożony* (Figs 1, 2, 4).<sup>16</sup> The book was conceived as an aid in experiencing the holy mass in a pious manner. Its central part is therefore a representation of the three ways of fruitfully participating in the holy mass: by contemplating events from the life of Jesus Christ, by reciting the chaplet or the rosary. To this, the fundamental articles of faith and prayers were added as potentially useful to the book's readers in their daily religious practice.

As much as can be inferred from the surviving copies, the book's two editions differed slightly with respect to the number and arrangement of the chapters, albeit the basic structure and function of the books are identical, regardless of the language version. They open with a print showing St. Augustine with the *arma passionis*, the episcopal endorsement, an annual calendar with an enumeration of the holy days, an explication of the fundamental articles of faith and a litany; additionally, the Latin version has a dedication to Jakub Ludwik Sobieski, the son of King,

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Historiae Imagines. Entstehungsgeschichte und Vorlagen", *Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis/Gothenburg Studies in Art and Architecture*, III, Göteborg 1985.

- 14 Examples of Western composition patterns transferred by means of prints in Jesuit prayer books to the art of the Commonwealth were given by, among others, A. Gronek, "Stopień adaptacji cech renesansowych we lwowskim malarstwie cerkiewnym w pierwszej połowie wieku XVII" [The degree of adaptation of Renaissance features in Lvov icon painting of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Bizancjum a Renesansy. Dialog kultur, dziedzictwo antyku. Tradycja i współczesność* [Byzantium and Renaissances. Dialogue of Cultures, Heritage of Antiquity. Tradition and Modernity], eds. M. Janocha, A. Sulikowska, I. Tatarova et al., Warsaw 2012, pp. 359–368; S. Laporte, "Dialogue artistique avec les estampes des Pays-Bas méridionaux", in: *Bizancjum a Renesansy...*, pp. 299–306; W. Deluga, "Grafika" [Graphic art], in: *Sztuka iluminacji grafiki cerkiewnej* [Illumination in Orthodox Church graphics], exhibition catalogue, Warsaw 1996, pp. 30–31.
- 15 A well-preserved copy at the Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences in Vilnius, signature L-17/3. Available online: <http://elibrary.mab.lt/handle/1/1587?locale-attribute=en> [accessed 28 April 2017].
- 16 An extant copy in Wrocław, in the National Ossoliński Institute Library, signature XVII-6472. Available online through the Lower Silesia Digital Library: <http://www.dbc.wroc.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=36668> [accessed 28 April 2017]. In addition, prints of varying quality are extant in the National Library in Warsaw, signature G.2166-2201. For their list, see Talbierska, *Grafika XVII wieku...*, pp. 361–362.



**Fig. 1.** Aleksander Tarasewicz, VII (*Epistola*); Fulgenty Dryjacki, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae*, Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, L-17/3, fol. 25 v



**Fig. 2.** Aleksander Tarasewicz, XI (*Dominus vobiscum*); Fulgenty Dryjacki, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae*, Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, L-17/3, fol. 29 v

John III. Then follows the main part with the three methods of participating in the holy mass. The first method is illustrated with several engravings by Tarasewicz the second and third include one engraving each. The next section is on the “pious way of taking the Most Blessed Sacrament”, illustrated with the image of Christ bearing the cross; then followed by expiatory psalms, the Litany to All Saints and the Liturgy of the Hours (illustrated at the beginning and at the end with images of monks praying before an altar). The Wrocław copy contains several additional prayers and a description of the Brotherhood of the Consolation of the Virgin Mary.

The Wrocław copy is less well preserved and the section concerning the first way of participating in the holy mass is incomplete. The missing parts include, among others, the title page of the first section and fifteen engravings by Tarasewicz with a commentary.<sup>17</sup> The engraving with the figure of Christ, the one that opens

<sup>17</sup> The chapters: I (*Accessus*), IV–X (*Introitus*, *Dominus vobiscum*, *Collecta*, *Epistola*, *Graduale*, *Munda*, *Evangelium*), XXI (*Memento*), XXII (*Manus expansæ*), XXVIII (*Expressio crucis*) and XXXII–XXXV (*Communio*, *Meditatio*, *Ablutio*, *Dominus vobiscum*) are missing.



**Fig. 3.** Theodoor Galle, *Tria praecepta virtutum incentiva*; Jan David, *Veredicus christianus*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München, Res/4 L.eleg.m. 46, fol. 96a recto (= Tafel 36)



**Fig. 4.** Aleksander Tarasewicz, XXIX (*Pater noster*); Fulgenty Dryjacki, *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae*, Wroblewski Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, L-17/3, fol. 47 v

the Liturgy of the Hours, and the description of the Brotherhood are missing from the Vilnius copy.

The section concerning the first way of participating in the holy mass is central to investigating the place and role of an image in a printed work. This section describes the way events from the life of Christ are commemorated at subsequent stages of the Liturgy of the Eucharist. From the theological point of view, this is an implementation of commemorative allegoresis, which has been known in Western Christianity since the early Middle Ages. In the medieval tradition there were two basic methods of implementing it: by interpreting particular elements of liturgy as allegories of events from the life of Christ or as allegories of events from only the Passion. This combination is, of course, derived from the perception, which was obligatory in Christian theology, of the eucharistic sacrifice as commemorating and concretising the Passion of Christ. Allegoresis was popular in the Middle Ages and present in the works of art of that period; after the Council of Trent it disappeared

from the main current of theology but, as can be observed here, it was still present in the devotional discourse.<sup>18</sup>

This part of the book, consisting of thirty-nine chapters, has been preserved in its entirety in the Vilnius copy, which is in Latin; it is therefore on this copy that the present analysis must be based. The chapters in this part are constructed by following the same pattern. Each of them consists of a full-page engraving followed by a text, which also fills one page. This image-and-text set refers to the subsequent parts of the holy mass, to which a pertinent event from the life of Christ is fitted. The engraving shows the interior of a church with an ongoing service of the Eucharist, and the commentary refers to the given event. In every case the text is a prayer taken from the writings of St. Augustine, sometimes with an addendum of a single sentence by another Church Father (i.e. in this book by Saints Gregory, Ambrose, Fulgentius, John Chrysostom, Leo, Jerome, Ephrem and Cassiodorus). Thus, this part of the book does not contain any original texts by the author of the prayer book, even though the selection and arrangement of the quotations are, of course, his work and are consistent with the conventions of the devotional text writing of the era.

The part of the holy mass to which a given chapter refers is identified by the title of the engraving; a separate field in its top part contains the successive number, the inscription *Sacrificii Missæ Canon minor* or *Canon maior*, and the term for the part of the liturgy: *ACCESSVS*, *CONFITEOR*, *OSCVLVM ALTARIS*, etc. The title of the commentary, in turn, contains a reference to the relevant event in the New Testament, phrased as a request to consider it during the part of the liturgy shown in the engraving.

The composition of the image itself is also based on an unchanging pattern, which is repeated in almost every chapter. The engraving shows the interior of the church with an altar at which a priest, assisted by an altar boy, is saying mass. Their gestures are intelligible enough for the reader to recognise the relevant stage of the liturgy. Apart from these two figures, there are a few believers in the church, usually shown at the very edge of the composition and sometimes only in part. They are shown from the side or from behind, in a sitting or kneeling position, in many cases reading prayer books. Thus, also these figures fulfilled a rhetorical function since the actions in which they engaged were most probably shared by the readers who made use of the book. The readers could identify themselves with these believers, which made them involved in the presented scene. However, the main topic of the engraving is the third element that is consistently repeated in each chapter: a scene from the life of Christ upon which the reader has been asked to reflect. This scene is shown as an altarpiece painting.

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18 For more on this tradition and its persistent continuation in 18<sup>th</sup>-century texts, see M. Kuran, "O przykładach zastosowania alegoryzmów rememoratywnych w dwóch XVIII-wiecznych kazaniach" [On the examples of re-memorative allegorisms in two 18<sup>th</sup>-century sermons], *Liturgia Sacra*, 2012, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 101–112.

All these elements may be considered illustrations to the text of the prayer book, as the latter focuses on the Liturgy of the Eucharist and the scenes from the New Testament. Yet Tarasewicz added one more important element that was not contained in the textual programme of the prayer book; consequently, the book's visual aspect far exceeds the textual framework as established by Dryjacki. This element, appearing only in the image, not in the text, is a scene from the Old Testament (or, less frequently, an allegorical composition or an illustration to the Apocalypse of St. John), which constitutes a commentary to the scene from the life of Christ. Making use of the topography of a church building, Tarasewicz always placed this scene in the background of his compositions. These additional scenes are placed in the openings of doors or windows, inside arches leading to side naves or, more rarely, as paintings hanging on the side walls of the church. They include figures which the Christian tradition typically understood as prefiguring Jesus Christ, but also other images which seem to have been created solely for the needs of this graphic cycle.<sup>19</sup>

According to these patterns, therefore, most of the engravings contain three semantic levels that generate a complex system of references: to the Old and New Testament, to the liturgy and to the observers/participants.<sup>20</sup> In most cases, these are supplemented with quotations from the Bible placed in ribbons by the altar and by appropriate *sigla* directly by the biblical scene.

In this manner, the space of the church becomes a frame, and the liturgy – an opportunity for presenting an exegetic interpretation of the life of Christ by linking it with other passages from the Bible. The manner of showing additional scenes as embedded in the building's architecture by making use of doors, windows and medallions hanging on the walls brings to mind Western European biblical illustrations from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among the earlier examples of this type of composition to be used in prints illustrating biblical texts were the *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* by the Jesuit Jerónim Nadal, which were very popular and widely influential, also in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. This compositional type quickly came to be widespread in devotional graphics, so it would be difficult to convincingly point to a single model on which Tarasewicz may have based his work.

The typological pairs, which Tarasewicz quotes after the oldest Christian exegesis and iconographic tradition, include, for example, the Annunciation – the

19 For a complete list of chapters and their respective typological paints, see M. Janocha, *Missa in arte polona. Ikonomia mszy świętej w średniowiecznej i nowożytniej sztuce polskiej* [*Missa in arte polona. Iconography of the holy mass in medieval and early modern Polish art*], Warsaw 1998, pp. 93–95; only in the case of print XXIX (*Pater noster*) should the identification of medallions representing the Seven Sacraments be changed due to a comparison with the model: Theodoor Galle's print *Septem signa stupenda* from *Messis myrrhae et aromatum* by Jan David, see below.

20 Exceptions from this compositional pattern of two exegetic representations are found in print no. X (*Evangelium*), in which instead of two scenes there are oval emblems suspended on columns, and prints no. XI (*Dominus vobiscum*), XVI (*Suscipe*), XXVI (*Memento defunctorum*), XXIV (*Ablutio*) and XXIX (*Pater noster*), in which the composition is limited to just one biblical representation.

Original Sin; the Incarnation – Jacob’s ladder; the Last Supper – the sacrifice of Melchizedek; the cross of Christ – the bronze serpent; and the Resurrected Christ – Jonah. For instance, in print no. 2 (*Confiteor*) the picture in the main altar shows a rather conventionally presented scene of the Annunciation, with the Virgin Mary kneeling on the right-hand side and the Dove emerging from the cloud in the upper left section. Further back, in the arch, the compositional pattern of the Annunciation is repeated by its anti-type: the sin of Adam and Eve. They are also shown kneeling and looking upwards, to God appearing on a cloud. The biblical parallel is thus not only illustrated through the accumulated elements but also highlighted by the compositional analogy. The exegetic problem has been expressed through visual means. The text accompanying the engraving instructs the reader to reflect on the Incarnation, without mentioning Adam and Eve.

Yet those biblical motifs which are juxtaposed in an unexpected and surprising manner are particularly worth noting since they encourage reflection on, and the investigation of, the principle that links the two Testaments. Engraving no. 7 (*Epistola*) prompts the meditation of the Flight to Egypt. This scene is represented in the main altar; the pediment of the retable contains the words that Joseph heard in his dream: “Esto ibi usque dum dicam tibi”.<sup>21</sup> The arch leading to the side nave contains a scene which at first may seem enigmatic – beasts and monsters surrounding a walled city standing on a hill. Above it is a ribbon with a quotation from Psalm 104 (103): “Montes excelsi cervis, petra refugium herinaciis”.<sup>22</sup>

This psalm, extolling God as the creator of all things in nature, does not belong to typical texts understood as prefiguring events from the New Testament, but taken out of context and juxtaposed with the promise of sanctuary for the Virgin, Joseph and the Christ Child, this passage acquires a new meaning. It is no longer simply a triumphant description of natural harmony, but a celebration of God as the protector of the humankind; at the same time, of course, it describes and helps to interpret the main scene by focusing attention on God’s miraculous intervention in the fortunes of a defenceless family.

Such an erudite play on biblical quotations is not unusual in Tarasewicz’s cycle; many other engravings contain illustrations of single sentences from the Bible, found specifically in order to provide an exegetic tool for interpreting events from the life of Christ. Chapter 37 focuses on the Ascension, even though the image placed in the main altar is captioned with a quotation from another locus in the Gospel, one preceding not only the Ascension, but even the Passion of Christ: the words “Vado parare vobis locum” are uttered during the Last Supper.<sup>23</sup> To the left, in a window, there is an image of a gate hovering on a cloud. The compositional parallel with Christ on a cloud in the main altar suggests the meaning of the juxtaposition: the reader is to interpret Christ as a gate leading to Paradise.

21 Matt. 2, 13.

22 Ps. 104 (103), 18.

23 John 14, 2.

But the artistic invention can be appreciated fully only upon looking for the source of the symbolic image in the window, facilitated by the accompanying inscription "Gen. 28". The twenty-eighth chapter of the Book of Genesis describes the famous history of Jacob, who in his dream saw God and a ladder with angels ascending and descending on it. Upon awakening, Jacob said: "This is none other than the house of God; this is the gate of heaven".<sup>24</sup> It is worth noting that it is those words that were alluded to in the engraving, not Jacob's ladder, which is far more familiar in the iconography (which, in fact, appears in Chapter 4 of the cycle, in the context of the Nativity). Again, what we are dealing with here is a very creative selection of unobvious quotations.

Apart from these symbolic types, Tarasewicz included in his cycle some rarely used narrative representations intended as parallels to the life of Christ. The episode meditated upon in Chapter 18 (*Secreta oratio*) is the Arrest of Christ (captioned as "Comprehenderunt Jesum, et ligaverunt [eum] Ioan. 18").<sup>25</sup> The typological parallel to it is the capture of the Ark of the Covenant by the Philistines, described in the book known today as the First Book of Samuel.<sup>26</sup>

The association between Jesus Christ and the Ark of the Covenant is, of course, not an original idea, since it arises directly from the reading of the New Testament, particularly of the so-called Sermon on the Mount, during which Christ explicitly compared his words with the Torah. However, a juxtaposition of the capture of the Ark and the Arrest of Christ is rare in early iconographic tradition. The fact that this particular scene from 1 Samuel was used, even though it is not an obvious one, results from the resurgence of Old Testament motifs in early modern graphic art.

Theodoor Galle's engraving in a book compiled by the Dutch Jesuit, Jan David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae* (Antwerp 1607), may be an important reference point for this iconographic motif. This work comprises two parts, titled separately as *Messis Myrrhae et Aromatum* and *Pancarpium Marianum*; each part includes fifty illustrations which constitute an important element of the book's programme and a pointer to its reading. The first part is intended as a guide to meditation on the Passion of Christ, and the second focuses on the Virgin Mary.<sup>27</sup> The first volume seems to be crucial in Tarasewicz's inspiration for his cycle made for the *Thesaurus*.

Its overall conception derives from the typological tradition of reading the Bible: the frontispiece shows two gardens and the figures of the Groom, Christ, the Bride and the soul, all deriving from the Song of Songs. The Groom leads the Bride to a garden in which the *arma passionis* are displayed, and each of these is the topic of a subsequent chapter. Thus, the following engravings show either an instrument of the Passion or a scene from it, as well as scenes from the Old Testament that provide a commentary to the former. In each case there are a few additional scenes, and the

<sup>24</sup> Gen. 28, 17.

<sup>25</sup> John 18, 12.

<sup>26</sup> 1 Sam. 4, 11.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the already mentioned monographic study by Sors, *Allegorische Andachtsbücher...*, esp. pp. 103–116.

same gestures or objects appear in them as in the scene with the instrument being meditated upon.

Letters of the alphabet found on every print and referencing the section of the book which explains the motifs shown in the engraving are a crucial aid in identifying the scenes.<sup>28</sup> In most cases, identification of these small-scale images that often show marginal events mentioned in the Old Testament requires a profound familiarity with the biblical text and the ability to find a shared element in them. The overall mechanism is thus similar to that in Tarasewicz's book: an erudite selection of references to the Old Testament is used in the exegetic interpretation of the life of Christ.

The topic of Chapter 8 in the prayer books is the Arrest of Christ (*Manuum iniectio*). In the foreground is the Olive Garden, where soldiers are binding the hands of Christ (identifiable by the letter C). In the background, following the pattern of each print, are four scenes depicting parallel events or gestures described in the Old Testament. In the bottom right, marked with the letter D, is the capture of the Ark of the Covenant by the Philistines. An inscription in the ribbon reads: "Arca Dei captaest. 1. Reg 4." This similarity of iconographic motifs is worth noting, but it does not necessarily prove that the two prints are interrelated.

Yet the allegorical composition placed in the main altar in print no. 29 (*Pater noster*) is certainly based on one by Theodoor Galle. It shows a cross surrounded by seven numbered medallions. The motifs shown in them are barely legible, particularly because there is no caption to help the reader, but a clue to their contents is provided by the title of the chapter and the prayer which follows the illustration: "Pars 3. Super Host. Propitiat. Cons. 7. Signa stupenda & verba". Thus, this part of the liturgy focuses on the signs that accompanied the death of Christ, yet only a comparison with the illustration to Chapter 43 of the *Messis myrrhae et aromatum: Septem signa stupenda* helps one to decipher what exactly each medallion represents (Fig. 5).

Galle's composition is far more complex than Tarasewicz's reworking of the scene; it contains more details and is provided with inscriptions. Galle shows Christ on the cross surrounded by seven medallions joined with a ribbon and supported by angels.<sup>29</sup> Two additional groups of angels among the clouds are shown in the background; its bottom section depicts the City of Jerusalem. On the ribbon connecting the medallions there is a quotation from the Book of Jeremiah: "Quis audivit talia horribilia, quæ fecit [nimis] virgo Israel? Ier 18".<sup>30</sup>

The medallions are numbered in the same way as in Tarasewicz's work, i.e. looking from the left-hand end of the ribbon: 5, 3, 2, 1, 7, 4, 6. They are captioned with the names of the strange phenomena that accompanied the death of Christ:

28 A method typical of Western illustrated devotional literature of the era. See Sors, *Allegorische Andachtsbücher...*, pp. 181–182.

29 The same compositional pattern is used by Galle in Chapter 41: *Septem Christi verba*. It must be pointed out that also Dryjacki's text refers to the seven extraordinary events that accompanied the death of Christ, as well as to his seven words spoken on the cross, i.e. the *topoi* presented on both prints arranged by Galle as an image of the cross surrounded by seven medallions.

30 Jer. 18, 13b.





**Fig. 5.** Theodoor Galle (43) *Septem signa stupenda*; Jan David, *Messis myrrhae et aromatum*, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Th Pr 560, Table between pages 170 and 171 (Table 43)

“Petræ scissæ sunt”; “Velum templi scissum est”; “Clamans expiravit”; “Sol obscuratus est; Effluxit sanguis et aqua”; “Terramotus magnus factus est”, and “Monumenta aperta sunt”, respectively. These captions make it possible to identify the elements in Tarasewicz’s print. Medallion 5, showing tall mountains, symbolises the rocks splitting, a divided length of fabric – the curtain of the Temple tearing in two, a swan – Christ crying out before his death, the sun obscured by the clouds – darkness, a lamb with a banner and chalice – the blood and water that flowed from Christ’s side, a city with a collapsing tower – the earthquake, and four tombs with bodies inside – the tombs opening.

Print no. 11 (*Dominus vobiscum*), i.e. the interior of the church which, when compared to other prints, is relatively original, provides another clear indication that Tarasewicz modelled his work on that of the engraver from Antwerp. The main altar is here seen frontally, from afar. The centre is occupied by the nave with the believers sitting in the stalls; there is a pulpit on the right. This novel composition is a relatively faithful repetition of Theodoor Galle’s print in another work by Jan David, *Veredicus christianus* (Chapter 36, *Tria præcipua virtutum incentiva*) (Fig. 3). When considering the elements which are similar to those in the works of Galle it is worth noting that the motif of *manus Dei* in Chapter 1 of the *Thesaurus* and in Chapter 50 of the *Messis Myrrhae* is executed in a very similar manner.

The aforementioned examples demonstrate indisputably that Tarasewicz was familiar with the engravings of Theodoor Galle and modelled his work on them while designing illustrations for the *Thesaurus*. To what extent the illustrated prayer books by Jan David and other Jesuits who cooperated with outstanding engravers and vigorously active printing houses were an inspiration to the creators of the Vilnius book as a source of visual exegesis remains an open question. It seems, however, that the role of this publication, the role of the images in it and the fact that numerous original typological pairs were used in it places the book firmly within the Western European current of modern-era biblical illustration.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

## Abstract

In the 1680s Aleksander Tarasewicz produced a cycle of prints illustrating the *Thesaurus sacratissimae vitae passionis pretiosissimi sanguinis D. n. Iesu Christi*, a prayer book compiled by the Augustine monk Fulgenty Dryjacki. The book was published by the Vilnius Academy publishing house, which was managed by the Jesuits; this publishing house was one of the most important centres of graphic art in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Tarasewicz's engravings stand out due to their complex iconographic programme and their composition, which refer to illustrations in prayer books that were popular in Western Europe at the time. The most interesting iconographic element are typological scenes from the Bible, which Tarasewicz included in most of the illustrations. Their analysis reveals which prints he used as his models, thus documenting Western aspirations in the art of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Vilnius.



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## “None of Us is this Zeuxis Heracleotes”: The Illustrational Dilemmas of Cracow Publishers<sup>1</sup>

Renaissance publishers very often directly addressed the prospective readers of the books published at their printing houses. In various dedications, prefaces, afterwords, etc., they presented a broad behind-the-scene picture of their editorial efforts, in this suggestive way attempting to shape the general views concerning the status and significance of *ars artium*. These texts provide important information about the editors' scholarly, social and professional contacts, as well as the circumstances in which various texts were created and all kinds of problems the editors encountered in their endeavours.<sup>2</sup> Parallel to the development of the art of printing, an increasing amount of attention was given to the illustrations intended to accompany the texts. A critical analysis of these allegedly autobiographical texts must, of course, take under consideration their extreme subjectivism and reputation-building rhetorical strategies, which sometimes were highly conventional. Nevertheless, the intentional self-exposures found in these texts reveal to us the real or proclaimed intentions and frustrations of Renaissance publishers. This is all the more interesting considering that many of them were not only astute businessmen and talented craftsmen; they also had considerable intellectual ambitions, were ready to express

- 1 The article presents the results of research conducted as part of the *Obraz modyfikowany: recepcja grafiki w Królestwie Polskim od schyłku XV po początek XVII wieku. Przedmioty – osoby – środowiska – procesy* [Reframed image: reception of prints in the Kingdom of Poland from the end of 15<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Objects – people – milieux – processes] project financed by the National Science Centre (no. 2015/17/B/HS2/02469).
- 2 The vast specialist literature on this subject results from an eminently interdisciplinary research; see esp.: J. R. Henderson, “On Reading the Rhetoric of the Renaissance Letter”, in: *Renaissance-Rhetoric*, ed. H. F. Plett, Berlin 1993; B. Richardson, *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470–1600*, Cambridge 1994; K. Dunn, *Pretexts of Authority. The Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface*, Stanford 1994; B. Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge 1999; *Self-Presentation and Social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter Writing in Early Modern Times*, eds. T. van Houdt, J. Papy, G. Tournoy, C. Matheeußen, Leuven 2002 (*Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, vol. XVIII); E. L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge 2005; A. Pettigree, *The Book in the Renaissance*, New Haven–London 2011, pp. 164–166.

themselves in writing and were proud of their belonging (or aspiring to belong) to the *respublica litteraria*.<sup>3</sup>

An examination of authorial commentaries by Cracow publishers indicates that the issues of book illustration began to more clearly impinge on their awareness in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, their direct statements on this topic, even though few, clearly show their critical approach to the images included in their own publications.<sup>5</sup> An analysis of the contents of those texts, supported by an investigation of the pictorial material in question, shows that the publishers'

3 See C. Dionisotti, *Aldo Manuzio umanista e editore*, Milano 1995; J. Pirożyński, *Johannes Gutenberg i początki ery druku* [Johannes Gutenberg and the beginnings of the age of print], Warsaw 2002, pp. 165–167; L. Febvre, H.-J. Martin, *Narodziny książki* [original title: *L'apparition du livre*, Paris 1958], translated by A. Kocot, M. Wodzyńska-Walicka, Warsaw 2014, pp. 225ff. Also: M. Rokosz, *Wenecka oficyna Alda Manucjusza i Polska w orbicie jej wpływów* [The Venetian printing house of Aldo Manuzio and Poland in the circle of its influence], Wrocław 1982; J. Pelc, *Słowo i obraz. Na pograniczu literatury i sztuk plastycznych* [The word and the image. On the borderline between literature and visual arts], Cracow 2002; J. S. Gruchała, *Lucunda familia librorum. Humanisci renesansowi w świecie książki* [*Lucunda familia librorum. Renaissance humanists in the world of books*], Cracow 2002.

