

# Renaissance and Baroque Art and Culture in the Eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1506-1696)

*Urszula Szulakowska*



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By

Urszula Szulakowska

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*For*

*Stanisław Brodalka and Florian Brodalka*



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Much of the photographic material in this work is reproduced by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki at the Jagiellonian University. These are photographs taken in the 1920s and 1930s describing the original condition of the architecture, sculpture and painting, prior to their destruction in the war of 1939-45 and during the Communist period.

Urszula Szulakowska 2018



*Map of the Eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries, adapted by U. Szulakowska from pre-1939 maps printed in Poland*

# INTRODUCTION

The present study is intended to serve as an introduction to the art, architecture and humanist culture of the Eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as presenting an over-view of the historiography produced by East European scholars which is mostly unavailable in English translation. The geographical area under discussion consists of the modern nation states of Lithuania, Belarus and western Ukraine.

The main issue which has become apparent in the course of research for the present work is that of national identity in a federated polity where there co-existed many different ethnic groups, such as Ruthenians, Belarussians, Lithuanians and other Baltic peoples, Poles, Jews, Armenians, Muslim Tatars, Karaite Tatars, Italians, Germans, Scots, Greeks and less numerous groups of Moldavians and Balkan peoples. The issue of ethnicity was implicated in the various artistic cultures favoured by the patrons of the old Commonwealth. In actuality, however, their aesthetic choices were neither pre-determined by ethnicity, nor by religious denomination, since patrons from different national groups would select the same artists and the same fashionable styles in painting, sculpture, architecture and the decorative arts. Moreover, royalty and the great magnates would often provide religious buildings for communities of other ethnicities and religious groups, so that Catholic patrons would provide synagogues for the Jewish community. These were designed in the most fashionable Mannerist styles, newly arrived from the Protestant Netherlands, or on the model of the latest Baroque forms originating in the Catholic West. In turn, Ruthenian Orthodox parishes would select designs for their churches, not only according to the Orthodox models provided by the neighbouring states of Moldavia and Wallachia, but also by following the newest Italian styles first used for Polish Catholic foundations. Orthodox churches, such as the Wallachian cathedral in Lwów, were built by Italian architects and masons. The same architects also designed Jewish synagogues. At the same time there did, nevertheless, evolve important and distinctive differences in the arts and architecture resulting from ethnicity and religion.

The literary output in the Eastern Commonwealth played a decisive role in stimulating discussion concerning ethnic roots and political



loyalties. Humanists of all nationalities, whether Polish, Lithuanian, Belarussian, Ruthenian, or Armenian, produced essays, poetry, lyrics, religious and political treatises discussing what it meant to be a citizen of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations.

The distinctive and productive art-history of these geographical regions with its many problematic aspects remains little known to western scholars, since texts are rarely available in the English language, although, in contrast, there does exist an increasing number of reputable studies in regard to the political, social and economic history.<sup>1</sup> Hence, one of the main functions of the present work is to introduce English-speakers to important secondary sources in contemporary Polish, Belarussian, Ukrainian and Lithuanian research.

The time span of the present study runs from 1506 (the accession of Zygmunt I Jagiellończyk) through to 1696 (the death of Jan III Sobieski). It was Zygmunt I who introduced the major aspects of the Italian Renaissance to Poland, while the death of Sobieski and the election of the Saxon kings to the throne mark the beginning of the Commonwealth's political decline. The three Partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795 wiped Poland and Lithuania (including Ukraine) off the map of Europe for one hundred and twenty-four years (1795-1918).

In 1569 by the Treaty of Lublin the Great Principality of Lithuania was united with the Polish Crownlands to form the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. Over the centuries the original Lithuanian Principality had absorbed numerous Ruthenian princely states and independent towns in northern and southern Rus, including Włodzimierz (Vladimir), Mińsk, Polotsk, Nowogródek, Pskov, Pereyaslavl, Pińsk, Turów and Czerwieńec. Across the border, the Polish Crownlands were territories governed directly by the Polish king. From 1569 these Crownlands incorporated many Ruthenian areas recently removed from the Lithuanian state, namely, the regions of Halicz, Wołyń (Volhyn), Podole and the Kievan regions east of the River Dnieper. In the present context the main interest lies in the cultural history of the Great Principality of Lithuania and of Crownland Rus lying west of the Dnieper. Only limited reference will be made to the lands east of the Dnieper, or to the Byzantine culture of Kiev, since there already exist well-established fields of research on this subject

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1 Standard English-language authorities, for example, include Daniel Stone, *The Polish-Lithuanian State, 1386-1795. A History of East Central Europe*, 4, Seattle: University of Washington Press (2001). See also Oskar Halecki, F. Reddaway, Jan H. Penson and R. Dyboski, *The Cambridge History of Poland*, vol. I: *From the Origins to Sobieski (to 1686)*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (1950).

in English. It is the lesser known history of western Rus that will be discussed, consisting of a geographical area extending south-east from the city of Lwów (Lviv) into the province of Podole, as far as the fortress of Kamieniec Podolski.

Through-out this study the term “Commonwealth” will be used in reference to the territory of Poland and Lithuania, including Crownland Rus, as established by the Union of Lublin in 1569. It should be noted that the name “Ruthenia,” or “Rus,” in both historical literature and in modern scholarship is often applied not only to the lands that currently form the modern state of Ukraine, but also to regions further north in Lithuania where Ruthenians formed a majority population. These regions included White Rus (Bel. Беларусь), an area divided after 1569 between the Lithuanian Principality and the Polish Crownlands. The more specific term “Crownland Rus” in the present study will describe the territories of southern Rus that were joined to the Polish Crown by the terms of the Lublin Union in 1569. The Polish designation “Crownland Rus” (Pol. “Ruś Koronna”) should, however, be distinguished from that of “Red Rus” (Pol. “Ruś Czerwona”; Ukr. “Червона Русь”) which was an administrative województwo (a large province) comprising the region around Lwów (Ukr. Львів, Lviv).<sup>2</sup>

The name “Ukraine” (Pol. “Ukraina”; Ukr. “Україна”) is first recorded in 1187. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was used on maps to designate a geographical area roughly the same as that of the modern state. In common parlance, however, the Ruthenian people of those times did not refer to themselves as “Ukrainians,” but as “Rusyny” (Eng. Ruthenians; Ukr. Русини; Pol. Rusini). Hence, in the present study the names “Ukraine” and “Ukrainian” will be used only in discussing the modern state and in reference to the Ukrainian nationalist movement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is common practice, nevertheless, among contemporary Ukrainian historians to refer to earlier historic Rus as “Ukraine.” In fact, there is no agreement as to when the Ruthenian peoples (or what proportion of them) began to identify themselves as “Ukrainians,” rather than as “Rusyny” (Ruthenians), or what this change of name specifically signified.<sup>3</sup> This change of designation seems to have commenced in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, although it was never universally accepted among all Rusyny. In present-day Ukraine the name “Rusyny” refers to a particular

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2 Aleksandra Górka, *Kresy Przewodnik*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kluszczyński (200?), pp. 9-87.

3 Volodymyr Potulnytskyi, “Galician Identity in Ukrainian Historical and Political Thought” in Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia. A Multicultural Land*, Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press (2005), pp. 82-102.



ethnic group living in the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. They are descendants of the original Ruthenian inhabitants who refused to adopt the designation of “Ukrainian.”

## “Kresy”?

The name “Kresy” (“Borderlands”) as a name for the Eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth originates in the Polish word “kres,” meaning “end,” or “limit.” This term is probably German in origins from the word “Kreis,” meaning “borderline,” or “district”. However, as a designation “Kresy” was not used in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by the residents of Lithuania. They referred to their land in Polish as “Litwa,” or in Lithuanian as “Lietuva.” In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the name “Kresy” was also not applied to the territory of southern Rus which was named by the Polish administration as “Ruś Koronna” (“Crownland Rus”).

In fact, the common designation in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries for the entire territory of the Commonwealth was that of “Sarmatia” (Pol. Sarmacja). This name was derived from the claims of the nobility that they had originated as a class in the ancient tribes known as “Sarmatians” by ancient classical authors. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the term “Sarmatia” was also commonly employed by foreigners for the geographical areas of Poland, Northern Lithuania (including the Baltic coast) and southern Rus. The inhabitants of these lands were known as “Sarmatians,” a term interchangeable with “Polish,” although, crucially, not with “Lithuanian.” The Baltic Lithuanian princes and nobility claimed a totally different descent from their Slav neighbours, that is, they believed that they had originated from the Roman nobility of classical antiquity and not from the Sarmatian tribes. The situation of the Ruthenian princes in this respect was more complicated than that of the Poles and far more deeply coloured by nationalistic issues. The Ruthenian magnates and nobility similarly acknowledged the same Sarmatian forefathers as the Poles and they accepted a commonality with their peers among the Polish magnates and nobles.<sup>4</sup> Nonetheless, the issue of their Ruthenian origins was profoundly related to their Orthodox religion and the relations of the nobles with the lower Ruthenian classes were very different from those of the Polish elite with their social inferiors.

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4 Roman Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka wobec tradycji antycznej i renesansowego humanizmu (wprowadzenie do zagadnienia)” in M. Prejs (ed.), *Humanistyczne modele kultury nowożytnej wobec dziedzictwa starożytnego*, Warszawa (2010), passim.

The term “Kresy” became more commonly used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when it was popularised by the Polish nationalistic poem, *Mohort* (1854), written by Wincenty Pol, as also in his work, *Pieśń o ziemi naszej* (Song about our land) (1843). However, Pol used the name only in reference to the lands lying between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper in Ukraine. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries there emerged in Polish culture an extensive literature of novels, poetry and historical accounts romanticising the Eastern Commonwealth as a region of Polish nationalistic endeavour. It was on these eastern lands that the real Polish identity was developed, not in the older Polish lands to the west in the Crownland areas around Poznań, Kraków and Warsaw. At that time in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the partitioning of Poland between Russia, Germany and Austria, the name “Kresy” began to carry an emotive significance which it has retained to the present day. Moreover, the concept of the “Kresy” is inter-linked with the myth of the Polish nobility, greater and lesser alike, and with their patriotic programme, but even more so with their unsurpassed political authority and economic clout. For, the Polish magnates and nobility had vast estates in the Eastern Commonwealth on which they operated as independent princes, little circumscribed in their wealth and authority, even during the lengthy period of the Partitions.

These 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century myths of the “Kresy” and their patriotic Polish ambience are the main reasons why this designation should be discontinued in the analysis of earlier historical periods such as the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the earlier periods the notion of national identity was much more complicated. This was a time when a “Sarmatian” noble could be Polish in his civic identity, Lithuanian in his country of residence and Ruthenian in his ethnic origins and in the majority of instances, usually was so. The Commonwealth humanist of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to first examine the issue of national identity in depth was Maciej Strykowski (ca. 1547-ca. 1593). He wrote in Polish as a citizen of the Commonwealth, while identifying his specific ethnicity as being Ruthenian. Strykowski’s definition of his own civic status as arising from the conjunction of several different ethnic groups contrasts with the claims of Polish nationalist authors, most especially Stanisław Vincenz (1888-1971), that Polish identity was a singular and specific outgrowth of life in the “Kresy.”<sup>5</sup>

Polish literary historians of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries have adopted such Renaissance authors as being precursors of what has become known

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5 These issues are examined in depth in a recent collection of essays concerning the modern literature of the Kresy edited by Eugeniusz Czapplewicz and Edward Kasperski, viz. *Kresy w literaturze. Twórcy dwudziestowieczni*, Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna (1996), pp. 7-73.

as the “literatura kresowa,” a literature of the Kresy. Strykowski is discussed by modern literary historians of the Polish Kresy in the same terms as the later literature of 19<sup>th</sup> century writers, such as Maria Rodziewiczówna, and, most especially, Henryk Sienkiewicz. Surely, the earlier writers should be characterised by historians in a more specific historical context within their own time periods? They should not be discussed in the same critical mode as writers operating in the conditions of partitioned Poland, such as Sienkiewicz, who were engaged in a polemical defence of Polish nationality against policies of russification and germanisation by the occupying powers.

Above all, although Strykowski’s ideology may have contributed to the creation of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century myths of the “Kresy,” he himself did not use this term. Strykowski was writing as a national of Lithuania, as well as a Polish-speaking Ruthenian and as a citizen of the Commonwealth. Even those literary historians, such as Eugeniusz Czapplejewicz, who are most critical of the Polish idealized notions of the Kresy, nevertheless, have insufficiently distinguished between Strykowski’s Commonwealth and the “Kresy” of the 1920s and 1930s. What is left out is the notion of a multi-ethnic state. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century although the national culture of the Principality was, indeed, being eroded by the use of the Polish language and the polonisation of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility, even so, many of them felt that their unique histories legitimated them in pursuing a different political and cultural trajectory from that of the Polish magnates and szlachta whose primary allegiance was to the Polish Crownlands.

The Commonwealth of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a multi-national state in a manner that it was not in the 20<sup>th</sup> century Second Republic of Poland (1918-39). When Poland re-emerged as an independent state in 1918, then it did so as an entity in which a single nationality, that of the Poles, was the determining political factor. The Lithuanians were awarded a small state of their own (although without Wilno) by the Versailles Treaty (28 June, 1919), but the Ukrainians gained no territory at all and were forced into an antagonistic position to the Polish state and into a continued struggle for national independence. The Polish vision of the eastern territories was no longer that of the lands of Poland, Lithuania and Rus united within a Commonwealth greater than the sum of the three, but as the eastern half of a specifically Polish republic, although, in actuality, there lived substantial numbers of ethnic minorities within its borders, as recorded in the Second Census held by the Polish state in 1931.<sup>6</sup> The

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6 Główny Urząd Statystyczny (corporate author), *Drugi powszechny spis ludności z dnia 9 XII 1931r. Formularze i instrukcje spisowe*, Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny (1932).

Lithuanians, Belarussians, Ukrainians, Germans and Jews constituted a majority population in many areas of the eastern Polish state.

In his criticism of the use of the term “Kresy,” Czaplejewicz has pointed out that by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century this designation did not even include the lands of the old Lithuanian Principality. Instead, the term involved only the south-eastern Commonwealth consisting of Przemyśl and its hinterlands, that is, Ruś Czerwona, Podole, Wołyń, Ukraina and Galicia, in fact, the lands that mostly comprise modern Ukraine.<sup>7</sup> It was only during the Second Polish Republic (Pol. “Druga Rzeczpospolita”) (1918-1939) that the name “Kresy” was extended to all Polish territories east of the Curzon Line established by the Allied Powers in 1918 to become the border between Poland and the Soviet Union. The Poles ignored this international settlement and broke through the Curzon Line to re-conquer much of their former territories as they had existed prior to the First Partition of Poland in 1772. On these lands there lived substantial numbers of Polish nationals who constituted a particularly large majority in the regions of Wileńszczyzna around Wilno and around Nowogródek, as well as in southern Rus in Halicz-Wołyń and the Lwów area. The Wileńszczyzna region of Lithuania, as well as White Rus and western Ukraine, were incorporated into the Polish state in 1919. The term “Kresy” was applied to these territories to indicate that they were Polish borderlands whose capital was Warsaw.

The power of these concepts was such that the loss of the eastern regions to the Soviet Union in 1940 and after 1945 to the successor states within the USSR was more than a rift with history. In the Polish national consciousness the elimination of the former heartlands of Polish culture continues to be felt as a tragedy to which it is impossible to be reconciled. Since the 14<sup>th</sup> century the major political, economic and cultural investment of the Polish crown and its peoples had been directed towards the Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands. This investment had come to naught. It will take more than one generation before this sense of emotional loss is eventually dissipated in the process by which Poland gains a new national identity by means of engagement with western Europe.

Nevertheless, there is a fundamental truth within all this play of myth which needs to be acknowledged. Accommodation has to be made for the natural sentiments of people born and bred on these lands for centuries. There are those dispossessed of their family lands in 1940 and deported to the Soviet Union who never returned, as well as those in 1946-48 who

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7 Eugeniusz Czaplejewicz, “Czym jest literatura Kresowa” in Czaplejewicz and Kasperski, *Kresy w literaturze*. (1996), pp. 8ff.

were forcibly removed to post-war Poland, to Pomerania and Silesia. In the other direction were sent thousands of Ukrainians who had been settled on the Polish Crownlands for generations. The memoirs and political histories produced by the people who lost their family lands in the 1940s are of a quite different order from the writings of the Polish nationalists who mythologised the *Kresy* in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or of those who romanticised Polesie and Polish Ukraine during the Second Republic in 1919-1939. The histories of those uprooted against their own will constitute an archive that was deliberately obliterated by pro-Soviet authorities, as well as by Lithuanian, Belarussian and Ukrainian nationalistic groups determined to obscure the historic Polish influences.

Czaplejewicz comments on the increasing numbers of commentaries produced since the 1980s concerning the literature of the “*Kresy*.” In the conditions of a post-communistic Eastern Europe there exists a need to re-examine the historical determinants creating Polish identity. Into this literary polemic have been drawn the names of 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century writers, such as Sebastian Fabian Klonowicz, Szymon Szymonowicz, Szymon Zimorowicz and Mikołaj Sęp Starzyński.

The later 19<sup>th</sup> century nationalist writers such as Wespazjan Kochowski and Maria Rodziewiczówna seemed to their contemporaries to be continuing the idyllic sagas of Strykowski. Czaplejewicz identifies the characteristics of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century literature of the “*Kresy*,” which includes strong aspects of exoticism, notions of the “*Kresy*” as a territory threatened by incursions of savages from the east, with its borders determined as much by culture and religion as by geography. These required defending at all costs. The “*Kresy*” were regarded as the school of manhood and knightly qualities. Conversely, the “*Kresy*” were also seen as a “*terra nullius*,” a primeval forest-land or empty steppe, unpopulated, unsettled, the land uncultivated, lacking history and free for the taking. This was a space that belonged to nobody and was legitimately available for colonisation. In the vision of the nationalist *literati* it was, in fact, an obligation to civilize these mythic regions lost to mind and to bring them into historical time. The “*Kresy*” were also regarded as Nature’s kingdom and the heartland of the Polish nobility, the *szlachta*, the home of Saramatism. They were also the soul of populist national culture, a lost paradise, a devastated and ruined Arcadia, the land of romantic adventure. From a more overt political angle, the “*Kresy*” were regarded as a specific mission of the Polish state, a wound in the body politic, a part that had been bloodily severed. They were a living hell: the site of horrific

carnage, cruelty, chaos. The “Kresy” were a deep black shadow in the national consciousness, a communal sepulchre.<sup>8</sup>

Due to the manner in which Sienkiewicz’s trilogy (*Ogniem i Mieczem* (1884), *Potop* (1886), *Pan Wołodyjowski* (1888)) became the foundation of Polish nationalist attitudes in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (compulsory reading for all Polish school-children), the ancient class and ethnic prejudices became enshrined within modern Polish nationalist ideologies. Sienkiewicz resurrected the concept of noble and pure Sarmatian values in contrast to the dark brutality of the illiterate peasantry in the Ukraine. The old prejudices were further reinforced by the factual history of the massacres by Cossacks and Ruthenian peasantry of Polish nationals in the siege of Humań (1768) and elsewhere and, most especially, in the recent history of the Wołyń massacres where tens of thousands of Polish nationals were slaughtered by extremist Ukrainian nationals and over three thousand Ukrainians were killed in retaliation by Polish soldiers and peasantry.

Fortunately, at the present time enlightened projects for co-operation, plus the political necessity of good neighbourship, are countering to some extent the older stereotypes. There is also emerging a more tolerant use of the word “Kresy,” not in a singular nationalistic sense, but as describing a multi-national scenario in which the geographical terrains lying between modern national boundaries enable different socio-political orders, cultural factors and economic forces to inter-relate, mingle and hybridise, or, alternatively, to acknowledge and accept each other’s differences for mutual benefit.

## Polish historiography

In the specific area of art-history some critical epistemological approaches have recently begun to emerge in the writings of Polish art-historians influenced by western theoretical developments. A pioneer of this type of investigative discourse is Piotr Piotrowski who has provided a much broader approach to the concept of “borderlands” (Kresy). Piotrowski has examined the inter-relation between western and East European art-historians in regard to the geography of art-production, specifically the ontological status and epistemology of “borders.” Piotrowski has argued for the need to eliminate the stereotyped historical models that have westernised periods such as the Renaissance and the Baroque on the assumption that the eastward progression of such stylistic

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8 Czaplejewicz, “Czym jest literatura Kresowa” in Czaplejewicz and Kasperski, *Kresy w literaturze*. (1996), p. 16.

trends necessarily results in their hybridisation, as well as in a conceptual and technical decline in production values.

In addition, Piotrowski recalled how after 1945 it had become customary for western art-histories to fall silent at the Oder-Neisse line, the western border of Poland established in 1945. Even when discussing the art of earlier periods western scholars never used to cross that artificial border into the Soviet satellite states, let alone into the Soviet Union. The post-war political settlement dictated the construction of history-writing, even for periods such as the Renaissance and the Baroque. Piotrowski argues that, in actuality, no such eastern boundaries had ever contained the migration of the Renaissance into Central and Eastern Europe whose art was no alien orientalist “other” of lesser quality with bizarre aspects. On the contrary, the classical revival in Budapest, Kraków, Brzeg, Lwów/Lviv, Wilno/Vilnius and Kiev had formed a seamless unity with that of western Europe in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius has similarly commented that

Borders drawn by art-historians have been, perhaps, the most value-loaded, most arbitrary and unsurpassable of all.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the modern distrust of Poland by her eastern neighbours had been created after the 1914-18 War in the disputes concerning national frontiers.<sup>10</sup> Even more so, after 1945 the communist rulers of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine encouraged the growth of an intense distrust of Poland which their pro-Soviet polemic portrayed as a threat to the political independence of its neighbouring states. Suspicion of Poland by the Soviet Union determined the manner in which the history of the Eastern Commonwealth was written in this period.<sup>11</sup> In the late 1970s, for example, the distinguished Polish art-historian Jan Białostocki produced his definitive monograph on the history of the Renaissance in Eastern

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9 Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie The Proceedings of the Fourth Joint Conference of Polish and English Art Historians*, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki [Institute of Art], (2000), pp. 10-12.

10 Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad. The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia*, Princeton University Press (1988), passim.

11 See Matthew D. Pauly, “Soviet Polonophobia and the Formulation of Nationalities Policy in the Ukrainian SSR, 1927-34” in David L. Ransel and Bozena Shallcross, *Polish Encounters, Russian Identity*, Indian University Press (2005), pp. 172ff.



Europe which was published in English by Phaidon.<sup>12</sup> However, he made no mention of any artefacts east of the modern Polish border with the Soviet Union, although these former Polish-Lithuanian territories had been inseparable from the historical record of the old Commonwealth. Instead, Białostocki was obliged to present a truncated version of the history of Renaissance Poland in which the focus was placed on Kraków and on the former German Silesian territories that had been incorporated into Poland in 1945. This focus by Białostocki on the history of Silesia, instead of on Rus and Lithuania, concealed the fact of the illegal seizure in 1945 by the Soviet Union of the former Eastern Polish territories. In addition, the emphasis in Białostocki's text on the western territories as being at the heart of the Polish Renaissance purposely served to prove the essentially "Polish" nature of what had been prior to 1945 German Silesia and Pomerania. Such an, at best, inaccurate historical model was forced onto Białostocki by pro-Soviet censors who were seeking in the 1960s and 1970s to normalise the post-war political settlement. Białostocki's historical emphasis obscured the fact that these western territories had been German for several centuries. Officially titled after 1945 as the "Ziemie Odzyskane" ("regained territories") these lands had not, in fact, been any part of the Polish kingdom since the late middle-ages and they had been independent principalities in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

If the post-war settlement of Poland's western borders had ever been publically queried in that country, then it would have simultaneously called into question the seizure by the Soviet Union in 1940 of Poland's eastern territories. Furthermore, such a questioning of the post-1945 borders would have also served to validate the undiminished demands of Lithuanian, Belarussian and Ukrainian nationalists for independence from Moscow, as well as supporting those of Polish traditionalists for the return of the lands of the old Commonwealth (ignored by the democratic Polish government in the 1990s). Hence, Białostocki's whole project was heavily politicised, as was that of other historians, most notably that of Helena and Stefan Kozakiewiczowie who similarly published texts on Polish art-history for English-speakers in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time in the western political bloc from 1945 to the 1990s the artistic inheritance of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania was almost entirely forgotten by historians. These geographical regions

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12 Jan Białostocki, *The Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Bohemia, Hungary, Poland*, London: Phaidon (1976), passim.

13 Helena and Stefan Kozakiewiczowie, *The Renaissance in Poland*, Warsaw: Arkady Publishers (1976).



became invisible to western scholars. In that era the states of Eastern Europe were economically weak and politically silent, hence, there was little academic interest in them until the break-down of the Soviet system in the 1990s when Eastern Europe re-entered the world stage and regained its voice. In the 1990s the Soviet satellite states were liberated, as were some of the component republics of the former Soviet Union. New histories had to be written which would be free of pro-Soviet bias. Piotrowski relates how in order to gain acceptance in the west for the art of their own countries, scholars in Eastern Europe were at first obliged to strive for a universalist interpretation of their own cultural inheritance. In short, they had to argue for similitude of product in eastern and western European art-history, rather than celebrating cultural difference. As the first step to political and cultural re-integration with the west, Eastern European scholars had to demand that their own national histories and culture be recognised as an integral part of the development of European art-history as a whole.

Later, however, there followed the more difficult task of establishing the value of difference, that is, of the Renaissance as a distinctive phenomenon in Poland, Lithuania and Rus, one that was both unique in character and, yet, of equal qualitative importance to the Renaissance in France and England at least, if not in Italy. In this second stage East European historians had to define the particular qualities of the art-work produced in their own discrete geographical areas.

Piotrowski tackled the western stereotypes of “Eastern Europe” by taking recourse to Jacques Derrida’s concept of the parergon as reformulated into that of the “frame” by Jonathan Culler and subsequently re-employed by Norman Bryson. The particular parameters, or expectations, placed around an issue such as the “Eastern European Renaissance” would always produce a subjective historical text, argued Piotrowski. For, such framing expectations are structurally a part of the texts generated and they impede an objective view of artistic production. The issue for any historian is to become more aware of the subjective expectations that any historian inevitably brings to the historic material culture.<sup>14</sup> In particular, Piotrowski asserted that the concept of “national” histories of art had to be dismantled, while the real complexity of the interactions between patrons, artists and their cultural factors had to be advanced. The issue of national schools of art had to be revealed as a myth. This was especially true for the artistic culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup>

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14 Piotr Piotrowski, “The geography of Central/ East European art” in Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie* (2000), pp. 44-46.

centuries in the Eastern Commonwealth. In actuality, Lwów, Wołyń and Podole had never been mere peripheries to the western European centres of artistic production in Florence, or Rome. Rather, they were always integral components of the entire phenomenon of the Renaissance classical revival as it spread across the European continent and into Russia.

The rigid political character and cultural diversity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth presents a challenge to the historian accustomed to western historiography in which a single national group is most often held to be responsible for the development of its own internal culture, viz. “the Italian Renaissance,” or “the Netherlandish Renaissance,” and so forth. In contrast, in the Commonwealth the common culture was developed by a variety of ethnic groups, namely, Poles, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Wallachians, Armenians, Italians, Germans, Scots, Jews, Tatars, Karaite and Turks. In the first instance it was mostly Italian and German artists and architects who transformed the art and architecture of the Commonwealth in the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and it was they who trained local artists, architects and artisans, as well as educating their patrons. Another important aspect of the Renaissance and Baroque in Eastern Europe was the cultural activity of Jewish settlers, often refugees, from western and southern Europe and of other immigrants entering from Central Asia and the Caucasus regions, such as Armenians, Turks, Tatars and Karaite.

In particular, Jewish merchants and skilled craftsmen made a significant and unique contribution to European cultural history in many cities, such as Lwów. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Jewish communities were of critical importance to the economic development of these eastern regions. Jewish settlers provided banking facilities for the growth of cities and other urban areas and made possible investment in trade, both internal and with foreign countries reaching far into Asia. Jewish banking facilities facilitated the development of lands belonging to the nobility in Lithuania and especially in southern Rus, most of which were sparsely populated and little cultivated in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Grain-production and its export was in the special care of Jewish bankers, merchants and traders and the Ukraine soon became and remained the bread-basket of eastern and central Europe. Jewish estate managers were commonly employed by the nobility in Rus and Lithuania and they were responsible for the organisation of settlement and production while the great landlords were largely absent. In urban settlements the local Jewish community contributed to the defence against invading Turks and Tatars. Above all, the Jews unfolded a rich cultural life. They commissioned synagogues and artefacts from leading Renaissance and Baroque architects and artists and

Jewish patrons were centrally involved in the evolution of western artistic styles through-out the Commonwealth. Schooling was of special concern to these communities. Jewish scholars produced an important literature in the Commonwealth, both religious and secular, and a profound mystical tradition second to none.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, there is very little left of the Jewish material culture for the 16th and 17th centuries, though more has survived for the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, mostly due to some important artefacts being rescued and removed to the west. A few priceless treasures of the architecture associated with the former Jewish settlements have survived, too often in a lamentable condition.

The much smaller Tatar population in the Commonwealth, both Muslim and Karaite, originated with the Crimean warriors brought into the region by Polish kings in the course of the 14th century. Their material heritage, while always less visible than the Jewish examples, has survived to a reasonable extent, specifically the archives, as well as cemeteries and some reconstructed mosques and Karaite “kenese.” The local communities, whether Islamic such as the community at Czterdzieście Tatarów, or Karaite, such as those at Troki (Lith. Trakai) in Lithuania, have endured from the late medieval period through to the present time. Muslim cultural traditions, moreover, have not only been transferred intact, but are currently even experiencing a revival aided by recent migration into Poland and funds from Islamic charities abroad. In addition, the Islamic community has also gained a new political voice in the affairs of the state. The situation of the Karaite is less robust, unfortunately, and their numbers are in decline.

Other distinctive artistic products and cultural forms were introduced into the Eastern Commonwealth by the Armenians whose presence was one of the most important factors in creating economic wealth, enriching the culture of the state and in promoting the settlement of new urban centres.<sup>16</sup> Sadly, the Armenians lost their distinctive political and cultural identity at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when they adopted the Roman Catholic faith and integrated with the Polish community. Their language disappeared and many families even changed their Armenian surnames to Polish ones, thereby becoming invisible. Yet their presence within the Commonwealth from the late medieval period had been indispensable to the development of trade with Central Asia and the Far East. The

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15 Jan K. Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 11-15.

16 Krzysztof Stopka, “Ormianie” in Michał Kopczyński and Wojciech Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa: Muzeum Historii Polski Bellona (2010), pp. 115-31.

Armenians acted as go-betweens with Islamic culture and they encouraged a lively exchange of goods due to their experience of conditions throughout the Near East and far beyond. Moreover, the towns built by Armenian merchants have survived through to the present day. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries such settlements had led to the economic development of their hinterlands.

The most numerous ethnic group in Lithuania and Rus were the indigenous Ruthenians who were Orthodox in faith and whose culture was deeply rooted in the Byzantine tradition. They interpreted the western Renaissance and Baroque styles in accordance with their own religious and ethnic loyalties. Thereby, they produced much unique architecture of a kind not encountered elsewhere beyond the borders of Rus, while their amenable and resourceful approach to western influences in painting and manuscript illumination produced a unique inter-marriage of Renaissance and Byzantine styles. The architecture and icon-painting of Moldavia and Wallachia on the south-east border exerted a considerable influence on Byzantine art-forms in Crownland Rus. In consequence, Ruthenian material culture diverged considerably in style from the traditional types of Byzantine architecture and art found in Moscow and the Balkans.

Tragically, the memory of old injuries by the Poles, as well as communist rule, has led to the destruction of most of the Polish-influenced material culture in the east. The deliberately destructive policy of pro-Soviet governments after 1945 in regard to the Polish heritage of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine has altered the historical record, probably irretrievably. In Belarus and Ukraine historic buildings with Polish connections have been left to decay, or are currently undergoing some process of restoration designed to alter their former national character to one more conformable to a Ukrainian, or Belarussian, identity (as at the former Catholic cathedral in Ivano-Frankivsk). These types of issues have to be discussed thoroughly before any objective “histories” can be written.

The evidence of such destructive mentalities is recorded in the numerous catalogues produced by the Institute of Art History at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków and by other Polish institutions, such as the Institute of Art at the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. The project was initiated by Professor Jan K. Ostrowski of the Jagiellonian University in the 1980s and he continues to act as the general editor. The whole series is entitled *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Materials for the History of Works of Religious Art in the Eastern Lands of the Old Commonwealth) (1993- ongoing), hereto in the present context known as *Materiały*. This arduous project has been undertaken, not only by

established academics, but also by undergraduate and postgraduate students, thereby establishing the study of these regions as a new field of scholarly endeavour. Commencing some quarter of a century ago in collaboration with two other Krakowian institutions, the Międzynarodowy Centrum Kultury (International Cultural Centre) and the Zamek Królewski na Wawelu (Royal Castle at Wawel), these cataloguing expeditions into the Ukraine and Lithuania, aided by Polish state funding, have produced since 1996 twenty-two volumes for the region of Crownland Rus alone.

The *Materiały* volumes incorporate accounts of five hundred and thirty-six historical architectural foundations, along with their contents, in the territory of modern Ukraine, as well as in Vilnius, Nowogródek, Troki and Brześć regions in modern Belarus and Lithuania. The volumes present a comprehensive account of Roman Catholic art and architecture, such as, churches, monasteries, chapels and their contents. First, the general history of the artefact is presented, then the architecture and interior decoration, or the character of the painting, sculpture, textile or metal-work, their current state of conservation, as well as an assessment of their artistic value. The most important secondary sources are included in a comprehensive survey. The illustrations, maps, elevations, pre-war photographs and detailed modern visual essays are of exceptional importance. All of the known available archival materials are listed and these may be as widely-dispersed as St. Petersburg. Whether large or small, in reasonable condition, or no more than a pile of stones, or even a corrugated-iron shed, or wooden stand-in for the destroyed original, or sometimes no more than a name on an old map, all of the material culture in every parish and monastic foundation has been listed in minute detail and correlated with archival records.<sup>17</sup> This venture is the most valuable resource available for the study of the art-history of Polish patronage in western Ukraine in all historical periods in the former województwo (province) of Ruś. More recently, the project has been extended into modern Lithuania and Belarus. Expeditions into these regions have led to the appearance of an additional ten volumes in *Materiały* series edited by Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, as well as a further two edited by Marcin Zgliński.<sup>18</sup>

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17 Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, *Kościóły i Klasztory Rzymskokatolickie Dawnego Województwa Ruskiego*, multi-volume Kraków (1993- ongoing).

18 Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, *Kościóły i Klasztory Rzymskokatolickie Dawnego Województwa Ruskiego*, 20 vols, Kraków (1995-ongoing). Also see Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków*,

In total, much of the area of the former Eastern Commonwealth has now been covered in these catalogues of architecture and artefacts. Since most of these historical remnants are rapidly disappearing for lack of conservation, the *Materiały* catalogues will eventually be the only record of their former existence. Indeed, the need for this type of catalogue is still increasing since Polish Catholic (and secular) buildings and artefacts are continually being destroyed, left to run into ruin, or are being remodelled into new forms for secular use, or according to nationalistic taste and prejudice. As Jan Ostrowski comments on this deplorable situation

We are living in an era in which no more than lip-service is paid to the once accepted premise of historians and conservators that historical forms should be preserved intact in their pristine forms.<sup>19</sup> (Author's translation)

Included in these catalogues are photographs taken of the edifices at the peak of their condition prior to 1939, alongside others illustrating the ruin of the same buildings in the 1980s when Ukraine was emerging from Soviet domination. Even more telling are those photographs illustrating the further degradation of many Polish buildings between the 1960s and the 1990s, due not to war, but to neglect, or sheer vandalism, on the part of local authorities.

In certain cases, however, some secular monuments, such as the palace of Podhorce, or Olesko Castle, have been restored and re-claimed as national treasures of Ukraine, but these sites were relatively free of problematic nationalistic issues. In contrast, unsurprisingly, the fate of Polish Catholic churches is determined by the local Catholic parish, or by aid from Poland. However, even the Polish Catholic Church has been known to abandon historical sites of exceptional cultural importance, most especially the Dominican monastery at Podkamień. During the last World War and the ensuing communist period the Polish artefacts that suffered the most damage were sculptures and paintings, especially frescoes, both secular and religious.

The Jagiellonian *Materiały* cataloguing project has recorded the removal of many artefacts from the eastern territories to Poland during the "repatriations" of the 1940s. Previously the whereabouts of these objects was known only from the oral history retained by a diminishing number of eye-witnesses present during that historical period. In 1946-48 many

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maj 1995, 2 (Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Koło Naukowe Studentów Historii Sztuki UJ), Kraków (1996), *passim*.

19 Jan K. Ostrowski, "Ćwierćwiecze inwenturyzacji zabytków na Kresach Wschodnich," *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, 1-2 (2016), pp. 44-46, see especially p. 46.

threatened Catholic icons in Ukraine and Belarus were removed to Poland, such as the dozens of crucifixes from Galicia deposited in the monastery at Częstochowa. The late historian Tadeusz Kukiz has produced another series of catalogues recording the transference of religious art after 1945 to western Poland, mainly from the sovietised Ukraine. The art was rescued by Polish citizens forced to move from Ukraine in order to colonise the former German territories of the new Poland.<sup>20</sup> Such a very difficult and dangerous endeavour resulted in the rescue of only a small part of the Catholic religious heritage of eastern Poland, but many of the rescued images were of great cultural significance and of considerable historical importance. They were relocated to a number of churches, for the most part in lower Silesia in the regions of Wrocław and Legnica. There are some major works also in Kraków, Warsaw, Poznań, Katowice, Łódź, Przemyśl and other sites. Kukiz has provided an account of the history of the original locations, the story of the evacuation of the local population and their sacred treasures and the growth of the subsequent religious cults surrounding the relocated icons and statuary. This is a unique series of works which provides information drawn often from oral history and private documentation that is not obtainable from the state archives of the respective countries.

The collections and decorative arts in the magnate palaces, such as those at Podhorce, had already been removed to Poland prior to the outbreak of war in 1939. Although much precious material has been dispersed to Poland and beyond, the museum collections in Ukraine (Lwów and Olesko especially), as well as in Mińsk and other major Belarussian towns, have managed to preserve some materials unique to the culture of these regions and unknown elsewhere. Unfortunately, in Belarus the devastation caused by the war has resulted in the loss of most of the historic material culture. In fact, when studying the art and architecture in any of these countries, whether Lithuania, Belarus or Ukraine, one is grateful if the four walls of a building are still standing. A roof is an unexpected bonus, let alone any decoration, or content. This deplorable situation has also resulted from nationalistic conflicts between ethnic

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20 Tadeusz Kukiz, *Madonny Kresowe i inne obrazy sakralne z Kresów w archidiecezji wrocławskiej i w diecezji legnickiej*, Part I, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej (2003). See also Tadeusz Kukiz, *Madonny Kresowe i inne obrazy sakralne z Kresów w diecezjach Polski (poza Ślązkiem)*, Part II, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej (2008) and, in addition, see Tadeusz Kukiz, *Madonny Kresowe i inne obrazy sakralne z Kresów w archidiecezji wrocławskiej w diecezjach Polski*, *Suplement* Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej (2008).



groups. However, as is characteristic of other eastern and central European countries gravely devastated both by German invaders and by Soviet Russian forces, many of the more culturally important edifices are rising anew from the ruins. Such reconstruction of lost buildings is a practice long-established in countries such as Poland and Hungary, but in Belarus these are relatively recent initiatives commenced after the emergence of the country as an independent state in the 1990s. Hence, most exceptionally, there is re-appearing a version of the completely ruined palace of Rożany (Bel. Ружаны: Ruzhany), once the major seat of the Sapieha family and built on a scale comparable to an English palace, such as Chatsworth. The gate-house has been reconstructed from a few standing walls and there are plans to rebuild the haggard skeleton of the main complex. Tourism and cultural prestige are driving these types of projects. There are further proposals to reconstruct other remains, including a dismal rebuilding of the castle at Grodno (Bel. Гродна: Hrodna). Mir castle has already been restored, as has Lida.

### Ukrainian historiography

During the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries nationalist issues underlay the historical accounts produced in Poland, Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine and there continues at the present time a fiery debate concerning the nature of the Polish settlement of Lithuania and Ruthenia. Polish historians deny that there was any deliberate policy on the part of the Polish authorities to polonise indigenous peoples, or, indeed, that Polish rule caused negative results for them.<sup>21</sup> They argue that the process of polonisation among the Lithuanian and Ruthenian upper classes was entirely voluntary, with an eye to the main chance, but that this process did not eliminate their fidelity to their own original ethnic roots. Undeniably, the much later Polish government of the 1930s did enforce a programme of repressive polonisation. However, in the earlier period of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the relatively generous Polish settlement could be compared favourably with that of other more formidable colonising nations. In comparison, for example, the Russian Tsars introduced an unrelenting regime of severe ethnic and religious repression in eastern Ukraine once it came into their hands by the Treaty of Andruszowo (1667). Similarly, the

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21 Józef Łobodowski, “A Polish View of Polish-Ukrainian Influences” in Peter Jan Potichnyj (ed.) *Poland and Ukraine: past and present*, Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (1980), pp. 99-106.



Turkish occupiers of Podole in 1672-99 placed major restrictions on the activities of non-Islamic religious groups.

In the bitter nationalistic disputes concerning the historical record, Ukrainian historians have argued that the hegemonic Polish culture caused the decline of the Ruthenian national inheritance.<sup>22</sup> Polish historians, in reply, could argue that from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Polish presence in Lithuania and Rus secured their borders against Turks and Tatars, brought the culture of the Renaissance to the Eastern Commonwealth, introduced facilities for lower and higher education and benefited trade, industry and agriculture.<sup>23</sup> Nonetheless, according to most Ukrainian historians, the Polish government encouraged the Ruthenian nobility to convert to Catholicism and become polonised, thereby abandoning the lower classes of Orthodox Ruthenians and leaving them dispossessed of their political rights, as well as culturally impoverished.<sup>24</sup> To Ukrainian historians such as Volodymyr Antonovych and Vyacheslav Lypyns'kyi, the Cossack Uprising led by Bohdan Chmielnicki<sup>25</sup> (1648-57) was the first blow struck by the Ruthenians on behalf of their political freedom and the reconstitution of their national identity.<sup>26</sup> During the Soviet era, histories of the Chmielnicki (Khmelnysky) Uprising, such as those of Baranovych in 1959, were written from this point of view, with additives from Marxist historical theory concerning the role of the lower classes in the defeat of the Polish nobility.<sup>27</sup> Polish historians, conversely,

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22 Potulnytskyi, "Galician Identity" in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 84ff.

23 A picture of recent developments in current Ukrainian-Polish scholarly discussions is presented by a collection of papers concerning the cultural and political role of the Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko and his effect on Polish culture, see Stefan Kozak with Walentyn Sobol, Bazyl Nazaruk (eds.) *Zeszyty Ukrainoznawcze 23–24 Spotkania polsko-ukraińskie Uniwersytet Warszawski–Iwanowi Franki, Studia Ucrainica*, Katedra Ukrainistyki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego; Polskie Towarzystwo Ukrainoznawcze; Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Szewczenki, Warszawa (2007). See also Potulnytskyi, "Galician Identity" in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 92-102 and also Łobodowski, "A Polish View of Polish-Ukrainian Influences" in *Poland and Ukraine: past and present* (1980), pp. 99-106.

24 Potulnytskyi, "Galician Identity," pp. 82-102.

25 This is the Polish version of the name; the transliteration from Ukrainian reads as "Khmelnysky."

26 Bohun, "Jak Kozacy stali się podporą prawosławia" in *Mówią wieki* (2008), pp. 19ff.

27 А.Н.Баранович [Baranovych], *Украина Накануне Освободительной Войны Середины XVII в.*, Moscow: Akademia Nauk SSSR (1959), passim [Ukraina

have regarded the Cossack Uprising as a catastrophe and a betrayal, the beginning of the end of the Commonwealth, leading directly to the First Partition of the state in 1772.

Nationalistic uprisings through-out Europe in 1830 and the Polish-Ukrainian conflict in 1848 contributed to the development of a distinctive Ukrainian national identity, not only among the political leaders, but also among the common people who had previously thought of themselves as Ruthenians.<sup>28</sup> Ukrainian history-writing commenced in the late 19th century with the work of the most important Ukrainian historian, Mykhailo Hrushevsky (Polish transliteration “Hruszewski”) (1866-1934), as well as another Kievan historian, Volodymyr Antonovych (Polish transliteration “Antonowicz”) (1834-1908).<sup>29</sup> Hrushevsky produced the first history of Ukraine to be written in the Ukrainian language in which he developed a nationalistic interpretation of the development of the country’s political structures. His analytical discourse was derived from his commitment to the Ukrainian national movement. In fact, he may be described as one of the founding fathers of Ukrainian national identity, a unique role for a historian.<sup>30</sup> To this end, Hrushevsky’s main intention was to demolish the russophile narrative of Russian historians according to which there existed only one single Russian ethnicity in which Belarussian and Ruthenian, or Ukrainian, elements were merely variants of an undivided Greater Russian identity.

Against this position Hrushevsky argued for the existence of a distinctive Ukrainian ethnic group (as well as, by implication, a Belarussian ethnicity). His ten volume history of the Ukrainian nation examined its development

Nakanune Oswobodytelnoy Wojny Seredny XVIIw]. See also M.V. Dmitriev, B.N. Floria, S.G. Iakovenko (ed. by B.N. Floria), *Brestskaia uniiia 1596 g. i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia borba na Ukraine i v Belorussii v kont'se XVI - nachale XVII v.*, Moskva: Indrik (1996-1999).

28 See Potulnytskyi, “Galician Identity” in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicja* (2005), pp. 92-97.

29 Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Illustrated History of Ukraine* (1913) [various editions available in Ukrainian and English]. See also Serhii Plokyh, *Unmaking Imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the Writing of Ukrainian History* (2005), as well as Mykhailo Hrushevsky, *Листоуована исторiя Украiну* [A History of the Ukraine] edited with additional material by O. J. Frederiksen, etc., 9 vols., New Haven: Yale University Press (1941). This has appeared in more recent editions with different publishers, one volume at a time.

30 Serhii Plokyh, *Unmaking imperial Russia: Mykhailo Hrushevsky and the writing of Ukrainian history*, Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press (2005), passim. See also a useful article by Igor Słowiński, “Twórca Ukraińskiej Historii,” *Historia bez cenzury*, 7 (15) (July 2017), pp. 27-32.

from its origins through to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. In attempting to establish a conceptually identifiable nationhood Hrushevsky posited two major oppositional elements, those of the Russians and the Poles. Hrushevsky stressed the continuity of Ukrainian history from the origins of the Ruthenians on the Scythian steppes to the period of Kievan Rus and the later Cossack political force. Arguing against nationalistic Russian historians, Hrushevsky contended that the Ruthenian Principality of Halych-Volhynia had been the true heir to Kievan Rus, not the Russian Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal as was claimed by Russian historians. Hrushevsky also laid stress on the positive role of the Ruthenian people and their popular revolts in constructing their own historical trajectory. He considered that the Ukrainian Renaissance of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was a local product, self-inspired internally and independent of any foreign intermediaries. He positioned the origins of Ukrainian nationalism in the Chmielnicki Cossack rebellion.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast, the contemporary historian Frank Sysyn considers that Ukrainian historians have romanticised these events, stating that

Nineteenth-century Ukrainian populist historians often reacted with consternation, when their research showed the image of an egalitarian, classless Ukraine represented neither the reality after 1648 nor the goals of the rebel leadership.<sup>32</sup>

The Ukrainian national awakening began in 1805 when the first Ukrainian university was established in Kharkov. Though the faculty instructors were mostly German, the student body was Ukrainian. The University of Kiev was founded in 1834 and these two institutions laid the foundation of the Ukrainian nationalistic effort. Another organisation which was critical in the development of nationalistic ideas was the new Brotherhood of Cyril and Methodius from whose ranks there emerged leading Ukrainian intellectuals, such as Pantelejmon Kulish, the national poet, Taras Shevchenko, and the historian, Mykola Kostomarov, who was a forerunner of Hrushevsky. Kostomarov likewise employed history as an element in the construction of national identity. Hrushevsky's direct mentor was Volodymyr Antonovych who was a political and educational

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31 Dmytro Doroshenko, "A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the US*, 5-6, 4 (1957), pp. 262-74 and also there is Thomas M. Prymak, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: The Politics of National Culture*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1987).

32 Sysyn, "Ukrainian Social Tensions Before the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising" in Baron and Kollman (eds.) *Religion and Culture* (1997), p. 52.

activist engaged in awakening a national consciousness among the Ukrainian masses. Other historians similarly working in the activist national movement included Dmytro Doroshenko and Vaclav Lipiński who held important positions in the nationalist government of Pavel Skoropadski in 1918.

From Kostomarov Hrushevsky drew the thesis that the Ukrainian elite had betrayed the general populace by becoming first polonised and then russified. He also defended the Ukrainian language as an instrument of high enculturation, rather than being no more than a debased variant of Russian.

Hrushevsky gained the professorship of history at the University of Lwów which was controlled from 1871 by the Poles, though under the authority of the Austrian government. Under political pressure five seats of Ukrainian learning were created and Hrushevsky received one of these chairs. In his first lecture he argued that the topic of history should be the economic, spiritual and cultural history of the people, rather than that of the political elite, or of the hegemonic state. His experience at Lwów heightened Hrushevsky's distrust of the Poles which never wavered for the rest of his life. He regarded the Poles as being innately hostile to the Ukrainian nation and he never conceded to the idea of a Polish-Ukrainian political union. In his opinion it was the Poles who had negated Ukrainian cultural development and had persecuted the Ukrainian people. Hrushevsky believed that the Poles had offered little to the Ukrainians in the course of the Renaissance and the Enlightenment since they were themselves an insignificant provincial culture in relation to Western Europe. In contrast, Hrushevsky was positive about the Lithuanians. His attitude had everything to do with the situation in Galicia in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In contrast to other Ukrainian political activists who sought accommodation with the Poles, blaming instead the three imperial powers for the negative aspects of the political settlement since 1772, Hrushevsky denied all possibility of reaching a resolution in this manner. He was adamant that the political problems arose from irreconcilable differences between the two national groups. The disorder had commenced with the taking of Galicia by the Polish Crown in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and it continued unabated from the Union of Krowo between Poland and Lithuania through to the Union of Lublin. The Union of Brześć was another weapon of polonisation of the elite. Hrushevsky regarded this Polish domination as an outright disaster for the Ukrainian nation since it destroyed its indigenous cultural modes.

In his division of Eastern Slavonic history into distinctive Ukrainian and Russian narratives Hrushevsky was not alone. In fact, there were also

Russian historians engaged in the same enterprise for their own ends, such as Pavel Miliukov, and they supported Hrushevsky's arguments. A member of the Euro-Asiatic movement, the historian Giorgii Vyernadski and his followers emphasised the Asiatic roots of the Russian state of Muscovy. In their opinion it was not Kievan Rus which had been the forerunner of the Russian polity, but the Mongol overlords of the late middle ages. Russia, in their minds, was not any part of Europe. Hrushevsky developed this idea into a thesis of his own in which the national characteristics of the Ukrainian lower classes, rather than those of the polonised noble elite, were fundamentally different in psychology and world-outlook from those of the Asiatic Russians. Russians were united with the Ukrainians in blood-stock, but they differed entirely in spiritual vision. The Ukrainians were integrally united with western European culture in their moral values in which individual ethical principles were of the highest importance, as well as in their love of structured systems of life-style, virtuous customs, political and social order and an aesthetic sense. In comparison, the Russians were a people of the east in whose culture the Asiatic barbaric principles were pre-eminent and opposed to the moral principles of the western classical paradigm.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries Ukrainian nationalists were forced to counter the political oppression of first Tsarist, then Soviet and Polish rule in the 1920s. As a result of this repression many leading Ukrainian historians migrated to Central Europe and Canada, especially to the University of Toronto. There had been strenuous efforts to create an independent Ukraine in the course of the First World War and in 1918-19 Ivan Franko had led a Ukrainian militia that fought against both the Soviet Union and Poland for an independent Ukraine. In 1918 the Ukrainians were defeated by Józef Piłsudski and his Polish legions, after which the Second Republic of Poland (*Druga Rzeczpospolita Polska*) was established. This resurrected Polish state incorporated the bitterly disputed region of Eastern Galicia (the *województwa* of Ruś, Halicz and Wołyń) that had once formed the major part of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>33</sup> The Paris Peace Conference gave Eastern Galicia to Poland on November 21st, 1919, with the result that the Ukrainian military veterans henceforth regarded Poland as their foremost enemy.<sup>34</sup> The Peace of Riga signed with

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33 Norman Davies, *White Eagle. Red Star. The Polish-Soviet War, 1919-21*, London: Orbis Books (1983), pp. 105-29, 226-78.

34 Marek Sobczyński, *Ukraina*, Łódź (1993), *passim*.

the Soviet Union on 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1921, confirmed the territorial settlement.<sup>35</sup>

In response to this negative assessment of Polish rule in Ukraine, more recent western historians, such as Timothy Snyder, have argued that the Polish government in Wołyń between 1928 and 1937 had pursued one of Eastern Europe's most tolerant political policies.<sup>36</sup> However, in an ill-advised change of policy from 1937 the Polish government had then set about forcibly converting the Orthodox population of Wołyń to Roman Catholicism, thereby attempting to polonise ethnic Ukrainians. In 1919-39 the rural areas in the eastern part of the województwo of Lwów were mainly Ukrainian in character, although Lwów itself had a large Polish majority. In Wołyń the Ukrainian language, culture and religion were suppressed by the Polish authorities, though some sixty-eight per cent of the population spoke Ukrainian as their mother-tongue.

According to Jeffrey Burds and Timothy Snyder, it was these repressive actions and especially the colonisation of Ukrainian lands by the Polish military that provoked a disproportionate response against the Polish settlers in Wołyń on the part of an extreme section of the Ukrainian nationalist paramilitary.<sup>37</sup> This was known popularly as the "Bandery," named after their leader Stepan Bandera.<sup>38</sup> Commencing in 1940, tens of thousands of Polish civilians were slaughtered with an unspeakable barbarity.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, from 16<sup>th</sup> February, 1940 a series of deportations

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35 The terms of the Peace of Riga have been published and analysed by Bronisław Komorowski, *Traktat Pokoju między Polską a Rosją i Ukrainą Ryga 18 marca 1921 85 lat później*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM (2006). This has a valuable bibliography in Polish.

36 Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1596-1999*, Yale University Press (2003), pp. 168-69, 176. See also Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin*, New York: Basic Books (2010), p. 500.

37 Józef Turówski i Władysław Siemaszko, *Zbrodnie nacjonalistów ukraińskich na ludności polskiej na Wołyniu, 1939-1945*, Warszawa: Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich. Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (1990).

38 See also Timothy Snyder, *The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943*, Oxford University Press (2003), p. 202, as well as John-Paul Himka, *Interventions: Challenging the Myths of Twentieth-Century Ukrainian history*, University of Alberta (2011), p. 4 and, in addition, G. Rossolinki-Liebe, "The "Ukrainian National Revolution" of 1941: Discourse and Practice of a Fascist Movement" in *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 12, 1 (2011), p. 84.

39 Tadeusz Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust*, Jefferson, N.C.; London: McFarland (1998) and also see Władysław Filar, *Wydarzenia wołyńskie 1939-1944*, Toruń:

was orchestrated by the Soviet secret police, the NKVD (KGB), in the course of which about two million civilian Poles from eastern Poland were deported to work-camps and colonies in the north and east of the Soviet Union.<sup>40</sup>

At the end of the war on 16th August, 1945, a border agreement was signed between the Soviet-controlled government of Poland and the USSR whereby Poland ceded its pre-1939 territories east of the Curzon line along the river Bug to the Soviet Union. In February 1946 Lviv was cynically incorporated into the Soviet Union by bending the Curzon line eastwards to curve around the city. Currently Lviv lies about seventy kilometres east of the Polish border. Although at the present time there still remains a substantial Polish population through-out Ukraine, especially in the region of Lviv,<sup>41</sup> it has diminished in numbers due to war, deportations to the Soviet Union and from 1946-48 due to the re-settlement of Poles to Poland. After 1946 Lviv became a Ukrainian city under Russian control with a substantial majority of ethnic Ukrainians. By 1959, according to official records, the Poles constituted only four per cent of the population.<sup>42</sup> After the political liberation from Soviet control of the 1990s, the first democratically-elected Sejm of the Third Polish Republic in 1991 formally accepted the current Ukrainian border as established in 1944 at Yalta by the Allied Powers.<sup>43</sup> More controversially, the Polish government conclusively resigned from any attempt to reclaim the city of Lviv.

Among some contemporary Ukrainian historians there have recently developed more conciliatory attitudes whereby they are prepared to acknowledge the positive contribution of ethnic minorities to the history of

Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek (2008), as well as Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine. A history*, University of Toronto Press (1994; 2000), pp. 367-68.

40 Gross, *Revolution from Abroad* (1988), pp. xiii-xiv, 3-9, 192ff and see Keith Sword (ed.), *The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939-1941*, Basingstoke: Macmillan (1991), *passim*.

41 A full account of the fate of the Polish population in Ukraine after 1945 is provided in Łukasz Smyrski and Magdalena Zowczak (eds.), *Podole i Wołyń. Szkice etnograficzne*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG (2003). For issues of ethnic identity in Podole see Magdalena Zowczak, "O długim trwaniu Polaków na Podolu. Imponderabilia tożsamości" in Smyrski and Zowczak (eds.), *Podole i Wołyń* (2003), pp. 9-76.

42 Piotr Eberhardt in *Wspolnota Polska Facebook archives* <http://archiwum.wspolnotapolska.org.pl/?id=pwko02>

43 Teresa Jeśmanova (ed.), *Stalin's Ethnic Cleansing in Eastern Europe. Tales of the Deported, 1940-1946*, Veritas Foundation Publication Centre, London (2008), pp. 20-42. For the occupation of Lwów by Soviet forces see Jan Węgiński, *Lwów pod okupacją sowiecką 1939-1941*, Warszawa: Editions Spotkania (1991), *passim*.



Ukraine. In such approaches Ukraine is regarded as being an integral part of the history of central-eastern Europe, defined as a region distinct from the Germanic lands to the west. The historian Sergeĭ Nikolaevich Plokhii, for example, has particularly supported such arguments.<sup>44</sup> Polish scholars have also contributed to this new discourse, especially the literary historian Jan Bakula. He has suggested that a more accurate term than “Kresy” for Western Ukraine would be the neutral term “Marches,” a cultural region in which different ethnic groups are positioned to interact with each other resulting in constructive results for the polity as a whole.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, certain American scholars such as George G. Grabowicz have launched unjust attacks on the contemporary Polish nostalgia for the Kresy in popular literature and tourism.<sup>46</sup> This has largely consisted of a justified reclamation of lost national history, of aspects which had been censored and hidden from view under the communist regimes prior to 1990. Not least it must be recognised by historians that the Polish deportees of 1940 have a right to return to their lost past, since their families had lived in the Eastern Commonwealth for centuries and they were often polonised Ruthenians anyway, as a glance at the surnames common among the post-war Polonia in the west clearly demonstrates.<sup>47</sup> The romantic dreams of the restoration of the Kresy are not taken seriously by the Polish political authorities who have no wish to destabilise the current political settlement. For the greater part, contemporary Poles are attempting only to discover their own roots and the multi-coloured and varied textures of their national inheritance in the former Commonwealth. Garbowicz’s reaction is disproportionate.

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44 Sergeĭ Nikolaevich Plokhii, *Panstvo i Ukraina: politika rimskei kurii na ukrainskikh zemliakh v XVI-XVII vv.*, Kiev: Vyshcha shkola (1989).

45 Marcin Fabiański, “How can an artistic region be defined” in Murawski-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie* (2000), pp. 35-42.

46 For example, Tadeusz Chrzanowski, *Kresy, czyli obszary tęsknot*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie (2001). Also see Eugeniusz Czuplejewicz and Edward Kasperski, *Literatura i różnorodność. Kresy i pogranicza*, Warszawa: DiG (1996), as well as Ryszard Kiersnowski, “Kresy przez małe i przez wielkie ‘K’-kryteria tożsamości” in Kwiryny Handke (ed.), *Kresy - pojęcie i rzeczywistość*, Warszawa (1997). There is also Jan Kolbuszewski, *Kresy*, Wrocław:Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie (1996).

47 George G. Grabowicz, “Mythologizing Lviv/Lwów: Echoes of Presence and Absence” in Jan Czaplicka (ed.), *Lviv: A City in the Crosscurrents of European Culture*, (2005), pp. 313-42.



## Polish historiography of art and architecture in Ukraine

The historical record of the Polish presence in Ukraine and Belarus had been suppressed during the period of communist rule. For instance, until the 1990s in towns such as Kamieniec Podolski the local population, whether Polish, or Ukrainian, had no idea of the historical importance of the huge crumbling fortress mouldering outside their gates. Not even those of Polish origin had retained the memory of any Polish garrison and civic administration there.<sup>48</sup> Nor was scholarly interest in the history of Crownland Rus encouraged in communist Poland and any small ventures into the subject were obliged to be reserved in tone and short in commentary. Prior to 1990 the few studies of Ukraine were small-scale, such as Fijałkowski's account of the royal patronage of Jan Sobieski in Red Rus and Wołyń.<sup>49</sup>

The first Polish study since 1945 to inter-relate the historic art and architecture of the Ukraine with the Polish cultural heritage was that of Jan Ostrowski in the late 1990s. He stated quite frankly in his pioneering study of Lwów that he was writing solely in terms of its history as a Polish town since the introduction of the Italian Renaissance style to Rus had been due to specifically Polish patronage and cultural taste.<sup>50</sup> Accordingly, Ostrowski had made a decision to write about the art-history of the region in terms of Polish history. A specific problem that enforced his adoption of such a policy, he explained, was the restricted availability of earlier (pre-war) histories in any language other than Polish. Nonetheless, he sought to include the history and art of other ethnic groups. Ostrowski admitted, ruefully, that his approach would please no-one, neither hyper-patriotic Polish Lwowians of the present day, nor Ukrainian scholars who were used to a completely different national emphasis in their own histories of Rus. Ostrowski wrote that he was convinced that there was no other way forward than to look for the common historical factors uniting the different ethnic groups and to record justly their input into the common culture of Lwów and Ukraine. The issue was not to divide national groups, but to unite them.

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48 Andrzej Grajewski and Roman Koszowski, "Orle Gniazdo," *Gość Niedzielny*, 28/8/2011, pp. 60-65.

49 Wojciech Fijałkowski, "Jan III Sobieski i jego mecenat kulturalny. Bilans zainteresowań, inicjatyw i dokonań polskiego monarchy na polu kultur artystycznej i umysłowej w drugiej poł. XVII" in *Studia Wilanowskie*, 1 (1977), pp. 7-61.

50 Jan K. Ostrowski, *Lwów Dzieje i Sztuka*, Kraków: Towarzystwo Autorów i Wydawców Prac Naukowych Universitas (1997), p. 7.

Prior to Ostrowski's initiatives, the first academic studies of Polish art and culture in Lwów had been written in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century by Polish historians using archives that were later often destroyed in two world wars. These included scholars, such as Dyonizy Zubrzycki<sup>51</sup> and, in particular, Władysław Łoziński.<sup>52</sup> Among other important art and architectural historians of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there were Sadok Barącz<sup>53</sup> and Mieczysław Gębarowicz (1893-1984) who was a scholar of considerable stature. From 1923-1939 Gębarowicz had lectured at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów and he was the last director of the Ossoliński National Institute before it was transferred to Wrocław after 1945. He remained in Lwów, teaching and writing, even after the Soviet take-over in 1944.<sup>54</sup>

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51 Dyonizy Zubrzycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, Lwów (1844).

52 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo Lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów (1892). See also Władysław Łoziński, *Sztuka Lwowska w XVI i XVII wieku. Architektura i rzeźba*, Lwów (1901) and also Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycjat i Mieszczaństwo Lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów (1902). In addition, there is Władysław Łoziński, *Prawem i lewem. Obyczaje na Czerwonej Rusi w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie (1960), as well as Władysław Łoziński, *Lwów starożytny. Kartki z historii sztuki i obyczajów*, Lwów (1889; 1890). Finally, there is Władysław Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach: (wiek XVI-XVIII)*, Jerozolima: Nakładem Wydziału Kultury i Prasy Dłwa. Jednostek Wojska na Sr. Wschodzie (1946).

53 He produced a series of studies of different cities in western Rus, viz. Sadok Barącz, *Pamiętki Miasta Żółkwi*, Lwów (1852); Sadok Barącz, *Pamiętnik Dziejów Polskich. Z Aktów Urzędowych Lwowskich iz Rękopismów zebrał X. S. Barącz*, Lwów (1855); Sadok Barącz, *Archiwum ... Dominikanów w Jarosławiu*, Kraków (1887); Sadok Barącz, *Pamiętki miasta Stanisławowa*, Lwów (1858) and Sadok Barącz, *Pamiętki Jazłowieckie*, Lwów (1862); 2nd ed., Kraków (1887).

54 For examples of some of his work see Mieczysław Gębarowicz, *Sztuka średniowieczna*, Lwów (1934), as well as Mieczysław Gębarowicz, *Portret XVI-XVIII wieku we Lwowie*, Wrocław, etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (1969) and Mieczysław Gębarowicz, "Szkice z historii sztuki XVII w.," Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu. *Prace wydziału filologiczno-filozoficznego*, 16: 3, Toruń (1966); Bohdan Janusz, "Nieznany kościół św. Wawrzynca przy szpitalu Bonifratrów we Lwowie," *Ziemia*, 12 (1927) pp. 188-93 and Bohdan Janusz, *Zabytki monumentalnej architektury Lwowa*, Lwów (1928). Władysław Longin Chotkowski, *Historia polityczna dawnych klasztorów panięńskich w Galicji*, Kraków (1905); Aleksander Czołowski, *Jan III i miasto Lwów*, Lwów (1929); Jan Saś-Zubrzycki, "Antyfonarz w klasztorze P.P. Benedyktynek we Lwowie," *Exlibris*, 5 (1924), pp. 36-37; Jan Saś-Zubrzycki, *Zabytki miasta Lwowa*, Lwów (1928); Władysław Żyła, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie*, Kraków (1919); Jan Piotrowski, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie w świetle restauracji i ostatnich odkryć*, Lwów (1925).

One particularly valuable aspect of this older research is that these pre-war historians recorded the condition of buildings and artefacts prior to their destruction in the Second World War. These studies include Janusz's work on Lwowian architecture and Chotkowski's innovative study of the history of female monasticism in Galicia, as well as Aleksander Czołowski's work on the patronage of Jan Sobieski in Lwów. Saś-Zubrzycki has described the medieval and Renaissance artefacts located in Lwowian convents and other heritage sites in Lwów, while Żyła and Piotrowski have produced accounts of the Armenian cathedral in Lwów and its inter-war restoration by the Poles and its redecoration by the artist, Henryk Rosen. Of special interest is the work of Tadeusz Mańkowski (1878-1956) who is noteworthy for his detailed examination of the nobility's interest in Islamic culture during the Commonwealth period<sup>55</sup> and for his exceptional work in recording the history and achievements of the Armenian community. Among his other research areas there is a history of the Ossoliński library,<sup>56</sup> as well as his studies of Baroque and Rococo projects in Lwów,<sup>57</sup> the patronage of Jan III Sobieski<sup>58</sup> and the art of the Armenian population of Lwów.<sup>59</sup>

Since the 1990s, as mentioned earlier, research teams from the Institute of Art History at the Jagiellonian University have been working in western Ukraine aiming to record historic Polish material culture. Of special importance have also been the research of Piotr Krasny whose innovative work has involved Orthodox and Uniate sacred architecture in Lithuania

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55 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku, etc.*, Kraków (1935) (Polska Akademia Umiejętności. Rozprawy Wydziału filologicznego, 64, 3); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Genealogia sarmatyzmu*, Warszawa: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze "Luk" (1946); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław (1954) (Studia z dziejów polskiego rzemiosła artystycznego, 2); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej*, Wrocław; Kraków (1959).

56 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Dzieje gmachu Zakładu Narodowego imienia Ossolińskich*, Lwów (1927).

57 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Lwowskie kościoły barokowe*, Lwów (1932); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Lwowski cech malarzy w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów: Towarzystwo Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa (LEOPOL) (1936); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Fabrica ecclesiae*, Warszawa (1946); Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów, jego sztuka i kultura artystyczna*, London (1974).

58 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Budownictwo Jana III we Lwowie*, Lwów (1936).

59 Tadeusz Mańkowski, "Sztuka Ormian Lwówskich," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, 6 (1934-35), pp. 61-163.

and Rus.<sup>60</sup> Polish research teams have also ventured into Belarus since the 1990s, commencing with the Institute of Art (PAN) in Warsaw, whose former director was the late Piotr Paszkiewicz, and they have engaged in collaborations with Belarussian and Lithuanian scholars. For the little-known history of Baroque architecture in Greater Lithuania there is the work of Andrzej Baranowski,<sup>61</sup> as well as of Jerzy Paszenda whose specialism is the history of Jesuit architects and projects in Lithuania and White Rus.<sup>62</sup>

## Women patrons in the Eastern Commonwealth

A developing new area of research is that of women's history and art-patronage in the Eastern Commonwealth. Landmark publications have included Małgorzata Borkowska's study of the female convents of the Discalced Carmelites and the Brygitines in Crownland Rus,<sup>63</sup> while

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60 Piotr Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna na Ziemiach Ruskich Rzeczypospolitej*, Krakow: Instytut Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (2003).

61 Andrzej Baranowski, "The Baroque Geography of the Polish Commonwealth: centres and peripheries," in Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie The Proceedings of the Fourth Joint Conference of Polish and English Art Historians*, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki [Institute of Art], (2000), pp. 77-86; Andrzej Baranowski, "Między Rzymem, Monachium i Wilnem. Architektura Sakralna Jezuitów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim" in Jan K. Ostrowski, Piotr Krasny and Andrzej Betlej (eds.) *Praxis Atque Theoria. Studia Ofiarowane Profesorowi Malkiewiczowi*, Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki U. J. (2006), pp. 35-54.

62 Jerzy Paszenda, "Stan badań nad architekturą jezuicką na ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej" in Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków, maj 1995*, 2 (Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Koło Naukowe Studentów Historii Sztuki UJ), Kraków (1996), pp. 57-64; Jerzy Paszenda, "Kościół p.w. św. Kazimierza w Wilnie" in Andrzej Betlej and Piotr Krasny (eds.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków, wrzesień 2000*, 5, Kraków: Instytut Sztuki UJ (2003), pp. 7- 26; Jerzy Paszenda, "Kościół i kolegium Jezuitów w Pińsku" in Andrzej Betlej and Piotr Krasny (eds.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków, wrzesień 2000*, 5, Kraków: Instytut Sztuki UJ (2003), pp. 27-52; Jerzy Paszenda, "Architekci Jezuiicy w Polsce" in Jan K. Ostrowski, Piotr Krasny and Andrzej Betlej (eds.), *Praxis Atque Theoria. Studi Ofiarowane Profesorowi Adamowi Malkiewiczowi*, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński (2006), pp. 246-47.

63 Małgorzata Borkowska, "Karmelitanki dawnej obserwacji w Polsce. Dzieje zapomnianego zakonu," *Nasza Przeszłość*, 75 (1991) pp. 92-116; Małgorzata Borkowska, "Miscellanea brygitańskie: Lwów i Sambor," *Nasza Przeszłość*, 88

Jolanta Gwioździk has researched the history of Benedictine female religious.<sup>64</sup>

The most significant recent work is that of Maria Bogucka concerning the role of women in early Polish society and, in particular, her analyses of the political, economic and artistic programme of Bona Sforza, wife of Zygmunt I Jagiellończyk<sup>65</sup> and of Anna Jagiellonka, wife of Stefan Batory. The historian Zofia Kuchowicz has examined the role of Queen Barbara Radziwiłłówna, second wife of Zygmunt August. To this important research has recently been added a study of Anna Wazówna (1568-1625) (Anna Vasa of Sweden, princess of Poland) by Grażyna Kurkowska,<sup>66</sup> following on from an earlier work undertaken in the 1960s by Zofia Libiszowska concerning the women involved in the Vasa (Waza) rule of Poland, specifically Ludwika Maria Gonzaga, wife of Władysław IV and Jan II Kazimierz.<sup>67</sup>

In addition, there are studies concerning Queen Maria Kazimierza, wife of Jan Sobieski, another significant female landowner of the type of Bona Sforza.<sup>68</sup> The most recent study of the role of the queens of Poland has been the research of Bożena Czwojdrak into the life and role of the, hitherto overlooked, second wife of Władysław Jagiełło, the Ruthenian princess, Zofia Holszańska, matriarch of the line of Jagiellonian Polish

(1997) pp. 109-30; Małgorzata Borkowska, *Panny siostry w świecie sarmackim*, Warszawa (2002); Małgorzata Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce w epoce nowożytnej*, Lublin (2010); Małgorzata Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa (2004-3008); Małgorzata Borkowska, *Słownik Mniszek Benedyktynskich w Polsce*, Tyniec: Nakładem Opactwa Benedyktynów (1989); Karol Górski, Anna Małgorzata Borkowska, *Historiografia zakonna a wzorce świętości w XVIIw*, Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej (1984).