4 Earlier, much more attention was paid to problems with printing texts in the Polish language and the attendant typographic issues, cf. Hieronymus Vietor's forewords (for their brief discussion, see *Drukarze dawnej Polski od XV do XVIII wieku*, tom 1: *Małopolska*, część 1: *Wiek XV–XVI* [Printers in Old Poland from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, vol. 1: Lesser Poland, part 1: 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> century], collective work, ed.-in-chief A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1983, pp. 350–352). Even in the foreword to a work as richly illustrated as *O ziołach y o mocy ich* [On herbs and their power] by Stefan Falimirz (Cracow 1534, published by Florian Ungler) there is a rather conventional, if enthusiastic, eulogy: "[...] my dear Florian not only never stinted on his great expense, but also with tireless attention he looked how these Polish books could be best and most appropriately adorned and beautified with new letters and lovely images (cf. T. Ulewicz, "O reklamie wydawniczej w pierwszej połowie XVI wieku, krakowskich impresorach-nakładcach oraz o polskich listach dedykacyjnych oficyny Wietora" [On publishing advertisements in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, on Cracow printer-publishers and on Polish dedicatory letters from Vietor's printing house], in: idem, *Wśród impresorów krakowskich doby renesansu* [Among the Cracow printers of the Renaissance era], Cracow 1977, p. 116ff).

5 Among the many studies on forewords by Polish publishers, see: A. Czekajewska, "O listach dedykacyjnych w polskiej książce XVI wieku" [On dedicatory letters in Polish books of the 16<sup>th</sup> century], *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 1962, vol. 1, fasc. 1–2, pp. 21–55; A. Czekajewska, "Kultura umysłowa Polski XVI wieku w świetle listów dedykacyjnych" [Intellectual culture in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Poland in the light of dedicatory letters], *Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki polskiej*, 1965, series A, fasc. 7, pp. 47–109; Ulewicz, *O reklamie wydawniczej...*, p. 108ff; R. Ociecek, *Ślaworodne wizerunki. O wierszowanych listach dedykacyjnych z XVII wieku* [Fame-imparting images. On 17<sup>th</sup>-century dedicatory letters in verse], Katowice 1982; J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czcionką i piórem. Jan Januszowski w roli pisarza i tłumacza* [With a type and a pen. Jan Januszowski as writer and translator], Cracow 2007, pp. 33–43; J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, "Przedmowa wydawcy jako świadectwo recepcji dzieła poety. Jan Januszowski o Janie Kochanowskim" [The publisher's foreword as indicative of the reception of a poetic work. Jan Januszowski on Jan Kochanowski], in: *Silva rerum philologicarum. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Marii Strycharskiej-Brzezina z okazji Jej jubileuszu* [*Silva rerum philologicarum. Studies presented to Prof. Maria Strycharska-Brzezina on her jubilee*], Cracow 2010, pp. 129–136 ("Biblioteka LingVariów", vol. 10).

objections were not only conventional expressions of modesty, but an indication of their growing awareness of how complex the matter of book illustration truly was; these publishers understood that the functions of book illustrations vary and transcend the simple pictorial interpretation of the text. It seems obvious that the criticism was caused by the publishers' awareness of the achievements of foreign centres of printing. Such parallels were never expressly suggested in the forewords themselves;<sup>6</sup> but it cannot be doubted that this wider European context influenced the views of publishers active in a city, which was an internationally recognised centre of culture and scholarship. Also, it is important to note that the publishers who disparaged the illustrations in books they themselves had published belonged to a consecutive generation of illustrious printer families; this means they had an exceptionally good grounding in the editorial profession and a fine awareness of its special character as one combining elements of craftsmanship, art, business and an intellectual pursuit.<sup>7</sup>

A critical, even though still rather laconic, reference to the illustrations is found in the most prominent work to come out of the printing house belonging to the Szarfenbergers, a family of printers and publishers originating from Silesia.<sup>8</sup> In a Bible published in 1561 by the Heirs of Marek Szarfenberger – which was the first Roman Catholic edition of the entire Scripture to be published in the Polish language – a short apology for its unsatisfactory graphic arrangement was placed right after the *Foreword to the reader*: "My dear reader, please do not be offended that not uniform are the figures set in this Bible, that is some are large, some smaller".<sup>9</sup> This inconsistency in the sizes of the illustrations in the Szarfenberger Bible resulted from the fact that the set of woodblocks used in its printing was not homogeneous – some of them had actually been cut far earlier, in the 1530s, to illustrate Luther's Bible (sic!) published at Hans Lufft's printing house in Wittenberg.<sup>10</sup> Re-using graphic matrices originally produced for other publications was standard practice

6 References to the work of printers outside the Commonwealth are found in Jan Januszowski's preface to *Nowy charakter polski* [The new Polish character] (Cracow 1594).

7 This observation was often made in reference to the achievements of the Manuzio, Estienne, Froben, Koberger, Giunti or Barbour families. See D. F. McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices", *Studies in Bibliography*, 1969, no. 22, pp. 1–75; Richardson, *Print Culture...*, op. cit.

8 Cf. *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, p. 231ff.

9 *Biblia to iest Xiggi Starego y Nowego Zakonu na polski ięzyk z pilnością według łacińskiej Biblii od Kościoła Krześcijańskiego powszechnego przyjęty, nowo wyłożona* [The Bible i.e. the Books of the Old and New Scripture, diligently translated into the Polish language according to the Latin Bible accepted by the Christian Church and newly explicated]; copy: MNK VIII-XVI.52 (text under the preface). This remark was accompanied by the comment that the reasons for this should be shrouded in silence, since they must be sought in the interference of "third parties". Cf. E. Belcarzowa, *Polskie i czeskie źródła przekładu Biblii Leopolicy* [Polish and Czech sources of the translation of the Leopolite Bible], Cracow 2006.

10 On the sources of illustrations for both editions of the Leopolite Bible (1561 and 1575), see E. Chojecka, *Deutsche Bibelserien in der Holzstocksammlung der Jagellonischen Universität in Krakau*, Baden-Baden 1961.

at the time;<sup>11</sup> this actually makes the fact that the author of this contrite comment (most probably Mikołaj Szarfenberger, who signed the foreword) felt it necessary to apologise for the shape of the illustrations quite inexplicable. The essential reason may have been his perception that this book was of special importance, as it was produced during a period of vigorous religious controversy in the Commonwealth and constituted the Roman Catholic answer to Protestant texts printed in Polish.

The surplus of copies of the Bible on the book market and the resulting problems with selling them, which was an issue at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, was replaced by new challenges in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, namely by editions in national languages and, above all, involvement in propaganda and religious debates.<sup>12</sup> An analysis of the types of publications coming from the Szarfenberger house indicates that these printers were quite familiar with the themes of the religious controversies of the day.<sup>13</sup> Hence they were also aware that competition on the market of religious printed matter had acquired a new dimension. It is precisely in the Szarfenberger Bible, which thanks to the ecclesiastic who corrected the text is known in the history of book printing as the Leopolite Bible<sup>14</sup>, that the issue of the 'war of images' fully emerges; this was a polemic that forced the Cracow printers to face the fact that woodcut images had begun to go far beyond their simple, strictly illustrative functions and had become important carriers of ideas and intellectual contents.<sup>15</sup> Thus it became necessary to avoid the risk of having a conflict of messages. Some of the illustrations for this Catholic Bible were to be printed from woodblocks made for Luther's Bible and, consequently, they contained clearly anti-papal motifs;

11 Cf. A. Griffiths, *The Print before Photography. An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820*, London 2016, p. 132ff.

12 Specialist literature on this subject is vast; see R. Wittmann, *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels*, München 1991, p. 43ff; *La Réforme et le livre. L'Europe de l'imprimé (1517 – v.1570)*, ed. J.-F. Gilmont, Paris 1990; J.-F. Gilmont, *The Reformation and the Book*, Ashgate 1998; *The Bible as Book. The First Printed Editions*, eds. K. van Kampen, P. Saenger, London 1999.

13 *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 261–262, 269; G. Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin. Rzymska twórczość graficzna Tomasza Tretera i jej europejskie oddziaływanie* [The agency of prints. Tomasz Treter's Roman engravings and their European influence], Cracow 2017, pp. 57–58, 78 ("Ars vetus et nova", vol. XLIV).

14 Neither the first (1561) nor the second (1575) edition of this Bible mentions the person who translated the Vulgate into Polish. Scholars are still at odds regarding this matter (for an overview of the hypotheses, see Pietkiewicz, op. cit., pp. 217–218). The only person mentioned is the proofreader of the translation and the editor, a professor of the Jagiellonian University, Jan Nicz from Lvov (i.e. Leopold, hence the Leopolite).

15 The didactic value of illustrations in Bibles was mentioned already in the Cologne Bible from 1478; the scholarly value, in turn, was a distinctive feature of illustrations to the Geneva editions of the Bible. Special cognitive qualities were ascribed to illustrations in bibles printed in national languages, cf. R. Pietkiewicz, *Pismo święte w języku polskim w latach 1516–1638. Sytuacja wyznaniowa w Polsce a rozwój edytorstwa biblijnego* [Scripture in the Polish language in the years 1516–1638. Religious situation in Poland and the development of biblical editorship], doctoral thesis, University of Wrocław, Faculty of Philology, Institute of Library Sciences, Wrocław 2002, p. 16ff (online version: <http://digital.fides.org.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=728&dirids=1>).

these had to be eliminated by subjecting the wood blocks to very peculiar censorship, e.g. in the illustration to Chapter 11 of the Apocalypse of St. John, two upper diadems of the papal tiara worn by the beast declaring war to two witnesses were removed. Such denomination-related modifications of illustrations were a frequent phenomenon at the time.<sup>16</sup> Its source lay in the pragmatism of the publishers, who were not only mindful of securing their more costly enterprises (and an illustrated edition of the entire Scripture was certainly one of those) and wished to avoid any clashes with bodies of ecclesiastical and secular censorship, but also – which will be discussed later – they did all they could to cut costs. It is not impossible that the apology found in the foreword to the Leopold Bible was an attempt to reduce any problems connected with the illustrations to solely formal issues connected with the then-widespread practice of re-using graphic matrices – while the true problem (then still a new one in Cracow) was that the intellectual and polemic potential of the images was being used in the battle of creeds.<sup>17</sup>

The critical approach to illustrations was expressed again in another publication to come out of the Szarfenbergers' press, i.e. the 1568 book *Herbarz, to iest ziół tutecznych, postronnych y zamorskich opisanie* [The herbal, that is a description of local, foreign, and overseas herbs] by Marcin Siennik. In his dedication to Jan Herbut, the publisher, who in this case was solely Mikołaj Szarfenberger, reported the behind-the-scenes circumstances of the book's publication, thus highlighting his altruistic motives ("since [it is] both needed and has often been enquired about by people") (Fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> He also declared that his intention had been to provide the readers with a work that would include the most recent developments in the art of healing and the preparation of remedies, but this ambitious plan could not be carried out for financial reasons: "But since I was at this time unable to find a man who could do it, and even if I had him my modest fortune would not bear this expenditure, especially if the appearance of the herbs were to be depicted anew, I was forced to

16 Cf. *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, p. 263; Pietkiewicz, op. cit., p. 215 and esp. pp. 226–230, 377–378; Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin...*, pp. 31–32. Cf. N. de Hommel-Steenbakkers, "Censorship or Self-Protection? Modifications in Apocalypse Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Bibles Printed in the Low Countries", in: *Infant Milk or Hardy Nourishment? The Bible for Lay People and Theologians in the Early Modern Period*, eds. W. François, A. den Hollander, Leuven 2009, pp. 191–221.

17 Interestingly, in the second edition of the Szarfenberger Bible, published in 1575 under changed political and religious circumstances, the illustrative material was even more diverse, but this critical passage on the illustrations was omitted; also, the title of the entire work was modified, e.g. the words "adorned with figures" were added.

18 *Herbarz, to iest ziół tutecznych, postronnych y zamorskich opisanie...* [The herbal, that is a description of local, foreign, and overseas herbs...]; copy: National Library, Warsaw, inv. no. SD XVI E90. Great demand for such "para-medical" herbalist literature was reported by other publishers as well, e.g. Christian Egenolff (Cf. A. Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, a Chapter in the History of Botany, 1470–1670*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge 1938, p. 209ff; D. Landau, P. Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470–1550*, New Haven–London 1994, p. 247ff) or Łazarz Andrysowicz (in a dedication to another work by Marcin Siennik, *Lekarstwa doświadczone* [Tested remedies], published in 1564).



put this venture aside because, as I have said, the sum would have been great and I would not have been able to carry the costs". In the end, Szarfenberger limited himself to "amending" earlier texts.<sup>19</sup>



**Fig. 1.** Marcin Siennik, *Herbarz, to iest ziół tutecznych, postronnych y zamorskich opisanie [...]* [The herbal, that is a description of local, foreign and overseas herbs...], ed. Mikołaj Szarfenberger, Cracow 1568, National Library, Warsaw, inv. no. SD.XVI.F90, source: Polona

Problems with finding a qualified woodblock cutter, as noted by the publisher, were very familiar to printers and publishers active in many milieus of the time. Even in the case of the most prestigious works, finding a skilled *Formschneider* could be problematic, as confirmed by the letters of Conrad Peutinger that refer to the

<sup>19</sup> It was a *sui generis* revision of a work by Hieronim Spiczynski *O ziołach tutecznych y zamorskich y mocy ich* [On local and overseas herbs and their power], published by Helena Unglerowa in 1542 and then by the Heirs of Marek Szarfenberg in 1556. Spiczynski's work was itself a compilation; based on *O ziołach y o mocy ich* [On herbs and their power] by Stefan Falimirz published in 1534 by Florian Ungler. See J. Czapla, "Niezwyczajne zwierzęta w wyobrażeniach uczonych XVI-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej. Fauna egzotyczna w traktacie Stefana Falimirza *O ziołach y o mocy gich*" [Strange animals in the perceptions of scholars in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century Commonwealth. Exotic fauna in the treatise *On herbs and their power* by Stefan Falimirz], *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, 2013, no. 58, pp. 357–367 (with a list of earlier literature on the subject).

“paper” commissions from Emperor Maximilian I.<sup>20</sup> The lack of a suitable cutter often caused delays, or, as was in this case, forced the publishers to make use of illustrations that had been produced for earlier publications.<sup>21</sup> This method had an additional advantage, as signalled by Szarfenberger in his preface, namely that it helped to cut costs: cutting a large set of woodblocks meant a considerable outlay. Analyses of the most lavishly illustrated editions from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries have shown that high costs were generated due to the fact that this stage of preparing a book for print was highly time- and work-consuming.<sup>22</sup> Mindful of their profit, the publishers tried to avoid “excessive” expenses on the one hand, but, on the other, were very happy to flaunt them; hence this “cost-saving” paradigm was a recurring motif in their forewords and dedications. This partially reflected the realities of the contemporary publishing market, where editors often tottered on a thin line between success and bankruptcy, with either outcome depending on a variety of economic, social, political and artistic factors.<sup>23</sup> Financial problems are an integral part of the history of early printing, and the publishers’ supplications and dedications were a popular method of seeking support among patrons, clients and, ultimately, readers.<sup>24</sup>

A more unusual point in the foreword to the herbal by Marcin Siennik was the fact that the word “depicted” (archaic Polish: *wykonterfetowane*) was used there to

20 Similar problems delayed the publication of *Genealogy of the House of Habsburg and Triumphal Procession*. Cf. Landau, Parshall, op. cit., pp. 207, 209; L. Silver, “The „Papier-Kaiser”. Burgkmair, Augsburg and the Image of the Emperor”, in: *Emperor Maximilian I and the Age of Dürer*, ed. E. Michel, M. L. Sternath, exhibition catalogue, Albertina, Wien 2012, pp. 91–99.

21 In 1551, after Helena Unglerowa’s death, the Szarfenbergers purchased her printing press with all of the paraphernalia (*Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, p. 260). This is probably how they came to own the woodblocks used in 1534 and 1542 in the printing of earlier herbals. On filiations in herbalist publications: J. Rostański, *Nasza literatura botaniczna XVI w. oraz jej autorowie lub tłumacze: studyjum krytyczne* [Our botanical literature of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and its authors or translators. A critical study], Cracow 1888; J. Kołodziejczyk, “W poszukiwaniu źródeł do botanicznej księgi herbarza Stefana Falimirza” [In the search for the sources for the herbalist book on botany by Stefan Falimirz], *Archiwum Historii Medycyny*, 1957, vol. 20, no. 1–2, pp. 35–44; J. Szostak, “Zielnik Stefana Falimirza z 1534 roku” [The herbal by Stefan Falimirz from 1534], *Ze skarbcza kultury* 1977, fasc. 28–29; J. Szostak, *Farmakognozja, farmacja galenowa i aptekarstwo w renesansowych zielnikach polskich* [Pharmacognosy, Galenic pharmacy and apothecary practice in Polish Renaissance herbals], Warsaw 2006 (with an extensive list of earlier literature on the subject).

22 See the remuneration for Sebolt Gallensdorfer, a *Formschneider* hired to cut the woodblocks for Hartmann Schedel’s *Chronicle of the World*. E. Rücker, *Hartmann Schedels Weltchronik, Das größte Buchunternehmen der Dürer-Zeit. Mit einem Katalog der Städteansichten*, München 1988.

23 L. Febvre, H.-J. Martin, *Narodziny książki* [original title: *L’apparition du livre*, Paris 1958], translated by A. Kocot, M. Wodzyńska-Walicka, Warsaw 2014, p. 17ff.

24 See R. Chartier, “Princely Patronage and the Economy of Dedication”, in: *Forms and Meanings*, Philadelphia 1995, pp. 25–42. On the functions of dedications on loose prints, see M. Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550–1620*, London 2001, p. 78. In the context of Poland, interesting conclusions are drawn from dedications by Hieronymus Vietor (*Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 350–352) and Jan Januszowski (*ibid.*, pp. 94–97).

denote the making of the images of plants that were to be included in this work. In the Renaissance, the Latin term *contrafacere* made a considerable career in many national languages, with the important gloss that its meaning was not limited to the simple “making an image” but included the suggestion that the image was, in fact, objective, consistent with nature or even declared as “true”.<sup>25</sup> The popularity of this term indicates that there existed a need to describe the new function (and form) of images in which the deciding factor was their “authenticity”. Interestingly, in 16<sup>th</sup>-century prints, mainly German ones, this term and its derivatives were applied in reference to various images – but all of them were ones in which the common factor was the need for fidelity with respect to some model (e.g. portraits, cityscapes, maps, depictions of contemporary events, images of holy relics, etc.).<sup>26</sup> Of course, the fact that Szarfenberger used the term *wykonterfetować* is not sufficient to draw conclusions regarding his awareness of Renaissance theories concerning the mimetic nature of art or of the broad issues of similarity and imitation.<sup>27</sup> However, by then he already had one published herbarium under his belt (1556), so he may have been quite familiar with the issue of the special expectations – on the part of both the authors and the readers – with regard to illustrations in texts that either were or aspired to be scholarly; and Renaissance herbals certainly belonged to these. In their case, important criteria were accuracy of the information they communicated and the already-mentioned conformity with nature, which would make it possible to unmistakably identify the described and depicted plants in their natural state. Leading publications of this kind clearly demonstrate how great a value was attached to illustrations in Renaissance herbals.<sup>28</sup> In the case of the herbal by Otto Brunfels, published in 1530 in Strasburg by Johannes Schott and illustrated by Hans Weiditz, the very title *Herbarum vivae eicones* indicates that “living” images of plants constituted its key element. In the introduction to *De historia stirpium Commentarii Insignes* (Basel 1542, published by M. Isengrin), its author Leonhard Fuchs accused the illustrators of being more ready to “vaunt their talent” than to follow nature; however, in the very same work the artists involved in producing its illustrations

25 Chiefly P. Parshall, “Imago contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance”, *Art History*, December 1993, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 554–579; Landau, Parshall, op. cit., pp. 237–240. In Polish, the terms *konterfetować* and *kontrefetować* signified “to represent”, “to imitate”, but also “to mock”, “to ape”. *Słownik polszczyzny XVI wieku* [Dictionary of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish], vol. 10, Wrocław 1976, pp. 584, 586–587.

26 Landau, Parshall, op. cit., pp. 237–239.

27 Cf. A. Fulińska, *Naśladowanie i twórczość. Renesansowe teorie imitacji, emulacji i przekładu* [Imitation and creativity. Renaissance theories of imitation, emulation and translation], Wrocław 2000.

28 Specialist literature on this topic is vast; see esp. A. Arber, *Herbals: Their Origin and Evolution, a Chapter in the History of Botany, 1460–1670*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge 1938; W. Blunt, *The Art of Botanical Illustration*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London 1951; F. D. Hoeniger, “How Plants and Animals were Studied in the Mid-Sixteenth Century”, in: *Science and the Arts in the Renaissance*, eds. J. W. Shirley, F. D. Hoeniger, Washington D.C. 1985, pp. 130–148; F. Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer and the Animal and Plant Studies of the Renaissance*, Boston 1988; Landau, Parshall, op. cit., pp. 247–255; Pettegree, op. cit., pp. 291–295.

were honoured in an exceptional way, namely, their portraits were included in the book (Albrecht Meyer and Heinrich Füllmaurer were depicted as the *pictores operis*, while Veit Rudolf Speckle was described as the *sculptor*). In the foreword to the illustrated edition of the *Kraüterbuch* by Hieronymus Bock (Strasbourg 1546), the significance of illustrations was stressed by the publisher, Wendel Rihel, who turned the readers' attention not only to their costliness, but also to the problems attendant on their proper execution, for instance the difficulties presented by acquiring the botanical “models”. The foreword to the following edition of this work, issued in 1560, contains a *sui generis* overview of the characteristic features of illustrations contained in contemporary handbooks of botany; in this context the excellent quality of woodcuts created by David Kandel for the current book was, of course, highlighted. In sum, the illustrated herbals of that period constituted a unique field for experimentation, not only a ground for the analysis of the relationship between art and nature, but also an area where steps towards the development of the empirical sciences were being made.<sup>29</sup>

It cannot be ruled out that what Szarfenberger had in mind while writing his foreword were illustrations found in herbals of the era; in the text itself he cited the authority of Pietro Mattioli and his achievements in the field of medicine, thus proving his knowledge of the contemporary book market.<sup>30</sup> The contrast between illustrations produced in his lifetime, for instance those in the Prague edition of Mattioli's *Commentarii* from 1563, and woodcuts in his own publication, where some woodblocks were used more than once to illustrate several plants (e.g. the illustrations showing cumin and coriander), may have made the Cracow printer feel the need to justify himself before his readers. What is more, the reasons for his self-critical observations may even have been provided by the local production: just a few years earlier, in 1564, Łazarz Andrysowicz had published *Lekarstwa doświadczone* [Tested remedies], another work by Marcin Siennik in which the text was accompanied by a sizeable set of woodcut representations of medicinal plants.<sup>31</sup> In Szarfenberger's defence we must recall that the use of second-hand woodblocks, which could be bought or rented out, was standard practice, particularly in the case of richly illustrated books; and contemporary herbals certainly belonged to those. Even in Cracow alone we can find another example of this practice – in a book which, in addition, also includes the publisher's critical commentary. *Herbarz Polski*

29 Very interesting argumentation was used during the lawsuit brought by Johannes Schott against Christian Egenolff, accusing the latter of plagiarising the work by Brunfels. It gives us insight into various (artistic, cognitive and legal) aspects of the problem. Landau, Parshall, op. cit., pp. 245–258.

30 Pietro Andrea Mattioli's *Commentarii* were published since 1544, their illustrated editions appeared a decade later, and they were published in national languages in the 1560s. In the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the book appeared in over 60 editions.

31 Copy: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, inv. no. XVI.Qu.1848. In the foreword to the reader, Siennik commented on the importance of illustrations, pointing out that they aided the “recognition” of plants, and added that “the printer and I diligently made it so as to give each herb its own shape”.

[The Polish herbal] by Marcin of Urzędów, published in 1595 by Jan Januszowski, contains the following observation: "It would have been proper to adorn this Herbal with more perfect images and provide each herb with its own image".<sup>32</sup> In addition, further on the publisher, similarly as Szarfenberger had done before him, pointed out that an attempt to cut a special woodblock for each plant described in the book would have made "the work impossible to finish, and the cost incalculable".