64 Jolanta Gwioździk, *Biblioteka panien benedyktynek łacińskich we Lwowie, XVI-XVIII w.*, Katowice (2001); Jolanta Gwioździk, *Księgozbiór benedyktynek Lwowskich klasztoru pw. Wszystkich Świętych. Katalog starych druków*, Katowice (2004), (Folia Scientica Bibliothecae Silesianae, 7).

65 Bogucka, "Z Dziejów stosunków polsko-włoskich: spory o Bonę," in Chrościcki, *Artyści Włoscy w Polsce XV-XVIII wiek* (2004), pp. 17-23.

66 Maria Bogucka, *Women in Early Modern Polish Society, Against the European Background* (Early Modern History) London: Routledge (2017) (1st ed. Ashgate, 2003). See also Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza d'Aragona*, Warszawa, 1989, passim and also Maria Bogucka, *Anna Jagiellonka*, Wrocław (1994). Grażyna Kurkowska, *Anna Wazówna (1568-1625)*, Toruń (1995).

67 Zofia Libiszowska, *Żona Dwóch Wazów*, Warszawa (1963). See also Zofia Libiszowska, "Królowa Ludwiga Maria," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, XVIII (1973), pp. 1641-1716.

68 Michał Komasyński, *Maria Kazimiera d'Anghien, królowa Polski, 1641-1716*, Kraków (1983).

kings.<sup>69</sup> For a much lower cultural sphere there have emerged some studies concerning the role of witches in early modern Poland by Wanda Wyporska.<sup>70</sup>

In respect to a different socio-political and cultural context, there is now a unique study of female education in the Jewish community by Edward Fram, whose specialism is the study of the Jewish communities of the Commonwealth.<sup>71</sup>

## Ukrainian art-historians of Renaissance and Baroque material culture

Studies of Renaissance and Baroque art in Rus from a Ukrainian viewpoint were relatively infrequent prior to the 1990s, but those that did appear included Ivan Krypiakewycz's research in the 1930s concerning Greek Catholic (Uniate) seminaries in Lwów.<sup>72</sup> A more recent publication was that of Lubchenko in 1981 involving the little-explored corpus of Renaissance and Baroque sculpture in Lwów.<sup>73</sup> There are now an increasing number of works being produced concerning 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century art and architecture in Rus, such as those of Aleksandrovych, Bevz, Matsiuk, Melnyk, Vuytsyk and Bandriwskij.<sup>74</sup> In addition, Mohytych

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69 Božena Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa (2012); Wanda Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland, 1500-1800*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2013), passim.

70 Wanda Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland, 1500-1800*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2013), passim.

71 Edward Fram, *My Dear Daughter: Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and the Education of Jewish Women in Sixteenth-Century Poland*, London: Blackwell Publishing (2017).

72 Ivan Krypyakevych, *Історичні проходи по Львові*, [1932] Львів (1991); Ivan Krypyatkevych, "Давна топографія греко-католицької духовної семінарії у Львові," *Праці Гр.-Кат. Богословської Академії у Львові*, 1-2 (1935), pp. 215-31.

73 В.Ф. Любченко (Liubchenko), *Львівська скульптура XVI-XVII століть*, Київ (1981).

74 V. Aleksandrovych, "Architektura ta mistobuduvannia xvi – xvi istolit" in Y. Isayevych (ed.), *Istoria ukrainskoj kultury*, 2, Kyiv: Naukova Dumka (2002), pp. 629–53; M. Bevz, *Arkhitektura Lvova: chas i styli*, Lviv: Tsentruropy (2008); V. Liubchenko, *Lvivska skulptura x v i – x v i i stolit*, Kyiv: Naukova Dumka (1981); O. Matsiuk, *Zamky i fortetsi Zakhidnoi Ukrainy*, Lviv: Tsentruropy (1997); I. Melnyk, *Lvivski vulytsi i kamianytsi*, Lviv: Tsentruropy (2008); V. Vuytsyk, "Architektori Pavlo Rymlianyan," *Zhovten*, 8 (1982), pp. 97–101; V. Vuytsyk, "Z

has produced studies of the history of Orthodox sacred architecture,<sup>75</sup> as well as accounts of the architecture of Halych and Volhyn from the 12th and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries and of building techniques in these same regions.<sup>76</sup>

## Secondary Resources in English

English secondary sources are rich in the political history of the Ukraine, produced mostly from a Ukrainian viewpoint. In contrast, the historical research of Polish scholars has rarely been translated into English and is infrequently cited. The broad historical overviews of Polish history by Adam Zamoyski<sup>77</sup> and Norman Davies<sup>78</sup> have filled some of these gaps in knowledge. Paul Magocsi has written on specific issues bitterly disputed by both national groups, while Timothy Snyder has tackled deeply sensitive issues in a manner that strives for impartiality and an accurate historical record. The secondary literature has since been usefully supplemented by new publications by Polish historians in a number of English translations that take an objective view of the political history, such as that of Urszula Augustyniak and Iwo Hryniewicz.<sup>79</sup>

The history of Ruthenian/Ukrainian political history and culture is well documented due to the existence of several centres for Ukrainian studies in North American universities, such as the University of Toronto, the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) at Alberta University, the Ukrainian Studies School of Chicago University and Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. For instance, John-Paul Himka has produced a study of

istorii lvivskykh kamianyts,” *Zhovten*, 6 (1984) pp. 98–99; V. Vuytsyk, “Arkhivni dzerela pro perebuвання arkhitekтора Bernardo Morando u Lvovi,” *Zapyskyntsh*, 2 (1995), pp. 367–68; V. Vuytsyk, “Architekturnyi ansambl Uspenskoho bratstva: restavratsia ta obnovu,” *Visnyk instytutu Ukrzahidproektrestavracia*, 14 (2004), pp. 36–42; М. Бандрівський [Bandriwskij], *3 історії церкви Святих Апостолів Петра і Павла у Львові*, Львів (2007).

75 I. Могитич [Mohutyčh], *Нариси архітектури української церкви*, Львів (1995).

76 I. Могитич, “Сторінки архітектури Галичини і Волині XII–XIV ст.” in *Вісник Укрзахідпроектреставрація Львів*, 8, (1997) pp. 3–20; І.Р. Могитич, Р.І. Могитич, “Особливості техніки мурування і архітектурних форм галицько-волинського зодчества (X–XIV ст.),” *Археологія*, 4 (1990) pp. 56–68.

77 Zamoyski, *Polish Way* (1987), pp. 158–73.

78 Davies, *God’s Playground* (2005), *passim*.

79 Urszula Augustyniak and Iwo Hryniewicz, *History of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth State-Society-Culture* (volume in the series edited by Krzysztof Zajas and Jarosław Fazan, *Polish Studies Transdisciplinary Perspective*) Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang (2015).



the Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian national movement in Galicia.<sup>80</sup> Another recent work on the role of religion and culture in the relations of Russia and the Ukraine is that of Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann.<sup>81</sup> There are also Magocsi's extensive publications at the Toronto Ukrainian research centre,<sup>82</sup> as well as those of Frank Sysyn at the Ukrainian Research Institute at Harvard.<sup>83</sup> The cultural milieu of the Ruthenians, Poles and other nationalities co-existent in Rus is discussed in the collection of essays concerning Galicia edited by Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi.<sup>84</sup> A standard source is the Encyclopaedia of Ukraine produced by the Centre for Ukrainian Studies at Toronto.<sup>85</sup>

However, there is very little available in English concerning the history of the art and architecture of western Rus/Ukraine, though some resources are now appearing, such as a collection of essays on the art-history of Lviv.<sup>86</sup> An English catalogue accompanied the travelling exhibition of Polish art in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Commonwealth, *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, but the material culture discussed in this context had originated in Polish museums and private collections and there was nothing from resources in the Ukraine, Belarus and Ukraine. Similarly, the texts in the catalogue referred mainly to the Crownland Polish context.<sup>87</sup> The same is true of the overview of Central and Eastern European art and architecture

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80 Himka, *Religion and nationality in western Ukraine: the Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian national movement in Galicia* (1999), passim.

81 Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields Kollmann (eds.), *Religion and culture in early modern Russia and Ukraine*, DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press (1997).

82 Paul Robert Magocsi, *A history of Ukraine*, Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press (1996).

83 Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: the dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653* (1985).

84 Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi (eds.), *Galicia: A Multicultural Land, Toronto, Ont.; London: University Of Toronto Press* (2005); Paul Robert Magocsi, *The Shaping Of A National Identity Subcarpathian Rus', 1848-1948*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press (1978). For the general reader see Anna Reid, *Borderland: A Journey Through The History Of Ukraine* (1999) which discusses the issues of nationalistic conflict from a non-partisan view-point.

85 *Encyclopedia of Ukraine, 10 vols.* (Vladimir Kubiyovych, editor-in-chief) Paris, New York (1954-1989) <http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/>

86 I. Zhuk, "The Architecture of Lviv from the thirteenth to the twentieth centuries" in Jan Czaplicka (ed.), *Lviv: A city in the crosscurrents of culture*, Cambridge, Ma: Harvard University Press (2005), pp. 95–130.

87 Jan K. Ostrowski (et al.), *Land Of The Winged Horsemen: Art in Poland, 1572-1764*, catalogue of travelling exhibition organised by Art Services International and Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; Yale University Press (1999)



produced by Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann.<sup>88</sup> Though he does reference Poland to some extent, he only very occasionally alludes to Lithuania and Rus.

## The Spelling of Names

In the present study proper names have been polonised when the historical Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is being discussed. It is to be noted that Polish transcriptions of names will employ the Polish alphabet and will differ from transcriptions in English. Where there already exists a universally accepted transcription from Ukrainian, or Belarussian, to Polish then that has been allowed to stand. For the sake of clarity I have occasionally simply followed the forms encountered in the relevant archival and secondary sources and have accordingly used Polish versions of names drawn from Polish sources, transliterated Ukrainian versions of the same names found in Ukrainian sources and so forth. Recourse is also taken to names more familiar to Western readers, “Warsaw” rather than “Warszawa,” for example, or “Chmielnicki” (from Polish), rather than the transliterated “Khmelnysky.” On the whole, however, there are cases where I have used both Polish and English transcriptions from the Cyrillic of the same name whichever best clarified the issue under discussion in that particular context. Accordingly, for example, two different names for the city of Lwów have been used in relation to the specific period involved. In the context of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Polish version “Lwów” is used. The name “Lviv,” transliterated from the Ukrainian “Львів,” is employed in referring to the modern Ukrainian state and to Ukrainian historians. Similarly, two names are used for cities such as Wilno (Polish) and Vilnius (Lithuanian).

In the present work the Lithuanian state is referred to as the “Great Principality of Lithuania” and its prince as the “Great Prince” and not, as has been common practice till now, as “Grand Duchy” and “Grand Duke.” There exists a problem with these conventionally-accepted English translations of the titles “Wielki Książę Litwy” (in Lithuanian, “Lietuvos didysis kunigaikštis”) and “Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie” (Lithuanian form: “Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė”). East European languages make no distinction between the titles of “prince” and “duke,” but, instead, they employ a term indicating “supreme authority.” A comparable situation exists among the most recent historians of Tsarist Russia where there is

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88 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 450-1800*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson (1995).

emerging a marked preference for use of the term “Great Prince” in place of “Grand Duke.” This may eventually also become customary in studies of the Lithuanian Principality.

## CHAPTER ONE

# NATIONAL IDENTITY, RELIGIOUS CONFESSION AND CLASS IN THE EASTERN POLISH- LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

In 1385 the founder of the Jagiellonian dynasty (1386-1572), Władysław Jagiełło (Lith. Jogaila) (1362-1434), married the reigning Queen (“King,” more accurately) of Poland, Jadwiga (1373/4-99), daughter of the Hungarian king Lajos I of Anjou. The Union of Krzewo (1385) and later of Horodło (1413) acknowledged only a personal union of the crowns of Poland and Lithuania, but these treaties served to encourage the colonisation of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes and szlachta.<sup>1</sup> The kings of Poland after the Krzewo Union prioritised their concerns in Lithuania and Rus over the affairs of central and north-western Poland where their interest was diminished.<sup>2</sup> Jagiełło’s cousin, Vytautas (ca. 1350-1430), opposed the union with Poland, but, after struggling against Jagiełło in several military campaigns, he finally accepted the terms of the Union of Vilnius (Wilno) and Radom (1401) which made him Great Prince of Lithuania for life in return for acknowledging, in an entirely tokenistic fashion, the hegemony of the Polish king. These treaties enabled the two countries to join forces in the defeat of the German Teutonic Order at the Battle of Grunewald (Tannenberg) (1410). The Lithuanian historians, Giedre Mickunaite<sup>3</sup> and Alvydas Nikzentaitis,<sup>4</sup> have discussed

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1 Richard Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context, c. 1500-1795*, Basingstoke; New York, Palgrave Publishers (2001), pp. xv-xvii.

2 Norman Davies, *God’s Playground, 1, The Origins to 1795*, rev. ed. Oxford U. P (2005), pp. 93-122, 124ff. See also Adam Zamoyski, “History of Poland in the 16th-18th Centuries” in Ostrowski (et al.), *Land Of The Winged Horsemen: Art in Poland, 1572-1764* (1999), pp. 27-53.

3 Giedre Mickunaite, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania*, Budapest; New York: Central European Press (2006), pp. 144-51.

4 Alvydas Nikzentaitis, *Witold i Jagiełło Polacy i Litwini we wzajemnym stereotypie*, Poznań: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk (2000), pp. 12-66.

the reasons for the vilification of Jagiełło by Lithuanian nationalists who have always regarded his actions as treacherous in accepting the crown of Poland.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the popular cult of his cousin Vytautas has thrived undiminished through to the present day, due to his resistance to the union with Poland.<sup>6</sup>

In reality, it may be justifiably argued that it was the Polish state that lost the most in the union of the two states, for now it became disastrously embroiled with the Lithuanian struggle in Prussia and Livonia against the predatory Order of Teutonic Knights. Worse still, the Polish king also had to face the increasing strength of Moscow, since Vytautas from 1392 had conquered Rus as far as the basin of the Dnieper river, south into the Crimean region and eastwards into Russia, conflicting with Russian territorial ambitions. The Lithuanian union also forced Poland to enter into the conflict with the Turkish invaders on the south-east frontier of Rus and against their hired vassals, the Crimean Tatars. Poland would have been much safer, many argue, had she stayed at home within her own borders. She may have been spared the three Partitions later in 1772, 1793 and 1795.

On the death of these two rulers the powerful Lithuanian nobility who largely controlled their state attempted to rupture the personal union with Poland, but the invasion of southern Rus by the Muscovites under the first Tsar Ivan IV and the ensuing Lithuanian and Livonian Wars forced the Lithuanians to accede to the Union of Lublin (1569) in order to ensure their survival.<sup>7</sup> Political union between the two countries seemed to be inevitable in the conditions of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries when the independence of both powers was threatened by enemies on all sides. Under the terms of the Union of Lublin Lithuania kept its own army, treasury, judiciary and state offices separately from those of Poland, although the two states had a common king, Sejm, monetary system and

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5 Andrejs Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States* (Cambridge Concise Histories), Cambridge University Press (2011), pp. 33-124.

6 For Polish-Lithuanian relations historically see Alfredas Bumblauskas, "Polsko-litewskie stosunki cywilizacyjne: przemiany w stanowiskach historiograficznych obu narodów" in *Przegląd Wschodni*, 5, 4 (20), 1999, pp. 745-62.

7 Almut Bues, "The Formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century" in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context* (2001), pp. 58-81. See also Jūratė Kiaupienė, "The Grand Duchy and the Grand Dukes of Lithuania in the Sixteenth Century: Reflections on the Political Union and the Union of Lublin" in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context* (2001), pp. 82-92.

foreign policy.<sup>8</sup> The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Pol. Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów) extended from the Baltic Sea to the Carpathians, eastwards into White Rus (Belarus) and south-east into western and central Rus, incorporating the ancient Ruthenian principalities of Halicz-Wołyń and Kievan Rus.<sup>9</sup>

In a critical analysis of the Union, the historians Augustyniak and Hryniewicz have questioned the concept that the Commonwealth was ever a multi-national state. Further, they have queried whether the Commonwealth could be described as a single state at all. More likely, they argue, it was a socio-political configuration within a federation of states which had many opposing interests.

Before the Union of Lublin of 1569 Poland had three million inhabitants, but after the Union the entire population of the Commonwealth, including Greater Lithuania, consisted of seven and a half million people of whom forty per cent were Orthodox. Less than one third of the population lived in urban centres. Most of the town residents (fifty to eighty per cent of the total population) were without a franchise and could not sit in the Sejm of the Commonwealth. The burghers had no vote and were usually of German descent, constituting ten to fifteen per cent of the total population.

Already from the 11<sup>th</sup> century the kings of Poland had been encouraging the migration of Polish nobility, traders and peasantry out of central Poland into Lithuania and Rus, although the greatest numbers of settlers from Poland arrived from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards and then they went to specific regions, such as the Vilnius region, western Belarus and western Crownland Rus (Galicia).<sup>10</sup> The numbers of Poles settling in Rus increased substantially after the full political union of 1569. Great harm for the future resulted from the profound conflict between the different religious groups in Rus which arose as a divisive issue from the outset.<sup>11</sup> The Polish Crown and the immigrants were Roman Catholics, whereas the Ruthenian territories had been Christianised by Greek Orthodox missionaries from Kievan Rus in the 10th century.

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8 Davies, *God's Playground*, pp. 93-122.

9 Augustyniak and Hryniewicz, *History of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (2015), pp. 26-29, 37-42, 47-49.

10 Andrzej Rachuba, "Litwa w Unii z Polską," in Andrzej Rachuba, Jūratė Kiaupienė and Zigmantas Kiaupa, *Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG (2009), pp. 31-85.

11 Sysyn discusses the issue of voluntary, or otherwise, polonisation of the Ruthenian nobility in Frank E. Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: the dilemma of Adam Kysil, 1600-1653*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute (1985), pp. 32-36.

During the medieval period there had emerged a series of independent Ruthenian Orthodox principalities and city-states, such as Smolensk, Polotsk, Minsk, Vitebsk, Chernihiv, Bryansk, Lutsk and Poltava, among others.<sup>12</sup> On the initiative of the Prince of Kiev these were succeeded in south-western Rus by the Ruthenian Principality of Halicz-Wołyń which endured into the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In their origins the indigenous peoples of these vast lands were mostly Slavs speaking different dialects of Eastern Slavonic in distinction from the Poles who spoke a Western Slavonic language. Moreover, Ruthenians in northern and southern Rus also differed from the Russians of Muscovy in their history, language and culture.<sup>13</sup> For political reasons 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian and 20<sup>th</sup> century Soviet historians have regarded the Ruthenians as being essentially “Russian” in ethnic identity, since Kiev, a Ruthenian foundation, they claimed had also acted as architect of the Muscovite state (nowadays a controversial opinion much opposed by nationalist Ukrainian historians). Byzantine missionaries had been sent from Kiev to convert the Russians and they established Byzantine culture as the matrix for Christian enculturation in the east.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to these historic distinctions between eastern and western Slavs and between Ruthenians and Russians, there were also differences among the Ruthenians themselves. Two geographically dispersed groups began to differentiate themselves into “White” (Belarussian) and “Red” Ruthenians, observing cultural and linguistic differences as early as the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, although there always survived the consciousness of a common ethnic inheritance.<sup>15</sup> Recently, Jan Zaprudnik<sup>16</sup> has argued for the existence of an identifiable Belarussian ethnicity in the early medieval period at a time when White Rus was still under the control of Kievan Rus and its regional centres in Polotsk, Turov and Novgorod. An

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12 For the relations of Orthodoxy with Roman Catholicism in Rus, see Barbara Skinner, “The Irreperable Church Schism. Russian Orthodox Identity and its Historical Encounter with Catholicism” in David L. Ransel and Bozena Shallcross, *Polish Encounters, Russian Identity*, Indiana University Press (2005), pp. 20ff.

13 Jerzy Motylewicz, “Ethnic Communities in the Towns of the Polish-Ukrainian Borderland in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries” in Chris Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, *Galicia A Multicultural Land*, Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press (2005), pp. 36-51.

14 See the manner in which the towns of Rus are characterised indiscriminately as “Russian” in a typical work of the Soviet era, M. Tikhomirov, *The Towns of Ancient Rus, Moscow*: Foreign Languages Publishing House, (1959), passim.

15 Oleg Latyszonek, “Białorusini” in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 39-54.

16 Jan Zaprudnik, *Belarus. At a Crossroads in History*, Boulder; San Francisco; Oxford: Westview Press, (1993), passim.

older study by Wiktor Ostrowski has examined the origins of the names “Black” and “White” Rus and has related them to the degree of political freedom and culturisation in those areas.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, in the medieval period (ca. 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards) the Ruthenians of Ukraine were designating their own territories as those of “Red Rus” (Pol. “Ruś Czerwona”) and calling themselves “Rusi/Rusy,” or “Rusini/Rusyny” (Eng. “Ruthenian”).<sup>18</sup> The epithet “red” has been explained as a reference to the blood spilt on those lands in the extensive armed conflicts, or to the red flowers (“rubeta”) that grow there. Maybe it also referred to the idyllic climate, as in the name of the month of June in Ukrainian “червень” (“cherven”; Pol. “czerwiec”) which signifies “the reddening” in allusion to ripening fruit (notably the fine morello cherries and vineyards that flourish in the region). It should also be noted that the name “Red Rus” (Pol. Ruś Czerwona) was used by the Polish Crown to designate the administrative province (Pol. “województwo”) whose regional capital was Lwów. The województwo of Red Rus comprised two formerly independent states, Halicz and Chełm, as well as three once independent towns, Sanok, Przemyśl and Lwów.<sup>19</sup> In addition to Red Rus, Crownland Rus also incorporated other województwa, most notably Wołyń to the north-east, Podole to the south-east and the województwo of Kiev to the east.<sup>20</sup> The wojewoda (Eng. Voivode; provincial head of government) of Red Rus held a high place in the Polish Sejm and in all affairs of state, since his province was of vital strategic importance to the survival of the entire Commonwealth, sited as it was on its Tatar-threatened south-east frontier.<sup>21</sup> The województwa of Crownland Rus were ruled directly by the Polish Crown from Kraków.<sup>22</sup>

To the north, Lithuania remained intact as a separate Principality ruled initially by the Great Princes from Trakai in the region of Vilnius (Pol.

17 Wiktor Ostrowski, *About the Origin of the Name “White Russia.” Material for Historical Research and Study of the Subject compiled by Wiktor Ostrowski*, London: W. Ostrowski (1975), pp. 1-17.

18 Mirosław Nagielski, “Ukraincy” in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 55-78. See also Judy Batt, “Transcarpathia: Peripheral Regions at the ‘Centre of Europe’” in Batt and Wolczuk, *Region, State and Identity in Central and Eastern Europe* (2002), pp. 155-77.

19 Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine* (1985), pp. 28-29.

20 Augustyniak and Hryniewicz, *History of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (2015), pp. 46, 49, 56-57.

21 Górńska, *Kresy Przewodnik*, pp. 9-87.

22 A discussion of Ruthenian nobility and Orthodoxy is available in Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine* (1985), pp. 20-43.

Wilno). In the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries the Lithuanian nobility engaged in unrelenting resistance to political union with Poland, but eventually in the person of Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk (Lith. Kazimieras I Andrius Jogailaitis) (1427-92) both roles were filled by the same person. Extremely reluctantly this patriotic Lithuanian (Great Prince from 1440) was forced into undertaking the role of the King of Poland (1447-92). The Lithuanian administration retained control over its own finances and jurisdiction.

The Principality had been deeply influenced in its political and cultural development by both the Eastern Church, as well as by Ruthenian language and culture. King Mindaugas had converted to Christianity in 1253, adopting the Roman Catholic confession, though he soon reverted to his former pagan beliefs. Meantime, throughout the late medieval period the Lithuanian nobles and peasantry, irrespective of the faith of their ruler, of their own accord were converting to Christianity (even prior to the marriage of Jagiello to Jadwiga). The religious confession embraced by the Lithuanian people was Byzantine Orthodoxy.<sup>23</sup> In addition, Ruthenian became the official language of court, law and administration. However, after the union with Poland in 1569 the majority of Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobles gradually began to use the Polish language instead. On their conversion as a class to Roman Catholicism they adopted Polish cultural forms, although Polish was not made the official language of state in Lithuania until 1697. The Lithuanian “szlachta” (nobility) replaced their own Lithuanian daily speech with Polish. Both Ruthenian and Lithuanian tongues remained in use among the lower orders of society, although Lithuanian was eventually replaced almost entirely by Polish, even among the peasantry. Despite the fact that scholarly literature (both religious and secular) was published in Lithuanian from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this language remained disadvantaged until the nationalist movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century when it underwent a deliberated revival. The Ruthenian language had already been rescued in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by the lay Orthodox Brotherhoods known as the *Stauropigii*<sup>24</sup> who established Ruthenian Orthodox seminaries and schools in an attempt (with limited success) to match those of the Polish Catholic humanists.<sup>25</sup>

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23 John-Paul Himka, “Confessional Relations in Galicia” in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 22-35.

24 The Ruthenian Orthodox Brotherhoods in the Commonwealth are described and their work sympathetically analysed in Antoni Mironowicz, *Bractwa cerkiewne w Rzeczypospolitej*, Białystok: [s.m.] (2003), passim.

25 John-Paul Himka, “Confessional Relations in Galicia” in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 22-35.



In the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the king had awarded the rights of the Polish szlachta to the Lithuanian nobility, but only because they had already converted to Roman Catholicism, along with Jagiełło. Orthodox Ruthenian princes and szlachta, in contrast, were to be awarded the same legal rights as the immigrant Polish szlachta only after their conversion to Catholicism. Later, a more conciliatory policy was adopted towards the Orthodox and Władysław III Warneńczyk (1434-1444) extended privileges to all Ruthenian nobility, irrespective of their religious allegiance. In 1443 the Orthodox Church was given the same legal rights as the Roman Catholic and Kazimierz IV maintained the same policy. In any case, by the late 16<sup>th</sup> century the Ruthenian nobility of their own choice were converting to Rome since westernised Polish culture offered them considerable political, social and economic advantages.<sup>26</sup> In addition, the feudal system enforced on the Polish estates gave the Ruthenian nobility a greater degree of legal autonomy, so that they could control their populace at will in the character of feudal lords.

Even after their voluntary polonisation the Ruthenian and Lithuanian nobility continued to acknowledge their original ethnic identity. A member of the szlachta would declare himself to be “a citizen of Poland of the Rus, or Lithuanian, nation”, or “a citizen of Lithuania of the Rus nation.”<sup>27</sup> The Ruthenian peasantry and urban labourers were unaffected by this process and they resented the polonisation of their ruling elite, specifically the conversion of the princes and szlachta to Roman Catholicism. This resentment never diminished, but rather intensified with the passing of time. At the lowest level of the class system the converse process could occur, in fact, since Polish peasantry from central Poland settling in Rus tended to adopt the Ruthenian culture of their new neighbours and would convert to the Orthodox faith.<sup>28</sup> Such confrontations from the 16<sup>th</sup> century on the part of Lithuanians and Ruthenians with the political and religious policies of the Polish Crown were perhaps the most significant catalyst in

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26 Potulnytskyi, “Galician Identity” in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicja* (2005), pp. 88-93.

27 For a text on the issue of culture and polonisation in Lithuania a synopsis of which has been translated into English see, Maria Barbara Topolska, “Specyfika kultury umysłowej doby baroku w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim [The Specificity of Intellectual Culture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Baroque Era]” in Jerzy Kowalczyk (ed.), *Kultura Artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku*, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN (1995), pp. 13-26, 253-54 (synopsis in English).

28 John-Paul Himka, “Confessional Relations in Galicja” in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicja* (2005), pp. 22-35.

the development of their own national identities. A change of religion from Orthodoxy to Rome would automatically lead to the assumption of a Polish identity, so that those Ruthenians who rejected the Union of Brześć (1595) and remained Orthodox simultaneously retained their authentic Ruthenian ethnicity.

In the reign of Zygmunt III Waza (1566-1632, king from 1587) six Orthodox bishops gathered at the Synod in Brześć (Eng. Brest-Litovsk) on 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1596,<sup>29</sup> in order to give their formal consent to the union of their Church with Rome.<sup>30</sup> The bishops of the new Greek Catholic, or Uniate, Church recognised the primacy and authority of the Papacy, but retained the liturgy and traditions of Orthodoxy. Subsequently, in cases where the Ruthenian peasantry and urban lower classes chose to abandon the Orthodox faith, they preferred to join the Uniate, rather than the Latin Catholic Church. The Uniates remained loyal to their original Ruthenian identity.<sup>31</sup> In contrast, the Ruthenian higher nobility mostly converted directly to Roman Catholicism and became polonised.

At this same time, however, at another Synod convened by the Orthodox hierarchy of Lwów and Przemyśl, a large proportion of the lower Orthodox clergy declared their opposition to the Union with Rome and they acknowledged the primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Large numbers of the Orthodox laity refused to join either the Uniate, or the Roman Catholic, Churches and they persisted in their allegiance to an independent Orthodox Church right through to the reign of Jan III Sobieski. These Orthodox communities acknowledged either the Moscow Patriarchate, or, alternatively, they formed a regional Autocephalous Church. It should be noted that both the Uniate and the Orthodox Churches encouraged and developed a resistant Ruthenian (later Ukrainian) nationalism.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, in addition to the lower levels of Ruthenian Orthodox society, there also existed Ruthenian princely families, such as the Sanguszko, Wiśniowiecki, Ostrojsky and Kisiel, who both refused to become polonised and to

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29 They came from the dioceses of Chełm, Luck, the Metropolitan, Pińsk-Turów, Polock (Polotsk) and Włodzimierz-Brześć.

30 Piotr Krasny, *Architektura Cerkiewna na Ziemiach Ruskich Rzeczypospolitej*, Krakow: Instytut Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (2003), p. 41.

31 Chris Hann, "The Limits of Galician Syncretism: Pluralism, Multiculturalism, and the Two Catholicisms" in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 210-37.

32 John-Paul Himka, *Religion and Nationality in Western Ukraine. The Greek Catholic Church and the Ruthenian National Movement in Galicia, 1867-1900*, Montreal and Kingston; London; Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press (1999), pp. 5-17, 24-25, 140ff.

change their religious confession. The Ostrogsky magnates promoted Ruthenian learning and education and organised the publication of books in that language. They also supported the Orthodox Church financially and funded new church construction. Nonetheless, despite such determined efforts, the Orthodox community in the Commonwealth eventually dwindled with time.

The Polish king Zygmunt III Waza had been avidly pro-Uniate, but he desisted from removing dissident Orthodox bishops from their sees and he awaited their natural demise, at which point he seized the opportunity to parcel up all the dioceses and parishes of the Eastern Commonwealth into respective Uniate and Orthodox jurisdictions.<sup>33</sup> In 1621 the Patriarch of Jerusalem Epifanes consecrated new clergy for any dissident Orthodox parishes that continued to function within the officially Uniate dioceses. The result was that all dioceses contained two opposing bishoprics, Uniate and Orthodox. In the north in Lithuania and White Rus the political superiority of the Uniate Church was achieved through the efforts of Metropolitan Adam Hipacy Pocięja (1541-1613) and the archbishop of Polock, Josafat Kuncewicz (1580-1623), as also through the missionary work of the reformed Basilian monastic order. The situation of the Orthodox confession improved on the death of Zygmunt III Waza in April, 1632. The new king Władysław IV Waza (ruled 1632-1648) in a decree of 18<sup>th</sup> March, 1633, conceded that the Metropolitanate of Kiev should be divided into two jurisdictions, one Uniate and the other Orthodox. The Orthodox Metropolitanate in Crownland Rus administered the diocese of Kiev with its seat in Kiev, but with additional jurisdiction over the bishoprics of Lwów, Łuck and Mscisław in Crownland Rus. The Uniate Metropolitanate, meanwhile, governed the diocese of Kiev with its seat in Wilno and had jurisdiction over the northern bishoprics of Polock, Pińsk, Smolensk, Włodzimierz and Chełm. In Przemyśl two bishops were appointed, one from each denomination.<sup>34</sup> The new Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev Petru Mohyla (Romanian, Petru Movilă, 1596–1646) implemented an extensive reform of Orthodoxy in Rus.

In the Eastern Ukrainian Metropolitan diocese it was impossible to introduce the Uniate Church at all due to the opposition of the Zaporozhian Cossacks who asserted their role as defenders of the Orthodox faith. The Cossacks (from Turkic “kazak,” free man) were an unruly hybrid community of landless, roaming Ruthenians, Poles and other ethnicities who chose to settle in the southern steppes as freemen

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33 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 42.

34 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 43.

where they engaged in trade, hunting and fishing. Many were on the run from the law of neighbouring regions, or they were impoverished warriors. The Cossack bands eventually developed into an autonomous, but loosely-organised, political entity known as the Zaporozhian Sich based on the Dnieper river, claiming self-government and deploying its own legal jurisdiction. From the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries they chose to acknowledge the rule of the Polish Crown, although they remained freemen not subject to the feudal laws of the nobility and not forced to labour on the land as serfs.<sup>35</sup> The Polish authorities hired some Cossacks (known as registered Cossacks) to guard the south-eastern frontier of Crownland Rus against the Turks and Tatars.<sup>36</sup>

In 1648 the Zaporozhian Sich rebelled against the Polish Crown in the Cossack Uprising which, among other goals, also aimed to end the religious union with Rome.<sup>37</sup> The Cossacks were led by Hetman Bohdan Chmielnicki (Ukr. Khmelnytsky: Богдан Теодор Зиновій Хмельницький) (1595-1657).<sup>38</sup> The Cossacks attacked Uniate clergy and their parishes and they forced the laity to re-convert to Orthodoxy.<sup>39</sup> In 1648 the Cossack forces were joined by Tatars from the Crimea led by Tuhaj-Bej and together they conclusively defeated the Polish army at Żółte Wody, Korsuń and Pilawic in a series of disastrous campaigns. On 6<sup>th</sup> October, 1648, the Cossacks laid siege to the city of Lwów. The Ruthenian population welcomed their arrival, regarding them as liberators who would massacre all Poles, Armenians and Jews. As it was, the Cossacks allowed themselves to be bought off and departed.<sup>40</sup> Chmielnicki was forced by circumstance, in the end, to seek a political alliance with the Tsar of Moscow and on 18<sup>th</sup> January, 1654, the Council of Elders of the Cossacks at Perejeslawl acknowledged the political suzerainty of Moscow, giving

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35 Nagielski, "Ukraincy" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 55-78.

36 Some recent popular histories, unlike the more objective scholarly analysis of Frank Sysyn eulogise uncritically and romanticise the role of the Cossacks in their historical effort to liberate the Ruthenian lands from the Polish Crown. Such a typical rather work is Jesse Harasta and Charles River Editors, *The Cossacks: The History and Legacy of the Legendary Slavic Warriors*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform (2015).

37 Davies, *God's Playground*, pp. 349-53.

38 See Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: the dilemma of Adam Kysil* (1985), pp. 79S-95, 202-13.

39 Tomasz Bohun, "Jak Kozacy stali się podporą prawosławia" in *Mówią wieki* 12, (587), Warszawa: Bellona (2008), pp. 19ff.

40 Gordon, *Cossack rebellions* (1983), passim.

Tsar Alexis (1629-76) an excuse to invade Lithuania.<sup>41</sup> In 1654 the Russians conquered Polotsk and Vitebsk and in 1655 they also took Wilno, the seat of the Uniate Metropolitan.<sup>42</sup> The Treaty of Andruszowo (1667) ended the war, but it left the Ukraine partitioned along the Dnieper river. The territories of Crownland Rus on the eastern side of the Dnieper, including Kiev, were ceded to Moscow, while the Polish Crown retained the lands to the west of the Dnieper.<sup>43</sup> The Zaphorozian Sich and the Cossacks came under the control of Moscow. At the Peace of Grzymułtowsko (Treaty of Eternal Peace) (1686) the Orthodox Church in the Kievan lands was integrated into the Moscow Patriarchate. In addition, the government of the Commonwealth had to acknowledge the Tsar as the protector of all Orthodox faithful on its territories. The Synod of Moscow in 1653 had requested the Tsar to take all the lands of Rus under his control for the protection of the Orthodox Church. In fact, the allegiance of the Cossack armies to Moscow and the surrender of their lands did not liberate them, since their political liberties formerly guaranteed by the Polish Crown, were axed by the Tsar.

This catastrophic turn of events resulted in the dominating position of Tsarist Russia over the Polish Crown, a state of affairs that lasted under Soviet rule through into the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from the loss of nearly half the territories of the Commonwealth, the Tsar now also had the legal right to interfere at will in the affairs of Poland-Lithuania by claiming at any juncture that the rights of the Orthodox were being threatened. The Russian power would have freely applied this prerogative but for the astute reaction of the Polish king Jan III Sobieski. After the Grzymułtowsko treaty in 1686 the king and the hierarchy of the Commonwealth regarded all members of the Orthodox Church as fifth columnists, as agents of the inimical Muscovite state. The nobility also began to support the Uniate Church unreservedly in order to limit Russian influence. In a resolute policy Sobieski set himself to limit the influence of the Tsar in the internal affairs of the Commonwealth. To this end he pursued a pro-Uniate strategy. In 1680 at a colloquium of Catholic and Orthodox clergy in Lublin he attempted to coerce the Orthodox into a new union with Rome, but unsuccessfully. So he took another tack. A far more effective tool of persuasion was the application of his legal right as king to approve the nomination of candidates to Orthodox bishoprics. Sobieski applied pressure, shrewdly taking advantage of the candidates' political

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41 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 43.

42 Nagielski, "Ukraincy" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie* (2010), pp. 55-78.

43 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 44.

ambition in forcing them to acknowledge secretly the supremacy of the Pope before applying for a post. The colloquium at Lublin may have yielded no fruit, but the king's personal intervention in the appointment of Orthodox bishops had dramatic results. The bishops nominated by the king subsequently united their Orthodox dioceses with Rome, so that by the time of Sobieski's death in 1696 the Orthodox Church had almost ceased to exist in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, except among the poorest sections of Ruthenian society.

In this context of changing political and religious affiliations there is the not untypical case of the Orthodox Ruthenian theologian Adam Kisiel (Pol. Adam Świątoldycz Kisiel; Ukr. Адам Святольдич Кисіль) (1580/1600-53). Kisiel was the Wojewoda of Kiev (1649-1653) and of Czernihów during the Swedish invasions and the Cossack rebellions. He supported the Commonwealth and Polish rule while continuing to work tirelessly for the benefit of Ruthenian culture and the Orthodox faith. Regarded as a traitor by modern Ukrainian nationalists, Kisiel has been vindicated in a recent study by Frank Sysyn.<sup>44</sup> Kisiel himself admitted that had there existed an independent Ruthenian state, then he would have pledged his allegiance to that, but in default he preferred to remain loyal to Poland rather than surrender to the invading Swedes and Russians.

As for another non-Catholic faith community, that of the Armenians, after decades of reservation with regard to the Union of Brześć, the Armenian Orthodox Synod finally agreed in 1630 to convert to Roman Catholicism. Despite the political and economic benefits for the Armenians that accompanied this religious assimilation, especially in cities such as Lwów, it resulted very quickly in the total abandonment of the Armenian language and of their entire culture. Had they converted to the Uniate Church (retaining their Orthodox liturgy and traditions), rather than directly to Catholicism, the Armenians might have had a better chance of retaining at least some aspects of their historical culture.<sup>45</sup>

At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Roman Catholicism was the faith of only forty per cent of the population, while the Orthodox Church had

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44 Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine: the dilemma of Adam Kysil* (1985), pp. 46-61, 95-111/ 202-213. See also Frank E. Sysyn, "Ukrainian Social Tensions before the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising" in Samuel H. Baron and Nancy Shields (eds.), *Religion and Culture in early Modern Russia and Ukraine*, Delcalb, Illinois; Nathan Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press (1997), pp. 52-70; Robert I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655-1660*, Cambridge University Press (1993), passim.

45 Krzysztof Stopka, "Ormianie" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie*, (2010), pp. 115-31.

the same numbers, the rest of the population being Jews, or Protestants. The second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the acceptance of the Protestant Reformation by large numbers of magnates and szlachta in Poland and Lithuania (although not in southern Rus).<sup>46</sup> Calvinism triumphed in Lithuania, along with the Arian Polish Brotherhood which was favoured especially in south-eastern Crownland Poland. Calvinist and Arian creeds were sponsored by the politically ambitious Polish szlachta, as well as by Lithuanian magnates and princes, such as the Radziwiłł. Even the king Zygmunt II August was sympathetic to the Reformed Churches and he established a policy of religious toleration.<sup>47</sup> The Calvinist Jan Łaski (Eng. John de Lasco) strove to unify the Protestant churches and to establish a Church of Poland on the model of the English and German forms. The exceptional feature of this proposal was that Łaski aimed also to encompass the Orthodox Church.<sup>48</sup> In 1555 Zygmunt II accepted this proposal and contacted the Papacy for approval which was not forthcoming, to say the least, and the idea failed completely. However, the first bible was translated into Polish from Hebrew and Greek and published in 1563 (known as the Bible of Brześć). It was funded by the Lithuanian prince, Mikołaj Radziwiłł Czarny (the Black) (1515-65), a Calvinist convert.<sup>49</sup>

There was also the sizeable Jewish community on these same terrains. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, for the most part, the Polish-Lithuanian Jewish community was privileged and the ethnic and religious identity of the Jews was guaranteed by the Crown. However, from the later 17<sup>th</sup> century Christian nobility and burghers became more antagonistic to the Jews who were placed under legal restrictions by the Polish authorities

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46 Jerzy Kłoczkowski, "Some Remarks on the Social and Religious History of Sixteenth-Century Poland" in Samuel Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1988), pp. 96-107.

47 Janusz Tazbir, *A state without stakes: Polish religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Washington: Kościuszko Foundation (1973), passim.

48 Also Kłoczkowski, "Some Remarks on the Social and Religious History of Sixteenth-Century Poland" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1988), pp. 96-107; Janusz Tazbir, "The Polish Reformation as an Intellectual Movement" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 111ff.

49 David A. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation*, Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press (1989), pp. 67-80.



in response to external pressure from the Papacy and the internal forces of the Counter-Reformation. Jewish merchants, financiers, traders and craftsmen had been brought into Crownland Rus in an organised policy of immigration instigated by Kazimierz III Piast (1333-1370) who granted them special privileges. The intention was to develop banking, trade and the management of the agrarian economy in the Commonwealth through taking advantage of Jewish financial resources and skills.

A smaller faith group was that of the Islamic Tatars who from the 14th century were also being settled by Lithuanian princes in the Wilno region and further south in Rus. In the period of the Commonwealth the Tatars were not under any pressure to assimilate to Polish Catholicism, as were the Jews, but the numbers of Tatars were far smaller. Their communities were dispersed and they were far less visible.

### **The class-structure of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth**

The nobility among the Poles and polonised Lithuanians and Ruthenians formed a governing class known in Polish as the “szlachta.” This comprised a large proportion of the population of the Commonwealth, maybe as high as ten to twelve per cent, a much higher number than that of the nobility in other countries.<sup>50</sup> The szlachta comprised all national groups, whether Polish, Ruthenian, Lithuanian, Armenian, Moldavian, Islamic Tatars (such as the polonised Niekrasiewicz family), even Jewish merchants (such as the Serafimowicze), as well as Germans in Silesia and Kraków. Membership of the szlachta class could be gained only with the agreement of the Sejm (the lower chamber of parliament) and could not be conferred by the king alone, nor in any individual decision made by the magnates and princes.

The parliament of the Polish kingdom had been established in 1493 when it began to meet regularly for the first time at Piotrków. Participation was limited to the szlachta and burghers, with the lower classes being excluded. Parliament consisted of a Senate of eighty-one bishops and officers of state and a lower chamber, the Sejm, with fifty-four delegates (Pol. “posłowie”) from the different provinces. On 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1505, Aleksander I Jagiellończyk issued a decree with the agreement of the Sejm known as the “Nihil novi nisi commune consensus.” This transferred most of the legislative power from the king to the Sejm. The king was required

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50 A detailed discussion of the political system of the Polish state and its legal and economic foundations is provided in Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine* (1985), pp. 5ff.



to consult both houses of parliament before enacting legislation. From this time it was the nobility who ruled the state, rather than the king.<sup>51</sup> By the Act of Bydgoszcz (1520) the Sejm was permitted to convene every four years, even against the wishes of the king.<sup>52</sup> In 1492 the throne of Poland ceased to be hereditary and the king was, henceforth, elected by the Senate alone (which had, in fact, occurred by default on previous occasions). The first king elected by due process was Jan I Olbracht Jagiellończyk. At first, only members of the Jagiellonian dynasty were eligible, but soon all comers were being considered. This step of permitting even enemy foreign candidates to apply for the throne produced a permanent instability in the realm and was one of the main reasons for the decline of the Commonwealth in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The magnates and szlachta played the dominating political role, controlling the votes of the lower nobility in the Sejm. It was the upper nobility that chose the kings, bribing the lesser szlachta to comply with their choice and themselves being bribed by foreign powers, with catastrophic effects on the Commonwealth.

The economic power of the szlachta, as well as its political authority, increased in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In the rest of Europe subsequent to the plague of the Black Death (1348) landlords were progressively commuting the labour dues of their tenants in return for monetary rents, but in Poland during the 15<sup>th</sup> century the reverse process happened and the nobility increased their demands for peasant labour. The land-holding system in Poland was based on the “folwark,” great expanses of land owned directly by the landlord, rather than being rented-out as lots to tenantry. Hence, it was imperative for the nobility to enforce unpaid labour, although this reduced the peasantry to the condition of serfs. The legal rights of the peasantry were abolished by the Sejm which further restricted the legal privileges of the autonomous cities and towns.<sup>53</sup> Whereas from the 17<sup>th</sup> century in western Europe capitalistic systems of production were changing the modes of agriculture, conversely, in the Commonwealth the nobility were strengthening their feudal rights which persisted into the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Crown was on the side of the nobility and by the Piotrków Privilege (1496) burghers were forbidden to buy land, while peasants were bound to their villages.

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51 Anna Grzekowiak-Krwawicz, *Queen Liberty: The Concept of Freedom in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Studies in Central European Histories), Leiden: Brill, 2012.

52 Augustyniak and Hryniewicz, *History of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (2015), pp. 71-106.

53 Antoni Mączak, “Polish Society and Power System in the Renaissance” in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 17-33.

The development of industrial production was limited by the nobility's control of land and trade. Nonetheless, from the 16<sup>th</sup> century Poland began to export considerable quantities of products derived from mining and metallurgy, agriculture and forestry. The burgher class was not represented in the Sejm, but the urban bourgeoisie retained their privileges and self-government by means of city councils and regional judiciary.<sup>54</sup> The major cities were Kraków, Poznań, Warsaw and Lwów. The capital of Poland and of the Commonwealth was moved from Kraków to Warsaw in 1596. However, the kings had their official residences also in Wilno and Grodno in Lithuania, as well as in various minor towns in Crownland Rus which housed the peripatetic court of Jan Sobieski. From these regional sites they governed the state and convened the Sejm.<sup>55</sup>

By law all members of the szlachta class were equal to each other, but, in reality, there was a large class of impoverished szlachta ("szlachta zaściankowa"), especially in the Eastern Commonwealth, which held only small parcels of land and settled itself as extended family groups in villages known as "zaścianki." These were especially common in western Belarus. The lower szlachta was engaged in a struggle against the great magnates and, for a time in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was in the ascendant.

A magnate was someone who could trace the origins of his family for many generations and who owned twenty or more villages and estates. The magnates lived like princes, especially in Lithuania and Rus, possessing estates the size of small countries, containing hundreds of towns and villages and thousands of serfs. In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century the magnates of Lithuania and Rus won the right to create "ordynacja" out of their landed estates. These were autonomous principedoms and the lands could be passed down only to direct male heirs. The domains were usually legally inviolate and could not be divided among a number of different beneficiaries. The magnates were the equals in power and wealth of the Polish king, especially the Radziwiłł family, as also the Zamoyski, Lubomirski, Chodowiecki and Potocki, among others. They had many legal rights over burgher freemen, even in regional capitals such as Lwów. The highest offices in the state belonged only to the magnate class who bought them for cash. The political power of the magnates was disproportionate to their

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54 Myron Kapral, *Urządnicy miasta Lwowa w XIII-XVIII wieku, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek* (2008) [Spisy urzędników miejskich z obszaru dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Śląska i Pomorza Zachodniego; 7: Ziemie Ruskie, zeszyt 1: Lwów]; Myron Kapral, *Prywilei natsional'nykh hromad mista L'vova, XIV-XVIII st., L'viv: MHKO "Dokumental'na skarbnytsia L'vova"* (2000).

55 Mączak, "Polish Society and Power System in the Renaissance" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 17-33.

number which was no more than one per cent of the total population, around two hundred people in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. It should be noted, however, that in Poland itself there were no titles, such as prince, or count. Only the dynasty of the Piasts had the legal right to employ the titles of prince and, on the demise of the Piast kings, no-one else was empowered to adopt these dignities for themselves, with the exception of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes. As a result, some Polish magnates and szlachta turned to the Holy Roman Empire, or to the Papacy, for such honours, though they were not legally entitled to use these titles within the Commonwealth. Nonetheless, this regulation was usually disregarded. Even so, these titles were very few in number in the Eastern Commonwealth. Only five szlachta families of the Commonwealth, including the Radziwiłł, ever acquired the right to the title of imperial prince, for example.<sup>56</sup>

Jan III Sobieski (1629-96) was the last ruler of Poland to hold the interests of his country as a priority. He managed to strengthen the state and to defend it effectively by limiting the predations of Russians, Prussians and Turks.<sup>57</sup> In his political and military acumen Sobieski ranks alongside Stefan Batory (1571–76) who in the fourth Polish-Russian war (1577-82) forced the Russian Tsar at Pskov to acknowledge Polish hegemony.<sup>58</sup> Most especially, Sobieski managed to contain the Turkish conquest of Central Europe through his participation in the Battle of Vienna (1683).<sup>59</sup> Subsequent kings were often foreigners elected by the Sejm and the selection of the Waza (Vasa) dynasty from Sweden was an outright disaster, leading to the ruin of the Commonwealth in the later 17<sup>th</sup> century and eventually to its total annihilation in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>60</sup> The

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56 Adam Zamoyski, "History of Poland in the 16th-18th centuries" in Ostrowski [et al.], *Land of the Winged Horsemen: art in Poland, 1572-1764* (1999), pp. 28ff.

57 Davies, *God's Playground*, pp. 357-70.

58 For an account of the Polish military organisation in this period see Richard Brzezinski, *Polish Armies 1569-1696*, vol. 1 (Men-at-Arms), Oxford: Osprey Publishing (1987), passim.

59 Norman Davies [Bolesław Mazur ed.], *Sobieski's legacy: Polish history 1683-1983: a lecture ...*, London : Published for the School of Slavonic and East European Studies by Orbis (1985), passim. See also one of the earliest biographies available in English, viz, Alexander Tyler, *Memoires of the life and actions of the most invincible and triumphant prince, Ihon the Great, third of that name, present king of Poland ...*, Edinburgh: Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson ... (1685).

60 For an analysis of the role of the Polish kings and szlachta in the demise of the Commonwealth see Jerzy Lukowski, *Liberty's Folly: The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Eighteenth Century*, New York; Abingdon: Routledge

Waza kings Zygmunt III (1566-1632; ruled 1587-1632), Władysław IV (1595-1648; ruled 1632-48) and Jan II Kazimierz (1609-72; ruled 1648-68) were more concerned with gaining the Swedish crown, than with governing the Commonwealth effectively.

The term “Deluge” (in Polish “Potop”) is popularly used to describe the simultaneous invasions of Swedes, Russians, Turks and Tatars, and other alien forces, that flooded the Commonwealth in the decades 1648-67.<sup>61</sup> Simultaneously, the Cossack Uprising erupted in 1648. Jan II Kazimierz lacked the military support of his nobility and could not withstand the invading armies of Charles X Gustav of Sweden (ruled 1654-60).<sup>62</sup> The Swedes encouraged the Muscovites to invade and the Cossack forces of Bohdan Chmielnicki allied with the Russians. In these wars the Commonwealth lost over a third of its population. The economy was totally ruined, with a decreased population, burnt-out cities, towns and countless villages, ruined agriculture, trade and industry and a starving population. Many cities such as Wilno had become piles of rubble after being occupied and razed to the ground again and again and again. The Peace of 1657 lasted until the disasters of the Great Northern War (1700-21) which utterly destroyed the political and economic situation of Poland, rendering her vulnerable to the territorial predations of the Russian and Prussian empires.<sup>63</sup> The Polish Foundation for the Reconstruction of the Devastation Caused in the Time of the Swedish Deluge (Fundacja Odbudowy Zniszczeń Dokonanych w Czasie Potopu Szwedzkiego) has estimated that in 1655-60 the invading Swedes caused the destruction of 188 towns, 186 villages, 81 castles, 136 churches, 30 mills, 10 breweries and 89 palaces. The population of cities such as Warsaw was reduced to ten per cent of the former twenty thousand and the entire city was raised to the ground in much the same manner as during the Nazi occupation in the 1940s. Kraków and Wilno were devastated and the populations reduced by over half. This was true of the entire population of the Commonwealth.

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(1991), pp. 9-37, 86-120. See also Jerzy Lukowski, *The Partitions of Poland 1772, 1793, 1795*, New York; Abingdon: Routledge (1999), pp. 1-19, 105-117.

61 Robert I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War, 1655-1660* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History), Cambridge University Press (2010), pp. 26-52, 168-179.

62 Macierzysz k/ Ożarowa Maz. ul. Sochaczewska 110: email: slaw@alc.pl www.polen-gustav.pl See also the telling essay by Jakub Wozinski, “Zruinowali Polskę,” *Historia bez cenzury*, 6 (14), June (2017), pp. 8-13..

63 Robert I. Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558 - 1721* (Modern Wars In Perspective) London: Routledge (2000), pp. 78ff, 116ff, 146ff, 183-185, 209-210.

The plan of the invaders was that conquered Poland should be divided between the Swedes, Cossacks, Russians and Prussians. The devastation wreaked by the fighting weakened Poland permanently and made her incapable of defending herself against the predations of the three imperial powers in the later 18<sup>th</sup> century. Her gross national product dropped to fifty-five per cent of the product prior to the Swedish invasions. The historian Jakub Wozinski has also made a case for the anti-Catholic crusading aspect of the Protestant Swedish king and his intention to destroy the Catholic Church on the territories of the Commonwealth, replacing it with the Reformed faith.<sup>64</sup>

It was in the reign of Władysław IV (1632-48) that the concept of the “*liberum veto*” arose in the Sejm. This was a legality according to which the consensus of every single nobleman present in the lower chamber was required for the ratification of any proposed legislation. The result was chaos. Noblemen were bought off by the enemies of the state and by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the Sejm was impotent. The Commonwealth became virtually ungovernable. Several times the Sejm convened and was instantly forced to disband by the objection of a bribed delegate who refused permission for the Sejm to take place at all. Jan Sobieski attempted to end the run of the “*liberum veto*” and also to make the monarchy hereditary but he lacked the political authority to rein-in the headstrong szlachta who were in the pockets of the Lithuanian magnates, several of whom were inimical to the existence of the dual Commonwealth and were plotting its demise with the aid of the Russians and Prussians.<sup>65</sup>

## Sarmatism

The mind-set of the magnates and szlachta was expressed in an ideology known as “Sarmatism,” a powerful ancestor cult. It was believed that the Polish szlachta had inherited the customs, outlook and military vigour of the ancient Romans through a neighbouring people identified by Roman classical sources as “Sarmatians.” These lived on the south-east Caucasian steppe between the river Don and the Black Sea. To their east were the lands of the related Scythians and both were peoples of great military prowess. Sarmatians had been mentioned as great warriors by the Greek historian Herodotus, among others. The Sarmatians were related to

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64 Jakub Wozinski, “Zruinowali Polskę,” *Historia bez cenzury*, 6 (14), June (2017), pp. 8-13.

65 Jerzy Lukowski, “The Szlachta and the Monarchy: Reflections on the Struggle *inter maiestatem ac libertatem*” in Butterwick (ed.), *The Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy in European Context*, pp. 132-49.

the Scythians, Medes, Parthians and Persians. These were all Indo-European Iranian-speaking tribes who had wandered out of Central Asia in the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC, arriving in the region between the Black and the Caspian seas where they settled for the next five hundred years.<sup>66</sup> Prior to these claims on the part of the Polish szlachta the Hungarians, who were genuinely descended from Central Asian Turkic stock, had already laid claim to Sarmatian origins.<sup>67</sup>

The Polish nobility, in their turn, created a history for themselves relating how their Sarmatian ancestors had ridden out of the eastern steppes into the Polish lowlands. The country of Poland and eventually the entire Commonwealth was named “Sarmacja” and this name became commonly used through-out Europe to designate Poland.<sup>68</sup> An important resource concerning this subject is the extensive pioneering work of Tadeusz Mańkowski, some of whose comments now need to be problematised. Another older authority (published in 1950) is Tadeusz Ulewicz who presents a balanced view of the Sarmatian myth.<sup>69</sup> The most recent studies of the phenomenon of Sarmatism currently incline to the view that the Poles were factually of genuine Sarmatian stock. Further, some recent scholars, such as Jacek Kowalski, have queried the older idea that the nobility considered itself to be of different ethnic origin from that of the burghers and peasantry.<sup>70</sup> In fact, it was not that the nobility perceived itself to be of different ethnic stock from the peasantry, but, rather, the szlachta did not regard the peasantry as forming any integral part of the “res publica.” The lowliest social state was illiterate, unpoliticised, inaudible and totally invisible for all intents and purposes.

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66 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Genealogia sarmatyzmu*, Warszawa: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze “Łuk” (1946), pp. 9-11, 16-22, 31-36, 95-101.

67 Endre Angyal, “Die osteuropäische Bedeutung des Sarmatismus” in György Székely and Erik Fügedi, *La Renaissance et la Réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie ... (1450-1650)*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó (1963), pp. 501-9.

68 Thomas DaCosta Kauffman, “Definition and Self-Definition in Polish Culture and Art, 1572-1764” in Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), pp. 17 ff. Also see, Zamoyski, “History of Poland in the 16th -18th Centuries” in Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), pp. 30-32, as well as Zdzisław Żygulski Jr., “The Impact of the Orient on the Cultures

of Old Poland,” in Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), pp. 70-79.

69 Tadeusz Ulewicz, *Sarmacja: studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w ; Zagadnienie sarmatyzmu w kulturze i literaturze polskiej (problematyka ogólna i zarys historyczny)*, with a retrospective resumé by Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, reprint Kraków: Collegium Columbinum (2006).

70 Jacek Kowalski, *Obalenie mitów. Sarmacja. Podręcznik bojowy*, Warszawa: Zona Zero (2016).

The magnates and szlachta, in short, did not think less of the peasantry. Rather, they did not think of the peasantry at all.

Everyone else apart from the peasantry, wealthy or not, noble, cleric and burgher alike, was a Sarmatian, simply because he lived in Sarmatia. This included the Ruthenians. On their part, the Lithuanian nobility and intelligentsia demurred and established a totally different ethnic source for themselves.

It was Maciej Miechowita, a rector at the Jagiellonian University, in his influential work *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517) who had produced the first literary apology for Sarmatism.<sup>71</sup> The word “szlachta” gave rise to the adjective “szlachetny” which has the sense of quality and, in the case of animals, that of pure breed. Applied to minerals it has the sense of “precious stones,” in the case of behaviour that of moral rectitude. In fact, the words “Sarmacja” and “szlachta” were interchangeable in this meaning. A recent study by Urszula Świdarska-Włodarczyk has examined the concept of moral quality which was regarded to be attendant on membership of the szlachta.<sup>72</sup> The “szlachcic” was “de facto” a person of quality, a worthy individual, guaranteed to be of “good birth.” “Good birth” had the sense not only of an elite club, but, more especially, of having the innately-born qualities of moral excellence. The proliferation of genealogical tables among the szlachta families in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was the result of desperately struggling to establish the “szlachetność” of a particular family. This noun denotes not only membership of the szlachta as established by law, but also the high quality of their breeding and their noble descent. Indeed, the English word “noble” bears a similar range of meanings denoting exceptional quality. The word “szlachcic” was translated into Latin as “homo nobilis.”

In a more radical recent study the historian Roman Krzywy has provided a fresh interpretation of the character of the “Sarmatian” in

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71 Mańkowski, *Genealogia sarmatyzmu*, p. 97. A recent exhibition concerning Sarmatian culture in Poland provides little detail about the nobility resident in Lithuania and Crownland Rus, see Joanna Dziubkova (ed.), *Szlachetne Dziedzictwo czy Przeklęty Spadek Tradycji Sarmackiej w Sztuce i w Kulturze*, 11 November, 2004, to 27 February, 2005, exhibition catalogue, Poznań; Museum Narodowe (2005). See especially Marek Górny, “Rodzina sarmacka” in Dziubkova (ed.), *Szlachetne Dziedzictwo* (2005), pp. 13-19, for a discussion of family in the Sarmatian cult, as well as Sarmatian portraiture (pp. 28ff), Polish costume (pp. 67ff) and coffin portraits (pp. 412-23).

72 Urszula Świdarska-Włodarczyk, *Homo nobilis. Wzorzec szlachcica w Rzeczypospolitej XVIIego wieku*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN (2017), *passim*.



which he has rejected the common association of “Sarmatism” with the national stereotypes of the landed “szlachcic,” as also with the arts and crafts of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>73</sup> Krzywy alludes to Mariusz Karpowicz’s much earlier examination of two different definitions of Sarmatism, the first being concerned solely with the genealogical descent of the Polish nation and the other (commonly accepted by contemporary scholars and the general public) associating Sarmatism with a cultural construct.<sup>74</sup> Both the taste for Asian artefacts and for Latin classical culture had become associated by scholars and Polish popular culture with “Sarmatism.” Instead, Krzywy points out, these are tastes and interests shared in common with the nobility of other nations. The Poles, like other nations in Eastern Europe, including the Russians and Hungarians, adopted styles of dress from the Turks that included wide pantaloons, kaftans, broad brocaded sashes, soft dyed leather boots, turbans, shaven heads and long moustaches. They all bore oriental weaponry, such as the curved scimitar.<sup>75</sup> In parallel to this interest in the decorative arts and armour of the Near East, the szlachta were also steeped in classical Roman texts, with reading knowledge of Latin and familiarity with Greek history and literature, even if reading knowledge of Greek was uncommon. In fact, “Sarmatism” as a term should be distinguished from the *mores* and customs of the szlachta as a class.

According to Krzywy, it is a misconception to treat of Sarmatism as a cultural formation incorporating ideology, art, crafts, literature, customs and dress, all of which are creations of the szlachta. The arts, literature and crafts could, indeed, be carriers of Sarmatian ideas but a “Sarmatian art,” in the sense of an identifiable style as such did not exist.<sup>76</sup> Rather the style of the period was eclectic, gathering in many influences from all parts of Europe and all historical periods, not only from the Turkish provinces and Persia. Krzywy argues that although a preference in style for the crafts of the Near East could indeed reflect a Sarmatian outlook, this was only as an aspect of a broader interest by the szlachta in all kinds of aesthetic forms. Sarmatism was only one aspect of the szlachta’s eclectic artistic tastes.

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73 Roman Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka” in Marek Prejs (ed.), *Humanistyczne Modele Kultury Nowożytnej wobec Dziedzictwa Starożytnego*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton (2010), pp. 177-218.

74 Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka” (2010), p. 178.

75 Mańkowski, *Genealogia sarmatyzmu*, pp. 95-97; Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej (L’Orient et la culture artistique en Pologne)*, Wrocław; Kraków (1959), pp. 7-15, 27-49, 50-63, 67-86, 90, 93-98, 100-111, 150-89, 190-210, 223-39.

76 Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka” (2010), p. 181.



Krzywy also discusses the ensuing “anti-sarmatism” of the rational, western-influenced philosophers of the Polish Enlightenment.<sup>77</sup> In opposition to the szlachta’s self-image of the noble and excellent “szlachcic,” the thinkers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century perceived in Sarmatism nothing but conservatism created by an under-educated class of petty nobles.

Krzywy has suggested a new scholarly approach to the definition of Sarmatism which is to regard it as an ideology of the szlachta, based on a myth of ethnic origins to which there were gradually added a complicated group of existential concepts to create a distinctive world-outlook unique to the szlachta, one which the magnates and the king attempted to quash.<sup>78</sup> Krzywy regards “Sarmatism” not as a phenomenon with defined boundaries, but rather as a developing process resulting in an ideological umbrella for a variety of different concepts. The view that Sarmatism was primarily an ideology, rather than an aesthetic manifestation, was sponsored also by Tadeusz Mańkowski, Tadeusz Ulewicz, Tadeusz Chrzanowski, Janusz Pele and others. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Krzywy points out, Sarmatism was not a world-view (Pol. “światopogląd”), but only an indistinct ideology in the process of crystalizing and, due to historical circumstances, this gradually became the world-view of the szlachta.<sup>79</sup> This was finalised only in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and it was caused by the extinction of the Jagiellonian dynasty.

First, there were inaugurated free elections in the selection of a king and, then, the acceptance of the Henrician articles which established the position of the szlachta in the state and caused the petrification of its ideology. The Henrician Articles (Pol. Artykuły Henrykowskie; Lat., Articuli Henriciani) were a contract between the “Polish nation,” namely, the szlachta and the newly elected king consisting of eighteen articles written and adopted by the szlachta in 1573 at Kamień, near Warsaw, during the interregnum at the end of the Jagiellonian dynasty. The document takes its name from Henry of Valois, the first king to be elected in a free election, who was obliged to sign the Articles. Henceforward, all kings-elect had to swear to respect the Articles in their coronation oaths. The Articles were, effectively, the first constitution of Poland prior to the Constitution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1791. The Articles stated that all kings were to be chosen by means of a free election and that their children had no right of inheritance to the throne of Poland. Furthermore, the king was obliged to convene a general Sejm (parliament) at least once every two years and this was to last for six weeks. The king could not raise taxes

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77 Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka” (2010), p. 179.

78 Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka,” p. 180.

79 Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka,” p. 181.

without the approval of the Sejm. When the Sejm was not in session the king was to be guided and advised by sixteen resident senators who were to be elected every two years by the Sejm. Four of these, in rotation, ensured that the king made no decision in defiance of the laws of the Commonwealth. All royal decrees had to be confirmed by the chancellors, or the deputy chancellors. Additional Articles greatly restricted the authority of the king in raising an army and in declaring war. Religious freedom was also guaranteed. Should the king defy the law or usurp the privileges of the szlachta, then the szlachta could act against him in an action known as the “rokosz.” All the kings swore that should they transgress the laws, liberties, privileges or customs of the realm, then all its inhabitants would be released from obedience to them.

The middle szlachta gained a privileged position in the state due to their wealth raised from the folwarks in a period of financial crisis elsewhere in the markets of Europe. Other changes further emphasised their authority, such as the decision of Zygmunt August to accept the religious decrees of the Council of Trent and to admit the Jesuit Order into Poland with its conversionary missions against Protestants and the Orthodox and their policy of anti-Semitism and the penalisation of the Jewish community. Further, there were territorial changes in the geography of the state, as well as the rising military threat of the Turkish Empire and of that of Moscow. Hence, the nobility prided themselves on their “Golden Freedom” (Pol. *Złota Wolność*), their independence from state control, with each individual noble having the right to determine his own actions.

This was the most essential aspect of the Sarmatic cult, political self-assertion, a tribalistic atavism that provided an ideology for the szlachta’s aggrandisement of power, wrested from the hands of the king, the magnates and princes. On their own estates, all nobles were free and equal. Anna Grzekowiak-Krwawicz in a recent study has examined at length the course of this myth from its creation by the political elite in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The “Golden Freedom” stood at the very heart of aristocratic culture. The ideal lifestyle of a Sarmatian noble was that of the simple country estate, far removed from the corruption of court and city, a lifestyle which was eulogised in bucolic verse and prose.

This existential model of life on the land and of simple and robust knightly virtues was inherited, not from the ancient Sarmatians, but from the classical model of the ideal Renaissance courtier as it was developed by Italian humanists, most notably in the *Il Cortegiano* (begun 1508, first published 1528) by Count Baldassare Castiglione of Urbino (1478-1529). In his theories knightly virtues in the field were inter-related with the

responsibilities of the citizen in the state. Civic virtue consisted of active participation in decision-making in parliament. In the First Commonwealth this idea resulted in the generation of concepts of equal rights of freedom and the rejection of the absolutist rule of the monarchy. The religious attitudes accompanying such a civic-knightly outlook were firmly traditionalist and had not budged one inch from the medieval Catholicism of the Polish nation. The Sarmatian ideals of the szlachta involved an uncritical respect for the religious principles of their forefathers and they saw the Commonwealth as a bastion of Catholic Christianity against paganism. The “szlachcic” regarded himself as a “miles Christianitatis.” The rise in the supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and its eventual establishment as the national church was the culmination of the Sarmatian knightly endeavour.<sup>80</sup>

It was not only the Polish szlachta whose roots were said to lie among the fabled pagan nations of antiquity, for in his poem, *The Baptism of the Ruthenians* (1544), the Ruthenian humanist Stanisław Orzechowski (Ukr. Stanislav Orihovskiy) (1513-66) argued a case for Ruthenian culture being similarly of Scythian origins. Such Scythian ancestry, in his ideas, was not confined to the Ruthenian szlachta, but involved the entirety of the Ruthenian nation, high and low alike. The Ruthenian szlachta had a quite different relationship with their peasants and lower classes than their Polish peers. The Ruthenian szlachta were acknowledged as equals by the Polish nobility and for practical purposes they tended to side politically with the Poles, nonetheless, the Ruthenian nobility did not distance itself from its peasant class to the same extent as the Poles.

In fact, the desire for roots in the pagan steppes was shared from the late medieval period by the nobility of several Slavonic nations, as well as among the Turkic Hungarians. In the founding stories of their state narrated by all Slavs and Hungarians, their nation originated at the moment of the Christian baptism of the ruler and his tribe. The political rhetoric of all these states and their elites repeatedly lauded the Christian character of their people, their role in the defeat of paganism and their subsequent opposition to Tatar inroads. Yet, there existed another paradoxical myth alongside the Christian legend which was completely pagan in character and which had an equally powerful influence. In fact, there was a common aspiration in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries for eastern ethnic roots distinct from those of the classical Latin west, not only among

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80 Krzywy, “Ideologia sarmacka,” p. 185.

the Polish szlachta and the Ruthenian intelligentsia, but also among the Russian boyars in Moscow.

The Muscovite Russians located their own ancestry, not among the Scythians of the ancient Roman world, but among the Mongol tribes of the Golden Horde. According to 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian anthropologists, the Russian nobility were seeking for the origins of their class in the conquering Tatars during the period of Moscow's political subjugation to the Mongol Khanate in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. This ancestry also served to distinguish the Russian nobility from the lower Slavic and Baltic peasants on their lands. In the official chronicles of the Russian state the subjugation by the Mongols was supposedly a shameful state of affairs. In reality, the boyars extolled the Golden Horde and its mighty political authority. The Russian nobility genuinely admired the conquering exploits of the Tatars in much the same manner as the Poles admired their own Turkish opponents. Boyar nobles even changed their names to Tatar forms. This admiration of the Mongolian overlords continued through to the reign of Peter the Great (1672-1725) who ruthlessly forced his nobility to turn westwards in their political and social orientations and to abandon their atavistic nostalgia for pagan Tatar. Even so, in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it one again became fashionable to claim a Mongol Tatar ancestry among the Russian aristocracy. Moreover, archival research has revealed that the most important Russian princely and noble families genuinely had ancestral roots in the Golden Horde of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>81</sup>

There were, moreover, other genealogical lines of descent from Central Asia among the Poles, including those nobles who were of Lithuanian and Ruthenian origins. This other bloodline originated in the south-eastern regions of the Black Sea. Like the Russian boyars certain Polish szlachta families were similarly descended from the Tatars whose ancestors had come out of Central Asia with the Mongolian Golden Horde in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and had settled permanently in the Crimean region. Many of the Polish szlachta were descendants of the Tatar troops settled in Lithuania and southern Rus by the Lithuanian Great Princes and the Polish Kings during the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Tatars had become polonised and many families had been ennobled by the king and the Sejm into the ranks of the Polish szlachta.

An interesting exception to this Slavonic quest for Central Asian family origins was the situation in Lithuania where the nobility sought for their national origins, not in the steppes, but in ancient Rome. In order to differentiate Lithuanian history and culture from that of the Slavonic

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81 See Orlando Figes, *Natasha's Dance* (2002), pp. 366-71.

cultures surrounding them, Lithuanian writers found similarities to their own language in Latin and they even identified the ancient kings of Rome with the ancestors of the Lithuanian princes. Indeed, there was a parallel situation, paradoxically, among Polish szlachta who, although they sought to distinguish their class and nation from those in the Latinised west, also sought to integrate themselves into this same Latin culture every bit as much as their Lithuanian peers. In fact, the appeal of the mythic Sarmatians for the Poles was largely due to their association with the Roman Empire whose historians had applauded the barbarians' military accomplishments.

In the rhetorical splendour of their Baroque palaces and manors the nobility of the Commonwealth avidly collected artefacts associated with the antique, such as statues, medals, coins and objets d'art. In the decorative schemes of their mansions there proliferated Roman and Greek classical allusions. They introduced classical motifs into their coats-of-arms, while on the façades of their manor houses they placed reliefs of Roman war trophies and allegorical figures. Nevertheless, even though the Polish szlachta held the Roman Empire in awe, yet Poland was placed on the edge of the ancient imperial realms and the country had its own distinctive destiny which was different from that of western nations. Hence, adherence to the values of classical antiquity was insufficient for the Polish nobility who needed a means whereby to assert their difference from the west in order to advance their own international political and cultural status. In fact, some recent Polish historians have suggested that Sarmatism promoted a sense of cultural equality with the Latin west.<sup>82</sup> The bloody struggles against the Ottomans served to revivify the cult of Sarmatism. In their passion for Central Asian and Persian textiles, crafts, weaponry and dress, the Polish szlachta regarded these material artefacts, not as exotic Oriental trinkets, but as an integral aspect of their Polish identity and as their national inheritance.<sup>83</sup>

At the same time there also manifested a distrust of western cultural modes. Traditionalism was an integral aspect of the fully-developed Sarmatian ideology and it eulogised agrarian life-styles against those of the royal and princely courts, as well as against the urbanised culture entering Poland from western Europe. The veneration of the old and familiar led to xenophobia in the quest for a national identity based on the differences between the culture of the Polish szlachta and that of the nobility of western nations. Since the younger generation of the nobility

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82 Żygulski in Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), p. 70.

83 Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI-XVIII wieku*, Wrocław (1954) [Studia z dziejów polskiego rzemiosła artystycznego, 2].

continued to be educated in the west during the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, their experience mitigated the insular mentality of the Polish old-guard and new ideas continued to enter the realm amid cries of the ruination of the state.<sup>84</sup>

What is apparent in this atavistic and contradictory jumble of pagan ancestor worship and Roman culture among the nobility of the Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian nations is the richness of the ethnic influences pouring into the Eastern Commonwealth. There existed a multiplicity of diverse cultural trajectories, such as classical Roman culture, then influences from ancient Byzantium and Greece, from western Roman Catholicism, from the Islamic Turkish and Tatar regions in the Near East, as well as from the Armenian community. The Jewish presence played a fundamental role in the wide-dispersion of advanced Renaissance architectural styles. Also current through-out the Commonwealth there were influences from the various classical revivals of Tuscany, Rome and northern Italy, as well as from the Gothicised Mannerist styles of France and the Netherlands. In addition, ideas were fed into Poland and Lithuania by the religious humanists of Protestant Germany, leading to the development of new types of religious architecture. Finally, the Baroque style arrived with the Catholic Counter-Reformation in forms drawn not only from Rome, but also from southern Germany. In the case of the Ruthenian Orthodox, the sacred architecture and icon-writing of Moldavia, Wallachia and the southern Slav regions deeply influenced the unique achievements of their artistic cultures in Crownland Rus and Lithuania.

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84 Krzywy, "Ideologia sarmacka," p. 186.

## CHAPTER TWO

# THE CLASSICAL REVIVAL AND HUMANISM IN HUNGARY AND POLAND



*2.1 Wawel Castle by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

The Italian classical revival was introduced to Poland by the kings Aleksander I (1461-1506) and Zygmunt I (1467-1548), although the new humanist learning had arrived even earlier and was already well established in Poland by the time of Aleksander's reign. The adoption of the Tuscan Renaissance in its Mannerist form was the result of Zygmunt's residence for a number of years at the court of Matthias Corvinus in Budapest, where he had witnessed the Hungarian king's extensive patronage of humanist learning and the classical revival in the arts and



architecture.<sup>1</sup> Matthias had invited to Buda many Tuscan architects influenced by the innovative concepts and technical achievements of Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Giuliano da Sangallo (1443-1516) and, most especially, by the architectural theories of Leone Battista Alberti (1404-72).<sup>2</sup> The king also brought to his court Tuscan sculptors whose style derived from the da Maiano and Verrocchio sculpture workshops in Florence.



2.2 Detail of window-frames at Wawel Castle by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The Tuscan Renaissance style is encountered outside Italy only in Hungary and at the Polish court in Kraków during the reigns of Zygmunt I and his son, Zygmunt II August (1520-72). Elsewhere in Europe it was the north Italian Mannerist style that prevailed whose origins were in Lombardy and the Veneto. Another equally influential style entered Poland from the

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1 Władysław Tomkiewicz, "Relations artistiques polono-hongroises à la fin du 15e et au début du 16e siècle" in Székely and Fügedi, *La Renaissance et la Réformation en Pologne et en Hongrie ... (1450-1650)*, Budapest (1963), pp. 493-99.

2 Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City. The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 450-1800*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson (1995), pp. 28-49.



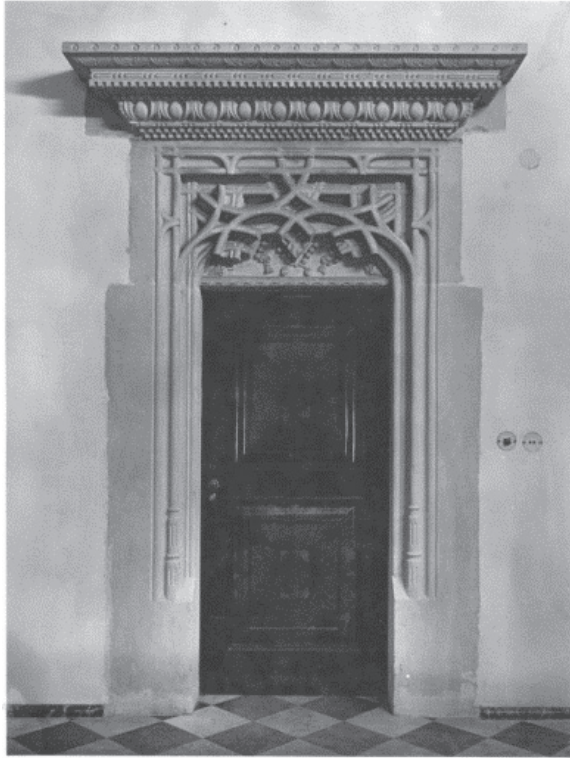
Netherlands where northern Italian classicism had become integrated with regional Gothic styles. Architects and sculptors from the Low Countries introduced this syncretic style to Gdańsk, Pomerania and Lower Silesia from where it was carried to the city of Lwów in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup> By a separate route classical forms of a more plastic Roman type reached the Lithuanian capital Wilno. It should be noted that the architectural and sculptural forms developed in Lwów were not those of Tuscany, but of Venice and Lombardy, as well as of the Netherlands and Silesia. In Lwów it was the urban bourgeoisie, rather than the king or the nobility, who first adopted the classicising trends.



2.3 Wawel Castle, inner courtyard, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

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3 See Andrzej Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum: cultural and literary relationships between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka (2007), pp. 8ff.



2.4 Wawel-style doorway by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus (1443-90), was an eminent political figure on the European stage, famed for his successful military resistance against the Turks. Matthias corresponded with Italian humanists and also with the Medici court in Florence where he commissioned manuscripts for his extensive library, one of the largest, most advanced and most expensive in Europe. The Hungarian king set the pace for other European monarchs in his patronage of the classical revival.<sup>4</sup> Matthias had been schooled in classical learning at the court of his father, Johannes Hunyadi, where the roots of Hungarian humanism were nurtured.

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Bideleux and Ian Jeffries, *A History of Eastern Europe: Crisis and Change*, Oxford; New York: Routledge (2nd ed. 2007), pp. 157-59.

In fact, the Italian connections of Hungarian patrons and scholars can be also traced even further back to the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries to the courts of the Luxembourg dynasty, especially that of the Holy Roman Emperor, Sigismund (1368-1437), who introduced foreign artists to Hungary. The Bishop of Oradea, János Vitéz (1408-72), had served Sigismund in the role of chancellor at the Imperial court, where he encountered some of the most important Italian humanists, such as Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439), Antonio Loschi (1365-1441) and Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481.) At the Council of Constance the Emperor met Pier Paolo Vergerio (ca. 1370-1444/5) and he induced him to settle in Hungary where he became a leading mentor for Hungarian classical scholars. Vergerio persuaded János Vitéz to send his nephew Johannes Csezmiczei (Janus Pannonius) (1434-72) to the school of Guarino de' Guarini (1374-1450) at Ferrara where he was given an advanced humanist education in linguistics, rhetoric and history. At his court in Oradea Vitéz created the first substantial library in Hungary. It was he who schooled Matthias Corvinus in Latin, history, mathematics and astronomy and Italian humanism. Vitéz and Pannonius also persuaded the king to create his own Corvinian library.

Corvinus commissioned illuminated manuscripts of antique Greek and Latin and modern humanistic texts, as well as Scripture and the sciences from the Fioravante workshop in Florence. He also established his own scriptorium in Hungary.<sup>5</sup> The classical revival sponsored by Corvinus was largely an internal creation inspired by Hungarian scholars and patrons. The king's own intellect and sensibilities had already been developed within his own family and their aristocratic milieu prior to his second marriage to Beatrice of Naples (1457-1508), sister-in-law to the Prince of Ferrara. Even before her arrival in 1476 about one third of the holdings of the Corvinian library were already in place and there existed a royal court comparable in magnificence and learning to any in Italy. Beatrice brought the humanist Francesco Bandini with her from the court at Naples and he became the king's artistic advisor. Other Italian humanists, artists, masons and architects soon followed. The Hungarian painters Michele Pannonio (ante 1415-ca. 1475) and Giorgio di Domenico de Ungaria had trained in Ferrara. Giorgio Vasari (1511-74) in his *Lives of the Most Famous Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1550; 1568) mentioned that there were many Florentines working at the court of Corvinus and also that he

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5 Ilona Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the library of Matthias Corvinus*, Budapest: Corvina Press (1964), pp. 9-53.

maintained close contacts with the learned and refined d'Este Princes of Ferrara and their manuscript workshops.

Other projects initiated by the king included the rebuilding of the royal palace at Buda in the Tuscan classical style and he commissioned works of sculpture and decorative arts. Matthias was well-versed in Renaissance artistic theories and his library included the architectural treatises of Leone Battista Alberti and Filarete. In addition, he cultivated a friendship with Prince Federico da Montefeltro of Urbino who had built the finest palace in Italy, designed in the pure Tuscan style of Brunelleschi, with a concern for mathematical proportion and geometric regularity. The palace at Urbino was decorated with exquisite sculpted reliefs "all' antica" and there seem to be echoes of these same decorative motifs in Matthias' own palace. At Buda the conceptual models that prevailed were those of Brunelleschi and his pupils, Michelozzo and Rossellino, as well as those of Alberti. The relief carving was influenced by the sculpture of Benedetto da Maiano (1442-97), Verrocchio (1435-88) and Desiderio da Settignano (1428/30-64). Since the royal palace at Buda was razed to the ground by invading Turks, it is impossible to say much concerning its ground plan and elevations. Matthias engaged Italian engineers for the palace, such as Aristotele Fioravanti in 1467 who had worked for the Sforza princes in Milan. Vasari recorded that the Florentine architect, Chimenti Camicia (b. 1431), had worked on the royal palace and he is known to have been active in Buda from 1479.<sup>6</sup> Białostocki conjectures, accordingly, that there may have been a substantial amount of work in wood in the Buda Castle, since Camicia brought wood carvers with him. Białostocki thinks that they may have been responsible for the crafting of the coffered ceilings and that these may have contained carved heads, just as in the later royal palace at Kraków. Camicia was responsible for the initial organisation of the workshop at Buda which was taken-over by Giovanni Dalmata from the late 1480s.

Matthias' new palace was constructed to the east of the older fortress on Buda hill. Totally destroyed in the Turkish invasions, the palace was rebuilt after the 17<sup>th</sup> century re-conquest of Hungary and then bombed into ruins by the Germans in 1944. When reconstruction commenced after the war, the foundations of Matthias' palace were revealed, along with precious fragments of the sculptural decoration and architectural details. The style and quality of the carving is equivalent to work in Florence and Urbino of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. It appears to be the work of Italian

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6 Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the library of Matthias Corvinus* (1964), p. 13.

architects and sculptors, although the archives mention masons and carvers being brought in also from Slovakia. One of the most interesting features of the palace was a monumental staircase leading up to the front façade built out of dark-red Hungarian marble with its distinctive qualities of colour and crystal structure. Laszlo Gerevich has indicated the similarity of the Buda pilasters to those at the ducal palace of Urbino, while Jan Balogh has compared the pillar capitals and a column found at Buda, as well as relief panels and parapets, to the capitals designed by Alberti for his model of the Holy Sepulchre in the Capella Rucellai at San Pancrazio (1467). There are also comparisons to capitals and columns on Michelozzo's Palazzo Medici (1445-60).<sup>7</sup> Surviving decorative details have been compared by historians with Tuscan exemplars in foliage, flowers and putti. Białostocki and others have regarded these as providing the prototype for the decorative relief carving on the doors and windows of Wawel castle (a generation later), maybe produced by masons from Buda itself.<sup>8</sup>

A notable portrait relief of Matthias Corvinus has survived which was carved by Gian Cristoforo Romano (Buda Castle, 1485-90). The style of the delicate shallow relief recalls an earlier portrait of Beatrice of Aragon carved in the 1460s by Francesco da Laurana (ca. 1430-1502) (Buda Castle). A later generation of local sculptors who had trained in the Italianate Buda workshops copied this type of work and one outstanding product is the relief, carved in red Hungarian marble, of the *Madonna of Andreas Báthory* (Budapest National Museum, 1526). The Tuscan origins of the style are evidenced in the full-face pose and Roman facial type of the Madonna, as well as in the classicising details of the clothing and the putto-like infant standing on a ledge. However, the artist has returned to the flat decorative aesthetic of the Gothic style, so that the soft volumes and geometrical proportions of the original Tuscan forms have been transformed into an exploration of line and arabesque for their own sake.

The same can be said of another rare work from this period made by an anonymous, probably local, master working from the knowledge of

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7 Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the library of Matthias Corvinus* (1964), p. 14.

8 Matthias built a summer palace onto the medieval castle at Visegrad. Although this has been destroyed some elements have been reconstructed, such as the terraces over the river made in the same Tuscan style as those in the inner courtyard of the Buda Castle. Camicia controlled the development at Visegrad. At Esztergom there are the ruins of another of Matthias' palaces. There are fragments of wall frescoes by Master Albertus Florentinus (ca. 1494-95), an allegory of *Virtue* and the style recalls the forms of Filippino Lippi (1457-1504).

Tuscan artefacts. This is the marble Eucharistic tabernacle located on the high altar of the parish church of Buda (early 1500s). It is very similar to the tabernacle in San Lorenzo in Florence by Desiderio da Settignano (1461). This is also true of a marble tabernacle of the same period in Pecs made by the Hungarian sculptor György Szatmári.

Matthias' patronage influenced the artistic projects of the Hungarian nobility. The most important surviving example is the Bakócz Chapel at Esztergom cathedral (1507), although it was removed from its original position during the rebuilding of the cathedral, with the result that its orientation and proportions have been ruined. The chapel had been made for Tamás Bakócz (1442–1521), a Hungarian archbishop and cardinal. It was a local creation, the inspiration of Hungarian, or other East European, architects, masons and sculptors. Above all, the qualities of the red Hungarian marble determine the character and aesthetic of this building. The elements of the architecture are broadly carved. The walls carry fluted pilasters, with a tympanum over each of the doorways, one of which is a false entrance. The dome bears deeply-recessed coffering and it was originally placed higher over the pendentives. The workmanship is authentically Tuscan, as are the details and proportions, but in style and decorative order it has no source in Italy. Nothing exists similar to this chapel, though scholars have struggled to compare it to Brunelleschi's Pazzi Chapel at San Lorenzo (1441-1460s) in Florence.

## The Renaissance and Baroque in Crownland Poland

The region of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) in the north-west includes the areas of Pomerania, Gdańsk and the Baltic coast, as well as the first capital Gniezno and the city of Poznań. These territories were greatly urbanised, as was the area further south-east of Małopolska (Central Poland) lying on the upper Wisła and the Kraków region. In these lands as much as thirty per cent of the total population lived in towns. The wealthy urban class of bankers and merchants were becoming increasingly internationalised and everywhere in the Commonwealth they participated in the new humanistic systems of education. In Poland humanistic learning was by no means restricted either to the royal court, or to the nobility.<sup>9</sup> Many burghers were of German origins, but there were also present a large number of Italian merchants and industrialists in cities such as Lwów.

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9 Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569-1772* (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History) Cambridge University Press (2008), pp. 8-17, 23-25, 32-33.



Karin Friedrich's recent study of "royal (Polish) Prussia" reveals the unique characteristics of Germanised urban communities within the Kingdom of Poland. What she calls the "other Prussia" lay in Pomerania on the Baltic coast. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1466 to 1772/3 included the cities of Danzig (Gdańsk), Thorn and Elbing which had formerly belonged to the Teutonic Knights. The Polish Crown took these cities after the defeat of the Grand Order, but the German burghers continued to have their own separate institutions and privileges in accordance with the Treaty of Thorn (1466). The urban elite in the Pomeranian cities had developed a republican identity in contrast to Hohenzollern ducal Prussia next door which was ruled by that family from 1618 as an absolutist state. In the cities of royal Prussia the burgher class was Lutheran, but its relations with the Polish Catholics were peaceful. The Pomeranian connection ended in 1700 when the Polish Crown attempted to integrate the Baltic cities too closely into the Commonwealth and the German burghers resisted the erosion of their political and economic privileges. The wealthier burghers in all such urban centres located through-out the Commonwealth were exceptionally well-educated and they customarily sent their sons to study at the Jagiellonian University, as well as at the Italian universities of Padua and Bologna.<sup>10</sup>

The first classical texts had already appeared in Poland during the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the development of printing and the increased industrial production of paper.<sup>11</sup> The Jagiellonian University of Kraków had been re-inaugurated, after a period of decline, with the support of Queen Jadwiga in ca. 1400. In 1405 the oldest department of mathematics and astronomy in Europe was established there.<sup>12</sup> Scholars included Paulus Vladimiri (ca. 1370-1435), jurist and rector of the University, and Albert Brudzewski (ca. 1445-97), astronomer, mathematician and teacher of Copernicus. The rector of the Jagiellonian University, Stanisław of Skarbimierz (Lat. Stanislaus de Scarbimiria, 1360-1431), was a delegate at the Council of Constance (1415) and he was the author of a series of sermons concerning the political rights of the citizen. These influenced the thinking of the

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10 Ulewicz, "Polish Humanism and its Italian Sources" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 215-32.

11 Harold B. Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press (1989).

12 For an overall picture of the culture of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Poland see, Samuel Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press (1988), passim.

humanist and political theorist, Wawrzyniec Goślicki (1530-1607).<sup>13</sup> One of the most notable early humanists at the Jagiellonian University was the Ruthenian, Grzegorz of Sanok (Sanocki) (1403/7-77). He became Catholic bishop of Lwów and formed a literary society in that city.<sup>14</sup> He is claimed as a national by Polish, Ukrainian and Belarussian historians. Other literary scholars included Jan of Ludzisko (no dates known), the chronicler Jan Długosz (1415-80) and Jan Ostroróg (1436-1501), a political reformer. Kasper Straube in Kraków printed the first Latin text in 1473, while the first Polish texts were published in Wrocław in 1475 by Kasper Elyan. Printed Cyrillic texts in Church Slavonic were produced for the Ruthenian Orthodox community in 1490 by Schweipolt Fiol in Kraków.

Arriving in Poland were notable Italian humanists, most especially Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus) (1437-96), a diplomat and poet who stayed in Poland from 1468 to 1496 and founded a literary society in Kraków.<sup>15</sup> He wrote the biographies of Grzegorz of Sanok, Jan Długosz and Zbigniew Oleśnicki (1389-1455). A German humanist who settled in Kraków was Conrad Celtis (1459-1508) who organised the humanist group known as the “Sodalitas Litterarum Vistulana.”<sup>16</sup>

The outstanding achievements of Polish learning included the publication of Copernicus’ *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* in Nuremberg (1543). There were other innovative scientists in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century such as the physician Josephus Struthius (1510-69) and the cartographer Bernard Wapowski (1450-1535). Polish political theorists and historians were well-known through-out Europe, chiefly Marcin Kromer (1512-89) whose treatise *Polonia* (1577) was particularly famous. Another text influential in stimulating the development of a national identity among the Poles was Kromer’s *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum* (“On the Origin and Achievements of the Poles”) (1555). The polemicist Maciej Strykowski (d. ca. 1593) is claimed as a national by modern Polish, Lithuanian, Belarussian and Ukrainian historians. He produced the first history of Eastern Europe in 1582. Marcin Bielski (b. ca. 1495-1575) went

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13 Teresa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, “The Senator of Wawrzyniec: Goślicki and the Elizabethan Counsellor” in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 258ff.

14 Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland* (1989), pp. 18ff.

15 Tadeusz Ulewicz, “Polish Humanism and its Italian Sources: Beginnings and Historical Development” in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 215-32.

16 Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (1989), pp. 2-17.



a step further and produced a *Chronicle of the Whole World* (1550).<sup>17</sup> Especially highly-regarded was Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (1503-72), a political theorist who published an influential polemical text, *On the Improvement of the Commonwealth* (Kraków, 1551). He was arguing for an end to feudalism and to noble privileges in Poland, demanding equality for all citizens. He also called for the end of warfare as a tool of international policy, favouring instead peaceful diplomacy. Modrzewski was frequently translated into other European languages, as was Wawrzyniec Goślicki (1530–1607) whose treatise *De optimo senator* (1568) was translated into English as *The Counsellor* (1598).<sup>18</sup>

Outstanding literary works were produced by authors not even of noble origins, such as Biernat of Lublin (ca. 1460/67- ?) who is considered to be the father of Polish literature. Of humble origins, he wrote in Polish and published a version of *Aesop's Fables* with strongly radical political overtones. Another writer, Klemens Janicki (1516-43), was a peasant, but he composed poetry in Latin and was awarded a papal laureate for his distinguished production. An important name is that of the nobleman Łukasz Górnicki (1527-1603) who wrote immaculate Polish prose and established the standard form of the language. The leading poet of the early 16th century and one of the major Polish literary figures was Jan Kochanowski (b. 1530-84), of noble origins.<sup>19</sup> He studied at Kraków, Königsberg and Padua and having travelled through-out Europe he then took up a post as secretary to the royal court, finally settling on his family estate at Czarnolas. His literary achievement includes works of epic poetry, a tragedy in dramatic form, *The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys*, as well as bucolic verse, but his finest work is *Treny* ("Laments").

There were also notable musical achievements in the Polish Renaissance, such as the work of Jan of Lublin (fl. first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) for keyboard and organ. Zygmunt I kept a permanent choir at Wawel Castle. An outstanding innovator was Mikołaj Gomółka (ca. 1535-91), a composer who experimented with folk musical forms. He set Jan Kochanowski's poetry to music and translated psalms. Wacław z Szamotuł

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17 Aleksander Gieysztor, "Polish historians and the Need for History in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Poland" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 3-13.

18 Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, "The Senator of Wawrzyniec" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 258ff.

19 For a comparison of the work of Jan Kochanowski, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski and Mikołaj Rej see, Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland: The Rise of Humanism, 1470-1543* (1989), pp. 250ff.

(ca. 1524-60), like Gomółka, adapted folk-music to his compositions. Mikołaj Zieleński (ca. 1550-1616) worked with Venetian polyphony.

The first poet of the later Catholic Counter-Reformation was Mikołaj Sep Szarzynski (1550-81) who produced refined verse forms in Polish, expressing his fervent religious beliefs.<sup>20</sup> This signalled the end of the exceptional period of religious tolerance in Poland that had commenced during the reign of Zygmunt II.<sup>21</sup> The Warsaw Confederation of 1573 had guaranteed religious freedom for the nobility and provided full legal rights for radical groups such as the Arian Polish Brethren. The Waza kings, however, changed the state's religious policy and they gave their full support after 1564 to the conversionary missions of the Theatine Order and, then, that of the Jesuits who had been invited to Poland by Cardinal Stanisław Hosjusz (Lat. Hosius) (1504-79). Gradually, the influence of the Calvinists and Arians diminished. The Jagiellonian University had also been affected by Protestant systems of education, but the entry of the Jesuits into Poland in 1564 forced its members to conform to Roman Catholic doctrine and Church discipline. The Jesuits fortunately never managed to take control of the Jagiellonian University, although they established their own university college at Wilno in 1579 which functioned with great distinction despite its intellectually-restricted religious origins.<sup>22</sup>

On the death of his elder brother, Jan I Olbracht, in 1501, Zygmunt I Jagiellończyk (1467-1548) left the court at Buda and returned to Poland.<sup>23</sup> His predecessor, Aleksander I, had already introduced Italian humanist learning and culture to the royal courts in Kraków and Wilno. Aleksander had been interested in contemporary developments in the visual arts and architecture in Italy and he had dispatched scholars to Venice to study the forms of the classical style. On their return, Aleksander ordered the rebuilding of the eastern elevation of Wawel castle in the Venetian mode, including the distinctive cone-shaped chimneys and arcaded balconies on the upper storey. The windows and the elevation similarly followed late

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20 Daniel H. Cole, "From Renaissance Poland to Poland's Renaissance," *Michigan Law Review*, 97, 6 (1999) [Survey of Books Related to the Law (May, 1999)], pp. 2062-2102 (The Michigan Law Review Association).

21 Tazbir, *A state without stakes: Polish religious toleration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (1973), passim.

22 For the Jesuit presence in Poland see, Ludwik Grzebień (ed.), *Encyklopedia wiedzy o jezuitach na ziemiach Polski i Litwy, 1564-1995*, Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, Instytut Kultury Religijnej: Wydawnictwo WAM (1996).

23 See DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City* (1995), pp. 50-73.

15<sup>th</sup> century Italian types. The elevation of the castle built by Aleksander is quite distinctive from the later Mannerist Tuscan style of the courtyard, interiors and of the Zygmunt chapel in the cathedral next to the palace on Wawel hill.<sup>24</sup>

Scholars disagree among themselves concerning the role of Bona Sforza in the introduction of the Italian Renaissance to Poland. She arrived in 1518. Maria Bogucka has argued recently that, in fact, both humanistic learning and the classical revival in art and architecture were already well advanced in Poland before Bona's advent (as in the similar instance of Beatrice of Naples at the Hungarian court).<sup>25</sup> Bona had no influence on the building of Wawel palace itself which was completed by 1518, apart from her involvement in the creation of the Italian formal garden, although she subsequently introduced many other Italian builders and sculptors to Poland. Bogucka argues that Bona did manage to alter the character of the Polish court which had still been clinging onto Ruthenian Byzantine influences introduced during the reign of Jagiełło by his second wife, Zofia of Holszany.<sup>26</sup> These had endured into the reign of Aleksander. Bona brought with her a more cosmopolitan Latin atmosphere and her Italian ladies-in-waiting were duly married-off into the Polish aristocracy, spreading western cultural influences far afield. Bona also obtained benefices in Poland for her Italian courtiers.<sup>27</sup>

The first phase of the work on Wawel hill was initially directed by the Tuscan architect, Franciscus Florentinus (d. 1516), who was the king's own choice.<sup>28</sup> Florentinus' plan for the palace was based on the original medieval lay-out of the old castle, the lie of the land and the pragmatics of its use. New units were added to older structures, or the older ones given

24 Adam Miłobędzki, "Architecture under the last Jagiellons in its Political and Social Context" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 290-300. Also see his monograph, Adam Miłobędzki, *Architektura ziem Polski: rodział europejskiego dziedzictwa*, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury (1994).

25 Maria Bogucka, "Z Dziejów stosunków polsko-włoskich: spory o Bonę" in Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Artyści Włoscy w Polsce XV-XVIII wiek*, Warszawa: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego (2004), pp. 17-23.

26 Bożena Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska. Studium o dworze i roli królowej w późnośredniowiecznej Polsce*, Warszawa (2012).

27 Bogucka (2004), pp. xxiv, 18-23, 66, 136, 153, 162-164. See also Bogucka, *Bona Sforza d'Aragona*, passim.

28 Florentinus is recorded as being a resident of Kraków on 15th February, 1502 and the decoration of the tomb of Jan Olbracht in Wawel Cathedral was his first commission.

new shape.<sup>29</sup> The new castle was erected in piece-meal fashion, but eventually an arcaded courtyard was constructed in the centre of the complex that served to unify the different elements by its dramatic impact. The few remains of the original structure resemble the classical forms found in Buda castle.<sup>30</sup> Zygmunt had brought architectural drawings with him from visits to Buda in 1502 and 1505. Then in 1507, 1510 and 1511 new workmen were brought from Hungary to Kraków.<sup>31</sup> Between 1524 and 1529 Benedykt of Sandomierz took over direction of the works at the palace (probably a German from Slovakia). From 1530 onwards the building at Wawel was led by Bartolommeo Berrecci (ca. 1480-1537).<sup>32</sup> His birthplace was Pontassieve near Florence and he had probably trained in Rome at the school of the Sangalli family. Białostocki has speculated that he may have travelled from Italy with Jan Łaski, the primate of Poland, arriving first in Esztergom in 1516 and then working at Buda due to his predilection for Hungarian marble.

It is important for a historian to question the authenticity of historical structures in Poland, such as Wawel castle, which has endured extensive destruction, as well as centuries of neglect by occupying powers. In the texts of Białostocki and that of the Kozakiewiczowie, as indeed in Ostrowski's catalogue to the exhibition *Land of the Winged Horsemen*, a position is taken that seeks to conform to the historical discourse developed in western countries that have retained intact much of their own historical heritage. These Polish texts speak in matter-of-fact tones of many historical buildings as if they were the originals and as if art-history had flowed on smoothly down the ages, unbroken by war, devastation and unspeakable horrors. Conservation issues are not mentioned by these historians. In actuality, the present condition of Wawel castle is not that of the original edifice in any way whatsoever, for it has been heavily restored. Much of it was rebuilt from the ground-up in the course of the 20<sup>th</sup> century out of a condition of total ruin. The entire complex was in a devastated condition by the 1880s since it had been used for storage and for the billeting of troops under the Austrian regime. In fact, the empty castle was threatening to collapse. Between 1907 and 1914 most of the interior state rooms and private royal apartments were rebuilt, as were all of the arcades in the central courtyard. There was much dispute by conservators at Wawel concerning the retention of the accretions and

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29 Kozakiewiczowie, *Renaissance in Poland* (1976), pp. 11-15, 24-35.

30 Białostocki, *Renaissance in Eastern Europe* (1976), p. 19.

31 Białostocki, *Renaissance in Eastern Europe* (1976), p. 19.

32 Białostocki, *The Renaissance in Eastern Europe: Bohemia, Hungary, Poland* (1976), p. 21.

changes wrought by the centuries. In the end, the later additions were removed and, with great difficulty, Wawel was restored to a form considered to be authentic.

The work continued during the Second Republic in the 1920s, as at many other castles, such as Troki and Grodno in Lithuania. There were great difficulties in determining the exact appearance of Wawel's original doorways and windows, let alone of the wall paintings produced by 16<sup>th</sup> century German artists in the state rooms. Where there was some archival record, then this was followed, but in the case of the range of buildings on the east side of the courtyard this has been rebuilt in a free and broad style as a suggestion only of its original appearance. The end-result owes more to Art Deco than to Renaissance classicism, but the rebuilt section, nonetheless, is of great historical significance in its own right.<sup>33</sup>

The original west wing of Wawel had been finished in 1507 and three levels of colonnades were also added to the front elevation of the castle walls which then had to be further restored after the fire of 1536. Further construction was led by the Tuscan architects, Niccolò Castiglione (1485/90-1545) and Matteo Italicus. An arcaded internal castle courtyard is a rare architectural feature in Eastern Europe at this date. The one at Wawel seems to be only the second one constructed on the model of a possible Hungarian proto-type at Buda castle, dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> century that no longer exists. Białostocki points out, however, that there is no architectural prototype for the design of the Wawel courtyard and, in addition, no copies of this courtyard were produced by later architects. Of particular interest in their innovative design are the "Wawel-type portals" (1507-1516), consisting of decorated door and window frames decorated in an organic mixture of Gothic and Renaissance elements and originally brightly painted. The Wawel portals owe nothing either to Mannerist Italian architecture, or to northern Gothic. The decorative elements are unique to each door and window and their deeply-undercut forms, layered one on top of another, are not found anywhere other than at Wawel. It was Slovakian masons who built these projects and they also provided the first sculptures, while Polish artists and artisans trained in their workshops.

The original exterior and interior wall-paintings at Wawel castle are still extant, although unconvincingly restored in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century. They incorporate medallions of Roman emperors and empresses set within illusionistic architecture. The original murals dated from prior to 1530 and they were the work of either German, or local Krakowian artists. The

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33 Jan K. Ostrowski, *Wawel: zamek i katedra*, Kraków: Karpaty (1996), There is an English version of this, viz., Jan K. Ostrowski, *Wawel: the cathedral and castle* [English translation] Kraków: Biały Kruk (2004).

*Tabula Cebetis* sequence was painted by Hans Durer (1490-ca. 1538), brother of Albrecht, who was present in Kraków from 1527. After the death of Hans another German artist Antoni from Wrocław also worked on this scene of the parade of the army before the king. In 1535-36 further paintings were added to the exterior in an Italianate style by Dionizy Stuba.<sup>34</sup> In the main suite of rooms within the palace the Room of the Deputies was decorated by Hans Durer whose subject was an allegory of human life. The coffered ceiling of the room is decorated with rosettes and with coffers containing one hundred and ninety-four carved and painted wooden heads depicting the citizens of Kraków. Białostocki attributed the heads to Sebastian Tauerbach from Lusatia (d. 1552) who arrived in Kraków in 1535 and who may have also collaborated with Hans Schnitzer. Białostocki has suggested that the original prototypes once may have existed at Buda Castle as the work of the collaborators of Francesco Laurana.

In addition, the classical revival in Silesia was important in providing artists for the work at Wawel, as it was for the later Renaissance at Lwów.<sup>35</sup> The princes of Lower Silesia were a collateral branch of the first Polish Piast reigning dynasty and they ruled independently of the Polish Crown. They resided at their main city, Brzeg, on the eastern bank of the river Oder.<sup>36</sup> In the 1530s Fredrick II, Prince of Liegnitz (Legnica), was modernising the old Gothic Brzeg castle. George II continued the work and, by way of declaring his political alliance with Poland, he aimed to turn Brzeg Castle into a version of Wawel. In fact, the sculptor of the Wawel heads, Sebastian Tauerbach, had originated in Silesia at Nysa (Neisse). Another Silesian working at Wawel was the fresco painter, Antoni of Wrocław. The workshop at Brzeg was probably that of Georg von Amberg from Saxony.

Silesia had been joined to Bohemia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but the region retained strong links with Kraków. Brzeg had become an important centre for the northern Italian Mannerist style and by 1560 in the city there had settled one of the largest colonies of Italian artists located in Eastern Europe. The Italian sculptors and masons who came to Brzeg in 1544 were from the area of Lugano and Como, rather than from Buda, or Tuscany, while the architects were from the Parr, or Patrio, family. Białostocki

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34 Kozakiewiczowie, *Renaissance in Poland* (1976), pp. 16-18.

35 Andrzej Betlej, Katarzyna Brzezina-Scheuerer and Piotr Oszczanowski (eds.), *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na Rusi Koronnej w czasach nowożytnych*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego (2011).

36 See DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City* (1995), pp. 156-57.

comments that the Lombard architects, masons and sculptors worked with a visual language that was much closer to Silesian Gothic, than to the austere Tuscan style.<sup>37</sup> Although Brzeg castle was burned down by Frederick II of Prussia in 1741, the gatehouse has survived. It takes the shape of a triumphal arch on which there have been placed life-size sculptures of George II and his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, set among busts of twenty-four other rulers of the Piast dynasty. These works were probably carved by local masons. Sculptors and architects from the Silesian Renaissance were central to the development of the 16<sup>th</sup> century classical revival in Lwów and through-out Crownland Rus, although they played no part in the development of Renaissance classicism in Lithuania.

At Kraków there occurred a second stage of architectural construction in 1519-1533 when Bartolommeo Berrecci directed the building of the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel Cathedral where there may have been direct influences on the architecture and the sculptural style of the decorations and tombs from Hungarian proto-types.<sup>38</sup> The Zygmunt chapel is built in the form of a cube, crowned by a high octagonal drum supporting a steep, half-elliptical dome surmounted by a tall lantern. Subsequently, Zygmunt II ordered his own tomb to be incorporated into the funerary scheme of the chapel. Accordingly, in the 1570s the monument of Zygmunt I already present was raised to a second storey, while his son's memorial was inserted underneath in an act of humble filial piety. The composition of the sculpted figures on the catafalques is of a type found only in Poland where the figure of the deceased rises up, supporting itself on one elbow, while its legs are crossed. The surface of the tomb is tilted towards the viewer. The figures are realistically portrayed in armour and crowned, but they produce an effect of unease, even distress, due to the pained expression of the faces and the awkward manoeuvring of the forms as they attempt to arise. There is little suggestion of spiritual attainment, only of physical discomfort and a strong impression of human mortality. The monument for Queen Anna Jagiellonka (1523–1596) is located vertically on the front of the bishop's stall (1574-75). The design is of another type developed in Poland which is that of a vertical marble slab on which the figure is placed in heavy relief as if lying, irrationally, prone on its back. Both of these types provided models for 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century sepulchres in Crownland Rus and further north in Lithuanian Belarus.

The lower levels of the chapel walls in the Zygmunt chapel are embossed with triumphal arches, architraves and cornices and there are

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37 Białostocki, *Renaissance in Eastern Europe* (1976), p. 27.

38 Białostocki, *Renaissance in Eastern Europe* (1976), p. 35.



lunettes at the base of the dome. On each wall the architrave and tympanum are divided horizontally into three areas. The ceiling of the dome is coffered with rosettes and there are eight round windows in the drum of the dome. The drum takes a circular form on the inside and an octagonal one externally. There is only one copy of the Zygmunt chapel, that of the Tomicki Chapel in the cathedral of Kraków, also by Berrecci. Its much simpler form provided a model for many copies through into the 17<sup>th</sup> century, whereas the Zygmunt chapel had no direct imitators being too complex in concept, aesthetic style and material execution to be reproduced by provincial artists and far too expensive for most non-royal patrons.<sup>39</sup>

Other Italian artists of note working in Kraków in this period included Matteo Gucci (ca. 1500-50), Giovanni Battista di Quadro (d. 1590/91), Santi Gucci (ca. 1530-1600) and Bernardo Morando (ca. 1540-1600).<sup>40</sup> In sculptural work the classicising influences arrived with Jan Maria Padovano (1493-1574), the main exponent of the Italianate style in Poland.<sup>41</sup> Jan Michałowicz of Urzędów (1525/30-1583) was one of the earliest native Polish exponents of such Renaissance forms.<sup>42</sup>

In contrast, the Gothic style in Polish painting, with additional Byzantine qualities, prevailed through into the early 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> Polish painters in Central Poland employed styles adopted from Netherlandish and German prototypes, but they considerably softened their former harsh

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39 Kozakiewiczowie, *Renaissance in Poland* (1976), pp. 14, 23, 34-35. Among projects initiated by the magnates the most ambitious was the fortified town of Zamość (1580-1600), designed for Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605) in the North Italian Mannerist style by Bernardo Morando.

40 V. Vuytsyk, "Arkhivni dzerela pro perebuвання arkhitekтора Bernardo Morando u Lvovi" in *Zapyskynntsh*, 2 (1995), pp. 367-68.

41 Anne Markham Schulz, *Gianmaria Mosca called Padovano: a Renaissance Sculptor in Italy and Poland*, 2 vols, Pennsylvania State University (1998).

42 Jan Białostocki, "Renaissance Sculpture in Poland in its European Context: Some Selected Problems" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 281-90.

43 The above text is based on the present author's own research. See also, Halina Andrzejewska (ed.), *Polish painting*, Warszawa: Auriga Oficyna Wydawnicza (1997), pp. 6ff and for the Polish paintings in the Lviv Gallery of Painting, see Dmitrij Szelest, *Lwowska Galeria Obrazów: malarstwo polskie* [trans. from Russian by Janusz Derwojed; catalogue and biographical notes by Halina Andrzejewska and Janusz Derwojed], Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza Auriga Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe (1990). And also see Kozakiewiczowie, *Renaissance in Poland* (1976), pp. 17-18 (painting); pp. 21-23 (sculpture).

graphic qualities.<sup>44</sup> The distinguishing qualities of paintings created in Poland between the mid-15<sup>th</sup> and the early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries include broad facial types and figures, inverted spatial perspective, sober linear outline and limited use of rhythmical patterns, avoiding German Gothic angularity. One defining feature of the paintings made by specifically Polish artists is their restricted colour palette, indicating a taste for Byzantine art. There predominate in colour flat areas of black paint, or very dark-blue lapis lazuli, red and yellow. There is almost absent any green, or pale blue, colour. Examples of this limited Byzantine palette are found in the *Pieta* from the School of Sącz (1450), as well as in the *Coronation of the Virgin* by the anonymous Master of the Passion of the Dominicans (mid-15<sup>th</sup> century). Similarly, the *Triptych of Wieluń* (mid-15<sup>th</sup> century) is representative of central Polish production of this date. Undeniably, these works are provincial, but they are competent, with great charm and expressive qualities and they demonstrate knowledge of leading northern European trends.

Byzantine tendencies are particularly evident in the *Madonna and Child* located in the Philippines Church in Gostyń (1540), where the two figures (based on the icon at Częstochowa), are flat and linear eastern types. In contrast, the background depicts a realistic local landscape with a manor house and church. Indigenous Polish iconography is exemplified by the many images of the *Man of Sorrows* (Pol. *Jeżus Frasobliwy*), displaying the sedentary figure of Christ after the flagellation, wearing a crown of thorns and resting his head wearily on his right hand. One such example is found at Szczyrzyc near Limanowa monastery (ca. 1515) and the type occurs in both commissioned painting and sculpture, as well as in folk art.

International fashions in painting had reached Poland in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century by means of the courtly International Gothic style of Bohemia which is encountered in images, such as the enthroned Virgin painted by the Polish artist, Jan Matejko.<sup>45</sup> Another influence on Polish art was the International Gothic art of Rhenish painters, such as Stefan Lochner, or of the Master of Hamburg whose aesthetic was modelled on the Bohemian Soft Style. Outstanding work following these models was produced by the

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44 Tadeusz Chrzanowski, *Polska Sztuka Sakralna*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kluszczyński (2002), pp. 19-21.

45 See Halina Andrzejewska, *Polish painting*, Warszawa: Auriga Oficyna Wydawnicza (1997). For a dictionary of Polish artists see, Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka et al. (eds.), *Słownik artystów polskich i w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy, itp.*, Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk - Instytut Sztuki; Wrocław, etc.: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich (1971- ).

anonymous artist known as the Master of the Choirs in his *Triptych of Mikuszowice* (1467) and the *Włocławek Virgin* (ca. 1470). With its lively narrative, human characterisation and advanced perspectival setting of figures in landscape, the Master's work compares favourably with the artistic production of Cologne, or Hamburg, in the same period. The narrative of the saints is rendered with confidence and anecdote in a detailed landscape setting, possibly based on local sites.

In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Netherlandish influences also reached Polish artists in the Kraków region via Gdańsk, the most important of these being the Master of the Passion of the Dominicans in his polyptych of the *Life of Christ* (1460/70s, Kraków). Another significant work in which the artist takes recourse to Flemish realism is *The Virgin of the Rosary and the Leszczyński Family* (late 15<sup>th</sup>-early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries) from the School of the Master of St. Barbara. There were more influential Polish artists in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century adopting the Flemish style, such as the Master of Tuchów. Few Polish painters employed the hard angular forms and colouration of the Germans, seeming, instead, to prefer the gentle realism and courtly atmosphere of Flanders and the Rhineland. However, native German painters did work in central Poland, namely, Stanisław Durinck (*Adoration of the Magi*, 1470s) in addition to the superb painter of human and religious emotions, Mikołaj Haberschrak (*Augustinian Polyptych*, 1470s). Other artists who may have been of German origins include the Master of the Żernicki Triptych, working in the 1480s, and Adam of Lublin (fl. ca. 1477). The most significant German artist in Poland during the late Gothic period was also one of the most important European artists of the time, Wit Stwosz (Ger. Veit Stoss) (ca. 1448-1533). Arriving from Nuremberg, Stwosz was resident at Kraków for a lengthy period between ca. 1445-50 and 1533. Stwosz was commissioned by the City Council of Kraków, largely composed of German merchants and traders, to produce a painted wooden altarpiece of the *Dormition of the Virgin* for the main altar of St. Mary's Church (1477-89).

The style of the Italian Renaissance with its monumental forms and geometric space was brought into Poland by German painters, such as Lucas Cranach (1472-1553), Hans Durer (1490-1538) and Hans von Kulmbach (ca.1480-before 1522). These painters introduced into Poland the figural idealisation of the Italians, although subordinated to flamboyant Gothic line and emotional expression. The earliest Polish painter to use the classicising style was Stanisław Samostrzelnik (ca. 1490-1541), a manuscript illuminator and fresco painter. He was a Cistercian monk in Mogiła near Kraków. However, the most competent Polish painter in the

late 16th century was Marcin Kober (ca. 1550-1598), whose renowned Mannerist portrait of Stefan Batory presents a realistic characterisation of the king's features and his austere military bearing. Kober depicts his subject as a figure dressed in a red kaftan and set against a flat black background. The central focus of the portrait is the measured, watchful gaze of the king. The armorial bearings of the sitter are prominently displayed, with additional inscriptions.

In the years around 1600 there existed a number of different trends in Polish art and architecture, as well as in the Eastern Commonwealth in Lithuania and Rus. The Mannerist style in painting, sculpture and architecture, both north Italian and Netherlandish types, appeared in Gdańsk, Kraków and Lwów. In Gdańsk artists of Dutch origins built structures in coloured brick and stone, using abstract decorative classical effects, such as the Arsenal by Antoni van Opbergen (1543-1611), or the Golden Gate by Abraham van den Blocke (1572-1628). In central Poland the Italianate style was Tuscan with Mannerist tendencies, as in the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel Cathedral. In Lwów and other major urban centres in western Rus, such as Zamość and Żółkiew, Venetian Mannerist forms were integrated with Netherlandish and Byzantine characteristics.

Andrzej Baranowski has pointed out that one particular peculiarity of artistic developments in Eastern Europe was the manner in which aesthetic styles that had been developed at different dates in the west now entered the Commonwealth at the same time in an anachronistic overlap. Hence, just when Mannerism was attaining its height of excellence in Poland and Rus, the early Roman Baroque was simultaneously being copied in Kraków, Warsaw, Lwów and Wilno, as well as on the landed estates of the magnates and princes of the Church.<sup>46</sup> Around the year 1600, Zygmunt III Waza had the royal apartments at Wawel castle refurbished in the Baroque styles of Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) and Giacomo della Porta (1533-1602). Italian Baroque architects were employed, such as Matteo Castelli (d. 1632) who had collaborated in Rome with Carlo Maderno (1556-1629) and the Venetian, Giovanni Trevisano. Next, Constantino Tencalla and Giovanni Battista Gisleni (1600-72) brought into Poland the influences of Bernini and Cortona.<sup>47</sup>

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46 Andrzej Baranowski, "The Baroque Geography of the Polish Commonwealth: centres and peripheries" in Katarzyna Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie The Proceedings of the Fourth Joint Conference of Polish and English Art Historians*, Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki [Institute of Art], (2000), pp. 77-86; p. 78.

47 Jan K. Ostrowski, "Mechanisms of Contact between Polish and European Baroque" in Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), pp. 55-67.

In 1568 Giacomo Vignola had designed the proto-type of the Roman basilical church for the Jesuits at their mother church, Il Gesù.<sup>48</sup> In this basilica the chancel and nave were united into a single space, without side-aisles, but with chapels carved out of massive piers supporting a barrel-vaulted roof. Within five years of Vignola commencing the building of Il Gesù, the Jesuit Order in Poland was already commissioning the same type of church, far in advance of similar projects in other countries.<sup>49</sup> Zygmunt III Waza founded the Jesuit Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Kraków (1612-30) and he commissioned the Jesuit church in Wilno, as well as the chapel of St. Kazimierz in the Latin cathedral.<sup>50</sup>

Italian Baroque art and architecture from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century employed the classical vocabulary of the Renaissance in a theatrical manner, intended to express the triumph of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Whereas the Renaissance had been created in both an urban and a courtly context, the Baroque style was developed in Rome by the Theatine and Jesuit orders during the papacies of Urban VIII, Innocent X and Alexander VII (1623-1667). Three particular artists provided the particular elements of the Baroque. These were the sculptor and architect, Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598-1680), the architect, Francesco Borromini (1599-1667) and the painter and architect, Pietro Berrettini da Cortona (1596/7-1669). Aspects of the Baroque style had originated in proto-Mannerist works, such as Michelangelo's Laurentian Library in Florence (ca. 1525-71), as well as in his later paintings, sculpture and architecture in Rome. Michelangelo had worked inventively with the plasticity of weighty masonry, along with the use of light and space to unexpected and dramatic effect. He broke the rules of the classical Renaissance style as developed by Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1466), Michelozzo di Bartolomeo Michelozzi (1396-1472), Leone Battista Alberti (1404-1472) and Giuliano da Sangallo (1443-1516). In their work the emphasis had been on restraint, lightness, elegance, mathematical measure, geometrical proportion and archaeological accuracy, in the case of Allberti and Sangallo. Michelangelo's pupil,

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48 Jacek Radziejewicz-Winnicki, *Historia architektury nowożytnej w Polsce. Barok. Wybrane zagadnienia*, Gliwice: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Śląskiej (2003), passim.

49 Baranowski, "The Baroque Geography of the Polish Commonwealth" in Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie* (2000), p. 80.

50 Baranowski, "The Baroque Geography of the Polish Commonwealth" in Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie* (2000), p. 79. Baranowski refers to the Zbaraski commemorative church in Kraków as being the first building to use an elliptical plan of the Roman type.

Giacomo della' Porta (1533–1602), experimented still further with such new expressive directions. He worked on St. Peter's Basilica, completing the dome (1573, 1588-90) and, equally important, he redesigned the façade of Il Gesù (1573-84). The façade of the Gesù influenced the design of Carlo Maderno (1556-1629) for the church of Santa Susanna in Rome (1603) which was the first definitive Baroque façade. Its echoes resonated through-out northern Europe and within the Eastern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The stylistic elements of the Baroque style included a wider church nave, broken pediments, half-concealed and clustered columns and pilasters. The ground-plans broke free from the rectangle and the square and the walls and pillars glided around irregular internal spaces in arabesques. The effect of dynamism in the façades and the interior architecture was achieved by the illusion of pressure and counter-pressure in the grouping of columns and pilasters, as well as by the over-lay of the different architectural orders. The rounded and squared doors and windows were decorated with broken pediments, swags of foliage, flowers and ribbons, triumphs of war, statuary of putti and angels, saints and portraits of mortal sinners, with cartouches displaying their coats-of-arms. Figures of angels and saints were constructed in plaster over a base of wood and horsehair and the ubiquitous putto populated the walls and roof in their hundreds. There were bronze, marble and, even, silver statues and reliefs on the altars, with stucco, gilding and paint added for theatrical effect. Domes were located on tall drums at the crossing of nave and transept. Coloured marbles were used and painted surfaces were everywhere. The ceilings were frescoed with stunning effects of extreme perspectival space. There was an ever-richer use of ornament.

On the death of Bernini in 1680 the most influential Roman architect was Carlo Fontana (1634/38-1714) whose pupils later worked in Wilno.

In Poland the Baroque style appeared on a smaller scale in the basilica of Sts. Peter and Paul in Kraków (1597-1619), modelled on Vignola's Il Gesù in Rome. The Waza chapel at Wawel Cathedral (1644-76) is a Baroque variant of the Zygmunt chapel nearby. In Warsaw the new Baroque churches included one for the Bernardine Order in Czerniaków (1690-93), as well as those of St. Kazimierz (1688-92), Holy Cross (1682-1757) and of the Visitationist Order (1664-1761). The Jesuit church in Poznań (1651-1701) overwhelms the visitor with its glowing marbles and green, red and gold enamels, a majestic fair-ground of gilt metal-work. The Royal Chapel in Gdańsk built for Jan Sobieski gives an impression of a luscious confection, with deep-pink walls and Baroque stone embellishments like icing-sugar. In Warsaw the nobility copied the Baroque style for their

palaces along the Wisła, inter-relating classicism with northern pitched roofs and towers, as at the Krasieński palace (1677-83). Roman palatial formats were integrated with the traditional Polish country-house in the palaces constructed for the Branicki at Białystok and Warsaw, as well as for the Raczyński in Rogalin and the Potocki at Radzyn Podlaski in western Poland. The Royal Castle in Warsaw and Ujazdów Castle, lower down the river, were modelled on Roman villas with rectangular courtyards. Other palaces were built in the form of fortified Roman villas, with loggias, such as the Koniecpolski palace at Podhorce and the Radziwiłł establishment at Birze.

In 1624 Zygmunt III Waza ordered the construction of Ujazd Castle (Pol. Zamek Ujazdowski) in Warsaw which had an internal courtyard, two wings, galleries and hexagonal two-storied towers at the four corners. This was one of the earliest fortified residential palaces in the Commonwealth and it was this form, based on French and Italian types, that set the trend for fortified residences in the Eastern Commonwealth, such as Podhorce in Crownland Rus. Ujazd palace was incorporated into a larger castle built in four wings and located within a pentagonal bastion with slanting sides. The interior of the palace was subsequently redesigned in the Baroque style (1680-90) by one of the foremost statesmen, philosophers and poets of the Commonwealth, Stanisław Heracliusz Lubomirski (1642-1702), who was Marshall of the Crown (1673-76). Lubomirski was one of the most important Baroque writers in Poland, producing works of drama and poetry modelled on Italian literature.<sup>51</sup> His theme is often that of the vanity of worldly life in comparison with that of eternity and he moralises on civic virtue, fate and destiny. His funereal, quasi-religious tone is characteristic of the mournful literature resulting from the effects of the Counter-Reformation in Poland.

Another widely-copied residence in the Italian style was Wilanów palace, outside Warsaw, re-built for Jan III Sobieski in the style of both Italian villa and Polish manor-house and surrounded by gardens and lakes. The palace was first designed in 1681-96 by Augustyn Wincenty Locci (1640-1732) in the form of a small residence consisting of a single-storey parterre, just like the manor-houses of the middle and lower szlachta. The geometrical proportions and decoration were influenced by the architectural theories of the Roman architect, Vitruvius.<sup>52</sup> Locci also worked for Sobieski on the Royal Castle, as well as on palaces for the

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51 For example, *De vanitate consiliorum* (1699); *Adverbiorum Moralium sive de virtute et fortune libellus* (1688); *Repertorium Opuscula sacra Latini et Moralia* (1701).

52 DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City* (1995), p. 286.



Radziwiłł family and on churches for the Sacramentek nuns and Capuchins in Warsaw. Sobieski's major architect, however, was the Dutch engineer, Tylman van Gameren (1632-1706), who had worked previously for King Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki in Warsaw.<sup>53</sup> From 1670 van Gameren built palaces and country houses for the Polish nobility in the Warsaw area (Radziwiłł, Gniński and Krasinski establishments), as well as churches and monasteries with Dutch and Italian influences, such as Holy Spirit, St. Kazimierz and St. Boniface in Warsaw. His chief project was the church of St. Anne in Kraków which was based on the church of Sant' Andrea della Valle in Rome, designed by Carlo Maderno.

In sculpture Sobieski commissioned work from Andreas Schluter (1664-1714), a German who later worked for the Brandenburg court in Berlin. Schluter designed the façade of the Royal Chapel in Gdańsk, works for the Wilanów and the Krasinski palaces, as well as the tomb sculpture for the Sobieski family mausoleum at Żółkiew in Crownland Rus. The painters supported by Sobieski included Daniel Schultz (1615-83) and the Armenian artist from Lwów, Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz-Siemigowski (1660-1711), who painted several regal portraits of Sobieski, as well as others of him campaigning on the battlefield. These are very much in the rhetorical Baroque style, undertaken with competent draughtsmanship and colour sense. Due to his royally-funded education in the Italian academies, Szymonowicz-Siemigowski was the most articulate and impressive painter of the Commonwealth and one of the few able to carry into effect the heroic compositions required by the king.<sup>54</sup>

In addition, Sobieski supported scholars such as the poet and historian Wezpasjan Kochowski (1633-1700), an apologist for Sarmatism, as well as the soldier, poet and translator, Stanisław Wojciech Chrościnski (1655-1722). He also provided for the historian and legalist, Jan Schultz-Szulecki (1662-1704) and the poet, medical practitioner and historiographer, Joachim Pastorius (1611-81). Others benefiting from Sobieski's mecenate were the distinguished mathematician, Adam Kochański (1631-1700) and, most of all, in Gdańsk the leading European astronomer, Johannes Hevelius (Pol. Jan Heweliusz).

It was in Lithuania and Crownland Rus, however, that the great magnates and princes were expanding their land-holdings to the greatest extent, constructing the most ambitious and imposing palaces, refortifying

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53 For van Gameren see DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City* (1995), pp. 286-87.

54 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski, malarz polskiego baroku*, Wrocław, etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (1974), pp. 14-31, 39-85, 87-105, 107-44.

older castles with the most advanced military defenses and establishing the most successful urban centres of trade.

Whereas in Rus it was the burghers who first patronised the Renaissance classical revival, in Lithuania it was the king and the magnates who took the lead in cultural patronage. The Baroque style of the Eastern Commonwealth took many different forms, from the Romanised edifices of the Jesuit in Nieśwież, Lwów, Krzemieniec and Wilno, to the Mannerist-Baroque palace at Podhorce with its French references. There were influences from Byzantine architecture mingled with Mannerist/Baroque elements at the Orthodox Wallachian Cathedral in Lwów. Further north in the cities of Wilno, Nowogródek, Grodno and Pinsk architects continued to be influenced by late northern Gothic in their adaptation of Roman and southern German Baroque trends.

## CHAPTER THREE

### EARLY HISTORY OF LWÓW: THE LATIN CATHEDRAL

The name “Ukraina” first appears in the historical record of the year 1187 when, as a geographical region, it included the principalities of Kiev, Chernihiv and Pereyaslav. Another name, that of “Greater Rus,” was used for all the lands ruled from Kiev (including the Uralic territories in the north-east.) The history of Ukraine begins with the founding of the city of Kiev on the lower Dnieper within the central Asiatic Khazar state. Kiev was taken from the Khazars in 882 by the Varangian (Norse) prince Oleg of the Rurik dynasty and the entire state was converted to Christianity in 988 during the reign of Vladimir the Great. By the 11<sup>th</sup> century Kievan Rus was the largest state in Europe. Kiev was sacked in 1169 by the prince of Vladimir and then by Cuman and Mongol hordes in the course of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries leading to its decline as a political power.

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century Vladimir the Great had also founded two other cities, Halych and Ladomir, as the capitals of western Ukraine and from the very beginning these two principalities were in conflict with Poland and Lithuania, as well as with the Ruthenian principality of Chernihov. The princes of Halych conquered Wallachia-Bessarabia, extending their lands as far as the Black Sea. In 1323 the dynasty of the Halychian princes died out. The throne was next occupied by a member of the Polish royal dynasty of the Mazovian Piasts, Bolesław Trójdenowicz, who converted to the Orthodox faith and took the name of George II. He was poisoned in 1340 with the result that the principality of Rus became a battle-ground for contenders to the throne who descended on the land from Poland, Lithuania and Hungary. Kazimierz III Piast (1333-70) won the victory and claimed a hereditary right to rule on the basis of his kinship with George II. He conquered Lwów in 1340 and took over the rest of the region in 1349. Southern Ruthenia remained a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until 1772.

Lviv was founded in 1256 by the Ruthenian king Danylo (1205–1255) whose origins were in the principality of Halych-Volhynia. The city lay on

the site of an earlier settlement once inhabited by a Lendian ethnic group in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. In the course of the 13<sup>th</sup> century Lviv gained commercial and political importance as the major city in western Ukraine due to its location on the river Poltava. Its siting had been carefully selected by Danylo, since it lay across the watersheds of rivers flowing north to the Baltic and south to the Black Sea. The city was also located on the major trade-routes leading from Kraków eastwards to Kiev and the Black Sea and from the north of Rus through Halych to Moldavia and the Balkans. However, the same situation on the routes that led into Central Asia also rendered Lviv vulnerable to the continual threat of marauding Tatars. These were savage warriors of Mongolian origin belonging to the Golden Horde who had settled permanently in the Crimea where they served the Ottoman Turks as mercenaries. From 1240 Mongolian raids were devastating Halych for over a century and Lviv was taken in 1261, although it recovered and continued to thrive. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the city was continually besieged by Tatars (in 1438, 1444 and 1453) and in 1498 it was also attacked by a joint force of Moldavians (Pol. Wołosi), Mongols (Tatars) and Turks. These attacks were never severe enough to destroy the city and it quickly recovered after each assault.<sup>1</sup>

After a famine in Central Poland during the 13<sup>th</sup> century large numbers of Poles began to migrate into Lviv. In 1349 the city was integrated into the Polish Crownlands and it became the capital of the enormous województwo (province) of Ruś Czerwona (Red Rus.) In acknowledgement of its new political status the Roman Catholic Metropolitan Archbishopric of Ruś was moved in 1412 to Lwów from Halych where it had existed since 1375. The Metropolitan controlled the bishoprics of Przemyśl, Chełm, Włodzimierz Wołyński,<sup>2</sup> Kiev, Kamieniec Podolski, as well as Serec in Moldavia.<sup>3</sup> By the 1280s in Lwów there were also many Armenian traders who had established their own Orthodox archbishopric.<sup>4</sup> In 1356 and 1368 Kazimierz III, in addition, persuaded German traders to settle in Halicz-Wołyń and Lwów. These mostly came from Silesia to form the dominant economic group in Lwów, as in Kraków, for several centuries. In addition, Italian traders and bankers appeared in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and they were in contact with Genoese trading ports on the Black Sea. The Magdeburg Royal Privilege for Lwów of 1356, granted

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1 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p.13.

2 Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, *Wołyń*, (2005), pp. 173-82.

3 Krętosz, *Organizacja archidiecezji Lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego od XVw. do 1772 roku* (1986), passim.

4 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 9.

by King Kazimierz, mentions four major religious groups as being resident in the city, namely, the Armenians, Ruthenians, Jews and Saracens. In addition, there was a smaller group of Roman Catholics (Poles, Italians, Scots and Germans). Also present were Crimean Tatars and the Karaites, a separatist Tatar group with a Judaic religion.<sup>5</sup> All ethnic groups were permitted to operate under their own jurisdictions.

According to the Magdeburg Rights, the direct rule of the Polish king was replaced by an autonomous City Council elected from among the wealthier citizenry. The Hungarian king, Ludwig, during his control of Lwów, in 1444 gave the City Council the Staple Right by which all traders passing through Lwów had to display their goods for sale for fourteen days. In January and June there were major international markets. The Staple Right established its position as the major trading centre of the Eastern Commonwealth and one of the most successful cities economically in Central-Eastern Europe. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century there existed in the city twenty-eight registered trades of which ten had organised themselves into official guilds. They were an important source of patronage for artists and builders and they also engaged in land-management.<sup>6</sup> The incorporation of Lwów into the Polish kingdom had great positive results for the city, so that by the early 15<sup>th</sup> century its population had grown to eighty thousand inhabitants.

Ethnicity in the city was integrally related to religious creed.<sup>7</sup> All Roman Catholics were regarded, as a matter of course, as belonging to the Polish nation. Other Catholic nationalities, such as the Italians<sup>8</sup> and Germans, rapidly became polonised, usually by the second generation. The decrees issued by the City Council began to be written in Latin in place of the German used by the first traders, but, increasingly, from 1525 Latin was replaced by Polish. From the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century the Ruthenian language was also putting-in an appearance in decrees and records.<sup>9</sup> All the Orthodox faithful were automatically listed as belonging to the Ruthenian nation, including Greeks, Moldavians (Pol. Wołosi) and Southern Slavs. The Protestant creeds were never tolerated in Lwów and they had no foothold in that city. Only Roman Catholics had the right to serve on the City Council and its committees so that control of the city belonged to the

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5 Motylewicz, "Ethnic Communities in the Towns of the Polish-Ukrainian Borderland" in Hann and Magoesi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 36-51.

6 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 14.

7 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 20.

8 Wojciech Tygielski, "Włosi" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebem. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 183-200.

9 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 21.

narrow elite of the wealthiest Catholic families. By a decree of 1577 the king, Stefan Batory, diluted this political oligarchy by ensuring that forty representatives on the City Council should also be chosen from among the other merchants and traders.

The first records of the Jewish settlement in Lwów date from 1256.<sup>10</sup> There were two communities, that of the Ashkenazy Rabbinate Jews and another of Karaite Jews from the Caucasus and the Byzantine region. The Jewish population received special privileges from Kazimierz III in line with his policy of attracting Jewish traders and bankers to Poland. There were two distinct areas of Jewish settlement, one within and one without the city walls, with different synagogues.

The peaceful years in the Commonwealth of 1520-1620 resulted in wealth and stability for Lwów.<sup>11</sup> Tatar attacks often reached the area, but they were never a serious threat to the city. Trade developed with the east and Lwowian merchants imported luxury silks and brocades, as well as spices, richly decorated weaponry and other luxury goods. The nearby Hungarian frontier encouraged a trade in wine. Of special importance to the local economy were local products such as cloth, weaponry and metal goods. Fish, cattle and potash were exported northwards through the Baltic port of Gdańsk. Trade was organised in guilds and Lwowian craftsmen specialised in the production of gold-work, weaving and luxury arms for the szlachta.

The entire population of Lwów was listed in the national register as members of the urban class which determined their lowly placement within the political hierarchy of the Commonwealth. Some patrician dynasties managed to gain political authority by importing noble titles for themselves, for example, in 1595 the Szolc-Wólfowicz family from Wrocław procured the title of Baron of the Holy Roman Empire. The Greek Orthodox Korniakt family from Crete, on the other hand, did manage to gain a magnate position for themselves among the Polish nobility. Other Lwowian families were also awarded the rank and privileges of the szlachta, specifically the legal right to own land and to benefit from feudal privileges (not confirmed, though, by the Sejm until 1658.)<sup>12</sup>

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10 Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (eds.), *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialisation* (2008).

11 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 19.

12 Jan K. Fedorowicz (ed. and trans.); Maria Bogucka, Henryk Samsonowicz (co-eds.), *A Republic of Nobles- studies in Polish history to 1864*, Cambridge University Press (1982), passim.

It has to be stressed that the Lwowian patriciate of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was no less wealthy, nor less cultured, than the szlachta and, perhaps, often even more so. It was the burghers of Lwów who brought the Italian Renaissance style in art and letters to the Eastern Commonwealth in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, not the nobility, nor the king.<sup>13</sup> In fact, merchants, traders and craftsmen could gain a middle education in Lwów without going further afield. The main Latin school was located near the cathedral, while that of the Ruthenian Orthodox was run by the Stauropigiian Brotherhood near the Wallachian Cathedral. In 1609 the Jesuits organised their own college in Lwów. Many sons of the patricians and middle classes gained doctorates at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, as well as in overseas institutions of higher education. In the practice of medicine, for example, the local doctors excelled and the fame of skilled Lwowian medical practitioners and apothecaries endured for centuries.<sup>14</sup> Lwów, however, never rivalled Kraków as a major site for book-publication. The production of books, surprisingly, was a late development. Not until 1574 was the first Lwowian Cyrillic text published by Iwan Fiodorow.<sup>15</sup> In 1578 Mikołaj Scharffenberger, a peripatetic printer, produced the first Latin work, namely, the poems of Jan Kochanowski (*Dryass Zamchana*).

Some important humanist authors were resident in Lwów, such as Szymon Szymonowicz (1558-1629), Józef Bartłomiej (1597-1677) and Szymon Żimorowicz (1608-1629). Among the other notable humanists in the city there was Jan Leopolita (also known as Jan Nicz, or Jan from Lwów) (1523-1572).<sup>16</sup> He was born in Lwów and became a humanist, theologian and preacher, especially noted as the editor of the first printed Polish translation of the Roman Bible (*Biblia Leopolita*, or *Biblia Scharffenbergow*). This was translated from the Latin Vulgate by Leonard Niezabitowski. Leopolita had studied at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in 1538-44. He continued to lecture there in the liberal arts from 1545, basing his teaching on a humanist curriculum, specifically the works of Cicero, Ovid and Terence. In addition, he knew Greek and Hebrew.<sup>17</sup> After taking holy orders as a priest in 1560, he taught in the theology

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13 For the civic role of the middle class citizenry, see Kaprał, *Urzednicy miasta Lwowa w XIII-XVIII wieku* (2008) and Kaprał, *Prywilei natsional'nykh hromad mista L'vova, XIV-XVIII st.* (2000).

14 Łoziński, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo Lwowskie XVI i XVII wieku* (1890), passim.

15 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 22.

16 Robert Świętochowski, "Leonard Niezabitowski Tłumaczem Biblii Leopolity" in *Ruch biblijny i liturgiczny. Dwumiesięcznik ... De actione biblica et liturgica, etc.*, Year 5, 1 (1961), Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński. Wydział Teologiczny.

17 Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation* (1989), p. 51.



school. His pupils there included the distinguished Jesuit priest, Jan Wujek (1541-97). After his studies in Rome, Wujek lectured at the Jesuit College in Pułtusk and then organised another Jesuit college in Poznań. Wujek eventually gained the post of Rector of the Jesuit Academy at Wilno (1578-80).<sup>18</sup>

One of the most important and unusual Polish humanists connected with Lwów was Mikołaj Rej (working under the pseudonym Ambroży Kurbocek Rózek) (1505-69). He was born in Żurawnie, near Halicz, in western Rus, although his family originated in the Kraków region. Son of a wealthy member of the szlachta, he studied at the schools in Skalbierz and Lwów. In 1518 he undertook studies at the Jagiellonian for a year, although he was effectively self-taught, taking advantage of his humanistic connections in Kraków. Rej studied Latin literature in depth. He is often unfairly contrasted, to his detriment, with the humanist Jan Kochanowski, although Rej was deeply learned in his own right. It was his political adversaries who ensured Rej a bad press for posterity. As a young man he had worked as a clerk in the court of Andrzej Tęczyński (1480-1536), Wojewoda of Lublin, Sandomierz and Kraków. Rej converted to Calvinism and was whole-hearted in his commitment to establishing the Reformation in Poland. He settled near Chełm on his own lands, moving into Central Poland to the Świętokrzyż area at Nagłowice. The king, Zygmunt I, was inclined to favour the Reformed faith and he displayed special esteem for Rej, granting him land in return for his Polish translation of the Latin Psalter. Zygmunt II August supplemented this royal gift. Rej's historic importance lies mainly in his use of the Polish language in place of Latin for his extensive corpus of polemical writings, which mostly take the form of dialogues. In his satire, *Brief Discourse* (1543), he took the side of a serf arguing against the legal and moralistic demands of a noble and a priest. Later, he wrote bucolic essays in praise of country life.

The University of Lwów (currently Ivano Franko Lvivskij National University) was founded by Jan II Kazimierz as the Akademia Lwowska in 1661. One of the earliest universities established in Eastern Europe, it had its origins in a Jesuit Academy founded in 1608 which was elevated to the status of a university. Subjects authorised by royal decree were scholastic and moral theology, philosophy, mathematics, canon and civic law, medicine and the liberal arts. The Jagiellonian University and the Zamoyski Academy put forward strenuous objections to the new university and delayed its formal approval by the Sejm and the Papacy.

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18 Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation* (1989), pp. 133-80, 192-219.

Pope Alexander VII permitted only the granting of doctoral degrees in theology and philosophy, which had already been conceded to the Academy in 1552 by Julius III.

In the arts and architecture the building-projects of the different ethnic groups in their ambition and design reflected the ideological and economic rivalries between the different national groups.<sup>19</sup> The Germans had settled early in the city in the vicinity of the Church of Our Lady of the Snows, one of the very few Catholic churches in Lwów at this time.<sup>20</sup> The Roman Catholic church of St. John was founded in 1270 by the wife of King Danylo, Konstancja, a Hungarian queen. The church was given to the Dominican Order and it was known to be very plain with a three-sided apse in the Romanesque style, though it was soon rebuilt in a Gothic form. In contrast, the Orthodox community by 1300 had as many as eight churches (Pol. “cerkwie”) in the city. In 1280 one of these was dedicated to St. Jura (George) and it was eventually rebuilt in a glorious Rococo style during the 18<sup>th</sup> century as the seat of the Uniate Metropolitanate.<sup>21</sup> The Orthodox church of St. Nicholas was also in existence by 1292.<sup>22</sup> The Armenians constructed their own Orthodox church in Lwów in 1283 which was elevated to the status of a cathedral and they established two of their own Orthodox parishes in the city.<sup>23</sup>

Lwów as an artistic centre was the major determinant in the development of the art and architecture of Crownland Rus (consisting of the regions of Ruś Czerwona, Wołyń, Podole and Kievan Ukraine). Lwowian influences are encountered in other important towns, for example, Brzeżany, Drohobycz, Krośno and Żółkiew. During the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century new and distinctive types of architecture, sculpture and painting emerged in the city, produced by an ethnic mix of local masons, Italians and Silesians. The burghers of Lwów were the first patrons in the Eastern Commonwealth to adopt and adapt the Italian Renaissance style. This

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19 Zhuk (2005), p. 96.