Jan Januszowski, the publisher of *Herbarz Polski*, was Mikołaj Szarfenberger's most serious competitor.<sup>33</sup> As the son of Łazarz Andrysowicz, owner of the Oficyna Łazarzowa printing house, and Barbara, the widow of the famous publisher and printer Hieronymus Vietor, he was exceptionally well prepared for his profession. In addition, similarly to many of the outstanding publishers of his era, he was very well educated, with wide interests and excellent contacts at the royal court and among the highest aristocracy.<sup>34</sup> His ambitions regarding illustrative material were considerable, as shown by his endeavour to create a series of images of Polish monarchs with brief commentaries (*eicones*), modelled on similar works that had been issued abroad. What Januszowski planned to create was a publication embedded in the tradition of the Renaissance "cult" of *uomini illustri*, and thus representing one of the most characteristic genres of the era. Even though the concept for it was formed as early as in the 1570s, the series entitled *Ikones Książąt y Królów Polskich x. Jana Głuchowskiego* [Father Jan Głuchowski's Icons of Polish Princes and Kings], saw the light of day only in 1605.<sup>35</sup> Januszowski was the author of its concept, the editor who overlooked the entire work process and the man responsible for the final effect; hence his foreword presenting the background of its issue, entitled *Krótki wywód tytułu tych ksiąg, do łaskawego Czytelnika* (A brief explication of the title of these books, to the kind Reader), was very personal in its tone.<sup>36</sup> In it, Januszowski devoted much attention to the function of the "depictions" (archaic Polish: *konterfety*), thus amply demonstrating his knowledge of various theories of pictorial resemblance and, in effect, producing a text that provides essential information regarding opinions on

32 Copy: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, inv. no. XVI.F.4233, under the author's foreword.

33 The term "rivalry" is entirely applicable here, considering that the *Acta castrensia Cracoviensia* mention that at one time Januszowski beat Szarfenberger so badly that blood flowed (*Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, p. 79).

34 Above all, *ibid.*, pp. 69–99; Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czcionką i piórem...*, op. cit.

35 A remark on Januszowski harbouring such a plan appears in the royal privilege from 1578 (*Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 73, 88). The Cracow printer was beaten to it by Tomasz Treter, who published *Regum Poloniae icones* (Rome 1591), later popularised by Arnold Mylius through his *Principum et regum Polonorum imagines ad vivum expressae* published in Köln in 1594. See Jurkowlaniec, *Sprawczość rycin...*, pp. 276–278.

36 *Ikones Książąt y Królów Polskich x. Jana Głuchowskiego* [...] [Father Jan Głuchowski's Icons of Polish Princes and Kings ...]; copy: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wrocław, inv. no. XVII-15407. Cf. also: J. Głuchowski, *Ikones królów i książąt polskich. Reprodukacja fototypiczna wydania z 1605 r.* [Icons of Polish Princes and Kings. Phototypic reproduction of the 1605 edition], ed. B. Górską, Wrocław 1979.

the functions of depictions as held in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Poland.<sup>37</sup> Januszowski referred to the commemorative, evocative and cognitive functions of “portraits”: “For when we look at some painted image, we swiftly impress it on our minds and we at once assume some acquaintance with that unfamiliar personage”. At the same time, he emphasised his disappointment with the illustrations in his long-planned *Ikones*. Attempting to justify his failure in this matter, Januszowski reported the unfortunate incident that ruined his plans: “an expert craftsman brought over from Germany” had been “without any fault or cause accidentally shot and killed”.<sup>38</sup> The subsequent lamentation on the loss of this accomplished woodblock cutter who, as it turned out, could not be replaced by anyone very much resembles the complaints found in the foreword to Siennik’s *Herbarz*, and yet again it indicates that the position of a skilled *Formschneider* on the contemporary printing market was very high indeed. It was precisely in the 16<sup>th</sup> century that the woodcut technique reached the apex of its artistic potential.<sup>39</sup> Masters of this art, i.e. independent woodcut engravers and skilled *Formschneider* craftsmen alike, designed or cut loose prints and book illustrations, making use of the monochromatic technique or producing chiaroscuro prints, and by cooperating with many publishers they developed careers that exceeded the boundaries of their own local regions.<sup>40</sup>

The woodblock cutter’s death prevented Januszowski from completing the *Ikones* with images of the last monarchs, namely Henri de Valois and Stephen Báthory. He was also forced to print some depictions from woodblocks used in earlier books, e.g. *Sigismundi Tertii electi Poloniae regis ... Cracoviae ingressus* (Cracow 1587, published by Jakub Siebeneicher), Stanisław Sarnicki’s *Statuta i metryka przywilejów koronnych* [The statutes and certificate of royal privileges] (Cracow 1594,

37 For instance, he cited Cicero and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which was then ascribed to him.

38 The woodblock cutter Jörg Brückner, brought over from Wrocław, was shot to death by students from the Jerusalem student residence in June 1594. Januszowski had complained about this already in the afterwords to Stanisław Sarnicki’s *Statuta i metryka przywilejów koronnych* [The statutes and certificates of royal privileges], printed in the same year (*Do łaskawego Czytelnika* [To the kind Reader], p. 1315; copy: National Library, Warsaw, inv. no. SD XVI.F.901). Głuchowski, *Ikones królów i książąt polskich. Reprodukacja...*, pp. VI–VII; *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 88–89, 92.

39 In the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, both in Italy and in Poland, the technique of making woodcuts went through a considerable formal transformation, which was decisive to the recognition of its artistic potential and later development. Cf. Landau, Parshall, op. cit., pp. 33–46, 169ff; G. Trassari Filippetto, “Tecnica xilografica tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: ‘il nuovo stile’”, in: *A volo d’uccello. Jacopo de’ Barbari e le rappresentazioni di città nell’Europa del Rinascimento*, Venezia 1999, pp. 51–57.

40 A good example of this are the careers of Jost de Negker (who corresponded with, e.g., Emperor Maximilian I) or Hieronymus Andreae, extolled in Johannes Neudörfer’s *Chronicle* (1547). The status of the *Formschneiders* is confirmed by their signatures. Cf. Landau, Parshall, op. cit., p. 200ff; G. Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints 1490–1550*, British Museum 1995. On *chiaroscuro* woodcut, see A. Gnann, *In Farbe! Clair-obscur-Holzschnitte der Renaissance. Meisterwerke aus der Sammlung Georg Baselitz und der Albertina in Wien*, exhibition catalogue, Albertina, Wien 2013.

published by Jan Januszowski) and *Kronika polska* [The Polish chronicle] by Marcin and Joachim Bielski (Cracow 1597, published by Jakub Siebeneicher).<sup>41</sup> These highly varied origins of the illustrations partially explain Januszowski's need to express his dissatisfaction with the result ("tolerable *Ikones*, for there were none others to be had"). This "aesthetic" approach on behalf of the Cracow publisher is not surprising, since his earlier publications already show him as a man of discerning tastes, sensitive to the graphic aspect of his books and ready to use various techniques (e.g. multi-coloured printing) to achieve the desired effect.<sup>42</sup>

Further on in his foreword, Januszowski revealed what models he had used and for what reason: "[...] a large part [of the *ikones*] were taken from the royal seals for greater similarity".<sup>43</sup> Making use of historical iconographic materials was typical of Renaissance culture and its "archaeological" predilections. Januszowski may have been familiar with this approach from the period of his studies in Padua, but he may also have been inspired by the local, Cracow tradition of book illustration. After all, not only Tomasz Treter, who had acquired his taste in Rome and whose *Regum Poloniae icones* (Rome 1591) gave Januszowski an indirect impulse to double his efforts regarding his own venture, made use of historical iconographic records.<sup>44</sup> They had already been used in the *Chronica Polonorum* by Maciej of Miechów (Cracow 1521, published by Hieronymus Vietor) and in Siebeneicher's already mentioned *Sigismundi Tertii electi Poloniae regis... Cracoviae ingressus* and *Kronika* by Marcin and Joachim Bielski.<sup>45</sup> Januszowski must have been particularly concerned with issues

41 Głuchowski, *Ikones królów i książąt polskich. Reprodukacja...*, pp. VII–VIII.

42 *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, p. 83; Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czcionką i piórem...*, p. 27. Analogous conclusions are drawn from the analysis of Januszowski's printer's signet (with the device *Ingenio et arte*). Cf. J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Sygnety drukarskie w Rzeczypospolitej XVI wieku. Źródła ikonograficzne i treści ideowe* [Printers' signets in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Commonwealth. Iconographic sources and ideological contents], Cracow 2015.

43 The images of Louis of Anjou, Ladislaus Jagiello and Casimir the Jagiellon were based on sphragistic sources.

44 In the foreword, Januszowski cites Mylius's work *Principum et regum Polonorum imagines ad vivum expressae*, published in Köln in 1594, which is a slightly altered repetition of Treter's work (J. Głuchowski, *Ikones królów i książąt polskich. Reprodukacja...*, p. VII). On Treter's publication and the iconographic sources for its illustrations, see B. Stawiarska, "Źródła ikonograficzne pocztu władców polskich Tomasza Tretera" [Iconographic sources for Tomasz Treter's pictorial catalogue of Polish monarchs], *Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk. Sprawozdanie nr 98 za 1980, Wydział Nauk o Sztuce*, Poznań 1981, pp. 63–67; Jurkowłaniec, *Sprawczość rycin...*, pp. 267–277.

45 Cf. E. Chojecka, "Drzeworyty Kroniki Joachima Bielskiego i zaginione gobeliny Anny Jagiellonki. Ze studiów nad związkami artystycznymi Krakowa i Brzegu w XVI wieku" [Woodcuts from Joachim Bielski's *Chronicle* and Anna Jagiellon's lost tapestries. Studies on artistic connections between Cracow and Brzeg in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, 1970, no. 7, pp. 37–73; B. Miodońska, "Władca i państwo w krakowskim drzeworycie książkowym XVI wieku" [The ruler and the state in book woodcuts made in Cracow in the 16<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Renesans. Sztuka i ideologia. Materiały Sympozjum Naukowego Komitetu o Sztuce PAN, Cracow, czerwiec 1972 oraz Sesji Naukowej Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Kielce, listopad 1973* [The Renaissance. Art and ideology. Materials from the scholarly symposium of Art Research

of similarity and "veracity" since he returned to them once again, apologising for the quality of the illustrations and stating that the reader should "be mindful that none of us is this Zeuxis Heracleotes so that he could so render a person, not having ever learnt to do this or not having ever seen that person in his life, as he did, who carefully painted a child holding some grapes in its hand and birds came to them as if they had been real and pecked at that painting; who as Pliny attested 'pen-niculum ad magnam gloriam perduxit'; in these here images you will not see such mastery". By citing Pliny's tale about the rivalry between Zeuxis and Parrhasius and the painted grapes that appeared so real that the birds came to peck at them, Januszowski used one of the most popular anecdotes on art.<sup>46</sup> This long reference to one of the most frequently read authors of the era is not surprising, considering the publisher's excellent education.<sup>47</sup> Also, Januszowski often availed himself of literary *topoi* in order to express praise; it is not surprising that he made use of the same rhetorical device to express disapproval. This motif was popular in artistic eulogies, but above all – and as pertains to the current argument – it referred to the mimetic quality of art as a criterion in its assessment.<sup>48</sup>

In the context of Januszowski's views regarding the sought-after qualities of images as expressed in his foreword to the *Ikones*, one more work connected with him must be mentioned here, as it indicates that portraiture was of special interest

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Committee of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Cracow, June 1972, and the scholarly session of the Association of Art Historians, Kielce, November 1973], Warsaw 1976, pp. 45–96; *Drukarze dawnej Polski...*, pp. 197–198; *Poczty władców polskich. Tradycja państwowości* [Catalogues of Polish monarchs. The tradition of statehood], exhibition catalogue, The Presidential Palace Gallery, Warsaw 2005.

46 *Naturalis Historia*, lib. XXXV. Pliny's work was published for the first time in Venice in 1469 by Johannes de Speyer, and by the end of the century it had gone into fifteen editions. See L. Armstrong, "The Illustration of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* in Venetian Manuscripts and Early Printed Books", in: *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing: Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at the Warburg Institute on 12–13 March 1982*, ed. J.B. Trapp, London 1983; H. Jones, *Printing the Classical Text*, Utrecht 2004; S. Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the 'Natural History'*, New Haven 2013. In Cracow, Hieronymus Vietor was the first to print Pliny's work (C. Plinius Secundus, *Liber septimus naturalis historiae, cum annotationibus M. Wolfgangi Guglinger*, 1526).

47 His own texts betray his familiarity with many ancient authors. Cf. J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czcionką i piórem...*, p. 98ff.

48 Specialist literature on this topic is vast; see esp. N. Bryson, *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze*, New Haven 1983; L. Barkan, "The Heritage of Zeuxis: Painting, Rhetoric and History", in: *Antiquity and its Interpreters*, eds. A. Payne, A. Kuttner, R. Smick, Cambridge 2000, pp. 99–109; *Deceptions and Illusions. Five Centuries of Trompe l'Oeil Painting*, ed. S. Ebert-Schifferer et al., exhibition catalogue, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Washington 2002, p. 19 and pp. 109–121; S. Blake McHam, "Erudition on Display: The 'Scientific' Illustrations in Pico della Mirandola's Manuscript of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*", in: *Visualizing Medieval Medicine and Natural History, 1200–1550*, eds. J. A. Givens, K. M. Reeds, A. Touwaide, London – New York 2006, pp. 112–113 ("AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art", vol. 5); S. Clark, *Vanitas of the Eye. Vision in Early Modern European Culture*, Oxford 2007, pp. 23ff, 136ff.



to him. This work – a very personal one – is a diploma he commissioned to celebrate his own ennoblement (1588, Fig. 2). It stands out due to its deluxe form, but also due to its meticulously devised decorative programme, which presented the publisher's career through various coats of arms and portraits placed among floral scrolls. The portraits show not only the monarchs during whose reigns he was active – one of them is, in fact, conjectured to be his own likeness.<sup>49</sup>



**Fig. 2.** Diploma of Jan Januszowski, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. 1793, © MNW

<sup>49</sup> It is not clear when the diploma (National Museum in Warsaw, Iconography and Photography Collection, inv. no. 1793) was made; the most frequently given date is the early 1590s. Cf. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, *Czcionką i piórem...*, pp. 7–9; J. Kiliańczyk-Zięba, "O dyplomie nobilitacyjnym Jana Januszowskiego i portrecie renesansowego wydawcy" [On Jan Januszowski's ennoblement diploma and the Renaissance printer's portrait], *Terminus*, 2008, no. 10, fasc. 1 (18), pp. 67–87.

The publishers’ forewords as analysed here give us insight into the extent of their awareness of the current professional challenges, including these challenges’ intellectual dimension. They also show how expectations regarding book illustrations changed over time and how they served as a focus point for the era’s key artistic and cognitive challenges. In their forewords, Szarfenberger and Januszowski informed their readers about these problems, and thus a growing circle of recipients was increasingly more aware of the “art of the book”, i.e. the complex processes of editing a text and the value of its appropriate presentation. Of course, it would be wrong to (*nomen omen*) lose sight of the more pragmatic aspect of this illustrational problem, which was eloquently expressed by one of the most eminent printers of the era, Johannes Grüninger, who was active in Strasburg, in a letter to Willibald Pirckheimer as occasioned by a disagreement regarding the appearance of Ptolemy’s *Geography* that was being prepared for publication. The publisher avowed that it was the illustrations that made a book valuable and, ultimately, sellable.<sup>50</sup>

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

## Abstract

Renaissance publishers very often directly addressed the readers of the books that were published in their printing houses. In various dedications, prefaces, afterwords, etc., they presented the broad behind-the-scenes view of their editorial efforts, thus in this suggestive way attempting to shape universal views on the status and significance of *ars artium*. These authorial texts are an important source of information regarding the editors’ scholarly, social and professional contacts, as well as of the circumstances in which the various texts were created and all kinds of issues the editors encountered in their endeavours to publish them. Together with the development of the art of printing, an increasing amount of attention was given to the illustrations that were to accompany the texts. A critical analysis of these allegedly autobiographical texts must, of course, take under consideration their extreme subjectivism and reputation-building rhetorical strategies, which at times were highly conventional. Nevertheless, the intentional self-exposure contained in these texts reveals to us either the real or proclaimed intentions and frustrations of Renaissance publishers.

An examination of authorial texts by Cracow publishers indicates that the issues of book illustration began to more clearly impinge on the publishers’ awareness in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Interestingly, their direct statements on this topic, even though few, clearly show their critical approach to the images that were included in their own publications. An analysis of the contents of those texts, supported by an investigation of the pictorial material in question, shows that the publishers’ objections were not only conventional expressions of modesty, but an indication of their growing awareness of how complex the matter of book illustration truly was; these publishers understood that the functions of book illustrations varied and transcended a simple pictorial interpretation of the text.

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50 Cf. *Die Koberger. Eine Darstellung des buchhändlerischen Geschäftsbetriebes in der Zeit des Überganges vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Leipzig 1885, reprinted Amsterdam–Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 130–139, app. no. 106–121.

The forewords written by the Szarfenbergers (*Biblia Leopoldy*, 1561; *Herbarz, to iest zbiór tutecznych, postronnych y zamorskich opisanie* by Marcin Siennik, 1568) and Jan Januszowski (*Ikones Książąt y Królów Polskich x. Jana Głuchowskiego*, 1605) reveal the extent of their awareness of the current professional challenges and transformations in expectations concerning book illustrations, which mirrored, perhaps even on a magnified scale, the central artistic and cognitive challenges of the era. An analysis of these texts reveals that the publishers were well aware of the conflicts between creeds, in which the intellectual and polemic potential of images was often brought into play. They were also conscious of the cognitive qualities of illustrations and cognizant of theories regarding the mimetic nature of art. Another topic recurring in their forewords was that of the difficulties connected with finding a qualified woodblock cutter. Financial problems were an integral part of the history of early printing, and the topic of (excessive) expenses connected with preparing a large set of woodcuts is equally noticeable in these forewords, thus showing that Renaissance Cracow was not an exception to this rule.

Thanks to these authorial confessions of Cracow publishers, a growing circle of recipients was increasingly more aware of the “art of the book”, i.e. of the complex processes of editing a text and the value of its appropriate presentation.

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## The Retable of the Main Altar from the Parish Church of Saint John the Baptist in Łekno (German: Bast), Dating from 1588<sup>1</sup>

The wooden panel depicting the *Last Supper*, currently on display in the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Koszalin, initially constituted the central part of a triptych.<sup>2</sup> Until the 1960s, the work of art served as the retable of the main altar in the church of St. John the Baptist in Łekno (formerly called Bast in German and Łękno in Polish)<sup>3</sup>. Conservation work on the surviving part of the altarpiece that took place in 2013 inspired research and analysis ranging from technological issues to the history of art in general. The research uncovered many interesting facts about the item's history, attribution and sources of inspiration.<sup>4</sup> It also became the starting point for the present study

The triptych from the village near Koszalin was mentioned in several German-language works on the monuments of Western Pomerania and the territorially vast

- 1 I would like to thank the team of art conservators from Gorek Restauro for our fruitful research cooperation during restoration works on the *Last Supper* in Łekno and dr Renata Sulewska for the valuable insight which helped the present work take its final shape.
- 2 Maria Glińska defines this work as a pentaptych (M. Glińska, "Niderlandyzm w sztuce Pomorza Zachodniego w czasach nowożytnych" [Dutch influences in the art of Western Pomerania in the early modern era], in: *Niderlandyzm w sztuce polskiej. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Toruń, grudzień 1992* [Dutch influences in Polish art. Materials from the Session of the Association of Art Historians, Toruń, December 1992], Warsaw 1995, pp. 172–176). She assumes the original form of the retable to have been a triptych with hinged panels.
- 3 The official name of the village is Łekno, yet in relevant literature it is commonly referred to as 'Łękno'.
- 4 *Dokumentacja konserwatorska obrazu na desce „Ostatnia Wieczerza” z Łekna z katedry w Koszalinie* [Documentation from the conservation of the 'Last Supper' panel painting from Łekno held at the Koszalin Cathedral], ed. by P. Gorek, M. Gościcka, A. Żurek, K. Zalewska, Warsaw 2013. The documentation was made in three copies currently held by the curia of the Koszalin–Kołobrzeg diocese, by the Koszalin branch of the Provincial Heritage Protection Office and by the Gorek Restauro company from Warsaw that was contracted to perform the restoration. The author of the present work used the latter copy.

artistic patronage of the Dukes of Pomerania who hailed from the House of Griffins. As far as Polish sources are concerned, information on the surviving *Last Supper* and its original context started to appear in the 1980s, yet no monograph was written on the subject.

The first mention of the Łekno triptych comes from a text written in 1889 by Ludwig Böttger. The retable then featured two visible inscriptions with the dates “1588” and “Renov. anno 1736”.<sup>5</sup> The author noted that the retable had originally been located beneath a portrait of Casimir VII (IX) Duke of Stettin, in whose domain the temple stood.<sup>6</sup> The image hung in the church until 1867 but was removed later due to extensive damage.<sup>7</sup> Information about the ducal portrait was repeated after Böttger in a 1937 work by Hellmuth Bethe.<sup>8</sup> Bethe was the first to draw attention to the fact that some of the Apostles in the *Last Supper* were given the features of the Dukes of Stettin – the sons of Philip I Wolgast.<sup>9</sup> Janina Kochanowska identified two of the Griffins and pointed to Barnim XII as the patron of the triptych: “The partially preserved altarpiece from Łekno near Koszalin, the former seat of the titular Protestant bishop of duke Casimir IX, founded in 1588, was an example of the fashion for crypto-portraits of the Cranach workshop spreading to Pomerania. The unknown artist who painted the central image of the *Last Supper* depicted Pomeranian princes as the holy Apostles. (...) Among the figures seated to Christ’s left one can discern the images of the donor – Barnim XII (gesticulating) and Bogislaw XIII (facing the audience)”.<sup>10</sup> Maria Glińska agrees with Janina Kochanowska’s identification but suggests that the triptych was commissioned by Duke Casimir. She classifies the composition of the *Last Supper* scene into the type created by Dirck Bouts, stating that “the unknown painter combined Dutch motifs with the ones used by Cranach”.<sup>11</sup> Bogdana Kozińska demonstrated the connection between the triptych and the main altarpiece from the castle church in Stettin that had been completed more than a decade earlier. She defined the composition as being

5 L. Böttger, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Regierungs-Bezirks Köslin*, H. 1: *Die Kreise Köslin und Colberg-Körlin*, Stettin 1889, p. 6.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid. The author does not provide any sources for this information.

8 H. Bethe, “Die Bildnisse des pommerschen Herzoghauses”, *Baltische Studien*, Neue Folge 1937, no. 39, p. 93.

9 Ibid.

10 J. Kochanowska, “Wizerunki książąt pomorskich w ołtarzach 2 połowy XVI i początku XVII wieku z terenu Pomorza Zachodniego” [Portraits of the dukes of Pomerania in altars dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, from Western Pomerania], in: *Portret: funkcja – forma – symbol. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Toruń, grudzień 1986* [A portrait: function – form – symbol. Materials from the Session of the Association of Art Historians, Toruń, December 1986], Warsaw 1990, p. 375. In the main body of the article the author identifies Barnim XII as the donor of the altarpiece, yet the caption to the photograph of the triptych (Fig. 6) includes the phrase “pentaptych founded by Casimir IX”.

11 Glińska, op. cit., pp. 172–176.

“in the Dutch type”.<sup>12</sup> Recounting the statements of earlier authors, Marcin Wiśłocki added that the painting also contains portraits of reformers of the church, yet did not mention them by name or identify the figures that allegedly bear their features.<sup>13</sup>

It is uncertain whether the triptych was originally intended for the gothic church of St. John the Baptist in Łekno or was moved there in later times. Only the central part of the retable has survived, yet the appearance of the entire altarpiece is known due to two photographs made before 1945, which are currently in the collection of the National Museum in Szczecin (Figs. 1–2).<sup>14</sup> The photographs show a considerably dilapidated work with its wings open and closed<sup>15</sup>.



**Fig. 1.** *The Last Supper Triptych*, 1588, parish church in Łekno, condition before 1939, source: National Museum in Szczecin, Iconographic and Photographic Collection, signature MNS/A. Foto/3386-7

12 B. Kozińska, “Johann Baptista Perini i jego ołtarz z kaplicy zamkowej” [Johann Baptista Perini and his altar in the castle chapel], in: *Zamek książęcy w Szczecinie* [The ducal castle in Stettin], Szczecin 1992, p. 221.

13 M. Wiśłocki, “Upamiętnienie i gloryfikacja w ewangelickiej sztuce Pomorza w XVI–XVII wieku” [Commemoration and glorification in Protestant art in Pomerania in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 2002, no. 27, p. 234; idem, *Sztuka protestancka na Pomorzu 1535–1684* [Protestant art in Pomerania, 1535–1684], Szczecin 2005, p. 268.

14 The National Museum in Szczecin, the collection of iconography and photography, sign. no. MNS/A.Foto/3386-7, MNS/A.Foto/ 3388-9.