20 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p.10. See also for the German settlement in Poland, Igor Kałolewski, “Niemcy” in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 81-98.

21 І. Могитич [Mohutyuch], *Нариси архітектури української церкви*, Львів (1995); І. Могитич [Mrhytyuch], “Сторінки архітектури Галичини і Волині XII-XIV ст.,” *Вісник Укрзахідпроектреставрація Львів*, 8, (1997) pp. 3-20.

22 There is much scholarly information, maps and illustrations in Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Lwów. Przewodnik krajoznawczo-historyczny po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, 4, Warszawa: “Rewasz” (2008).

23 В. М. Арутюнян [Arytiunyan] and С. А. Сафарян [Safaryan], *Памятники армянского зодчества*, Moscow (1951).

arrived in Lwów in forms developed in Venice and Lombardy, but stylistically integrated with the Mannerist style of the Netherlands, as well as with the indigenous Byzantine taste for rich decoration.<sup>24</sup> Nationalistic and religious issues do not seem to have affected the selection of architects as such, since in Lwów all national groups and religious persuasions favoured much the same sort of Mannerist and Baroque architectural styles. Architects and sculptors worked across national and religious divisions in the city, including projects for the Jewish community, on occasion even working simultaneously for several different religious and national communities. However, there were some specific exceptions to this universal taste, since figurative sculpture was commissioned only by Roman Catholic patrons. The Orthodox Church, in the same manner as Judaism and Calvinism, rejected the use of graven images. In addition, although Catholic patrons commissioned icons in the Byzantine style from Ruthenian Orthodox painters, the Orthodox Church had no use for western painted forms. Nonetheless, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenian icon-writers gradually modified their own Byzantine style to incorporate aspects of Renaissance pictorial composition, such as naturalistic landscape and realistic human figures.

The organisation of the arts and crafts in the city is well recorded in the archives. In 1572 a guild was established to unite all crafts connected with the building trade, architects, masons, builders, sculptors and carvers.<sup>25</sup> Italian master builders came to Lwów from the northern alpine regions on the Swiss borders,<sup>26</sup> but there were present, in addition, artisans and architects of German origins from Wrocław in Lower Silesia. Especially worthy of note was the architect, Andrzej Bemera, who constructed the Boim chapel in a Netherlandish Mannerist style. By the later 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries foreign architects were being superseded by local builders.

Sculpture in Lwów was closely integrated with architecture and it was always of entirely local production, since there are no Italian sculptors recorded. All local sculptors and carvers reproduced the same figural types, artificially posed with generic facial features.<sup>27</sup> Ostrowski has observed that the Italianate forms of Krakowian sculpture were modified

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24 Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo Lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku* (1892); Łoziński, *Sztuka Lwowska w XVI i XVII wieku. Architektura i rzeźba* (1901) and the more recent edition, Łoziński, *Patrycyat i Mieszczaństwo Lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku* (1902). See also Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów, jego sztuka i kultura artystyczna* (1974).

25 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 22.

26 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 23.

27 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 29.

in Lwów by abstract tendencies that did not allow for individualistic interpretation. Both architects and sculptors favoured the use of coloured marbles, as well as highly-ornamented and tightly-compressed shallow reliefs in the Byzantine manner. There were deposits of sandstone near Lwów and brown and grey alabaster was quarried on the banks of the Dniester. Other types of stone were imported into Lwów from further afield, such as Hungarian red marble, black marble from the Kraków region and brown marble from Kielce and Chęciny.

The dividing line historically and artistically between medieval and modern Lwów, between the Gothic and Renaissance periods, is provided by the great fire of 1527 which destroyed most of the city. An intensive programme of rebuilding followed using the Gothic style, but the rebuilt city, yet again, experienced further destruction. Ostrowski has regretted the fact that it can be very difficult to date the reconstructed buildings and there continues to be much debate among historians concerning this issue. Some buildings previously dated by historians to the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries have recently been revealed to be several years later in date. After 1572 Lwów was rebuilt in a Mannerist style under the supervision of the new guild of building trades.<sup>28</sup> The archives, unfortunately, do not reveal the all names of the architects and masons involved in the specific projects.<sup>29</sup>

The largest group was that of the north Italians.<sup>30</sup> In 1543, for example, there is recorded a “Piotr from Lugano” who became the first innovative Renaissance architect in Lwów, while “Petrus Krassowski Italia murator Szwancar” was responsible for the bell-tower at the Armenian Cathedral and also for the Hanlowski house in Stary Rynek (Old Market Square). Piotr Barbona from Padua is recorded as working on the Korniakt Tower at the Wallachian Orthodox Cathedral and on a house in Stary Rynek.

The largest amount of information concerns the most influential architect in Rus Paweł Dominici known as “Rzymianin” (Paulo Romano) (d. 1618).<sup>31</sup> He commenced his career in Lwów as an assistant to Piotr Barbona and in 1585 he took out citizenship. According to the archives, he was responsible for the two most important Orthodox and Catholic religious projects in the city which were those of the Wallachian Orthodox Cathedral in 1591-7 and of the Roman Catholic Bernardine Church begun

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28 Olha Kozubska, “Renaissance Architecture in Lviv: An Example of Mediterranean Cultural Import,” online: Ukrainian Catholic University [http://www.emuni.si/press/ISSN/1855-3362/1\\_193-213.pdf](http://www.emuni.si/press/ISSN/1855-3362/1_193-213.pdf)

29 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 22.

30 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 23.

31 V. Vuytsyk, “Architektora Pavlo Rymliany,” *Zhovten*, 8 (1982), pp. 97–101.

in 1600.<sup>32</sup> He also worked on the Massorowski house in Stary Rynek (1589) in collaboration with Paweł Gryzonczyk, nicknamed “Szczęśliwy” (“Lucky,” or “Happy”). Dominici is also found employed at the church of the Poor Clares and in the Buczacki and Kampian chapels at the Latin cathedral. Paweł Szczęśliwy’s major work, however, according to scholars, was not in the city, but at the college at Żółkiew. Another notable work was the synagogue of the Nachmanowicz family known as the “Golden Rose.”<sup>33</sup>

One further important architect was also of Italian origins, namely, Ambroży Nutclaus, nicknamed “Przychylny” (“Amenable,” or “Co-operative”). Other records also reveal the activity of an anonymous figure known only as “Rectoromanin” who appears to have arrived from the Engadine region of north Italy on the Swiss border. In succession to Paweł Dominici (Paolo Romano), Rectoromanin directed work at the Wallachian cathedral and at the Bernardine church. Rectoromanin also took over from Paweł Szczęśliwy at the college in Żółkiew, where he built the church of St. Lazarus, as well as the fortifications and parts of the castle at Stara Sól nearby.<sup>34</sup> Important architectural remains from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries can still be found at Stara Sól which belonged to the diaconate of Sambor, although it was in the hands of the Crown.<sup>35</sup>

There have long existed economic and cultural links between Lwów and Silesia, specifically with Wrocław, which have endured to the present day.<sup>36</sup> From Wrocław the architect Andrzej Bemmer migrated to Lwów where he is recorded as building the upper part of the façade of the Bernardine church, as well as its tower, in addition to the Boim chapel at the Latin cathedral. Bemmer worked on the renovation of the city hall, designing a lofty new spire, a project commissioned by the merchant Marcin Kampian. Bemmer’s style was influenced by Netherlandish Mannerism in its proportions and ornamentation and Lwowian elements were hardly represented. Originating similarly from Silesia, Andrzej

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32 Tomasz Zaucha, “Kościół p.w. Niepokalanego Poczęcia Najśw. Panny Marii i dawny klasztor SS. Bernardynek” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej*, Pt. 1, 19, Kraków (2011), pp. 36-42.

33 Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba: Bożnice murowane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warsaw (1999), pp. 151, 154-55.

34 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 24.

35 Piotr Krasny, “Kościół parafialny p.w. Św. Michała Archanioła w Starej Soli” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, 5, Kraków (1997), pp. 249-66.

36 Betlej, Brzeziny-Scheuerer and Oszczanowski (eds.), *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), passim [with synopses in English].

Podleśny worked on the Chapel of the Three Saints at the Wallachian Cathedral (though its present condition is that of a later 16<sup>th</sup> century rebuild).

Even monks from local orders in Lwów are found working as architects, for instance, Bernard Avellides who built the Bernardine and Poor Clare churches, while Giacomo Briano produced the final shape of the Jesuit church.<sup>37</sup>

In 1353 the rebuilding of the city caused its centre to be re-orientated to the south of the original fortified settlement. At the north-west corner of the city centre there was constructed a new castle known as the Lower (“Niski”) Castle, which became the seat of the king and his council in place of the old Upper Castle known as “Wysoki Zamek”.<sup>38</sup> The oldest part of the city was now located outside the newly-built city walls and was renamed “Przedmieście Krakówskie” (later, “Żółkiewskie”). The walls determined the structure of the city which was based on that of a Roman encampment.<sup>39</sup> The old market square, Stary Rynek, was the focal point from whose corners there ran two main streets. In the middle of Stary Rynek stood the city hall (“ratusz”), the symbol of the city’s autonomy. Built originally in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it was rebuilt and enlarged in later centuries, though it was completely destroyed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and replaced by the present edifice. Numerous additions and semi-permanent structures, as well as townhouses, were joined onto the sides of the city hall. The town houses around the square of Stary Rynek were the major secular buildings of the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in the city, although it is difficult to establish their specific history due to successive remodelling. Historians can differ by several decades in their dating of the façades of the Korniakt, Black, Bandinelli and Szolc-Wólfowicz houses, for example.<sup>40</sup>

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37 Jerzy Paszenda, “Architekci Jezuicy w Polsce” in Jan K. Ostrowski, Piotr Krasny and Andrzej Betlej (eds.), *Praxis Atque Theoria. Studi Ofiarowane Profesorowi Adamowi Malkiewiczowi*, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński (2006), pp. 246-47 (Briano and Molli and their pupils, 1616-60).

38 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (no date – 200?), pp. 32-33.

39 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 15.

40 Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów*, London (1974), pp. 42-73.



3.1 Lwów, Korniański House (Royal Palace) by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

There were two types of private stone housing, one of which had a narrow façade of three windows (its width being determined by the size of the standard taxed plots of land) and the other (the palace-type) which had six windows built across two adjacent lots, such as the Korniański house,<sup>41</sup> the Kampian house and the residence of the Latin archbishop.<sup>42</sup> Renaissance-style attics replaced earlier Gothic pinnacles and served to protect the roofs from fire. These original attics have survived only on the

41 For the Korniański House see, I. Sveshnikov, *Dom Korniyakta*, Lviv (1972).

42 Bevez, *Arkhitektura Lvova: chas i styli* (2008), passim.



Korniakt mansion and the Black House in Stary Rynek, but traces of them remain in evidence on the Massarowski and Szolc-Wólfowicz houses. These attics in Lwów are of a different type from those in Kraków and in other towns of central Poland, since they have no arcades on the friezes and are decorated with sculpted figures on the parapet. The Korniakt and Massarowski houses may date from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but the Black House dates probably from 1675-1677 and was built for the Italian tax-collector, Tomasso Alberti. The front elevation of this house is clad with darkened sandstone. The façades of other houses are covered with diamond-shaped, faceted stones, or with stone rustication, or cladding. Diamond facets cover the whole wall of the Massarowski house and those of the Black and Korniakt houses, but faceting is limited to the borders and dividing elements on the Bandinelli and Szolc-Wólfowicz façades.<sup>43</sup> The most advanced edifice stylistically is the Szolc-Wólfowicz (mid-17<sup>th</sup> century) whose façade takes a classical form, ordered by pilasters.<sup>44</sup>

At No. 6 Stary Rynek there was constructed a palace for the king, Jan Sobieski, remodelled from a house originally built for the Greek merchant Konstanty Korniakt. It was bought in 1640 by the king's father, Jakub Sobieski. Known as "Little Wawel," it is interesting to compare it with the Sobieski palace that was constructed over the Green Gate in the same period on Ulica Długa in Gdańsk. In both cases former merchant mansions were elevated to the status of palaces. In the case of the Lwowian residence, the king purchased the house next door, so that his front elevation would consist of six bays with windows. At the heart of the complex a two storey arcade was constructed around the courtyard. Spacious rooms were added, as well as an audience hall. Władysław IV Waza also resided here. At the archbishop's palace at No. 9 Stary Rynek (remodelled in 1634 by Stanisław Grochowski) there lived Zygmunt III Waza (ruled 1587-1632) and his son, Władysław IV Waza (ruled 1632-1648). It was in this palace in 1673 that there died the king, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (ruled 1669-73).

On the south side of the square at No. 14 is the Venetian house remodelled by Paolo Romano for the consul of Venice, Antonio Massari (Massarowski House), and on its façade there hangs a sculpted relief of the lion of St. Mark, with a date of 1600. At No. 16 a house was built in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century for Ripo Ubaldini of Florence. The residence at No. 23 was that of the Scholz-Wólfowicz family from Silesia. It was constructed in 1570 and is decorated with a very large sculpted scene of the *Baptism of*

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43 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 26.

44 Vuytsyk, *Z istorii lvivskykh kamianyts*, 6 (1984), pp. 98–99.

*Christ*, either by Sebastian Czesko, or by Herman von Hutte. Equally rich in its sculptural decoration of lions is No. 28, the Heppner house constructed in 1510 which was once the property of the medical practitioner and member of the City Council Paweł Heppner.

On the western side of Stary Rynek some Gothic churches were erected for the Roman Catholic community. Around the Latin cathedral on the south-west corner there were located the churches of the Dominicans and Franciscans, who had been active in Lwów since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Trajdos has recently examined the role of these monastic orders in the establishment of Roman Catholic pilgrimage centres in the city.<sup>45</sup>

The Latin cathedral itself is unusual for its considerable height, raised over a very narrow base, a form characteristic of the ecclesiastical architecture in the Eastern Commonwealth, whether Roman Catholic, or Orthodox. This is not entirely the effect of restricted urban space, since this highly-elevated, narrow style has endured through to the present day and newly-built churches in Ukraine continue to be steeply raised. The Latin cathedral (Pol. “Katedra łacińska we Lwowie”) is formally known as the “Kościół archikatedralny pw. Wniebowzięcia Najświęczej Panny Marii” (the arch-cathedral church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary).<sup>46</sup>

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Latin cathedral was rebuilt by Waclaw Hieronim Sierakowski but the annexation of Galicia (western Crownland Rus) by the Austrian Empire during the Partition period was gravely detrimental. In 1807 and 1810 the Austrians confiscated many silver artefacts from the cathedral.<sup>47</sup> However, in 1837-43 the interior was renovated and conserved. In 1852 an inventory was published of the paintings by Felicjan Łobeski.<sup>48</sup> Another important figure involved in the conservation of artefacts in Lwów was Władysław Łoziński who headed the rescue operations during

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45 Tadeusz M. Trajdos, *Kościół Katolicki na ziemiach ruskich Korony i Litwy za panowania Władysława II Jagiełły (1386-1434)*, Wrocław (1983); Tadeusz M. Trajdos, “Kościół Dominikanów Lwowskich w średniowieczu jako ośrodek kultowy,” *Nasza Przyszłość*, 87 (1997), pp. 39-78; Tadeusz M. Trajdos, “Dominikanie i franciszkanie we Lwowie do 1370 r.,” *Dzieje Podkarpacia*, 5, Krosno (2001), pp. 423-48.

46 Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Koscioły i Klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013).

47 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 49.

48 Felicjan Łobeski, “Opisy obrazów znajdujących się w kościołach miasta Lwowa” in *Dodatek Tygodniowy do Gazety Lwowskiej*, vol. 2-5 (1852-55).

the 1890s.<sup>49</sup> The chancel and choir were rebuilt in a neo-Gothic style in 1892-99. The documents concerning this renovation and conservation are now located in the Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwo Narodowego in Warsaw. The aim is to create a Muzeum Lwowskiej Archidiecezji (Museum of the Lwów Archdiocese).<sup>50</sup> In 1995 the archives of the Latin cathedral were relocated to Kraków to the Archiwum Arcybiskupa Eugeniusza Paziak, now part of the Papal University of Jan Paweł II. Some archival material was also moved to the Centralne Państwowe Archiwum Historyczne in Lwów (previously file no. 151, now no. 197), but the catalogue of the Archiwum, produced in Polish and Ukrainian, is incorrect. The relocation of the archives was carried out in an atmosphere of deep distrust by Soviet and Polish officials. It continued to be very difficult, even in the 2000s, to inventarise the various artefacts.

The major 19<sup>th</sup> century secondary sources for the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Latin cathedral are those of Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz, Jan Tomasz Józefowicz and Dionyzy Żubrycki.<sup>51</sup> The historian Stanisław Zajączkowski further produced in 1924 the first thorough investigation of the history of the Latin cathedral in its entirety.<sup>52</sup> Most other research tended to cover only the early medieval period and the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, such as the studies in the 1920s and 1930s of Tadeusz Mańkowski and Mieczysław Gębarowicz.<sup>53</sup>

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49 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 59.

50 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), pp. 9-11.

51 See Józef Bartłomiej Zimorowicz, *Historia miasta Lwowa Galicji i Lodomerii królestw stolicy* (trans. M.Piwecki), Lwów (1835) as well as, Dionyzy Żubrycki, *Kronika miasta Lwowa*, Lwów (1844) and Jan Tomasz Józefowicz (used by Zajączkowski) *Kronika miasta Lwowa od roku 1634 do 1690 obejmująca w szczególności dzieje dawnej Rusi Czerwonej a zwłaszcza historię arcybiskupstwa Lwowskiego w tej epoce*, Lwów (1854).

52 Stanisław Zajączkowski, "Z dziejów katedry Lwowskiej, *Przegląd Teologiczny*, 5 (1924), pp. 41-55, 280-301.

53 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 7.



*3.2 Latin Cathedral (Archcathedral Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary), Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

It is surprising that the Latin cathedral managed to survive the catastrophes of the Nazi occupation and the Soviet armies quite well, but the post-war years under the communist regime were the worst in the entire history of the cathedral. It was threatened with closure by the Soviets, crushed by heavy taxation and its activities were hampered by the

lack of clergy.<sup>54</sup> In 1946 the communist Ukrainian government forced the Polish Catholic institutions, such as the seminary and the archbishop's curia, to move out to Poland. Archbishop Eugeniusz Basiak was forced to leave and he migrated to Lubaczów, while the seminary was relocated to Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. The contents of the interior of the Latin cathedral were also taken to Poland. The icon of Matka Boska Domagliczewska was evacuated and replaced by a copy painted by Maria Pokiziak. The cathedral archives were sent to the Central Historical Archive in Lwów. After 1945 Polish historians no longer had access to the archives in Lwów and Ukrainian scholars were not attracted to the field of Roman Catholic sacred art and architecture in Rus, which was related to Poland's culture.

The result of all this upheaval was that the original contents of the cathedral were dispersed chaotically through-out Poland, until in the 1970s-80s when Bishop Marian Rechowicz decided to collect and relocate them to the curia in Lubaczów. The most precious artefacts were deposited in the cathedral at Kraków and also in the archdiocesan museum. Some even eventually returned to Lwów. Others are located in the seminary in Bruchowice in Poland and in the Łuck archdiocesan museum in Ukraine, although in this location they have not received any care. The liberation of Ukraine in the 1990s from the Soviet Union helped to restore order. A new Polish Catholic metropolitan diocese of Lwów was created whose border conformed to that of the state of Ukraine as established in 1941, not to that of the original Polish pre-war boundary.<sup>55</sup> The conservation of the cathedral was funded by the Wspólnota Polska (a Polish association for the care of Polish history, artefacts and nationals lying beyond the boundaries of the current state of Poland).<sup>56</sup>

The catalogue of the Latin cathedral carried-out by the Instytut Sztuki of the Jagiellonian University (No. 21 in the series *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*) is the first since the 1930s to be based on archival resources.<sup>57</sup> This project has also recorded the original altars that were subsequently removed from the cathedral. The earliest photos of the interior of the Latin cathedral date from 1887. The editors and authors of the various volumes of the *Materiały*

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54 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), pp. 65-70.

55 Ibid, p. 67.

56 Ibid, p. 68. restoration of the paintings in the cathedral, pp. 78-81.

57 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), pp. 8-9.

series take recourse to old photographs, since in many cases, as in volume No. 21 concerning the Latin cathedral, there has been no chance to carry out any new photography projects. An additional study related to this same context is that of Wojciech Drelicharz concerning the monuments, epigraphy and heraldry of the old Commonwealth in Ukraine.<sup>58</sup>

The date of the inauguration of the original cathedral is unknown, although Zimorowicz suggests that it was in 1370.<sup>59</sup> The church was elevated to the status of a cathedral in 1412. The earliest church on the same site, prior to the cathedral, was a wooden building erected in 1344 which burned down in 1360. In that same year Kazimierz III ordered the construction of the present Gothic edifice, which was consecrated in 1405 by the Latin Bishop of Przemyśl, Maciej Janina. The architects were Niczko (Mikołaj) (d. 1384) and Mikołaj Gansecke, who in 1404 clad the chancel in stone. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century Joachim Grom and Ambroży Rabisch from Wrocław were brought in to complete the fabric, as well as another German, Hans Blecher. Work continued until 1481. Numerous altars were constructed within the interior during the 15<sup>th</sup> century and by the 1470s the main building-work was drawing to a close and the finishing of the walls had commenced. In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century further new altars were erected.<sup>60</sup> In addition, since sermons were preached in both Polish and German, then for this purpose separate pulpits were provided.

In 1527 after the great fire of Lwów, the cathedral collapsed and it was rebuilt in brick on the model of Silesian churches in Wrocław.<sup>61</sup> In 1544 Mikołaj z Felsztyna and Herburt Odnowski, Castellan of Przemyśl and Starosta of Lwów, funded the altar of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the left wall of the chancel, near the grave of Herburt. It was cast in Nuremberg in 1551 by Pancracy Słomowski. In 1588 Stanisław Żółkiewski, castellan of Lwów and field hetman of the Crown (“hetman polny koronny”), was buried in the chancel of the cathedral. His father Stanisław was the wojewod of Rus and he financed the altar of the Transfiguration located

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58 Wojciech Drelicharz., *Pomniki Epigrafiki i Heraldyki Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej Na Ukrainie*, Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Młodych Historyków “Societas Vistulana,” Kraków (2008).

59 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 14.

60 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), pp. 17-19.

61 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p.16.



next to the bishop's throne. Archbishop Jan Dymitry Solikowski renovated and rebuilt the Buczacki chapel in 1587. He introduced the Jesuits to Lwów and they were given their own site within the cathedral marked by their monogram of "IHS". A new alabaster retable was located on the left of the choir in place of the 1544 Herbut altar. In 1601 Solikowski consecrated the altar commemorating the Transfiguration of Christ, St John Baptist and the Conversion of St Paul.<sup>62</sup> At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Jan Szolc-Wolfowicz funded two marble/alabaster retables dedicated to the Holy Cross and the Holy Trinity. In 1771 these were moved to the church of St Mikolaj.

In the course of the early 17<sup>th</sup> century a new Kampian chapel replaced the chapel of the Strumiłów. In 1619 Marcin Kampian had it clad in marble and completed in 1630.<sup>63</sup> In the 1600s Archbishop Jan Zamoyski extensively redecorated the cathedral. Precious metalwork and carpets were added.<sup>64</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> century further changes were made, namely, the Buczacki chapel was rebuilt in a Baroque style in ca. 1707.

The historian Jan Saś-Żubrycki has argued that the cathedral was constructed in the Polish Gothic style of the Vistula region and that the chancel is a copy of St Mary's in Kraków, while Tadeusz Mańkowski saw the cathedral as being a hall-type structure typical of central Poland and he denied any German influences from Kraków. In this view, Mańkowski was supported by Tomasz Węclawowicz and Mariusz Czuba. Węclawowicz also perceived additional Czech-Moravian influences in the cathedral structure and he argued that the work on the pillars displays the hand of masters from Wrocław who worked in Kraków at those dates. Czuba similarly argued for Silesian-Moravian influences entering from Opawa.<sup>65</sup> The original cathedral was intended to include a two tower façade, as was common through-out Central Europe, but the second tower was never completed. The structure is long and high in its proportions due to the

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62 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 20.

63 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 21.

64 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 22.

65 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), pp. 70-78.



influence of monastic architecture, especially of the monumental Dominican churches of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The cathedral also has similarities to the single nave Krakowian churches. Comparisons have been drawn by other scholars with the parish church of the Corpus Christi in the town of Kazimierz on the lower Vistula river (1346-1401) and also with the choir of the Mariacki church in Kraków (ca. 1340-1760).<sup>66</sup> There can also be found comparable structures in Germany, as at Marburg in the hall-type church of St Elizabeth. Unique, however, to Lwów and not found in Central Europe are the arcaded side aisles which give an effect of plasticity to the boxy shape of the cathedral.<sup>67</sup> The nave is only three bays in length and has an elongated, triple-sided chancel which may be modelled on that of the Church of St. Mary (Kościół Mariacki) in Kraków.<sup>68</sup>

An extensive renovation carried out by Archbishop Wacław Sierakowski in 1765-72 was necessitated by the perilous condition of the building. The interior had not been conserved and it was cluttered with thirty altars, numerous sepulchres and memorials, benches and storage-chests belonging to the various confraternities. Among the renovations the retable of the Transfiguration was removed and replaced by the bishop's throne and the Herburt altar was also taken-away.<sup>69</sup> The cathedral was given the appearance of a Baroque edifice. The bell-tower was constructed. In 1892-98 the chancel was rebuilt in a neo-gothic style and stained glass was installed. The wall paintings with the subject of the life of the Virgin and her miracles date from 1771-75 (painted by Stanisław Stroński). One of the two towers (65 metres in height) received a Rococo crown in 1777. In 1917 the copper roof was requisitioned by Austrian forces. After 1945 the archbishops of Lwów were removed from the cathedral and were restored after perestroika in 1991. Extensive renovations took place in 1999-2000 by Polish and Ukrainian conservators.

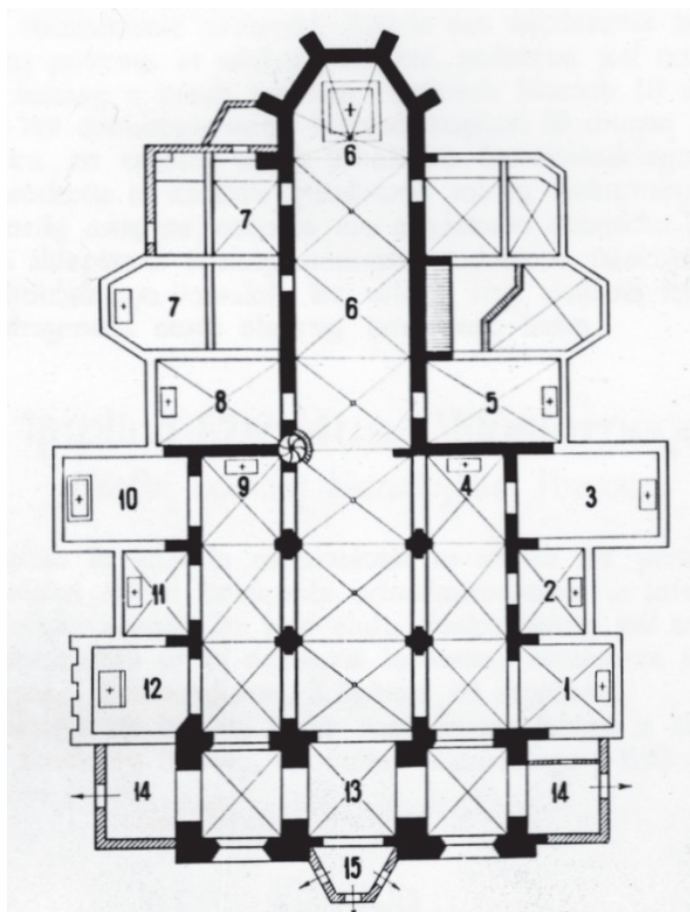
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66 Ibid, p. 138.

67 Ibid, p. 140.

68 67 metres long x 23 metres wide

69 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 29.



3.3 Plan of the Latin cathedral, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

In 1765 the icon of *Matka Boska Łaskawa (Domagliczowska)* was placed above the main altar in the chancel of the cathedral. It dates from 1598 and was painted by the leading Lwowian artist Józef Szolc-Wólfowicz as a memorial for the grand-daughter of Katarzyna Domagliczówna. It was removed to Poland for safety in 1946 and is now located in the treasury of Wawel cathedral in Kraków. A copy occupies its place in Lviv.



3.4 icon of *Matka Boska Łaskawa* by Józef Szolc-Wólfowicz (1598), by permission of the *Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

The side-chapels in the Latin Cathedral offered a prestigious occasion for patronage by the Polish elite. The families involved in the various projects form a national pantheon of important burghers and nobility. The chapels date variously between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries and they include the Milewski, or Archbishop Bilczewski, chapel, built in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and redecorated in 1904 in a modernist style. The chapel of *Matka Boska Częstochowska* is a 17<sup>th</sup> century project constructed to house the tomb of General Paweł Grodzicki (d. 1634). The Zamoyski chapel holds two alabaster tombs, those of archbishops Jan Zamoyski (d. 1614) and Jan Tarnowski (d. 1669). Both inside and outside the Latin cathedral there were located other important chapel-mausolea of wealthy burgher families, of which only three have survived, the Buczacki, Kampian and Boim chapels.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 28.



3.5 chancel of the Latin cathedral, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The most important chapel within the body of the cathedral itself (practically intact in its original state), however, is not that of a noble, but of a burgher family. The Kampian chapel (Pol. Kaplica Kampianów) was commissioned by the medical practitioner Paweł Kampian and it was completed by his son, Marcin. The chapel contains the most ambitious programme of relief sculpture in the cathedral.<sup>71</sup> The architect was Paolo Dominici (Romano). On the exterior, the protruding walls of the chapel are built out of black and grey marble and are divided into three levels,

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71 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), for restoration of the Kampian chapel, see pp.76-78; altars in the Kampian chapel by Henryk Horst (ca. 1586), pp. 84-85; sepulchres in the Kampian chapel, p. 93:



with diamond rustications at the base. The upper level is separated by a frieze from the lower, with rosettes and lion heads typical of Paolo's style.



*3.6 Kampian chapel, Latin cathedral, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*



3.7 Monument of Stanislaw of Żółkiew by Paolo Romano, Kampian chapel, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

It has an imposing attic that was once decorated with figurative sculpture. Subsequently, Jan Pfister added reliefs of biblical scenes, those of the *Entombment of Christ*, the *Resurrection of Christ* and *Christ and*

*Mary Magdalene*. Henryk Horst also probably worked on the chapel façade.<sup>72</sup> The chapel lacked a dome, unlike the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel cathedral. The interior of the chapel includes portraits of the family in high relief, as well as epitaphs and allegorical emblems. Standing near the cathedral on land that was once the cemetery (closed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century) is the memorial chapel of the Boim family (1609-1615), containing fourteen graves.<sup>73</sup>

The latest research has shown that the Boim chapel already existed in 1597, according to the archives. This dating upsets the formerly accepted idea that in 1609 Jerzy Boim had obtained permission for his chapel which was formerly thought to have then been built in 1609-17.<sup>74</sup> The patrons were Jerzy Boim and his wife, Jadwiga Niżniowska, and it was completed by their son, Paweł Jerzy Boim. The father, Jerzy (György) Boim, was born in Transylvania. He was a merchant and a member of the City Council, as well as secretary to Stefan Batory. The Boim chapel was built by the architect, Andrzej Bemer, and the sculptural decoration was the work of either Johann Scholz (Pol. Hanusz Szolcz) (1573-1642) from Könisberg, or of Jan Pfister. The shape of the Boim mausoleum is that of a square, crowned with a dome set on an octagonal drum. On the drum there is a relief of St George fighting the dragon, reputedly by Andrzej Bemer. The lantern on top of the dome supports a statue of the *Sorrowful Jesus*. The chapel was originally free-standing, but in the 19<sup>th</sup> century a house was built adjoining it.

The façade of the Boim chapel is unique, without any prototypes, and some historians have compared it to the iconostasis of an Orthodox church.<sup>75</sup> The eastern façade of the chapel is divided vertically by five pilasters and it includes a portrait of Jerzy Boim and his wife Jadwiga painted in 1617 by Jan Gianni, while on the northern wall there is a fresco

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72 Любченко [Liubchenko], *Львівська скульптура XVI-XVII століть* [Lvivska skulptura xvi – xvii stolit] (1981), p. 139.

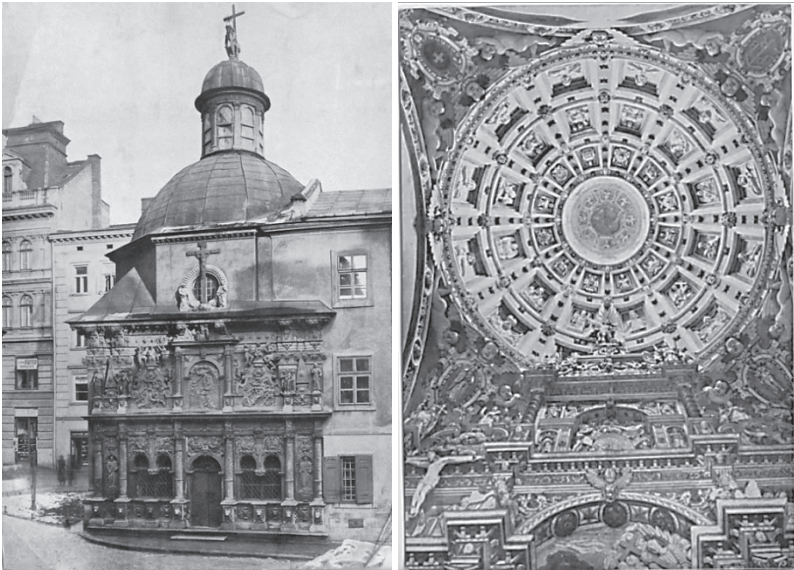
73 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), pp. 124-129.

74 Ostrowski (ed.), *Katedra łacińska we Lwowie, Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Part 1, vol. 21 (Kraków) (2013), p. 22.

75 Ibid, pp. 148-154. Mańkowski and Gębarowicz were especially concerned with the history and style of the Boim chapel. See Tadeusz Mańkowski, “Kaplica Boimów we Lwowie,” *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, 8 (1939-46), pp. 308-317. And see also Mieczysław Gębarowicz, *Studja nad dziejami kultury artystycznej w Polsce*, Toruń (1962), as well as his *Szkice z historii sztuki*, Toruń (1966).



of the Virgin Mary and Christ. The western façade is covered by dense reliefs carved by Johann Scholz and it is divided by six attached columns and two horizontal cornices, thereby creating three separate levels. The top storey is carved with reliefs from the Passion of Christ, namely, the *Flagellation*, *Carrying of the Cross*, *Crucifixion* and *Descent from the Cross*. The sculptural decoration of the interior is probably that of Jan Pfister. The coffered dome is decorated with reliefs of flowers and heads of cherubs in white stucco, set against a sky-blue background. The lower walls of the chapel are very dark and require restoration. The altar-wall is divided by cornices into three levels. Most of the reliefs in the chapel are made of stucco, but black marble and white alabaster has also been used. On the lowest level of the relief-wall there are depicted four prophets. The wooden doors on the altar wall are decorated with intarsia and metallic fittings. On the southern wall are memorial epitaphs by Jan Pfister in marble and alabaster and above the entrance door there are located portraits of Jerzy Boim and his son Paweł. The decorative programme of the Boim chapel is by far the most ambitious and elaborate of any surviving Renaissance building in Lwów, with a Gothic richness of texture that creates an almost woven and embroidered surface.





3.8 - 3.11 Boim Chapel, Latin cathedral, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

## CHAPTER FOUR

# MANNERIST AND BAROQUE INFLUENCES IN LWOVIAN ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

Ostrowski has commented on the late appearance in the city of Roman Catholic building projects in comparison to the numerous Orthodox works that had already been raised in the medieval period. The major period of Catholic construction commences as late as 1600, although there were less impressive schemes earlier. The churches built from 1600 onwards mostly retained traditional Gothic elements, as in the case of the Bernardine Church and also that of St. Mary Magdalene. In the elevations of all these churches there are stylistic influences drawn from Netherlandish Mannerism, as well as references to more classical forms of Italianate design.

The Bernardines, officially known as the Observant Franciscans, or Friars Minor, had arrived in Poland in ca. 1453 when John of Capistrano (Pol. Jan Kapistran, 1386-1456) came to Kraków to establish their first monastic house. In order to distinguish the new order from the older Franciscan Conventual Order, the Observants were given the name of “Bernardines” (Pol. “Bernardyni”) after their patron, St. Bernardino of Siena. The Bernardine Order was dispatched to Crownland Rus in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with the specific mission of converting Orthodox Ruthenians to Roman Catholicism. The Bernardine mission in Lwów was so successful that it competed in popular estimation with those of the Dominicans and Jesuits, the other two missionary orders responsible for the conversion of the Orthodox.

The Bernardine project in Crownland Rus was sponsored from the outset by the leading Polish magnate families. In 1460 Andrzej Odrowąż (d. 1465), Starosta of Lwów (1450) and Wojewoda of Rus and Podole (1452-65), offered the Bernardines a site near the Halicka Gate for their monastery, disregarding the opposition of the Archbishop of Lwów, Grzegorz of Sanok. Eventually, this site became the largest monastery in Crownland Rus. Since it was located outside the medieval walls of Lwów,

the whole complex had to be heavily fortified. The church of the Bernardines provoked outrage among the Orthodox Ruthenian community. Aggravated by the conversionary aims of the Catholic orders, the Orthodox nobility set-about destroying the Bernardine site in 1464. In 1509 the Moldavian Hospodar Bogdan III burned down the outlying districts of Lwów, including the Bernardine church. It was re-built in 1600-30 following plans designed by the Provisor of the Order, Father Bernard Avellides. This bold enterprise was directed by Paweł Dominici (Paolo Romano) who modelled the new church on the best Italian exemplars, adding features taken from Netherlandish Mannerism. The patrons who financed this scheme were the leading Polish magnates of the realm: the Wojewoda of Sandomierz, Jerzy Mniszech, and the Starosta of Lwów, Adam Hieronim Sieniawski. At the laying of the foundation stone there officiated the Great Hetman of the Crown (Pol. "Hetman Wielki Koronny"), Jan Zamoyski, and the Field Hetman of the Crown (Pol. "Hetman Polny Koronny"), Stanisław Żółkiewski.

The Bernardine missionary church is dedicated to St. Andrew (Pol. Św. Andrzej) and is located on Soborowy Square (prior to 1945 known as Plac Bernardyński). The church was built with an eight-sided elongated chancel, completed in 1609 and in 1615 a crypt was added. The nave was plastered and painted in 1613-14. Its first architect Paolo Romano was replaced as master of the works in 1614 by Ambroży Przychylny, who was, in turn, replaced by Andrzej Bemer. It was Bemer who was responsible for the Mannerist façade and tower. The façade is embellished with giant "horse-shoe" volutes laid across a system of parallel cornices. In the middle there is displayed a relief of the Trinity, flanked by the coats-of-arms of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Around the volutes there stand figures of Bernardine saints and above the main entrance there is a relief of a half-length Virgin Mary and Child, with saints Peter and Andrew. The rich decoration of the interior of the Bernardine church was also funded by the leading Polish families in Rus, that of the Zamoyski, Sieniawski, Mniszech and Żółkiewski, as well as by the archbishop of Lwów, Jan Dymitry Solikowski. Some figures of saints belonging to the original stucco decoration have survived.

Many paintings have also endured from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in particular the *Apotheosis of St. Jan of Dukla* (1677), from an original cycle celebrating the miracles of that saint whose cult was wide-spread in Rus and had an ecumenical character. Jan was born in Dukla in the archdiocese of Przemyśl in ca. 1414. He was a member of the Franciscan Conventuals and he became a priest noted for his saintly style of life, eventually becoming the head of a priory in Lwów, where he died in 1484. The noteworthy



4.1- 4.2 Bernardine Church of Św. Andrzej, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University



aspect of his posthumous cult is that he was venerated not only by Catholics, but also by Orthodox and Armenians. It was believed that the salvation of Lwów in 1648 from the forces of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (Chmielnicki) was due to the intervention of Jan of Dukla.<sup>1</sup>

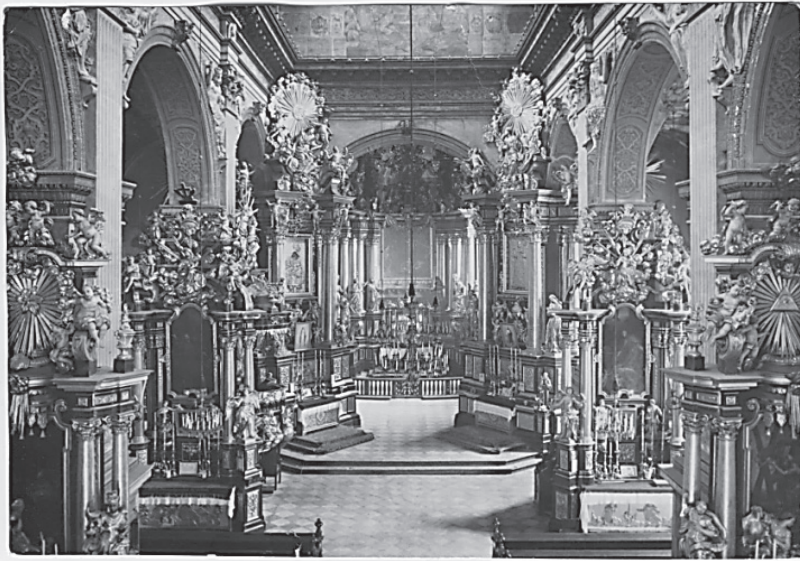
In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the interior of the Bernardine church underwent many changes. After 1945 the church was closed, but the monastery was extensively restored in 1976-77 and presented to the Lviv Art Gallery. The church itself was allowed to fall into ruin and the roof and stained-glass windows were destroyed. In 1991 it was handed over to the Ukrainian Catholic Studite Order, who re-dedicated it to St. Andrew Apostle. The historian Jan Smirnow has recorded the fate of many Lwovian churches during and after the communist rule of Ukraine and has discussed their state of repair and the probability of their future survival, all too often, unlikely.<sup>2</sup> The research of Jan Wołczański provides more information concerning the regrettable history of the treatment of the former Polish Catholic churches of Ukraine in 1946-91.<sup>3</sup> Though it was initially hoped that the Studite Fathers would restore the Bernardine church sympathetically, unfortunately, the Order has a policy of removing Roman Catholic features from old sanctuaries in order to replace them with Orthodox forms. In particular, Baroque church towers crowned with stone, or metal lanterns are threatened, since these are not a part of the Orthodox architectural tradition. The Bernardine church tower with its Baroque copperwork lantern was funded in 1734 by the Sieniawski family, but its survival may be in question.

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1 Andrzej Betlej, "Kościół p.w. Św. Andrzeja i Klasztor OO. Bernardynów" in Andrzej Betlej, Marcin Biernak, Michał Kurzej, Jan K. Ostrowski (eds.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Kościoły i Klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, Part 1, vol. 20, no. 2, Kraków (2012), pp. 13-70.

2 Jan Smirnow, "Powojenne losy Lwowskich kościołów," Pt. 2, *Rocznik Lwowski* (2007), pp. 209-21; Jan Smirnow, "Powojenne losy Lwowskich kościołów," Pt. 3, *Rocznik Lwowski* (2008-2009), pp. 295-308; Jan Smirnow, "Kościoły Lwowskie. Historia świątyń rzymskokatolickich," *Kurier Galicyjski*, Pt. 1, 1 (53), pp. 14-15; Pt. 2, 2 (54), pp. 14-15; Pt. 3, 3 (55) (2008), pp. 14-15; Jan Smirnow, "Kościół Św. Kazimierza," *Kurier Galicyjski*, 9 (61) (2008), pp. 18-19; Jan Smirnow, "Kościół Św. Zofii," *Kurier Galicyjski*, 11 (63) (2008), pp. 18-19; Jan Smirnow, "Kościół Św. Łazarza," *Kurier Galicyjski*, 16 (68) (2008), p. 17.

3 Jan Wołczański, *Między zagładą a przetrwaniem. Wybrane obiekty sakralne archidiecezji Lwowskiej i diecezji przemyskiej obrządku łacińskiego na Ukrainie Zachodniej 1945-1991*, Kraków (2005).



4.3 Bernardine Church of St. Andrzej, 18<sup>th</sup> century decoration, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Another imposing Baroque building in Lwów is the Jesuit church (1610-30), an exceptional expression of the Counter-Reformation in its monumental Roman style.<sup>4</sup> It served as a prototype for later churches, such as those at Lublin (1586-1604), Kalisz (1587-95), Sts. Peter and Paul, Kraków (1597-1619), St. Kazimierz, Wilno (1604-16) and Corpus Christi in Nieśwież (1598-99), as well as various churches in Warsaw (1609-26).<sup>5</sup>

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4 Andrzej Betlej, “Kościół ŚŚ Piotra i Pawła oraz dawne kolegium Jezuitów” in Andrzej Betlej, Marcin Biernak, Michał Kurzej, Jan K. Ostrowski (eds.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej, Kościoły i Klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, Part 1, vol. 20, no 2, Kraków (2012), pp. 71-132; See also M. Бандрівський (Bandriwskij), *3 історії церкви Святих Апостолів Петра і Павла у Львові, Львів* (2007).

5 The church and monastery currently hold the deposits of the former 18th century Ossolineum library founded by the Polish Ossolinski family, much of which was moved to Wrocław after 1945. The remainder was moved from its original site to the church on Teatralna Street (before 1945 Ul. Rutkowskiego). In 1997 the Polish government asked the Ukrainian government to hand over these documents and in 2003 Ukraine allowed access to the publications. In 2006 an office of the



The Jesuits were invited to Lwów in 1584 on the initiative of Archbishop Jan Dymitry Solikowski and Jakub Wujka and in 1608 the Jesuit College was established. In 1610 the foundation stone of the church was laid by Archbishop Jan Zamoyski and it was built mostly at the expense of Elżbieta Sieniawska, wife of the Great Marshall of the Crown, Prokopy Sieniawski. The church in Lwów was modelled on the Jesuit mother-church of the Gesù in Rome. As was their custom, the Jesuits employed their own architects, originally Sebastian Lanichius, followed in 1617-21 by the general architect of the Jesuits in Poland, Giacomo Briano.<sup>6</sup> The church was consecrated in 1630 by Archbishop Jan Andrzej Próchnicki, but work continued until 1659. In comparison with its Roman prototype, the Lwovian church is shorter by two bays and has no dome. The Jesuit church is the second largest in Lwów, after the Latin cathedral. The interior has a basilical ground-plan of four bays.<sup>7</sup> The central nave is wider than the side aisles. There are four side chapels in each aisle, above which are galleries and boxes for use by pupils at the college in order to separate them from the congregation below. The chancel is five-sided and there are two sacristies, one on each side. An ebony crucifix on the main altar is probably the work of Jan Pfister, dating from 1616. The general appearance of the interior takes its form from the decorative project undertaken after the fire of 1734, while the main altar dates from 1744-47. The side altars are 18<sup>th</sup> century Rococo in form.

The eastern façade incorporates Mannerist elements. The decoration is carried out in dark stone to contrast with the white walls. The façade consists of five bays and two horizontal storeys. The lower storey is pierced by three sandstone portals pierced by windows and divided by six imposing Corinthian pilasters. Between the pairs of pilasters there are located two levels of semi-circular niches, containing statues of Jesuit saints. Above the main entrance, a small balcony leads directly into the music gallery inside the church. There are similar, smaller balconies above the side portals.<sup>8</sup> The upper storey of the façade is separated from the

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Ossolineum (which now is located in Wrocław) was opened in Lviv and began a process to scan all its documents.

6 Paszenda, "Architekci Jezuitcy w Polsce" in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 246-47 (Briano and Molli and their pupils, 1616-60).

7 In length 44 metres. The nave is 22.5 metres wide and 26 metres long.

8 Jerzy Paszenda, "Stan badań nad architekturą jezuicką na ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej" in Ostrowski (ed.) *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, 2, Kraków (1996), pp. 57-64. For more detailed studies of specific early 17th century Jesuit missionary churches in Łuck and Winnica in the provinces of Wołyń and Podole see Maria Brykowska, "Kościół Jezuitów w Łucku i architektura zakonu Jezuitów

lower by a heavy cornice and is embraced by volutes on both sides. A triangular tympanum crowns the whole, with a relief of the Lamb of God bearing a cross above. On the roof there is a small steeple.



*4.4 Jesuit Church, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

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na Wołyniu i Podolu w 1. połowie XVII w.” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, 2, Kraków (1996), pp. 65-84.

In 1661 the Jesuit College was given academic privileges by the king, Jan II Kazimierz Waza, although these were not confirmed by the Sejm of Poland because of the strength of anti-Jesuit feeling among the nobility. Despite such opposition, the Jesuit College in Lwów became one of the foremost educational establishments of the Commonwealth, laying the foundation for the future University of Lwów (awarded the status of a university in 1759). A theatre was associated with the College, since the Jesuits valued dramatic presentation as a means of educating the young. In 1615 a print-works was organised in the College which published about seven hundred works, mostly of a religious nature.<sup>9</sup>

Such was the reputation of the Jesuit school that both Catholics and Orthodox sent their sons to be educated there. The school was effectively responsible for the education of the entire elite of Crownland Rus. Its pupils included Bohdan Zenobi Chmielnicki (1595-1657) who studied poetry, rhetoric and grammar, learning the Polish language, though rejecting Roman Catholicism.<sup>10</sup> Another pupil at the Jesuit College was the Ruthenian prince, Jeremi Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1612-51) who was to become Wojewoda of Rus from 1646 and Chmielnicki's opponent in the Cossack wars. Jeremi Michał was the father of the future elected king, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. In origins his family was Ruthenian Orthodox and his own father Michał Wiśniowiecki had married the daughter of the Moldavian Hospodar, a staunch supporter of Orthodoxy in the Commonwealth. However, Michał himself converted to Roman Catholicism.

The 1620s marked the end of Lwów's peaceful prosperity and the city never recovered. In 1622 and 1632 the citizenry were placed under an obligation to maintain and finance the confederated military forces of the Commonwealth. War against the Turks brought famine in 1622 and in 1623 the plague killed ten thousand citizens, while a great inferno destroyed a thousand houses. There followed an even more desperate ordeal for Lwów, when in September 1672 it was besieged for four days by a formidable Turkish army. After the Turkish occupation of parts of the Commonwealth, Tatar attacks became a common occurrence in the Rus województwo. In 1695 a battle was fought against the Tatars near the church of St. Martin, within Lwów itself. Eventually, in 1704 Lwów fell to

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9 Kasper Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski* (ed. Jan N. Bobrowicz), Lipsk (1839-1845): there are more recent editions.

10 Sergeĭ Nikolaevich Plokhiĭ, *The Cossacks and Religion in Early Modern Ukraine*, Oxford University Press (2001), pp. 273-308 (relations with Russian Tsar). See also Nagielski, "Ukraincy" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 55-78.

the moderate numbers of the Swedish army of Charles XII. There followed in 1707-7 the first of many subsequent occupations of Lwów by Russian forces. From 1767 there were stationed forces of Russians in the city, who were followed by belligerent Habsburg troops from the Austrian empire. In 1772 Lwów was awarded to the Habsburgs in the first Partition of Poland and it became the capital of the Austrian province of kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.

Yet, during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in the midst of this turmoil of invading forces, there continued to develop positive advances in Lwowian art and architecture. For, in the 1620s and 1630s there was an enthusiastic rebuilding of many substantial foundations that had been destroyed in the wars, which gave an opportunity for patrons and architects to experiment with the Baroque style. As the only unconquered major city in the Commonwealth in the course of the Swedish wars, Lwów played the role of the default state capital. In 1648 the population of Lwów reached thirty thousand, outstripping that of Kraków. Only Gdańsk within the Commonwealth had more inhabitants. Lwów was still ruled by an oligarchy of merchants, but gradually other civic organisations appeared, compensating for the denial of political representation in the case of the majority of residents. In 1658 Lwów was ennobled in the manner of the capitals Kraków and Wilno. This new status conferred equality on the burghers with the szlachta and facilitated their access to land-ownership. Nevertheless, the ennoblement of the city did not bring the burgher class any political representation in the Sejm of the Commonwealth. This remained the prerogative of the princes, magnates and szlachta. Membership of the noble class could be gained by the burghers only if they relinquished their trade, or craft and industrial activities in favour of military pursuits, or the liberal arts. Such a privileging of the nobility was a major obstacle in the restoration of Lwów after the wars of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The landed families such as the Sieniawski, Sobieski and Zborowski held in their possession large areas of the suburbs where they applied their own jurisdictions, thereby impeding free trade. The chaos of the 17<sup>th</sup> century wars led to a decline in burgher patronage of the arts which devolved onto the magnates and lesser nobility (and a very few urban families). A new aspect of patronage was the removal of artists and architects from the cities to the courts of the magnates on their landed estates, a situation that had never existed prior to the Swedish and Cossack wars.<sup>11</sup>

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11 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 40.

In Lwów the most advanced buildings of the later 17<sup>th</sup> century were the work of military men, such as the architect-artillerist Paweł Grodzicki who worked on the Royal Arsenal, the major new work of the time (Pol. Arsenal Królewski) (1639-46). In contrast to the strict functionalism of the earlier City Arsenal (Pol. Arsenal Miejski), the Royal Arsenal was adorned with a decorated loggia. Another Arsenal, the Sieniawski, lies in the neighbourhood of the church of St. Mary Magdalene (second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>12</sup> It is similar in style to the Royal Arsenal. There was also a new hospital founded by Jan Sobieski for the Bonifratri Order (1688-96) and constructed by the French engineer, Karol Benoit.

Ostrowski has suggested that the year 1620 was the turning point in the transfer of style from Mannerism to the Baroque, but he does not consider this to be a decisive break, since projects commenced in the early 1600s continued through into the 1620s and 1630s. These included several churches, such as the Bernardine. Many town-houses in Stary Rynek were also renovated in these same decades. Ostrowski decided on the year 1680 as witnessing the final triumph of the Baroque style, although its component features were already being used in the first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in elements of design, such as movement, rhythm, flowing curves, compressed multiple pilasters and attached columns, complexity in ground-plans, classicising façades and interior and exterior decoration based on Roman models.

A good example of this is the church of Our Lady of the Snows (Pol. Kościół Matki Boskiej Śnieżnej). It was the first Roman Catholic church in Lwów, originally founded prior to 1340 by German merchants and traders.<sup>13</sup> Traces of the original Gothic ground-plan have survived (a nave and triple-sided chancel), although otherwise it has been entirely reconstructed. The church was named after the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome which housed a medieval icon of *Our Lady of the Snows*. This particular image inspired a major cult specific to the Eastern Commonwealth, with innumerable copies and variants of this image being made. The original patrons of the Lwowian church were members of the City Council, for it was the city parish church until 1415. After a series of fires, the church was rebuilt in 1623 and 1683 as a single-nave structure,

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12 Jan K. Ostrowski, "Kościół Parafialny p.w. Św. Marii Magdaleny i Dawny Klasztor Oo. Dominikanów" in Ostrowski et al. (eds.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej*, Pt. 1, 20, Kraków (2013).

13 Jan K. Ostrowski, "Kościół parafialny p.w. Matki Boskiej Śnieżnej" in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Pt. 1, 20, Kraków (2013).

with a tall steeple in the Mannerist style.<sup>14</sup> The five-sided chancel is elongated, a common feature of Lwowian churches. On the western side, there is a courtyard or atrium, another characteristic of churches in the Eastern Commonwealth. The main altar in the chancel and the side altars have survived, as have the original balconies in the choir, the sculptural programme and the iron-gratings and candelabra.<sup>15</sup>

A more advanced programme stylistically, employing the Baroque mode, was devised for two neighbouring churches elevated on the outskirts of the city to serve the male and female members, respectively, of the Order of Discalced Carmelites.<sup>16</sup> The architects and their designs came directly from the principal Baroque schemes of Rome. The Carmelites played a pivotal role in the missionary activities of the Polish religious orders, particularly assisting with the conversion of the Orthodox Armenian community to Roman Catholicism.<sup>17</sup>

The church of the male Carmelites (1634-47; after 1656) is located on Gallusowski Hill. It was once dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel. The church plan consists of a nave, with side aisles elongated in such a manner that the aisles enclose the chancel on either side. The intention was to create a centralised space focused on the main altar. The chancel, in fact, was treated as a separate unit taking the form of a *tempietto*, with a dome above an altar of black marble. The plan was modelled on that of Bramante's *Tempietto* in Rome. Ostrowski argues for the high quality of the classical detail and considers that the architect may have been the Italian Costante Tencalla (1610-47) who built another, very similar, church in Wilno. The chancel displays the fully-fledged Baroque style and the plan of the church may have been imported directly from Rome. The façade Ostrowski rates as being of lesser quality, with heavy proportions and flat

14 For the fate of the Catholic Church under Communist rule, see Stanisław Bizuń, *Historia krzyżem znaczone. Wspomnienia z życia Kościoła katolickiego na Ziemi Lwowskiej, 1939–1945*, Lublin: Wołczański (1994). Our Lady of the Snows church was closed in 1945 and in the 1990s re-dedicated to Our Lady of Perpetual Succour. It belongs to the Ukrainian Catholic Redemptorist Fathers.

15 Ryszard Chanas and Janusz Czerwiński, *Lwów, Przewodnik turystyczny*, Wrocław: Ossolineum (1992); Bartłomiej Kaczorowski, *Zabytki starego Lwowa*, Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza (1990).

16 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 42.

17 Andrzej Betlej, “Kościół p.w. Św. Michała Archaniola (Nawiedzenie Najśw. Panny Marii) i Klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewiczkowych (Pierwotnie OO. Karmelitów Bosych)” in Andrzej Betlej, Marcin Biernak, Michał Kurzej, Jan K. Ostrowski (eds.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej, Kościoły i Klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, Part 1, vol. 20, no 2, Kraków (2012), pp. 133-70.



dividing elements. The towers added in the 19<sup>th</sup> century gave it a more imposing air.

The church and convent built for the female Carmelites in the same district is dedicated to Our Lady of the Purification (Pol. Kościół Matki Boskiej Gromnicznej). Building commenced in 1642 and was funded by the Polish magnate, Jakub Sobieski, Wojewoda of Bełsk and Rus, and his wife, Teofila of the polonised Daniłowicz family, who donated thirty thousand złotych.<sup>18</sup> The royal architect Giovanni Battista Gisleni (1600-72) commenced work on the church prior to 1644. The church was modelled after Sta. Susanna in Rome designed by Carlo Maderno, which had provided the template for the definitive Baroque style throughout Europe.<sup>19</sup> At the crossing of the nave and transepts, a small dome was elevated.<sup>20</sup> On the façade (1683-96) the tympanum above the portal displays the Sobieski heraldic insignia (in Polish heraldry designated as “Janina,”) and the “Sas” heraldic device of the Daniłowicze.<sup>21</sup> The entrance is flanked by columns and the balconied portico above is supported by conches. The lower level is decorated with Tuscan pilasters, while the second storey bears the Ionic order. In 1661-2 Jan Godny worked on the church and, after 1683, Tomasz Dubiński became the master-builder. It was completed by 1692. Some additional decorative elements were added to the façade, such as, stone vases in niches and sculptures of Sts. Joseph and Theresa of Avila carved by Andrzej Szwancer (1688).<sup>22</sup> Other Baroque churches in the city include those of the Observant Dominicans (dedicated to St. Urszula) (1678) and the church of St. Lazarus by Ambroży Przychylny (1620-40), as well as St. Kazimierz

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18 Rafał Nestorow, “Kościół p.w. Oczyszczenia Najśw. Panny Marii i dawny klasztor SS. Karmelitanek Bosych” in Jan K. Ostrowski et al. (eds.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Kościoły i Klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, Part 1, vol. 19, no. 1, Kraków (2011), pp. 279-96.

19 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 43.

20 The building of the convent commenced in 1644 and was completed in 1683.

21 Mariusz Karpowicz, “Fasada kościoła karmelitanek we Lwowie” in Tadeusz Bernatowicz (ed.), *Polska i Europa w dobie nowożytnej Prace naukowe dedykowane Profesorowi Juliuszowi A. Chrościckiemu*, Warszawa: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie (2009), pp. 401-403.

22 The establishment was closed by the Communist government after 1945. In 2000 the church and convent were given to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the church is now dedicated to the *Presentation of Christ* (Ukr. *Стрітення*).



(1656-64) and St. Zofia (1672), although these are rated by Jan Ostrowski as being provincial products of local guild workmanship.<sup>23</sup>



4.5 Giovanni Battista Gisleni, Church of the Discalced Carmelite nuns, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

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23 Tomasz Zaucha, “Kościół i szpital p.w. Św. Łazarza” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, 19, Kraków (2011). See Andrzej Betlej, “Dawny kościół OO. Dominikanów Obserwantów p.w. Św. Urszuli” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, 19, Kraków (2011). See also, Marcin Biernat, “Kościół p.w. Św. Kazimierza i Zakład Wychowawczy SS. Miłosierdzia (dawny klasztor OO. Reformatorów)” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, 19, Kraków (2011). And see also Marcin Biernat, “Kościół p.w. Św. Zofii” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, 19, Kraków (2011).

## Lwowian Sculpture and Painting

The chronology and development of the Lwowian sculptural style has not been definitively established. As in the case of the architecture, Ostrowski finds it difficult to date and attribute any specific works due to lack of archival data and also due to the similarity of artistic styles and collaborative activity among the artists. He has, however, managed to classify the oeuvre and character of the work produced by several important figures, nevertheless, he assesses this product as being of merely provincial merit, though of great historical interest.<sup>24</sup> Herman van Hutte (known as Czapka) was the most important of these sculptors. He came from Akwizgran and was active in Lwów from 1565.<sup>25</sup> Another sculptor, Henryk Horst from Gröningen in Holland, arrived in Lwów in about 1572 and also worked on projects elsewhere in the Eastern Commonwealth. Then, there was a distinctive group of artists from Kraków: Jan Bilay, Sebastian Czeszko and Jan Zaręba.

Ostrowski further indicates another problem in the attribution of artefacts, which is the fact that any surviving sculpture with specifically Lwowian qualities is found only in the provinces, not in the city itself. Jan Bilay was the only one who left his signature on a specifically Lwowian work in the Latin cathedral in 1592.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, Ostrowski links Herman van Hutte with the making of the tomb of the Czarnkowski family in Czarnków. He also attributes to Hutte the tomb of Anna Sieniawska in Brzeżany (now destroyed), as well as the tomb of Jan and Zofia Sieniński in Rymanów and the epitaph of the Czarny family in the Mariacki (St. Mary's) church at Kraków.<sup>27</sup> Further, Ostrowski has identified the signature of Henryk Horst on the tomb of Mikołaj and Hieronim Sieniawski located in the castle chapel at Brzeżany. The remains of this have been deposited in the museum at Olesko castle, near Lwów. Ostrowski also considers that Horst is responsible for the altar in the Kampian Chapel at the Latin cathedral in Lwów. Finally, he has found that it was Sebastian Czeszko who sculpted the tomb of Katarzyna Ramułtowa in Drohobycz (1572/3), while one Jakub Trwały (known by this work

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24 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 25.

25 Michał Wardzyński, "Alabastry ruskie"- dzieje eksploatacji i zastosowania w małej architekturze i rzeźbie na Rusi, w Koronie i na Śląsku w XVI wieku" in Betlej et al, (eds) *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), pp. 41-59.

26 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 29.

27 For cross-influences in 16th century alabaster sculpture as developed by Herman Hutte, see Wardzyński, "Alabastry ruskie" in Betlej et al, (eds) *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), pp. 41-59.

alone) produced the tomb of Barbara of the Mniszków family at Kamieniec Podolski. This has been transferred to the Franciscan church in Krośno.

Among this early group of sculptors one major figure was the German sculptor Jan (Hans) Pfister (1573-before 1642) who appeared in Lwów in the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Pfister's commissions are not recorded in any of the archives, but it seems certain that he partly decorated the Bernardine Church and the Boim Chapel, as well as carving two epitaphs there. He is the sculptor of the tomb of Jan Swoszowski and Archbishop Jan Zamoyski in the Latin cathedral. Even so, Pfister's most important projects are located outside Lwów at Tarnów where the tomb monument of the Ostrogsky princes has been signed by Pfister and he also worked on the Sieniawski tombs at Brzeżany.<sup>28</sup>

In fact, all of these late Renaissance and Mannerist sculptors and carvers reproduced the same local types.<sup>29</sup> Hutte and Horst employed the Netherlandish Mannerist style, while Jan Bilay reveals the influence of his master Jan Michałowicz from Orzędów (1525/30-1583). Similarly, Czeszko displays western influences. In the style of Jan Michałowicz one can perceive the melding of Italian and Netherlandish traits.<sup>30</sup> According to Ostrowski, facial types and figures in Lwowian sculpture come down to only two types, that of the bearded warrior and that of the matron, while the anatomy of the body is hidden beneath garments and folds, or by armour and rhythmic ornament.<sup>31</sup> Local work favours polychromatic effects in the use of coloured marbles which conflict aesthetically with the prevailing two-dimensional graphic style. Many elements in this kind of design with its flat linear qualities are derived from Byzantine art.

In contrast to the pioneering styles of Lwowian Baroque architecture, sculpture experienced a decline after Pfister left for Tarnów and Brzeżany in ca. 1620.<sup>32</sup> Ostrowski concludes that local production does not rise

28 For Pfister, see Michał Kurzej, "Uwagi o badaniach nad twórczością Jana Pfistera" in Betlej et al, (eds) *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), pp. 61-73; For Pfister's origins in Wrocław, and also, Piotr Oszezanowski, "Wrocławski rodowód artystyczny Jana Pfistera" in Betlej et al, (eds) *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), pp. 85-101.

29 Liubchenko, *Lwowska skulptura xvi – xviii stolit* (1981), passim.

30 For Netherlandish influences on sculpture in Wrocław and Lwów, see, Aleksandra Lipińska, "Dwa niderlandyzmy - wrocławski i Lwowski-na przykładzie rzeźby 1550-1625. Pytania i dezzyderaty" in Betlej et al, (eds) *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), pp. 61-73.

31 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 29.

32 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 44.

above mere provincialism and cites as an example the stucco altar in the apse of the church of St. Mary Magdalene by Wojciech Kielrów. He further mentions the sculptor Aleksander Prochenkowicz who produced the traditionalist tomb of Archbishop Jan Tarnowski in 1670.<sup>33</sup> Some incoming artists produced more ambitious work, such as the figures on the façade of the church of the Discalced Carmelite nuns produced by Andrzej Szwancer in 1688.<sup>34</sup> In nearby Żółkiew a famous sculptor from Gdańsk, Andrzej Schluter, produced the Sobieski family tombs.<sup>35</sup>

The history of painting in Lwów in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was first evaluated in depth by the Polish historian, Tadeusz Mańkowski, in the 1930s. He discussed the roles of German and Polish artists, as well as those of the Ruthenians and Armenians.<sup>36</sup> Ostrowski has further noted that artistic styles were not necessarily connected with religious denomination and he alludes to the Roman Catholic chapel of St. Catherine in the Niski Zamek (Lower Castle) which was decorated with wall-paintings in a Ruthenian Byzantine manner. The Byzantine style is commonly encountered in many Roman Catholic churches in Małopolska, the south-east region of the Polish Crownlands.<sup>37</sup>

In Lwów there existed two kinds of painters, those following a western (Latin) style and those of the Ruthenian Orthodox school.<sup>38</sup> A third type was produced by Armenian painters who were mostly occupied with manuscript illumination.<sup>39</sup> Painters were not organised in guilds in Lwów until the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, although they could belong either to the goldsmith's guild, or to that of the bell-wrights. Artists such as Wojciech Stefanowski and Jan Szwankowski had the privilege of being official servants (Lat. "servitor") of the king. In 1595 Szwankowski, with the support of Archbishop Jan Dmytry Solikowski, created a guild (brotherhood) of

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33 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 45.

34 Nestorow, "Kościół p.w. Oczyszczczenia Najśw. Panny Marii i dawny klasztor SS. Karmelitanek Bosych" in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. 1, 19, Kraków (2011); Karpowicz, *Fasada kościoła karmelitanek we Lwowie*, Warszawa (2009), pp. 401-3.

35 Liubchenko, *Lvivska skulptura x v i – x v i i stolit* (1981), *passim*.

36 Mańkowski, *Lwowski cech malarzy w XVI i XVII wieku* (1936).

37 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), pp. 17-18.

38 Felicjan Łobeski, "Opisy obrazów znajdujących się w kościołach miasta Lwowa," *Dodatek Tygodniowy do Gazety Lwowskiej*, 2-5 (1852-1855); Janina Klosinska, *Icons from Poland* [trans. by Magda Iwinska and Piotr Paszkiewicz], Warszawa: Arkady (1989).

39 Kruk, "Stan Badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym XV-XVI wieku" (1996), pp. 29-55.

Roman Catholic painters. A Royal Privilege awarded all church commissions in the city to this new Catholic guild. In defence against such religious and ethnic discrimination the Armenian painter, Paweł Bogusz Donoszowicz (a member of the guild of goldsmiths), won the right in 1600 for Armenian painters to join the new Roman Catholic guild. In response, Ruthenian Orthodox painters sought support from the *Stauropigii* Orthodox Brotherhood at the Wallachian cathedral.<sup>40</sup> From the evidence of the text of the Privileges granted by Zygmunt II in 1593 and 1595, it appears that Szwankowski, the leader of the Catholic guild, was a member of the *szlachta* class. He had obtained from the king a guarantee that his fortune would not be rendered confiscate, despite the fact that he was engaged in what was defined by law to be a manual trade. In fact, on the model of the theoretical writings of Italian Renaissance critics, most especially, Leone Battista Alberti and of the Italian academies of art, the Royal Privileges recognized the art of painting as one of the liberal arts, that is, those involving the intellect, rather than the hands. Painting was, henceforward, placed on a level with literature.

Nevertheless, Ostrowski is critical of Lwówian painting in the later 17<sup>th</sup> century for its indifferent condition. Such a low level in aesthetic quality was the result of the over-academic training enforced by the guild of Catholic painters.<sup>41</sup> Consequently, local guild painters were capable of undertaking only the more modest commissions, such as altars, iconostases and portraits for less demanding clientele. Despite this unfortunate situation, Ostrowski does acknowledge the appearance of one important and unique development in Lwów, that of the tomb portrait which was requisite in the funeral ceremonies of all Christian denominations.

One of the most prominent Catholic painters in Lwów was Jerzy Szymonowicz the Elder whose son became the most distinguished Polish painter of the period, Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski (1660-1711, born in Lwów). Artists of a higher order could not find appropriate patronage in Lwów, so Jerzy Eleuter made no works in the city. In fact, he was so exceptional an artist that he was knighted by Jan Sobieski. Jerzy Eleuter was a rare example of a Polish artist whose career led to social advancement into the *szlachta*.<sup>42</sup> With the king's support he studied painting in Italy and France and in 1682 he became a member of the Roman Academy of St. Luke. In 1684 he returned to Poland to work mostly for Jan Sobieski and August II. The second major Polish Catholic

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40 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 31.

41 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 47.

42 Karpowicz, *Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski* (1974), pp. 14-31, 39-85, 87-105, 107-44.

painter in Lwów after Szymonowicz the Elder was Tomasz Wiesiołowski, similarly associated with the court of Jan Sobieski. However, neither Szymonowicz the Elder, nor Wiesiołowski, were capable of undertaking the grand style of history painting obligatory for court art and Sobieski was obliged to import the Italian, Martino Altomonte (1657-1745), to Żółkiew to paint the great canvases depicting his battles. The king also employed Andrzej Stecha (1635-97) from Gdańsk. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Lwów the other leading Catholic painters included Jan Szwanowski, organiser and champion of the Catholic guild of painters in Lwów, as well as Wojciech Stefanowski, Jan Szens (known as “Gallus”), Kasper Spaczyk, Józef Szolc-Wólfowicz, Jan Rudult, Jakub Leszczyński and Mikołaj Rożynski. Originating in Lwów there was Jan Ziarnko, a celebrated Baroque graphic artist who, however, worked mostly in Paris.

At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Armenian Orthodox painter Paweł Bogusz had battled against the Catholic painters for commissions and legal privileges, but his son, Szymon Boguszowicz (d. ca. 1644), became integrated into the Latin group, eventually working for great magnate Catholic families such as the Żółkiewski, Miniszek and Wiśniowiecki. Boguszowicz was one of the first painters in the Commonwealth to undertake history painting. Ostrowski thinks that it was probably Szymon Boguszowicz who recorded on canvas the campaign of the Polish-supported Pretender to the Russian Throne, Dymitr Samozwaniec (ca. 1581- 1606), and his Ruthenian wife, Maryna Mniszecz (ca. 1588-1615). Furthermore, the huge canvas of the victory of Stanisław Żółkiewski at Kłusz, *Bitwa pod Kłuszynem* (ca. 1620), is attributable on grounds of style to Boguszowicz. This painting was the foundation of the picture gallery at Żółkiew, created to publicise the achievements of Polish arms. The painting is currently deposited in the museum at Olesko, alongside a depiction of Jan Sobieski at Vienna by a later painter. Boguszowicz is also responsible for a portrait of Zygmunt II before the scene of his victory at Smoleńsk.<sup>43</sup> Otherwise, Ostrowski concludes, it not possible to link many other artists to specific paintings. The religious painting of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries inter-related the medieval tradition, such as the use of gold backgrounds, or orantes (praying) figures with the newer western modes.

In the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Lwów was one of the chief centres for portraiture in the Commonwealth. Among outstanding names are those of Andrzej Firlej (d. 1585) and Krzysztof Zbaraski (painted till 1622). Half-figure poses, or head-and-shoulders busts, were often of

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43 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 33.

reputable aesthetic quality, such as the portrait of Stefan Batory by Wojciech Stefanowski (fl. ca. 1578) and those of the noblemen Jerzy Mniszech (d. 1610), Jan Daniłowicz (d. 1628) and Jerzy Boim (1617). Portrait figures also appear on the epitaph of Jan Herburt (d. 1577) and on the funeral standard of Konstanty Korniakt (d.1603) (but the extant version of this standard is a copy made in 1669). All these portraits have individual artistic qualities, as well as conforming to a group style. Ostrowski remarks on the two-dimensional areas of bright colour, the main emphasis being placed on the face of the model which is rendered realistically. The depiction of the clothing, the palace architecture in the background, the heraldic shields and texts are intended to emphasise the social position and political authority of the sitter. This is the standard type of “szlachta” portrait and it established the type for paintings of the burgher class, as in the portrait of Jerzy Boim. Since portraits were free of ideological concerns, they were painted by artists of all nations, whether Latins, or Orthodox Ruthenians and Armenian.<sup>44</sup>

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44 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 34.



## CHAPTER FIVE

# ORTHODOX COMMUNITIES IN LWÓW

Orthodox Ruthenians hastened to develop their own religious and secular projects in response to the Catholic programme of church building, the conversionary missions of the monastic orders and their provision of a Catholic education. To this end, the Orthodox Staupigii fraternity sought funds from patrons in Crownland Rus, such as Konstanty Korniakt and the Ostrogsky family, but these resources proved insufficient to furnish the needs of a community that was rapidly losing its laity to the Catholic and Uniate Churches. Accordingly, the Staupigii were obliged to pursue financial means beyond the frontiers of the Commonwealth. The Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were particularly forthcoming with generous sums for the Orthodox in Rus. In respect to the funds sourced from the Tsars of Moscow, however, the aid arrived in the form of a two-edged sword, since it was part of the Russian scheme to gain political influence in Rus, with the intention of absorbing it into the Muscovite empire.

Although the Orthodox community was legally restricted to specific areas of Lwów where they were allowed to practice their religion, these restrictions, in fact, were never rigidly enforced and they became irrelevant when the Ruthenian and Armenian Orthodox laity eventually joined the Roman Catholic, or Uniate (Greek, or Ukrainian) Catholic Church. The Armenians entered into union with the Catholics in 1630, but the Ruthenian Orthodox parish held out until 1700.<sup>1</sup> The restrictions concerning living space and participation in city affairs had no effect on the economic wealth of non-Catholics, so that the Armenians and Ruthenians grew to become the most affluent ethnic groups in the city. Even so, such legal restrictions on civic involvement bred resentment

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1 Himka, "Confessional Relations in Galicia" in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 22-35; Kapral, *Natsional'ni hromady L'vova XVI-XVIII st.: sotsial'no-pravovi vzaiemyny* (2003), passim.

among the Orthodox, as did the zealous conversionary activities of the Jesuits and Dominicans.<sup>2</sup>

Religious confession, ethnic loyalty and the development of Renaissance humanism in Crownland Rus were inter-related. Ukrainian scholars, commencing with Hrushevsky, have argued that Ruthenian scholars adopted humanist ideas directly from Italy<sup>3</sup> without any Hungarian, or Polish mediation.<sup>4</sup> One of the earliest Ruthenian humanists was Heorhii Meton (1355-1452), a Byzantine Platonist with a knowledge of Greek. The major scholarly figures of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were pre-occupied with drawing political lessons both from antique Roman history and also from contemporary events in Lithuania and Rus.<sup>5</sup> A recent study of the influence of Italian humanism on Ruthenian (Ukrainian) culture is that of Volodymyr Lytvynov who has argued that it was an essential factor in the historic development of Ukrainian national identity.<sup>6</sup> He argues that both intellectual and political events in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, such as the Cossack Uprising, caused the Ruthenians to regard themselves

2 Plokhii, Sergeĭ Nikolaevich, *Панстио и Украина. Политика Пимской Куты на Украинских Землях в XVI-XVII вв.*, Kiev: "Wyscha Shkola" (1989), passim; Davies, *God's Playground* (2005), pp. 135-38.

3 Наталя Городецька, "Вплив ідей «ареопагітиків» на розвиток філософських концепцій українських мислителів епохи Відродження" [Nataly Horodets'ka, "The influence of «areopagitic's» ideas on the development of philosophical conceptions of the Ukrainian philosophers in Renaissance"] in *Вісник Львівського Університету Visnyk Lviv University Філософські Науки, Philos. Sci.* 7, Parts. 5-24 (2005), pp.55-69; Вікторія Логвиненко, Суспільно-політичні, духовно-релігійні та національно-культурні умови укладення Берестейської унії 1596 р. та полемічна боротьба" [Viktoria Lohvynenko, "Socio-political, spirituo-religions national and cultural conditions of constituting the union of Brest and the polemic fight"] in *Вісник Львівського Університету Visnyk Lviv University Філософські Науки, Philos. Sci.*, 7, Parts. 5-24 (2005), pp. 86-100; online website of the Faculty of Philosophy, Ivano-Frankivsk University, Lviv [http://www.franko.lviv.ua/faculty/Phil/Franko/Visnyk\\_Franko.pdf](http://www.franko.lviv.ua/faculty/Phil/Franko/Visnyk_Franko.pdf)

4 Samuel Fiszman, "The Significance of the Polish Renaissance and Baroque for Eastern Slavic Nations" in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 236-57. For historiography and bibliography of the Renaissance in Ukraine in 16th and 17th centuries see, Dmytro Vyrs'kyi, *Okolytsia Renesansu: richpospolys'ka istoriohrafia Ukraïny: XVI--sередyna XVII st.*, Ukrainian Kyïv: Instytut istoriï Ukraïny NAN Ukraïny (2007).

5 See relevant entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Ukraine* [edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč], 5 vols, University of Toronto Press (1984-1993).

6 Lytvynov, Volodymyr, *Renesansnyi humanizm v Ukraini: Idei humanizmu epokhy Vidrozhennia v ukrainskii filosofii XVâ"pochatku XVII stolittia*, Kyïv: "Osnovy" (2000).

as a distinctive indigenous national group, rather than as an ethnic subgroup in an alien political state.

The Ruthenian scholars who travelled abroad to study humanism at the universities of Kraków, Charles University in Prague, or at Bologna made a distinctive national contribution to European learning. One such example was the astronomer, astrologer and mathematician, Iurii Drohobych (1450-94), who had studied with Copernicus in Kraków and who became rector of Bologna University in the early 1480s. During the Renaissance, the texts of Roman orators and historians, such as Cicero and Quintilian, or of the Renaissance humanists, such as Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas More, were imported directly into northern and southern Rus.

Later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the writings of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and others were introduced. Ruthenian scholars influenced by the political radicalism of these secular western thinkers included Kasiian Sakovych (1578-1647) and Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovestsky (d. 1646) who developed non-religious forms of historical analysis in which humans were shown to be self-motivated reasoning beings, while the role of Divine intervention was side-lined, or even eliminated. Kasiian Sakovych (Pol. Kasjan Sakowicz) was a graduate of the Zamoyski Academy and he abandoned his Orthodox religious roots, one of the few Ruthenians to do so. Though he was the son of an Orthodox priest, he converted to the Uniate confession and, eventually, to Catholicism. He wrote a variety of texts on religion and political affairs, namely, *Problemata* (1620) and *Tractate on Souls* (1625). More controversial were Sakovych's *Old Calendar* (1640) and *Epanortozis* (1642) which were written as critiques of the Orthodox community and they evoked an angry response from the Metropolitan of Kiev Petro Mohyla. Sakovych was arguing, in fact, not from a partisan Catholic position, but from a secular viewpoint influenced by western humanism.

The first Ruthenian humanist working in the Eastern Commonwealth was the Roman Catholic cleric, Grzegorz of Sanok (1407-77) (Ukr. Hrihorii Sanotskyj; Pol. Grzegorz z Sanoku).<sup>7</sup> Sanok was appointed as private tutor to the sons of the wojewoda of Kraków, Jan Tarnowski (1367-1433) and then to the sons of the king, Kazimierz IV. He next studied in Italy for a further three years, working as a copyist and music master in the chancellery of Pope Eugenius IV, a great humanist patron of art and letters. On his return to Poland, Sanok accepted the post of chaplain to Władysław III Warneńczyk (Angevin), after which he moved to Hungary in 1440-50, where he encountered Phillip Callimachus and

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7 Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland* (1989), pp. 18ff.

taught the sons of János Hunyadi. He also attended the court of the humanist, János Vitéz. Sanok became Metropolitan Archbishop of Lwów in 1451 (until 1477) where he established the first humanist court in the Commonwealth.<sup>8</sup>

There were more Catholic Ruthenian humanists in Rus, such as the political theorist Stanisław Orzechowski (transliteration from Ukr. Stanislav Orihovskyy (1513- 66)) whose writings urged the defence of Rus against the predations of Turks and Tatars. Orzechowski had studied at five European universities and had resided for a considerable length of time in Italy. Although he was, like Sanok, loyal to the Polish Crown, he referred ceaselessly to his Ruthenian origins in Halicz and to his descent from the Sieniawski, Starychowski and Herbut noble families. In his published exhortation to Zygmunt II August (1543), Orzechowski argued for the defence of Ukraine, since it was the most important region of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. He was especially concerned that the king should protect Orthodox Ruthenian culture, arguing from an ecumenical view-point for the unity of all religious confessions. Orzechowski's work was to have a lasting influence on the formation of the Ukrainian national consciousness, well beyond his own time. Another poet of the same type (Ruthenian in origin and loyalties, but Catholic in confession and Polish-speaking) was Simon Pekalida (1567-after 1601), who lectured at the Jagiellonian University. His poem *On the Ostrog War* (1600) concerned the uprising of Krzysztof Kosynsky (1591-1593) and, in this work Pekalida presented a history of the state of Rus from the time of Prince Vladimir of Kiev. He praised the Cossacks for their defence of Rus, while he regarded the Ostrogsky princes as the sanctioned leaders of Ruthenian society.<sup>9</sup>

In recent times some Ukrainian historians, such as Natalya Horodetska and Viktoria Lohvynenko among others, have argued for the positive role of the Uniate Church in sustaining Ruthenian nationhood.<sup>10</sup> The Union of

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8 Aleksander Brückner, *Średniowieczna poezja łacińska w Polsce*, Pt. 1, 16, Rozprawy AU Wydział Filologiczny (1892), pp. 335–38; Andrzej Nowicki, *Grzegorz z Sanoka*, Warszawa (1958); Ignacy Zarębski, “Grzegorz z Sanoka (ok. 1407–1477)” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 9, (1960–1961), pp. 86–89; Tomasz Graff, *Grzegorz z Sanoka jako arcybiskup Lwowski, w 600-lecie urodzin Grzegorza z Sanoka*, Sanok (2008), pp. 56–71.

9 Bohun, “Jak Kozacy stali się podporą prawosławia” in *Mówią wieki*, 12 (2008), pp. 19ff.

10 Natalya Horodetska, “The influence of «areopagitic» ideas on the development of philosophical conceptions of the Ukrainian philosophers in Renaissance” in *Вісник Львівського Університету* [Visnyk Lviv University Філософські

Brześć (1595-96) was far from negative in its effects, since the Uniate Church continued to support the values and traditions of the Ruthenian people. Humanist authors belonging to the Uniate Church encouraged a sense of conscious Ruthenian identity. They urged for participation in the struggle to achieve independence for Rus and they worked for the education of an elite leadership, with a specific Ruthenian political ideology. Rather than abandoning their ethnic origins in favour of a Polish Catholic identity, on the contrary, Ruthenian Uniates frequently added the term “Rusyn,” or “Rutenus,” to their name, as in the situation of Ivan Turobinsky-Rutenus, Yuri Tychynsky-Rusyn and Hryhorii Chuy-Rutenus.<sup>11</sup> In 1620, Ioann Dombrovsky produced his *Dnipro Kamin (Dnieper Stone)*, a historical poem about the history of Rus from the year 430 to 1618. Despite these great efforts to sustain a Ruthenian cultural and political identity, the impact of Polish culture was very powerful and by the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries many Ruthenian poets such as Adam Chahrovskoho (ca. 1566-99) had adopted Polish as their first language, while continuing to promote Ruthenian objectives. Hence, Chahrovskoho uses Polish as the language for his poems *Duma Ukrayinna* and *The Podolski Land* in which he praises the Cossacks as defenders of Rus. Similarly, Bartosh Hlovatsky (ca. 1543-1614) expressed Ruthenian loyalties in his poem *Panosza*, although he articulated these in the Polish language.

Other Ruthenian humanists belonged to the Orthodox Church. Prior to the Union of 1595 a certain writer known only as “Luke from Rus” had published in Kraków a textbook about the Cyrillic alphabet, the *Epistolohrafiya* (1522), while the writer and scientist Pavel Rutenus from Krosno (ca. 1470-1517) wrote a glowing eulogy of the Ruthenian nation. Later Orthodox humanists included Ivan Vyshynsky (Pol. Iwan Wyszynski) (ca. 1545-1620?), Meletsyush Smotrytsky (Pol. Melecjusz Smotrycki) (1578-1633), Zakhary Kopystensky (Pol. Zacharij Kopystenski) (d. 1627), Lavrenty Zyzany Tustanovsky (Pol. Wawrzyniec Zyzaniowie Tustanowski) (no dates known) and Hiob (Job) Boretsky (d. 1631), Metropolitan of

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Науки], Philos. Sci. 7, Pts. 5-24 (2005), pp. 55-69, online at Faculty of Philosophy, Ivano-Frankivsk University, Lviv

[http://www.franko.lviv.ua/faculty/Phil/Franko/Visnyk\\_Franko.pdf](http://www.franko.lviv.ua/faculty/Phil/Franko/Visnyk_Franko.pdf); See also Viktoria Lohvynenko, “Socio-political, spirituo-religions national and cultural conditions of constituting the union of Brest and the polemic fight” in *Вісник Львівського Університету* [Visnyk Lviv University Філософські Науки], Philos. Sci., 7, Parts. 5-24 (2005), pp. 86-100;

[http://www.franko.lviv.ua/faculty/Phil/Franko/Visnyk\\_Franko.pdf](http://www.franko.lviv.ua/faculty/Phil/Franko/Visnyk_Franko.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> See relevant entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Ukraine* (edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč), 5 vols, University of Toronto Press (1984-1993).

Kiev, Halych and All-Rus (1620-31.) By the 17<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox schools of higher studies had been established in Lwów, Ostrog and Kiev. The Collegium Kievsky-Mohylansky, founded in 1632, became an Academy in 1701. Orthodox princes and magnates employed humanists at their courts which became great centres of Ruthenian humanist culture, most notably those of the Ostrogsky and the Kurbsky princes.

In addition, many Ruthenian humanists (without abandoning their Orthodox faith) were benefitting from the education offered by the Zamoyski Academy in Crownland Poland. The Academy had been founded in Małopolska (central Poland) by the Polish Chancellor and Hetman to the Crown Jan Zamoyski (1542-1605), who was a Roman Catholic of ethnic Polish origins and loyalties.<sup>12</sup> The Papacy and the Polish Crown recognised his Academy as being of equal status to the older universities and they permitted doctoral degrees to be awarded in natural philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, as well as in law and medicine. At the Zamoyski Academy one exceptional Roman Catholic scholar and poet, of Armenian origins and born in Lwów, was Simon Simonides Bendoński (Pol. Szymon Szymonowicz) (1558-1629).<sup>13</sup> He studied for his first degree at the Jagiellonian University in the school of liberal arts under the tuition of the Polish philosophers, Jakub Górski (ca.1525–83), Stanisław Sokolowski (1537-93) and Marcin Ujazdowski (d. 1590). Szymonowicz continued his studies in France and Belgium, returning to Lwów before 1583 where he took up a position as teacher. He collaborated with Jan Zamoyski in organising the Zamoyski Academy and in 1599 he settled permanently in Zamość. Szymonowicz corresponded with international humanists of exceptional importance, such as Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) and Thomas Segethes (active 1608-31).

Among Ruthenian graduates of the Zamoyski Academy there were those belonging to the Uniate confession, for instance, the Polish-Ruthenian poet, Sebastian Klenovych (Pol. Klenowicz) (1550-1602/3), who taught ancient literature at the Academy. His poem *Roksolaniya* (1584) expresses his love for the land and culture of Rus, specifically the region of Halych (Halicz) and Volhynia (Wołyń), including the city of Lwów which he compares to Parnassus. He also praises Kiev as the ancient capital of Rus and states that, just as Rome is the eternal city for Catholics, so too is Kiev for the Orthodox. This poem played a significant

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12 Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine* (1985), pp. 46-50.

13 Kazimierz Budzyk, *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej–Nowy Korbut*, 3, *Piśmiennictwo Staropolskie*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy (1965), pp. 315-23; Kazimierz Heck "Szymon Szymonowicz" in *Rozprawy AU Wydział Filologiczny*, Part. 2, 37, Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, ser. I, no. 182 (1964).

role in the later development of Ukrainian national consciousness. Klenovych was in close touch with the Ruthenian Uniate bishop in Kiev, Yuzef Vereshchynsky (Pol. Józef Wereszczyński) (1530-1598). His cultivated court had become a centre of Ruthenian nationalism. Vereshchynsky wrote constantly of the need to defend Rus from the Turks.

In addition, many prominent Ruthenian Orthodox clergy and political activists were graduates of the Zamoyski Academy, such as Abbot Isaia Trofymovych-Kozlovsky, a colleague of Petro Mohyla. Trofymovych-Kozlovsky is particularly important in the history of Orthodoxy in Rus, since he was the first Ruthenian to gain a doctorate in theology and he went on to produce a catechism of the Orthodox religion, published in Kiev in 1642.<sup>14</sup> In fact, during this epoch, his *Catechism* was the most important contribution made anywhere in Eastern Europe to the spiritual and intellectual development of the Orthodox confession. It significantly enabled the Orthodox Church to retain its congregations and to halt the increasing number of conversions to Rome.

Sylvester Kosovo (Pol. Sylwester Kossów) (d. 1657) was one of the most significant Orthodox clerics educated at the Zamoyski Academy and he is noteworthy for his support of Mohyla's reorganisation of the Church. On the death of Mohyla, Kosovo became Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev in 1647. Mohyla had invited him to found a school in Kiev on the model of the Jesuit colleges whose superior methods of teaching were causing Orthodox families to lose their sons to the Roman Church.<sup>15</sup> Kosovo's polemical writings in defence of his confession include his *Exegesis* (1635) which describes the work of his school at Kiev, as well as of the one he had founded in Winniki. He suggested educational reforms, including the teaching of Latin and humanism in Orthodox schools and he insisted on a higher level of education for all clergy. He also fought a fierce and unrelenting political battle against the Uniate bishops on behalf of Orthodox control of monasteries and parishes. However, Kosovo did not support the Cossack uprising of Chmielnicki. He refused to swear allegiance to the Russian Tsar and he did not participate in the ceremony during which the Cossacks took their oath of loyalty to the Tsar. Kosovo anticipated that the submission to Russia by the Orthodox Patriarchate of Kiev would provoke reprisals against the community on the part of the Polish authorities.<sup>16</sup>

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14 Davies, *God's Playground* (2005), pp. 135-38.

15 Charipova, *Latin Books and the Eastern Orthodox Clerical Elite* (2006), pp. 49-65.

16 Ryszard Łużny, "Sylwester Kossów" in Władysław Konopczyński (ed.), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 14, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności (1968), p. 326;



In 1644 Kosovo appointed as the coadjutor of the Orthodox bishopric of Mohylew, Mściśław and Orsza another graduate student from the Zamoyski Academy, Yuzef Kononovich-Horbatsky (Pol. Józef Kononowicz-Horbatski) (d. 1653) who subsequently taught at the Mohyla College in Kiev.<sup>17</sup> In 1644 Kononovich-Horbatsky was elevated to the bishopric of Belarus, which brought him into constant conflict with Uniate clergy. A similarly highly important figure for the protection of Orthodoxy was Jan Szczęśny Herburt (1567-1616), a Ruthenian who had been raised from childhood at the court of Jan Zamoyski and who attended the Academy. In spite of this, through-out his life he campaigned politically against the Polish Crown in defence of Ruthenian nationhood and state independence. He was a political polemicist and diplomat, being sent by the king to Sweden, Britain, Rome and Istanbul. Herburt wrote extensively on behalf of the lower szlachta against the political hegemony of the magnate class.

The determined drive mounted by the Jesuit Order to promote Catholic systems of education in Rus sparked efforts among the Orthodox community to provide for the better education of their own young.<sup>18</sup> The Ruthenian magnate Konstantin Wasyl Ostrog (Pol. Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski) (1526-1608) established his Orthodox Academy in 1576-78, sometimes known as the Tri-Lingual Academy, since teaching took place in Slavonic, Greek and Latin.<sup>19</sup> This establishment was only a secondary school, although one of the best in the realm, far outshining the other Orthodox schools which were of a low standard.<sup>20</sup> At the Ostrog Academy the subjects were current and were taught by leading Ruthenian/White Ruthenian (Belarussian) humanists, namely, Gerasim Smotrytsky, Lavrenty Zizaniy, Demyan Nalivaiko and Nicefor Parasios. Subjects included grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics, geometry, astronomy and

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Antoni Mironowicz, *Diecezja białoruska w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku (2008), pp. 62-69.

17 Charipova, *Latin Books and the Eastern Orthodox Clerical Elite* (2006), pp. 49-65.

18 An account of educational reforms in the training of Orthodox clergy in Crownland Rus and the introduction of Italian humanist texts into Orthodox schooling is provided in William K. Medlin and Christos G. Patrinelis, *Renaissance Influences and Religious Reforms in Russia*, Geneva: Librairie Droz (1971), pp. 73ff.

19 Tomasz Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525-1608). Wojewoda kijowski i marszałek Ziemi Wołyńskiej*, Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika (1997), *passim*.

20 Sysyn, *Between Poland and the Ukraine* (1985), pp. 30-33.

music, as well as languages.<sup>21</sup> In 1581 the Ostrog academy, under the direction of Ivan Fedorovych, published the first edition of the Bible in the Cyrillic alphabet, still celebrated in the present day Orthodox world as the *Ostrog Bible*.<sup>22</sup>

Konstantyn Vasyl Ostrog was the Starosta of Włodzimierz (Vladimir), Wojewoda of Kiev from 1559 and Marshall of Wołyń from 1550. He belonged to one of the leading families of the Commonwealth as the son of Hetman Konstantyn Ostrog (1460-1530), who had founded the towns of Zviahla, Konstantynowa and Dubna. A humanist scholar in his own right, Konstantyn Vasyl laboured to develop Orthodox Ruthenian culture and learning in Wołyń, founding schools attached to Orthodox churches and printing-presses attached to Orthodox institutions. He created in Ostrog a leading centre of learning and attracted outstanding scholars to his court. His own family belonged to the Orthodox Church and they opposed the Union of Brześć with Rome, although his wife Zofia Tarnowska converted to Catholicism in 1433 and her daughters were raised as Catholics. The first Catholic son was Janusz Ostrogski who became Castellan of Kraków and introduced the Jesuit Order into the Eastern Commonwealth in 1612. He was also the last of the family. After the deaths of Konstantyn and his son Aleksander the Ostrog Academy ceased to be a centre for Orthodox humanistic and scientific learning.

## The Armenian Community in Lwów

The ancestors of the Armenian settlement in Lwów had abandoned their own country in flight from persecution by the invading Seljuk Turks and later by the Mongols. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century they settled in the Crimea and southern Russia from where they moved gradually into other countries, including Poland. Armenia had been the first Christian nation, establishing that faith as the state religion in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 5<sup>th</sup> century the Armenian Church rejected the primacy of the Pope and became an independent Church. In 1356 Kazimierz III, with an eye for economic gain, granted the Armenians of Lwów and Kamieniec Podolski special privileges in trade and self-government. The Armenians were almost exclusively occupied in the trade of luxury products from the East<sup>23</sup> and they also developed their own craft-skills in creating such artefacts at

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21 See relevant entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Ukraine* (edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč), 5 vols, University of Toronto Press (1984-1993).

22 Tomasz Kempa, *Akademia i Drukarnia Ostrogska*, Biały Dunajec: Ostróg (2006).

23 Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (1959), pp. 15, 67-86.

home, most especially, gold-work and other decorative arts, as well as tanned goods, carpets and Turkish-style brocade sashes.<sup>24</sup>

Initially, the Lwowian Armenians were known as “gregoriani” due to their allegiance to the Katolikos of Armenia. In Lwów their first cultural centre was the church of St. Anne. Apart from the Lwowian community, there were also large Armenian settlements in Brzeżany, Jazłowiec, Stanisławów, Kamieniec Podolski, Tyśmienica, Horodenko, Śniatyn and elsewhere in about eighteen other towns and cities through-out the Eastern Commonwealth. Theirs was a population of over three thousand in the reign of Kazimierz III and it increased still further in later centuries.<sup>25</sup>

In Lwów the Armenian Cathedral has been exceptionally well-preserved. The Italian architect Dorchi is believed to have been responsible for the oldest part constructed between 1356 and 1363. (He may have been German, for his name also appears as Doring.) There is strong evidence, on the other hand, that a native Armenian may have been the architect of the cathedral, since it has many similarities with the one sited in the ancient Armenian capital of Ani. The cathedral in Lwów was financed by two Armenian merchants, Jakub from Kaffa and Panos from Gaitsarats. It was constructed on a Greek-cross plan, with a central dome. In 1437 an arcade was added around the main building, although the north side has since become a chancel and only the southern arcade has survived. The restricted interior space has three apses and is quite small, but in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries it was elongated at the west front. A dome over the central space is supported by a tall narrow drum. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the architect “Petrus Krassowski Italia murator Szwancar” was responsible for the construction of the bell-tower. There remains little of the original medieval decoration on the interior, apart from a crucifix brought from Kraków in 1473 which is probably the work of Mikołaj Haberschrack. He also made another sculpture for the same cathedral, that of the *Christus Frasnoliwy* (*Sorrowful Christ*). Local Lwowian work is represented only by a fragment of decoration that takes a Byzantine-Ruthenian form. The extraordinary murals were painted in the Secessionist style (1925-29) by the Polish artist Jan Henryk Rosen (1891-1982).<sup>26</sup>

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24 Stopka, “Ormianie” in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 115-31.

25 Kazimierz Stopka, *Ormianie w Polsce dawnej i dzisiejszej* (Kraków, Księgarnia Akademicka (2000), passim.

26 See the accounts in Żyła, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie* (1919), as well as Piotrowski, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie w świetle restauracji i ostatnich odkryć* (1925) and also Wolańska, *Katedra ormiańska we Lwowie w latach 1902-1938* (2010).



5.1 Lwów, *Armenian Cathedral*, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

In 1343 the Armenian church in Lwów was raised to the status of a cathedral and it became the seat of a bishopric. In 1630 the Armenian bishop Mikołaj Torosowicz entered into union with Rome, but the Armenians continued to retain their own liturgy and religious traditions.<sup>27</sup> This union was an unfortunate move, since it eventually led to the

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<sup>27</sup> See, Barącz, *Pamiętki miasta Stanisławowa*, Lwów (1858).

complete assimilation of the Armenians into the Polish Catholic population. With certainty, they gained full legal and civic rights in the territories of Lwów and many even gained admittance into the ranks of the szlachta, but this was at the cost of losing the use of their native language and even their native surnames gradually disappeared. In Lwów there also existed a convent of Armenian Benedictine nuns, the only one of its kind in Poland, who organised primary and secondary schools for girls. The General Session of the Lwowian City Council included representatives of the Ruthenians and Armenians from 1622. An additional twelve person committee to oversee taxation was set up by Jan Sobieski in 1686 which had an intentionally mixed-ethnic membership.

Notable Armenians of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries included the humanist, poet and educator, Szymon Szymonowicz (1558-1629) and the later philosopher, linguist and educationist, Grzegorz Piramowicz (1735-1801).

In 1665 another large Armenian parish church was built in the city of Stanisławów on the initiative of the Theatine Order. The massive architectonics and plain construction of the Stanisławów church allude to the medieval form of the Armenian Cathedral in Lwów, although the later 17<sup>th</sup> century plan in Stanisławów is that of a Roman basilica. The towers on each side of the entrance recall those at the Lwowian cathedral in their squat proportions and monumental, fortress-like masonry. The deeply-sculpted cornices and architraves defining the three floors of the towers are also similar to those in the Lwowian original.<sup>28</sup>

By the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century the Armenian diocese included all the lands of Poland and Lithuania, Moldavia and Wallachia and it also had a mission in the Crimea. Their priests were trained in the seminary of the Theatine Order in Lwów, which had been given a special mission by the Papacy to educate the Uniates of the Commonwealth.

## **Ruthenian Orthodox Art and Architecture in Lwów**

In the 1830s Panslavist Russian historians were arguing that the process of polonisation after the Union of Brześć (1595) had caused the formerly Orthodox, now Uniate, community in Rus to abandon its native Byzantine culture. In particular, they asserted that traditional Byzantine church architecture disappeared from western Rus owing to the fact that the polonised Uniates were led to favour the Latin type of church, with its

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28 For an account of the Armenian parish inaugurated in 1665 in Stanisławów, see Chrzęszczewski, "Kościół ormiańskim w Stanisławowie" in Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich* (1996), pp. 167-92.

long nave and a single dome in place of the Orthodox Greek-cross plan with five domes.<sup>29</sup> Latinisation in art and architecture was regarded by pro-Russian historians as being a decadent tendency betrayed the Orthodox faith. Paradoxically, this same Russophile argument played into the hands of Polish nationalist historians, who appropriated it for the benefit of their own cultural legacy.<sup>30</sup> Their contention was that the break by Uniate architects with their Byzantine traditions was an evolutionary moment in their national Ruthenian culture.

The Polish historian Piotr Krasny has challenged this old Panslavist argument which was still widely accepted by most pro-Russian and many pro-Polish historians in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, not all Polish historians had agreed with this pre-war view of the polonisation of Rus. There were those, such as Jozef Dutkiewicz and Jerzy Kowalczyk, for example, who contended that the adoption of a western style in architecture by the Uniates was merely a harmless whim. This tendency favouring western trends displayed nothing more than admiration for the latest church designs circulating in the Commonwealth.<sup>31</sup> Krasny cites recorded statements by Uniate bishops to this effect, which indicate that Ruthenian Uniates were not in the least bit willing to become polonised. They did not regard themselves as abandoning their Ruthenian nationality in joining the Church of Rome and, from their view-point, polonisation was not automatically attendant on that fact.

Krasny goes on to make the point that by the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in any case, the Byzantine style of church architecture was no longer extensively used for any new sacred architecture in Rus. Moreover, by the 16<sup>th</sup> century the old Orthodox churches in Rus were in a dilapidated condition, due to neglect by the Metropolitan administration. Many had been built originally in the form of fragile wooden structures, because of the poverty of the local population. Until the great programme of church construction was initiated by Petro Mohyla in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Orthodox Church from the late medieval period had not been building churches to any extent. Moreover, according to Krasny, it is difficult to perceive in late medieval Orthodox churches in Rus any distinctively ethnic plans and forms which could have been vulnerable to adverse influences from western Catholicism. The Greek-cross plan of the early Byzantine Church had never been adopted as the national style for Ruthenian churches, unlike the situation in Russia itself. Moreover, there was a shortage of local types to

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29 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 31.

30 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 33.

31 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 30.

imitate, since much medieval architecture in Rus had been destroyed in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries by invading Tatars.

For the most part, during the 17<sup>th</sup> century architectural style was not an issue for the Orthodox community, provided that Orthodox liturgical needs were respected, something the lower classes were especially keen to ensure. After 1595-96 the intense competition between the Uniate Church and Orthodoxy led to an intensification of Orthodox building projects in which the community aspired to grander and ever more fashionable constructs.<sup>32</sup> Krasny contends that by the 17<sup>th</sup> century the links to the distant Byzantine origins of Kievan Rus were very weak. Hence, in their quest for an archetypal Orthodox form to use in their new churches, Ruthenian patrons took recourse to the models historically developed in Orthodox Moldavia and Wallachia, not to those in Muscovite Russia.<sup>33</sup>

The reforms in the Orthodox Church introduced by Petro Mohyla and others led to an expansion of the church building programme.<sup>34</sup> This was triggered by the decline of the Orthodox faith in the Eastern Commonwealth through-out the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Mohyla was concerned with two specific issues, first, to expand the pastoral role of the parish clergy and, second, to prevent the decay of parishes and their buildings. A third change in policy was a systematic plan to restore ruined churches and build new ones. In comparison with the previous three centuries the aesthetic level of Orthodox architecture in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was manifestly higher. Stylistic changes inevitably favoured a westernised type of church, with an open hall space, side-aisles and chancel, and not a centralised Greek-cross type, with domes and radiating side-chapels. This choice of a western style was not caused by pressure from Roman Catholic culture, but a practical choice designed to meet the requirements of Mohyla's reforms.<sup>35</sup> In future, the form of an Orthodox church had to facilitate the effective delivery of a sermon. The western hall church was the most suitable for accommodating large congregations and in providing quality acoustics. Although its

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32 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, pp. 21-22. For the latest research into the history of church construction in Moldavia see <http://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/collection/item/16402-les-eglises-de-la-moldavie-du-nord-des-origines-a-la-fin-du-xvieme-siecle?offset=2>. An important older historian of medieval Byzantine culture in Moldavia is Răzvan Theodorescu. See, for example, Răzvan Theodorescu, *Bizanț, Balcani, Occident la începuturile culturii medievale Românești (secolele X-XIV)* (Romania Cultural processes 1000-1500), București: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România (1974).

33 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 30.

34 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 20.

35 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, pp. 54-55.



longitudinal open plan, at first sight, recalled the barn-like Jesuit basilica-type, this was only a superficial impression since the Orthodox clergy and laity deliberately avoided the use of the basilical form. Instead, they appropriated the western Gothic triple-division church with its high central nave and side aisles (also referred to by East European scholars as the “three nave type”.) This was adaptable to the Orthodox rite and, in any case, Orthodox patrons in the later middle ages had already employed Gothic forms for Ruthenian churches.

Nevertheless, Orthodox sanctuaries, in contrast to Uniate churches, tended to retain more Byzantine features, specifically erecting large central domes in front of the chancel. In a few cases patrons even adopted the Byzantine type of five-domed, Greek cross-plan with the intention of making a statement about Ruthenian loyalties to ancient Byzantium (but not to Moscow). These were small projects, however, intended as private memorial chapels for a noble family and were not used as parish churches.<sup>36</sup>

In the opposite situation of the Uniates from the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the choice of western classical forms was an expression of their loyalty to Rome and their re-orientation towards the west. In order to clarify this issue, Krasny suggests that the term “latinisation” should be applied to Uniate churches only in cases where the building had been modified to accommodate the Roman Catholic liturgy introduced after the Union of the Churches in 1595.<sup>37</sup> On the other hand, the term “westernisation” should be applied uniformly to both Uniate and Orthodox sacred architecture displaying western European characteristics.

Almost nothing is known concerning the architects who designed and built the 17<sup>th</sup> century Orthodox churches. They were clearly professionally trained to deploy western classical forms and building techniques. The same types of architects were engaged by both Catholic Lithuanian and Polish patrons, as well as by Orthodox and Uniate Ruthenians.<sup>38</sup> For example, Paolo Romano was the architect at the Orthodox Wallachian Cathedral in Lwów and he also built Catholic churches in Lwów and the Red Rus województwo. Krasny comments that:

A similar case is found in the example of towns, such as the Lithuanian Nowy Swierzeń, or Podhajce in the Polish Crownlands, in which the buildings serving those of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic confessions have such a similar architectonic form, that it seems they are the work of

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36 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 69.

37 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 35.

38 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 62.

the same workshops, reproducing the architectonic forms devised in northern Italy.<sup>39</sup>

[Author's translation]

There is an unusual type of church-plan found in the Eastern Commonwealth which is never encountered in western Europe. In Polish it is known as “trójdzielny” (triple-division) and this was an Orthodox style that had evolved during the medieval period in Wallachia and Moldavia. It consists of a building divided into three spaces sequentially up the main axis of the church. This plan provides a space at the east end (chancel) for the church hierarchy and the liturgy, while the male and female members of the congregation are located further back, with the men occupying the middle space and the women placed at the west, underneath the choir gallery (if there is one) and near the entrance.<sup>40</sup> A steep convex-shaped roof with four sides covers the nave. An imposing dome on a tall drum is the dominant feature and the interior space is divided by arcades and walkways.<sup>41</sup> Even foreign architects of the 17<sup>th</sup> century adopted this sort of church plan, as in the case of Giovanni Maria Bernardoni in his project at Mir for Mikołaj Radziwiłł in 1600.<sup>42</sup> It is also encountered through-out Belarus in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in the design of wooden Uniate churches, whose origins have not yet been properly investigated by scholars. Since the surviving examples were all erected after the Union of 1595, then they could not have originally been built for an Orthodox congregation.

To summarise: in Crownland Rus the surviving triple-division churches built in the Wallachian/Moldavian style were erected for an Orthodox congregation. However, further north in Belarus, the same style of church-design was primarily built in wood and was employed by the Uniate Church. The question is whether these wooden churches in Belarus were modelled on the Orthodox triple-division examples in southern Rus, or whether the influences came directly from Wallachian/ Moldavian examples.

In Lwów the chief example of the triple-space church is the Orthodox Cathedral of the Dormition (Pol. Cerkiew Uspięńska; Cerkiew Wołoska) whose first version in 1547-59 was projected and commenced by Paolo of Lugano. The cathedral was funded by the Wallachian Hospodar,

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39 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 63.

40 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 70.

41 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 71.

42 Paszenda, “Architekci Jezuiicy w Polsce” in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 245-46 (Brizio and Bernardoni and their pupils, 1575-1627).

Aleksandr Lupula. In 1568 the master of works Feliks started to build the tower which task was continued by Piotr Krassowski, but in 1570 the tower collapsed and the following year the whole church was destroyed in a fire. The second version of the Wallachian Cathedral begun in 1591 was a far more impressive structure.

The new cathedral was commissioned by the Stauropigii Brotherhood, with funds being donated by the whole of Rus.<sup>43</sup> Its main financial sponsors were the Moldavian Hospodars, Jeremy Mohyla and Szymon Mohyla, as well as Hetman Piotr Konaszewicz-Sahajdaczny and the Tsar of Russia Fiodor I. The most recent research concerning the inter-relations between the Lithuanian magnates, such as the Radziwiłł, and Hospodar Jeremy Mohyla (ruled 1595-1606) has been conducted by the Rumanian historian, Cristian Antim Bobicescu.<sup>44</sup> He has examined issues of patronage in the correspondence between Mohyla and Krzysztof Radziwiłł, as well as the contacts with other Lithuanian magnates of the Commonwealth.<sup>45</sup> This has led Bobicescu to consider additional issues of cross-cultural influences between Moldavia and the Commonwealth and their role in the colonisation of Moldavia by the Commonwealth, a project sponsored especially by Jan Zamoyski, the Grand Chancellor of the realm. The conclusions of Bobicescu reveal the scale of the ambition of Zamoyski regarding the aggrandisement of the Commonwealth in the attempt to secure its borders against invasion in the south-eastern region.<sup>46</sup> It is an

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43 Vuytsyk, "Architekturnyi ansambl Uspenskoho bratstva" in *Visnyk instytutu Ukrzahidroproektrestavracia*, 14 (2004), pp. 36–42.

44 For the most current research on Jeremi Mohyla and his interactions with Poland see Cristian Bobicescu, "Unia, inkorporacja czy lenno ? Kilka uwag o stosunkach Rzeczpospolitej z Moldawią podczas panowania Jeremiego Mochyły (1595-1606)" in B. Dybaś, P. Hanczewski and T. Kempa (eds.), *Rzeczpospolita w XVI-XVIII wieku. Państwo czy wsólnota?* Toruń (2007), pp. 219-39.

45 Cristian Bobicescu, "W poszukiwaniu wpływowych przyjaciół: korespondencja Jeremiego Mochyły z Krzysztofem Radziwiłłem "Piorunem" na tle pozostałej litewskiej korespondencji Mochyłów. Uwagi wstępne," in Mirosław Nagielski i Karol Żojdź (eds.) *Radziwiłłowie w służbie Marsa*, Warszawa (2017), pp. 61-76. This is also available as Cristian Bobicescu, "À la recherche d'«amis» influents: les contacts lituaniens des Mohyla (1597-1616)," *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, LIII (2015), pp. 95-109.

46 Cristian Bobicescu, "Tyranny and Colonization. Preliminary considerations regarding the colonization plans of Moldavia during the time of Jan Zamoyski," in Lidia Cotovanu (ed.), *À la recherche de nouveaux contribuables: politiques publiques de colonisation rurale avec des « étrangers » (Valachie et Moldavie, XIVe–XVIIe siècles)*, *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, LIII, 1–4 (2015), pp. 33–69. This is available in English as

important issue that Bobicescu raises in his research, since it throws new light on some aspects of the Polish presence in southern Rus. Zamoyski had settled Moldavia and Wallachia with Polish nobles in the attempt to end the need for the Polish Crown to go continually into the field in order to prevent the encroachments of the Ottomans into the Balkan state and then into the Commonwealth. The Polish Crown had enthroned Jeremy Mohyla as Hospodar in Moldavia and Wallachia and it pressurised him to accord with the political needs and aspirations of the Commonwealth and the factions within it. In fact, Zamoyski aimed to divide the territory of Moldavia and Wallachia and subsume them completely into the Commonwealth in the same manner as had happened in the case of Crownland Rus, but such plans did not eventuate and the Balkan counties continued to exist as autonomous states.<sup>47</sup>

Certainly the political role of the Moldavian and Wallachian regions and of their religious and artistic culture in southern Rus has been little discussed by former historians of the Commonwealth and remains effectively unknown. Moldavia's role as a Christian state within the Ottoman sphere had repercussions for the Orthodox community of Rus and, in addition, its cultural influence was not confined to architecture alone, but is also clearly visible in the distinctive styles of the Ruthenian schools of icon-writing. Although these aesthetic aspects were considered as long ago as 1885 by Polish historians, this is an area of research which has since been neglected and requires further investigation.

The later design of the Wallachian cathedral (second version, 1591-1629) was the work of exactly the same Italian architects who were employed simultaneously by the Polish Roman Catholic community. Paolo Romano was the first master of works, assisted by his father-in-law, Wojciech Kampinos (Życzliwy). In 1598 Ambroży Przychylny took over. The cathedral was consecrated in 1631. In its form the cathedral consists of a nave with side aisles and a semi-circular apse in the chancel, while three domes are set in sequence along the main axis of the nave. The internal space is partitioned into three areas, one at the east end for the liturgy, then the men's space in the central nave and a space near the west door for the women. These are divided from one another by pairs of Tuscan columns that also support the central dome where the coats-of-arms of the benefactors are displayed on the pendentives. The rest of the roof is braced with Gothic cross-ribs.

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[https://www.academia.edu/31573009/Tyranny\\_and\\_Colonization\\_Preliminary\\_considerations\\_regarding\\_the\\_colonization\\_plans\\_of\\_Jan\\_Zamoyski](https://www.academia.edu/31573009/Tyranny_and_Colonization_Preliminary_considerations_regarding_the_colonization_plans_of_Jan_Zamoyski)

Above the entrance porch a choir leads to galleries. The cathedral tends to be severe in form, employing the restrained Tuscan order, with pilasters on the walls. Cornices, architraves and other ornamentation are restricted to the interior of the dome and to the adjoining Three Saints chapel. Screening the main altar there used to stand a low iconostasis hung with icons painted in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by the Ruthenian artists, Fedor Senkovych (Pol. Senkowicz) and his pupil Mykola Petrahnovych-Morahnovsky (Pol. Mikołaj Petrachnowicz-Morachnowski). The iconostasis was transferred in 1767 to the Orthodox church in Grzybowiczach (Ukr. Hribovichy). It has survived there as the oldest intact Ukrainian iconostasis. The most important work in the Wallachian cathedral is the icon of the Virgin Mary with Child by Mykola Petrahnovych-Morahnovsky (Pol. Petrachnowicz- Morachnowski) (1635) which hangs above the entrance from Ulica Ruska. There are also other important anonymous 17<sup>th</sup> century works, such as the Virgin Mary and St Nicholas. In the crypt stands the tomb of Konstanty Korniakt.

The façade of the Wallachian cathedral is decorated with wide Tuscan pilasters. Running underneath the window-sills there is a Doric frieze with triglyphs carved by Jakub and Konstanty Kulczycki. On the metopes are depicted biblical scenes.

Adjoining the cathedral stands the monumental tower (Pol. Wieża Korniakta) funded by Konstanty Korniakt and built by Piotr Barbona in 1572-78, though the upper part is the work of Paweł Beber from 1695. The tower was destroyed by the Turks in 1672 at time of the siege of Lwów.<sup>157</sup> In 1695-96 the royal architect of Jan Sobieski, Piotr Beber, reconstructed the tower and added another storey in brick, crowning it with a lantern bearing spiral pinnacles. It was reconstructed in 1792-5 by the Dyrekcja Budowlana we Lwowie after it was struck by lightning in 1779.<sup>48</sup> The tower takes a Venetian form. Its lower storey is rusticated and carries arcades on three sides, with wide pilasters and massive window sills resting on consoles. The semi-circular windows are also decorated.

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48 The overall size of the tower is six metres at the side and sixty-six metres in height.



5.2 Wallachian Orthodox Cathedral, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Shortly after the tower was completed Konstanty Korniakt agreed to fund the building of the chapel of the Three Saints in consultation with the architect Piotr Krassowski. The Silesian Andrzej Podleśny was involved in the early version of the chapel, although what is standing now is a 16<sup>th</sup> century rebuild. The chapel commemorates three Orthodox saints: Jan Chrysostom, Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianus (1578-90). It is a

miniature version of the Wallachian Cathedral with three domes set on a single axis and has little in common with other influential Renaissance chapels, such as the Zygmunt and Tomicki chapels at Wawel, or the Kampian and Boim chapels in the Latin cathedral. The three domes of the chapel are borne on octagonal drums, supported by attached columns, with the walls clad in stone. It has its own portal. The interior is ornate, with double pilasters and sculpted reliefs on the frieze depicting the heads of cherubim. There are plaster reliefs, richly decorated columns, a frieze and ornaments in the form of leaves, acanthus and grapes.

The cathedral, Korniakt tower and chapel are united into a single edifice. The adjoining complex includes the townhouses of the Orthodox fraternity, mostly built in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The whole site constitutes a four-sided block between Ruska Street, Fedorowa (once Blacharska) Street, Muzealna Plac (once Dominikańska Place) and Podwale. All of these buildings were once the property of the Lwovian Stauropigian Brotherhood.

In 1643-45 another important Orthodox church was founded in Lwów by the Moldavian Hospodar Wasyl Lupu and dedicated to St. Praskowia. It has all the characteristics of traditional Moldavian architecture, with a single nave and an octagonal apse. It has been designed as a fortress, with thick walls, small windows and loopholes for arrows in the upper storeys of the tower. The church is decorated with a blind arcade of Romanesque pilasters and the arms of the Hospodar of Moldavia.

The Wallachian cathedral functioned as the centre for catechesis in the Orthodox faith and it provided the chief source of political support for Ruthenian burghers and landed gentry in Halicz-Wołyń and Lithuania. Orthodox Ruthenians through-out the 17<sup>th</sup> century maintained the closest possible relations with Moldavia and with Petro Mohyla who was the son of Szymon Mohyla, Hospodar of Moldavia and Wallachia. These connections reinforced the political status of the Wallachian cathedral and they provided an impetus for the building of new Orthodox churches in Rus. Yet, although Petro Mohyla did partially finance his building projects with donations from the Tsar (as also for the rebuilding of St Sophia in Kiev), nonetheless, he refused to employ architects from Moscow, save on one occasion. Instead, he preferred to use Greek architects, or architects trained in western Europe for his most prestigious projects. This was probably due to Mohyla's low opinion of the Orthodox Church in Moscow which, due to its internal problems, he regarded as being incapable of providing leadership for Orthodoxy in Rus, whether theologically, pastorally or culturally.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the Greek-cross plan employed for

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49 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, pp. 98-99.





*5.3 – 5.4 Wallachian cathedral, interior, view towards the west end and the Three Saints chapel, Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

churches in Moscow could not serve the missionary requirements of the Orthodox in Rus, whereas the western Latin-cross plan was eminently suitable since it could accommodate much larger numbers of laity.<sup>50</sup>

Orthodox Ruthenians in Rus were led by an order of laymen known as the Staupigii Brotherhood (from the Greek “Staupigia”). In response to political and religious restrictions the Lwowian Brotherhood had been founded in 1581 by the Orthodox prince Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogsky and then reformed in 1585. Its right of independent functioning was confirmed by Patriarch Jeremy II Tranosa in 1588 and the fraternity was freed from regional Orthodox jurisdictions.<sup>51</sup> The Patriarch awarded the rights of the Staupigii to the Brotherhood by which they were subject to the direct rule of the Patriarch of Constantinople, bypassing any intermediaries in the local hierarchy. The confraternity established itself in a building next to the Wallachian cathedral and its members resided there. They ran a school and a hospital, as well as a printery and even provided financial credit.<sup>52</sup> The Brotherhood existed until 1788, fulfilling a religious, cultural and political role in opposing the domination of the city by the Polish szlachta.<sup>53</sup> Leading members of the Staupigii included such merchants as Ivan Krasowśkyj, Jurij Rohatyniec, Konstanty Korniakt, Lawrentyj Zyzanij, Pamwo Berynda, Kyrylo Stawroweckyj, Stefan Zyzanij and Hiob Boretsky (Borecky).<sup>54</sup> The Brotherhood opposed the union of the Orthodox Church with Rome in 1596.<sup>55</sup> In 1700 however, the union with Rome was finally accepted by the Orthodox Bishop, Józef Szumlański, and in 1708 even the Staupigian Brotherhood was obliged to join the Uniates. The Orthodox liturgy was latinised, as were all other religious forms and church art. In 1745 all political restrictions against the Ruthenian nation were lifted.

In the arts in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Armenian and Ruthenian painters remained loyal to the Orthodox tradition of icon-

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50 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 100.

51 See relevant entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Ukraine* (ed, Volodymyr Kubijovyč), 5 vols, University of Toronto Press (1984-1993).

52 Known in Polish as the “Bractwo Uspieńskie” (also as the “Bractwo Lwowskie”, “Bractwo Staupigialne” and the “Lwowska Staupigia”).

53 Я.Д. Ісаєвич (Isaevych), *Братства та їх роль у розвитку української культури 16-17 ст.*, Kiev: Наукова думка (1966); І. Підкови (Pidkovy) and П. Шустра (Shysta) (eds.), *Довідник з історії України. За ред.*, Kiev: Генеза (1993); Л. Гайдай (Hayday), *Історія України в особах, термінах, назвах і поняттях*, Łuck: Вежа, (2000).

54 See relevant entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Ukraine* [edited by Volodymyr Kubijovyč], 5 vols, University of Toronto Press (1984-1993).

55 Dmitriev, Floria and Iakovenko, *Brestskaia uniiia 1596 g.* (1996-1999).

writing in which they attained an exceptional level of artistic development. Their work is of a far greater artistic quality than was ever achieved by the group of western-style painters in Lwów who belonged to the rival Catholic guild. In addition, apart from Senkowicz and Petrachnowicz-Morachnowski (as earlier discussed), there was Lavrysh Puhala (Pol. Lawrysz Puchala) (d.1608). These were outstanding local artists who championed the Ruthenian Byzantine artistic styles.

The first public exhibition of the history of Orthodox painting in Rus took place in an exhibition held in Lwów in 1885, organised by the Polish historians, Ludwik Wierzbicki and Marian Sokołowski. They produced a catalogue of rare Galician artefacts which have managed to survive into the present day and are currently held by the National Museum of Ukrainian Art in Lwów.<sup>56</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Sokołowski had identified a distinctive school of specifically Ruthenian painting. Łozinski went on to analyse the dependence of this school on icon-writing in Greece and Moldavia. In a subsequent exhibition held in 1888, the close relations between Ruthenian and Moldavian art were examined. In the 1930s Mańkowski further noted that Lwowian icon-writing had exerted a significant influence on art in countries as far distant as Turkey and Persia. In 1905 the Stauropigian Institute for Ukrainian Studies with its extensive historical archives (now in the Lviv History Museum) was established by Ukrainian historians in Lwów. In the same years there came into existence the Society for the Protection of Ukrainian Antiquities. Ukrainian scholars identified the centre of the Ruthenian school of painting as Halicz. Ostrowski has discovered, more recently, that Orthodox painting in Lwów at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was represented by an artistic group working in the area of Krakówskie Przedmieście which consisted of Maksym Worobiej, Fedor and Wasko Maksymowicz.<sup>57</sup>

The relation of Orthodox painting in Rus to art in Moldavia has been the subject of recent research by Waldemar Deluga and Mirosław Kruk.<sup>58</sup> An interest in Greek culture commenced in the Commonwealth in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century when the first Greek migrants arrived in Lwów and Ostrog. A colony of Greeks settled in Zamość, along with Greek artists

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56 Mirosław Kruk, "Stan badań nad zachodnioruskim malarstwem ikonowym XV-XVI wieku" in Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, 2, Kraków (1996), pp. 29-56.

57 Ostrowski, *Lwów* (1997), p. 32.

58 See, Waldemar Deluga and Mirosław P. Kruk, "Balkan Elements in Orthodox Church Painting of the Post-Byzantine Period in Central Europe," *Archaeology* (Kiev: University of Ukraine), 3, 10 (2001). Available online <http://archaeology.kiev.ua/journal/030501/deluga.htm>

and writers. The library of Jan Zamoyski was endowed with a set of Greek manuscripts and his printer from 1693 published books in Greek. Greek artists such as Matthaïos of Myra (1696-1624) introduced artistic concepts to Rus that had been developed in Balkan centers of religious art. The Wallachian cathedral in Lwów became an important centre for Orthodox painting and its development. Its painted decoration was undertaken by Greek painters in ca. 1633 who may have arrived from the Greek colonies in Wallachia, although at this time the term “Greek” was employed in reference generally to the Orthodox of any nation. In 1692 the ceiling of the treasury of the Wallachian cathedral was decorated by Greeks and in 1693 Ivan Konik painted the guild meeting hall.

Ruthenian icons are much softer in style than the Russian, or Greek, types and they have more similarities to Moldavian painting. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and especially in the 17<sup>th</sup> century contact with western models resulted in some loosening of doctrinal constraints on style and new iconographic motifs appeared. To some degree, Orthodox artists in Rus began to adopt western humanistic ideas and new types of composition were attempted in the late 1500s and 1600s, including diminishing spatial perspective, three-dimensional modelling of figures and, in particular, realistic portraiture.<sup>59</sup> Even the use of oils on the western model was tentatively explored in some works. The major centres of icon-writing in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were located in the Halicz region, where the cities of Przemyśl, Sambor and, later, Lwów produced the leading artists.<sup>60</sup> Since the main customers for their icons were peasants and urban artisans, it was their conservative tastes that were reflected in the work. Hence, the icon-writers of Halicz were obliged to retain the established conventions of Byzantine figural types and poses. Nonetheless, innovations were introduced into the backgrounds which were not governed by traditional iconographic conventions, most especially landscapes depicting the local countryside.

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59 A study of Ukrainian portrait painting in the 16th to 18th centuries is available in Володимир Александрович (Volodymyr Aleksandrovich), “Українське портретне малярство XVI–XVIII століть у контексті польського портрету” in Stefan Kozak et al (eds.) *Varshavs'ki ukraïnoznavchi zapysky*, Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka; Polskie Towarzystwo Ukrainoznawcze; Uniwersytet Warszawski. Katedra Ukrainistyki (2007), pp. 368-84.

60 See Jan K. Ostrowski, “Sambor, Wiadomości na temat miasta i drobnych obiektów sakralnych” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Pt. I, 5, Kraków (1997), pp. 139ff. Also see, Jerzy T. Petrus, “Dawny Kościół p.w. Św. Katarzyny i Klasztor OO. Dominikanów w Samborze” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczpospolitej*, Pt. I, 5, Kraków (1997), pp. 215-24.

Examples of this are the representation of the sub-Carpathian massif in *The Resurrection* from Halicz (National Art Museum, Lviv), or in *The Transfiguration* at Jabłonowa near Stanisławów.

Thus, although the religious iconography itself remained traditional, specific particulars such as facial features became more realistic and portraits of patrons were introduced alongside the figures of saints for the first time. This new secular approach is evidenced by *The Crucifixion* in the National Art Museum in Lviv (late 17<sup>th</sup> century) with its individualised portrait of the donor Leonty Svichka, Colonel of the Lubny Cossack Regiment. Although the painting retains its ancient Byzantine iconographic scheme, nevertheless, it has lost the former two-dimensional qualities of the Byzantine style which have been replaced by a three-dimensional treatment of the figure and of space, including a realistic landscape. There are many other portraits of Cossack officers found in the numerous icons of the *Intercession* written through-out Rus in the course of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Pechersk Lavra (monastery) in Kiev regained the status of a great cultural centre and many of the best later Ruthenian icon-writers were taught in its painting workshop. The students trained by copying western European engravings, as well as drawing from nature and studying human anatomy on the western humanist model. The influence of the Kiev workshops spread far beyond the borders of the Commonwealth into the Orthodox countries of the Balkans.

## CHAPTER SIX

### CROWNLAND RUS



6.1 Kamieniec Podolski, 18<sup>th</sup> century engraving, (Sts. Peter and Paul Church at top left with Turkish minaret, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków)





*6.2 Kamieniec Podolski fortress on the other side of the ravine by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the urban communities of western Crownland Rus were of critical importance to the landed magnates. Many towns were in the hands of the nobility, but others belonged to the Crown of Poland and were governed directly by the king himself. Of particular interest in the present context are the towns of Żółkiew, Dobromil, Drohobycz, Brzeżany, Krzemieniec, Kamieniec Podolski, Tarnopol, Zbaraż, Buczacz, Podhajce, Stara Sól and Felsztyn which have retained substantial Renaissance and Baroque buildings. Many of the nobility preferred to establish their family seats in castles located securely within the defensive systems of the towns on their holdings, such as the Sieniawscy at Brzeżany.<sup>1</sup> There have been preserved, in addition, some rare examples of 17<sup>th</sup> century palaces on landed estates, such as Podhorce and Olesko, as well as the remains of the royal castle outside Krzemieniec.

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<sup>1</sup> A text in English provides brief accounts of the history of all towns and villages in the current Lviv oblast. This is related to hyper-links online that give further details and maps, see, [no authors named], *Lviv Oblast Geography Introduction*, Memphis, USA: Books LCC, Reference Series (2011) ISBN: 9781155931807.



In regard to royal architecture, however, few residences have survived in Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania except in a ruinous condition. Several have disappeared altogether, such as the High Castle (Wysoki Zamek) in Lwów, which was torn down. One very rare example of a royal castle that continues to survive in a reasonable condition is Olesko, situated on the former Sobieski family estate, where Jan III Sobieski was born and resided.<sup>2</sup> In Wilno (Vilnius) both the Upper and the Lower Castles were ruined in previous centuries, but have been substantially reconstructed in recent years, as has the princely castle at Trakai (Troki) once held by the Gedyminian dynasty. The royal castle at Grodno (current Belarus) is in a state of part ruin and is threatened with entire extinction as a historical artefact in the proposed modern restoration.

The main problem for an art-historian researching the Renaissance and Baroque periods in Rus and Lithuania is the poor condition of the surviving buildings and other material culture. Unless there have been preserved engravings, archival materials, or photographs taken prior to 1939, then it is impossible to comment in detail on works that have disappeared, or fallen into a state of ruin. Many important structures belonging to former Polish occupants were allowed to decay after 1945, or were deliberately destroyed in an effort to eliminate the traces of the Polish presence in Ukraine. Alternatively, edifices are being heavily restored and rebuilt often in dubious forms conforming more to tourist expectations, than to historical accuracy. There are limits, in short, to the retrieval of the history of the art and architecture of Rus and Lithuania. In the present study, therefore, attention will be paid to those buildings and art-works that have kept intact, more or less, their original 16th and 17th century forms in spite of changing taste, war and communism. These will include religious and secular artefacts in town and country commissioned by the Polish kings, Ruthenian and Polish magnates and szlachta, as well as by the urban bourgeoisie. Since the 1990s some devastated Polish Catholic churches have been rebuilt in a more restrained form, such as could be constructed by an impoverished Polish congregation often reliant on their own physical labour. Other former Roman Catholic churches since the 1990s have been awarded by the state authorities to the Uniate Church and have been refitted to suit the requirements of the Eastern Rite. One typical example of such a cultural make-over is the Uniate Cathedral

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2 See DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City* (1995), pp. 284-5 for a brief discussion of the effects of Sobieski's patronage and projects on other nobility in Rus and Poland; Also see Fijałkowski, "Jan III Sobieski i jego mecenat kulturalny ... in *Studia Wilanowskie*, 1 (1977), pp. 7-61. And also see Mańkowski, *Budownictwo Jana III we Lwowie* (1936), passim.

of the Holy Resurrection in Ivano-Frankivsk, originally built in 1752-61 for the Jesuits as the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The geographical area of western Rus is dominated by two great rivers, the Dniester in the west and the Dnieper further east. The country is one of wide horizons, with billowing contours of land, like the rolling waves of a sea. Richly forested, it is a superlatively fertile land, rolling-out from the Lwowian region westwards and southwards into Podolia along the Dniester. The climate is savagely cold in the winter, hot and humid in the summer, permitting the cultivation of vineyards, orchards, water-melons, pumpkins and vast acreages of wheat, rye, barley and vegetables. Ancient stands of deciduous forest-land were supplemented with extensive new plantations in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The rivers cut wide and deep ravines with steep cliff-faces, although the water-flow is slow along the shallow beds which are easily waded on horse, or on foot. River-boatmen once propelled long flat-bottomed boats with poles along these waters, carrying trade and cargo west to east, north to south.

Polish settlement of these ancient Ruthenian territories increased substantially after the Peace Treaty of 1366 between Kazimierz III of Poland and Great Prince Liubartas of Lithuania. These lands were so sparsely populated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century due to Tatar predations that Polish magnates moving east from central Poland brought with them their own Polish peasantry to work the land. The Polish nobility were also concerned to develop new urban settlements and to take advantage of the exceptional opportunities in trade and merchandise. Like their Polish counterparts, Ruthenian magnates and szlachta encouraged the process of urbanisation and skilled manufacture, agricultural development and the export of agricultural produce.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Ruthenian princes and nobility still retained their Orthodox faith, as well as their strong national identity and they occupied vast terrains.<sup>3</sup> Certain regions of western Rus had already belonged to the Kingdom of Poland prior to the Union of Lublin (1569), namely, the województwa of Red Rus, Podole, Bełz and Chełm. These particular Crownlands were accustomed to Polish legislature and judiciary, as well as to Poland's class-structure. The remainder of Rus, including Kiev, had been ruled before 1569 by Lithuanian princes directly from Vilnius. After the Union of Lublin the Polish Crown took under its direct rule the former Lithuanian territories of Wołyń, Braclaw, Kiev, as

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3 Potulnytskyi, "Galician Identity" in Hann and Magocsi, *Galicia* (2005), pp. 92-93.

well as Czerwień, taken from Moscow. These were integrated with the Polish Crownlands and governed from Kraków. The Ruthenian populations of these newly annexed regions had never previously experienced Polish civic, legislative and legal systems. In fact, the political culture of these formerly Lithuanian Ruthenians had more in common with that of their northern compatriots in White and Black Rus who had remained in the Principality of Lithuania (in Pińsk, Brześć, Grodno, Nowogródek and Mińsk regions.) Nonetheless, by the early 1600s the Ruthenian nobility had slowly integrated into the Polish szlachta. From the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries the Polish kings had been winning the allegiance of many Ruthenian boyars by granting them the same rights as the Polish nobility.<sup>4</sup>

The relationship between the classes in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth differed from the situation in the rest of Europe where class tensions were alleviated by systems of representation for the commoners, as well as by strong civic corporate and guild traditions.<sup>5</sup> In Poland and Lithuania, in contrast, there was a far more rigid separation between the szlachta (nobility and lower gentry) and the common people.<sup>6</sup> The divisory civic and political culture of the Commonwealth was in conflict with the former cohesion of Ruthenian society in which peasants and nobility had been closely linked by their common identity as members of the Orthodox Church. The process of polonisation was hastened by the frequent incidence of inter-marriage between Polish and Ruthenian princely families and nobility, as was also common among the lower urban and peasant classes. Such marriages were inter-faith, on many occasions, and unions were common between Polish Catholics and Ruthenian Orthodox, for there existed a fair amount of religious toleration. In fact, some Catholic families considered it a pious act to build Orthodox churches, as well as Catholic ones. These Polish/Ruthenian noble lineages extended their political authority and cultural patronage throughout Crownland Rus.

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4 Waław Lipiński, *Szlachta na Ukrainie. I. Udział jej w życiu narodu ukraińskiego na tle jego dziejów*, Kraków (1909); Jarema Maciszewski, *Szlachta polska i jej państwo*, Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna (1969); Andrzej Zajączkowski, *Szlachta polska: kultura i struktura*, Warszawa: Semper (1993).

5 Sysyn, "Ukrainian Social Tensions before the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising" in Baron and Shields (eds.), *Religion and Culture in early Modern Russia and Ukraine* (1997), pp. 52-70.

6 Sysyn, "Ukrainian Social Tensions before the Khmel'nyts'kyi Uprising" in Baron and Shields (eds.), *Religion and Culture in early Modern Russia and Ukraine* (1997), p. 53.

The Rus województwo included the medieval cities of Lwów, Sanok, Halicz and Chełm. Of particular importance also among the newer urban settlements was the town of Żółkiew (Ukr. ЖОВКВА; Zhovkva) located on the banks of the river Świnia about thirty kilometres to the north-west of Lwów.<sup>7</sup> It is a foremost example of the type of town that was founded by Polish patrons in Rus. Żółkiew was built on the site of the old village of Winniki. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century the town and the country around it were populated by Ruthenians, but the local landlord was the Polish military leader, Andrzej Wysocki. He bequeathed the town to the Polish wojewoda of Red Rus, Stanisław Żółkiewski, whose son, another Stanisław (1547-1620), inherited it in 1588. The second Stanisław was a statesman, closely associated with the affairs of the Commonwealth through-out his life. He served with distinction in the armies and was awarded the role of Field Hetman of the Crown, as well as Castellan of Lwów and the Wojewoda of Kiev. Eventually, he gained the highest position in the state, becoming Great Hetman of the Crown and Great Chancellor of State. Żółkiewski successfully led the Polish forces against the invading Muscovites in 1609-12, taking Moscow itself.

On the model of his colleague and friend Chancellor Jan Zamoyski who was constructing the city of Zamość in Małopolska, Żółkiewski was determined to establish his own family seat and he set about building himself a castle in 1595 at Winniki.<sup>8</sup> (Winniki was first mentioned as a town in 1418.) In 1603 as a reward for his victory over the Swedes Zygmunt III Waza gave him permission to change the name of the town to Żółkiew and he conferred the Magdeburg Rights on it, thereby assuring its commercial success. In 1620 Stanisław married Regina Herbut from a family of Ruthenian nobility formerly Orthodox in faith. On her death in 1624 her wealth was inherited by their daughter, Zofia, who had also married into a rapidly polonising Ruthenian family, that of the wojewoda of Rus, Jan Daniłowicz. Their son died and their daughter Teofila inherited the estate. She married Jakub Sobieski whose son became king of Poland as Jan III Sobieski. Jan governed Żółkiew in 1661-96 and, as king, frequently resided there with his court.<sup>9</sup>

The religious artefacts removed from the churches in Żółkiew after 1945, along with the Polish population, were transported to the new socialist Poland. However, since the democratic liberation in the 1990s,

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7 The earliest Polish study of this town is Barącz, *Pamiętki miasta Żółkwi* (1852). See in addition, Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 145-51.

8 Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały ...* Part 1, vol. 4 (Województwo Ruskie), pp. 103-176.

9 Ostrowski, *Kresy Bliske i Dalekie* (1998), pp. 145-51.

the material objects, if not the human-beings, have been largely restored to their original site in Żółkiew, as have other artefacts from other sites in Ukraine, wherever the current Polish population is able to guarantee their safety. Otherwise, most works of art and craft removed from the former Polish sites in Ukraine have remained in their safe-locations in Poland and, at best, copies are sometimes made for the residual Polish congregations in Ukraine.<sup>10</sup>

In the 1990s a joint commission of Polish and Ukrainian conservators restored the monumental tombs in Żółkiew, as well as other major artefacts that had managed to survive. The tombs contained the remains of members of the Żółkiewski, Sobieski and Daniłowicz families. These family monuments are located in the Church of the Queen of Heaven (Pol. Królowa Niebios) and constitute, probably, the most important assembly of sepulchral monuments in south-eastern Europe. The church is additionally dedicated to Sts. Lawrence and Stanisław Bishop. It is located in the main square of Żółkiew and was originally commissioned by Stanisław Żółkiewski in 1589 to act as the parish church. The work was directed by the Italian architects Paweł Szczęśliwy and Ambroży Przychylny.

After the death of Stanisław Żółkiewski, his wife Regina continued the work and succeeded in having the church elevated to the status of a collegiate church (consecrated in 1623), that is, a church endowed for a chapter of canons, but not part of a diocese, nor under the regulation of a bishop. The Żółkiew church has a Latin-cross ground-plan with a nave, side aisles and a triple-sided chancel. Over the central crossing there rises a dome, set on a drum. The interior walls are decorated with Doric pilasters, as well as with a frieze depicting knights and saints, cartouches with heraldic devices and carved reliefs of eagles. The decoration suggests that the sanctuary was intended as a pantheon of knightly valour, for on the highest level of the façade there stands the figure of the Archangel Michael, the patron saint of western chivalry. Next to the church a late Renaissance bell-tower was constructed out of an older guard-tower. The gateway leading into the complex was funded by Jan Sobieski in 1687.

In the recently renovated interior the original stucco decoration in the chancel has survived in good condition, as has the coffering with rosettes on the interior of the dome and the reliefs of the four evangelists. The original main altar and stalls are still in place, though badly damaged. In the vaulted undercroft there have, somehow, remained the sepulchres of the successive owners of the town. In the chancel on each side of the altar

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10 Kukiz, *Madonny Kresowe i inne obrazy sakralne z Kresów w diecezjach Polski*, Supplement, (2008), p. 17.

there stand the 17<sup>th</sup> century monuments of the Żółkiewski family, commissioned by Jan Sobieski. The niches are filled with allegorical sculptures and, on the walls, there are other memorials. Photographs taken of this ensemble after 1946 reveal an absolutely appalling state of devastation, but in the 1990s the sculptures were heavily restored by conservators from Warsaw. The monument on the left of the chancel commemorates Jakub Sobieski and the one on the right honours Stanisław Daniłowicz (1692-93). The life-size, expressive Baroque statues are carved out of white marble and they stand upright on black marble bases. They were carved by Andrzej Schluter and they present a startling impression in their monumentality and vigorous expression. There is little to compare with this ambitious scheme elsewhere in Rus.

The castle nearby (probably the work of Paweł Szcześliwy) was rebuilt by Jan Sobieski, employing the architects Piotr Beber from Wrocław and the Italian Augustus Locci. Only three original guard-towers remain.<sup>11</sup> In the market square a series of 17<sup>th</sup> century terraced burgher dwellings recall the Stary Rynek in Lwów.