15 The painterly layer on the frames and reverse sides of the wings had peeled off in many places.



**Fig. 2.** *The Last Supper Triptych*, 1588, parish church in Łekno, condition before 1939, source: National Museum in Szczecin, Iconographic and Photographic Collection, signature MNS/A. Foto/ 3388-9

The triptych used to rest on a low predella held at the ends by pairs of volute consoles arranged perpendicularly. The horizontal panel between them was fully covered with inscriptions, yet the poor state of preservation makes the texts thereof entirely illegible today. No previous transcripts are known; close-ups only reveal a fragment of the dates 1588 and 1736, as mentioned by Böttger. It is, however, impossible to ascertain whether the entire inscription dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century or whether only the note on the work's renovation was added then.

The central part of the triptych consisted of a square panel depicting the *Last Supper*. It is the only element that can now testify to the colour scheme of the entire altarpiece. The scene in the cenacle features Christ with the Twelve Apostles seated at a round table laid with a white cloth. The characters are depicted in various poses, wearing robes in different colours; some are looking toward Jesus in the centre, others are engrossed in a conversation or turned towards the viewer. All but St. John, who is resting on Christ's chest, seem agitated and are gesticulating widely. A youth carrying a platter, visible in the background to the left, appears to

be held back by the gesture of an extended hand made by an elderly man placed at the other end of the composition. The scene plays out against the backdrop of the cenacle's interior: four Solomonic columns in yellow-beige and two more in dark green are outlined in the shadowy background (the author may have intended them to be shadows). The room has grey walls and four arched windows; a crescent moon can be seen through the one on the left.

The central panel was flanked by two rectangular wings. The verso of the left wing depicted the Crucifixion with Holy Mary and St. John the Evangelist. Christ on the cross was looking towards his mother, standing to the left. Mary, shown in a frontal view, was wiping away her tears with a handkerchief held in her left hand and placing her other hand on her chest. Saint John, standing on the other side of the cross, was depicted in side view, with his hands clasped at his hips and his head raised to gaze at the Saviour. The recto of the right wing showed the Resurrection. The figure of a standard-bearing Christ was hovering above a stone tomb surrounded by luminescent clouds. The lower section of the composition was filled with the silhouettes of four soldiers startled from their sleep.

The closed wings of the altarpiece depicted the scene of the Annunciation. The left one featured the Archangel Gabriel standing on clouds. The heavenly messenger was holding a lily in his left hand; the other hand was pointing to the rays visible in the upper left-hand corner of the panel. Gabriel was accompanied by several small angels holding his robes or floating in the sky. The right panel depicted a room in which Mary was seated at a pulpit. She was looking up at Gabriel, who had interrupted her reading. A dove symbolising the Holy Ghost was shown above her head. The background consisted of an arcaded doorway and a window with a flower vase on the sill. The coffered ceiling over the interior was decorated with rosettas. All panels in the triptych had simple frames with a vegetal ornament and a quarter-round moulding by the inner edges.

Folding the wings of the triptych revealed side buttresses with *trompe l'oeil* niches in which Adam and Eve were depicted. Adam, shown to the left, was young and muscular, covering his sex with a fig branch held in his right hand. Eve was shown extending her left hand to pick a fruit hanging above her head. Her fair, naked skin contrasted sharply with the wave of dark tresses falling to her breast and bosom.

The triptych was crowned with a vertical board, slightly taller in the centre and framed with volutes. It featured a large coat of arms of the Duchy of Pomerania, divided into nine fields and held up by two wild men and flanked with a griffin and a lion in profile.<sup>16</sup> In the above-mentioned archival photographs from the

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16 The coat of arms of the Duchy of Pomerania, established at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Bogislaw X, is familiar to us from many existing works, such as the foundation plaque of the southern wing of the Szczecin castle (1538, currently on the façade of the eastern wing), the tombstone of Barnim III commissioned by Barnim XI (1543, currently in the gallery of the northern wing of the Szczecin castle), and the Croy Tapestry (1554, presently in Pommersches Landesmuseum in Greifswald).



collection of the National Museum in Szczecin, the lower section of the vertical beam of a cross is visible over the pediment. It is uncertain whether it had been an element of the original altarpiece, along with the portrait of Duke Casimir, as mentioned by Böttger and removed in 1867. An analogy for such an arrangement of the donor's portrait can be found in the now lost altarpiece from Grabów (after 1551), the crowning of which featured the sculpted images of Duke Barnim XI, Luther and Luther and Melanchton.<sup>17</sup>

Janina Kochanowska mentioned that, as a result of a fire that devastated the church in 1962, only the central panel of the triptych (Fig. 3) has survived to the present day.<sup>18</sup> The scene depicting the *Last Supper* underwent restoration work in the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>19</sup> The work was then transferred to the Curia of the Koszalin-Kołobrzeg Diocese in Koszalin and remained there until 2013, when new conservation work was done. Restorers working on the painterly layer found no traces of damage done by fire or high temperatures. The condition of the painting has been greatly improved in the process. The removal of the discoloured yellowing varnish made the colour palette brighter and more saturated. Layers of later additions were also removed, revealing details of physiognomy and folds in the robes. The date of the painting's completion – 1558 – was discovered written across the floor tiles in the lowest section of the composition, along with the signature CS (Fig. 4). Discoloured retouches were cleared away, as were patches of putty that had been applied on the original painterly layer and were hitherto visible in the form of green patches.<sup>20</sup>

The forms of altarpieces most popular in Pomerania in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were triptychs or pentaptychs with movable wings, modelled after the products of the Cranach workshop. These were popularised in the Duchy by the Saxon artists David Redtel and Thomas Nether.<sup>21</sup> In the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century the type was replaced by more elaborate architectural altarpieces in the Mannerist style.<sup>22</sup> The iconographic programme of the Pomeranian altarpiece from the period was rather conventional: "The retables typically depicted scenes from the *Last Supper*, usually placed on the predella and complemented with images of

17 The original form of the crowning is not known to modern scholars. See J. Kochanowska, "Wystrój podszczezińskiej rezydencji Barnima XI. Chwała rodu Gryfitów zobrazowana w sztuce" [Decoration of Barnim XI's residence near Stettin. The glory of the House of Griffins as shown in art], in: *Sztuka i historia. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Kraków, listopad 1988* [Art and history. Materials from the session of the Association of Art Historians, Cracow, November 1988], Warsaw 1992, pp. 228–232.

18 Kochanowska, op. cit., p. 375.

19 Documentation of the works performed at that time was either not prepared or did not survive. The fact that the conservation did take place in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is, however, evident from the presence of epoxy resin in the material used at that time. More on the subject in: *Dokumentacja konserwatorska...*, pp. 42–46.

20 Ibid., pp. 7, 54–58.

21 Wisłocki, op. cit., p. 65.

22 Ibid., pp. 65–66.



**Fig. 3.** The *Last Supper* from Łekno, 1588, Koszalin cathedral, condition after the conservation in 2013, photo by Gorek Restauro



**Fig. 4.** The *Last Supper* from Łekno, 1588, Koszalin cathedral, detail: production date and the painter's signature, condition after conservation in 2013, photo by Gorek Restauro

the Crucifixion and Resurrection. [...] it was in line with the disputes held at the Pomeranian synods in the 1580s and 1590s, focusing on Christological issues, e.g. the *ubique* doctrine, and with the general trends in Lutheran theology, where Christology was slowly becoming the number one topic".<sup>23</sup> The *Last Supper* was a very frequent choice with patrons due to its connection with the Eucharist. Apart from the retable from Grabów, the motif was used in the central field of altarpieces in the chapel of St. George in Gryfice (after 1550) and in the churches in Kołowo (1585, currently at the National Museum in Szczecin), Stare Chrapowo (1591, no longer extant), Letnino (ca. 1590–1600, partially preserved) and Suchanówko (late 16<sup>th</sup> century, no longer extant).<sup>24</sup> Inclusion of the cenacle scene on altars was advised by Martin Luther himself: "Who wishes to place panels on the altars should have the Lord's Supper painted [thereon] with these two verses: *Our gracious and merciful Lord in remembrance of His miracle*, written around it in gold letters [...] Since the altar is there for the purpose of offering the Sacrament on it, no other painting is more suitable, and other images of God or Christ can be painted in other places".<sup>25</sup>

The combination of the *Last Supper*, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, appearing, for example, in the altarpiece from Grabowo, added confessional significance to the work. The connection between these scenes was emphasised in the definition of the Sacrament as articulated by Jacob Runge, the general superintendent in Wolgast in 1557–1595.<sup>26</sup> His theological works also discuss the issue of Christ's body born of Mary and its presence in the Communion.<sup>27</sup> The doctrine of the Incarnation found its artistic reflection in the Annunciation and Nativity scenes depicted on retables (the altarpiece of the castle church in Szczecin, 1575–1577; the altarpiece from Suchanówko, late 16<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>28</sup> The buttresses of the retable from Łekno featured a depiction of Adam and Eve. These biblical figures were separated by the scene of the Annunciation, painted on the reverse side of the lateral panels. According to Marcin Wisłocki, this juxtaposition of motifs gave the work eschatological significance, expressing the "redemptory nature of taking communion, which grants the remission of sins".<sup>29</sup> Depictions of Christ and Mary were also juxtaposed with those of the first parents on the altarpiece from Szadzko (1596, currently in Odargowo).<sup>30</sup>

Placing texts that explained or complemented the iconographic programme of the works on altars, baptismal fonts, pulpits, epitaphs and matronaea was common

23 M. Ptaszyński, "Reprezentacja pobożności. O syntezie pomorskiej sztuki protestanckiej" [Representation of piety. On the synthesis of Protestant art in Pomerania], *Zapiski Historyczne*, 2007, no. 72, issue 4, p. 136.

24 Wisłocki, *Sztuka protestancka...*, p. 69.

25 Quoted after: G. Jurkowlaniec, *Epoka nowożytna wobec średniowiecza. Pamiątki przeszłości, cudowne wizerunki, dzieła sztuki* [Approaches to the Middle Ages in the early modern era. Mementoes of the past, miracle-working images, works of art], Wrocław 2008, p. 237.

26 Wisłocki, op. cit., pp. 70–71.

27 Ibid., p. 71.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid., p. 81.

practice in Lutheran churches.<sup>31</sup> Unfortunately, a part of the inscription from the predella of the Łekno triptych remains unknown.

None of the authors interested in the triptych discussed the issue of its authorship. This was probably due to its fragmentary state of preservation and to their lack of access to the work, which was kept in the diocesan curia. Successive publications only reiterated information regarding the year of the triptych's completion, as mentioned by Böttger, who saw it in the inscription on the predella. The dating has since been corroborated by a signature discovered on the painting (on one of the red floor tiles at the bottom of the *Last Supper* scene). The adjacent tile was found to bear the letters CS, which until the most recent conservation work were hidden under a layer of green putty.<sup>32</sup> The artist's choice of placing the date and signature was very deliberate. Due to venation in the painted floor, the monogram and numbers were only visible upon close scrutiny. Hiding signatures or even entire inscriptions was extremely popular in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, also among artists working at the ducal court in Stettin. David Redtel, the maker of the Gryfino altarpiece (currently at the National Museum in Szczecin), placed the inscription with his name and the date of the triptych's completion (1580) at the bottom of the vertical beam of the cross appearing in the central scene of the Crucifixion.<sup>33</sup> The author of the triptych commissioned in 1568 by Barnim XI signed his work in two places: on the right wing, on the floor below the knees of Princess Anna of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, and on the collar of a dog standing among the crowd gathered on the Golgotha at the Crucifixion (this inscription is turned 90 degrees).<sup>34</sup>

Studies on the attribution of paintings created in the circle of influence of the last dukes of Stettin still face many challenges. After the demise of the Griffin dynasty, works commissioned by them were scattered.<sup>35</sup> A large portion of them was lost or destroyed during the Second World War. One example here is the set of extraordinary furnishings for the castle church in Szczecin.<sup>36</sup> Many of these works are known from high-quality archival photographs, although it must be remembered that they might have been "restored" several times before the 20<sup>th</sup> century,

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31 More on the subject in: Wisłocki, op. cit., passim.

32 *Dokumentacja konserwatorska...*, p. 42.

33 T. Modelska, "W sprawie odnalezionej sygnatury tzw. tryptyku Barnima XI" [On the discovery of a signature on the so-called Barnim XI triptych], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1964, vol. 26, no. 2, p. 114.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 112–116.

35 J. Bądkowska, "Malarstwo na dworze książąt pomorskich w XVI i XVII wieku ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Szczecinie" [Painting from the court of the Dukes of Pomerania in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century in the collection of the National Museum in Szczecin], in: *Złoty wiek Pomorza. Sztuka na dworze książąt pomorskich w XVI i XVII wieku* [The Golden Age of Pomerania. Art on the court of the Dukes of Pomerania in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century], ed. R. Makąła, Szczecin 2013, p. 43.

36 For more on the set see: *Ibid.*, pp. 43–59; T. Żuchowski, "Szczecińska Kaplica Zamkowa w 1577 roku. Próba rekonstrukcji" [Stettin Castle chapel in 1577. A conjectural reconstruction], in: *Szczecin na przestrzeni wieków. Historia – Kultura – Sztuka* [Stettin over the centuries. History – culture – art], ed. E. Włodarczyk, Szczecin 1995, pp. 207–213.

which, given the nature of such practices in the past, mostly meant repainting substantial sections of the scenes.

The realm ruled by the five sons of Philip I witnessed many artistic initiatives, yet information regarding artists commissioned by the dukes of Stettin in the final decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century remains fragmentary. Valuable data regarding the artistic side of duke John Frederick may be discerned from the lists of persons who sat at respective tables in the residence, i.e. were sponsored by the duke. The surviving lists pertain to the years 1569, 1575 and 1579–1583.<sup>37</sup> The retainers sitting at the sixth table included master Christoffer with his apprentices David and Hans, and David Redtel with his apprentice Peter. Other interesting material is found in excerpts from lists of Stettin burghers from the years 1422–1637; German scholars working in 1911 and 1923 isolated the names of the painters appearing therein.<sup>38</sup> During John Frederick's reign, i.e. between 1560–1600, artists active in the city included Hans Dreier (mentioned in 1562), Heinrich Hesse (1564), Christoffer Schreiber from Meldorf in Dithmarschen (1570), Thomas Nether from Wittenberg (1571), David Redtel from Torgau (1576), Antonius Steinkeller (1578), Jakob Hinz from Lüneburg (1580), Heinrich Kodthe from Zelle (1590), M. David Lange from Dresden (1595), Timotheus Schreider (son of Christoffer, 1595), Matthias Nether (son of Thomas, 1596) and Michael Schulz from Stettin (1596). Only a few of these names can be linked to specific works, though the number of these is small.

David Redtel, hailing from Torgau (died 7 Nov. 1591), came to Stettin in 1571.<sup>39</sup> The only work that can undoubtedly be attributed to him (as it was signed with his full name and surname) is the altarpiece from Gryfino, made in 1580 and most likely founded by the family of Erazm Pauli, the mayor.<sup>40</sup> According to Maria Glińska, David Redtel, "the protoplast of a dynasty of painters who would, for a century to come, adapt the best models of Dutch painting for Pomerania, received his education in various workshops in Germany and the Netherlands, which gave him an interesting eclectic style"<sup>41</sup>

The *oeuvre* of the painter named Thomas Nether (died 2 April 1594) is only identifiable on the basis of his signature in the form of the letter T composed of twisted snakes, as well as the stylistic features linking the education of this artist with the Cranach workshop.<sup>42</sup> Works attributed to Nether include the above-mentioned triptych of Barnim XI (1568, currently at the National Museum in Szczecin) and

37 Kozińska, op. cit., p. 214.

38 M. W[ehrmann], "Stettiner Maler 1431–1629", *Monatsblätter. Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 1911, no. 25, pp. 41–43; O. Grotefend, "Das älteste Stettiner Bürgerbuch", *Monatsblätter. Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Pommersche Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 1923, no. 37, pp. 2–5.

39 Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, Bd. 28, Hg. H. Vollmer, Leipzig 1934, pp. 77–78.

40 Glińska, op. cit., p. 172.

41 Ibid.

42 Modelska, op. cit., pp. 36–41.

the now lost allegorical painting with the Crucifixion (1572, formerly in the castle church in Szczecin).<sup>43</sup>

Bogdana Kozińska associated two important – and sadly no longer extant – works with Giovanni Battista Perini the Younger (ca. 1530–1584), a portrait painter at John Frederick's court.<sup>44</sup> The first of these works was the altarpiece of the main castle church in Szczecin (1575–1577). The pentaptych, whose central part depicted the Adoration of the Magi, also included scenes of the Annunciation, Nativity, Visitation, Crucifixion and Resurrection. The altarpiece was crowned with a pediment depicting God the Father surrounded by angels. The second work associated with this artist is the betrothal portrait of John Frederick (1571, Pommersches Landesmuseum in Szczecin). Maria Glińska pointed to Perini as the likely author of the painting of *Salvator Mundi* (c. 1580) from the Szczecin castle church.<sup>45</sup>

Another artist working in the Duchy of Stettin at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was Cornelius Crommena (Cornelis Krommeny) from Güstrow. Active at the court of Ulrich III of Mecklenburg from 1574, at some unspecified point in time Crommena became a part of the circle of artists sponsored by the dukes of Stettin.<sup>46</sup> In 1598 he painted the family tree of the Griffins, featuring images of 155 members of the house with their spouses. The canvas for this work was seven metres high.<sup>47</sup> Crommena is also believed to have decorated the walls in the castle chapel in Koszalin for duke Casimir IX (completed in the final years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), yet this work burnt in the fire of 1718.<sup>48</sup>

Painters appearing in the book of Stettin burghers also included one Christoffer Schreiber. Wehrmann lists his name with a side note that the artist is mentioned in yet another document from 1575 as a “ducal painter” and identifies him with the “master Christoff” seated at the ruler's table.<sup>49</sup> This painter has not yet become the subject of scholarly attention, as no work could reliably be attributed to him.<sup>50</sup> There is no information on his educational background, professional specialty, commissions, signatures used, or even the time of his activity or date of death. However, he indeed remains the only known painter who could have used the monogram CS. It must nevertheless be remembered that the duchy of Stettin had many (now anonymous) art workshops which did commissions for the court and

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43 Teresa Modelska associated this painting and the triptych of Barnim XI with David Redtel.

44 Kozińska, op. cit., pp. 207–224. The scholar convincingly proved that there were two painters bearing the same name. Giovanni Battista Perini the Elder hailed from Florence and came to Berlin c. 1520. The younger artist, most probably his son (born ca. 1530), worked in Stettin as a portrait painter to John Frederick. In Polish-language publications, the names of both painters appear in their Italian, German and Polish versions; no additional description is used to distinguish one artist from the other.

45 Glińska, op. cit., p. 172.

46 C. Neumann, *Die Renaissancekunst am Hofe Ulrichs zu Mecklenburg*, Kiel 2009, pp. 79–93.

47 Bądkowska, op. cit., p. 53.

48 Glińska, op. cit., p. 176.

49 M. W[ehrmann], op. cit., p. 42

50 Kozińska, op. cit., p. 221.

for burghers alike. Stettin aside, centres of local artistic production existed, for example, in Kołobrzeg, Stargard and Choszczno.<sup>51</sup> The Łekno triptych (completed in 1588) cannot therefore be indubitably attributed to Schreiber, the last mention of whom appears in 1575.

A stylistic analysis of the depiction of the *Last Supper* reveals only that the painter thereof had relatively average skills and was probably educated in one of the local Pomeranian workshops. Fully restored, the painting exposes all the shortcomings of its creator, such as ineptitude in depicting perspective, and a limited grasp of chiaroscuro and of defining facial features and folds of cloth.<sup>52</sup>

Maria Glińska and Bogdana Kozińska described the composition of the Łekno *Last Supper* as Dutch in origin.<sup>53</sup> However, the author of the altarpiece clearly modelled it on the works of the Italian Mannerist artist Livio Agresti (1508–1580), dubbed Ritius or Ricciutello. Agresti was among the team of painters who worked on the fresco decoration of the Oratorio del Gonfalone in Rome between 1569–1576.<sup>54</sup> His *Last Supper* features a scene of Christ washing the feet of the Apostles, which is visible in the background. The creator of the Łekno triptych had never seen the original from Rome yet knew its composition from one of the illustrations by Cornelis Cort, published e.g. in 1578 and 1582 (Fig. 5).<sup>55</sup> It should be noted that such swift dissemination of Italian models using visual sources was nothing unusual in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Stettin. Francesco Salviati's Conversion of St. Paul, painted in 1542, was copied in relief on the tenement house of the Loitz family of Stettin bankers as early as in 1547.<sup>56</sup>

Restoration work on the *Last Supper* revealed a network of criss-crossing lines; the author etched a shallow grid of squares on the support. The side of each square was c. 6 centimetres.<sup>57</sup> The presence of the grid is a trace of one of the known methods of transferring the composition from paper to a painterly layer. Artists drew a grid of auxiliary lines over an illustration or a drawing and later a similar one in a larger scale on their canvas or wooden board. Illustrations with such grids frequently appear in museum collections – an example here is the composition of the Resurrection scene after Giulio Bonasone, now in the collection of the British Museum in London (c. 1561).<sup>58</sup>

51 Glińska, op. cit., p. 176.

52 The painter changed the interior of the cenacle and did not follow the visual model.

53 See footnotes 9 and 10.

54 *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*, Cornelis Cort, Part I, compiled by M. Sellink, ed. H. Leeftang, Rotterdam 2000, p. 184. On the Oratory's history: A. Molino, *L'Oratorio del Gonfalone*, part 1, Rome 1964; on the artist: A. Spallicci, *Livio Agresti detto il Ricciutino*, Forlì 1953.

55 *The New Hollstein Dutch...*, Cornelis Cort, Part I, pp. 184–185, fig. 55.

56 Glińska, op. cit., p. 164.

57 *Dokumentacja konserwatorska...*, p. 23.

58 Inv. no. X,1.57; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=39038001&objectId=1445360&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=39038001&objectId=1445360&partId=1) [accessed 17 June 2015].



**Fig. 5.** Cornelis Cort, *Last Supper*, 1578, the British Museum in London, source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=161534001&objectId=1503347&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=161534001&objectId=1503347&partId=1) [accessed 09 June 2015]



**Fig. 6.** Hendrick Goltzius, *Annunciation*, ca. 1580, the British Museum in London, source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1546966&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+gabriel&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1546966&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+gabriel&page=1) [accessed 17 June 2015]



The colour palette also differs from the one used in the model from Rome. The author of the Łekno triptych referred to the mediaeval convention of painting Judas as a red-headed man in yellow robes – the colours of betrayal.<sup>59</sup>

The Crucifixion scene was modelled after Hendrick Goltzius's print from 1585.<sup>60</sup> The painter only copied the figures of Christ, Mary and St. John the Evangelist, disregarding Mary Magdalene sitting by the cross. The clean-shaven face of Jesus's beloved disciple was replaced with one sporting a moustache and a short-trimmed beard. The Resurrection, in turn, was based on Cornelis Cort's print from 1569.<sup>61</sup> Here the painter reduced the number of soldiers, thus adjusting the composition to the proportions of the altarpiece wing. The Annunciation scene on the retable wings was a reduced and transformed version of a composition by Maarten de Vos, engraved c. 1580 by Hendrick Goltzius (Fig. 6).<sup>62</sup> The Pomeranian painter did not include the angelic choirs behind Gabriel and reduced the perspective of the room interior by changing its furnishings. The depiction of the First Parents on the altarpiece buttresses was most likely a compilation of two graphic models. The idea for placing Adam and Eve in trompe l'oeil niches could have been inspired by the frontispiece of Jean Delaune's cycle of images of ancient gods (1578) (Fig. 7).<sup>63</sup> The figure of the female was modelled after a print by Hendrick Goltzius, made in 1585 copying Bartholomeus Spranger's design (Fig. 8).<sup>64</sup> The painter introduced only one change – a strand of hair covering Eve's abdomen. The arrangement of Adam's legs is taken from the same composition, while the position of his hands and the motif of covering the loins with a fig leaf comes from the above-mentioned French print.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, using prints as sources of inspiration for compositions in painting and sculpture was common practice. The CS monogrammist was a typical representative of his times and saw "collection prints as a frequently used tool".<sup>65</sup>

59 E. Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, Bd. 2, Rome–Freiburg–Basel–Vienna 1970, pp. 444–448. More on the mediaeval iconography of Judas: M. Pastoureaux, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*, Paris 2004.

60 F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*, vol. 8: Goltzius – Heemskerck, Amsterdam 1953, p. 13.

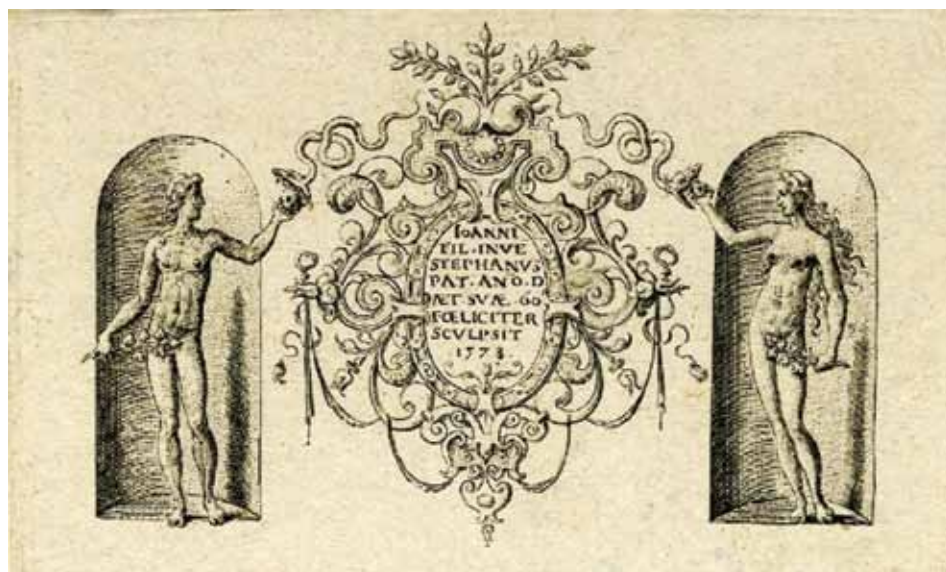
61 *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*, Cornelis Cort, Part II, compiled by M. Sellink, ed. H. Leeflang, Rotterdam 2000, Fig. 74, version a. See: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1427405&partId=1&searchText=cherubino+alberti&page=2](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1427405&partId=1&searchText=cherubino+alberti&page=2) [accessed 17 June 2015].

62 Hollstein, op. cit., vol. 8: Goltzius – Heemskerck, p. 114; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1546966&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+gabriel&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1546966&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+gabriel&page=1) [accessed 17 June 2015].

63 The entire series is in the collection of the British Museum, inv. no. 1834,0804.231-237, title page: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=95934001&objectid=1419098](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=95934001&objectid=1419098) [accessed 17 June 2015].

64 Hollstein, op. cit., vol. 8: Goltzius – Heemskerck, p. 107; see [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1477389&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+adam+eve&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1477389&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+adam+eve&page=1) [accessed 17 June 2015].

65 B. Steinbor, "O pomocniczej roli rycin niderlandzkich" [On the auxiliary role of Dutch prints], in: *Niderlandyzm na Śląsku i w krajach ościennych* [Dutch influences in Silesia and the neigh-



**Fig. 7.** Jean Delaune, *Adam and Eve*, frontispiece to a cycle of images of ancient gods, 1578, the British Museum in London, source: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=95934001&objectid=1419098](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=95934001&objectid=1419098) [accessed 17 June 2015]

bouring regions], eds. M. Kapustka, A. Kozieł, P. Oszczanowski, Wrocław 2003, p. 54. The influence of graphic models on other visual arts has now become a prominent trend in the study of early-modern art. This issue has often been discussed by Polish academics interested in art from different regions, e.g. A. Gosieniecka, "Wzory graficzne w malarstwie pomorskim drugiej połowy XVI i początków XVII wieku" [Graphic patterns in painting in Pomerania in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Ze studiów nad sztuką XVI wieku na Śląsku i w krajach sąsiednich. Materiały z konferencji urządzonej przez Muzeum Śląskie we Wrocławiu 16 i 17 grudnia 1966 roku* [Studies on 16<sup>th</sup>-century art in Silesia and the neighbouring regions. Materials from the conference held at the Silesian Museum in Wrocław, 16 and 17 December 1966], ed. B. Steinborn, Wrocław 1968, pp. 111–132; K. Cieślak, "Pierwowzory graficzne epitafiów obrazowych w Gdańsku a problemy ich ikonografii" [Graphic models for painted epitaphs in Gdańsk and the issues of their iconography], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1988, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 201–224; R. Sulewska, "Oddziaływanie wzorów graficznych na sztukę nowożytną w Rzeczypospolitej – jeszcze jedno spojrzenie" [The influence of graphic models on early modern art in the Commonwealth; a new approach], in: *Metodologia, metoda i terminologia grafiki i rysunku. Teoria i praktyka* [The methodology, methods and terminology of graphic art and drawing], ed. J. Talbierska, Warsaw 2014, pp. 279–292. The issue became the principal subject of the volume of papers entitled *Inspiracje grafiką europejską w sztuce polskiej. Czasy nowożytne. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Katedrę Ikonografii Sztuki Nowożytnej, Uniwersytet Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie, 6 listopada 2007* [European graphic art as inspiration in Polish art. The early modern era. Materials from the conference held at the Chair of Early Modern Art Iconography, Cardinal Wyszyński University in Warsaw, 6 November 2007], eds. K. Moisan-Jabłońska, K. Ponińska, Warsaw 2010.

The analysis of the artist's only known work illustrates that the array of models at his disposal mainly included Dutch ones, which were very popular at the time – most of them came from the late 1570s and 1580s; some of them had even been printed only three years before the completion of the Łekno triptych.



**Fig. 8.** Hendrick Goltzius, *The Original Sin*, 1585, the British Museum in London, source: [www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1477389&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+adam+eve&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1477389&partId=1&searchText=goltzius+adam+eve&page=1) [accessed 17 June 2015]

The issue of crypto-portraits incorporated into the triptych has so far been discussed by Hellmuth Bethe, Janina Kochanowska, Maria Glińska and Marcin Wisłocki.<sup>66</sup> It has not, however, been thoroughly analysed, i.e. the scholars only focused on the existing depiction of the *Last Supper*, disregarding the images on the wings and buttresses of the triptych. None of the authors gives the total number of contemporaneous portraits included in the biblical scenes on the altarpiece. Janina Kochanowska identified two personages depicted on the right side of the Łekno painting as Barnim XII (gesticulating) and Bogisław XIII (facing the viewer).<sup>67</sup>

The type of retables that included images of commissioners and reformers became known in Western Pomerania thanks to the numerous works of the Cra-nach workshop (such as the Dessau triptych from 1510, the triptych of George the Bearded of Meissen from 1534, the altarpiece from Schneeberg made in 1539, and the one from Weimar made in 1553).<sup>68</sup> The already-mentioned triptych of

<sup>66</sup> See footnotes: 7, 8, 9, 11.

<sup>67</sup> See footnote 8.

<sup>68</sup> Kochanowska, op. cit., p. 368.

Bar-nim XI may be considered the most representative Pomeranian example. The left wing of this work features a depiction of the duke, kneeling, and Johannes Knipster (the superintendent general of Pomerania and Wolgast) with Paulus von Rhode (the Stettin superintendent) standing behind him; the image on the right wing includes Duchess Anne of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Johannes Aepinus. In the case of this altarpiece the portraits were introduced directly: the pair of rulers is depicted as orantes and the Lutheran clergy occupies places which would be reserved for holy patrons in the Catholic church. The same convention was employed by Jacob Funck from Kołobrzeg in the epitaph painting of John Frederick and his widow Erdmuta, painted c. 1602. This portrayal of the Crucifixion, probably commissioned for the Griffins' tomb in Stettin, ultimately served as the altarpiece in the castle church in Słupsk, where the duchess settled after her husband's death.<sup>69</sup>

The concept of presenting rulers, patrons of the works and reformers of the Church as biblical characters was also brought to Pomerania by artists from the Cranach workshop: "The idea for such depictions indubitably came from two altarpieces: the one from Wittenberg completed in 1547, depicting Luther as one of the Apostles, and the epitaph altarpiece of duke George of Anhalt from Dessau painted in 1565. The latter was much more similar to the Pomeranian work and presented all prominent Lutheran reformers in a cenacle scene".<sup>70</sup> The *Last Supper* seemed especially adequate for such marriages of biblical and contemporary imagery, as the number of apostles allowed the artist to include many portraits, and the symbolical presence of Christ at the table served as a declaration of faith and thus had a confessional meaning.

Another biblical scene used for such purposes was the Adoration of the Magi.<sup>71</sup> Although the motif was rarely chosen for Lutheran churches, there had been an earlier Gothic tradition of incorporating portraits of rulers into the depiction. Known examples include the altarpiece of St. Columba by Rogier van der Weyden which featured the likeness of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1464, Alte Pinakothek in Munich),<sup>72</sup> or the altarpiece from the Wawel castle depicting Our Lady of Sorrows, allegedly including a portrait of Ladislaus Jagiełło (ca. 1475).<sup>73</sup> Janina Kochanowska mentions two retables from Western Pomerania in which crypto-portraits of Griffin rulers were added to the Adoration scene. The first of them was the already-mentioned main altarpiece from the castle church in Szczecin. The pentaptych, commissioned by Duke John Frederick, included not only the portrait of the donor but also that of the already deceased Barnim XI, the first Lutheran ruler of

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69 Z. Machura, *Dzieje kościoła zamkowego w Słupsku* [The history of the castle church in Słupsk], Słupsk 2006, p. 20.

70 Kochanowska, op. cit., p. 375.

71 More on the subject: J. Żukowski, "Kryptoportrety polskich władców w malarstwie sakralnym XVII i XVIII wieku" [Crypto-portraits of Polish rulers in ecclesiastical painting in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 2012, no. 37, pp. 176–177.

72 E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, its Origins and Character*, vol. 1, Cambridge, Mass. 1953, p. 286.

73 Kochanowska, op. cit., p. 374.

Pomerania, depicted as the eldest of the Magi.<sup>74</sup> The same role was given to the late duke by Martin Redtel in the epitaph altarpiece from Krępczewo as commissioned by the Wedel family (1607, currently in the St. Jacob Cathedral in Szczecin).<sup>75</sup>

By analysing the physiognomy of the people depicted in the scene of the *Last Supper* from the Łekno triptych we may conclude that apart from the two personages identified by Kochanowska, three other faces appear to have individual portrait features. The first is the man wearing a green tunic and a red cloak, depicted in side view on the left side of the scene. The second is St. Peter who is turned towards Christ. The face of Judas also seems personalised. There is another known example of such a depiction – in the *Last Supper* from Wrocław (1537; now lost), Judas has the features of the sub-treasurer of the city.<sup>76</sup> A comparison with the model reveals, however, that the likeness of both Sts. Peter and Judas was copied from the print. The case of the man in green also raises doubts, as it bears some similarity to the one in the model; however, one more crypto-portrait may be added to the list. This was the face of St. John the Evangelist appearing in the Crucifixion scene from the lost side panel. The personage depicted there had dark hair, a very contemporaneous pointed beard and styled moustache. Interestingly, in the central image the same apostle is presented as a clean-shaven man with blond hair.

Janina Kochanowska based her comparative analysis in the search for crypto-portraits of Stettin dukes on reproductions of 18<sup>th</sup>-century copies of their portraits in the town hall in Anklam.<sup>77</sup>

When the Łekno triptych was being painted, the five sons of Duke Philip I of Wolgast were still alive: John Frederick (born 27 August 1542, died 9 February 1600) – Duke of Wolgast and Stettin; Bogislaw XIII (born 9 August 1544, died 7 March 1606) – Duke of Wolgast and Stettin; duke in Bardo, Nowopole, Lębork, Darłowo and Bytowo; Ernst Ludwig (born 1 November 1545, died 17 June 1592) – the duke of Wolgast; Barnim X (XII) the Younger (born 15 February 1549, died 1 September 1603) – duke in Darłowo, Bytowo and Bukowo and Duke of Stettin; Casimir VII (born 22 March 1557, died 10 May 1605) – duke in Darłowo and Bytowo and Duke of Stettin.

In this study a larger number of images of the dukes was taken into consideration (between 3 and 7 for each). Important new iconographic sources include the portrait of John Frederick as attributed to Giovanni Battista Perini the Younger (now

74 Ibid., pp. 372–374. Bogdana Kozińska rejects this identification in op. cit., pp. 218–219.

75 Kochanowska, op. cit., p. 374.

76 P. Oszczanowski, „Ostatnia Wieczerza” z 1537 roku – zaginiony obraz z wrocławskiego Ratusza” [The “Last Supper” (1537): a lost painting from the Wrocław Town Hall], in: *Sztuka i dialog wyznań w XVI i XVII wieku. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Wrocław, listopad 1999* [Art and the dialogue between denominations in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. Materials from the session of the Association of Art Historians, Wrocław, November 1999], ed. J. Harasimowicz, Warsaw 2000, p. 134.

77 Kochanowska, op. cit., p. 375, footnote 25.

lost but known from a high-quality image in colour)<sup>78</sup> and the series of portraits from the stock exchange in Szczecin (unknown painter, 1678, currently at the National Museum in Szczecin – restored in stages). The existing iconography indicates that the painters' interpretations of facial features must have been rather flexible. Even such characteristic aspects of physiognomy as hair colour or nose shape differed from artist to artist. A comparison of the images seems to suggest that the identification of the gesticulating man on the right side of the cenacle scene was false. The Apostle, depicted in front view, appears to be more similar to John Frederick, Barnim or Ernst Ludwig. The figure on the left side of the composition resembles Bogislaw or Casimir. St. John the Evangelist from the Crucifixion scene bears the most resemblance to John Frederick. Such identification may be further corroborated by the fact that the eldest prince was named after the above-mentioned Apostle.<sup>79</sup> Arriving at definitive conclusions, however, may not be possible due to the rather schematic rendition of all the faces in the painting and the family resemblance between the five brothers born of the same parents.

The portrait of the gesticulating man on the right side of the scene constitutes an interesting exception, as direct inspection of the painterly layer revealed that the face was added by a different artist who was more skilled than the author of the triptych. The likeness includes wrinkles around the eyes and on the bridge of the nose. The shape of the nose, the facial hair and the hairstyle were carefully rendered. Another noteworthy element is the skin tone, which is different from that in the other faces in the scene and even on the hands of the same individual. Analyses performed by the restorers have confirmed that this portrait was not a part of the original composition. Infrared images show a long-haired bearded man, indubitably similar to the one in the model print (Fig. 9). The face was painted over with white, and a new likeness was added onto this layer (Fig. 10). The repainting was done shortly after the completion of the entire triptych.<sup>80</sup> This raises two key questions. Who is the man depicted? And why was his image added later? There indeed have been cases of repainting faces following a change in ownership, such as Hans Memling's *Last Judgment*, in which the face of the virtuous person on the scales held by Archangel Michael was covered with metal foil and painted over with a new likeness.<sup>81</sup> There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the patron of the Pomeranian triptych changed.

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78 H. Lemcke, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Pommern, Das Königliche Schloss in Stettin*, p. 1, 1909, Fig. following p. 22.

79 I would like to thank Samanta Popow MA for drawing my attention to the correspondence of names.

80 *Dokumentacja konserwatorska...*, p. 42.

81 I. Szmelter, "Wyniki wielokryterialnych badań Sądu Ostatecznego z Muzeum Narodowego w Gdańsku. Nowe odczytanie tryptyku jako dzieła Rogiera van der Weydena i Hansa Memlinga" [Results of multi-criteria research of the Last Judgment from the National Museum in Gdańsk. A new attribution of the triptych to Rogier van der Weyden and Hans Memling], *Muzealnictwo*, 2015, no. 55, p. 37.



**Fig. 9.** The *Last Supper* from Łekno, 1588, Koszalin cathedral, infrared photograph, detail, visible preparatory drawing, photo by Gorek Restauro



**Fig. 10.** The *Last Supper* from Łekno, 1588, Koszalin cathedral, X-ray photograph, detail, visible over-painting of an earlier portrait with lead white, photo by Gorek Restauro

A search for a similar face among the portraits of rulers and Church reformers from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century leads to the conclusion that the portrayed individual is Ulrich III of Mecklenburg, duke in Güstrow and Schwerin. The face of this ruler is known from numerous depictions in painting, print and sculpture. Many of these were commissioned by the duke himself. The best portraits of Ulrich III were done by the hand of Cornelis Crommena, his court painter (e.g. the left side panel of the Rühn altarpiece from 1577 and the portrait in the monastery church in Bad Doberan from 1587).<sup>82</sup> The likeness of the duke also appeared in portraits and historical scenes by other artists working at the court: Peter Boeckel (the wedding portrait of Ulrich III and Anne of Pomerania attributed to the painter, 1588–1590), Martin Redtel, Hans Metzger (*Heavenly and Earthly Judgment*, 1584) and an unspecified number of painters who remain anonymous.<sup>83</sup>

The crypto-portrait of Ulrich III from Łekno seems to faithfully repeat the ruler's features known from the tombstone in the Güstrow cathedral which was made a year earlier by Filip Brandin. This monument was produced after the death of the duke's first wife, Elizabeth of Denmark (d. 1586). On 9 December 1588 in Wołogoszcz (German: Wolgast), Ulrich III, dubbed the German Nestor, wed Anna, the daughter of Philip I. Hence the fact that the face of the patron's brother-in-law, whichever of the brothers that might have been, was introduced into the Łekno *Last Supper* seems understandable in the light of this ceremony, which was of very great importance to the dynasty. It is worth recalling at this point that the making of furnishings for the castle church in Szczecin was occasioned by John Frederick's marriage to Duchess Erdmuta in 1577.<sup>84</sup> At that time the crypto-portrait of the groom as King Melchior was placed in the central scene of the main altar.<sup>85</sup> It is possible that the Łekno altar referred to this tradition of a "wedding altar"; it is, however, interesting that the task of re-painting the face of one of the apostles into a portrait of Ulrich III of Mecklenburg was entrusted to another artist, and not to the "chief producer" of the triptych. Perhaps the author of this portrait should be sought at the court of Ulrich III, who employed a large group of painters and sculptors.<sup>86</sup>

The patron of the Łekno triptych could not be unequivocally determined. Most of the data point to Duke Casimir, whose portrait was to be put in the upper part of the retable and in whose domain the triptych was located. In the vicinity the duke had two residences: the main one, 10 km away, was in Koszalin (in the restructured monastery of the Cistercian Sisters), and a hunting lodge in Kazimierz Pomorski just 1.5 km away from Łekno that was built in 1592.<sup>87</sup> It cannot be ruled out that the foundation of an altar that conveyed a denominational message was associated with Koszalin, which had remained attached to the old faith for a relatively long

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82 Neumann, op. cit., pp. 79–93.

83 Detailed information on the subject: Ibid.

84 Bądkowska, *Malarstwo na dworze książąt...*, p. 49.

85 Kosińska, *Johann Baptista Perini...*, p. 218.

86 Neumann, op. cit., pp. 79–93.

87 E. Rymar, *Rodowód książąt pomorskich*, Szczecin 2005, p. 463.



time. As put by Kuczkowski and Cholin-Gollenber: "The process of abandoning Catholicism in favour of the new religion was a long-lasting one, which did not go smoothly everywhere. The new faith began to be promoted more vigorously only after the year 1544, when the last Catholic bishop of Kamień, Erazm Manteuffel, died and his place was taken by a Lutheran, Bartłomiej Suawe (1545–1549). However, Catholic services were held in one of the Koszalin chapels even as late as in 1555. In 1552 the Koszalin Cistercian Sisters still supervised hospitals and conducted charitable work".<sup>88</sup> It is also possible that the triptych was, from the outset, meant to be placed in Łekno. After all, it was in the local hunting lodge that Bishop Erazm Manteuffel died on the night of 26 to 27 January 1544.<sup>89</sup> For this reason, the memory of the "old order" may have been more durable in Łekno than in other places and the triptych was intended to highlight the ruler's attachment to Lutheranism.

The wedding of Anna of Pomerania and Ulrich III took place in Wołogoszcz, which at that time was ruled by Ernst Ludwig; it may thus be he who is turning towards the viewer in the Łekno *Last Supper*. The duke, considered to be one of the most outstanding patrons of art among the Griffins alive in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, may have been the patron of the triptych.<sup>90</sup>

More than one clue points to John Frederick as the donor of the altar. The duke, who very consciously created his own image, was "extremely ambitious, wilful, self-assured and fond of luxury".<sup>91</sup> He treated the artistic endeavours he sponsored as a tool of propaganda, and upon his death left a debt of 300,000 gulden for unpaid works of art.<sup>92</sup> The initials CS discovered on the triptych do not allow us to indisputably determine the author, but they point towards the duke's court artist, Christoff Schreiber.

A large number of portraits of Ulrich III of Mecklenburg has survived to our times, but the authorship of many of them is not confirmed by the sources, only ascribed.<sup>93</sup> This makes it difficult to attribute the ruler's likeness in the Łekno triptych to a concrete artist. The only certain point is that the artist who made the

88 A. Kuczkowski, G. Cholin-Gollenber, *Góra Chełmska. Źródła archeologiczne do dziejów Góry Chełmskiej koło Koszalina* [Góra Chełmska. Archaeological sources for the history of Góra Chełmska near Koszalin], Koszalin 2013, p. 50.

89 E. Ryman, "W krainie cystersów i rodu Kamyków, czyli teren gminy Będzino w wiekach średnich (do XVI wieku)" [In the land of the Cistercians and the Kamyk family, or, the Będzino commune in the Middle Ages (until the 16<sup>th</sup> century)], in: *Gmina Będzino. Z dziejów dawnych i nowych* [The Będzino commune. Long ago and in the recent history], ed. A. Chludziński, Pruszcz Gdański–Będzino 2009, pp. 73–102.

90 Z. Fafius, M. Glińska, Z. Radacki, "Mecenat książąt zachodniopomorskich w XVI i XVII w." [The patronage of the dukes of Western Pomerania in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Funkcja dzieła sztuki. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Szczecin, listopad 1970* [The function of a work of art. Materials from the session of the Association of Art Historians, Szczecin, November 1970], Warsaw 1972, p. 174.

91 Ibid., p. 164.

92 Ibid., pp. 164–172.

93 Extensively on this topic: Neumann, op. cit., pp. 79–93.

correction in the image of the *Last Supper* knew the duke well, and most probably had depicted him many times before. A comparison with the double portrait of the duke and duchess, attributed to Peter Boeckel and painted no later than two years after the ceremony of their marriage, indicates that in the Łekno triptych the groom was shown as considerably younger than he in fact was.<sup>94</sup> The same seems to be the case in the duke's tombstone at Güstrow. The re-painting may have been done by Cornelis Crommena, who was commissioned by the Griffins and active in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century in Szczecin and Koszalin.<sup>95</sup> This attribution is suggested by the excellent quality of the portrait and the obviously long acquaintance between the painter and the sitter. Direct source evidence for this does not exist, however, and the scale of intervention in the image of the *Last Supper* does not permit us to confront the Łekno likeness with the typical ceremonial portraits of Ulrich III as produced by his court painter.

*Translated by Julita Mastalerz*

## Abstract

The triptych from Łekno was painted in 1588 and commissioned by one of the five sons of Duke Philip I of Wolgast of the Griffin dynasty. The painter, who signed the work with the initials CS (and may perhaps be identified as Christoff Schreiber), used graphic patterns in the composition of biblical scenes and included crypto-portraits of Griffin rulers in the depictions of the Last Supper and Crucifixion. After Anna of Stettin married Ulrich III of Mecklenburg, another (also unknown) artist repainted the face of one of the apostles into a high-quality portrait of the duke of Mecklenburg.

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid., p. 167.

<sup>95</sup> See notes 44 and 45.



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## From Red Ruthenia to Rawa Mazowiecka: the Works of the Anonymous “Master of Pełczyska” as a Contribution to the Geography of Rococo Sculpture in Mazovia\*

The sculptural circle of the Rococo period on the Ruthenian lands of the Crown of Poland is one of the most interesting and dynamically developed topics in Polish and Ukrainian history of art, having recently gained recognition in Western European circles as well. The pioneering pre-war works of Zbigniew Hornung, Adam Bochnak and Tadeusz Mańkowski, complemented by the later remarks of the aforementioned authors and by the observations of Władysław Łoziński, Mieczysław Gębarowicz and Borys Woznycky, Dymitr Krwawycz and other Ukrainian researchers,<sup>1</sup> were

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\* This article was not written from the perspective of an expert on Lvov Rococo sculpture and should be treated as a contribution to the history of sculpture dating from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Mazovia. I would like to convey heartfelt thanks to the outstanding specialists on Lvov Rococo sculpture Prof. Jakub Sito PhD (Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences) and Andrzej Betlej PhD (Institute of History, Jagiellonian University; National Museum in Cracow), for their help and consultations during the writing of this article.