In addition, a wooden Uniate church dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus (no longer extant) was built by Stanisław Żółkiewski in 1612. The cult of the Sacred Heart is a specifically Catholic devotion, not found in the Eastern Orthodox Church. In western Europe the cult had developed in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, intended to have an expiatory function in propitiating Christ for incidents of blasphemy and apostasy. Jan Sobieski introduced the Uniate Basilian Fathers to Żółkiew in 1682 at the specific request of the Uniate Metropolitan of Lwów. The Basilians replaced the wooden Uniate sanctuary with a new church renamed for the Holy Trinity and they erected a monastic house. Wooden churches were the norm in many Orthodox parishes in northern and southern Rus, but they were not a colourful Ruthenian ethnic form. Rather, they indicated the poverty of the local Orthodox community and its patrons. Thus, a wooden church was not appropriate for a wealthy city such as Żółkiew. The locals proved unwilling to fund the Uniate Church, in fact, and with the aim of assisting the Basilians in 1690 Sobieski placed the body of the martyr, St. Jan Suczawski, into the church in order to attract pilgrims and add to the status of the foundation.<sup>12</sup>

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11 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (no date – 200?), p. 63.

12 This church was destroyed by fire in 1833 and the current building was constructed in 1847 in the Neo-Byzantine style and rebuilt again in 1906 in a Russian style.

Despite his support for the Uniates and their missionary function, Sobieski also sponsored the local Orthodox church dedicated to the Nativity of the Lord Jesus Christ (1682-90). It takes a form reminiscent of a Greek cross-plan, for, in front of the chancel and the iconostasis, two small corridors run from north to south across the nave. However, despite such incidences of support for an Orthodox community, no Polish king did more than Sobieski to eliminate the influence of the Orthodox Church from the Commonwealth. There still exist three Orthodox churches in Żółkiew, dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, one of which, the Church of the Holy Trinity (a wooden structure built in 1720) is a source of great national pride.

Dobromil (Ukr. Добромиль) set in the foothills of the Carpathians was another important centre of trade and culture in Crownland Rus.<sup>13</sup> It belonged to the Herburt family although their original family seat had been at Felsztyn.<sup>14</sup> In 1374 the Herburts received the town of Dobromil along with eight other towns from Prince Władysław Opolczyk (1332-1401). In the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Jan Herburt, Podkomorzy of Przemyśl (born after 1524-1577), built a castle as his main base in Dobromil.<sup>15</sup> In 1551 a Roman Catholic parish was established in the formerly Orthodox town and in 1566 at the request of Stanisław Herburt, then Castellan of Lwów, Zygmunt II granted the Magdeburg Rights to Dobromil, enabling it to grow into one of the wealthiest and most powerful towns in Rus.

In 1610 the town was inherited by Jan Szczęsny Herburt (1567-1616) who was a Ruthenian humanist, poet and writer, even though he communicated in Polish. In fact, he devised a project to publish editions of the Polish chroniclers, Jan Kadłubek and Jan Długosz, at his print-works in Dobromil, one of the first in Poland. Despite his Polish connections, Jan Szczęsny was a pro-Ruthenian activist. Polish historians, consequently, regard him as being a traitor to Poland, throwing accusations against him of conspiracy, self-seeking and perjury. Szczęsny considered it to be his obligation to protect Rus against all comers, including, if necessary, the Polish king. He terrorised the bishop of Przemyśl and his clergy, as well as most of his own neighbours. In 1607 Szczęsny participated in the Żebrzydowski “rokosz,” an armed, semi-legal rebellion by the szlachta against the king in defence of their political liberties. For this, Zygmunt III Waza imprisoned Szczęsny for two years. Undaunted, on his release, he

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13 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 27-31.

14 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), p. 27.

15 See Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (no date – 200?), p. 16.



continued to oppose the king, since, in his mind, the Commonwealth had been created specifically to prevent Rus from becoming an independent state. His political activities contributed directly to the ruin of his entire fortune and his son was unable to maintain the family estates, so that Dobromil was eventually alienated into the hands of other magnates, namely, the Koniecpolski, Czurylowie, Krasinski and Lubomirski.

An important surviving edifice in Dobromil is the Catholic parish church designed by one of the outstanding Italian architects working in the Commonwealth, Giovanni Battista of Venice (Pol. Jan Baptysta z Wenecji) (1540-60). In central Poland Battista had constructed, or rebuilt, churches at Płock, Pułtusk, Brochów, Głogów and Warsaw. The characteristic features of his work are barrel-vaulted and coffered naves. The interior of the church in Dobromil has retained its original Renaissance form, including a tabernacle and a well-known monument to a child, as well as some late Renaissance elements on the façade. Ostrowski has recalled how Dobromil had been forgotten by scholars, until in 1992 he dispatched a student expedition to the town from the Jagiellonian University to record its historical artefacts. Neither Polish, nor Ukrainian, historians had placed Dobromil on record prior to the 1990s.<sup>16</sup>

Also lying in the Carpathian foothills is the nearby town of Drohobycz (Ukr. Дрогобич), an ancient royal free town first mentioned in archives of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was a county seat ruled directly by the Crown Treasury.<sup>17</sup> No one single noble family was responsible for the development of Drohobycz. Its situation is more comparable to that of cities, such as Lwów, where the burghers, aided directly by the Crown, ensured its economic development and political stability. Drohobycz was a wealthy settlement owing to the trade in salt and the proximity of the Hungarian frontier. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century ownership of the salt mines passed to Kazimierz III and the Crown leased out the salt trade to foreign merchants, initially Italians.<sup>18</sup> In 1422 Drohobycz was awarded the Magdeburg Rights by Władysław Jagiellończyk. The onslaughts of Tatars, Turks and Cossacks from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century to the 17<sup>th</sup> caused its economic downfall and, in addition, salt as a commodity lost its previous economic value.

The Roman Catholic parish in Drohobycz was founded by Władysław Jagiellończyk in a decree of 1392 and the exceptional Catholic church was a royal commission. The parish was dedicated to the Assumption of the

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16 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), p. 29.

17 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 32-36.

18 Tygielski, "Włosi" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 183-200.

Blessed Virgin Mary, the Holy Cross and St. Bartholomew. Władysław commenced the building of the parish church which was largely complete in 1445, though it was devastated by Tatars and Turks in 1498. The church has been extensively reconstructed over the centuries, but has retained its distinctive Gothic silhouette and many decorative details.<sup>19</sup> As in the Latin Cathedral in Lwów, there is a nave with side aisles and an elongated chancel. The ceiling is constructed using Gothic rib-vaults. On the orders of Zygmunt II the church was partially fortified because the town lacked any fortifications. There were only some earthworks to which there was added a fortified gate in 1551 built by the military architect Jan Grebosza from Przemyśl.

An important funeral monument in the Mannerist style is situated within the parish church of Drohobycz which commemorates the noblewoman Katarzyna Ramułtowa. In its composition the sepulchre is of a type specific to Poland and it was carved by one of the best Lwovian sculptors, Sebastian Czeszko, in 1572/3. This is one of the rare occasions when a Lwovian sculptor can be securely identified as being the producer of a particular work. (Czeszko had produced a sculpture of the *Baptism of Christ* for the Scholz-Wólfowicz house in Stary Rynek at Lwów). The monument at Drohobycz commemorates a woman unaccompanied by either husband, or children. In this respect it can be compared with the memorial to the widowed Queen Anna Jagiellończyk in the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel. The lower level of the memorial includes a lengthy Latin inscription listing Ramułtowa's noble connections and the text is surrounded by pilasters and Roman-style vases of foliage. The sculpture is carved out of red marble. Cut more deeply than is usual in a relief, the sleeping figure is depicted as leaning on her right arm. She lies on a bed against an embroidered pillow that is tilted towards the viewer and her left knee is lifted as if she is about to rise. She wears widow's weeds. On the upper level above the figure there is a cartouche decorated with swags of leaves and ionic arabesques. On either side of the central figure there are two pilasters carved with acanthus leaves and ionic capitals. A frieze running across the top of the capitals bears grotesque faces in the Mannerist style. The central compartment containing the figure is

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19 Jan K. Ostrowski, "Drohobycz Podstawowe Informacje na Temat Miasta" in Ostrowski, *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Pt. I, 6, Kraków (1998), pp. 27-29; And also, Tomasz Zaucha, "Kościół parafialny p.w. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Panny Marii, Św. Krzyża i Św. Bartłomieja w Drohobyczu" in Ostrowski, *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, I, 6, Kraków (1998), pp. 31ff.

decorated with more leafy decoration and there is a cartouche in the centre bearing her family coat-of-arms. A tall socle supports the monument. The work would originally have been coloured and gilded.



6.3 Drohobycz, parish church, view towards chancel prior to 1939, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków



6.4 Tomb of Katarzyna Ramułtowa, Drohobycz, parish church, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

There have also survived in Drohobycz two wooden Orthodox churches of great worth. The older one, dedicated to St. Jura (George) (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries), was originally situated in the village of Nadiewo, but was transported to Drohobycz in 1657. There are medieval motifs on the façade typical of the Halicz region and these are very rare survivors of historical importance. The Baroque tower is crowned with a dome (1670) and its top storey once served as a watch-tower. The nave of the church is divided sequentially down the central axis into the three distinctive spaces characteristic of Ruthenian churches built on the Moldavian model. These divisions are marked on the exterior by three domes set on tall drums with windows. The largest central dome is eighteen metres high. The nave takes the form of a square with a two-storey “babiniec” (women’s space) at the west end and a chancel at the east. Additional side-chapels are attached to the nave. An interior gallery runs around the women’s section which also functions as a chapel dedicated to the Presentation of Christ and is, effectively, a separate church. Many of the original frescoes within the church have survived, as

has the elaborate iconostasis of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In addition, at Drohobycz there still exists the wooden Orthodox Church dedicated to the Elevation of the Holy Cross, dating from the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although it was burned down in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was rebuilt and extended several times. The 17<sup>th</sup> century bell-tower is a separate fortified building with an arcaded upper storey that was once used as a watch tower.



6. 5 Detail of iconostasis, Orthodox Church of St. Jura, Drohobycz, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków





6.6 *Orthodox Church of the Elevation of the Cross, Drohobycz, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

Situated further to the south-east in Halicz-Wołyń is the województwo of Podole which was particularly associated with the unceasing menace of the Turks who eventually conquered the province.<sup>20</sup> In the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Ruthenian princes of Podole, the Koriatkowicze, acknowledged the hegemony of the Polish king Kazimierz III and in 1434 Podole was joined to the Crown of Poland under its direct rule.<sup>21</sup> The most important town in Podole was Zbaraż which, long ago, had been the capital of an autonomous princely state, although already by 1211 it was ruled by the princes of Halicz. In 1393 the first castle was built there and the town grew economically due to its location on the major east-west trade-route known as the “Black” route.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, this was the same route along which foreign predators broke into the Commonwealth and Zbaraż was continually under Tatar and Turkish attack. In 1589 after the

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20 Górńska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (200?), pp. 88-117.

21 Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej, II. Podole*, Warszawa: “Rewasz” (2005), pp. 19-34.

22 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 136-40.

destruction of the town, a new castle was constructed and the seat of the Zbaraski princes was moved there.<sup>23</sup> The last representative of the line was Jerzy Zbaraski who died in 1631 and was buried in Kraków.

The new castle, a “palazzo in fortezza” type (a palace within a castle) was constructed by Krzysztof Zbaraski in 1627. It is a historical site of European importance, because it was designed in 1612 according to a plan designed by the Venetian military architect, Vincenzo Scamozzi. His scheme was modified and incorporated into another form by the Flemish military architect, Henryk van Poene. The fortress has four bastions with sloping walls, ditch and earthworks. Jerzy Zbaraski himself oversaw its construction from 1620. A palatial residence was erected in the middle of the fortress. In 1627 the Dominicans were brought into the town by the Zbaraski family and they organised a school of humanistic studies which existed until 1782. It was one of the largest Dominican foundations in the Eastern Commonwealth. In 1675 the Turks under Ibrahim Shaitan took the fortress and destroyed it. Dmitri Wiśniowiecki restored it and in 1682 it passed into the possession of the Potocki family. The palace and castle have been rebuilt and restored since 1994, when the Ukrainian government placed Zbaraż on the list of historical places of national importance, so that an active process of conservation is now taking place.<sup>24</sup>

The great Polish defence of Zbaraż against Chmielnicki’s Cossacks (10<sup>th</sup> July-22<sup>nd</sup> August, 1649) was conducted by Prince Jeremy Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (Ukrainian: Ярема Вишневецький) (1612–51). He was a magnate of Lithuanian/Ruthenian stock and his mother had been a member of the Mohyla family. His conversion from Orthodoxy to Catholicism was badly received by Ruthenians and Cossacks. His colonisation of Left Bank Dnieper (Pol. Zadnieprze) involved him in conflicts with the Cossacks, against whom he led the Polish campaigns of 1648-51. Under the command of Hetman Mikołaj Potocki, the Prince fought against the Cossacks led by Pavel Pavluk in 1637 and he further participated in the Smoleńsk Campaign against Moscow in 1633-34. In 1635 he served with Adam Kisiel, officer of state and military leader. Prince Jeremy participated in the battles against the Tatars in 1640-46 and in 1644, alongside Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, he achieved the conclusive defeat of the Tatar leader, Tuhaj Bej. This did not mean, however, that Wiśniowiecki supported the Polish king uncritically. He made his own decisions. His wealth was immense, his landholdings being larger than many European states (reputedly, he had thirty-eight thousand

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23 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje, Kraków* (2009?), p. 61.

24 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, II, *Podole* (2005), pp. 77-88.



hearth in his possession). His private standing army numbered between two and six thousand soldiers. In effect, Jeremi Wiśniowiecki was the independent prince of the greater part of Rus, although his rule was opposed by the other great magnates, in particular, by the Ossolinski and Radziwiłł.<sup>25</sup> He married the daughter of the Polish magnate, Chancellor Tomasz Zamoyski, in 1639, an alliance that expanded his territorial gains and amplified his political hegemony. In 1646 he became the wojewoda of Rus, but he refused to support Władysław IV Waza, even though he was offered the title of Field Hetman.<sup>26</sup>

Another influential Ruthenian family of Catholic converts was the Sieniawski who held the town of Brzeżany (Ukr. Бережани) which had formerly belonged to the Cebrowski and had been built on their private estate.<sup>27</sup> In 1445 the estate and town passed to the Sieniawski, who were for several centuries one of the leading families of the Commonwealth.<sup>28</sup> The first heir to Brzeżany was Maria Zofia Sieniawska, who married into another great family, that of August Aleksandr Czartoryski.<sup>29</sup> The Czartoryski were descended directly from the Great Princes of Lithuania and their main residences were located on their Wołyń estates. Originally, the Czartoryski had been Ruthenian Orthodox in faith, but they converted to Roman Catholicism in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and became polonised.<sup>30</sup>

Brzeżany lies eighty-six kilometres south-east of Lwów in the Tarnopol region of Podole on the river Złota Lipa, amid steep hills. It was once strongly defended by a castle, fortified churches and from 1630 by new earthworks and a ditch. The flooding of the terrain by the river made it virtually impregnable. The castle dating from 1554 was built by Mikołaj Sieniawski.<sup>31</sup> In 1648 and 1655 the citizenry managed to fend off attacks by Cossacks, due to the strength of their fortifications. In 1675 these were further augmented by additional earthworks, bastions and ditches. The

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25 Romuald Romański, *Książę Jeremi Wiśniowiecki*, Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy "Bellona" (2009), passim. A more critical Ukrainian view is provided in Iurii Vadymovych Rudnyts'kyi, *Iieriemiiia Vyshniēviets'kyi: sprobā reabilitatsii: eseistychna rozvidka*, Lviv: "Piramida" (2007), passim.

26 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodnie, II. Podole* (2005), pp. 94-96; 31, 61, 70.

27 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 16-20.

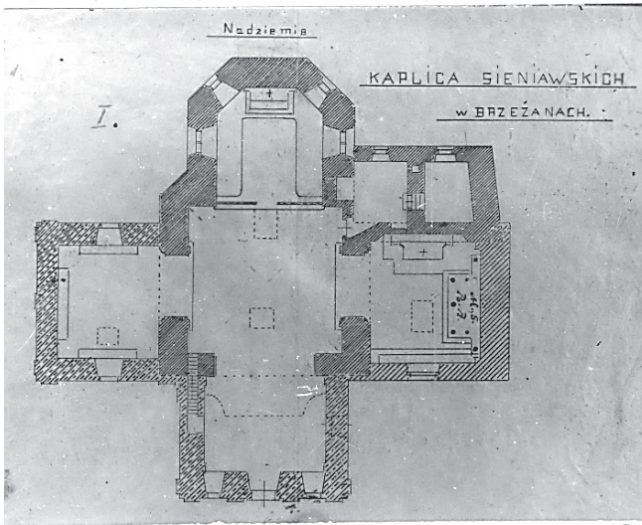
28 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej, II. Podole* (2005), pp. 359-64.

29 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej, II. Podole* (2005), pp. 109, 351, 355.

30 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej, II. Podole* (2005), pp. 60, 112, 281, 405.

31 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (no date – 200?), p. 9.

plan of the castle is of the most advanced Italian type. Designed to fend off artillery, it takes the shape of a pentagon. The entrance is through a semi-circular bastion, while at the rear of the castle on the north side there stands a ravelin (a pentagonal bastion protruding in front of the curtain-wall) in addition to a semi-circular keep that defends a sharp corner vulnerable to canon-fire. Within the fortress the three-story Mannerist palace has an arcaded attic, with openings for gunfire. The interior was once magnificently decorated and included a room known as the Royal Salon, displaying portraits of the Polish kings. The walls of some of the rooms were hung with brocaded damask. One was even decorated with priceless Persian brocade made of silk and gold. No comparable examples of this kind of interior have survived in any of the eastern territories of the Commonwealth. The castle at Podhorce is known to have been similarly richly decorated, as must have been many others. However, the recorded display and excess of the Sieniawski at Brzeżany was exceptional.



6.7 Ground plan of the Sieniawski Memorial Chapel, Brzeżany, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The adjoining church of the Holy Trinity within the castle complex was originally the only Roman Catholic sanctuary in Brzeżany, but after another parish church was erected in the town, the Sieniawski turned Holy

Trinity into a private chapel and a family mausoleum.<sup>32</sup> Currently, it stands in a desolate state and although the castle is being restored, it is doubtful as to whether the church will be rescued for posterity. Should it disappear, then history will lose a unique early Baroque building, one of the most advanced stylistically in the former Commonwealth. The church was designed on a Latin cross plan (1554). The façade dates from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and recalls that of the Carmelite church of the Dormition in Lwów (based on Sta. Susanna in Rome). It has a three-storied elevation, the lowest level containing the crypt. The tall windows on the lowest level have square heads supported by pilasters. On the middle level a square doorway is crowned with a rounded pediment and it is located between two round-headed windows. The uppermost level is complex in design, with a central round headed window, recalling Venetian types, a broken-pediment and half-columns. Above this, there hangs another triangular pediment. The two windows on either side are Mannerist in style, with the upper part of the windows dipping down and curving inwards. Swags above follow the curves of the windows and small triangular pediments crown the composition. The façade is also divided vertically into three sections by four pilasters of the Giant Order standing on high pedestals in the manner of Palladian façades. Corinthian capitals support a heavy decorated entablature and a triangular pediment.

In 1619-21, on the initiative of Katarzyna Sieniawska, a chapel was constructed on the south-west of the church façade, with a large dome on which there was placed a tall domed lantern elevated on four colonettes. The interior decoration included a coffered ceiling, with rosettes. Then a second matching chapel was added to the north-west corner of the church with the aim of functioning as a mausoleum for eight Sieniawski tombs. These were constructed by Jan Pfister who was present intermittently at Brzeżany between 1616 and 1642. Henryk Horst also worked for the family in 1627-38. Ostrowski has noted Horst's signature on the tomb of Mikołaj and Hieronim Sieniawski. The remains of this monument have since been relocated to Olesko Castle. Due to their outstanding quality, the eight tombs have been compared to those in the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel. The classical motifs are finely carved and the architecture of the two-storey Sieniawski tomb made by Horst is an imposing Mannerist interpretation. He used the Doric and Ionic orders with elaborately carved

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32 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 16-20. The other Catholic sanctuary in Brzeżany is the parish church dedicated to the Birth of the Virgin Mary, built in the late 15th-early 16th centuries and later remodelled by Adam Hieronim Sieniawski in a Gothic-Renaissance style. It takes the form of an unexceptional Latin cross with two side chapels.

friezes and decorated niches. The figures are realistically portrayed in a lively and vital manner.

Here there would once have been an awe-inspiring group of family memorials. The crypt used to shelter several silver-gilt tin sarcophagi, decorated on the sides with images of the Sieniawski family in low relief and with their portraits painted on the sarcophagus lid. The castle fell into Austrian hands during the Partition period and, in 1784, the authorities removed the portraits and the chapel was laid waste. The tin sarcophagi were finally removed to Kraków in 1920 and are now deposited in the museum at Pieskowa Skała in Poland. After 1945, the tombs in Brzeżany were subjected to further devastation and the remnants were transferred to the museum at Olesko Castle.<sup>33</sup>



6.8 Tomb portrait of Mikolaj Sieniawski, Brzeżany, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

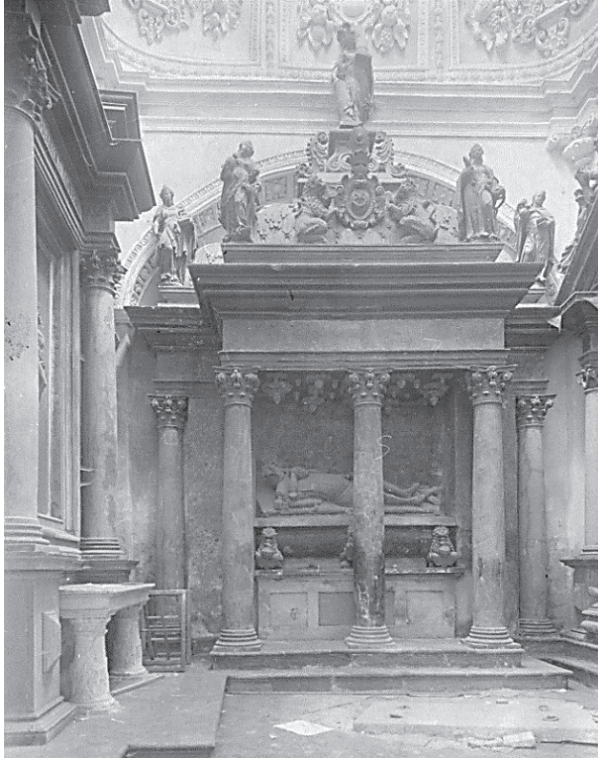
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33 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej Część II. Podole* (2005), pp. 350-63.



*6.9 Tomb of Mikołaj and Hieronim Sieniawski (in situ condition in the 1930s), Brzeżany, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*





6.10 Tomb of Adam Hieronim Sieniawski (in situ condition in the 1930s), Brzeżany, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

In addition, there was a church in Brzeżany for its Armenian inhabitants, who were mostly responsible for the success of local trade and industry.<sup>34</sup> The church that exists at the present time is a reconstruction in stone undertaken by Adam Sieniawski in 1710. It replaces the first church fashioned out of wood. It has a single nave and is very simple. In 1356 when Kazimierz III granted the Magdeburg Rights to Lwów, he proceeded to recognise the right of Armenians, Ruthenians, Jews and Tatars to live in the city according to their own laws administered by themselves. Kazimierz then extended this privilege to other towns such as Brzeżany

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34 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej Część II. Podole* (2005), p. 357.

where the Armenian town council existed until the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the occupation of the województwo of Podole by the Turks in 1672-99, many Armenians escaped to western Rus and their numbers increased considerably in towns such as Brzeżany. In 1784 the Austrians liquidated the Armenian town council, but the Armenians continued to live in Brzeżany until the Second World War.

Traces of the Armenian community also still endure at Jazłowiec (Ukr. Язловець) on the Podolian plain, near the river Olchowiec.<sup>35</sup> The Armenian community here was once one of the largest in the Commonwealth and the name of the town is probably Armenian in origin. It is possible that Jazłowiec may have been the seat of an Armenian bishopric. One church from the 16<sup>th</sup> century still endures.<sup>36</sup> The members of this community were leaders in trade and in crafting luxury goods.<sup>37</sup> The regard for the Armenians on the part of the ruling elite of the Commonwealth was such that in 1648, during the Cossack rebellion, the head of the Armenian town-council Bogdan Seferowicz was raised by the Sejm to the ranks of the Polish szlachta. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century the town had been the property of the Ruthenian Habdancy family, who took the surname Jazłowiecki after their town.<sup>38</sup> They guarded Podole against the Tatars for two centuries and built a castle of the most advanced type in the 14th to 17th centuries.<sup>39</sup> At their court resided the musician Mikołaj Gomółka (1535-91), the foremost Polish Renaissance composer. The Turks ruled in Jazłowiec between 1676 and 1684.

Still further south-east in Podole the fortress of Kamieniec-Podolski was the target of continued attacks by the Turks and Tatars from the middle ages to the late 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> The impregnable castle-complex is situated on a rocky promontory which is joined to the main town across the ravine of the river Smotrycz by a narrow sliver of rock and a bridge with Roman foundations. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century three nationalities were sharing the town: Ruthenians, Poles and Armenians. In 1672 the town fell to the Ottomans and was incorporated by treaty into their empire. In 1699 Podole was returned to the Commonwealth by the Peace of Karlovici (1699), but the entire province had been laid waste. Kamieniec was

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35 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, II, *Podole* (2005), pp. 275-85.

36 Barącz, *Pamiętki Jazłowieckie* (1862), *passim*.

37 Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (1959), pp. 15, 67-86.

38 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 50-54.

39 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków Kluszczyński (no date – 200?), p. 19.

40 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (no date – 200?), pp. 20-21.



subsequently rebuilt largely in the neo-classical style, although within the fortress and its palace there have survived remnants from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>41</sup> The fortress had been built out of brick in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century on the initiative of the princely family of the Koriatkowicze and of Prince Spytek II of Melsztyn.<sup>42</sup> Additional building projects were undertaken in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and in 1533 Zygmunt I ordered the reconstruction of the castle on a new design, so that in 1544 it was expanded eastwards where the pentagonal East Tower was added. The pentagonal West Tower was also added and in 1585 Stefan Batory had all the towers modernised and adapted to repel artillery attacks. The building of the New Castle (Nowy Zamek) commenced in 1621 and work continued into the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The fortifications were of the most advanced Italian type. The castle currently has eight fortified towers dating from the medieval period and the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as later 18<sup>th</sup> century Austrian additions. Within the courtyard of the castle there once existed a small church dedicated to St. Stanisław which was converted in 1672 into a mosque by the Turks and then demolished.<sup>43</sup>

The town located on the other side of the ravine is similarly fortified. Moving across the bridge from the castle to the town over the ravine of the Smotrycz is a spectacular experience. Recently, it has been established that the bridge has Roman foundations and that this site marked the furthest north-eastern expansion of the Roman Empire. The sides of the ravine are wooded and filled with archaic wooden houses, gardens and orchards whose romantic appearance disguises the poverty of local residents.<sup>44</sup> Within the urban complex many of the historic townhouses are several stories high, as in Lwów, and they date from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. They are in poor physical condition due to lack of funds for restoration.

The most important historical site in Kamieniec is the Roman Catholic cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul where there survive a few important Islamic artefacts. The cathedral in Kamieniec is the furthest eastern-most

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41 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 55-64.

42 For a scholarly guide to the castle which includes an English text and is richly illustrated with archival and modern photographs, see L. Stanisławska, *Stara Twierdza [The Old Fortress]*, Kamianys Podilskij (2002), passim.

43 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej Część II. Podole* (2005), pp. 407-28.

44 Teresa Siedlar-Kołyżko, since 1991, has produced a series of travel books describing the current condition of historical Polish artefacts and communities in Ukraine, Belarus and Lithuania. For Kamieniec Podolski see Teresa Siedlar-Kołyżko, *Od Smoleńska po Dzikie Pola. Trwanie Polaków na ziemiach wschodnich I Rzeczypospolitej*, Kraków: Impuls (1998; reprint 2008), pp. 138-61.

located Gothic church in Europe. The first Catholic church on this site had been constructed of wood, but it was replaced by a stone edifice in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, with a hall-type plan and Gothic elevations. Between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries side chapels were added, while in 1646-48 the chancel was elongated and a free-standing bell-tower was added.

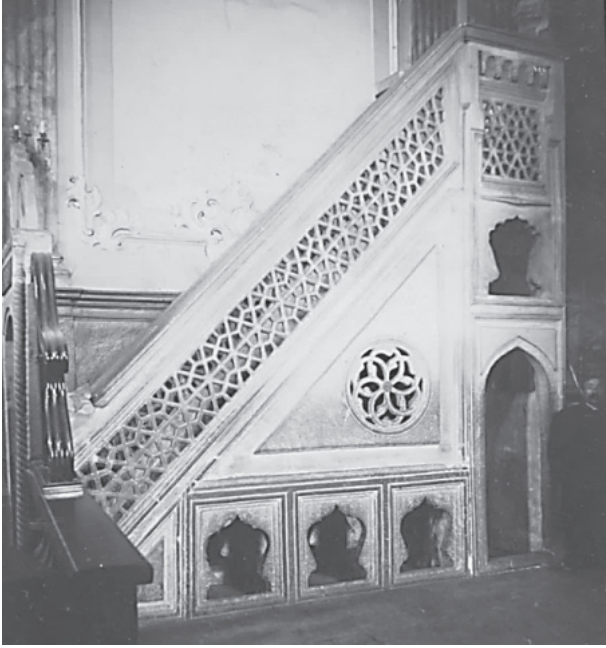
The nave and chancel of the Catholic cathedral are derived from Orthodox architecture in the Balkans and Moldavia. The elongated nave ends at the chancel in a semi-circular apse, to which two further side apses are attached, producing a trefoil shape.<sup>45</sup> Historians have named this design the “three-conch” type. It originated in the Orthodox monasteries of Mount Athos in Greece and was copied through-out the Balkans. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the design became popular in Moldavia and Wallachia, from where it entered the Polish Crownlands in south-western Rus.<sup>46</sup> The largest number of churches of the three-conch type, both Catholic (Kamieniec cathedral) and Orthodox (St. Onufry in Husiatyn), were built in the region of Podole, which bordered on Moldavia (northern Rumania) to the south. Similar churches were also erected in Tarnopol (church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary, 1602-8), Mohylew Podolski, Zinków and Miedzyborz. In the regions bordering Podole, the same type appears at the church of St. Mikołaj in Buczacz (founded by Stefan Potocki and his wife, Maria Mohylowska, in 1610), as well as at the Orthodox church in Szczepreszyn in a 17<sup>th</sup> century rebuild. The type disappeared after the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In August, 1672, eighty thousand Ottoman troops led by Grand Vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet and Sultan Mehmet IV invaded south-eastern Rus. After strenuous efforts they took the fortress of Kamieniec. Jan Sobieski was unable to retake the castle, since his armies were so heavily outnumbered. The Polish Sejm could not raise funds for his army, because of the conflict between the king, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki, and the szlachta. The Sejm had no choice but to sign the Peace of Buczacz in October, 1672, by which the Crown lost to the Turks the województwa of Braclaw, Podole and part of Kiev. (Left-Bank Ukraine had already been awarded to Moscow by the Treaty of Andruszowo in 1667.) The Sejm was forced to pledge to the Turks an annual tribute of twenty-two thousand ducats. The peace treaty, however, was never ratified since the deputies in the Sejm managed to raise taxes for a new army of about thirty-seven thousand men and increased the register of Cossacks fighting for the Commonwealth to the number of forty thousand. Sobieski led a new campaign

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45 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 73.

46 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 74.



6.11 Minbar, Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Kamieniec Podolski, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

against the Turks and scored several victories, such as that at Chocim (Ukr. Хотин). He next conquered Moldavia. In 1673 Sobieski was elected king of Poland. Further problems with raising taxes for military expeditions, as well as incompetent military leaders, enabled the Turkish occupation to be prolonged. In 1674 the war was renewed, but the Turks brought in reinforcements of two hundred thousand men. Sobieski was unable to continue his campaign for lack of funds. Finally, in 1676 by the Treaty of Żurawno the Turks kept about two thirds of their conquests made since 1672, although the Commonwealth no longer had to pay the tribute monies.<sup>47</sup>

The Turks, on their occupation of Kamieniec, in 1672 immediately converted the cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul into a mosque. They permitted religions other than Islam to maintain only one place of prayer in every locality, while the rest were remodelled into mosques. The

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47 Marek Wagner, *Wojna polsko-turecka w latach 1672-76*, 2 vols, Zabrze: infortitions (2009), passim.

interior decoration of the cathedral was destroyed and Christian icons were thrown under the horses' hooves. In the cathedral the chapel standing against the left side of the façade was remodelled into the base socle of a new minaret thirty-three and a half metres in height and crowned with a crescent moon. It is still possible to enter the minaret from within the church and its stair-well is in good order. Inside the cathedral there has also survived a fine example of an Islamic minbar in marble, along with its staircase. It was made originally for the neighbouring Dominican church in Kamieniec when that was in use as a mosque.

In 1699, after the defeat of the Turks, the cathedral was reclaimed by the Roman Catholics. Since, however, in Islam all places consecrated for Muslim worship remain inviolably sacred, the Turks requested the Poles not to destroy their minaret. (There was a comparable situation in Hungary at the mosques in Pecs and Eger). The Poles acquiesced to this request, but they triumphantly placed a wooden figure of the Virgin Mary on the Islamic crescent-moon.<sup>48</sup> This simple action transformed the sacred sign of Islam into a Catholic icon, that of the Immaculate Conception. This Marian cult had grown in popularity from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, reaching its height in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Mary Immaculate was regarded as the special protector of Christian forces in the wars against the Turks. The original wooden figure at Kamieniec was replaced by a gilt-copper sculpture in 1756 which is still in place.<sup>49</sup> In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the interior of the cathedral and that of the 17<sup>th</sup> century bell-tower were redecorated in a late Baroque style. In the 1930s, after the Soviet occupation of Eastern Ukraine, the cathedral was turned into a museum of atheism which, paradoxically, had the fortunate result of preserving it from the ruin experienced by almost all other Polish Catholic churches in Ukraine.

In Kamieniec the Catholic preaching orders of the Dominicans and Franciscans had put in an early appearance by 1400. The Dominican church was severely devastated by the communist regime and is now undergoing a process of substantial restoration, organised and financed by the resident Dominican monks. The church was built in the Gothic style of the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries as a hall-type (nave with side-aisles), to which were later added two Renaissance chapels, with domes. The original tower still exists. The church had to function as a mosque during the Turkish occupation. Meanwhile, the rival Franciscan Order had constructed their own sanctuary in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, although this too was largely destroyed

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48 Aleksander Raszczupkin, *Katedra św. Apostołów Piotra i Pawła w Kamieńcu Podolskim*, Kamyanec Podilskij: Ojum [Оіум] (2003).

49 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej Część II. Podole* (2005), pp. 410-12, 417-18.

by the Soviets. The third church still surviving in Kamieniec is that of the Trinitarian Order, who had a special function to play within the Turkish wars and whose presence was indispensable to the Eastern Commonwealth. The order had been established specifically to raise ransoms for Christian prisoners captured by the Turks. The Trinitarians settled permanently in Kamieniec in 1699 on the departure of the Turks.

Not all of the churches in the town managed to survive the constant onslaught of foreign predators. The Armenian church of St. Mikołaj (15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries) was blown-up by the Russians in 1930 and only its walls are left, although the monumental bell-tower has survived, more or less, intact. The church once rejoiced in an exceptionally rich interior, with many historical artefacts and archives, including a miracle-working icon of the Virgin Mary. The Soviets also deliberately destroyed the Roman Catholic convent of the Discalced Carmelites, while most of the Ruthenian Orthodox churches have similarly been laid waste.

In the nearby city of Tarnopol (Ukr.Ternopil) there are almost no buildings extant from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, although a very fine late Baroque Dominican church (1747) has survived, with its elaborate stucco decoration and frescoes intact. Tarnopol was founded in 1540 by Jan Amor Tarnowski who constructed a castle on the river Seret in 1540-48 and the city grew up around it. In 1567 the city passed to the Ostrogsky family and in 1623 to the Zamoyski. In 1548 Tarnopol was granted the Magdeburg Rights by Zygmunt I. It was destroyed almost completely during the Cossack rebellion of 1648 and, then again, by Turks and Tatars in 1675. Rebuilt by Aleksander Koniecpolski, it was sacked once more in 1694 by the Turks.

The interest of the place lies in the fact that Maria Kazimierza (1641-1716), wife of Jan III Sobieski, became the landowner in 1690. It was due to her economic policies that Tarnopol flourished in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Maria Kazimierza was not interested in artistic patronage, as such, and her input into, for instance, Wilanów palace is minimal, if any. Rather, she was seeking to finance a permanent Sobieski royal dynasty for Poland. She is noted for her ruthless promotion of the election of her husband to the throne of Poland. Her economic policies in Tarnopol display the same single-minded determination in taking advantage of the trade-routes and in rebuilding the city. The royal castle was reconstructed by Franciszek Korytowski in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a factory-like form and it

still stands on the shores of the great artificial lake in the city, unrecognizable now as any sort of castle, let alone a royal residence.<sup>50</sup>

In Poland the kings customarily endowed their queens with lands to govern autonomously in their own right and, as it happened, the queens of Poland were competent rulers. The best-researched example is that of Bona Sforza (1494-1557), wife of Zygmunt I, who held extensive territories in Krzemieniec near Lwów, as well as further north in Lithuania. Early on, she had realised that in order to further her dynastic ambitions for the Jagiellonian family into which she had married, as well as to secure its royal authority, she had to guarantee a reliable flow of revenue. By 1524 the king had endowed her with the principalities of Pińsk and Kobryn in Lithuania, estates in Łuck, as well as forest lands in Narwia. She was also seeking to regain alienated royal estates in Podlasia in eastern Poland. Bona went on to purchase numerous other estates in Lithuania and, in 1536-46, she appropriated the right to collect custom duties and other landed revenues through-out the whole of Lithuania. Her income increased on a massive scale. In return, Bona developed the cities and towns on her territories and enhanced their cultural life.

In 1536, Bona was awarded Krzemieniec as her personal fief. Under her rule the town gained in power and economic wealth. The Queen founded many new foundations, such as, churches, monasteries, convents and schools. One of her first actions was to build a Renaissance palace for herself on the hill that towers above the town.<sup>51</sup> A castle on this impressive hill had already been constructed in the time of the Ruthenian principedom of Halicz. Bona reconstructed the ruins of this original fort into a grand palace in the Renaissance style of Wawel. In 1648 Cossack forces plundered and destroyed the town, murdering most of the population. The former royal palace is now completely ruined and all that remains is the walls, entrance gate, and two towers.

Another comparable royal castle, though in far better shape, is Olesko (Lwovian region) re-built in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and the early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Renaissance manner. It stands on a rocky outcrop rising from the Nadzbudzańska lowlands lying alongside the hilly Podolian plate.<sup>52</sup> Olesko was destroyed during the Second World War and has since been rebuilt and restored. At the moment, it houses a wing of the Lviv

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50 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), p. 55; Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej Część II. Podole* (2005), pp. 132-42.

51 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), p. 28; Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej, I. Wołyń* (2005), pp. 362-82.

52 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), pp. 40-41.

Ukrainian National Gallery and the site has been patrolled by armed soldiers, ever since the collection was plundered by the Ukrainian mafia in 1993. The conservation of the art-works in the 1990s was the responsibility of the director, Borys Woznicki.<sup>53</sup>

In Olesko there were born two kings of Poland, Jan Sobieski and Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. The castle was built in the 14<sup>th</sup> century when it was in the hands of the princes of Lithuania. Next, it passed to various Ruthenian families, those of the Herburt, Kamieniecki and Daniłowicze. The Wojewoda of Rus, Jan Daniłowicz, rebuilt the castle in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century as a Renaissance palace. However, after his children inherited the entire Daniłowicz estate, they departed for Żółkiew leaving Olesko to decay. In the 1680s Jan Sobieski and Maria Kazimierza renovated the castle.

Jan III Sobieski (1629-96) was elected king of Poland in 1674. He had already held the position of Hetman of the armies of the Commonwealth since 1668 and he was Crown Hetman from 1666. In 1643-46, as a youth, he had studied in the Faculty of Philosophy at the Jagiellonian University. On graduating he travelled through-out western Europe for two and a half years with his brother Marek, visiting the cities and courts of Germany, the Netherlands, France and England. He returned to Poland in 1648 during the Cossack rebellion when he fought at Zborów, Zbaraż and Beresteczko (1651). Sobieski played a leading role in the Swedish wars as a Colonel of Arms under the command of Aleksander Koniecpolski. In 1655 he took an oath of fidelity to the King of Sweden, Charles X, a controversial action that has never been satisfactorily explained. Sobieski left the ranks of the Swedes in March, 1656, and rejoined the Commonwealth forces. His renown grew during the subsequent campaigns of 1657-63 against the Swedes and their Transylvanian, Cossack and Russian allies. In October, 1667, Sobieski led further campaigns against the Cossacks and Tatars and at Podhajce he defeated their combined forces, although these were five times larger than the forces of the Commonwealth.<sup>54</sup>

From 1668 Sobieski's position was paramount and he effectively took control of the Commonwealth. On the abdication of Jan II Kazimierz in

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53 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 80-85; A thorough and scholarly account of the history of the castle and its museum, with excellent photographs, is available in Роман Соломка [Roman Solomka], [Andrij Chobit], Дмитро Чобіт [Dmytro Chobit], *Одеський Замок*, Brody: Prosvita (2004).

54 There are no biographies of Sobieski in English and, in fact, almost none in Polish either. See Davies, *God's Playground* (2005), pp. 357-70 and passim. And also see, Zamoyski, *Polish Way* (1987), pp. 1-3, 185-88.



1668, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki was elected king in 1669, but Sobieski had him removed in a conspiracy. Such political disorder among the elite greatly hampered the effective conduct of the war against the Turks and it led to the defeat of the Poles at Kamieniec Podolski (1672). On 11<sup>th</sup> November, 1673, Sobieski won a great victory at Chocim, so that when Wiśniowiecki died in 1673 the Sejm elected Sobieski to the throne, opposed only by the Lithuanian deputies. In the autumn of 1674 Sobieski reconquered almost all of Podole, but he could not retake Kamieniec since his political rival, the Hetman of Lithuania, Michał Kazimierz Pac, withdrew his forces to Lithuania out of spite. When another Polish-Turkish war broke out in 1683-99, Sobieski enforced a compulsory conscription of troops. He and his forces then joined the Habsburg forces in relieving the city of Vienna, laid under siege by the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa. Sobieski was in command at the Battle of Vienna on 12<sup>th</sup> September, 1683, and the Turks were driven out.<sup>55</sup> At the Battle of Parkany Sobieski won a decisive victory against the Turks.<sup>56</sup>

In 1686 Sobieski signed the Peace of Grzymułtów in Moscow, confirming the terms of the Truce of Andruszowo (1667) by which eastern Ukraine and the Smolensk region passed to Moscow. Sobieski had ceased to believe in the possibility of achieving a decisive victory against the Turks, since he was hindered by the treachery of the magnates and the connivance of his former French allies with the Turks and Russians. Instead, he concentrated in the 1690s on building strong modern fortifications along the frontier in southern Rus and he re-organised the army, introducing modern artillery, muskets and dragoons. The war with the Turks continued and Sobieski did not live to see its conclusion in 1702 in the reign of August II of Saxony.

Sobieski failed to achieve his proposed reforms of the state which could have saved Poland from the enemies on her borders. The law of the “*liberum veto*” in the Sejm encouraged bribery of the deputies by foreign powers. Sobieski had sought to replace this anarchy by a powerful centralised government. Moreover, he attempted to introduce a hereditary

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55 See the accounts of the battle and other of Sobieski's campaigns in Brian Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea steppe, 1500-1700*, London: Routledge (2007), pp. 9-10, 115-132, 150-154, 188-190. And see especially the critical account in John Stoye, *The Siege of Vienna*, Edinburgh: Birlinn (2006), pp. 1-26, 151-173. A more friendly and detailed study is Miltiades Varvounis, *Jan Sobieski: the king who saved Europe*, Dartford: Crossways, Ex Libris Corporation (2012), *passim*.

56 Zbigniew Wójcik, *Jan Sobieski, 1629-1696*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy (1994), *passim*.

monarchy that could have lessened considerably the interference by foreign powers in the affairs of the Commonwealth. Once again, the Lithuanian magnates led by the Sapieha family opposed his plans. They rebelled against Sobieski and attempted to gain independence for Lithuania. The situation in the Sejm reached its nadir of corruption and Sobieski's foresight in trying to avoid future catastrophe came to nothing.

The Sobieski royal couple was particularly attached to Olesko castle. The castle has an unusual oval ground-plan corresponding to the available plot of land at the summit of the hill. There are two residential wings, separated by a courtyard, with a square entrance gate and a galleried external wall. Of the original interior stone carvings there have survived only the door and window frames on the first floor and the Renaissance portals. The restored mural decorations in the main salons consist of highly-coloured, over-size foliage patterns, painted in a naïve style. They are a rare example of 17<sup>th</sup> century provincial taste.<sup>57</sup> The castle contains a unique, historical collection of paintings and sculptures, as well as Renaissance furniture.

The Roman Catholic parish in the small adjacent town had already been established by the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The parish church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, was built in a late Mannerist style and consecrated in 1597. Two octagonal side chapels were added to the nave in 1625-27 by Jan Daniłowicz (Sobieski's grandfather) who had converted to Catholicism from Orthodoxy. One of the chapels takes the form of a tall imposing tower, suggesting a defensive function. Both chapels have round windows and their domes are encased in copper-plates. On the roof of the lower chapel adjoining the main church, the edges of the copper roof curve downwards and out, somewhat like a fake dome, giving the lower chapel a strong resemblance to the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel Cathedral. The church has been recently restored by the Lviv National Gallery.

Not many miles distant from Olesko, there stands a later Mannerist palace at Podhorce (Ukr. Підгорецький замок; transliteration, Pidhirtsi).<sup>58</sup> The palace lies on the Woroniak uplands on the northern edge of the Podolian plate. It is situated in an amphitheatre of level ground, among steep hills. In 1612 the North Italian architect, Vincenzo Scamozzi of Vicenza (1548-1616), one of the major figures of the European Baroque, had been at work in western Rus, where he had designed the Zbaraski residence in Podole in the form of a palace-fortress. This new type of residence was a revelation to other noble patrons, since the main building

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57 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 80-85.

58 See DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City* (1995), pp. 248-49.

was accompanied by terraced gardens integral to the design.<sup>59</sup> Podhorce was one of the most successful examples of this type.

On the estates of the magnates in Lithuania and Ruthenia the particular type of Baroque favoured was very different from that of the Roman version commissioned by the king in Kraków and on his landed estates. In the Eastern Commonwealth, due to its very late arrival, attributes of the Baroque style were integrated with regional Mannerist styles. This is the case at Podhorce whose design is far less classicising than the Krakowian version of the Baroque style. In its use of rich decorative elements and turrets, pitched roofs and pinnacles, Podhorce has more similarities to the French classical style, than to the Baroque of Rome. Nonetheless, DaCosta Kaufmann, on the contrary, argues that, although the floor plan of Podhorce is French, the details on the façade recall those of Vincenzo Scamozzi which were Roman inspired.

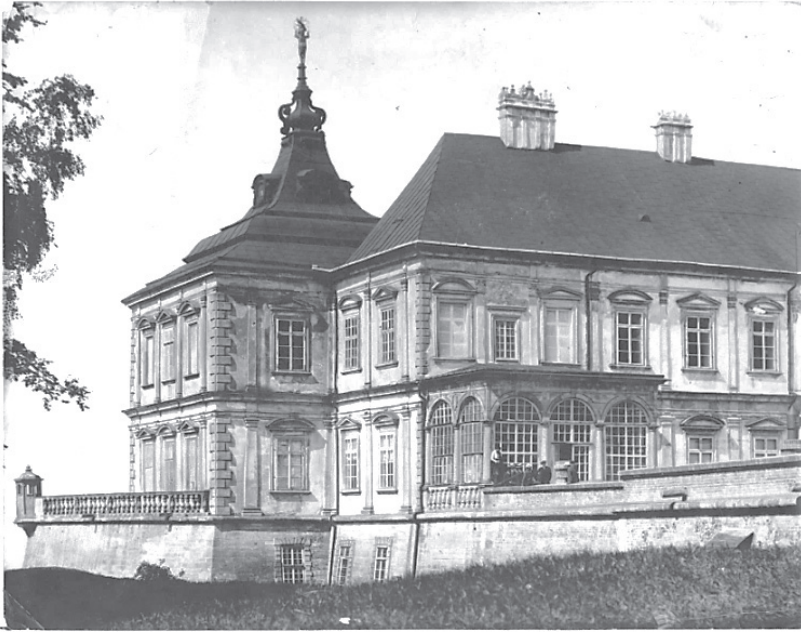
The loggias on the flanks of Podhorce take a Tuscan form, decorated with Mannerist sculpted shields and militaria. DaCosta Kaufmann further maintains that the portals inside are also Mannerist in form. Podhorce palace was constructed in 1635-40 for one of the most important military commanders of the Commonwealth, Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski (1590/94-1646). The architect was most probably (though unsupported by any documentation) the Venetian military engineer, Andrea dell' Aqua (1584-1656). In 1633 the estate and villages of Podhorce were purchased by Koniecpolski, who was residing in nearby Brody, and in 1637 the building commenced.<sup>60</sup>

Originally, a single-storey building was raised in the Mannerist style, with its ground floor resting on a very high undercroft, almost defensive in appearance which contains cellars and offices. The flat surface above was grassed and terraced. The style of the mansion befitted Koniecpolski's image of himself as a Polish Sarmatian living a simple life on the land. The architect replaced the usual fortified corner towers with side projections bearing lanterns. These were surmounted by pinnacles and sculptures, a highly popular feature of 17<sup>th</sup> century architecture throughout the Commonwealth. Dell' Aqua relocated the drawing-room to the central projection and made it accessible directly from the garden on the terrace.

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59 Baranowski, "The Baroque Geography of the Polish Commonwealth" in Murawska-Muthesius (ed.), *Borders in Art Revisiting Kunstgeographie* (2000), (2000), p. 79; Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków: Universitas (1998), pp. 96-105.

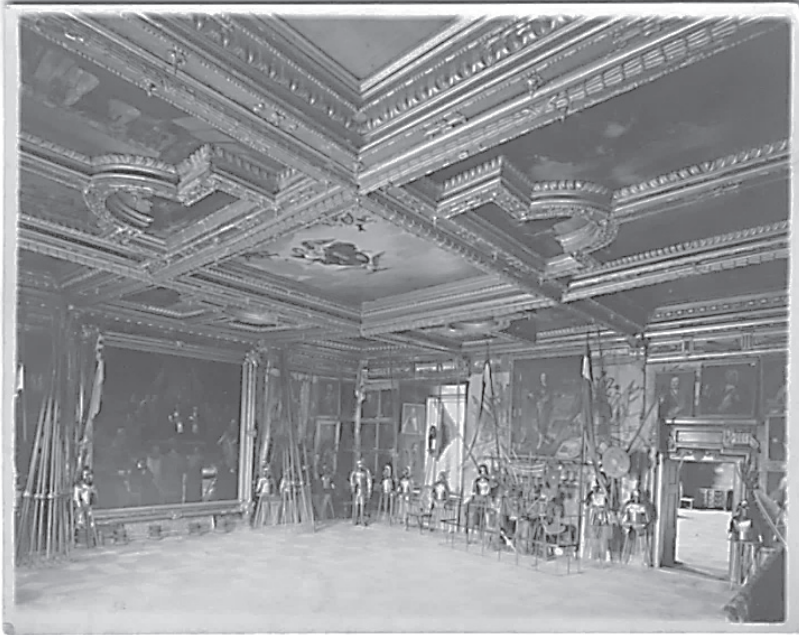
60 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje, Kraków* (no date- 200?), pp. 44-45.



6.12 Podhorce Castle, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The main part of the palace was completed by 1641, though Aleksander and Stanisław Koniecpolski, the son and grandson of the Hetman, were responsible for its interior decoration which continued for the next twenty years. A programme of paintings commemorating the noble deeds of the family was installed in the salons on the first floor. Some of these were painted in the 1660s by Jan de Baan and they depicted the military and diplomatic victories of the former Hetman. The pictures were set into enormous carved and gilded frames whose shapes were echoed in the ponderous wooden coffering of the ceilings (all gone now). From photographs it can be appreciated how deeply-cut were the ceiling compartments, several feet in depth, heavily carved and gilded. They were made in the manner of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century Netherlandish coffered ceilings. These managed to survive up to the beginning of the Second World War. During the inter-war period (1918-39) the ceilings at Podhorce served as a model for the reconstruction of the 17<sup>th</sup> century ceilings of the Waza kings at Wawel Castle. Ostrowski has suggested that,

perhaps in turn, Wawel may serve one day as a model for the reconstruction of the Podhorce coffered ceilings.



6.13 *Stołowa Salon, Podhorce Castle, original condition in the 1930s, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

Ostrowski has examined the 18<sup>th</sup> century catalogue of five hundred paintings collected by the family, an exhilarating inventory purporting to record works by such masters as Veronese, Rubens, Rembrandt and van Dyck.<sup>61</sup> In fact, it is possible to trace most of these works at the present time, since they continue to exist. Unfortunately, Ostrowski has discovered, on investigation, merely an indifferent collection of minor provincial pieces, such as copies of great masters, as well as original portraits and pastorals of lesser artistic quality. Nonetheless, he has argued for the historic value of the Podhorce collection from which much

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61 Jan K. Ostrowski and Jerzy T. Petrus (with Oksana Kozyr, Tatiana Sabodasz and Angela Zofia Sołtys), *Podhorce: dzieje wnętrz pałacowych i galerii obrazów*, Kraków: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, (2001), pp. 9-11, 13-25, 179-80. There are some clear ground plans and elevations.

information may be gained concerning the taste of the wealthy magnates of the Commonwealth. The collection of portraits depicts many of the most important political figures of the Commonwealth in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. They were originally mounted on coloured damask and framed.

Until 1939 the various rooms were named according to the colour of the damask coverings. The furniture and mirrors were the work of local craftsmen in a provincial Rococo style. The inventory of the art-works was the personal effort of the owner Leon Rzewuski in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who attempted to restore the palace, but eventually sold it in 1865 to the Sanguszko family.

In 1682 Stanisław Koniecpolski willed the palace to the son of the Polish king, Jakub Sobieski, along with his lands in Brody. The younger son, Konstanty, inherited these. In 1720 he sold the palace to the Rzewuski family. Waclaw Rzewuski added the second storey to the palace in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and built the church at the end of the entrance avenue.

During the First World War the Austrian-Russian front ran through Brody and Podhorce and the palace suffered, although the goods and chattels had already been evacuated by the owners. During the inter-war period, renovations and exhibitions were organised here by the Lwów National Gallery and more inventories were made. The interior contents of the palace have, fortunately, been well recorded in photographs and paintings and many artefacts were removed to Central Poland prior to 1939. On the outbreak of war, the last owner Roman Sanguszko evacuated much of the painting collection across the Rumanian border and eventually to Brazil where he established a gallery for the display of any fragments of the collection that he had managed to rescue. Under communist rule the palace at Podhorce was looted and a fire in the 1950s destroyed the carved decoration of the walls and ceilings.

In 1997 the Lwów National Gallery took control of Podhorce. However, inside the palace there is nothing left now, but emptiness, nothing at all, no doors, no chimney-pieces, no decorative features of any kind. The restoration work by conservators associated with the Lwów National Gallery offers some hope of returning Podhorce, in small part at least, to something of its former appearance, especially since the Gallery has many of the former contents of the place. Other artefacts are held by the museum at Tarnów in Poland, while the archives of the families are deposited in the National Archives at Kraków.









6.15 Picture collection in the Green Salon, Podhorce Castle, photograph from the 1930, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

in 1418. By 1646 these estates had passed into the hands of Mikołaj Daniłowicz and subsequently into those of other families. In the nearby town of Sambor during 1573 there were recorded the builder “Józef” (perhaps Józef Tarnowczyk) and the Lwowian sculptor Herman van Hutte.<sup>63</sup> According to Gębarowicz, these two were called to Felsztyn, where they produced the memorial for Bishop Walenty Herburt, characteristic of Lwowian sculpture of the period in its flat Mannerist

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63 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 111-16. See also Wardzyński, ““Alabastry ruskie”-dzieje eksploatacji i zastosowania w małej architekturze i rzeźbie na Rusi, w Koronie i na Śląsku w XVI wieku” in Betlej et al, (eds) *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem* (2011), pp. 41-59. For the town of Sambor, see Jan K. Ostrowski, “Sambor, Wiadomości na temat miasta i drobnych obiektów sakralnych” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej*, I, 5, Kraków (1997), pp. 139ff. Also Jerzy T. Petrus, “Dawny Kościół p.w. Św. Katarzyny i Klasztor OO. Dominikanów w Samborze” in Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do Dziejów Sztuki Sakralnej*, Pt. I, 5, Kraków (1997), pp. 215-24.

ornateness. The other monuments of the various Herburts in the church consist of imposing wall structures, elevated on tall pedestals, above which heavy cornices and tympana enclose the full length sculpture of the deceased, male and female, who are depicted in half-relief. Some are depicted as lying flat on catafalques raised at right-angles to the viewer. Others lie more on their side, with their right hand supporting their chin. The architects of these memorials employed a Netherlandish Mannerist vocabulary of urns and putti, heavy volutes, decorated pilasters with Ionic, or Corinthian, capitals and lengthy inscriptions. They are often accompanied by a rare collection of Baroque painted portraits.



6.16 *Józef (Tarnowczyk?) and Herman van Hutte, memorial of Bishop Walenty Herburt, Church of St. Marcin, Felsztyn, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

Among the monuments in the church of St. Marcin at Felsztyn there is one for the infant Krzysztof Herburt, who is shown as a naked sleeping putto, lying on his side. He is carved in the antique style. There is another such monument nearby at Dobromil. According to historian Jeannie Łabno, such individual memorials to deceased infants are almost never encountered during the 16<sup>th</sup> century elsewhere in Europe, only in the Polish Crownlands and Eastern Commonwealth. In these regions there are documented forty-four such infant monuments, twenty-six commemorating a single child and seven others that record more than one infant. The remaining eleven also include an adult. This type of child monument is

exceptional at a time in Europe, when infant mortality was far too common to require special commemoration. Deceased infants were usually depicted only on the tombs of their parents, as in many 16<sup>th</sup> century English examples. A note-worthy aspect of these infant memorials in the Eastern Commonwealth is that they always carry a lengthy inscription to the child in a prominent and heart-felt display of grief. Both male and female patrons in the Eastern Commonwealth commissioned these infant tombs and they invariably bore the motif of a sleeping-putto. The first such image had appeared on an Italian medal cast by Giovanni Boldù in 1458. Such a portable work of art could readily transfer compositional themes across Europe and this is probably how the sleeping-putto motif reached the Commonwealth.<sup>64</sup>

The first church of St. Marcin in Felsztyn was built from wood, but it was destroyed by the Tatars in 1498. Jan Herburt rebuilt it in stone during the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. The exterior of the church has a monumental Gothic form. The ground-plan is that of a Latin cross, with four bays, although, most unusually for Rus, it has a square chancel. It was consecrated in 1583. The roof is rib-vaulted and the doorways and windows have pointed arches. The external walls are supported by small buttresses and the church as a whole is comparatively low in height. A small turret rises from the roof to house a bell (1684) (Pol. sygnaturka) and there is another narrow tower at the side, with a pointed copper roof. The façade is decorated with five narrow windows on the first floor and it has an imposing stepped gable above, rising at its apex well above the level of the roof. The church managed to survive until 1914, when it was badly destroyed in the war. Conservation was undertaken by Polish conservators, led by Tadeusz Szydłowski, in 1915-23. The church was closed in 1945 and in the 1990s the Ukrainian Catholic church took over.<sup>65</sup>

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64 Jeannie Łabno, "Patterns of Patronage in Polish Funeral Monuments to Children, ca. 1525-1650" in Urszula Szulakowska (ed.), *Power and Persuasion. Sculpture in its Rhetorical Context*, Warsaw: Polish Academy of Sciences, Instytut Sztuki (2004), pp. 27-35.

65 The historiography of the dating of the church and the tombs and portraits within it is discussed in the paper by Marek Walczak, "Kościół Parafialny p.w. św. Marcina w Felsztynie" in Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Cz. 1, *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, t. 5, Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie (1997), pp. 67-90, Ills. 114-201.



6.17 Felsztyn, Church of St. Marcin, Herbut family monument, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

Further into Podole, the town of Podhajce (Ukr. Підгайці, Pidhaitsi) has a turbulent history of siege and warfare, since it lay directly across the route to Lwów from the border at the Dniester, the track of invading Tatar, Turk and Cossack-Russian forces.<sup>66</sup> It was in the hands of the Buczacki family, who were Polish in origins and had moved into Rus. keeping their

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66 See Jan K. Ostrowski, "Kościół Parafialny p. nw. Św. Trójcy w Podhajcach" in; Ostrowski, *Materiały ...* Part I, 4, Kraków (1996), pp. 141ff, plus illustrations; Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 91-95.

Catholic faith, Polish language and customs intact. They adopted the name of the town Buczacz as their family name when they were admitted into the ranks of the szlachta (to which knights did not automatically belong). Buczacz (Ukr. Бучач)<sup>67</sup> was one of the loveliest towns in Podole, lying in the ravine cut by the river Strype.<sup>68</sup> It was once situated on the boundary between Halicz and Podole. Michał Buczaczki had founded the Catholic parish in 1379. The wojewoda of Podole, another Michał Buczaczki, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century had constructed the parish church at Podhajce, but it was successively destroyed by inroads of Tatars. The extant structure of the church dates from around 1621 and is Gothic in style, which was a common feature of Podolian churches, even at this late date. The church survived until 1944, but it is now in a perilous state of decay. Its ruins include the burial chapel of Stanisław Rewery Potocki.<sup>69</sup> The Turks in 1676 reduced Buczacz to ruins, so that most of the major works in the town now date from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the Buczaczki family had died out, Podhajce passed to the Wolski and then to the Golski families. Stanisław Golski transformed Podhajce into one of the most strongly fortified and successful towns in Rus.

Returning closer to Lwów, but still in Tarnopol (Ukr. Ternopil) district, there have survived in this area two monastic foundations of legendary status and profound historical significance. One is the Orthodox Lavra at Pochaiv (Pol. Poczajów) and the other is the Roman Catholic monastery at Podkamień (Ukr. Підкамінь: Pidkamin). Their destinies were always inter-connected. They are both situated on hills, visible to each other across a wide, open plain, and they were both founded as centres of Marian cults. For several centuries, they constituted the most important pilgrimage centres in Rus. Pochaiv and Podkamień were united by a common legend involving miraculous apparitions of the Virgin Mary at both sites and they each housed a miracle-working icon of the Virgin and Child. Today Pochaiv, belonging to the Orthodox Church, rises in dazzling splendour, having been awarded the status of a “Lavra” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Tsar of Russia as a monastery of exceptional sanctity, with many legal and economic privileges.

Podkamień, on the other hand, a former Dominican foundation, now lies in ruins, abandoned in the 1990s even by the Polish Catholic Church. It has passed into the hands of the Studite Fathers, a Uniate monastic order. The Studite rule was developed at the Stoudios monastery of Constantinople from the 5<sup>th</sup> century, especially by Saint Theodore the

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67 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 21-26.

68 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, II, *Podole* (2005), pp. 260-72.

69 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, II, *Podole* (2005), pp. 287-95.

Studite (760–826). The rule was brought to Kievan Rus in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by Saint Theodosius of Kiev. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century all Ukrainian monasteries belonging to the new Uniate Church were united within the single Order of Saint Basil the Great, following a path similar to that taken by Western Rite monasticism. However, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Uniate Metropolitan Andrej Sheptytsky (1865-1944), reintroduced monasticism based on the Studite rule and this replaced the former Basilian Order in Ukraine.

Pochaiv is located on a steep upland on the western side of Wołyń and from its terrace it is possible to see the tower of Podkamień church.<sup>70</sup> The Orthodox monastery was founded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and in 1597 the Ruthenian noblewoman, Anna Hojska from the Kozinski family, gave her lands to the monastery, as well as an icon of the Virgin Mary that she had received from the Metropolitan of Constantinople. This small painting depicts the Virgin in half-length, leaning towards the Christ Child on her right, who gazes back at her. The original icon was written in the 14<sup>th</sup> century soft style of Byzantium.

In 1604 one Ivan Zalizo joined the monastery and took the name of Hiob (Job) (d. 1651). He was the main champion of Orthodoxy in Rus and he laboured to provoke dissent to the Union of Brześć (1596). Hiob was appointed Hegumen of the monastery and he reformed the discipline of the monks, as well as establishing a press to publish Orthodox theological literature for the whole of Rus. In 1648 the Domaszewski family funded the building of a new church for the monastery. The monastery was awarded by the authorities of the Polish Crown in 1720 to the Uniate Basilian Fathers and Pochaiv became the headquarters of their Order. The magnate, Mykola Basyli Potocki (1712-82), enriched the monastery from 1761 onwards. He had converted from Roman Catholicism to the Uniate Church in ca. 1758. Potocki's financial largesse allowed new buildings to be constructed under the direction of the Silesian architect, Gottfried Hoffman (with others), and work commenced in 1771 in the style of the Austrian and southern German Baroque.<sup>71</sup>

In the Third Partition of 1795 Pochaiv passed to the Russian Tsars who drove out the Uniate monks and suppressed the Uniate Church, due to its Polish political connections. In 1833 the Tsar gave the Orthodox monastery at Pochaiv the status of a Lavra, as the fourth most important monastery in Russia. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century Pochaiv remained a bastion of Orthodoxy. In 1939 the Soviet troops did not harm Pochaiv, a policy

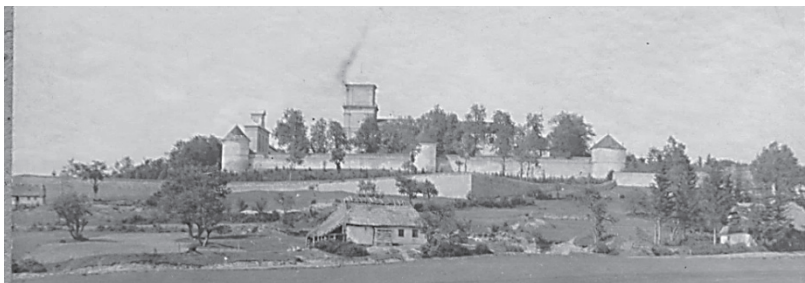
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70 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, Wołyń (2005), pp. 400-12.

71 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 86-90.



which was the total opposite of the savage vengeance wreaked on Podkamień which had always remained a Polish Catholic foundation.<sup>72</sup>



6.18 Podkamień, with ruined tower, after First World War, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The village of Podkamień lies on the borders of the ancient województwo of Red Rus, to the east of Lwów, in the administrative district of Brody. It has grown-up around the foot of a four hundred metre hill previously known in Polish as the Góra Różańcowa (Hill of the Rosary). On its summit, there stands the former Dominican monastery and church.<sup>73</sup> A ravine drops down sharply to the left of the monastic buildings. From its height there can be seen a huge boulder known locally as the “Devil’s Rock.” Beside this, a venerable cemetery spreads out with tomb-stones dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. There is also a tiny chapel. Within the limestone rock of the hill there are many caves and tunnels once used by the monks for the storage of wine. (Vineyards formerly extended up the rocky slopes behind the monastery.) The area around the boulder had been the site of a neolithic cult of the mother-goddess and her sacred spring still runs alongside the boulder. This cult survived into the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The christianising mission of the Dominican monk, Jacek Odrowąż, had reached Podkamień in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and in 1245 twelve monks with their prior were martyred by Tatars on this site. A castle was built on the hill by the Polish nobleman, Piotr Cebrowski, in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century which he donated to the Dominican Order. Cebrowski also founded the village of Podkamień. There still exists another 17<sup>th</sup> century manor house, slightly lower down the hill, as well as another chapel. The monastery was

72 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, Wołyń (2005), pp. 400-10.

73 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 106-10.



consecrated on 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1464 by Bishop Grzegorz Sanocki. The second foundation of the monastery in 1464 left no material remains after the Tatar attack of 1519.

There was a popular legend that the Virgin Mary had appeared both at Podkamień and at Pochaiv, leaving the imprint in stone of her left foot at Podkamień and of her right at Pochaiv (still existing in a small chapel within the main church). The relic at Podkamień was destroyed by the Russians during the Partitions, but formerly the imprint of the Virgin's foot had been venerated in a separate wooden chapel lower down the hill. By the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries Podkamień had become the most important pilgrimage centre in the Eastern Commonwealth, venerated by Roman Catholics and Uniates alike. In fact, the cult was equal in importance to that of the shrine at Częstochowa. The owner of Podkamień, Baltazar Cetner, restored the Dominican order in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and the building of the new monastery commenced in 1612.<sup>74</sup> The main complex of church, free-standing chapel and monastic buildings date from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, with later 18<sup>th</sup> century Rococo additions. There are two more chapels outside the walls of the complex.

In 1640 the fortifications, with towers and gates, were reconstructed and strengthened and these have endured despite later wars. They were designed in the shape of a star in the most innovative Italian form, with round bastions. A library was built against the interior of the wall to the left of the main entrance. The roof of the library collapsed after an artillery bombardment in 1915 when Podkamień lay on the front-lines between Austrian and Russian troops. The damage included the destruction of most of the manuscripts and books (some five thousand items), along with archival material, many icons and other art-works. The library is under reconstruction at the present time. The belfry nearby was constructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and is typical of the kind specific to the Eastern Commonwealth where the peal of bells hangs very low from a free-standing series of archways, exposed to the elements.

There is little documentation available from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century concerning the design of Podkamień church and monastic complex. It is probable that architects were brought in from Lwów. The design of the church (1612-95) is a typical mixture of Gothic ground-plan and vaulted ceiling, with Baroque classical effects. Such a blend of Gothic and Baroque is customary in the Eastern Commonwealth and not only in churches that have retained their original medieval Gothic plan and

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74 Gorazdowski and Pulnar (eds.) *Bogurodzicy Zawsze Wierni* (2012), pp. 122-35, 136-47, 196-205.

elevations, such as, the Latin Cathedral in Lwów. Even in newly-built churches, such as Sts. Peter and Paul in Wilno, 16<sup>th</sup> century architects often employed a Gothic plan which was then embellished with classical features. The builders at Podkamień ignored the new classical prototypes already visible in nearby Lwów which could have served the purpose, such as the Jesuit Church (1610-69) with its Roman basilical form, or that of the male and female Carmelites (1634-47; after 1656) with its Roman references. Nor did the builders at Podkamień turn to the Gothic hall-type that was becoming popular in the Eastern Commonwealth. In fact, the plan at Podkamień suggests that it may follow that of the earlier medieval church on the site.

The church takes a traditional Gothic form, with a Latin-cross plan, transepts and side-aisles lower than the central nave. The high nave of four large bays is cross-vaulted and a clerestory runs its length into the chancel. The main entrance to the church is through the large tower located on the façade, whose central doorway is surmounted by a substantial classical entablature, rising up into a pediment. Above this, the wall is pierced by a large heavily-framed oculus. Further up the tower there are more weighty architraves and cornices identifying the different floor-levels. The tower occupies the whole width of the central façade and it was designed to serve as a military look-out over the plain below. Two further small doorways on either side of the tower lead directly into the side-aisles and are similarly embellished by classical framing motifs, such as windows with rounded arches and two oculi set over the entrances. Above them, there hang broken pediments and, on each side, there stands a giant pilaster with a Corinthian capital bearing an entablature. The monumental effect of the decorative scheme is that of the measured rhythms and weighty rhetoric of the Roman Baroque. The plan and elevation, as well as the decorative order, of the Podkamień church are typical of most other Catholic churches built in the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in the Eastern Commonwealth.

The five-sided chancel is three, very short, bays in length, nothing like as long as the five-bay chancel at the Latin cathedral in Lwów. Jan III Sobieski contributed funds to the construction of Podkamień and he asked for his heart to be buried in an alcove within the chancel. It has since disappeared. The square windows in the chancel are surrounded by rounded masonry arches. The other windows in the nave all have rounded arches, though there are some square ones on the façade. A hexagonal coffered dome is set on a drum above the main crossing. Its form follows that of the uneven chancel beneath so that it has been extended into a flattened broad oval. There is a hexagonal oculus at the apex of the dome.

The late 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century stucco decorations have been well-preserved. The dome is embellished with classical coffering and rosettes and other stucco decorations such as classical swags of flowers and ribbons, pomegranates, vases of flowers and cartouches containing frescoes. Such decorative elements similarly occupy much of the wall space in the nave, side-aisles and on the ceilings. Most of the fresco work was still in evidence until very recently, though very faded, but since 2010 the plaster has been entirely removed in a ruthless process of renovation.

The nave is divided from the aisle, not by Gothic-style columns and colonettes, but by classicising piers of masonry with giant pilasters bearing Tuscan capitals. The entry into the two side-aisles is by means of an arcade of semi-circular arches. At the east end, an architrave with cornice runs around the inner walls of the chancel. Both the chancel and the transepts are constructed in a classical style (though with vaulted ceilings) in contrast to the Gothic nave. The main altar still retains its original niches for statuary, now vanished, and was once surrounded by elaborate 18<sup>th</sup> century colonnades. These were completely destroyed after 1945 by the communist authorities when the church was converted into stables and store-rooms. The transepts are short, so that they are all but imperceptible inside the building and they may have been reduced in order to make the plan approximate to an open-space basilica, despite the Gothic nave. They were possibly the last to be constructed, along with the main dome, although the Gothic chancel is earlier. The transepts are finished with semi-circular apses at their extremities and carry circular domes, set on high drums. On the exterior, the drums appear to be a continuation of the side-aisles.

On the outside walls of the church the classical decoration includes pilasters and simple horizontal architraves and cornices, demarcating the different levels of the interior space. Two stories of pilasters encircle the exterior walls of the nave and continue seamlessly around the transepts. There are two additional screening elements added to the sides of the façade over the aisles. Triangular in form, they serve to disguise the low height of the side aisles and are intended to give the effect of a classical pedimented temple. Further building was undertaken at the east end from the back of the chancel wall and this extends the length of the church by another five bays. These additions are, however, domestic and administrative in function and do not form part of the church itself.

The nearby chapel in the grounds, directly in front of the main entrance, is a work of the late Baroque and was one of the last buildings constructed on the site. It consists of a cubic structure with a hexagonal dome, without a drum, but set directly on the walls beneath. There is a large tympanum over the front doorway, supported by four giant pilasters.

The dome itself is elongated and surmounted by a lantern. It has been restored by the Studite monks in recent years and the copper-cope has been regilded. It is in use for the Uniate liturgy until the main church is renovated.



6.19 *Virgin and Child, Podkamień*, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The fate of Podkamień monastery during the Partition period (1772-1919) was one of decline. In 1915 the Austrian army bombarded the monastery and the library went up in flames. The roof of the church burned down and in 1916 the tower was destroyed. The occupying forces of the Russians and then the Soviets plundered the monastery. After 1921, under the rule of Polish authorities, the monastery and church were restored.

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries at Podkamień, there had existed a chapel holding the miraculous image of the Virgin of the Rosary in the form of the icon known as *Matka Boska Snieżna* (*Virgin of the Snows*). In 1946-49 this image was evacuated to the Dominican church of St. Wojciech in Wrocław.<sup>75</sup> It was probably first purchased by the nobleman, Aleksander Paczyński, in Lwów in 1598. The icon is an early medieval work on wood dating from the 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was over-painted during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and, again, later. The image of the Madonna is modelled on the *Madonna Salus Populi Romani* at Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. The Virgin is shown standing in three-quarter length, with the distinctive iconographic attribute of having her arms crossed over at her wrists, in order to support the Child. Dressed in a long robe with a book tucked under his arm, Jesus looks up at his mother, while blessing the viewer with his right hand, his index finger extended. In 1727 the icon of the Virgin was “crowned” with a silver covering and gold crowns. Such “crowned” icons wear engraved silver plates that cover the entire painting, leaving exposed only the face and hands. This iconic type of the Virgin of the Snows became the most popular image of the Virgin and Child in Lithuania and Rus. There exist many different variants still venerated today, such as those at Berdyczów, Latyczów and Kochawin in Ukraine. These particular versions are still *in situ*.<sup>76</sup> There also exists another such at Siluva in Lithuania which is said to have been painted in Rome and is associated with yet another apparition of the Virgin Mary.<sup>77</sup>

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75 Tadeusz Kukiz, *Madonny Kresowe i inne obrazy sakralne z Kresów w archidiecezji wrocławskiej i diecezji legnickiej*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Wrocławskiej Księgarni Archidiecezjalnej (2003), pp. 62-67. Other versions of this same iconic type currently relocated to Poland from Ukraine are those of the Jesuit church in Lwów (pp. 22-33), Jazłówek (pp. 68-71), Witków Nowy (pp. 121-25) and Sasów (pp. 156-57).

76 Marcin Jan Gorazdowski and Janusz Pulnar (eds.) *Bogurodzicy Zawsze Wierni, Sanktuaria Maryjne Kresów Południowo-Wschodnich*, Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne i Drukarnia w Sandomierzu (2012), pp. 106-17.

77 Ann Ball, *The other faces of Mary: stories, devotions, and pictures of the Holy Virgin around the world*, New York: Crossroad Publishing (2004), p. 153; Ann

During the Second World War in 1943 a flood of Polish refugees came to Podkamień from Wołyń, where the Nationalist Ukrainian army (UPA) was carrying out massacres of the Polish population. Two thousand people took shelter in the monastery, along with numbers of Polish partisans. On 12th March, 1944, the Ukrainian UPA attacked the monastery, but they were rebuffed. Meanwhile, a passing German division ordered the evacuation of the monastery and, as the Poles left the monastery, they were mown down by gunshot from the UPA. More than three hundred were killed.<sup>78</sup>

After these events and in view of its ruinous condition, Jan Ostrowski, writing in 1998, denied the possibility of ever reconstructing the church at Podkamień. He was not correct in this impression, although it was shared by the Catholic Church in Poland. The church at Podkamień is battered and devastated, but the tower stands, the walls are intact and, most important, the nave is still covered by its original roof. All the side chapels are gone, all the flooring as well, but overall there remains a masonry shell that is now being restored. Since the 1990s the Studite Fathers at Podkamień, no more than two or three monks, have organised the restorations, aided financially and materially in labour by local people, students from voluntary organisations in Germany and a flood of Polish tourists since the mid-2000s. By 2003 the Fathers had renovated the domed chapel. They also commissioned a new version of the *Virgin of the Snows*, taking a purely Byzantine form in contrast to the westernised style of the 16<sup>th</sup> century original, now in Poland. There are further plans for restoring the library buildings against the curtain walls and for the main church.

The most distinguishing feature of the monastery, visible for miles, used to be the great tower with its late Rococo lantern, carved out of dark stone. This had been the project of the Jesuit architect, Paweł Giżycki, in the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Tragically, this distinctive structure with its great aesthetic and historical value, was allowed to collapse in 2010 in the course of renovations. The accompanying statuary also fell down. These works had originated in the Lwowian workshop of the Rococo sculptor, Franciszek Olędzki (d. 1792). They have now been removed to the Lwów Gallery of Painting. There are, supposedly, plans in place to rebuild the tower-lantern according to its original form. In fact, whether the Studite Order at the monastery ever really intends to reconstruct the tower to its original appearance, or whether the monks had

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Ball, *Encyclopedia of Catholic Devotions and Practices* Indiana: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing (2003), p. 536.

78 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie* (1998), pp. 109-10.



always intended to replace the Rococo lantern with a Byzantine dome in order to reflect the presence of the Eastern Rite, these are questions that are the subject of popular rumour and angry debate.<sup>79</sup>



6.20 Podkameń church tower with lantern in the 1920s, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

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79 See the negative report in *Kurjer Galicyjski* [http://www.LWÓW.com.pl/kurier-galicyjski/kg\\_2011\\_03.pdf](http://www.LWÓW.com.pl/kurier-galicyjski/kg_2011_03.pdf)



Equally tragic is the destruction of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century frescoes in the basilica, once located on the vaulted-ceilings of the nave and the side walls. Depicting scenes of the evangelists and saints, with decorative foliage, these faded and ruined frescoes could have been restored to some semblance of their historical appearance. Unfortunately, in Ukraine there is a lack of conservators with the requisite skills necessary to restore such monumental murals, so that, as the simplest option, the old plaster has been cut-away and destroyed.

The only remaining frescoes are some large scenes illustrating the *Life of the Virgin* in the chancel, painted by Stanisław Stroiński (1719-1802). Stroiński was one of the most important artists working in the Commonwealth, trained in the west European academies. His workshop was based in Lwów.



6.21 Podkameień tower after 1918, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków



6.22 Podkamień church, original 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century frescoes over the nave, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

The one thing that has never changed at Podkamień (and it is a strange survivor in view of its fragility) is a statue of the Virgin and Child, carved in stone and ornamented with gilt metal (1719). The figures stand on a tall Corinthian column to the right of the church, directly in front of the main entrance to the inner courtyard. Unbelievably, the Virgin is still wearing her original gold crown which no intruding barbarian has ever managed to swipe. The statue is a version of the Virgin on a pillar that stands in front of the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. In the Podkamień sculpture the Christ-Child pierces a dragon crawling around the globe of the earth on which the Virgin stands. The image is located on a tall Corinthian column and it represents the Apocalyptic Woman and Child. The column was funded in 1719 by Stanisław Ledóchowski to commemorate the withdrawal of Saxon and Russian forces beyond the eastern frontiers of Poland.



6.23 Stanisław Stroiński, *Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, frescoes in the chancel of Podkamień church, condition in the 1930s, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków



6.24- 6.25 Podkamień, column and restored chapel near the main church, photographs by U. Szulakowska

The figure of the Virgin was placed on the column on 19<sup>th</sup> August, 1719. It is the work of the sculptor, Christian Szobert, a goldsmith from Gdańsk. On the pedestal there are zinc tablets dating from October, 1877, which probably replace some original early 18<sup>th</sup> century stone memorials. On one side, there is a quote from Ecclesiastes 24, the biblical text adopted by the Catholic Church to describe the Virgin Mary as being replete with Divine Wisdom. In the text on the pedestal the Virgin herself is speaking, stating that her Throne is powerful and that she strengthens the households [Latin: “penates”: household gods] of the unfortunate, that is, the image is a protector of the Christian homeland.

Thronus meus in Columna Eccl. 24.  
 Fortius ut miseros possim fulcire penates, Fulcra mei Solii, celsa Columna  
 subit.  
 Et Deiparae Virgini Mariae  
 Advocatae suae Clementissimae  
 Stanislaus Ledochowski  
 Succamerarius Cremenecensis.  
 D. D. D.

Anno Salutis 1719 die 19 Augusti  
Authori sacrae sis praevia Virgo figurae  
Possit ut aeternam per Te reperire salutem.

There are many controversial issues involved in the restoration and rebuilding of Podkamień. The guiding principles are not primarily those of recovering history, but of financial feasibility and the practical need to make the church appropriate for the Byzantine Rite. On the interior, the devastated frescoes, which had survived for years after the war, have now been removed, owing to the expense of restoration. The interior fixtures have been entirely destroyed by war and communism and little remains of the high-altar and the stucco reliefs. Even so, the fact that the Studite Fathers are willing to undertake these laborious renovations is extremely fortunate. Otherwise, Podkamień would be no more than memory.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### NORTHERN LITHUANIA AND WILNO (VILNIUS)



*7.1 Wilno (Vilnius), Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

The changing borders of the Lithuanian state over the centuries have been so radical that western historians may find problems in comprehending how Lithuania as a country has changed both its topography and its political character. In analysing the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in fact, the concept of the modern homogeneous nation state is irrelevant. Instead, what the historian has to deal with is a geographical area populated by numerous ethnic groups with different historical backgrounds, but co-existing in a federated state that was a relatively loose political construct. The inhabitants of Greater Lithuania

experienced a continual process of administrative and cultural change within their borders, with the effect that the Principality as it existed from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries has little in common with the modern Lithuanian state.

As the Polish historian Andrzej Rachuba has explained

The history of Lithuania is for me the history of the Lithuanian state in the process of self-creation and its duration through-out the changes of borders and inhabitants. Hence, taken into account here has been the whole historic area of the state created by the Lithuanians but later inhabited also by Ruthenians (the ancestors of today's Ukrainians and Belarussians), Poles (in their concentrated settlement of Podlasie), not to mention such ethnic minorities, as Germans, Tatars, Jews, Karaim, Armenians. It was only the fall of the Commonwealth that diametrically changed the situation and then the history of Lithuania at first became the history of the Lithuanian lands (in the sense of the state) under the Russian annexation, and subsequently—as a result of the process that created the contemporary nations of the Lithuanians and the Belarussians—this became the history of that part of the former territories that was populated by concentrated settlements of Lithuanians and which constituted from 1918 the territory of a restored independent state.<sup>1</sup>

(Author's translation)

Rachuba concludes that the Lithuanian state of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was totally different from the first Great Principality. For, although the modern nation state similarly included various ethnic minorities within its boundaries, these no longer constituted any substantial percentage of the total population. For that reason, these smaller ethnic groups were not regarded by the Lithuanian authorities in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as making any positive contribution to the modern state, but were treated as an inimical threat, a foreign element that needed to be assimilated into a specifically Lithuanian ethnic identity. This attitude was the result of the political and economic conditions of the Lithuanian state after 1919 when it became a small entity surrounded by enemies, in particular by the totalitarian regimes of Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany. The Second World War brought devastation, deportation and extermination, followed by a long

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1 Andrzej Rachuba introduction to Andrzej Rachuba, Jūratė Kiaupienė and Zigmantas Kiaupa, *Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG (2009), p. 9.



road through the decades of annexation by the Soviet Union, until liberation in the nationalist revolution of 1990.<sup>2</sup>

The Lithuanians in their origins are not Slavs, but Baltic peoples.<sup>3</sup> On their conquest of the Ruthenian lands to the south of their original territories in the Baltic hinterlands, the Lithuanian princes and nobility encountered the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Slavonic language.<sup>4</sup> The ruling families and the lesser nobility converted to Orthodoxy and Chancery Slavonic was adopted for administrative and legal systems in Lithuania.<sup>5</sup> Eventually, the Great Prince Jogaila converted to Catholicism in 1385 and commanded the baptism of his entire people into the Roman Church.<sup>6</sup>

The actual number of ethnic Lithuanians in the area of the Great Principality within the area from the Baltic coast to the Black Sea is not recorded, but some idea can be gained from the military censuses of 1528, 1565 and 1567. In 1528 there were around 2,700,000 inhabitants in the entire Principality of which the Lithuanians comprised only one third. By the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century a great increase in the total population had taken place, but the ethnic Lithuanians still composed only one half of that total. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were 4,000,000 people in Lithuania, among whom there were Belarussians, other Ruthenians, Poles, Jews, Germans, Tatars and Karaim. The Lithuanians comprised 1,500,000, or 35 per cent of the total number. By the time of the 1667 census of hearths, due to wars, famine and deportations, the total population had fallen by 45 per cent in Lithuania. The largest numbers of ethnic Lithuanians remained in their original heartland of Žemaitija (Pol. Żmudź) and Austotis, namely, about

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2 Rachuba introduction to Rachuba, Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, *Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski* (2009), p. 10.

3 This is an issue strongly emphasised in current Lithuanian historiography, see Jūratė Kiaupienė, “Początki Litwy,” in Rachuba, *Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski* (2009), pp. 259-62. For the origins of the Baltic peoples see also Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States* (2011), pp. 30-32, 35-76.

4 Andrzej Rachuba, “Litwini” in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 25-38.

5 For political and cultural links between Halicz-Włodzimierz and Lithuania in the 13th century see Małgorzata Smorąg Różycka, “Ruś Halicko-Włodzimierska i Litwa w XIII wieku. Związki polityczne i artystyczne” in Jan K. Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich, Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków, maj 1995*, 2, Kraków: Instytut Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego (1996), pp. 9-28.

6 *Kiaupienė*, “Powstanie Państwa Litwy,” in Rachuba, *Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski* (2009), pp. 263-74.

1,000,000 Lithuanians, or 40 per cent of the total.<sup>7</sup> Andrejs Plakans has given similar figures for the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century of 500,000 Lithuanians settled within the Great Principality itself, with more Lithuanians settled outside these state boundaries.<sup>8</sup>

Historians of these geographical regions have tended to incline to their own nationalistic sensitivities, in particular with regard to the issue of the polonisation of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility and princes. In fact, all the ethnic groups currently occupying the lands of the former northern Lithuanian Principality (whether Poles, Lithuanians or Belarussians) are subscribing to their national myths. There is a subconscious fear of abandoning this nationalistic bias, lest the actual complexity of the real situation becomes too overwhelming. The facts are that a large proportion of the Poles currently residing in modern Lithuania and Belarus are, in fact, of Ruthenian, or, less often, of Lithuanian stock. However, they like to believe that all “Poles” in these eastern regions of the First Commonwealth are “real Poles” in their ethnic origins, the same as those in Małopolska (Central Poland) around the city of Kraków. The Belarussians, on the other hand, find it difficult to accept that their own Ruthenian ancestors voluntarily accepted a Polish identity, seeing in this process nothing but good. Not least in this same context, some modern historians would argue that the Lithuanians need to accept that as a distinct ethnic group they had effectively ceased to rule “Lithuania” already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (the 16<sup>th</sup> century, at best), since they had lost their political and cultural elite to a Ruthenian ethnic identity and, later, to a Polish one.

Against this position, other historians would point out that the elite always retained a strong consciousness of their original ethnic stock and their myths of ethnic origin, as well as supporting the distinctive Lithuanian political traditions and social customs. In spite of this, a serious loss for the Lithuanian nobility was the abandonment of their language for use in administrative affairs, as well as in cultural and private life during the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a result, their cultural and religious contexts became, first, Ruthenian and, then, solidly Polish.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> century Moscow had been seeking to take the Lithuanian Principality by means of predatory incursions along the northern Baltic coast and, further south, in eastern Wołyń. Had Lithuania not entered into political union with Poland in 1569, then that country would have been swallowed by the Russians two centuries prior to the partitions of the Commonwealth commencing in 1772. Polish historians have argued

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7 See also the population statistics provided in Rachuba, *Pod Wspólnym Niebie* (2010), pp. 25-31.

8 Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States* (2011), pp. 78-79.

conversely that the union with Lithuania resulted in overwhelmingly negative consequences for Poland. If the armies of the Polish king had not been forced to protect Lithuania against Russians, Cossacks and Turks, then Poland, as a smaller, more governable state, may have been able to defend herself against the invading Swedes in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and she may have retained her political integrity, not to mention her very existence as an independent state.

After the Union of Lublin (1569) the Lithuanian nobility were assured of the same privileges as the Polish szlachta. Although they quickly adopted the Polish language and culture and converted to Catholicism, nonetheless, their loyalties to the land remained. They continued to insist through-out the following centuries that the Principality should retain its own distinctive political, legal and administrative customs and institutions independently of the Polish Crown. In fact, during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the language used by an individual did not necessarily determine their nationality. Family origins were the main factor. The szlachta, in fact, would use different languages in different cultural contexts. Usually this was Latin and, then, French in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while Polish was indispensable to anyone engaged in affairs of state. Although it fell out of use among the nobility, the Lithuanian language (like the Ruthenian in Rus) remained the common tongue of the Lithuanian peasantry. Lithuanian had never been used during the medieval period in official state documentation, nor by chroniclers and poets, since it lacked a written form. Hence, Ruthenian written in the Cyrillic script had been adopted in its place. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century a written form of Lithuanian finally appeared in the context of the Reformation, when catechisms, sermons and religious devotionalia were printed in Lithuanian using Latin script.

Polish administrators were brought into the Principality by the Great Prince and the nobility, since there was a lack of adequately trained professionals in Lithuania and Belarus. There were other Polish settlers introduced by Polish kings and queens, specifically the lesser szlachta and peasantry from central Poland with their knowledge of farming, into the southern Belarussian regions in Polesie. These have often retained their ethnic identity through to the present day. Polish also was widely used in the Principality by merchants, traders and craftspeople, military men, clergy and monks, Protestant ministers, lawyers and administrators of all ethnic groups. In fact, the Polish language was employed more frequently by Lithuanians in the Principality, than by Polish nationals in Poland who always used Latin for official documentation. Even more paradoxically, despite the fact that Latin was never as widely used by the Lithuanian nobility as it was by their Polish counter-parts, nonetheless, the first

historian of the Lithuanian state, Augustinas Rotundus (Mieleski) (1520-82), wrote a chronicle in Latin in which he claimed that the Lithuanians were descended from the ancient Romans.<sup>9</sup> From 1697 Polish became the official language of the Lithuanian Chancery and legislature where it replaced the administrative use of Ruthenian. The colonisation of Lithuania had its limits, nevertheless, despite this cultural power of this process. The Lithuanian nobility certainly acknowledged their membership of the Polish szlachta with the same legal rights and the same ideals of freedom and equality. Even so, although Lithuanian nobles were integrated into the polity of the Commonwealth, they continued to defend the independent existence of the Lithuanian state, as well as their ancient Lithuanian rights of inheritance, land-entitlement and their access to positions of state. All of these ancient Lithuanian prerogatives were worth far more to the nobility than the corresponding privileges of the szlachta living in the Polish Crownlands. The Lithuanians also wanted to keep their former national symbols and traditions.

In a strange inversion, the Poles from the Crownlands who were settling Lithuania in large numbers in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, soon adopted a Lithuanian national consciousness (for example, the Komorowski and Brzostowski families, among others.) Such families considered themselves to be both Lithuanian citizens by reason of their residency in the Principality, as well as Polish szlachta as members of the Commonwealth.<sup>10</sup>

Andrzej Rachuba has concluded that

... it is difficult from the 17th century to clearly distinguish between Lithuanians, Ruthenians and Polish as ethnic groups (and in addition to these were added a few German families from the Inflanty), because on the whole they created a complicated multi-ethnic, multi-national, multi-lingual and multi-religious conglomerate of citizens of the Great Principality, with clearly dual-national, or even tri-national identity (Lithuanian-Polish, Ruthenian-Polish, Inflantyn-Polish, but in addition Ruthenian-Lithuanian, Inflantyn-Lithuanian).

The effect of this mixture ... was a self-description of oneself as “gente Lithuanus (Ruthenus, Livo) natione Polonus” [Lithuanian belonging to the

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9 Rachuba in Rachuba, *Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polskolitewski* (2009), pp. 76-78.

10 Topolska, “Specyfika kultury umysłowej doby baroku w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim [The Specificity of Intellectual Culture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Baroque Era]” in Kowalczyk (ed.), *Kultura Artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku* (1995), pp. 13-26, 253-54 (synopsis in English).

Polish nation], or “eques Polonus ex Lithuania (Russia, Livonia)” [a Polish member of the szlachta from Lithuania etc].<sup>11</sup>  
(Author’s translation)

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century the term “Lithuanian” denoted anyone of any ethnic origin whatsoever living as a citizen within the Lithuanian Principality, just as further south in Rus the term “Polish” denoted the same status for all citizens of the Crownlands of Poland and Rus. The szlachta could describe themselves as “Polish-Lithuanians,” or vice versa, although, as a rule, they preferred to call themselves “nobilis Polonus” (Polish nobleman).

During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the classical revival was introduced into Lithuania and literature began to be written in Latin, although there simultaneously appeared the first manuscripts and printed texts written in Lithuanian. The Lithuanian humanists, such as Abraomas Kulvietis (1510-1645), Martynas Mažvydas (1510-63), Stanislovas Rapalionis (1485-1545) and Mikalojus Daukša (1527?-1613), sought to promote their native tongue, even though Lithuanian had ceased to be used in the princely court by the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. Ruthenian remained the language of court and administration until 1700 when Polish began to be used in official documentation. The courts of the nobility in Lithuania were important independent centres for the promotion of western learning. The Radziwiłł, Chodkiewicz, Walowicz and Pac families sponsored literary work and its publication, as well as the performance of music and drama such as that of Jonas Radvanus (155?-after 1592) and Stanislaus Samuel Szemeta (Lith. Šemetas), among others.

Recently, the Lithuanian literary scholar Darius Kuolys, following the earlier work of Vytautas Kavolis, has presented a view that Lithuanian scholarly learning developed independently of Polish humanistic culture. He rejects the accepted argument that political union with Poland facilitated the introduction of humanism into Lithuania. According to Kuolys, Lithuanian humanism was sited within the culture and religions of the Baltic nations.<sup>12</sup> In support of his argument he alludes to the humanist Maciej Strykowski (ca. 1547- ca. 1593), whom he regards as a pro-Baltic activist. In Strykowski’s *Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia* (1582) he had described the pagan ceremonies of the

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11 Rachuba, *Pod Wspólnym Niebie* (2010), p. 35.

12 Darius Kuolys, *Asmuo, tauta, valstybė Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorinėje literatūroje: renesansas, barokas [Man, Nation and State in the Historic Literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Renaissance, Baroque]*, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla (1992).

peoples of Russia, Poland, Samogitia, Lithuania, Latvia and Prussia. Kuolys indicates the manner in which Strykowski was affected by contemporary proposals for a political union of all the Baltic peoples as an alternative to union with Poland. In addition, Kuolys cites the text of the *History of Lithuania* by Albertus Wiiiuk-Koialowicz (1609-77) (Pol. Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz) which asserts the rights of the Lithuanian polity, although Wijuk Kojalowicz has similarly been claimed as a national by Polish historians.<sup>13</sup>

In response to Kuolys, the Lithuanian scholar Alfredas Bumblauskas has rejected his argument, pointing out that Kuolys has confused modern concepts of nationhood with those of the Renaissance and Baroque epochs. Like many other nationalistic historians Kuolys does not admit the idea of a political state, only that of a single ethnos. Dante Alighieri in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century had developed the concept of the single nation state, but it was not a common idea at the time in Europe where there existed, in contrast, several quite different concepts of statehood. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to Bumblauskas, “nation” meant the political nation whose only members were the representatives of the privileged estates, disregarding their ethnic origins.<sup>14</sup>

Nonetheless, it is true that there did exist a developed sense of Lithuanian national identity among the nobility and the educated classes in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The humanists Augustinus Rotundus and Mykolas Lietuvis (Pol. Michało Lituanus/ z Litwy) (1490-1560) distinguished their own Lithuanian society from that of Polish Sarmatism.<sup>15</sup> Rotundus developed a new idea of political authority according to which he rejected the view of the Polish szlachta that all nobles, whether rich or poor, were equally qualified to govern the state, being limited only by the Sejm. Instead, Rotundus argued in favour of the ancient type of government that had existed in Lithuania prior to the union with Poland. He espoused the

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13 *Historiae Litvaniae pars prior. De rebus Litvanorum...* Dantisci: sumpt. G. Foersteri, 1650).

14 Alfredas Bumblauskas, review of Darius Kuolys, “Man, Nation and State in the Historic Literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Renaissance, Baroque (1992)” in *Lituanus. Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences* (Vilnius: Science and Encyclopedia publishers), 41, 3 (1995);

[http://www.lituanus.org/1995\\_3/95\\_3\\_06.htm](http://www.lituanus.org/1995_3/95_3_06.htm); Also, see Alfredas Bumblauskas “The heritage of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: perspectives of historical consciousness” in, Grigorijus Potašenko (ed.), *The Peoples of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*, Vilnius: Aidai (2002), pp. 7–44.

15 Eugenija Ulčinaitė, *Renaissance and Baroque Literature in Lithuania*, Vilnius: Vilnius University (2001), passim.

paternalistic ideology of the primeval Lithuanian nobility, calling them “fathers” (“patres conscriptos”). In opposition to the Polish concept of the “golden freedom” of the szlachta, Rotundus argued that the right to govern the state should be the prerogative only of the authentic Lithuanian nobility. In the Polish concept all szlachta, whether great, or small, ancient, or new, of all ethnic groups (including ennobled Jews, Armenians and Tatars) were entitled to equal votes and an equal voice in the Sejm. In place of this liberal Polish system, Rotundus put forwards his idea of a “pyramid,” or hierarchy, of noblemen governing the Lithuanian Principality. He argued that such a hegemonic political order would favour the implementation in Lithuania of the centralised and regulated system of Roman law and prevent anarchy.

Further to the south in the Principality the geographical regions known as “White,” or “Black,” Rus were settled by a mostly Ruthenian population. These names did not correspond with any political unit. White Rus was the name loosely given to territories in the north-east, such as Włodzimierz, Polock and Czerwieniec which had once been independent principalities and city states. Black Rus (Pol. Ruś Czarna) denoted the region of modern Podlasie and Polesie lying further south on the modern Polish-Belarussian border between the rivers Pripjat (Pol. Prypeć), Ptycz and Niemen. The main urban centres in this region were Grodno, Nowogródek, Wolkowsk, Pińsk and Nieśwież.<sup>16</sup> According to historian Wiktor Ostrowski, the terms “white” and “black” referred to politically free and unfree settlers respectively. Black Rus in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was still a feudal area in which serfs were bound to the land. Further, these terms further levels of cultural achievement and education, so that the designation “black” may have been a derogatory reference to a low level of cultural attainment. Local Ruthenians in White and Black Rus had a sense of their own ethnic identity based, not on their residence on the land, since that was a part of Lithuania, but on their Ruthenian language. Belarussian historians of the present day would regard the Ruthenians of Lithuania as the ancestors of their own nation, although the situation, in reality, is far more problematic.

The Polish historian, Oleg Latyszonek, has argued that it was membership of the Orthodox Church that provided the foundation for the development of a Ruthenian national identity.<sup>17</sup> In order to support his contention, Latyszonek has examined the career of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Ruthenian szlachcic, Konstanty Poklonski, with his unique vision of

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16 Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 182-203.

17 Latyszonek, “Białorusini” in Koczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 39-54.



creating a Ruthenian homeland in White Rus. Poklonski shifted his political allegiance from time to time in order to forward his aims and to gain freedom for the Orthodox faith.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, Latyszonek argues, any sense of a distinctive White Ruthenian (Belarussian) identity was still only rudimentary until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Contradicting the view of Latyszonek, there is that of the Belarussian scholar, Jan Zaprudnik, who makes a case for the existence of a strong national White Rus identity from the later middle ages. It was distinct from that of the Russian ethnic group to the east and by the 17<sup>th</sup> century it also differed from the Red Ruthenian ethnicity of the Polish Crownlands to the south. Zaprudnik argues that the publication of humanist texts by White Ruthenian printers and writers in the 17<sup>th</sup> century demonstrates the existence of a coherent ethnic White Ruthenian identity.<sup>19</sup> In addition, in his recent study of Belarussian humanism the historian, Ivan Saverchanka, has presented an innovative analysis of the social doctrines advanced in 17<sup>th</sup> century White Ruthenian political texts, most notably those of Lev Sapieha (1557-1633).<sup>20</sup> Publishing in Lithuania, Sapieha produced an elaborate synthesis of antique philosophy and political theory with Orthodox theology and, moreover, with the political and literary interests of Lithuanian nobles and scholars.

The founder of the Belarussian literary tradition is regarded by consensus among historians as being Mikalaj Husovski (Pol. Mikołaj Hossowczyk; Lith. Mikalojus Husovianas; Lat. Hussovianus) (ca. 1480-after 1533).<sup>21</sup> Typically, like other Ruthenian and Lithuanian writers of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, Husovski/Hussowczyk wrote in both Polish and Latin and he has, thus, been assimilated also into Polish literary history.<sup>22</sup> In Lithuania Husovski produced the oldest examples of humanistic poetry in which he used heroic and lyrical forms, as well as producing histories and satires. In his *Carmen de statura, feritate ac venatione bisontis* (*Song concerning the Appearance, Savagery and Hunting of the Bison*) (Kraków, 1523) Husovski produced the first fictional epic describing either medieval

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18 Indeed, at one point he colluded with Bohdan Chmielnicki who had the same aims for Southern Rus in the Polish Crownlands.

19 Zaprudnik, *Belarus. At a Crossroads in History* (1993), passim.

20 Ivan Saverchanka, *Aurea Mediocritas. Publishing and Literature Culture in Belarus: Renaissance and Early Baroque*, Minsk: Tekhnalogiya Publishing (1998).

21 For a discussion of his national character and the claims of competing nationalist historians see Segel, *Renaissance Culture in Poland*, Ithaca and London (1989), pp. 153-59.

22 Hussowczyk was a courtier of Erazm Ciołek, the Bishop of Płock, and in 1521 he accompanied him to Rome, then returned to Kraków.

Lithuania, or medieval Belarus (depending on the nationality of the specific modern commentator involved). He provides an account of the customs of the inhabitants and their life on the land and he argues for the political importance of Lithuania in the defence of western and central Europe against the Turks and Tatars.<sup>23</sup> He regards all Ruthenian culture, whether in Lithuania, or in the Polish Crownlands, as his national inheritance and he similarly expresses such ideas in his poem concerning the Ruthenian victory over the Tatars at Terebovlya (1524). He states that this triumph belonged to the Ruthenian people, rather than to the princes who had only oppressed the nation.

The first Belarussian publishing-house was opened in Prague by Francysk Skaryna (1486-1540), a humanist and a medical practitioner trained in Padua. He printed twenty-three books (including the Bible) in an early form of Belarussian. Vasyly Tyapińsky (1530-1604) was the first to translate the New Testament into White Ruthenian (Polotsk, 1570). Among other humanists who kept alive a specifically White Ruthenian identity there was, most importantly, Ipaci Pacei (1541-1613), a humanist and one of the founders of the Uniate Church. In addition, there was Meleci Smatrycki (1578-1634), a humanist and rhetorician who developed the use of Church Slavonic. Also promoting a Belarussian ethnic culture was Szymon Budny (1530-93), a philosopher, teacher, religious and social leader.<sup>24</sup>

During the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Protestant Reformation in its Calvinist and Arian forms was well-received in Lithuania, in contrast to Crownland Rus where the Reformed faith was suppressed by the civic authorities.<sup>25</sup> By the late 16<sup>th</sup> century a majority of Lithuanian and Ruthenian magnates and szlachta had converted to one, or other, of the Reformed faiths. The first Protestant humanist to introduce the ideas of the Reformation into Lithuania was Abraham Kulvietis (Abrahamus Culvensis) (b. ca. 1510), a former student of Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560) at Wittenberg. He founded a school at Wilno in 1539. Another leading Lutheran educator in that same city was Stanislovas Rapalionis (Stanislaus Rapagelanus) (b. ca. 1500) who had also studied with Melanchthon. Of special importance due to his political influence was the Chancellor of Lithuania, Venclovo Agripos (Wenceslaus Agrippa Lithuanus) (1529-

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23 The poem was written originally in Latin for Pope Leo X, but was eventually presented to Queen Bona in Kraków.

24 Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation* (1989), pp. 81-115.

25 Rachuba in Rachuba, *Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski* (2009), pp. 78-82.

1697), another Protestant publicist.<sup>26</sup> Hetman Kristupas Radvila (Pol. Krzysztof Radziwiłł) (1585-1640), a leading military commander of Ruthenian origins, had converted to Calvinism in the 1550s.

The Arian Polish Brethren with their centre at Raków gained many converts among the szlachta in eastern Poland and Małopolska.<sup>27</sup> Their egalitarian social beliefs served the ambitions of the middle and lower szlachta in their struggle against the great magnates in the Sejm and at court. The Brethren rejected the doctrine of the Christian Trinity and this made them suspect as extreme heretics in the eyes of both Catholics and the Reformers.

The Catholic counter-offensive to the Protestant movement was led by the Jesuit Fathers who promoted indoctrination by means of public education in their missionary work. The Jesuits founded a college in Wilno in 1570 which was elevated to university status in 1579 as the “*Academia et Universitas Vilnensis Societatis Jesu.*” It was specifically designed to support the Jesuit mission of converting Calvinists and Arians, as well as those of the Orthodox confession. As the major centre of intellectual life in Lithuania, the University ensured that the Jesuit Order politically and culturally dominated the Eastern Commonwealth for two centuries. The first Rector of Wilno was Piotr Skarga (1536-1612), court preacher to the king. He was an influential polemicist who opposed the political influence of the Protestant creeds in the Eastern Commonwealth. Deploring the religious wars of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Skarga argued that the sectarian strife within the Christian Church was the main threat to the peace of Europe and that it was the Reformed Churches who should be blamed for the blood-shed and political instability. Similar Jesuit institutions were organised through-out White Rus, such as the college at Pińsk which was a missionary centre for the conversion of Orthodox Ruthenians in Polesie.

The results of Jesuit education were not entirely negative for the polity of the Commonwealth, since the university in Wilno became the leading centre for the development of literature in Lithuania during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The academic staff at the university inter-acted with others in learned institutions through-out Europe as part of an integrated cultural exchange that encouraged the admission of new scientific and other ideas into Lithuania. Subjects were taught in Latin by European scholars and the first faculties at Wilno were those of theology, philosophy and law. This was the only place of higher education in Lithuania during the 16<sup>th</sup> and

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26 Eugenija Ulčinaitė, *Renaissance and Baroque Literature in Lithuania*, Vilnius: Vilnius University (2001).

27 Tazbir, “Polish Reformation as an Intellectual Movement” in Fiszman (ed.), *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (1988), pp. 111ff.

17<sup>th</sup> centuries and the most famous scholars studied here, such as the Jesuit, Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (1595-1640), the theologian, Wojciech Wijuk Kojalowicz (1609-77) and Marcin Śmiglecki (1563-1618), who wrote a popular textbook on European logic that was used in other European universities, including Oxford. The university at Wilno was the centre of the Counter-Reformation in Lithuania, but after the dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 it was taken over by the National Education Commission and reformed to become a secular seat of learning. The university was restored in 1919 by the Polish authorities and it received the name of Stefan Batory.

However, the Counter-Reformation also led to a negative reaction against secular humanism. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century a psychological crisis arose among the educated nobility which led to a questioning of the humanist concept of the “individual,” as distinct from the collective identity of a particular political and socio-economic class. There came into being a profound doubt concerning the humanist notion of civic virtue, an idea acquired by Italian humanists from the pagan texts of classical antiquity. Now, instead, Catholic humanists grew uncertain about the possibility of a virtuous life unrelated to religious belief, that is, of a completely secular human wisdom. They also questioned the value of participation in civic and political life. In place of classic literary sources there was a return to the Bible as the chief source of inspiration. Renaissance authors had taken as their main theme the civic Roman concept of “virtus,” but as a result of the 17<sup>th</sup> century Counter-Reformation this was replaced by the medieval Christian notion of “pietas.” Repentance leading to redemption and eternal salvation were the topics explored by later Baroque writers in conventional emotive terms, while the classical theme of manly courage and the active life of the state lost its interest for them. This sort of attitude is exemplified by Daniel Naborowski (1573-1640) at the court of Krzysztof Radziwiłł at Birże. Naborowski’s view of human life was that it was short, transitory and of little value. The court at Birże also supported the Polish poet Zbigniew Morsztyn (ca. 1627-89) who became famous for his poems *Muza domowa* (ca. 1675) (Domestic Muse) and *Emblemata* (ca. 1680) (Emblems) in which he posited an opposition between earthly and divine love. Another member of the same court was the Polish poet, Samuel Przypkowski (ca. 1592-1670), an Arian in exile from Poland. Similarly, the Lithuanian poet, Stanislaus Samuel Šemetas (Pol. Stanisław Samuel Szemiot) (ca. 1657-84), a descendant of the Lithuanian Šemeta noble family, wrote in a vein of distaste for mortal concerns in favour of things eternal. Of equal note was Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius (Lith. Motiejus Kazimieras Sarbievijus; Pol. Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski) (1595-1640).

Sarbievius applied himself to the christianisation of ancient literature, an especial concern of Baroque humanism.

By the later 17<sup>th</sup> century literature in Lithuania was written mostly in the Polish language in place of Latin and the compilations of poetry by Stanislaus Samuel Šemeta, Dominykas Rudnickis and Petras Tarvainis were published in the form of parallel texts in both languages.<sup>28</sup>

## **Renaissance and Baroque Art and Architecture in Northern Lithuania**

In the northern regions of Lithuania the churches and palaces constructed during the 17<sup>th</sup> century in their scale and magnificence outshine those of Crownland Rus. Wilno was a capital city and prodigious funds for its cultural and aesthetic development were available from local princes and magnates (mostly Ruthenian in origin). Many of the foreign artists and architects working in Wilno had already made their international reputations elsewhere and their skills were of markedly higher quality than those of their Lwowian counterparts.<sup>29</sup> The first Baroque edifice in Lithuania was the Corpus Christi Church (1586–1593) built for the Radziwiłł family on their great estate at Nieśwież. In Wilno itself there were other fine examples of the Baroque, such as the chapel of St. Kazimierz (1623-36) within the Latin Cathedral, or the churches of Sts. Peter and Paul (1668-76) and St. Kazimierz (1604-18, 1750-55). Near Kowno (Lith. Kaunas) the extraordinary Pożajśc (Lith. Pažaislis) monastery (1667-1712) followed north Italian models, while further south in Grodno (Bel. Гродна; Lith. Gardinas) the Jesuits erected a cathedral dedicated to St. Francis Xavier (1678-1705) in a form indistinguishable from that of its Roman prototype.

As in Ukraine, since 1991 it has been the local Polish Catholic parishes that have been responsible for the restoration of many historic churches in a simplified, but mostly authentic, form, financed in the main by local residents.

The following discussion will concern only the most important 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century works of architecture located within the post-1569 borders of Lithuania. The entire territory of the Great Principality included northern

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28 Ulčinaité, *Renaissance and Baroque Literature in Lithuania* (2001), passim.

29 See Marian Morelowski, *Znaczenie baroku wileńskiego XVIII stulecia*, Wilno (1940), passim; also, Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (200?), pp. 204-269 and Henryk Garbowski, *Urok Wołynia i Czar Polesia*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo von Borowiecky (2003), pp. 5-23.

Žemaitija (Pol. Żmudź) and the region around Kaunas, as well as the region of Wileńszczyzna around the capital Wilno, then down into White and Black Rus and the areas of Słonim and Grodno and still further south into the region of Polesie Wołyńskie,<sup>30</sup> extending from Brześć to Pińsk and east to Włodzimierz.<sup>31</sup>

As a geographical region Lithuania has poor sandy soils on which there grow forests of oak, hornbeam, Scots pine and spruce. An underlying geological plate of granite prevents the river-water and rain-fall from draining away, thereby creating hundreds of peat bogs and lakes. In the Wilno region there are rolling wooded hills with river valleys, while in Polesie and northern Wołyń there were formerly great expanses of marshy flatlands and shallow rivers encircling primeval forests. The marshes were drained by the Soviet occupation after 1945, causing a major ecological disaster that is in the process, currently, of being reversed to a small extent. In Lithuania there are neither extensive ranges of hills, as in Podole, nor mountains, as in the Carpathian region. In a geographical area that lacks natural defenses the marshlands and uncharted forests have acted as a natural break to invaders. Vilnius itself lies in a district of soft hills and valleys. The major trade-routes in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries ran along the rivers, the main ones being the Wilja and Niemen, as well as along the canals excavated on the orders of the Crown from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Major cities and towns in the Principality included the ancient capital of Kaunas in the north and the more recent capital of Vilnius, in addition to Włodzimierz, Polock, Mińsk, Nowogródek, Czerwieniec, Grodno, Pińsk, Brześć and Nieśwież. The smaller regional centres also boasted some noteworthy architectural projects.

The lesser szlachta resided in family groups (“zaścianki”), villages which often contained significant churches, such as the unusual 18<sup>th</sup> century wooden Uniate Church of St. George at Sienkiewiczze (near Łuniniec, Pińsk region). The estates of the princes and magnates were of prodigious extent and they ruled within their own jurisdictions in the manner of independent princes (families such as the Radziwiłł, Sapieha, Gieysztor, Sanguszko, Potocki, Siemaszko, Koniecpolski and Chodkiewicz). Some of the edifices constructed by the magnates on their lands were of

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30 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, *Wołyń* (2005), pp. 49-170.

31 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, *Wołyń* (2005), pp. 173-82; Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 136-39; Also Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Czar Polesia*, Warszawa: “Rewasz” (2001). See also Garbowski, *Urok Wołynia i Czar Polesia* (2003), *passim*.

European significance and they also supplied funds for prestigious constructions in Wilno, Grodno and Pińsk and other towns.<sup>32</sup>

In Lithuania the upper nobility played a significantly greater role in both political affairs and in cultural development than the lesser szlachta and urban classes. The ancient political and economic privileges of these nobles had been preserved by the Polish kings in the various acts of union and the magnates were the major patrons in the adoption of the Italian classical revival in the arts and architecture. In contrast, in Poland, earlier in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the art of the Renaissance had been sponsored by the royal court at Kraków and by the ruling princes of Brzeg, while in Crownland Rus it had been the burghers of Lwów in the 16<sup>th</sup> century who had first introduced the classical revival. It was only later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Crownland Rus that the magnates and szlachta, as they gained economic and political supremacy over the urban classes, took the lead in the patronage of Baroque forms of classical learning and the arts.<sup>33</sup> The Renaissance was introduced into Lithuania by the king, Zygmunt I, but this royal patronage ended in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the devastation caused by the Russian and Swedish wars. From that time onwards, the polonised Lithuanian and Ruthenian nobility sponsored a distinctively regional school of Baroque art and architecture in Wilno and beyond.<sup>34</sup>

Vilnius was founded probably in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, but its first recorded mention occurs as late as 1323 in a letter of Great Prince Gedyminas to the Pope. Originally the capital of the Lithuanian state had been Trakai (Pol. Troki), and maybe Nowogródek, but in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century it became Vilnius. In 1315-41 Gedyminas developed the town and built the first Christian church. Under his successors the city continued to grow as a result of its location across the trade-routes leading north to the Baltic coast and Prussia, west to Podlasie in Poland and south-west to Wołyń in Rus. After the signing of the Treaty of Krzewo (Lith. Krew) (1385), Vilnius was raised by Jagiełło to the status of the second city of the Commonwealth. In 1387 it was awarded the Magdeburg Rights by the same king and its trade increased at an enormous rate, a development that

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32 Górská, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 204-269. For Lithuanian and Polish interpretations of their joint history see, Rachuba, Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, *Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski* (2009), op. cit.

33 An overall view of the 16th and 17th centuries with a selection of photographs is found in Jerzy Remer, *Wilno*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo "Alial" (1995), pp. 95-140.

34 Marian Morelowski, *Znaczenie baroku wileńskiego XVIII. stulecia*, Wilno (1940).



was halted in 1377-94 during the armed struggle against the Teutonic Knights. The city was besieged four times by the Order and burned. In 1413 Jagiełło instituted the województwo of Wilno.<sup>35</sup> Between 1392 and 1430 Great Prince Vytautas (1392-1430) promoted the city as his royal seat and he brought the leading European artistic trends to Vilnius. In his turn Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1427-92) strengthened the trading and legal rights of the city. Kazimierz, the youngest son of Władysław Jagiełło, was born in Grodno and he was a great Lithuanian nationalist who strongly resisted his own accession to the Polish throne. Even when he was finally forced to accept the crown, he remained in place as Great Prince of Lithuania and continued even more adamantly to defend the rights and freedoms of the Lithuanian state, the parliamentary institutions of both countries and Lithuanian traditions. His successor Aleksander I (1461-1506) selected Wilno as the site of his chief residence and he rebuilt the Upper and Lower Castles and fortified the city with walls and five gates.<sup>36</sup>

The inhabitants of Wilno included Lithuanians, Poles, Ruthenians, Jews, Belarussians, Karaites, Germans and Italians. Different religious confessions, Christian and non-Christian alike (including Islam), were present, as well as, from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, members of the Reformed faiths: Lutherans, Calvinists and Arians. Thirty-seven churches were erected for the Protestants. By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Wilno had a population of about forty thousand inhabitants served by twenty-three Catholic churches, nine Uniate churches, nine Orthodox churches, as well as one Calvinist place of worship and from 1633 one synagogue for its nearly one and a half thousand Jewish inhabitants.<sup>37</sup>

The Union of Lublin in 1569 had lessened the political authority of Wilno to the advantage of the Polish capital Kraków, although Wilno continued to be the largest political and cultural centre in the Eastern Commonwealth. However, by the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the king and his court were paying fewer visits to the city. As a result, Lithuanian affairs of state passed into the hands of the polonised Lithuanian and Ruthenian magnates, as well as into those of the Catholic bishops and monastic orders. In 1610 there was another great fire in the city which marked a water-shed since it took a quarter of a century to rebuild Wilno. Then in 1654 the city was taken by Tsarist forces in league with the Cossacks of the Golden Arm (Zolotarenka), who murdered twenty-five thousand citizens. In 1661 when the city was liberated it lay in devastation, while

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35 A useful album of photographs is provided by Piotr Jacek Jamski, *Kresy Wilno*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Kluszczyński (200?).

36 Górská, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 204-25.

37 Górská, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 204-25.

the population had dropped to half its former numbers, down to twenty thousand. The ruined city was largely rebuilt in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by means of the financial donations of the magnate families, a process interrupted in 1702 when Swedish troops captured the city. A plague broke out in 1708-10, again reducing the population to around nine hundred and thirty-five hearths (according to a late 18<sup>th</sup> century census). In the 1740s Wilno began to recover and during the reign of Stanisław II August Poniatowski (1732-98) it became a European centre for the Enlightenment. During the Partitions (1772-1919) Wilno and the whole of ancient Lithuania were occupied by Tsarist forces. Over a century later in 1919 Piłsudski incorporated Wilno into the Polish state, but with the outbreak of war in 1939 it was seized by the Soviet Union and became the capital of a nominally “autonomous” Lithuanian Republic in 1939-91.



*7.2 Wilno, Lower Castle, 1930s, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

During the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Polish king, Zygmunt I Jagiellończyk (1467-1548), and his son, Zygmunt II August (1520-72), frequently resided in Wilno, although their main residence and seat of political authority continued to be Wawel castle at Kraków. In this period, the population of Wilno grew substantially and it became an important centre for Renaissance humanism. In 1520 the first paper-mill in Lithuania became operational in Wilno and in 1522 a new printery was set-up by Franciszek Skoryny for materials written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Then in 1533 another print-shop was established for Latin and Polish materials. The first public schools were organised near the cathedral, in the Lower Castle precinct in 1522. The classical revival in architecture and sculpture was introduced by Italian and German masters. In addition, there emerged a realistic style of painting pioneered by German artists who had previously worked in Kraków for the Polish kings.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1530, a fire destroyed the city and the Lower Castle. The Italian architects, Bernardo Zanobi da Gianotis (ca. 1500-41), and his pupil, Giovanni Cini da Siena (1490/95-1565), worked on rebuilding the Lower Castle and the palace within the walls. By 1538, a unified design had been produced that united in one complex the palace, its garden and the castle church. Gianotis was working simultaneously at the Zygmunt chapel at Wawel and this explains the similarity between the two royal residences. The internationally-significant Italian sculptor, Jan Maria Padovano (1493-1574), was also present. Within the walls of the Lower Castle there stood a cathedral, arsenal, foundry and the seat of the Lithuanian Tribunal (the principal law-court of the Principality). In addition, there existed a Renaissance chapel and religious houses. In 1543 Zygmunt II and his first wife, Elizabeth, resided in the palace. The Lower Castle was destroyed by fire again in 1610 and its palace was totally ruined in 1655-61 by combined Muscovite and Cossack forces. In 1802 all traces of the buildings were completely removed by the Russian occupiers (as also happened to the Wysoki Zamek in Lwów under Austrian occupation). Since the 1990s the Lower Castle has been rebuilt on the basis of archaeological excavations and 17<sup>th</sup> century engravings.

Recent research by Józef Maroszek has managed to produce a picture of the inter-relation of the gardens with the palace in the Lower Castle.<sup>38</sup> These gardens were laid-out at the behest of Queen Bona. Later, she had another such formal Italian garden created at Wawel Castle (currently in

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38 Józef Maroszek, "Pałace i ogrody w Wilnie i na jego przedmieściach," in Bożena Wierzybycka (ed.), *Pałac w ogrodzie. Materiały sesji naukowej Warszawa 21-22 maja 1998*, Warszawa: Towarzystwo Opieki nad Zabytkami (1999), pp. 98-118.

the process of being restored.) The garden in the Lower Castle was the work of the same Italian builders who had been commissioned by Bona to reconstruct the royal palace at Wilno and she played a central role in its design. The extensive garden took up the entire area between the city, the palace and the Upper Castle hill. (The Upper and Lower Castles were joined by a wall.) Two façades of the palace in the Lower Castle looked onto the garden. Outside the garden wall, the river Stara Wilejka was incorporated as part of the moat. The main communication route to the palace ran alongside the gardens' borders and it was defined by masonry walls. To the royal castle there was added a belvedere in the 1560s in the time of Zygmunt II from which it was possible to view the garden and the panorama of the Wilejka valley. The palace in the Lower Castle was not the only residence built by Bona for herself in Wilno. In 1540 Jan Janowicz Radziwiłł had sold her a garden in the city and she ordered for herself another splendid private mansion and garden on the other side of the river Wilja in the Antokol district.<sup>39</sup>

These royal garden projects had a substantial influence on the nobility, clergy and burghers of Wilno who had similar gardens laid-out near their own city-mansions. In course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were twenty-five palaces in the city and by 1790 their number had grown to thirty-two.<sup>40</sup> From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the nobility and the two main bishoprics held various jurisdictions within the city which were known, respectively, as the Magisterska, Zamkowa, Wojewódzińska, Biskupie (the property of the Roman Catholic bishopric), Kapitulina and Metropolitalna (Orthodox bishopric). Wilno was divided up into Latin and Ruthenian areas.<sup>41</sup> The proprietors of each of these districts wanted to build palaces with a garden on the model of the royal projects. From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries the nobility bought plots of land and erected palaces, while the burghers, in copying them, transformed their own co-joined town houses into urban palaces. Wilno was the only walled city in Lithuania (with five gates) and the space within the walls was very limited, so that the mansions could not be as extensive as those built in suburbs such as Antokol.

As Maroszek has shown, in Lithuania the planned palace garden with its formal Italianate qualities and water features appeared earlier than in Poland.<sup>42</sup> From an early date gardens accompanied the palaces of the princes and high nobility through-out Lithuania and White Rus, as at

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39 Maroszek. "Pałace i ogrody" (1999), p. 104.

40 Maroszek, "Pałace i ogrody" (1999), p. 117.

41 Maroszek, "Pałace i ogrody" (1999) provides a map of these areas, p. 100.

42 Maroszek, "Pałace i ogrody" (1999), p. 98.

Gieranionach (residence of the magnate Stanisław Gasztold), Holszany<sup>43</sup> and at Birże (property of the Radziwiłł), to which should be added the other Radziwiłł palace-garden complexes at Kjejdany in Lithuania proper,<sup>44</sup> as well as at Nieśwież in White Rus and Zabłudów near Białystok. The Sapieha family produced comparable projects at Różana in Belarus and Kodeń near Lublin, while the Chodkiewicz constructed palaces with accompanying designed gardens at Gródek Supraśl, near Białystok, Brzestowiec and Stare Myszy in Mazowsze województwo.<sup>45</sup>

One of the most complete 20<sup>th</sup> century restorations of a former royal residence, effectively a complete rebuilding, is that of Trakai (Pol. Troki) castle, originally the capital of the Great Princes of Lithuania. It was built in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries by Great Prince Kiejstut and his son, Vytautas, who died there in 1430. The castle is set on the largest of three islands on Lake Galve near Vilnius. After the Battle of Grunwald (15 July 1410), Trakai began to lose its military importance and it was transformed into a princely and, then, a royal residence. In the reigns of Zygmunt I and Zygmunt II the fortress was rebuilt in a richly decorative Mannerist style suitable for a summer residence on a pleasant lake. There were considerable extensions made in the 16<sup>th</sup> century to Kiejstutas' original design and two wings and a large dungeon were added. The plan consisted of a Lower and an Upper Castle, entry being by means of the Lower Castle, while the royal palace was located in the Upper Castle. The palace had four wings built around a courtyard, with wooden galleries running around the entire space. These have been reconstructed recently to good effect. The south wing contained a monumental hall. The castle of Kiejstutas had been built in stone, but for the second construction brick was used.

The castle has the typical appearance of the late Gothic brick structures located in countries around the Baltic coast. Here, the exterior decoration is sparse and the walls tend to be plain, apart from courses of different coloured bricks and some terracotta ornamentation. Despite the enormous expense of building in glazed brick, the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century buildings

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43 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), p. 17.

44 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), p. 23.

45 Maroszek, "Pałace i ogrody" (1999) (p. 97) gives other examples such as the families of the Wiesołowski at Białystok, Kurczeniecki at Jasionowiec, Sieniawski at Waniewice-Kurów and the Wołowicze at Sidrze. There were also palace gardens in the Renaissance style in Knyszno, Tykocin, Lipniki, Borów pod Brańskiem, Holowiesk pod Bielskiem and Zawyky pod Surazem (Maroszek (1998), p. 99). In the Grodno region Maroszek also refers to the palace complexes at Horodnica pod Gronem, Sokółka and Krynków.

around the Baltic are often precipitous in height. Trakai castle in its deep-red magnificence presents itself impressively across the lake. It was also an effective fortress, since its walls were reinforced to a thickness of 2.5 metres and three bastions were added to the corners.<sup>46</sup> The castle was destroyed in the 17<sup>th</sup> century during the Polish-Russian wars. It was left in a ruined state until 1822 when the Polish scholar, Wyncenty Smokowski, proposed to the Russian government that Trakai be restored on the evidence of twelve earlier paintings that he had discovered that depicted the castle in its original condition. Nothing was done and it was only during the Second Polish Republic in 1929 that restoration eventually commenced, after a visit to the castle by the Polish historians, Stanisław Lorentz and Juliusz Kłos, and the architect, Jan Borowski. The idea was to conserve only the remains of the buildings. However, Xawier Piwocki in 1936-38 and Witold Kieszkowski in 1938-39 decided to reconstruct the castle by rebuilding the south-east tower, the cellars and undercrofts and the hall on the first floor, as well as conserving the Renaissance palace.<sup>47</sup> Lithuanian scholars continued the work in 1951-52 and 1961. The castle has now been entirely reconstructed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Gothic style.<sup>48</sup>

Another late Renaissance brick construction in the Wilno area, of exceptional interest and historic value, is the very late Gothic church of St. Anne close-by the river Wilejka in Wilno.<sup>49</sup> It was founded in the late 15<sup>th</sup> to early 16<sup>th</sup> centuries by Great Prince Aleksander. The architect was probably Michel Enkinger who was working in Gdańsk at the time but was posted to Wilno by the City Council at the king's request. The ceilings were rebuilt in 1563 after a fire and the church was consecrated in 1581. It has been extensively renovated over the centuries, especially in 1900-04 after another fire when the reconstruction was directed by Jozef Pius Dziekoński and Sławomir Odrzywolski. The façade is decorated with thirty-three different kinds of moulded brickwork, comparable with those on the façade of the Franciscan church of the Holy Trinity in Wilno and on merchant houses in Gdańsk.<sup>50</sup> The most remarkable features are the window traceries of the façade which are built in a spectacular version of

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46 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje, Kraków* (no date- 200?), p. 57.

47 Stanisław Lorentz, *Album wileńskie*, Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy (1986), pp. 32-34, 36-39. He also discusses the work of conservation on other projects in Lithuania on the 1920s and 1930s, including the Upper Castle in Wilno and the castle in Nowogródek.

48 Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (200?), p. 230.

49 Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 204-25.

50 Władysław Zahorski, *Kościół Sw. Anny w Wilnie*, Wilno (1905), *passim*.

Manneristic Gothic, with tall pierced windows, crossed traceries, vertical columns and elevated buttressing taking the form of turrets and corner towers. The interior is far less impressive and is comparatively small and plain.



*7.3 Church of St. Anna, Wilno, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

One more survivor of the late Renaissance in Wilno is the little-known Catholic church of St. Stephen (1600-12), one of the first churches to be built in the outer suburbs of Wilno. It retains some elements of the late Mannerist/early Baroque style. The funds for its construction were raised by the Jesuit father, Szymon Wysocki, and it was intended to serve the nearby leper hospital. In 1794 the church was destroyed by the Russian armies, but it was rebuilt in 1801-6.

There also still endures in Wilno from the late Gothic period, though largely rebuilt, the church of St. John at the University. The first church was constructed on this site in 1426 by Władysław Jagiełło over a former pagan shrine. In 1571 it was awarded to the Jesuits by Zygmunt II and it



was adopted in 1579 as the official church of the University. The Gothic original was largely destroyed by fire in 1738 and it was remodelled by Jan Krzysztof Glaubitz in the Rococo style, as a hall church with side-aisles and ten side-altars. Gothic remnants, however, are still visible on the interior walls and ceilings.

One of the major sites of pilgrimage in the Eastern Commonwealth during the 17<sup>th</sup> century was the chapel of the miraculous icon of the Virgin of Ostrobroma, which is located over the eastern gate leading into the city. The incorrect Polish version of the name of the gate “Ostra Brama” translates as “the formidable, or impregnable, gate.” In actuality, the original Lithuanian name “Aušros Vartų Dievo Motina” means “The Mother of God of the Gate of Dawn” (or “Eastern Gate”). Visible from the street, a large icon of the Virgin Mary is located directly in front of the chapel window, so that the street below becomes the nave of a church and is frequently used as such. The painting was completed in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. New research conducted by Maria Kałamajska-Saeed has revealed that this icon was a copy, probably made in Kraków, of a 16<sup>th</sup> century engraving in the Mannerist style, originating in the Netherlands.<sup>51</sup> The image depicts the Madonna alone with her hands crossed across her breast, an iconographic attribute that identifies her as the Virgin Annunciate.

The icon was once located in a chapel erected in 1671 for the Discalced Carmelites, but at that time the picture was not the religious focus of the church and it was not regarded as working miracles. According to Kałamajska-Saeed, the miraculous cult of the Mother of God of Ostrobroma developed quite late in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when the image began to be promoted by the Carmelites.<sup>52</sup> The painting has since been covered in a silver engraved cope, leaving only the face and hands exposed. In 1848 a golden crescent moon was added to the lower frame, transforming the icon into an image of the Apocalyptic Virgin, crowned with stars and shining with the rays of the sun.<sup>53</sup> The icon has inspired many copies in Lithuania, Poland and the diaspora worldwide. The site has retained its authority as one of the most important sites of pilgrimage in Lithuania, Poland, Belarus and Ukraine.

The icon of the Virgin was originally commissioned by the City Council of Wilno, since it was usual to place paintings, or sculptures, of saints in niches within external walls as protective talismans. The governor of Wilno had ordered two paintings, one of Jesus as “Salvator Mundi” and

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51 Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, *Ostra Brama w Wilnie* (1990), pp. 85-89, 92-93; ill. 61-65.

52 Kałamajska-Saeed, *Ostra Brama w Wilnie* (1990), pp. 137ff.

53 Kałamajska-Saeed, *Ostra Brama w Wilnie* (1990), pp. 110, 204ff.



7.4 *Mother of God of Ostrobrama, Wilno, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

the other of the Virgin Mary, both intended to be placed over the Gate of Dawn. The icon of Jesus was hung on the exterior, from whence it was moved into the cathedral. At the same time the icon of the Virgin was located within a niche above the gate.<sup>54</sup> In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century near the Gate of Dawn the Discalced Carmelites built the church of St. Teresa and a monastery (1635-50). The Carmelite Order had arrived in Lithuania in 1626 and their foundation in Wilno was endowed by Stefan Pac. The name of the architect of the church of St. Teresa is uncertain (1635-53), but it is known that the design of the façade is the work of the distinguished architect, Constantino Tencalla. The interior was decorated by Jan Krzysztof Glaubitz in the Rococo style of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. After the looting of the city by the Russians in 1655, the care of the Marian chapel

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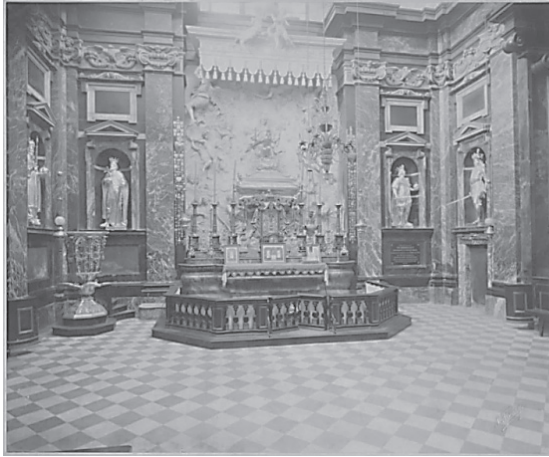
<sup>54</sup> Kałamajska-Saeed, *Ostra Brama w Wilnie* (1990), pp. 82-83; ill. 58-59.

was transferred to the Carmelites. In 1671 a wooden chapel was built around the icon of the Virgin and the image was covered in silver. In 1720 a brick chapel was built in its place. The monk Hilarion's *Relacja o cudownym Obrazie Najświętszej Marji Panny ...* (1761) is the primary source for the icon's early history and the first account of its various miraculous actions. In 1829, the chapel underwent restoration in the neoclassical style and a two-storey gallery was constructed on the side of the street in 1830. Further major restoration works were undertaken in 1927. In thanksgiving for the Polish victories over the Soviet Union in 1919 and the institution of the Second Republic of Poland, the icon was crowned as Mother of Mercy on 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 1927, by the Archbishop of Warsaw, Alexander Kakowski, in a ceremony attended by President Ignacy Mościcki and the First Marshal, Józef Piłsudski. In the 2000s extensive conservation work was undertaken on the chapel which has been a source of controversy.

The most important surviving 17<sup>th</sup> century Baroque foundation in Wilno, however, is the Kazimierz chapel (1623-36), attributed to the Italian architects, Matteo Castello and Constantino Tencalla, and located within the later classical Roman Catholic cathedral. It was commissioned by Zygmunt II and completed by Władysław IV Waza. Tencalla subsequently became his court architect and he designed the column of St. Zygmunt which stands in front of the Royal Castle in Warsaw (1644). Recently, the historian Mariusz Karpowicz has examined the careers of Italians working in Wilno on royal commissions in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>55</sup> Since these architects had previously been employed in Kraków and Warsaw on royal and noble projects, it meant that Wilno was receiving the most fashionable and competent architects and sculptors available in the entire Commonwealth. The names of about forty Italians working in Wilno have been recovered. Projects such as the Catholic cathedral and the Kazimierz chapel with their Italian architects were royal Jagiellonian foundations and the later Waza kings continued the same policy of employing leading Italian architects and artists, until the destruction of the city in 1655. Tencalla has been identified as the architect of the Carmelite foundation of St. Teresa (1635-53) in Wilno and important Italians were present also at the building of the church of All Saints (1624-31) and the church of St. Joseph (1655-67). At the Cistercian church of St. Michael the architect was Giovanni Baptista of Venice (Pol. Jan Baptysta Wenecjanin) (1492-1567).

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55 Mariusz Karpowicz, "Artyści włoscy w Wilnie w XVII wieku" in Kowalczyk (ed.), *Kultura Artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku* (1995), pp. 59-77; 258-59 (synopsis in English).



7.5 – 7.6 Kazimierz chapel, Vilnius Cathedral, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków

In 1387 the Bishopric of Wilno had been founded, richly endowed by Władysław Jagiełło, and the first cathedral on the site was commissioned in 1387-88, taking the form of a hall church. This Gothic church was

destroyed in wars and by fires. The current neo-classical cathedral is the result of a reconstruction in 1777-98, but the earlier Renaissance version was the project of the Italian, Bernardo Zanobi da Gianotis, in 1534-37. The Kazimierz chapel is located immediately to the right of the chancel, separated from it by a side-aisle. It has largely retained its original form, since it was not altered during the neo-classical rebuilding of the rest of the cathedral. The chapel was restored in 1782 and eight full-length statues were added. The Kazimierz chapel is the equivalent of the Zygmunt chapel in Wawel cathedral as a royal mausoleum and a manifestation of princely authority. However, there is nothing in Poland exactly comparable in style. The total effect on the viewer is even more over-whelming than that of the Zygmunt chapel, due to its much larger scale, its architectonic monumentality and the even more lavish use of rare marble inlays and precious metals. According to Adam Miłobędzki, the interior of the Kazimierz Chapel is very similar to that of the Sistine chapel by Domenico Fontana in the church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. This is another case of the all-pervasive influence of this particular Roman church and its Marian religious cult and iconography on the aesthetic style and religious faith of the Eastern Commonwealth.

The first architect at the Kazimierz chapel was Matteo Castello who had trained in Rome with the major Baroque architects. He was a cousin and pupil of Domenico Fontana, one of the leading early Baroque architects who had redesigned the urban plan of Rome for Pope Sixtus V. Castello had also been engaged by his uncle, Carlo Maderno, another figure of great significance in the development of the Baroque style in Rome. Castello designed some aspects of Maderno's projects. In 1613-32 Castello was commissioned to work on several important royal projects in Warsaw, supervising renovations and extensions at the Royal Castle for Zygmunt II, as well as constructing the Ujazdowski Castle and the Kazimierz Palace. In Kraków the church of Sts. Peter and Paul and the reliquary chapel of St. Stanisław at Wawel Cathedral were his projects.

The Kazimierz chapel is built from Swedish sandstone on a square ground-plan with a dome on a tall drum, pierced by windows. The walls carry double-pilasters in dark and light-coloured marbles. Semi-circular windows flood the interior with light, one directly above the altar. The decoration of the chapel is of the same style as that of the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Antokol district of the city. Very high-relief stucco is applied in a dense pattern of plant-forms and putti that surround panels of pastel-coloured fresco on the pendentives of the dome, under the organ-loft and along the side walls. Large stucco putti fly upwards into the dome. On the lower walls around and above the altar, these angels are cast in



half-relief, but, on the frieze over the altar, they are free-standing. The putti fly in lower relief up the pendentives of the dome, carrying an urn and a cartouche with the princely Lithuanian coat-of-arms (an armed knight on a rearing horse). The most imposing effect in all the wealth of detail is created by the eight figures of the Lithuanian royal princes of the Jagiellonian dynasty, carved in the round from wood and covered in silver. They are set in pedimented niches on both sides of the altar. These late 18<sup>th</sup> century figures are over-life size and are characterised by Rococo dynamism and exaggerated contraposto. They all wear the distinctive princely crown of Lithuania, a coronet with four arches set over a red velvet cap.



*7.7 Icon of St. Kazimierz in gilded silver cope, Kazimierz chapel, cathedral, Wilno, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

St. Kazimierz is the patron saint of Lithuania, venerated by all national groups and his cult has endured for centuries as one of the most important national Polish and Lithuanian devotions. Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1458-84) was born in Kraków as the second son of Kazimierz IV. He died in Grodno in Belarus. On the altar in the chapel there stands a solid silver reliquary containing his relics, as well as a most unusual image of him, renovated in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. The painted image is covered with a silver-gilt metal cope on which there is engraved a long gown of damask, embroidered with lilies. He is wearing the Lithuanian crown and in his left hand he carries a rosary. Oddly, he appears to have two right hands, both of which carry lilies. The two hands are part of the original painting beneath the silver cover and they have been retained in the more recent metal-work over the icon. What this signifies is problematic. In fact, there do exist comparable icons of the Virgin Mary with three hands, such as the Serbian icon of the *Bogorodica Trojeručica* (Serbian: *Богородица Тројеручица*) (14<sup>th</sup> century) in the Orthodox monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos in Greece. In this case, as in the icon of St. Kazimierz, the most probable explanation of the three hands is that the original painter changed his mind about the position of the right hand and painted over his earlier version. With time the paint-surface deteriorated and the first version of the right-hand became visible and was allowed to remain by the devotees of the icon as a venerable relic. Different iconographers, undoubtedly, would offer different explanations from this one here. The known fact is that the image was already ancient when it was recorded as being restored in 1594.

The frescoes on the walls of the Kazimierz chapel depicting the life and miracles of the saint were painted by the Florentine, Michelangelo Palloni (1637-1712), a pupil of Baldassare Franceschini. Palloni was working in the Commonwealth from 1674 and in 1688 he became court painter to Jan III Sobieski.<sup>56</sup> He provided frescoes and paintings for the Krasieński Palace in Warsaw, as well as some in Wilanów Palace (1688) for Jan Sobieski. Other work in Poland included murals for churches in Łowicz (1695) and Węgrów (1706-08). In Lithuania Palloni worked for the Sapieha family at their palace in Wilno, as well as at the Camaldulite monastery in Pozajść where he created a series of frescoes (1678-85).<sup>57</sup> The murals on the spandrels of the Kazimierz chapel are the later work of

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56 An account of Palloni is given in Giovanni Matteo Guidetti, "Novità e Precisazioni sulla formazione artistica di Michele Arcangelo Palloni" in Chrościcki, *Artyści Włoscy w Polsce* (2004), pp. 17-23.

57 Mindaugas Paknys, "Postać Fundatora w Fresku Michangela Pallonicze w Pozajściu" in Chrościcki, *Artyści Włoscy w Polsce* (2004), pp. 293-99.



a Polish artist, Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745-1807). In 1932-39 an archaeological project was undertaken intended to conserve and restore the cathedral which was in a perilous state of decay. The conservation was led by Stanisław Lorentz, one of Poland's most important art-historians and conservators, who recorded in his autobiography the uncovering of the remains of earlier foundations on the site. The royal tombs of the Jagiellonian family of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were opened and the remains were photographed before they were reburied in a new mausoleum, designed by Juliusz Klosz, underneath the chapel of St. Kazimierz. These royal rulers were Aleksander and Władysław IV Jagiellończyk, as well as Elizabeth Habsburg and Barbara Radziwiłł.<sup>58</sup>

Comparable in artistic ambition and style to the Kazimierz chapel, but even greater in dimension and richness of effect, is the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Antokol district. This was founded by Michał Kazimierz Pac, Great Hetman of Lithuania. Since the reign of Kazimierz III in the 15<sup>th</sup> century the Pac had been one of the foremost Lithuanian families, their large fortune ensuring their political advancement. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Pac reached the peak of their importance, dominating Lithuanian politics by holding all of the most important administrative positions. Michał Kazimierz Pac was the Grand Hetman of Lithuania and Wojewoda of Wilno, while Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac became Chancellor of Lithuania. Mikołaj Stefan Pac held the Bishopric of Wilno and Kazimierz Pac that of Samogitia. Subsequent to their childless demise they were replaced in political authority by the Sapieha family.