1 Fundamental works on the subject are: A. Bochnak, *Ze studiów nad rzeźbą lwowską w epoce rokoka* [Studies on sculpture in Lvov in the Rococo period], Cracow 1931; Z. Hornung, *Antoni Osiński, najwybitniejszy rzeźbiarz lwowski XVIII stulecia* [Antoni Osiński, the greatest Lvov sculptor of the 18<sup>th</sup> century], Lvov 1937; idem, “Pierwsi rzeźbiarze lwowscy z okresu rokoka” [The first Lvov sculptors of the Rococo period], *Ziemia Czerwieńska*, 1937, vol. 3, no.1, pp. 1–37; T. Mańkowski, *Lwowska rzeźba rokokowa* [Lvov Rococo sculpture], Lvov 1937; Z. Hornung, “Na marginesie ostatnich badań nad rzeźbą lwowską XVIII wieku” [Addendum to the recent research on Lvov sculpture in the 18<sup>th</sup> century], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1939, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 131–149; W. Łoziński, “Lwowska rzeźba XVIII wieku” [Lvov sculpture in the 18<sup>th</sup> century], in: T. Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów: jego sztuka i kultura artystyczna* [Old Lvov: its art and artistic culture], London 1974, pp. 355–370; idem, “Rokokowa dekoracja plastyczna” [Rococo decoration], in: Ibid., pp. 371–381; Z. Hornung, *Majster Pinsel snycerz. Kartka z dziejów polskiej rzeźby rokokowej* [Master Pinsel the woodcarver. A page from the history of Polish Rococo sculpture], Wrocław 1976; M. Gębarowicz, “Prolegomena do dziejów lwowskiej rzeźby rokokowej” [Prolegomena to the history of Lvov Rococo sculpture], *Artium Questiones*, 1986, no. 3, pp. 5–46;

considerably expanded as a result of the action of making an inventory of historical monuments of ecclesiastical art from the former Ruthenian voivodeship, which began in 1991 under the supervision of Jan K. Ostrowski.<sup>2</sup> The immense documentation, in 23 volumes, brought about many fundamental discoveries in terms of biographies and works of the most important masters of the Lvov school of Rococo sculpture, notably of Johann Georg Pinsel, Antoni Osiński and the Fesinger and Polejowski families.<sup>3</sup> Less attention was given to explaining the complex morphological genesis and the very phenomenon of this trend.<sup>4</sup> However, following the articles of Jan K. Ostrowski, Jerzy Kowalczyk, Piotr Krasny, Andrzej Betlej, Jakub

B. Woźnicki, *Mistrz Pinsel. Legenda i rzeczywistość. Katalog wystawy rzeźby XVIII wieku ze zbiorów lwowskich* [Master Pinsel. The legend and the truth. Catalogue of the exhibition of 18<sup>th</sup>-century sculpture from Lvov collections], Warsaw–Wilanów 1990; “Rzeźba lwowska” [Lvov sculpture], in: *Teatr i mistyka. Rzeźba barokowa pomiędzy Zachodem a Wschodem / Theatre and Mysticism. Baroque Sculpture between West and East*, National Museum in Poznań, June–August 1993, ed. K. Kalinowski, Poznań 1993, pp. II.1–II.102; D. Krwawycz, Дмитро Кривавич, „Українська скульптура періоду рококо”, *Записки Наукового Товариства імені Шевченка. Праці Комісії образотворчого та ужиткового мистецтва*, 1998, no. 236, pp. 127–154.

- 2 *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Materials for the history of ecclesiastical art in the eastern lands of the former Commonwealth], ed. J. K. Ostrowski, part 1: *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego* [Roman Catholic churches and monasteries of the former Ruthenian voivodeship], collective work, vol. 1–23, Cracow 1993–2016. Cf. also: J. K. Ostrowski, “Pięć lat prac inwentaryzacyjnych na kresach” [Five years of inventory-making work in the borderlands], in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich* [Art in the Eastern Borderlands], vol. 3, ed. idem, Cracow 1998, pp. 9–17; A. Betlej, “Badania sztuki ziem wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej po 1989 roku” [Post-1989 research on the art in the eastern lands of the former Commonwealth], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 2012, no. 37, pp. 83–87, 90–91. The most important studies on Lvov Rococo sculpture are: J. K. Ostrowski, “Z problematyki warsztatowej i atrybucyjnej rzeźby lwowskiej XVIII wieku” [Issues in the technology and attribution of Lvov sculpture of the 18<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 1, ed. idem, Cracow 1994, pp. 79–104; J. K. Ostrowski, “Jan Jerzy Pinsel – zamiast biografii” [Jan Jerzy Pinsel – instead of a biography], in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 2, ed. idem, Cracow 1996, pp. 361–374; J. Gajewski, „Lwowska rzeźba rokokowa”: kilka uwag do zagadnienia genezy zjawiska” [‘Lvov Rococo sculpture’: some notes on the origin of the phenomenon], in: *Sztuka ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII w.* [Art in the eastern lands of the Commonwealth, 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century], ed. J. Lilejko, Lublin 2000, pp. 559–575.

- 3 The bibliography on the subject with biographic and artistic findings has recently been collected in: *Johann Georg Pinsel, un sculpteur baroque en Ukraine au XVIIIe siècle*, sur la direction de J. K. Ostrowski et G. Scherf, Gand–Paris 2014, pp. 167–171; *Himmlich! Der Barockbildhauer Johann Georg Pinsel, Wien, Winterpalais, 28. October 2016 – 12. February 2017*, Catalogue of the exhibition, eds. A. Husslein-Arco, M. Hohn, G. Lechner, Vienna 2016.

- 4 J. Sito, A. Betlej, “U źródeł twórczości Sebastiana Fesingera” [Sources of Sebastian Fesinger’s art], in: *Sztuka kresów wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej* [Art in the Eastern Borderlands. Materials from the scholarly session], vol. 2, ed. J. K. Ostrowski, Cracow 1996, pp. 339–343; J. Sito, “Rokokowa rzeźba lwowska. Zarys problematyki” [Rococo Sculpture in Lvov. The outline of issues], in: *Adam Bochnak. Naświetlanie rzeźby lwowskiej* [Adam Bochnak. Shedding light on Lvov sculpture]. Exhibition of photographs in the collection of the Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences, ed. P. J. Jamski, A. Betlej, Warsaw 2008, esp. pp. 69–77; G. Scherf,

Sito, Jacek Gajewski, Urszula Stępień, Oksana Kozyr-Fedotow, Wołodymyr S. Wujcyk and the newest works of Jurij Biriulow, Agnieszka Szykuła-Żygawska and Agata Dworzak, a comprehensive inventory research of works belonging to the Lvov school of Rococo sculpture was also conducted in areas that remained within the borders of the Republic of Poland after 1945.<sup>5</sup>

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Johann Georg Pinsel: *un sculpteur baroque en Europe*, in: *Johann Georg Pinsel, un sculpteur baroque...*, pp. 74–85.

- 5 J. Kowalczyk, “Ze studiów nad geografią lwowskiej rzeźby rokokowej” [From the research on the geography of Lvov Rococo sculpture], in: *Rokoko. Studia na sztukę 1. połowy XVIII w.* [The Rococo. Studies on the art of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century], Warsaw 1970, pp. 199–217; idem, “Dzieła Macieja Polejowskiego w Ziemi Sandomierskiej” [Works of Maciej Polejowski in the Sandomierz Land], *Rocznik Muzeum Świętokrzyskiego*, 1970, no. 6, pp. 187–237; J. Gajewski, “Fesinger czy Fesinger i Antoni Osiński. Z problematyki atrybucyjnej i warsztatowej lwowskiej rzeźby rokokowej: figury przemyskie” [Fesinger or Fesinger and Antoni Osiński? Issues in the technology and attribution of Lvov Rococo sculpture: the Przemyśl figures], *Rocznik Przemyski*, 1997, vol. 33, no. 2, pp. 13–34; W. S. Wujcyk, “Wiadomości o życiu i twórczości Franciszka Olędzkiego” [Information on the life and oeuvre of Franciszek Olędzki], in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 3, pp. 281–294; J. K. Ostrowski, Z. Prószyńska, “Olędzki (Olencki, Olendzki, Oleński, Olęcki, Olienczki) Franciszek”, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze–rzeźbiarze–graficy* [Dictionary of Polish and foreign artists active in Poland. Painters, sculptors, graphic artists], vol. 6, ed. K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, M. Biernacka, Warsaw 1998, pp. 267–270; A. Betlej, Z. Prószyńska, *Osiński (Osieński) Antoni*, in: *ibid.*, pp. 322–325; J. Kowalczyk, *Przemiany wystroju wnętrza kolegiaty sandomierskiej w okresie rokoka* [Changes in the interior decoration of the Sandomierz collegiate church in the Rococo period], *Zeszyty Sandomierskie. Biuletyn Towarzystwa Naukowego Sandomierskiego*, June 1999 no. 9, pp. 50–59; A. Betlej, P. Krasny, “Późnobarokowe wyposażenie kościoła oo. Bernardynów w Radecznicy” [Late-Baroque furnishings of the Bernardine church in Radecznica], in: *Sztuka dawnej ziemi chełmskiej i województwa bełskiego* [Art in the former Chełm land and Bełż voivodship], ed. P. Krasny, Cracow 1999, pp. 83–110; A. Betlej, “Polejowski Maciej”, in: *Słownik artystów polskich...* [Dictionary of Polish artists], vol. 7, ed. U. Makowska, Warsaw 2003, pp. 374–376; J. Biriulow, *Rzeźba lwowska od połowy XVIII wieku do 1939 roku. Od zapowiedzi klasycyzmu do awangardy* [Sculpture in Lvov from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 1939. From the harbingers of Classicism to the avant-garde], Warsaw 2007, pp. 11–23; U. Stępień, “Rzeźby z katedry sandomierskiej w zbiorach Muzeum Diecezjalnego” [Sculptures from the Sandomierz cathedral in the Diocesan Museum collection], in: *Amicissima. Studia Magdalenae Piwocka oblata*, Cracow 2010, pp. 397–399; A. Szykuła-Żygawska, *Od Karola Burzyńskiego do Michała Wurtzera młodszego. Warsztat rzeźbiarski 2. poł. XVIII wieku w Ordynacji Zamojskiej* [From Karol Burzyński to Michał Wurtzer the Younger. A sculpture workshop in the Zamoyski family fee tail in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century], Lublin–Zamość 2012; O. Kozyr-Fedotow, “Michał Filewicz, rzeźbiarz lwowskiego rokoka” [Michał Filewicz, a Lvov Rococo sculptor], in: *Splendor i fantazja. Studia nad rzeźbą rokokową w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej i na Śląsku* [Splendour and fancy. Studies on Rococo sculpture in the former Commonwealth and Silesia], ed. P. Migasiewicz, Warsaw 2012, pp. 109–136; A. Dworzak, “„Fabryka” kolegiaty sandomierskiej w latach siedemdziesiątych XVIII wieku. Kilka uwag o strukturze organizacyjnej” [The “factory” at the Sandomierz collegiate church in the 1770s. Some notes on its organisational structure], in: *Nowożytnicze Zeszyty Historyczne*, vol. 5: *Religia w epoce nowożytnej XVI–XVIII w. Polityka–Społeczeństwo–Kultura*, Cracow 2013, pp. 8–23; eadem, “Genialny twórca czy zmyślny przedsiębiorca? Studium z problematyki twórczości wielkich warsztatów artystycznych na Rusi Koronnej w XVIII wieku”

In the latter research field, the article published by Kowalczyk in 1970 remains the starting point of any research, as it contained a map of the eastern part of Poland, with marked locations where the Lvov school's sculptural works, as identified at that stage of the research, had been found. These locations concerned the following lands of the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania: Chełm Land, Bełz Land, Przemyśl Land and Sanok Land, as well as the following voivodeships: Sandomierz voivodeship, Lublin voivodeship and the Podlachian voivodeship.<sup>6</sup> The areas north and west of Sandomierz, which were a blank on the map, were later completed by Kowalczyk, followed by Betlej and Dworzak. They added twelve locations comprising works from the workshop of Maciej Polejowski's associates and imitators that had been preserved after the 1773 renovation of an altar's ornamentation in a local collegiate church (started in 1771).<sup>7</sup> The lands north of the Kamienna River remain blank to this day. Meanwhile, the maximal range of the influence of the local workshop – one which derived from Polejowski's workshop and was located in Turbia near Sandomierz – can currently be relatively precisely determined. Its limits are marked by several works of Lvov Rococo sculpture in the parish church in Tarłów, in the Dominican church in Wysokie Koło, in the parish church in Zakrzew near Radom, and in the Benedictine church at Święty Krzyż.<sup>8</sup>

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[An artist of genius or an apt entrepreneur? Studies on the output of large artistic workshops in the Crown Ruthenia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century], in: *Twórca – dzieło – badacz. Między dyscyplinami humanistyki* [The creator – the work – the researcher. Between the disciplines of the humanities], ed. E. Januszek, M. Jarząbek, M. Kobielska, Cracow 2013, pp. 113–122; eadem, "Nowe źródła do prac Macieja Polejowskiego w kolegiacie sandomierskiej" [New sources for the oeuvre of Maciej Polejowski in the Sandomierz collegiate church], *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 2014, vol. 62, no. 4, pp. 33–73; *Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, vol. 23, collective work, Cracow 2015, index of artists (= *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J. K. Ostrowski, part 1, vol. 23); A. Dworzak, *FABRICA ECCLESIAE SANDOMIRIENSIS. Dzieje modernizacji wnętrza kolegiaty sandomierskiej w XVIII wieku w świetle źródeł archiwalnych* [FABRICA ECCLESIAE SANDOMIRIENSIS. The history of the modernisation of the Sandomierz collegiate church interiors in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the light of archival sources], Cracow 2016, pp. 85–100, 139–148.

6 Kowalczyk, *Ze studiów nad geografią...*, Fig. 1.

7 Idem, *Dzieła Macieja Polejowskiego...*, esp. pp. 188, 231; Betlej, *Polejowski Maciej...*, p. 376; recently Dworzak, *Nowe źródła...*, pp. 39–43, 50–59. Ibidem the list of archival sources.

8 On these works of art, cf.: *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [Catalogue of Monuments of Art in Poland, henceforward: KZSP], vol. 3: *Województwo kieleckie* [The Kielce voivodeship], ed. J. Łoziński and B. Wolff, fasc. 2: *Powiat iłżecki* [The Iłża commune], ed. O. Puciata and Z. Świechowski, Warsaw 1957, p. 25, Fig. 20 (Tarłów); KZSP, vol. 3, fasc. 6: *Powiat kozienicki* [The Kozienice commune], ed. M. Kwiczala et al., Warsaw 1958, p. 30 (Wysokie Koło); KZSP, vol. 3, fasc. 4: *Powiat kielecki* [The Kielce commune], ed. T. Przypkowski et al., Warsaw 1957, p. 65, Fig. 69 (Łysiec / Święty Krzyż); KZSP, vol. 3, fasc. 10: *Powiat radomski* [The Radom commune], ed. K. Szczepkowska, E. Krygier and J. Z. Łoziński, Warsaw 1961, p. 61 (Zakrzew, mentioned as Zakrzów). Cf. also: J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat radomski* [The Radom decanate], Radom 1911, pp. 409–410, 413; idem, *Dekanat kozienicki* [The Kozienice decanate], Radom 1913, pp. 120, 122; L. Figarski, *Wysokie Koło. Historia kościoła i cudownego obrazu MB Wysokolskiej. W 250-lecie sprowadzenia obrazu* [Wysokie Koło. History of the church and the miracle-working

The north and north-eastern parts of the former Sandomierz voivodeship have so far remained beyond the interest of the aforementioned authors.

## The geography of Rococo sculpture in Mazovia: an introduction

In the general awareness of the researchers of early modern art in Poland, Mazovia appears to be an independent artistic region. Its unquestionable centre, at least from the times of the Swedish Deluge, was Warsaw with its numerous, European-rank workshops that produced works of art on commission from the royal court, the magnates, the upper clergy and religious orders. As Sito has recently pointed out, the capital market of secular and ecclesiastical commissions in 1730–1760 developed so rapidly that artists and craftsmen from the entire country, the neighbouring Prussian Silesia and the countries of the Habsburg monarchy needed to be brought in. This problem also spread to smaller villages in the region and, in consequence, their prestige was marginal. Moreover, the overwhelming number of commissions from other parts of the region meant that patrons from smaller villages could not afford artists or craftsmen of significant artistic skill. Apart from Warsaw, the prestigious sculptural works of Johann Georg Plersch, Johann Chrysostomus Redler or Franz Anton Vogt and from other smaller workshops were sent, or were supposed to be sent, exclusively to primatial Łowicz or episcopal Pułtusk, Rawa Mazowiecka and Radom.<sup>9</sup> Further away, they can be encountered only in the estates of the most prominent magnate and ecclesiastical patrons in Podlachia (Białystok and Tykocin),<sup>10</sup> in the Prince-Bishopric of Warmland (Lidzbark Warmiński/Heilsberg),<sup>11</sup>

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image of the Wysokie Koło Virgin Mary. On the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the image's translation], Radom 1934, pp. 26–29; S. A. Traczyk, *Sanktuarium maryjne w Wysokim Kole* [The Marian temple in Wysokie Koło], Radom 2004, pp. 34–35; W. and A. Barańscy, *Przewodnik po farze św. Trójcy w Tarłowie* [Guide to the Holy Trinity parish church in Tarłów], Gdańsk 2004, pp. 18, 39.

- 9 J. Sito, "Franz Anton Vogt, rzeźbiarz warszawskiego rokoka" [Franz Anton Vogt, a Warsaw Rococo sculptor], in: *Splendor i fantazja...*, pp. 73–74, 80, 82, 85, 87, 91, 95, Figs. 1–3, 11–13, 18, 27–29, 32, 34; idem, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie Warszawy doby saskiej. Modele kariery – formacja artystyczna – organizacja produkcji* [Great sculptural ateliers of Warsaw in the period of the Saxonian dynasty. Career patterns – artistic formation – organization of production], Warsaw 2013, esp. pp. 199–205, 314–318, 327–330, Figs. 132–135, 161, 176, 213, 232, 235–236, 245.
- 10 J. Sito, "Fenomen rzeźb Johanna Chrisostomusa Redlera" [The phenomenon of Johann Chrisostomus Redler's sculpture], in: *Radzyń Podlaski. Miasto i rezydencja* [Radzyń Podlaski. The town and the residence], eds. G. Michalska, D. Leszczyńska, Radzyń Podlaski 2011, passim; A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki „Sarmata nowoczesny”: kreowanie wizerunku poprzez sztukę* [Jan Klemens Branicki, the 'modern-day Sarmatian': creating the image through art], Warsaw 2011, passim; Sito, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie...*, p. 329, Fig. 244.
- 11 M. Karpowicz, "Związki Warmii z Warszawą w zakresie rzeźby w XVIII wieku" [Warmland – Warsaw connections in the field of sculpture in the 18<sup>th</sup> century], *Rocznik Olsztyński*, 1997, no. 17, pp. 82–87, Figs. 14–17. Cf. recently: A. Wagner, "Rokokowa rzeźba na Warmii. Próba syntezy" [Rococo sculpture in Warmland. A conjectural synthesis], in: *Splendor i fantazja...*,



in the Lublin voivodeship (Radzyń Podlaski and Opole Lubelskie),<sup>12</sup> Brest Litovsk voivodeship (Biała Radziwiłłowska, Janów Podlaski, Wołczyn, Leśna and Mordy)<sup>13</sup> and Sieradz voivodeship (Wieluń),<sup>14</sup> but they did not reach, e.g., Płock, Ciechanów or Łomża. In these towns, artists from neighbouring regions of the Crown were active. In the Płock voivodeship, these were mainly sculptors from Toruń and Brodnica, and on the margins of Prussia, in Wizna Land, Łomża Land, and Ciechanów Land – sculptors from Warmland, e.g. Johann Christian Schmidt and Christian Bernhard Schmidt from Reszel (Rößel).<sup>15</sup> In the south-eastern part of the Mazovian voivodeship, many important works can be attributed to esteemed artists from the Puławy centre of artistic production, which was highly valued in Warsaw and in the Lublin voivodeship, which was under the administration of the Czartoryski princes. The works of, for instance, the renowned Kalisz workshop of Franz Eytner reached Rawa and its environs.<sup>16</sup> The least is known about the south-western areas

pp. 234–235, 247, Figs. 6–7; Sito, *Franz Anton Vogt...*, pp. 91–93, Fig. 31; idem, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie...*, pp. 156, 329–330, Fig. 95.

12 Sito, *Fenomen rzeźb...*, passim; idem, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie...*, pp. 203–205, Figs. 134–135.

13 J. Kowalczyk, “Hieronima Floriana Radziwiłła stosunek do sztuki i artystów” [Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł’s attitude to art and artists], in: *Kultura artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku* [Artistic culture of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Baroque era], ed. idem, Warsaw 1995, pp. 30–34; Sito, *Franz Anton Vogt...*, p. 85; A. Oleńska, “Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Trójcy w Wołczynie” [Parish church of the Holy Trinity in Wołczyn], in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej...*, part V: *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa brzeskolitewskiego* [Roman Catholic churches and monasteries of the former Brest-Litovsk voivodeship], vol. 1, ed. M. Zgliński, collective work, Cracow 2013, pp. 190, 202–203, Figs. 220–224, 246–249.

14 P. Migasiewicz, “Rzeźba rokokowa w dawnych województwach łęczyckim i sieradzkim” [Rococo sculpture in the former Łęczyca and Sieradz voivodeships], in: *Splendor i fantazja...*, pp. 395–396, Fig. 24; Sito, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie...*, p. 329.

15 M. Kałamajska-Saeed, “Ołtarz główny w Szczuczynie” [The high altar in Szczuczyn], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 39: 1977, no. 2, pp. 192–204; M. Smoliński, *Rzeźbiarz Jan Chrystian Schmidt. Rola Warmii jako prowincji artystycznej w XVIII wieku* [The sculptor Jan Chrystian Schmidt. The role of Warmland as an artistic province in the 18<sup>th</sup> century], Olsztyn 2006, pp. 67–70, 190–191, Figs. 57–62. Schmidt the Younger was neglected in the relevant monograph by Arkadiusz Wagner. Cf. idem, *Warsztat rzeźbiarski Chrystiana Bernarda Schmidta na Warmii* [Chrystian Bernard Schmidt’s sculptural atelier in Warmland], Olsztyn 2007. At the rectory of the parish church in Chorzele near Przasnysz, I have recently discovered two very damaged figures of the Apostles (?) that can be ascribed to J. Ch. Schmidt’s workshop.

16 Migasiewicz, *Rzeźba rokokowa w dawnych województwach...*, pp. 386, 388, Fig. 12. On this sculptor’s oeuvre, cf. E. Andrzejewska, Ks. Stanisław Józef Kłosowski (1726–1798). *Kustosz sanktuarium św. Józefa w Kaliszu* [Father Stanisław Józef Kłosowski (1726–1798). Custodian of the St. Joseph church in Kalisz], Kalisz 2010, esp. pp. 47–75; P. Migasiewicz, “Dzieła rzeźbiarza Franza Eytnera na terenie dawnych ziem łęczyckiej i sieradzkiej” [The oeuvre of the sculptor Franz Eytner in the former Łęczyca and Sieradz lands], in: *Sztuka Polski Środkowej. Studia* [Studies on the art of Central Poland], vol. 5, ed. P. Gryglewski, E. Kubiak, K. Stefański, Łódź 2011, pp. 65–89; eadem, *Frantz Eytner, śląski rzeźbiarz osiadły w Kaliszu. Najnowsze ustalenia* [Frantz Eytner, a Silesian sculptor resident in Kalisz. The newest findings], in: *Splendor i fantazja...*, pp. 345–375.

of the former Czersk Land and its historical frontier with the Sandomierz voivodeship, where a natural buffer zone of the great artistic regions of Mazovia and Lesser Poland should exist.<sup>17</sup>

In the entire former Mazovia it was possible to identify five wooden statues and some small-scale architectural sculptures dating from the fourth quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which can be stylistically and formally associated with the oeuvre of artists trained in the workshops of the Lvov circle of Rococo sculpture. The aim of this article is to present them and to offer a preliminary comparative morphological analysis. Several very damaged sculptures of unidentified provenance, made of oak wood and limewood, which are unknown to the larger scholarly forum and which until 2016 were exhibited at the Polish Sculpture Gallery in Łazienki Królewskie, as well as sculptures moved to the capital after 1945, constitute material for a separate study.<sup>18</sup>

## The workshop of the “Master of Pełczyska”: catalogue of works – a proposal

A group of small-scale altar architectural frames and sculptures has been preserved in the area of the former Rawa voivodeship. These pieces are directly related to the earlier statues of Saints Peter and Paul, as discussed by Kowalczyk, from the high altar of the parish church in Pełczyska, near Wiślica.<sup>19</sup> The parish used to belong to the former deanery of the diocese of Cracow in the nearby Sokolina. The statues are dated 1747, but this dating is much too early, not supported by any sources and stems from connecting these two statues to the making of the altar's structure by the woodcarver Jan Soszycki from Sancygniów for 580 Polish zloty upon the commission of Mikołaj Bratkowski, canon of Lvov, the then-parish priest. Three years later, the same craftsman signed another commission for a pulpit at the price of 9 thalers and 72 Polish zloty, and later sculpted several rood-arch retables.<sup>20</sup> The

17 All these issues are analysed in my study: M. Wardzyński, *Sztuka nowożytna na Mazowszu. Zarys problematyki* [The early modern-era art in Mazovia. The outline of issues], in: *Dzieje Mazowsza* [The history of Mazovia], ed. H. Samsonowicz, vol. 2: *Czasy nowożytne: 1527–1795* [Early-modern period: 1527–1795], ed. J. Tyszkiewicz, Pułtusk 2014, pp. 705–709.

18 K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, *Galeria rzeźby w Starej Pomarańczarni: przewodnik* [The sculpture gallery in the Old Orangery: a guide], Warsaw 1989, pp. 4–5; J. Gajewski, *Rzeźbiarz lwowski / Sculptor of Lvov, śś. Piotr i Paweł*, in: *Teatr i mistyka...*, pp. II.98–II.99, cat. no. 32–33, photos 59–60.

19 J. Wiśniewski, *Historyczny opis kościołów, miast, zabytków i pamiątek w pińczowskim, skalbmierskim i wiślickim* [A historical description of churches, towns, monuments and mementoes in the Pińczów, Skalbmierz and Wiślica regions], Marjówka 1927, p. 219; *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 9: *Powiat pińczowski* [The Pińczów commune], ed. K. Kutrzebianka et al., Warsaw 1961, p. 54, Figs. 202, 204.

20 Kielce, Diocesan Archive, signature ADK II PP-II/1, Pełczyska. Parish records 1726–1853, fol. 15v–16, 18–18v, 19v. Cf.: Wiśniewski, *Historyczny opis...*, pp. 222–223. Cf. Kowalczyk, *Ze studiów nad geografią...*, p. 210, Fig. 9.

provincial forms and low quality of Pełczyska's church furniture confirm that the choice of local references was limited to a minimum. These references included the side altars in the churches of the Order of Reformed Friars Minor in Cracow, the side altar in the nearby Pińczów (erected in 1745–1747 and 1748–1749 by Michał Dobek *vel* Dobkowski and the carpenter Michał Miśkiewicz of Cracow, respectively),<sup>21</sup> and the pulpits in Biechów and Zborówek near Pacanów, 30 km to the east (both designed and executed in the 1740s by a Moravian, Václav Beránek, who resided in Pińczów in 1753–1767).<sup>22</sup>

Speculation that there is a correlation between the statues in Pełczyska and the side altar of the parish church in Tarnogród, which was founded by the local parish priest, Baltazar Dulewski, a protonotary apostolic and canon of Zamość and Chełmno, was already voiced by Kowalczyk.<sup>23</sup> The execution of the side altar is attributed to Franciszek Olędzki of Lvov (active from 1771, d. 1792). It might have been the result of the sculptor's 1780 unfinished commission for the high altar in the collegiate of Zamość.<sup>24</sup> The above historical premises suggest a later dating of the two statues from Pełczyska. Their anonymous author arrived in the Vistula valley about ten years after Polejowski and presented a radically different style,

21 A. J. Błachut, "Kontrakty z Michałem Dobkowskim i Michałem Miśkiewiczem z lat 1748–1752 na wykonanie ołtarzy bocznych i konfesonaliów do kościoła Reformatów w Pińczowie" [Michał Dobkowski and Michał Miśkiewicz's contracts for the side altars and confessionals for the Reformed Friars Minor church in Pińczów from the years 1748–1752], *Pietas et Studium. Rocznik Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego Prowincji Matki Bożej Anielskiej Zakonu Braci Mniejszych w Krakowie*, 2008, no. 1, pp. 181–194, Figs. on pp. 182, 184, 186–188; A. Dettloff, *Rzeźba krakowska drugiej połowy XVIII w. Twórcy, nurty i tendencje* [Cracow sculpture in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Creators, currents and tendencies], Cracow 2013, pp. 48–50, Figs. 43–44.

22 KZSP, vol. 3, fasc. 1: *Powiat buski* [The Busko commune], ed. K. Kutrzebianka, Warsaw 1957, pp. 6, 89. The pulpit in Biechów was destroyed during the fighting in September of 1939. On the sculptural oeuvre of this artist in Pińczów, cf. M. Wardzyński, "Prace rzeźbiarsko-kamieniarskie Wacława Beranka dla konwentów Paulinów prowincji polskiej. Jasna Góra–Pińczów–Beszowa–Skałka" [Wacław Beranek's sculptures and stonemasonry for the Pauline monasteries of the province of Poland. Jasna Góra–Pińczów–Beszowa–Skałka], in: *Veritati serviens. Księga Pamiątkowa Ojcu Profesorowi Januszowi Zbudniewkowi ZP* [Memorial Book for Rev. Professor Janusz Zbudniewek ZP], ed. J. Dzięgielewski, T. Krawczak, K. Łatak, W. J. Wysocki, Warsaw 2009, pp. 501–522, Figs. 2–5, 16–28.

23 KZSP, vol. 8: *Województwo lubelskie* [The Lublin voivodeship], ed. R. Brykowski and Z. Winiarz, fasc. 3: *Powiat biłgorajski* [The Biłgoraj commune], ed. M. Kwiczala, K. Szczepkowska and R. Brykowski, Warsaw 1960, p. 29, Figs. 33–34; Kowalczyk, *Ze studiów nad geografią...*, pp. 205, 209–210, Fig. 7 (in both texts the second figure is identified erroneously as Moses); W. Depczyński, "Parafia Tarnogród" [The Tarnogród parish], *Nasza Przeszość. Studia z dziejów Kościoła i kultury katolickiej w Polsce*, 1972, no. 37, pp. 151–152, 156–157; J. Kowalczyk, "Sztuka Zamościa w okresie rokoka" [Art in Zamość in the Rococo period], *Rocznik Zamojski*, 1984, no. 1, pp. 180, Appendix pp. 195–196.

24 Kowalczyk, *Ze studiów nad geografią...*, pp. 205, 209; Depczyński, op. cit., pp. 156–157, note 89. Jan K. Ostrowski and Zuzanna Prószyńska allowed the possibility that this central reredos had been moved from Zamość and adapted to the side one in the Tarnogród church; they considered Olędzki to have been its author. Cf. Ostrowski, Prószyńska, *Olędzki Franciszek...*, pp. 268, 269.

although it largely derived from the same source. No attempts were made, however, to find his other works in the former Sandomierz voivodeship.

The statues from Pełczyska are characterised by a striking dynamism of slender silhouettes, accentuated by the sharp edges of the drapery bent like a crumpled sheet of metal. The folds of the undergarment envelop the curves of the body, whereas the cloak around the hips and the back unfolds into a geometrical sway of drapery. The expressiveness is accentuated by the unnaturally thin and frail ascetic bodies, with parchment-like skin. Their straight, smooth noses and small, close-set eyes are deeply incised, with slightly oblique, almond eyelids. Their lips are narrow and delicately pressed together. The hair falls on the back in a cascade of separate wavy locks that seem greased. The beard is carved in a similar manner, i.e. as countless dainty strands. Delicate, long-fingered hands and feet are equally meticulously shaped, with protruding ankles and visible tendons and metacarpal, carpal and metatarsal bones.

Pinsel and Osiński treated the human body in a similarly unique way. In their works from the second half of the 1750s located in Lvov, Leżajsk, Hodowica and Horodenka, the torsos of prophets, evangelists and angels have highly visible rib cages and protruding collarbones. The Lvov masters of the subsequent generation continued to work in the same manner. The figures of Aaron (Fig. 1a) and Saint Joseph (Fig. 2a) in Tarnogród, convincingly attributed to this milieu by Kowalczyk, testify to the continuation of the approach. Pinsel and Osiński's influence on the statues of the Apostles in Pełczyska (Figs. 1b, 2b) appears to have been fundamental.

As many as seven other works that can be attributed to the same woodcarver were identified in the historical areas of the Radom and Opoczno districts in the Sandomierz voivodeship. The modernisation works of two reredoses were most meticulous and included the pediment of the altar and the main panel of the grand reredos, as well as the ornamentation of the reredos of the St. Philip Neri altar in the southern transept in the indulgence church administered by the congregation of Oratorians in Studzianna-Poświętne, Opoczno deanery, archdeaconry of Kurzelów, archdiocese of Gniezno (Fig. 3).<sup>25</sup> These reredoses were completed before 1790 at the very latest, but the more precise dating is impossible due to the absence of archival sources.<sup>26</sup> These reredoses originate from two separate phases of works on

25 J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opoczyński* [The Opoczno decanate], Radom 1913, p. 249; *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 8: *Powiat opoczyński* [The Opoczno commune], ed. J. Z. Łoziński, B. Wolff, Warsaw 1958, p. 47, Figs. 30, 64. More on the history of this church in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cf. W. Nater, S. Stanik, *Dzieje Sanktuarium Matki Boskiej Świętordzinnej w Studziannie* [History of the Virgin Mother of the Holy Family church in Studzianna], Łódź 1992, pp. 75–95. Cf. National Institute for Heritage [Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, henceforward: NID], Department of Monument Evidencing and Records [Dział Ewidencji i Rejestru Zabytków, henceforward: DEiRZ], fol. no. PTX 000002403 / LDZ 000000017885, PTX 000002421 / LDZ 000000017903, PTX 0000024222 / LDZ 00000017904, ed. R. Juraszowa, August 1973.

26 Three archives were investigated with the view to this, i.e. the Łowicz Diocesan Archive [ADŁow], The Sandomierz Seminary Library [BSS] and the archive of the House of the Oratorians in Studzianna-Poświętne [AFS]. I would like to ask Father Stanisław Majkut, the



**Fig. 1a.** Tarnogród, parish church, statue of Aaron from the side altar in the Marian chapel, limewood, polychromed and gilt, ca. 1780, execution: Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2006



**Fig. 1b.** Pełczyńska, parish church, statue of St. Peter from the high altar, limewood, polychromed and gilt, after 1780, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyńska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

the temple’s ornamentation. The pair of twin reredoses in the transept was made in a yet unidentified provincial workshop, which modelled these altarpieces on the Piarist altar in Łowicz (1720–1723) as made by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, who was Warsaw’s leading master in the period 1700–1730.<sup>27</sup> The high altar, however,

custodian, and Father Jerzy Cedrowski CO, the rector, to accept my heartfelt thanks for their help in my archival research.

27 J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu* [Art in the primatial Łowicz], in: *Łowicz. Dzieje miasta* [Łowicz. The history of the city], ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Warsaw 1986, p. 544, Fig. 17; Sito, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie...*, pp. 35–37, Fig. 3.



**Fig. 2a.** Tarnogród, parish church, statue of St. Joseph from the side altar in the Marian chapel, limewood, polychromed and gilt, ca. 1780, execution: Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2006



**Fig. 2b.** Pełczyska, parish church, statue of St. Paul from the high altar, limewood, polychromed and gilt, after 1780, execution: anonymous "Master of Pełczyska", unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

which dates from before 1776, was the work of Johann Millman *vel* Mittman, an artist active in Rozprza and in the eastern part of the Sieradz voivodeship.<sup>28</sup> His altar was a direct reference to the grand reredos of the Jasna Góra basilica.<sup>29</sup>

28 P. Migasiewicz, "Twórczość Jana Millmana (vel Mittmana) jako przykład długiego trwania baroku w rzeźbie i małej architekturze sakralnej" [The oeuvre of Jan Millman (vel Mittman) as an example of the persistence of the Baroque style in ecclesiastical sculpture and small-scale architecture], in: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku* [Studies on the Renaissance and Baroque art], vol. 11, ed. I. Rolska-Boruch, Lublin 2012, pp. 436, 443, 452–453, Fig. 7; idem, *Rzeźba rokokowa w dawnych województwach...*, pp. 397, 400.

29 On the current state of research regarding this issue, cf. M. Wardzyński, "Lorenzo Mattiellis stilistische Auswirkung auf die Tätigkeit von Johann Albrecht Siegwitz und Franz Joseph Mangoldt in Schlesien und Polen", in: *Der Bildhauer Lorenzo Mattielli und seine Rolle als Vermit-*





**Fig. 3.** Studzianna-Poświętne, Oratorian indulgence church, the pediment of the high altar, lime-wood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, ca. 1790, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2008

The main tier of the reredos accommodates a slightly narrower, later pediment that was adjusted to the concave shape of the wooden panelling. Two volutes enclose the pediment’s cut-out shape. In the middle, an oculi holds the Gloria of the Holy Spirit, surrounded by small, winged angelic heads on clouds. The flat surface and its emptiness contrast with the sophisticated ornamental cornices, which close over the pediment in an asymmetrical *rocaille aigrette*. Two elegant ornamental vases are placed to the sides. Apart from the uncommonly meticulous ornamentation, a pair of statues of reclining angels placed upon the volutes makes this work all the more important (Figs. 4a, 4b); the angels can undoubtedly be considered among the most interesting works of the late Rococo in the region. The artist managed to expertly combine the expression of an overly stylised human body and

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*Der oberitalienischer Gestaltungsprinzipien in der dekorativen Skulptur und Plastik des Spätbarock in Mitteleuropa, Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium am Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien, 18. bis 20. März 2011*, ed. I. Schemper-Sparholz, Salzburg 2013. *Barockberichte*, 2013, no. 61, pp. 106–107, Figs. 4–5.



**Fig. 4a.** Studzianna-Poświętne, Oratorian indulgence church, left angel from the pediment of the high altar, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, ca. 1790, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo M. Wardzyński, 2008



**Fig. 4b.** Studzianna-Poświętne, Oratorian indulgence church, right angel from the pediment of the high altar, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, ca. 1790, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2008

the dynamism of an intensely geometrised drapery of robes and cloaks. The main panel's ornamentation was complemented by delicate ornaments placed around the frame of the miraculous painting of the Holy Family. Similar ornaments were also placed in the main panel of the aforementioned transept reredos.

In a report from the 1791 canonical visitation to the parish church in Skrzyńsko near Przysucha (Skrzyńsko deanery of the same archdeaconry), a processional platform with a statuette of the Immaculate Virgin Mary was recorded as new (Fig. 5).<sup>30</sup> After it was dismantled, the processional platform was eventually placed in the pediment of the side altar of St. Charles Borromeo. The delicate anvil-shaped socle, resting on two volutes with rocailles, served as the bottom part of the procession platform of Our Lady of Perpetual Help.<sup>31</sup> Irrespective of its small scale, the statuette of the Virgin Mary carefully copied the pose and drapery scheme

30 Sandomierz, BSS, Ms. signature R 2070, Skrzyńsko church records from 1722 onwards / Skrzyńsko parish records for the years 1465–1871, p. 131. Cf. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opoczyński...*, p. 195.

31 *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 8, p. 38, Fig. 102. Cf. NID, DEiRZ, fol. no. RAX000002560, RAX000002568, ed. W. Puget, September 1972.





**Fig. 5.** Skrzyńsko, parish church, statuette of the Immaculate Conception from the pediment of the side altar of St. Charles Borromeo (originally from a processional platform), limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, ca. 1791, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2008

of all of the aforementioned figures. Its connection with the Lvov sculpture was observed in 1970 by Kowalczyk, who believed it to be a work from Maciej Polejowski’s workshop.<sup>32</sup>

Apart from Studzienna-Poświętne and Skrzyńsko, the same unidentified workshop made three altars, whose original forms have no analogy in the region; they are located in the north-eastern part of the Sandomierz voivodeship. These altars are as follows: the high altar of the Bernardine church in Nowy Kazanów (Figs. 6–7), the high altar in the chapel of ease (former court chapel) of St. Anne and St. John the Baptist in Końskie (Fig. 8), and the side altar in the Marian chapel in the parish church in nearby Gowarczów (Fig. 9). All three locations belonged to the same Skrzyńsko deanery of the Gniezno archdiocese, within the former Opoczno district.

The first of these reredoses was made during renovation work in 1781, founded by the guardian, Father Jan Kapistran Szydłowski. The other two can be linked to important founders. In Końskie, it was founded by Stanisław Małachowski, Sieradz voivode and Opoczno starost, and by Marianna Ewa Męcińska – heirs of the estate and patrons of the church at the time. In 1784 the founder was their son, Jan Nepomucen, a diplomat and Grand Crown referendary in 1792–1795. The Gowarczów reredos was founded by the parish priest Krzysztof Ścibor Marchocki (d. 1795), a Lvov canon residing in the town from 1778 who was appointed by Józef Jabłonowski, the town’s owner and the standard-bearer of Halicz, a historic capital of the Red Ruthenia.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Kowalczyk, *Dzieła Macieja Polejowskiego...*, p. 188.

<sup>33</sup> J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat konecki opisał...*, Radom 1913, pp. 77, 79, 85, 131; *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 5: *Powiat konecki* [The Końsk commune], ed. Z. Łoziński, B. Wolff, Warsaw 1958, pp. 9, 16,



**Fig. 6.** Nowy Kazanów, Bernardine church (currently parish church), partition high altar, lime-wood, polychromed and gilt, 1790s, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

The reredos in Kazanów was shaped as a curvilinear partition, segmented with pseudo-pilasters, separating the chancel from the cloistral choir. It contains gates and an altar stone supported on steps, with a complex tabernacle.<sup>34</sup> The statues of angels on the sides of the reredos are smaller copies of the figures from Studzianna-Poświętne. In Końskie and Gowarczów, several statues with identical poses and detailed carving adorn their respective reredoses. The shapes of the altarpieces – slightly concave and atectonic, flanked by volutes and framed with rocaillle cornices – parallel the shape of the pediment in Studzianna. Among their ornamental elements, the baldachins and draperies are particularly eye-catching; they span the

Fig. 23; *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 8, p. 17. Cf. also B. Ludwikowska, “Parafia konecka w zarysie” [The Końskie parish: an outline], in: *Końskie: zarys dziejów* [Końskie: outline of history], ed. M. Wikiera, Końskie 1998, pp. 147–148; M. Chochowski, “Zabytki sztuki sakralnej” [Monuments of ecclesiastical art], in: *Końskie. Szkice historyczne* [Końskie. Historical sketches], Końskie 2005, p. 50, Fig. on p. 51. Cf. also NID, DEiRZ, fol. no. RAX 000000389, KIX 000000850, ed. W. Puget, 26 September 1972. The pair of kneeling angels adoring the image of the Holy Family, once in the Końskie reredos, was stolen after 2005. They were reconstructed in 2016 on the basis of analogous figures from Gowarczów and Nowy Kazanów.

<sup>34</sup> Wiśniewski, *Dekanat konecki...*, pp. 93–94; *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 5, p. 13, Fig. 24 (dated to 1773, i.e. too early); Ludwikowska, op. cit., pp. 156–157. Cf. NID, DEiRZ, fol. no. RAX 000000767, ed. W. Puget, 26 September 1972.



**Fig. 7.** Nowy Kazanów, Bernardine church (currently parish church), partitioned high altar, one of the kneeling angels, limewood, polychromed and gilt, 1790s, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014



**Fig. 8.** Końskie, filial church (currently parish church), the grand reredos, limewood, polychromed and gilt, 1790s, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

reredos in a cascade of dynamically draped, crumpled fabric, thus referring to the analogous details of the Rococo reredoses in Lvov, Red Ruthenia, Volhynia and the Sandomierz region.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> They are indirectly referred to in the clearly less artistically accomplished aedicular side gates of the main reredos, and the similarly shaped side reredos dedicated to the Crucifixion, in the Łęgonice Małe parish church administered by the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. A small crucifix with the very traditionally rendered musculature and a “metallic” perizonium very distant from the Lvov models is no more than an echo of the figures of the Apostles in Pełczyska and the pair of angels in the Studzianna church. Some formal links are also evidenced by the assisting figures of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist in the main altar of the Crucifixion in the parish church of Białaczów near Końskie, the Małachowski family’s private town; similarly, to the Łęgonice ones, they are modelled in a more conservative manner. On both sites, cf. Sandomierz, BSS, signature R 1956, Białaczów church records for the years 1642–1843, pp. 46, 56, 115; J. Wiśniewski, *Dekanat opoczyński opisał...*, Radom 1913, pp. 13, 92–93, 96; *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 8, pp. 1, 17.



**Fig. 9.** Gowarczów, parish church, side altar of Virgin Mary, limewood, polychromed and gilt, 1790s, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

The latest archival record of pieces made in this workshop concerns a bequest of 100 Polish złoty that was made in Drzewica in 1794. The money was lent by virtue of the last will of Jakub Loczkowski to the owner of this estate, Ludwika Szaniawska (née Załuska), the widow of Filip Nereusz (d. 1782) who had been the starost of Kąkolewnica and Bolesław. The donation was destined for the erection, decoration and painting of the high altar in a local parish church.<sup>36</sup> This project, however, was only partially completed, since in 1811 the new structure still lacked polychrome and gilding. In 1906 Jarosław Wojciechowski, an architect and conservator from Warsaw, put an end to its existence as requested by the local parish priest, Franciszek Sobótka. Following Wojciechowski’s extension of the small, late-Gothic church, only three elements of this reredos survived: the Lamb of the Apocalypse from the tabernacle and a pair of kneeling angels on its sides. These pieces are currently displayed on the rood screen.<sup>37</sup> They are enlarged replicas of the altar statuettes from Nowy Kazanów, Końskie and Gowarczów.

36 Sandomierz, BSS, Ms. signature R1970, 1. Copy of the founding act of Damojewice church, 1803, 2. Inventory of the church and rectory in Drzewica, 1823, 1725–1823, p. 21.

37 *KZSP*, vol. 3, fasc. 8, p. 9. Cf.: S. Olak, *Drzewica w XIX wieku. Szkoła elementarna – parafia – miasto* [Drzewica in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The elementary school – the parish – the town], Radom 2007, pp. 61, 69–70; R. Bogatek, “Zarys historii kościoła i parafii w Drzewicy” [Outline of the history of the church and parish in Drzewica], in: *Drzewica. Szkice z dziejów miasta* [Drzewica. Sketches from the town’s history], ed. M. Hubka, Drzewica 2009, pp. 46–47, 52, note 1 on

Apart from the above works found in the Sandomierz voivodeship, I believe that the same workshop made five more pieces that are located in the former Rawa Mazowiecka voivodeship. The first two, found in two still existing historical churches in Rawa Mazowiecka, were made in the same, final decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and are unique within the entire area of what was, historically, Mazovia.

The contributions for the new side altar of Saints Ignatius of Loyola and John of Nepomuk (currently the altar of Saint Maximilian Maria Kolbe) in the church of the local Jesuit college, which today is a parish church (Fig. 10),<sup>38</sup> were collected starting from 1767 among the congregation of the nearby Głuchów parish.<sup>39</sup> The new altar was built only after the Jesuits moved out of the establishment in 1773 and after it was acquired by the Canons Regular of the Lateran. The spreading, aedicular structure with two slanting columns is elegantly modest, set off by exquisite ornamental details made of thin and delicate rocaille crests. The openwork console altar stone seems almost secular, as if taken straight from a palace. The console tables for the statuettes are also openwork and curled, whereas the pediment with a cut-out outline is a smaller version of the pediment from the Oratorian altar in Studzianna-Poświętne. The lack of figural ornamentation renders the reconstruction of the original programme impossible, but it can be assumed that it consisted of two statuettes of the patron saints and two angels seated upon the volutes of the pediment.

An almost identical pediment can be found in the atectonic Rococo side altar of St. Anne in the neighbouring post-Augustinian church (Fig. 11).<sup>40</sup> Its structure is also parallel to the shape of the Gowarczów reredos, although a simplified one. Ornamental cornices enclosing the profiles of the sides and volutes as well as the outline of the pediment are slightly thicker, whereas the figural ornamentation, consisting of two kneeling angels and four winged heads of putti around the main panel, perfectly mirrors the figural details from Studzianna-Poświętne, Nowy Kazanów, Końskie, Gowarczów and Drzewica. Two angels seated upon the volutes of the pediment, originating from the neighbouring high altar or a no longer extant pulpit, constitute a foreign element.<sup>41</sup>

p. 47. Cf. NID, DEiRZ, fol. no. RAX 132000327 / LDZ 00000000288, ed. T. Książek, 12 December 1986.

38 *KZSP*, vol. 2: *Województwo łódzkie*, ed. J. Z. Łoziński, fasc. 9: *Powiat rawsko-mazowiecki* [The Rawa Mazowiecka commune], ed. W. Kieszkowski and B. Kopydłowski, Warsaw 1953, p. 13. Cf. NID, DEiRZ, fol. no.: SKX 000002269 / LDZ 000000014999, SKX 100002269 / LDZ 000000015000, SKX 000002270 / LDZ 000000015001, ed. W. Puget, 20 June 1970; SKX 200002277 / LDZ 000000015020, ed. W. Sawicki, 10 September 1996, additio by M. Czapska, August 2003; SKX 300002277 / LDZ 000000015021, ed. W. Sawicki, 10 September 1996.

39 *400-lecie kościoła pw. Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Rawie Mazowieckiej* [The 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the church of the Immaculate Conception at Rawa Mazowiecka], Rawa Mazowiecka 2013, pp. 32, 35, 47–48, Fig. on p. 62.

40 The authors of the *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* omitted it. Cf. *KZSP*, vol. 2, fasc. 9, pp. 14–15. Cf. also NID, DEiRZ, fol. no.: SKX 000002304 / LDZ 000000015094, ed. W. Puget, 30 May 1970; SKX 200002304 / LDZ 000000015096, ed. H. Lisińska, 1986.

41 These figures were attributed to Franz Anton Vogt, an outstanding South-German sculptor active in Warsaw; cf. Sito, *Franz Anton Vogt...*, p. 95, Fig. 34; idem, *Wielkie warsztaty rzeźbiarskie...*, pp. 327–328.





**Fig. 10.** Rawa Mazowiecka, Jesuit church (currently parish church), side-altar reredos of Saints Ignatius of Loyola and John of Nepomuk (currently the altar of Saint Maximilian Maria Kolbe), limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, second half of the 1790s, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014



**Fig. 11.** Rawa Mazowiecka, Augustinian church (currently Passionist parish church), side altar of St. Anne, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, second half of the 1790s, execution: anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

The works located in a parish church in the nearby Regnów conclude this review. The church was founded by a local starost, Franciszek Kazimierz Lanckoroński (d. 1785), who was also the leaseholder of two other royal domains in nearby Boguszyce and Rawa.<sup>42</sup> The workshop’s participation consisted in erecting the impressive high altar (Figs. 13–14) and in sculpting the crucifix and the

42 J. Kowecki, “Lanckoroński Józef h. Zadora (ur. ok. 1758 – zm. po 1825)” [Lanckoroński Józef of the Zadora coat of arms (b. ca. 1758 – d. after 1825)], in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. 16/3, fasc. 70, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk 1971, pp. 441–442; <http://www.sejm-wielki.pl/b/13.619.279> [last accessed 5 September 2014].



**Fig. 12.** Lvov, parish church of Saint Nicholas (formerly Trinitarian), one of the side altars in the central pair of chapels, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, 1745–1747, design and execution: Sebastian Fesinger, photo by D. Błażewski, 2010

Resurrection statue.<sup>43</sup> The absence of any sources forecloses precise dating of these works; however, due to the decidedly lower level of execution of all statues and the simplification of ornaments, which indicate a decline in the anonymous artist's creative powers, it can be assumed that they were made ca. 1800.<sup>44</sup>

The architectural pattern of the reredos in Regnów is identical to that in the above-mentioned side altar of the Jesuit church in Rawa; the difference being in raising the socle by one step, expanding the structure by a pair of double pilasters and elevating the cut-out pediment, which is covered with a traditional, overhung

43 *Zabytki sztuki w Polsce. Inwentarz topograficzny* [Monuments of art in Poland. A topographical inventory], ed. J. Szablowski, part 6: *Województwo łódzkie* [The Łódź voivodeship], vol. 1, fasc. 1: *Powiat rawsko-mazowiecki* [The Rawa Mazowiecka commune], ed. W. Kieszkowski, Warsaw 1939, pp. 155–157, Fig. 150; *KZSP*, vol. 2, fasc. 9, p. 17, Fig. 31; P. Zaręba, "Zabytki powiatu rawskiego" [Monuments of art in the Rawa Mazowiecka commune], in: *Powiat rawski: zarys dziejów do końca 1973 r.* [The Rawa commune: outline of history until the end of 1973], Łódź 1975, ed. St. M. Zajączkowski, pp. 594–595, Fig. (no number).

44 The following archives were investigated: Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw [AAWa], the Łowicz Diocesan Archive [ADŁow] and the State Archive in Piotrków Trybunalski, Tomaszów Mazowiecki section [APPT, OTM].



**Fig. 13.** Regnów, parish church, high altar, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, from before 1800, execution: anonymous "Master of Pełczyska", unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014



**Fig. 14.** Regnów, parish church, the statue of Archangel Michael overcoming Satan from the pediment of the high altar, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, from before 1800, execution: anonymous "Master of Pełczyska", unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Wardzyński, 2014

segmental sub-pediment. Subsequent transformations and renovations resulted in removing the majority of ornaments from the socle, tabernacle and tympanum of the pediment. The preserved details, however, are a simple continuation of the rocaille forms that can be observed in all of the previously discussed works. The tabernacle is also a noticeably simplified version of the analogous work in Kazanów. The revolving exposition throne was replaced with a quasi-drapery formed of rocaille crests. It is crowned with a figure of the Lamb of the Apocalypse, identical to that on the former altar in Drzewica. The second baldachin, with drapery similar to a crumpled metal sheet (identical to that designed for Końskie), spans the main panel, which houses the miraculous image of the Virgin Mary of Regnów. Two pairs of flying angels hold the frame. The vast majority of the reredos sculptures are the





**Fig. 15.** Podkamień, Dominican indulgence church, the statue of Archangel Michael overcoming Satan from the pediment of the side altar of St. Victoria, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, 1779–1780, destroyed after 1945, execution: Josef Legerlutz, photo by Z. Hornung, ca. 1930



**Fig. 16.** Regnów, parish church, statue of resurrection statue, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, from before 1800, execution: anonymous "Master of Pełczyska", unidentified associate or imitator of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by M. Moraczewska, 1931

woodcarver's self-quotations from all of his previous works; the only novelty is the statue of St. Michael the Archangel overcoming Satan, which is placed in the niche of the pediment. It is contrasted by side figures of Saints Joseph and Joachim (?), placed on angular, rock-like bases. They are remarkably slender and yet static and blocky, with schematically draped robes. These figures – apart from beautifully carved, gaunt, almost geometrised heads, faces, hands and feet – are only a distant echo of the earlier works by the same artist.

There is a close relationship between the figures discussed above and the unique sculpture of the Risen Christ (Fig. 16). The sculpture's pose, and particularly the expressive rendition of the extremely emaciated human body and the fabric of the

cloak, have few analogies in the milieu of Lvov Rococo sculpture of the 4<sup>th</sup> quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – the only exception being the two figures of the apostles from Pełczyska and two figures of angels from Studzianna-Poświętne. Christ stands in a deep *contrapposto*, almost unstable, his left foot unnaturally twisted outwards and resting upon a skull. His left hand, slightly lowered in a gesture of blessing, gives the sculpture strong emotional expression. The small crucifix hung at the entrance to the chancel, above the baptismal font, is equally poignant. It shows the dead body of Christ, muscular but at the same time ascetic, drooping heavily under its own weight. The fabric of the perizoma is sharply, geometrically creased, its right edge blown to the side.<sup>45</sup>

The source-documented activity of the woodcarving workshop originating from the Ruthenian lands of the Crown ends in the years 1791–1794. Nevertheless, with its debut after 1780 in Pełczyska, Sandomierz Land, and the dating of its final set of works in Regnów before 1800, it should be assumed that this workshop was active for at least several years in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The anonymous author of these pieces would therefore have been one of the epigones of the great artistic phenomenon that Lvov Rococo sculpture was. The assembly of works from the intersection of the former Sandomierz and Rawa voivodeships as discussed here defines, at this stage, the maximum range of its influence in the Crown, in the north-west direction.

The woodcarver in question turned out to be a talented compiler, one that was able to create a new aesthetic quality from freely assembled references. The diversity of inspirational sources in terms of design, composition, form and style of small-scale architecture, sculpture and ornamentation, coupled with still insufficient knowledge regarding the last generation of artists working within this trend, all very much complicate the answer to the genesis of this artist's work and his possible educational path.

## Artistic values: an attributive analysis

Of all the above-mentioned reredoses made by the workshop under discussion, only three have closer analogies in the Lvov circle in terms of structural elements and ornamentation; however, their rather modest dimensions and architectural programme make it difficult to identify the specific works after which they were modelled. The general inspiration for the side parts with volutes and rocaillie cornices as observed in Końskie, Gowarczów and in the Augustinian church in Rawa could have originated from the twin side altars in the Trinitarian church of St. Nicholas in Lvov (1745–1747, design and execution by Sebastian Fesinger)

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<sup>45</sup> KZSP, vol. 2, fasc. 9, p. 17. Cf. NID, DEiRZ, fol. no.: SKX 000002341 / LDZ 000000015286, ed. W. Puget, August 1970; SKX 000002342 / LDZ 000000015287, ed. W. Puget, August 1973.

(Fig. 12).<sup>46</sup> At the beginning of the 1780s this pattern was creatively adapted by an unidentified author of the St. Cajetan side-altar reredos in the Franciscan church in Przemyśl, where Piotr Polejowski introduced a new Rococo ornamentation.<sup>47</sup> At the same time, the cut-out shape of the majority of pediments from the workshop, which were adorned with crested cornices curving into volutes, bears a likeness not only to South German prints (particularly ones made in Augsburg) but also to analogous elements of other side-altar reredos structures. These comprise the pediment of the reredos at the closure of the northern nave in the aforementioned monastery in Przemyśl (1770–1780) as well as the reredos of St. Mary Magdalene and St. John of Nepomuk in the parish church in Kąkolniki (1780–1782, design and execution by an artist known as anonymous Pinsel's Friend and by Jan Obrocki (?) with the workshop).<sup>48</sup> Apart from Lvov and Przemyśl, analogous baldachins (draperies) with folds resembling crushed sheet metal can be found in the ornamentation of two side chapels in the parish church in Dukla, which were executed in 1772–1773 together with the entire Lvov Rococo ornamentation (Obrocki or Olędzki?).<sup>49</sup>

The high-level ornaments of each work outclass the competition of the other sculpture workshops that were active in the region. Their subtlety and delicacy, even fragility, coupled with a range of motifs: rocaille crusts, calamus leaves and, more rarely, floral scrolls, distinguishes this ornamentation from that of the other workshops, e.g. Osiński's in Leżajsk, Polejowski's near Sandomierz or the workshop of the as yet unidentified author in Dukla.<sup>50</sup>

A detailed analysis of the sculpture provides the most answers. The angel figures in Studzianna-Poświętne and in other locations, as well as the figure of the Risen

46 Sito, Betlej, op. cit., p. 341; K. Brzezina-Scheuerer, "Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Mikołaja i dawny klasztor OO. Trynitarzy" [The St. Nicholas parish church and the former Trinitarian monastery], in: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie...*, vol. 19, collective work, Cracow 2011, pp. 322, 336, 344–345, Figs. 723–724.

47 KZSP, New Series [Seria Nowa, henceforward: SN], vol. 10: *Miasto Przemyśl* [The city of Przemyśl], part 1: *Zespoły sakralne* [Ecclesiastical complexes], ed. P. Krasny i J. Sito, Warsaw 2004, p. 64, Fig. 176. Cf. P. Krasny, J. Sito, "„Pan Piotr Polejowski snycyrz lwowski” i jego dzieła w kościele Franciszkanów w Przemyślu" ["Master Piotr Polejowski, the Lvov woodcarver" and his works in the parish church in Przemyśl], in: *Sztuka kresów wschodnich*, vol. 5, ed. A. Betlej, P. Krasny, Cracow 2003, pp. 175–187.

48 A. Betlej, "Kościół parafialny w Kąkolnikach" [The Kąkolniki parish church], in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 2, pp. 212–214, 218–220, Figs. 10–12; KZSP, SN, vol. 10, part 1, p. 65, Fig. 170; idem, "Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Marii Magdaleny w Kąkolnikach" [The St. Mary Magdalene parish church in Kąkolniki], in: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie...*, vol. 10, collective work, Cracow 2002, pp. 198, 200, Figs. 166, 174–175.

49 KZSP, SN, vol. 1: *Województwo kroszeńskie* [The Krosno voivodeship], ed. E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot and F. Stolot, fasc. 1: *Krosno, Dukla i okolice* [Krosno, Dukla and environs], ed. idem, K. Kutrzebianka, M. Lemańska-Trepińska and J. Ross, Warsaw 1977, p. 18, Fig. 27.

50 The altar in Nowy Kazanów is an exception, since there the master was accompanied by an apprentice ornament maker, whose motifs were thicker and more schematically treated; forms were generally thicker in Regnów as well.

Christ in Regnów, attract attention due to the exceptionally original way of rendering the human body. The unnatural gauntness of the body, which is typical of Lvov Rococo sculpture, is well visible in the works of Pinsel, Osiński and the Polejowski brothers thanks to the bold chisel carvings that maximised the ascetic emaciation. In the analysed works, however, the thinness of the silhouette is emphasised even further through the protruding muscles that go against anatomy and deform the figure into lines of swollen knobs. Krasny describes this deformation as the “swollen muscles and tendons” of the limbs. Although this manner of rendering the statues is maximally expressive and occurs frequently in this circle, it should be noted that other, undoubtedly more talented masters (Maciej Polejowski, Michał Filewicz) who employed this approach did not achieve similar expression in their works.<sup>51</sup>

Attributing the reredos in Tarnogród to the workshop of Franciszek Olędzki, as proposed by Kowalczyk, is the starting point of an attributive analysis of the two figures of the apostles from Pełczyska and of the set of works from this anonymous workshop that was active on the intersection of the Sandomierz and Rawa voivodeships.

Within Franciszek Olędzki's surviving oeuvre, confirmed in the sources by Wujcyk, Ostrowski and Prószyńska, there appear sophisticated Rococo statues of atlantes that were placed on the stone-covered façade of Franciszka Sewerynowa Rzewuska's house at no. 3 Rynek in Lvov (called the Wilczkowska tenement) that had been built in 1771–1772. Other listed works included markedly neoclassical “marble” statues of the archbishops Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski (d. 1780) and Ferdynand Kicki (d. 1797) in the Latin Cathedral, both of which had been made in 1784.<sup>52</sup> Olędzki is also associated with the pipe organ case in the Dominican indulgence church in Podkamień, the unidentified works of a larger group of Lvov sculptors that worked on the ornaments in the Basilian *lavra* in Począjów (starting from 1780) and the creation of the high altar in the Trinitarian church in Beresteczko (ca. 1780).<sup>53</sup> Among works attributed to Olędzki by Hornung and the other researchers as mentioned above were also sculptural assemblies from the façade of the Zuchorowicz tenement at no. 40 Rynek in Lvov (ca. 1773) and the carved grand reredos in the indulgence church in Łopatyn (ca. 1785). However, Olędzki's authorship of altarpieces in Podkamień, Beresteczko and Łopatyn was rejected by Ostrowski, who attributed it to the anonymous Pinsel's Friend, only to later

51 On such works in the oeuvre of the above-mentioned artists, cf.: Kowalczyk, *Dzieła Macieja Polejowskiego...*, pp. 208–209, Fig. 6; *Teatr i mistyka...*, p. II.18, Fig. 5 (the destroyed putto by Filewicz from the Dominican church in Lvov, ed. B. Woznycky), pp. II.23–II.24, Fig. 10–11 (a pair of putti by Olędzki from the Carmelite church in Lvov, the 1770s, ed. B. Woznycky); Kozyr-Fedotow, *Michał Filewicz...*, pp. 110, 112, Fig. 2.

52 Wujcyk, *Wiadomości o życiu i twórczości...*, pp. 282–284, Figs. 1, 3–4.

53 Hornung, *Majster Pinsel...*, pp. 130–139; idem, “Olędzki (Olęcki, Olencki, Oleński) Franciszek”, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXIII/4, fasc. 99, Wrocław–Warsaw–Cracow–Gdańsk 1978, p. 793; *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej...*, vol. 23, p. 215.

re-attribute them to Olędzki.<sup>54</sup> In the newest biographical entry on Olędzki, dating from 2015 (and incomplete in terms of the catalogue of works), the pieces mentioned above were once again excluded from this artist's oeuvre.<sup>55</sup>

Among the works attributed to this member of the youngest generation of Lvov Rococo sculptors, pieces from Podkamień, which were destroyed after 1944, deserve special attention.<sup>56</sup> Apart from the already analysed statues of Aaron and St. Józef of Pełczyska, the half-length figure of the resurrected Piotrovin accompanying St. Stanislaus, originating from the pipe organ case (?), can be considered a model example of this type of sculpture thanks to its unnatural musculature (Fig. 17a).<sup>57</sup> Ostrowski and Krasny claim that this work initiated the figural composition pattern of this legendary knight, which was later reproduced twice by Olędzki in Beresteczko and Łopatyn (Fig. 17b).<sup>58</sup> This sculpture and the sculptural ornament of the church in Podkamień are connected to a similar figure of Satan trampled by Archangel Michael, with an expressively twisted body having a similarly peculiar anatomy, which is located in the pediment of the side altar of St. Victoria (1779) (Fig. 15). It was carved by Josef Legerlutz of Janów near Lvov, a lesser-known artist associated with Olędzki, and it served as a model for an analogous (although more concise and traditional) work in Regnów in a way that is impossible to reconstruct today.<sup>59</sup> It should also be noted that a similar type of bearded, famished male face was used by one of the unidentified sculptors who did the ornamentation in the Dukla parish church and who made the limewood statues of evangelists for the side altar of St. Anthony of Padua, the statue of the Good Shepherd at the top of the pulpit and the bust of St. Peter on the confessional (1772–1773, attributed to

54 Ostrowski, *Z problematyki warsztatowej...*, pp. 85–87; Ostrowski, Prószyńska, op. cit., p. 269.

55 *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej...*, vol. 23, p. 215.

56 *Dzieje klasztoru WW. OO. Dominikanów w Podkamieniu* [The history of the Dominican monastery at Podkamień], collected and published by S. Barącz, Tarnopol 1870, p. 309; P. Krasny, "Kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najśw. Panny Marii i Podwyższenia Krzyża Św. oraz klasztor OO. Dominikanów wraz z założeniem pielgrzymkowym w Podkamieniu" [The church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the Elevation of the Cross and the Dominican monastery with the pilgrimage complex at Podkamień], in: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie...*, vol. 13, collective work, Cracow 2005, pp. 135, 158, 179, Fig. 234. On the biography and oeuvre of this artists, cf. recently Ostrowski, Prószyńska, op. cit., pp. 268–269.

57 Krasny, *Kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najśw. Panny Marii...*, pp. 162, 179–180, Fig. 300.

58 J. K. Ostrowski, "Z problematyki warsztatowej i atrybucyjnej...", in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 1, ed. J. K. Ostrowski, Cracow 1994, p. 84, Fig. 16–17. Cf. also B. Gajewski, *Beresteczko: szkice i materiały z dziejów miasteczka* [Berestechko: sketches and materials for the history of the town], Brzozów 1993, p. 88, Fig. (no number); T. Kukiz, *Łopatyn: dzieje i zabytki* [Łopatyn: history and monuments], Warsaw 2004, pp. 50–51, Fig. 35; J. Mańkiewicz, *Beresteczko 1508–1658 (dokumenty, relacje, wspomnienia)* [Beresteczko 1508–1658 (documents, accounts, memoirs)], Krosno 2006, p. 43, Fig. (no number).

59 Krasny, *Kościół p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najśw. Panny Marii i Podwyższenia Krzyża Św...*, pp. 135, 156, 180, Fig. 303; *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej...*, vol. 23, p. 184.

Obrocki or Olędzki?).<sup>60</sup> Other examples of Lvov sculpture with a similar style of carving the head and face are the three stone statues of unidentified apostles on the fence of the Latin Cathedral's cemetery (possibly originating from the archbishop's residence in the nearby Obroszyn and placed *in situ* in 1805).<sup>61</sup>



**Fig. 17a.** Podkamień, Dominican monastery, sculpture of St. Stanislaus and Piotrovin from the pipe organ case (?), limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, ca. 1774, destroyed after 1945, execution: the workshop of Franciszek Olędzki (attributed), photo by Z. Hornung, ca. 1930



**Fig. 17b.** Łopatyn, indulgence parish church, sculpture of St. Stanislaus and Piotrovin, limewood, polychromed and gilt at a later date, ca. 1785, damaged after 1945, execution: Franciszek Olędzki with his workshop (attributed), photo Z. Hornung, ca. 1930

By and large, a tentative conclusion can be made that the sculptor from Red Ruthenia who was active in Pełczyska and in eight other locations in the former Sandomierz and Rawa voivodeships was most likely one of the workshop associates of Franciszek Olędzki. The direct impulse for him to develop his own distinct style came from the works by Olędzki and Josef Legerlutz that were made in the

60 KZSP, SN, vol. 1, fasc. 1, p. 16, Figs. 152, 172, 321–322 (erroneous dating of the confessional to 1746).

61 *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie* [The Latin cathedral in Lvov], ed. J. Adamski, M. Biernat, J. K. Ostrowski, J. T. Petrus, Cracow 2013, pp. 48, 124, Figs. 306–308 (= *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej...*, part 1, vol. 21). The general dating here is to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

1770s and 1780s in Podkamień, Beresteczko and Łopatyn. As for the workshop of Olędzki, only two other sculptors, i.e. apart from Legerlutz, are known to have been involved in the execution of his works in Kruhel and Lvov in 1784, although they were not mentioned in connection with other commissions. These were Piotr Barzycki, a Lvov stonecutter (ż), and Józef Duńczewski (d. after 1812), an apprentice woodcarver from Przemyśl.<sup>62</sup>

## Conclusion

The modest legacy of the sculptor from the Ruthenian lands of the Crown of Poland, which has been assembled for the first time, is admittedly of marginal importance to the totality of research on the Lvov school of Rococo sculpture of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, the output of a representative of this school in Rawa Land, in close proximity to the capital, prompts renewed reflection on the maximum range of Lvov Rococo sculpture in Poland. It can be assumed that the main centre of activity of some of the sculptors shifted from the Ruthenian voivodeship, later Austrian Galicia, onto lands that remained within the Commonwealth after the First Partition in 1772, and that this shift was motivated mainly by economic reasons (the liquidation of monasteries and the confiscation of episcopal and monastic estates following the 1782 Secularization Decree that was issued by Emperor Joseph II). The examples cited here seem to confirm that what guaranteed success against the competition of the local workshops – particularly in the provinces – was the considerably higher quality of work that was offered by the Lvov sculptors, who were better off in terms of social standing and craftsmanship and who could provide comprehensive construction and furnishing projects (large artistic “companies” involving, or under the direction of, Polejowski, Filewicz or Olędzki) (Fig. 18).

It is worth noting that the oeuvre of the anonymous “Master of Pełczyska”, comprising in total thirteen pieces of small-scale architectural and independent sculpture, constitutes the second largest assembly of this type of works, giving way only to the Sandomierz workshop of Maciej Polejowski. However, the indigenous early-modern art in the north-western part of Lesser Poland and in the neighbouring part of the Rawa voivodeship in Mazovia has been insufficiently studied to this day, particularly when it comes to small-scale architecture and sculpture. The historical material presented here is primarily an important contribution to the reconstruction of a very complex mosaic of influences of various external artistic circles on contemporary Mazovian sculpture. Due to their very late creation (ca. 1790–1800), the sculptor’s works, being still in the late Rococo style, had no hope of succeeding in larger centres, especially since this style was already outmoded in the capital and throughout the entire region. The works of the “Master of Pełczyska” discussed

<sup>62</sup> Wujcyk, *Wiadomości o życiu i twórczości...*, pp. 284, 288, appendix 4; *Katedra łacińska...*, pp. 46, 94, note 272, 495; *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej...*, vol. 23, pp. 88, 117.

herein were created thanks to the artistic endeavours of the Małachowski family from Końskie and Białaczów who owned many estates and leases of royal domains in the Ruthenian voivodeship, and of the clergy of the Lvov archdiocese.



1. Mapa zasięgu działalności lwowskich warsztatów rzeźbiarskich w dobie rokoka. 1 — granica państwa, 2 — granica Małopolski, Rusi Czerwonej, Ziemi Chełmskiej, Mazowsza, Podlasia i Litwy, 3 — granice województw i ziem, 4 — stolice ziem, wg podziałów historycznych od XVI–XVIII w. (opr. J. Kowalczyk)

**Fig. 18.** The map of Lesser Poland, Podlachia and Mazovia and the western part of Ruthenian lands of the Crown of Poland from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with marked locations of the most important works of sculpture representing the Lvov variant of Rococo style, drawn and prepared by J. Kowalczyk, completed by M. Wardzyński, 2018



At this stage of research, attempts at attributing the sculptures and reredoses to an artist from Franciszek Olędzki's milieu are only of a preliminary nature. Any further analysis is so far impossible, since knowledge regarding sculpture in the Ruthenian lands of the Crown in the fourth quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century is still insufficient – the only possible breakthrough can be brought about by the creation of an academic corpus of Lvov Rococo sculpture.

*Translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz*

## Abstract

Current research on Rococo sculpture in Mazovia and northern Lesser Poland has not taken into consideration Lvov Rococo sculpture. A total of thirteen works by a yet unidentified woodcarving workshop, probably of Lvov provenance, was located at the intersection of these two artistic regions, in the vicinity of Końskie, Opoczno, Przysucha and Rawa Mazowiecka. Its activity, commenced after 1780 in Pełczyska near Wiślica, lasted until ca. 1800, when the reredoses and lesser works of sculpture in Studzianna-Poświętne, Skrzyńsko, Nowy Kazanów, Końskie, Gowarczów, Drzewica, Rawa and Regnów were created. In formal terms, the anonymous "Master of Pełczyska", as an epigone of the Lvov school of Rococo sculpture, shows a far-reaching dependency on the style of sculptures similar to that in the side altar of the Virgin Mary of Dzików in Tarnogród, in the Zamoyski family fee tail. This reredos was indirectly attributed to master Franciszek Olędzki from Lvov (active since 1771, d. 1792). The oeuvre of the "Master of Pełczyska" constitutes the second-largest assembly of Lvov Rococo sculptures outside the historical Ruthenian lands of the Crown of Poland. At the current stage of research, the discussed works, located at the intersection of the former Sandomierz and Rawa voivodeships, indicate the maximal influential range of these remarkably mobile artists towards the north-west of the Crown of Poland. Their migrations were directly connected, on the one hand, with the artistic crisis that followed the First Partition of the Commonwealth in 1772 and the annexation of Lvov by Austria, and, on the other hand, with the liquidation of monasteries after 1780 and the termination of existing ecclesiastic commissions. The short-lived activity of this workshop in the vicinity of Rawa is an important contribution to the research on the mosaic of external influences on provincial late Rococo sculpture in the fourth quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Mazovia.