The first wooden church dedicated to Sts. Peter and Paul was erected in the reign of Władysław Jagiełło but it was burnt down in 1594, rebuilt in 1609-16 and again destroyed in 1655 during the Muscovite invasions. Commencing in 1668, the rebuilding of the church was funded by Michał Kazimierz Pac, along with accompanying Augustinian monastery. An architect from Kraków Jan Zaora was initially responsible for the task until 1672 when he was replaced by the Italian Giovanni Battista Frediani. The style of the architecture is that of a conventional Gothic nave and side-aisles in a Latin-cross plan. The decorative style of the elevations, in contrast, is that of the Baroque, with rounded arches and giant pilasters bearing Corinthian capitals that support a monumental entablature running around the nave into the chancel. Above the central crossing of the nave and transept, a heavy ribbed dome stands on a tall drum. The chancel is also placed underneath a large hemispherical dome. Down the nave imposing masonry piers, as in Roman basilicas, divide the nave from the side-

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58 Lorentz, *Album wileńskie* (1986), pp. 95-108, 122-24.



*7.8 Church of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Antokol district of Wilno, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

aisles, whose lower ceilings are barrel-vaulted with coffering. A walk-way around the church pierces the masonry piers. The ceiling over the nave is designed to give the effect of a barrel-vault with transverse round-arches, but these are no more than stucco decoration and it is the Gothic ribbed vaults between the arches that carry the weight of the masonry. The decoration of the interior is even more remarkable than that of the Kazimierz chapel and includes murals painted by Michelangelo Palloni. Other late Baroque paintings in the church include one over the main altar by Franciszek Smuglewicz, depicting the parting of Sts. Peter and Paul. The stucco effects are unique in the Commonwealth for their complexity and superb technical skill (1677-84). They have been attributed to Pietro Peretti (Giovanni Pietro Perti), and Giovanni Gallego but there is no agreement among Polish scholars concerning their authorship.<sup>59</sup> There are more than two thousand sculptures in plaster on the walls and ceiling of

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<sup>59</sup> See also Karpowicz, pp. 68-74, for a further discussion of the stucco work.

the church and their subject-matter relates to biblical themes, classical mythology and national history. The whole interior is completely encrusted with pure white stucco in very high relief, often entirely free-standing. The closest comparisons to this type of stuccoed interior are found not in Italy, but in southern Germany in Bavaria and in Austria. In fact, these regions had an increasing influence on the development of the Baroque style in Lithuania.



*7.9 Jesuit Church of St. Kazimierz, Wilno, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

The main church of the Jesuit Order in Wilno is dedicated to St. Kazimierz (1604-1680) and it was the first Baroque church to be built in

the city.<sup>60</sup> This edifice follows the design of the Jesuit mother-church in Rome, the Gesù, though differing in detail. Its plan is that of a Latin cross, with a nave, side aisles and transept. At the main crossing of the nave and transept, there is a dome with a lantern that was once adorned with stucco sculpture, wall paintings, silver and gold and stood as the symbol of the magnificence of Wilno itself.<sup>61</sup> The Jesuits arrived in Wilno in 1569 and funds were made available by 1604 for the building of a Jesuit church. By 1615 both the interior and the exterior were nearly complete. Once this project was finished, the work of building a nearby college commenced and by 1619 there were twenty Jesuits resident. In 1706 the conflagration of the city caused by the Swedish invasion also severely affected the church and college. Another city-wide fire in 1749 once more devastated the on-going restoration of St. Kazimierz.<sup>62</sup>

Originally, the very plain, flat and battered façade had two towers placed on either side to enliven it. The plan was modelled very closely on the first Jesuit church in Kraków, although not entirely since the sanctuary (chancel) and the façade differ.<sup>63</sup> The interior walls of the nave, with their single pilasters, are also closer to the same in the Jesuit church in Lublin. Since the anonymous architect of the Wilno church displays such awareness of these earlier two Polish models and would have had access to the Jesuit archives holding their plans, then it seems likely, according to Paszenda, that the architect was a Polish provincial of the Order, such as, for example, Paweł Boksza. He is testified as having architectural know-how, but he was not capable of drawing up the designs himself and would have employed a professional architect. Paszenda suggests that it was Boksza who devised the two towers on the façade. Until the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were no Renaissance churches in Lithuania and Rus which had a two-tower façade, although there had survived earlier medieval examples which could have served as a model in this instance, according to Paszenda. The design of the Jesuit church provided an influential template for many later Baroque churches in Wilno and through-out Lithuania. The Jesuit church in Wilno was rebuilt by Jan Krzysztof Glaubitz (ca. 1700-67), after the destruction of the city in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. The imposing

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60 Jerzy Paszenda, "Kościół p.w. św. Kazimierza w Wilnie" in Andrzej Betlej and Piotr Krasny (eds.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich. Materiały sesji naukowej Kraków, wrzesień 2000*, 5, Kraków: Instytut Sztuki UJ (2003), pp. 7- 26.

61 Paszenda, "Kościół p.w. św. Kazimierza w Wilnie," p. 7.

62 Paszenda, "Kościół p.w. św. Kazimierza w Wilnie," pp. 12-15.

63 Paszenda, "Kościół p.w. św. Kazimierza w Wilnie," p. 18-19.

dome is the work of the Jesuit architect, Thomas Zebrowski (1714-58).<sup>64</sup> Further destruction followed in 1812 on the part of Napoleon's army and the church was reconstructed by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Russian administration. During the period of Soviet control in 1966, the church was renovated and all traces of its Polish history were removed (such as inscriptions), when it became a museum of atheism with a statue of Lenin on the main altar. In 1990 the Jesuits returned.<sup>65</sup>

Among the Eastern Rite foundations in Wilno the most imposing and sumptuous is that of the Orthodox Church of the Holy Spirit situated in Auštros Vartų Street near the Gates of Dawn, with its accompanying monastery. It was built in 1597 on land belonging to the sisters, Theodora and Anna Volovich, under the patronage of the lay Orthodox Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, established in 1585. This lay confraternity had a membership of hundreds, both nobles and craftsmen. One of its main functions was to protect Orthodoxy from Catholic influences and the confraternity published polemical and theological material on its own press, denouncing the Union of Brześć. Since the church and monastery were built on the private lands of the Ruthenian nobility, the foundation could not be pressurised, even by the king, into joining the Uniate Church. The church of the Holy Spirit was the only Orthodox church permitted by the king to operate in Wilno after 1611, as was the case through-out all cities and towns in the Commonwealth where only one single Orthodox church in each urban settlement was permitted. In 1629-37 the Orthodox monastery associated with the church of the Holy Spirit was under attack from members of the Uniate Church who wanted to remove those who still supported Orthodoxy. Consequently, the monks found it impossible to obtain permission to build a new church until 1634, when Władysław IV gave permission to have their wooden church replaced by one of brick. The king also confirmed the subordination of seventeen other monasteries to the governance of the Holy Spirit foundation, including two convents for women. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century the monastery of the Holy Spirit in Wilno consisted of two single-storey buildings, along with outhouses. The lay confraternity organised a school nearby whose educational standards were very high. The Brotherhood intended that it should provide an alternative to the Jesuit College for the children of the Orthodox laity in Wilno. In

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64 Andrzej Baranowski, "Między Rzymem, Monachium i Wilnem. Architektura Sakralna Jezuitów w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim" in Ostrowski, Krasny and Betlej (eds.) *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 35-54; (Discusses Jesuit churches in Lithuania); for Św. Kazimierz church see, pp. 35-37, 42-43.

65 Jagoda Rogoz, Jarosław Swajdo and Marzena Daszewska, *Vilnius*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Bezdroża (2008), pp. 128-29.

1648, however, due to lack of funds the printing-works were dismantled and a few years later the school also closed.

In the later 17<sup>th</sup> century, during the wars with Sweden and Russia, the Orthodox monastery was plundered and devastated, in particular, during the Polish-Russian War (1654-67). The Polish army regained the city in 1661 and the monks were accused of co-operating with the Russians as co-religionists. This appears not to have been the case. So much so that Jan II Kazimierz himself in 1661 wrote a letter to the City Council defending the loyalty of the Holy Spirit monastery and exempting it from the taxes being raised to support the military campaigns. When the Orthodox church of the Holy Trinity was awarded to the Uniates, the Orthodox lay-brotherhood retreated to the Holy Spirit monastery, along with its printing-press. The Patriarch Jeremiah II of Constantinople granted the monastery of the Holy Spirit the rights of the *Stauropigii*, which meant that it was not controlled by the local ecclesiastical authorities, but was made subordinate directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople and from 1686 to the Patriarch of Moscow.<sup>66</sup>

In the Principality of Lithuania, unlike in Crownland Rus, the Moldavian and Wallachian styles had no influence on Orthodox church architecture, since the Orthodox of Lithuania were isolated from their co-religionists to the east and south-east.<sup>67</sup> Instead, it was the western Gothic style with its tall elevations, but adorned with classical motifs, that was the chosen form in Wilno. Such was the case at the church of the Holy Spirit, although domes were also added in the Orthodox manner. The Holy Spirit church had been erected to replace several other Orthodox churches that had been taken over by the Uniates. The Metropolitan, Petro Mohyla, himself oversaw its construction, so that the design would facilitate the participation of the laity in the liturgy. The expansive Gothic Latin-cross plan of the Holy Spirit (1632-38) accommodated Mohyla's pastoral concerns and it also directed attention to the iconostasis and the preaching-area.<sup>68</sup> The plans for this church drew additionally on Catholic models by the addition of two turrets to the façade to give it more profile. (Uniate churches in Rus had two towers at the sides of the façade.) This format served as the model for the church of the Transfiguration in Mohylew (1636-39), belonging to the Orthodox monastery, and a smaller replica was also created in the church of St. Mikołaj (1669-1672).<sup>69</sup>

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66 G. Szlewis, *Православные храмы Литвы, Свято-Духов Монастырь*, Vilnius (2006), pp. 11-36.

67 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 97.

68 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 76.

69 Paszenda, "Architekci Jezuiicy w Polsce" in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 245-46 (Brizio and Bernardoni and their pupils, 1575-1627).



The church of the Holy Spirit was severely damaged during the Swedish invasion of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, but was reconstructed with the financial aid of the Tsar of Russia Peter I. In 1748-49 the church was again destroyed by fire and its rebuilding was under the direction of the architect, Jan Krzysztof Glaubitz, until 1753. There was more destruction by Napoleon's army in 1812 and another period of rebuilding in 1836-37 and still further remodelling in 1873 which removed the rich Baroque façade of the church. Currently the church of the Holy Spirit in Wilno has been preserved in its 18<sup>th</sup> century classical form, although there still remain traces of the earlier Baroque church. In fact, Krasny has argued that the adoption of classicism by the Orthodox in both Rus and Lithuania was relatively superficial, being restricted to decorative details, such as the capitals of columns, architraves, cornices, entablatures, pilasters and other elements. There was no substantial engagement with the Italian Baroque.

The Uniate Church in Lithuania and Rus was supported largely by peasants, burghers and middle-class patrons, since the magnates and princely families preferred to convert directly to Roman Catholicism. Nevertheless, certain important magnate patrons continued to support the Uniates, among them Lev (Pol. Lew) Sapieha who was the most generous and influential. He funded Uniate monasteries in Żyrowice and Byten.<sup>70</sup> Other Ruthenian families who supported the Uniates were those of the Chodkiewicz and Radziwiłł, while some supported both Roman Catholic and Uniate Churches, such as Adam Kisiel (Сур. Адам Святольдич Кисиль) (1580/ 1600–1653) who was the Wojewoda of Kiev (1649-1653) and of Czernihów (1639-1646). Kisiel was a Ruthenian and the last Orthodox senator in the Sejm and he gave his allegiance to the Commonwealth. He provided funds for both the Jesuits and Uniate Basilian Orders in Vitebsk, also founding the Basilian monastery at Niskienniczy and the convent of Basilian nuns at Maksucie and Mohylany.<sup>71</sup>

Among the few secular architectural projects of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Wilno which have survived to the present day, the most important due to its Mannerist form is the palace built for the Radziwiłł family, the only surviving residence in this style. The first building was constructed in wood for Mikołaj Radziwiłł, but a later stone Renaissance palace was built for Janusz Radziwiłł (1635-1653), after a design by Jan Ullrich. This employed both the Mannerist style of the Netherlands and the decorative stucco work developed in Wilno during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The ground-plan of the palace and its symmetrical façades recall Fontainebleau and the

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70 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 52.

71 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 53.



Luxembourg palace in Paris with its five three-storey pavilions. It was noted in its day for its exceptional collections of Flemish and Dutch paintings. In the 1990s the western pavilion was reconstructed to house a section of the national museum of art. A later Baroque urban residence that has similarly managed to endure centuries of destruction is the palace of the Sapieha family, who also maintained other residences in Wilno, as well as castles and palaces through-out White Rus. The Wilno palace is a Baroque building erected in 1691-1697 for Jan Kazimierz Sapieha, Great Hetman of Lithuania. The architect was the Italian, Pietro Peretti (Giovanni Pietro Perti) (1648-1714), while Michelangelo Palloni provided the frescoes for the interior. Originally, there were arcades on the elevations on all the floors, but these were later enclosed to provide more space within. The Russian government had the palace reconstructed into a military hospital in 1843 and the decoration of the rooms was destroyed. The exterior was restored by the Polish government in 1927. From 1945 it was used as military hospital and its condition was allowed to deteriorate. There still exists some of the 17<sup>th</sup> century formal park with parterres, avenues and lakes. There also remain about another dozen palaces in Vilnius, currently in use as the city hall, or as art galleries and museums, or cinemas and theatres. Most of these have few architectural features remaining from the Gothic, Renaissance or Baroque periods since they were heavily reconstructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and during the Russian occupation in the Partition period.

Beyond the city of Wilno, the architects and sculptors were mostly Italians and Germans, while the painters tended to be Poles and Lithuanians, with a few Italians and Germans. To the north the monastery and church at Pożajśc (Lith. Pažaislis), near Kowno (Lith. Kaunas), is the largest monastery in Lithuania. Here there was carried-out the most ambitious scheme for a Baroque church in the entire Eastern Commonwealth. The plan for the monastery for the Camaldolese Order was initiated in 1660 by the Great Chancellor of Lithuania, Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac (1621–84), and, after obtaining permission from both the Papacy and the Sejm of the Commonwealth, the monastery was founded in 1664. It was intended to become the family necropolis for the Pac family and a supreme manifestation of their wealth and political authority. After first studying at Ljezo and the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Pac had attended the University of Perugia for eight years where he had developed a taste for the high Baroque of northern Italy. His own church was designed according to Camaldolese precepts which required simplicity of form. This requirement was expressed at Pożajśc in a centralised space, consisting of a single nave, without side aisles. Building commenced in

1667 and was largely completed by 1674. The cupola and towers were destroyed by fire in 1755, although they were rebuilt according to the original plan. The church was consecrated in 1712. In 1793 the eastern façade was elevated. The original architect who designed the monastery and church is not known, but it was long believed by scholars that it may have been Giovanni Battista Frediani. The most recent scholarship of Mariusz Karpowicz, however, has determined that the design was, in fact the work of the king's own architect, Isidoro Affaitati (1622-84),<sup>72</sup> the final phases being directed by the Italian architects, Pietro Puttini (1633-99) and Carlo Puttini (1644-82). The plan is completely innovative and is based on the most cutting-edge north Italian examples. The church is constructed on a hexagonal ground-plan, while the concave façade is heavy and restless in the manner of Guarino Guarini's (1624-83) designs in Turin. The exterior and interior walls are concave, giving the effect of tremendous dynamism.

The façade has a Baroque concave front, with two towers. This curving front wall permits the dome to be displayed to its best effect, as in the work of Filippo Juvarra (1678-1736) in Turin. The two towers with tall lanterns, also in Juvarra's style, were added to the façade in 1755, as well as a hexagonal dome standing on a highly-elevated drum, with towers on its side elevations. The elaborately stuccoed interior, completed in 1676, is the work of Giovanni Battista Merli, while Michelangelo Palloni from Florence (1642-1712) painted the frescoes in 1678-84.<sup>73</sup> The theme is related to the conversionary programme of the Counter-Reformation, along with scenes of the Life of Mary and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. Also included are images of the Fathers of the Church and other iconographic details specific to the Cameldulite Order, such as the Five Brother Martyrs from the reign of Bolesława Chrobry, with St. Romuald. In total there are some one hundred and forty frescoes. The rest of the church is decorated with rich black and red marbles, so that the effect is light and colouristic, yet monumental and imposing. Subsequent wars, including the depredations of Napoleon's soldiers, the Russian occupation during the Partitions and the effects of the German invasions after 1939, have led to the ruin of the interior and the loss of most of its rich

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72 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Architekt królewski Isidoro Affaitati (1622-1684)*, Warszawa: Neriton (2013), passim.

73 Paknys, "Postać Fundatora w Fresku Michangela Pallonicze w Pozajściu" in Chrościcki, *Artyści Włoscy w Polsce* (2004), pp. 293-99. See also Rūta Janonienė, Tojana Račiūnaitė, Marius Iršėnas, Adomas Butrimas (eds.), *The Lithuanian Millenium: History, Art and Culture*, Kaunas : Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas ; Vilnius : Versus aureus (2014), pp. 263 ff.

furnishings in metalwork and icons. A lot of this despoiled material is still in museums in the Russian Federation.

The church is dedicated to the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A specific nationalistic Lithuanian theme appears in the side-chapels, one being dedicated to St. Bruno Boniface, the patron saint of Lithuania, another to St. Christopher, also a patron saint of the Pac founder, and the other two chapels are dedicated to St. Mary Magdalena de' Pazzi and St. Romuald. The Carmelite nun St. Mary Magdalena de' Pazzi was claimed by the Pac family as a relative. Like most nobility of specifically Lithuanian origins they referred their family back to antique Italy and, thereby, devised a link to the Florentine Pazzi family. The entire site was designated "Mons Pacis" (mountain of peace) which also alludes to the Pac surname.

There are other important Renaissance and Baroque structures and artefacts existing through-out northern Lithuania in large towns such as Birże (Lith. Birže; Ruth: Биржи) which stands on the rivers Apaszca and Agluona in the vicinity of Lake Szyrwena. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century it was the property of the Great Princes of Lithuania, but by the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century the ownership had passed to Grzegorz Friedkonis, secretary to the king Kazimierz. Friedkonis died without issue and the estates passed to the relatives of his wife who was herself a Radziwiłł in origins and, thus, Birże belonged to the Radziwiłł from 1492 to 1695. These estates were eventually inherited by the same family in the Nieśwież lineage during the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Owing to the Radziwiłł connection, until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Birże was a parochial administrative centre of the Calvinist confession. During the Russian annexation of Lithuania the Birże estates were confiscated by the Tsar and sold to the Tyszkiewicz family who held them until 1939. Jan Tyszkiewicz built an own imposing family residence of his own in the Italian style on the opposite side of Lake Szyrwena. Nowadays, the Tyszkiewicz palace is a linen factory. The original fortress and residence of the Radziwiłł was, initially, a small wooden castle until in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mikołaj Radziwiłł VI "Rudy" (the Red) (1512-84) constructed a new residence.

However, it was Krzysztof Mikołaj Radziwiłł who erected the most innovative type of bastioned fortification in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. During the Swedish wars the castle was taken and destroyed in 1625. Bogusław Radziwiłł reconstructed the site in 1659 in the form of the "palazzo in fortezza," a fortified palatial residence on the Italian and French Baroque models. This was the first in the Commonwealth of its kind. In the course of the Northern Wars between Russia and Sweden the castle was ruined entirely and abandoned. It existed in a ruined condition through into the

20<sup>th</sup> century, when it was rebuilt in the 1980s and it now houses a museum.

In Kaunas (Pol. Kowno) some buildings still survive dating from the late medieval period through to the 17<sup>th</sup> century and later. The town became the capital of the Soviet Lithuanian republic after 1920 when the rest of Lithuania, along with Wilno, was incorporated into the Polish state. Kaunas (Kowno) lies in the central region of modern Lithuania, along the banks of the rivers Niemen and Wilja. The first mention of the castle in Kaunas dates from 1361, although the town itself was developed as late as the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The castle was defended by the Lithuanian forces against the Teutonic Knights, but was captured by the Knights who built the fortified brick walls in 1384. The castle served as a base for the Teutonic Order in their attacks on Wilno and Troki. In 1391 the Grand Master of the Order signed a peace treaty with Great Prince Witold leading to the Peace of Salin (1398), according to which Kaunas became a border town between the realms of the Great Principality and those of region of Żmudz, occupied by the Teutonic Order. A new castle was constructed by the Knights a mile away from the old one in Kaunas. Great Prince Witold Kejsztutas awarded the Magdeburg Rights to Kaunas with privileges concerning the taxation and supervision of the import and transit of foreign goods, as well as provision for regular international markets and, above all, guarantees of legal independence from feudal lords.

After the Battle of Grunewald in 1410 and the temporary defeat of the Teutonic Knights, by the ensuing Peace of Torun (1411) Kaunas was finally integrated into the territories of the Great Principality of Lithuania. In 1413 Kaunas became the administrative centre of the powiat of Kaunas in the województwo of Troki. In that year the king Władysław Jagiełło received the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg in the castle at Kaunas and the king himself resided in the town. In 1451 the king Kazimierz IV Jagiellon even received the emissary of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in Kaunas. In spite of such royal favours, it was still not until the late 15<sup>th</sup> century that there appeared the first brick and stone architecture in Kaunas when the number of inhabitants had grown to between five and six hundred inhabitants. By 1570 this had increased to about five thousand. In 1655-61 Kaunas was occupied by the Muscovite forces which led to its downfall. The devastation was so complete that the Sejm of the Commonwealth in 1662 agreed that no taxes should be levied on the town for ten years. In 1701-7 the town was disastrously occupied by the Swedes and in 1731 it endured a great fire. During the Partitions Kaunas was occupied by imperial Russia.

Among the surviving architectural monuments in Kaunas, there is the arch-cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, a Gothic work in brick dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. There is also the Gothic church of St. Gertrude from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as the Bernardine monastery built in 1487-1502 and founded by the Castellan of Grodno and Marshall of Kaunas, Stanisław Sędziwojewski. The Bernardine foundation once included the extant Gothic church of St. George with its extremely tall, hall-type interior consisting of central nave and side-aisles. The windows are very high in the characteristic manner of the Baltic Gothic style. The monastery was subsequently rebuilt in the neo-Baroque fashion. Kaunas, in addition, has preserved the Franciscan church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also built in the native Baltic Gothic forms, which dates from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, making it the oldest church in Kaunas. It was founded by Great Prince Witold after his victory at the Battle of Worskla in 1399. Initially it lacked towers.

The Baltic Gothic style is characterised by brick constructions of exceptional height, the exterior walls being left plain, with some modest arcading, and little use of colour, other than the rich red of the brick-work and some accents in lighter-coloured stone. The roof-line is usually steeply pitched, with a large square tower attached as a fortification. The tower will also have a pitched tiled roof. The façades of such Baltic churches are austere. The interiors are of the hall-type nave and side-aisles, with very tall, narrow windows the full height of the walls, so that the triforium of the French Gothic type is eliminated, although a galleried walk-way half-way up the wall often runs the full-length of the nave. The ceilings are vaulted in a plain manner and the detailing of the capitals on the austere heavy column is, similarly, left relatively simple. This is the type of Gothic style that is witnessed around the Baltic coastline, whether in Aarhus cathedral, or at St Mary's basilica in Gdańsk, or at the cathedrals in Tallin, or Königsberg. The Baltic style offers a completely different interpretation of Gothic in comparison to the elaborate, lyrical French style of western Europe.

The predominant local architectural style in Kaunas and, indeed, through-out northern Lithuania is Baltic Gothic. The flamboyant late Gothic Perkunas' House in Kaunas is an exception to this prevailing austerity, as is St. Anne's church in Vilnius. During the late medieval period northern Lithuania shared in the Gothic influences of the entire Baltic perimeter and, in fact, the Gothic style persisted into later centuries. Building in brick was also the preferred mode even in some Baroque edifices, such as the Dominican church of the Holy Cross in Kaunas. In

Crownland Rus, in contrast, Gothic was never extensively used since, prior to the advent of the Polish monastic orders, the predominant faith in Red Rus had been Orthodox. Conversely, the Renaissance classical style so predominant in Lwów is little seen in northern Lithuania beyond the boundaries of Wilno and even in that city it is restricted to the royal and princely palaces and castles. It was the Gothic and Baroque styles that were the most patronised in Wilno and further northwards.

In Kaunas there is, additionally, a Jesuit foundation dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Baroque church here was built in 1666-1759 and dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. The monastery itself is of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (1761-68). The interior work in the church dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and later. The Carmelites also had their own church and monastery. The church of the Holy Cross (foundation stone laid in 1685) was built in brick, although in the Baroque style, and it was consecrated in 1700. The two-storey church has a Latin-cross plan and is erected in a mature Baroque form according to a design probably devised by Carlo and Pietro Puttini (the church designers at Pożajść). The towers and the façade were damaged during the Northern Wars and were rebuilt only in about 1830. In 1845 the Russians closed the church and turned it into a storage facility, destroying Baroque altars, pulpit, organ choir, sculptures and paintings. After 1880 a military magazine was located there. In the side chapels, however, there have survived paintings of Our Lady of Carmel from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as an image of St. Joseph. In addition, there is present in the city a convent of Bernardine nuns (1624-34), with its church dedicated to the Holy Trinity of 1624.

The Dominican presence in Kaunas is evidenced by a 17<sup>th</sup> century foundation. The founders of the monastery were local burghers who transferred to the Dominican Order their tenements on Vilnius Street in the years 1631 and 1641. The reconstruction of these houses to suit the needs of the monastic order lasted from 1678 to the last years of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the following century several more buildings were added to the complex. In 1845 the Dominican convent, however, was closed by the Russians and its church, dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, was converted into a warehouse. In 1863-66 the church was completely remodeled in an Orthodox Eastern Rite form. In 1919 the site was restored to the Catholics and rebuilt as a Catholic academy. In 1945 this was once more closed by the Communists, but eventually re-opened as a theatre. The whole complex was restored to the Catholic Order in 1991. All of these originally Gothic and Baroque sacred edifices were heavily reconstructed during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially the interiors. The universal destruction of these Polish Catholic churches during the

Partitions by the Russians and again by the communists after 1945 has led to extensive restoration since 1990. Most of the original interior furnishing and accoutrements have vanished forever.

In Kaunas there also once existed a Lutheran church, completed in 1683. The building still contains a wooden main altar in the Baroque style dating from 1692. The church was closed by the communist regime and currently serves the needs of the local university. Alongside the church another building once served the consistory of the Lutheran parish.

Among the surviving historical secular buildings there is the town-hall dating from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the “Dom Perkuna” (the house of Perkuna) of the same date. This was a tenement house in a flamboyant Gothic style comparable to that of the church of St. Anne in Vilnius of the same late date. The founders of the house were probably Hanza merchants. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the house was bought by the Jesuits, who set up a chapel there in 1643. After the cessation of the monastery in 1773, the building was devastated. In the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was renovated, devastated again, returned to the Jesuits and now houses a museum.

The castle at Kaunas dates from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, with 15<sup>th</sup> century extensions including the towers. Standing in ruins for centuries it has been reconstructed almost in its entirety in recent years. In 1930 archaeological excavations were carried out by Polish historians, but the reconstruction commenced only in 1954 when part of the tower and walls was rebuilt. Of the original structure only two bastions have survived, as well as fragments of the wall, the 16<sup>th</sup> century main battery and parts of the earthworks. However, in 2010 the upper parts of the tower and its surrounding fortifications were rebuilt.

Further south, the Belarussian ethnic regions (currently the state of Belarus) consist of a geographical area stretching from Grodno and Nowogródek south into the Brześć and Pińsk regions, eastwards to Stuck, then still further south into northern Wolhynia. The main Polish settlement in these regions dates from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, there were some earlier medieval Polish Catholic foundations in the Pińsk region dating from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century. Apart from the royal and ducal foundations of the castles of Grodno and Nowogródek, as well as fortified sites, such as Mir and Holszany, there is little architecture in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Renaissance style to be found in Belarus. In fact, not much has survived, for that matter, of any 17<sup>th</sup> century Baroque material culture. The greater number of buildings erected by the Polish monastic orders, or by the polonised Ruthenian nobility and princes, were carried-out in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in the classical style, even when constructed of wood. In addition,



a number of historic Orthodox and Uniate churches have successfully survived from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the majority of these Eastern Rite churches date from no earlier than the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

There are some stone synagogues surviving in towns like Słuck and Slonim and these have exceptionally retained their original Mannerist, or Baroque forms. Most of these Jewish places of worship have vanished. The majority were built of wood in an exceptionally original style, unique to the region of Belarus. All of the larger wooden synagogues were destroyed during the Nazi occupation and then by the Soviets, but a few smaller ones have survived. The Jewish centre in Grodno was an important architectural project of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in multi-coloured brick and stone and it has recently been returned to the small Jewish community in that city. Synagogues still exist in several towns, such as Pińsk. The Jewish presence in Belarus, however, is small and barely visible at the present time. Jewish religious and cultural life is found only in the larger conurbations, often sponsored by the charity Yad Yisroel which seeks to succour the existing Jewish communities and to expand Jewish tourism to Belarus, thereby reviving the Jewish history of that country.

The Islamic community in Belarus has experienced something of a revival since the 1990s. The surviving mosques are all constructed of wood, mostly dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The mosques were closed during the Soviet occupation from the 1940s but since 1991 several mosques have been renovated and an imposing new stone mosque is being constructed at Mińsk. They are becoming a prominent feature of northern Belarus in towns such Smilovichi, Ivye, Slonim and Navahradok in the Grodno region, as well as in Kletsk in the Mińsk area and Vidzy in Vitebsk.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

# LITHUANIA – THE BELARUSSIAN LANDS - PIŃSK AND NOWOGRÓDEK: UNIATE CHURCH ART AND ARCHITECTURE

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Lithuanian princes conquered the western and southern parts of Kievan Rus, defeating the Mongol hordes in 1333 and 1339 and taking Smolensk. In 1362 the Great Princes defeated the Golden Horde at the Battle of the Blue Waters. The decisive victory against the Mongols was won in collaboration with the Muscovites in 1398 at Kulikovo. The Mongols had succeeded in conquering Muscovy and they also invaded the Kievan and Galician principalities, but they ceased their advance on the borders of Belarussian Polesie and Ukrainian Volhynia. Northern Lithuania itself had not been subjected to devastation and the state was powerful enough to overcome the weak Mongol control of the Ruthenian areas further south. The Lithuanians conquered former Mongol territory as far as the river Dnieper and, then, invaded northern Crimea, but were driven back from the Black Sea. Some of the ancient principalities of southern and western Rus were annexed by the Lithuanian rulers by diplomatic agreements, either with the Mongols, or with the Great Prince of Moscow, such as Novgorod which came in and out of Lithuanian control over the years.

There exist a variety of nationalistic approaches to the broad outline of Belarussian history. Polish historians have always included the region as an integral part of Polish history.<sup>1</sup> The most recent Belarussian historians argue that, whereas the Belarussian territories were an integral part of the history of the first Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, however, they minimise the “Polish” aspect. Indeed, even though the current youngest generation in the Belarussian state is accustomed to the concept of the “*Reczpospolita*” (sic) (Commonwealth) of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in

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1 For the origins of 20th century Belarussian nationalism see Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarussian Nationalism, 1906–1931*, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press (2015).

which Belarus was the central factor, nonetheless, they rarely accompany the term with the adjective “Polish,” nor do they associate the “*Reczpospolita*” with any relation to Poland. This is mainly the consequence of the Soviet occupation of western Belarus in the 1940s. There is another, older, school of Belarussian history, of a regressive political nature. Such historians retain a pro-Russian line and they construct their histories in accordance with the Russian historiography of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which regarded the history of Belarus as integral to the history of Greater Russia. Such a pro-Russian historical trajectory still adheres to the Slavophile rhetoric of the late Tsarist period. According to this ideological model, there had only ever existed one single group of ethnic “Russians.” This comprised not only the hegemonic Russians in Muscovy, but also the “Little Russians” of Ukraine centred on Kiev, as well as the “White Russians” of Belarus, centred on Vitebsk and Polotsk. The Little Russians and White Russians were regarded as speaking dialects of the Muscovite Russian language.

In contrast to this retrograde political line, the most recent radical, pro-nationalist Belarussian historians reject, on the one hand, the Polish contention that western Belarus was a fundamentally Polish region culturally and socially from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. On the other hand, such Belarussian radicals similarly contend against Lithuanian nationalists, that it was the Belarussian lands that had constituted the genuine “*Reczpospolita*,” not the northern Lithuanian lands centred on Wilno.<sup>2</sup> They argue for the pre-eminence of the polonised Ruthenian nobility in the history of the first Commonwealth. Against the Poles, the Belarussians point out that there were comparatively few ethnic Poles in the Belarussian lands of the first Commonwealth. Moreover, they maintain that Polish historians need to accept that in writing the history of the first Commonwealth, they are writing the history of the White Ruthenian people in the guise of Polish culture, not of the Poles as a national group.

One of the main organs of contemporary Belarussian historiography is the Belarussian-language journal, the *Belarussian Historical Review* (*Беларускі Гістарычны Агляд*).<sup>3</sup> Another reputable journal in both English and Belarussian, with a more westernised historical slant, is the

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2 Against this position, a work which critically re-examines the formation of Lithuanian nationalism and the claims to possession of the city of Vilnius in the early 20th century is Dangiras Mačiulis and Darius Staliūnas, *Lithuanian Nationalism and the Vilnius Question, 1883–1940*, Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut (2015).

3 *Беларускі Гістарычны Агляд* *Навуковы часопіс* - Інтэрнэт-версія <http://www.belhistory.eu/>

*The Journal of Byelorussian studie* (*The journal of the Anglo-Byelorussian Society*) which was first published in London in 1965.

A distinguished contemporary Belarussian historian is Henadz Michailovich Sahanovich, whose specialism is the military history of Belarus in the period of the first Commonwealth.<sup>4</sup> This important critical thinker has produced an account of Belarussian history in which the peoples of this region created an independent history inter-related with their neighbours to the west in opposition to Muscovy in the east. Sahanovich's major recent work is the history of Belarus considered as a national entity from its earliest history, which is connected to the rise of the principalities of Polotsk and Turau and later of the Lithuanian state in its struggles against the Muscovites and Tatars.<sup>5</sup> Sahanovich has established an early date for the formation of a Belarussian ethnic consciousness, when the Ruthenian peoples of this region awoke to their own distinctive identity as a body-politic.

A less controversial historian who has also developed new approaches to the study of Belarussian history and culture, ones involving an anthropological approach, is Aleksandr Ivanovich Lakotka (b. 1955), a Belarussian architect, anthropologist and art historian, currently acting as the director of the Institute of Arts, Ethnography and Folklore in the Belarussian National Academy of Sciences. His central investigation concerns the architectural history of Belarus contextualised within its economic and cultural regional ethnicity. In this regard, Lakotka has examined the growth of twenty-eight cities, as well as rural traditions involving both sacred and secular types of buildings.<sup>6</sup> Lakotka has been a

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4 Henadz Sahanovich, *Voïška Vialikaha Kniastva Litoŭskaha ŭ XVI-XVII stst*, Minsk: "Navuka i tĕkhnika" (1994); for other aspects of the great wars of the Deluge in the regions of Belarus see Henadz Sahanovich *Neviadomaia vaïna: 1654-1667*, Minsk: "Navuka i tĕkhnika" (1995).

5 Г. Сагановіч, *Нарыс гісторыі Беларусі ад старажытнасці да канца XVIII ст.*, Minsk: Энцыклапедык (2001). Translated into Polish as Hienadz Sahanowicz, *Historia Białorusi: od czasów najdawniejszych do końca XVIII wieku*; przełożył Hubert Łaskiewicz, Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej (2001). See also Sahanovich's bibliography of Belarussian resources from the period of the liberation of Belarus from official Russian control, Hienadz Sahanowicz, *Bibliografia białoruska, 1992-1994*, Warszawa: Studium Europy Wschodniej UW (2002). See also an earlier work on the general history of the Belarussian lands, Henadz Sahanovich, *Dzesiats' viakoï belaruskai historyi, 862-1918: padzei, daty, iliustratsyi / Uladzimir Arloŭ. Aichynu svaiu baroniachy: Kanstantsin Astrozhski*, Minsk: "Navuka i tĕkhnika" (1992).

6 See, for example, A. I. Лакотка, *Нацыянальныя рысы беларускай архітэктуры* (Nationalistic features of Belarussian architecture) Minsk: Ураджай (1999), as

prime mover in the establishment of various ethnographic museums in Belarus. A major aspect of his work has been the study of the distinctive wooden architecture of Belarus, including urban and rural domestic buildings and the unique wooden churches of the region,<sup>7</sup> as well as the once numerous Jewish synagogues in Belarus.<sup>8</sup> Lakotka has also undertaken a discussion of the issues involved in the restoration and reconstruction of the largely devastated artistic and architectural heritage of Belarus.<sup>9</sup>

It is impossible to write separate histories of Lithuania and Belarus, due to the fact that the bonds between the two national groups are so inseparably interwoven. According to Andrzej Rachuba, a Polish authority on the history of Lithuania, most of the political, social, economic and cultural events that occurred in the Belarussian territories belong equally to the history of the Lithuanians who were their protagonists. Rachuba refers to the work of Marcel Kosman, a historian of the Grand Principality of Lithuania and, by default, also of Belarus, who has referred to the tendency of contemporary historians to use the modern concepts of “Lithuania” and “Belarus” anachronistically in reference to earlier historical periods, specifically to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Kosman has rejected these views as constructing artificial boundaries within what was once an organic state. Rachuba also considers the manner in which both Lithuanians and Ruthenians, with equal effort, rose up to defend the medieval Lithuanian state and later in support of the Commonwealth of Two Nations.

The Lithuanian Principality arose after the military conquest of the Ruthenian territories to the south and east of the original Gedyminian state on the Baltic. In fact, most Ruthenian princes voluntarily accepted Lithuanian hegemony, since this guaranteed them safety. As a result, Greater Lithuania was as much Ruthenian, as it was Lithuanian. The Lithuanians may have originally constituted the dominating military power, but they swiftly fell under the influence of the more culturally-developed Ruthenians.

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well as А. И. Локотко, *Историко-культурные регионы Беларуси* (Historical and cultural regions of Belarus) Minsk: Ураджай (2002).

7 А. И. Лакотка, *Драўлянае сакральна-манументальнае дойлідства Беларусі* (Wooden sacral and monumental architecture of Belarus) Minsk: Ураджай (2003).

8 А. И. Локотко, *Архитектура европейских синагог* (Architecture of European synagogues) Minsk: Ураджай (2002).

9 А. И. Локотко, *Архитектурное наследие Беларуси: развитие традиций, охрана и реставрация* (Architectural heritage of Belarus: development of traditions, protection and restoration) Minsk: Ураджай (2004).

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century and again after the Polish-Lithuanian Union of 1569 the state created by the Lithuanians had an unusual character, due to the integration of many different ethnic characteristics, both cultural and religious. These differences functioned without notable conflict. To the Lithuanian people the process of co-existence with the more numerous Ruthenian population and with the Poles was highly positive. Although the Lithuanian princes and nobility were obliged to defend their own political and economic position, yet at the same time they readily accepted the use of Ruthenian administrative arrangements, culture and language and, later, those of the Poles. In fact, there was not much choice in the matter, since the professional skills essential for the conduct of state affairs were in the hands, at first, of the Ruthenian clerical class and, after 1569, of Polish administrators from the Crownlands.<sup>10</sup>

Lithuanian historians, unlike the Poles, have always laid great stress on their pagan origins, which have provided them with their contemporary national identity as a Baltic nation. Polish historians, in contrast, have placed greater emphasis on the period after the titular union of the two crowns under Władysław Jagiellon in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In a recent collection of essays concerning the history of Lithuania, edited by Andrzej Rachuba, the accounts of Polish and Lithuanian historians have been located in two separate and contrasting sections. These are most revealing concerning the different types of bias in the two national histories. Here, the most telling contrast in the approaches of the Poles and Lithuanians is the amount of space allocated by each side to the history of the Commonwealth after 1569. Rachuba, the Polish historian, lays the greatest emphasis on the Commonwealth period in his account of Lithuanian history from the medieval epoch. However, the Lithuanian historians, Jūratė Kiaupienė and Zigmantas Kiaupa, only provide about seven pages for the same historical period. The major focus of the Lithuanian historians, perhaps inevitably, is on those particular historical epochs when the state of Lithuania existed as an independent political entity, namely, the period of the early Gediminid princes and of Witold Jagiellon who struggled to retain the sovereignty of Lithuania as a self-governed state. Skipping briefly over the era from 1569 to 1772, the Lithuanian historians place far greater emphasis on the history of Lithuania under the Russian annexation from 1772 and, above all, on the Lithuanian state in 1919-39 and, again, from 1945 until the 1990s. Hence, the history that is regarded as the glory of the Polish nation, that of the union with the Lithuanian

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10 Rachuba introduction to Rachuba, Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, *Historia Litwy. Dwuglos polsko-litewski* (2009), pp. 9-10.

Principality, is brushed aside as only one moment among many by the Lithuanians. Conversely, Polish historians emphasise the period under Kazimierz the Great in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the Polish settlement of Lithuania in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is this history which has provided Polish historians with their own image of the role and character of the polonised Lithuanian Principality.

There is certainly a tendency among historians in the three successor states to vilify and denigrate the role of the Polish Crown in the Commonwealth. This strongly anti-Polish historiography conformed to the political ideology of the Soviet Union, which was determined to maintain its grip on the territories wrested from the Polish state in 1939-45. Even at the present time, contemporary historiography in Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine has developed national histories in which the role of the Polish kings and of Polish cultural elements is marginalised, or even eliminated altogether. As has been remarked by Jan Ostrowski in his history of Lwów, the history that a Polish historian such as himself would write is quite unrecognisable to a contemporary Ukrainian readership, which in the past fifty years had been presented with a totally different cast of characters and events. A specifically Ukrainian-orientated history had commenced with Hrushevsky's complete revision of the nationalist historical narrative in which he rejected both Russian and Polish interpretations. This approach, however, is quite strange to a historian brought up in the Polish intellectual milieu.

Such is also the case with historians from Belarus, although the national antagonisms between Belarussians and Poles have are relatively muted in comparison to the criticism by Lithuanian and Ukrainian historians of the role of the Poles in their own national histories. It is customary to read historical accounts by Belarussian historians concerning the Sapieha and Radziwiłł, for example, which omit to mention the fact that these families were heavily polonised politically, socially and culturally.

On the Ruthenian territories of Belarus in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries there had come into existence an identifiably Belarussian ethnic identity, differentiated from the Ruthenians in southern Rus (forefathers of modern Ukrainians). These latter continued to migrate into Lithuania but they retained their southern Ruthenian identity, culture and language. By the 20<sup>th</sup> century through-out the Nowogródek region of Belarus and Wolynian Polesie on the boundaries of modern Ukraine, the Belarussians and Ukrainians tended to inhabit separate settlements, though lying in close proximity to one other and to Polish and Jewish villages. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Ruthenian and Belarussian szlachta was



obliged to make choices concerning ethnic loyalties and national self-definition. Were the Ruthenian gentry to remain identified with their original ethnic group, or were they to identify themselves with the political nation of Lithuania, or were they to allow themselves to become polonised?

The situation was further complicated by religious issues. Kiaupienė and Kiaupa point out that, contrary to popular misconceptions, it was not as simple as Ruthenians automatically giving their allegiance to the Orthodox Church, nor Lithuanians, as a matter of course, being Catholic. Furthermore, the Polish szlachta in very large numbers were also turning to Calvinism and, in this, they were joined by the most important elevated echelons of the Lithuanian and Ruthenian princely ranks, such as the Radziwiłł, Sapieha, Chodkiewicz and Dorohostajski families. In fact, in the 1580s the majority of the Lithuanian senators in the Sejm of the Commonwealth were Calvinists. There were also present Socinian Arians who rejected the dogma of the Holy Trinity and whose faith had something in common with Judaism. The senator, Jan Kiszka, is the most well-known Arian but large numbers of the lesser szlachta also converted, since Arianism seemed to offer them political freedom from both the king and, even more especially, from the great magnates. Against the seemingly unstoppable groundswell of conversions to the Reformed faith, the king, Jan II Kazimierz Waza (1609-72; reigned 1648-68), supported the conversionary missions of the Jesuits and his efforts were further aided by the Dominicans, Carmelites and others. As a result, most of the princes and szlachta abandoned Calvinism and Arianism, but Ruthenian families did not return to their ancestral Orthodox faith. Instead, they converted to Roman Catholicism for political and economic gains. Even then, this did not automatically result in a total polonisation of the higher aristocracy and gentry, since local loyalties were the determining factor in their political ambitions.<sup>11</sup>

Polish historians regard the political Union of Lublin of 1569 and the religious Union of Brześć in 1596 as instigating important events that brought the Principality into the fold of western Christendom. After 1569 the cultural differences between Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Belarussians and Poles began to disappear in favour of a more homogeneous culture. The szlachta of Lithuania defined their class status and character according to their political, social and economic roles. It was composed of different ethnic elements: Lithuanian, Ruthenian, Polish, even Jewish, Tatar, Armenian

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11 Kiaupienė and Kiaupa in Rachuba, Kiaupienė and Kiaupa, *Historia Litwy. Dwugłos polsko-litewski* (2009), pp. 298-309.

and other ethnicities, in fact, anybody who had been granted admittance to the ranks of the szlachta by the Sejm of the Commonwealth. The character of this class was changeable and underwent continual transformation in response to political and social conditions.

## **The Polesie region**

During the 1920s in Poland, the image of Polesie was swathed in an aura of Romantic exoticism, of otherness, of a supposed primeval quality. This had been true enough in earlier centuries when an indigeneous people, the “Poleszuki” (Polish usage) had occupied the land with their atavistic pagan beliefs and customs. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the “Poleszuki” comprised peoples of Belarussian, Ruthenian and Polish ethnicity living usually in separate villages, some richer, most very poor, and surviving on subsistence farming and the produce of the forests. In addition, there were other cultural groups who specifically identified themselves only with Polesie and with nowhere else. These called themselves the “Tutejsi,” meaning “locals.” These were mostly Belarussian ethnically. By the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, this term was also used as a self-description by Polish citizens of whatever ethnic origin. The Tutejsi spoke a variety of regional dialects.

The dominant faith in the Polesie region was Orthodoxy, through into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Through-out the centuries Roman Catholicism had always been associated with Polish culture and with the adoption of a Polish national identity. The Catholic Eastern Rite Uniate Church had been suppressed under the Tsarist regime, but it re-emerged under Polish rule in 1919-39 and it continues to survive today, but only in very small numbers due to repression by Soviet rule. After 1945 the majority of the Poles were relocated to western Poland, to the former German territories in Silesia and Pomerania. Earlier in 1940-41 some 200, 000 Poles had been deported to the eastern and northern Soviet Union. This process had commenced in Soviet Belarus already in 1935, according to KGB records. Since the liberation from the Soviets in 1990 numbers of those formerly registered as Belarussian (as in Ukraine) in ethnic identity have re-claimed their Polish nationality.

Among the Ruthenian populations from the 14<sup>th</sup> century there were scattered large settlements of Jewish people introduced by the king and the princes for the purpose of estate-management and the organization of trade and export. This included the produce of the fields, rivers, marshes and forests, such as wood, furs, food-products, honey, beeswax, leather, handcrafted domestic goods and, above all, horses. During the Partition

period under the Tsarist Empire from 1791 to 1917 there was a policy of settling all the Jews from the empire into these Belarussian territories which became known as the “Pale of Settlement” (Russ. *Чертá осéдлости*). Beyond this area the settlement of Jews was strictly regulated and limited. The Pale of Settlement included much of present-day Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, and eastern Poland, a part of eastern Latvia and parts of western Russia. It extended from the eastern demarcation line to the Russian border with Austria-Hungary, comprising about twenty per cent of the territory of European Russia. The Pale of Settlement lay largely within the former borders of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Crimean Khanate. This resulted by the 20<sup>th</sup> century with cities, such as Pińsk, having a majority Jewish population.

Other nationalities present within the Polesie and Nowogródek regions included the important Armenian traders, although in smaller groups than in Crownland Rus where they had founded their own towns under the protection of the king. In addition, another significant presence in southern Lithuania (Belarus) was that of the Black Sea Tatars. These were Muslims who had resided in the region since the 14<sup>th</sup> century in their own villages, with their own mosques, cemeteries, archives and literary culture. Their rights were always protected during the Commonwealth, since they served in the military forces of the state. Finally, there were resident the customary sprinkling of German and Italian inhabitants, as well as Scots and others. They mostly occupied the urban communities, or they resided on the latifundia of the princes and nobles, rather than in the villages.

During the 15<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Poles began to put in an appearance, specifically in western Belarus in the regions of Grodno, Nowogródek, Stuck, Brześć, Pińsk and northern Wołyń, near Łuck. The Polish szlachta were especially encouraged by the king to migrate to Polesie and Wołyń (Volhynia), mostly from the region of Mazowsze in Małopolska (central Poland), around Warsaw, and further south from the Kraków area. In the reigns of Zygmunt I Stary (the Old), Stefan Batory and Zygmunt II Waza the largest influx of such Polish gentry entered western Belarus, but later in the 17<sup>th</sup> century this influx was halted by war and pestilence. After the 1863 Polish revolution all Polish nationals were forbidden by the Tsarist regime to purchase land in the Russian-occupied terrains. Their place was taken by Czechs, often purporting to be of Protestant persuasion. It was only after 1920 that the government of Marshall Piłsudski, as well as local landowners, encouraged further large migrations of Poles into western Belarus and Wołyń. From the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the immigrant Poles were joining the ranks of the Lithuanian and Belarussian szlachta and settling in “zaścianki.” Such distinctive

villages were especially numerous in the Polesie region and around Nowogródek to the north. The “zaścianki” were populated by a single szlachta family with all its kindred branches. The Poles also moved into the towns and cities.

The szlachta of Polish origins did not integrate with the Belarussian and Ukrainian peasantry who remained Ruthenian in ethnicity and Orthodox in faith (after 1596 they were usually Uniate) and they retained their distinctive culture and language.<sup>12</sup> It was in order to convert the Ruthenian Eastern Rite peoples that the Polish monastic orders had been introduced into Polesie and northern Belarus. They were sponsored by the king, the princes and the nobility, both greater and less. This move was primarily political in order to consolidate the authority of the Polish Crown in Belarus. The Lithuanian territories, including the Belarussian areas, were ruled by a Lithuanian government from Wilno, not by the Polish Crown from Kraków, as in the case of the Polish and Ruthenian Crownlands. The princes and magnates sponsoring the Catholic monastic foundations were either Lithuanian in ethnic origins, such as the Pac, or Ruthenian, such as the Radziwiłł, or Czartoryscy. These families had become polonised and had converted to Catholicism by the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, although their allegiance was to Greater Lithuania, or to Greater Rus, and rarely to the Polish Crown itself. In other words, the loyalty of the princes and magnates was to their own regional interests. Their land-holdings stretched all the way down southward into Wołyń and even further south-west into the Podole and Ukraine województwa.

In the 1930s the Polish ethnographer, Roman Horoszkiewicz, in his *Traditions of the Pińsk Land* (Warsaw, 1935) provided an account of the traditional way of life and the economic and historical foundations of the “Polish” szlachta of western Polesie.<sup>13</sup> Horoszkiewicz was born in 1892 in the Ternopil region of Ukraine and he graduated from the Jagiellonian University. In 1924-36 he worked in western Belarus where he published the Polish-language magazine *Pińsk Land* (Eng. trans.). He taught at the Pińsk gymnasium and was one of the founders of the Pińsk City Museum. Horoszkiewicz authored numerous works on the history of Pińsk, Brześć and Stolin, which provided statistical materials on their economic development and played an important role in the popularisation of tourism in western Belarus.

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12 For the continued effects of these national class divisions see Garbowski, *Urok Wołynia i Czar Polesia* (2003), pp. 51-52 and passim.

13 Roman Horoszkiewicz, *Roman, Tradycje ziemi pińskiej*, Warszawa: Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa (1935).

Horoszkiewicz provided an account of the origins of the szlachta in Polesie. He especially notes the lengthy historical memories surviving among this class in the Pińsk region, a thread of oral history running back in time, unbroken, to the days of Queen Bona. A mine of the Polish historical tradition was created in the zaścianki. The one and only thing that mattered in such villages was family, noted Horoszkiewicz, while religious belief counted for nothing. A very large number of this class was Orthodox, it turns out. However, there were also entirely Catholic villages, such as Osowa in the Stolin powiat which claimed an entirely Polish ethnicity for itself. Horoszkiewicz tends to polonise all of the Polesie szlachta and, factually, there were more szlachta of genuine Polish origins in Polesie than in most other parts of Belarus, apart from the Grodno area further north.

To complicate this picture of ethnic origins based on religious confession there were many incidents recorded by Horoszkiewicz where, for example, in the one family a grandfather could be Roman Catholic, while his son and grandsons were Orthodox. To problematise Horoszkiewicz's argument still further, it may be added that there were many cases where a szlachta family had originally been Belarussian Orthodox, but had converted to Roman Catholicism as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and had then claimed a Polish nationality for itself. Very large numbers of Polish families in the present day bear a distinctively Belarussian surname (such as, Horoszkiewicz), evidence of their polonisation at some time in the past. From the documents produced in 1838 in response to the Tsarist government's demands for proof of noble origins on the part of the szlachta in Belarus and Lithuania, many family trees produced at that date already evidence Roman Catholic first names, such as Dominik.<sup>14</sup>

Horoszkiewicz, in fact, does acknowledge that the national origins of the szlachta are difficult to ascertain. There were families who undoubtedly originated in central Poland, in Mazury and Małopolska, such as the Baldwin-Ramulci. Others originated in Silesia, or Pomorze. A large group among the szlachta in the 1920s and 1930s consisted of Tatar families belonging to the Orthodox faith. Many szlachta families, admits Horoszkiewicz (though he does not explore this fact) were of local Polesian origins, that would mean of Belarussian origins. In the 1930s the largest numbers of the Polesian "szlachta zaściankowa" had existed in the Pińsk powiat, according to Horoszkiewicz. These have almost entirely disappeared now, although a few do still survive despite the communist

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14 The present author, as an example, is here referring to the family tree of her own family dated 1838 which is kept in the National Archives of Belarus in Minsk.

era. The “szlachta zaściankowa” as a distinct class consisted of poorer members of the szlachta class who settled together in related families in the one village, surrounded by both privately-owned and communal lands. In the 1930s this class comprised 18% of the total population of the Pińsk powiat and resided in about seventy villages. In the Stolín region there were thirty such villages. In the Łuniniec powiat there were around thirty. In contrast, in other powiats in the województwo of Polesie in the 1930s the numbers of szlachta zaściankowa were much lower. Horoszkiewicz says that few of them could speak Polish any longer.<sup>15</sup>

In the Polesie region of northern Wołyń there stands the city of Pińsk, once closely associated with the Jesuit missions and the site of an important Jesuit basilica (destroyed). The city is a port standing at the confluence of the flood-waters of the rivers Pina, Jasiołda and Prypeć (Bel. Prypyat). It lies at a distance of some twenty-nine kilometres from the Dnieper-Bug canal. The whole area is rich in forests and the land was once flooded by impenetrable marshes and lakes, leaving little room for human habitation. The city of Pińsk is the sole large settlement in a sparsely populated landscape with water-bound communities and few roads. It is situated on mud-flats in the midst of the expansive flood-plains of the river Pina which stretch three kilometres from side to side. Pińsk has retained its status as the cultural and economic centre of western Polesie through to the present day. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century it witnessed the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in the missions of the Jesuits and then the Bernardines, Carmelites and others. The Franciscans had already been present there since the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Pińsk was one of the oldest towns in the Eastern Commonwealth, first mentioned in 1097 when, along with the city of Turów (Bel. Turau), it formed an independent Ruthenian principality with Pińsk as the capital. In 1132 the Prince of Kiev, Jaropełk II Włodzimierowcz, joined Pińsk and Turów to the principality of Mińsk. From the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries Pińsk was under the influence of the princes of Włodzimierz and Kiev. By 1241 it had become the seat of an Orthodox bishopric. The city was important strategically for its position between the Ruthenian principalities of Nowogródek and Halicz-Wołyń which were engaged in territorial conflicts. In 1320 Pińsk was incorporated into the Lithuanian state by Prince Gedyminas of Nowogródek. In 1316-22 it was the personal possession of Prince Gedymin and then of his eldest son, Narymunt, until 1348 when it passed to Gedymin’s grandsons, Michał, Jerzy, Aleksander

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15 Roman Horoszkiewicz, *Tradycje ziemi pińskiej*, Warszawa: Główna Księgarnia Wojskowa (1935)

and Wasył. During the late 14<sup>th</sup> century the ruler was Zygmunt Kiejstutis. In the time of Prince Vytautas of Lithuania (ca. 1350-1430), in the course of the various wars fought by the Lithuanian princes, Pińsk was the capital of the Orthodox eparchy of Turów-Pińsk. After 1440 Pińsk passed to Kazimierz Jagiellończyk, King of Poland and Great Prince of Lithuania, and it was governed by Juri Siemionowicz Narymuntowicz. In 1471 the city was given to Maria, the widow of the Kievan prince, Semen Olelkowicz, and then to her brother in law, Fiodor Iwanowicz.

Zygmunt the Strong gifted the entire Pińsk region in 1523 to his Italian wife, Bona Sforza, as her personal fief and in the course of her governance the inhabitants of Polesie witnessed a series of outstandingly successful economic ventures. Bona reformed the taxation system which had been no more than a poll tax that included children. She changed the system so that it was levied, instead, according to the size of the land-holding. This raised considerably larger revenues in a far more consistent and accountable manner. Bona commissioned the construction of the first canal system in this part of Europe, the Kanał Królewski (the royal canal) that linked the Dniepr river rising near Smolensk, via the Pina and Prypeć rivers at Pińsk to the Wisła river (Eng. Vistula), via the Michawiec river near Kobryń and the river Bug. This is currently the border-line of western Belarus. The Dniepr river runs through south-western Ukraine to the Black Sea. This canal and river system provided these regions with a major water-route between the Baltic and the Black Seas and boosted incoming trade and exports immeasurably, opening up the formerly enclosed Pińsk region for posterity. Bona encouraged the economic development of the region by luring in Polish settlers and lesser nobility from the Mazowsze region, enticing them to settle and develop the marshy landscape by granting them endowments of perpetual royal rights and privileges.<sup>16</sup> This policy soon yielded financial profit and Pińsk became the main trading-centre of Polesie for timber and other forest products such as fish, fur and skins.

Between 1553 and 1555 Pińsk grew by half beyond its original defenses. In 1581 Pińsk was granted the Magdeburg Rights and a coat of arms by Stefan Batory and in 1569 it became the regional capital of the province of Brześć. Four major trade fairs were held annually, established by the Magdeburg Rights.<sup>17</sup> In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Pińsk had twenty-nine streets with a total population of about 4,000 consisting of Ruthenians, Jews, Poles and Tatars. There were eighteen places of worship, sixteen of which were Orthodox. In 1396 a Franciscan church

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16 Rąkowski, *Czar Polesia*, Warszawa: "Rewasz" (2001), pp. 197-243.

17 Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 166-98; Baranowski, "Między Rzymem, Monachium i Wilnem" in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 45ff.



and monastery are recorded. There was also a synagogue. The mostly wooden architecture of the town was destroyed during the Chmielnicki uprising in 1648 and in the Polish-Muscovite wars. The Cossacks took Pińsk but were repelled by Hetman Janusz Radziwiłł. The Sejm ordered the fortification of the town in 1652. In 1655 Pińsk was again attacked by Cossacks and Muscovite forces led by Prince Dymityr Wolkonski. In 1660 the invaders left Pińsk in ruins. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century there took place a process of slow reconstruction.

The original plan of the town endured through to the 15<sup>th</sup> century and consisted of a 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century ditch and earthworks surrounding the town in a semi-circle, whose base was the river Pina. There were concentric rings of settlement, with the market at the centre. There had once existed a castle in the western part, with a palace for the prince. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Orthodox church (“sobor”) of St. Dymity was erected, as well as the princely Orthodox church of St. Teodor, along with the court of the Orthodox bishop. During the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Pińsk there existed a large number of Orthodox churches, namely, those of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Anastasius, St. Barbara, the Resurrection of Christ, St. Eleary, St. Michael, St. Onufry and St. Szymon, as well as those of the Transfiguration, St. Stefan, the Holy Spirit, the Holy Trinity and St. George. In 1690 the Starosta of Mińsk and Marshall of Lithuania, Jan Karol Dolski, founded a new settlement in Pińsk called Karolin which incorporated a new castle, church and monastery. Pińsk, despite the Swedish wars, continued to grow and by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century it was a large economic and trading centre.

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century there were nine Catholic monastic foundations, including two Uniate, in the city, namely, Franciscan, Jesuit, Dominican, Bartolomites, Bernardines, Carmelites, Basilian Fathers, Sisters of the Marian Life (Mariawitek), Basilian nuns and a Benedictine monastery near Horodyszcze. Pińsk was a Catholic diocese in own right during the first Commonwealth, but in 1793 it became part of the Russian gubernia of Mińsk and, then, under Polish rule in 1921-39 it was located in the województwo of Polesie and the powiat of Pińsk.<sup>18</sup> Pińsk diocese was

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18 *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski) Kraków : Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie, 1993- ongoing. The following volumes in this series concern the catalogue of sacred buildings and artefacts in Lithuania and Belarus: Part. 2. vols. 1-4. “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogródzkiego” (General editor) Maria Kałamajska-Saeed; Part 3. vols 1-4 “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa wileńskiego” (General editor Maria Kałamajska-Saeed); Part. 4. vol. 1 “Kościoły i

founded in 1925 as a suffrage of Wilno Metropolitanate. It included the deaneries of Baranowicze, Lachowicze, Łuniniec, Nowogródek, Pińsk, Stołowicze, Słopce and some parishes in Raków. These were left over from the old Mińsk diocese after the Tractate of Rysk (Riga) (1921) was signed between Poland and the Soviet Union when Mińsk remained in the Russian union. Also left in the Polish Pińsk diocese after 1925 was a part of Wilno diocese, namely, the deaneries of Bielsk, Brańsk, Brześć, Drohiczyn, Kobryń, Prużana and a few parishes of the deanery of Naliboki and Wiszniew. Pińsk diocese after 1921 included 127 parishes over the whole of Polesie, Nowogródek and Białystok provinces up to the borders of the USSR. With the attack of the Soviet Union on Poland on 17th September, 1939, all of this area was engulfed by the USSR and also became a part of the Lithuanian RR. In 1941 the same region was briefly part of the German Reich Ukrainian komisariat. From 1945 and the recognition of the new Soviet frontier along the Bug river, only fifty-six parishes were allocated to Poland administered from Białystok as part of the surviving pre-war archdiocese of Wilno. Poland also received only thirty-five parishes from the former Pińsk diocese, currently administered from Drohiczyn.

In the contemporary city of Pińsk there remains only one functioning Roman Catholic church which is the cathedral of the Franciscan Order, renovated in 1991. It has been in continuous use since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The other Catholic churches were allocated by the communist authorities for secular use, or were given to the Orthodox Church. The former Jesuit seminary is now a Belarussian museum. Tragically, the communists after 1945 systematically destroyed the great Jesuit church and the cemetery chapel, as well as the Carmelite, Dominican and Marian foundations and the hospital chapel. Other Catholic religious sites beyond Pińsk no longer exist, or survive only as ruins, such as those at Horodyszczycze, Lemieszewicze, Otołczyce, Podhacie, Porzecze and Soszne.

The editors of the *Materiały* catalogues of the Catholic sites in the former Lithuanian-Belarussian territories (ed. Jan K. Ostrowski) have concluded that the art history of the Brześć-Litowsk region can be recovered only in very small part, with a few exceptional survivals. The devastation of the region is almost complete. It was ravaged by Tsarist forces in the 19<sup>th</sup> century who destroyed many Catholic churches, often in favour of new Orthodox foundations, then by the SS Einsatzgruppe with

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klasztorzy Grodna” (General editor Maria Kałamajska-Saeed ), vol. 2 “Katedra w Grodnie”; vol. 3 “Kościoły Grodna”; Part 5, vols. 1-3 “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa brzeskolitewskiego” (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski), Krakow 2016.

their intention to murder all Slavic and Jewish inhabitants of Eastern Poland. Finally, the communists pursued a policy of russification of the terrains and their history, ordering the exile of the former Polish inhabitants, or their re-identification with a Belarussian, or, better still, a Russian nationality. A conclusive factor of apocalyptic levels of destruction was that the Pińsk region had been the theatre of operations during the Swedish-Russian Northern War which had wasted most of Lithuania. There were also the battles fought in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century Napoleonic wars. The rare surviving cultural foundations bear witness to the exceptional aesthetic quality of what was lost, of whatever period from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In contrast to the overwhelming losses of both sacred and secular historical artefacts in the Polesie region, more have survived in the areas further north around Grodno and Nowogródek. In the Polesie area eastwards and northwards from Pińsk, none of the Polish Catholic artefacts has remained in its original condition. Many have been lost entirely. The archival materials are also dispersed between several different modern countries and are difficult to assemble. The editors of the *Materiały* series for Pińsk had to use archives located as far away as St. Petersburg.

The most serious loss in Polesie is that of the Jesuit church in Pińsk (1647-51) which survives only in plans, drawings, engravings and photographs taken in the 1920s and 1930s. The ground-plan of the former basilica in recent years has been marked-out by green lines of shrubbery on the barren military parade-ground that replaces the old town and market. In the 1990s it was suggested to the Polish Catholic Church in Pińsk that the Jesuit church should be rebuilt in its original form. Cardinal Świątek, the prelate, however, declined since his diocese could not afford such a monumental project. Instead, it was suggested to the Orthodox Church that it should elevate its own church on the site of the old Jesuit basilica. This the Orthodox were pleased to do, but not in a Catholic form, only in the Byzantine style.

All that is left now, as a result, are lines of evergreen trees marking the former outlines of the main altar at the east and the lost façade at the west, with its huge curving arcade. The buildings of the original Jesuit College have managed to survive into the present day, but they no longer retain their former religious purpose.

The Jesuit church was built with elongated transepts and a sixteen metre chancel not found elsewhere in Jesuit architecture. In the Pińsk cathedral (the Franciscan church) there have been preserved paintings and sculptures from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as well as photographs, associated with the former Jesuit edifice. Most of the former contents of the Jesuit

basilica, nonetheless, have disappeared and are known only from archival material. Many of the other churches in Polesie beyond Pińsk were similarly associated with the Jesuit missions to the Orthodox Ruthenians and Cossacks. Not all of these have survived either, for example, the mission church on the noble estate at Podhacie is known only from photographs.



*8.1 Site of the demolished Jesuit basilica in Pińsk marked out by trees and the avenue, looking towards the main altar in the east chancel now only marked by a conifer, commemorated by the annual Corpus Christi procession (2017), photograph by U. Szulakowska*

The earliest form of the Jesuit basilica in 1635-46, according to Andrzej Baranowski, was comparable to that of the Jesuit church at Nieśwież, although the Pińsk basilica was reconstructed in the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century on a Rococo model. The three-bay Baroque façade of three stories was elaborated by the addition of a two-storey curved arcade on each side, painted sky-blue in colour. The Jesuit historian, Jerzy Paszenda, notes that the plan and the appearance of the Jesuit church were unique. In the absence of any archival material related to the original plans, it is probable that its unusual form was the result of subsequent rebuilding.<sup>19</sup> The Jesuit complex in Pińsk was originally

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<sup>19</sup> Jerzy Paszenda, “Kościoł i kolegium Jezuitów w Pińsku” in Betlej and Krasny (eds.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, 5 (2003), pp. 27-52.

founded by the Chancellor of Lithuania, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, and his first wife, Regina von Reisenreich. It was designed to educate missionary priests, as well as the sons of neighbouring magnates and szlachta.



*8.2 Former market-place in Pińsk destroyed and converted into a military parade-ground. The conifers mark the site of the façade of the Jesuit basilica, looking towards the chancel (2017), photograph by U. Szulakowska*



*8.3 Conifers marking the site of the demolished arcade on the left-side of the former façade of the Jesuit basilica, Pińsk (2017), photograph by U. Szulakowska*



St. Andrzej Bobola (1591-1657), missionary to the Ruthenian Orthodox, resided in the Jesuit College. Bobola and his co-worker Simon Maffon, along with sixteen other missionaries were barbarically murdered by Cossacks in 1657 at Janów Poleski. The relics of the martyrs were laid in the crypts of the Jesuit basilica in Pińsk.<sup>20</sup> Bobola had been born in the Sandomierz region of south-eastern Poland and he entered the Jesuit Order in 1611, working in Wilno after his consecration as a priest in 1622. He undertook missionary work in 1636 in the Pińsk region. In 1755 he was acknowledged as a martyr by Pope Benedict XIV and beatified by Pius IX. Bobola was finally canonised in 1938 and his relics were moved from Rome (where they had been held for safe-keeping during the Partitions) to the Jesuit chapel in ulica Rakowicka in Warsaw. In 1980-9 a new sanctuary was built for the relics.

The Podstarca of Pińsk, Mikołaj Jelski, in 1630 had gifted the Jesuit Order with a house on Market Square, along with eight thousand florins. On the 10<sup>th</sup> October, 1632, the Jesuits arrived in Pińsk.<sup>21</sup> On 24th September, 1633, a school opened and in 1634 a wooden college was erected with eighteen rooms. In 1635 the Jesuit College was completed by the Starosta of Pińsk and Chancellor of the Great Principality of Lithuania, Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł. The foundation document of Albrecht Stanisław located in Wilno has a date of 19<sup>th</sup> July, 1636. He provided land along with initial funds and named the church in honour of the Visitation and Birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Ignatius Loyola. Pasenda has discussed this act of foundation in which the Jesuits received a large parcel of land on the bank of the Pina, the house of Jelski in the market-place, the site of a former brewery and wax manufactory, the old royal cattlesheds and another site donated by the writer, Władysław Protoszewicz, which was purchased from the Uniate bishop, Rafał Korsak. Also included in the donation were streets and private houses, with a substantial amount of land on the noble estates around the Pina. In 1636 the foundation stone of the basilica was laid. The edifice was constructed of locally-fired brick in the absence of stone building materials in the region. The nearby college-buildings perished in the fire of 1648 with the start of the Cossack wars. However, work on the church continued and by 1640 the crypt was

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20 Katarzyna Kolendo-Korcza, "Kościół parafialny pw. Podwyższenie Krzyża Sw, w Janowie Poleskim," in *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 5. vols. 1-3 "Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa brzeskoliteńskiego" (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski), Krakow (2016), pp. 275-297.

21 Zbigniew Michalczyk, "Kościół p.w. Sw. Stanisława Biskupa Męczennika i Kolegium Jezuitów w Pińsku" in *Materiały*, Part 5, vol. 1, pp. 34-113.

finished and it was consecrated in 1647. The building was a hall-type structure with a nave and two side-aisles. Typical of Jesuit architecture there was no transept, nor any towers. In 1648 the conflagration of the town also led to the destruction of this building.



*8.4 Former Jesuit Basilica, Pińsk, condition between the wars, by permission of the Instytut Historii Sztuki, Jagiellonian University, Kraków*

In 1658, 1655 and 1657 Cossack forces raided and devastated the city. The Uniate Catholics and the very large population of Jews were slaughtered by the Cossacks. Further attacks and murders of Jesuits by Chmielnicki's Cossacks took place in 1660. Janusz Radziwiłł managed by a considerable effort to retake the city. The Jesuits returned in 1662 and



rebuilding commenced. On 24th September, 1651, the foundation stone of a new college was laid, but in 1660 the Cossacks once again burned the church and college down, along with the whole town. In 1662 a new school opened which, once more, was burned down in 1663. In 1667 it was decided to rebuild the college in stone and the walls of this were finished in 1675, although building work continued on the complex until 1705.

The interior of the church was completed in 1671. There were four bays on the ground plan. In the interior there were altars dedicated to St. Stanislaw Kostka and St. Francis Xavier, to which were added in 1675, those of The Holy Saviour, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Tadeusz. Between 1677 and 1705 another four altars were erected.

Work continued on both the church and the college through to the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, when the interior decorative scheme was carried out. In 1697 the two towers on the façade were completed. Work on the interior and chapels continued into the following century. The arcaded blue wings at the sides of the façade were added in 1755 and were intended to house the bells. The architect is unknown. They were an unusual feature in that, although in Lithuania and Rus such arcaded bell-structures were common, however, they were always built at a distance from the main church. In 1748-69 the director of works and the builder of the wings was a Jesuit builder and mason, Jan Typoly from Silesia who in 1744 had been a novice at Wilno. Typoly also worked in Braniew. Did he also design the façade and azure wings? At this time the walls of the side-aisles were raised, so that the church regained the appearance of a hall-type basilica. There is a lack of archival documentation regarding the details of this work. It is known, even so, that the main architects and decorators of the Jesuit basilica in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were Jesuits, namely, Franciszek Karcu (1759-63), Józef Ołędzki (1764-67) and Mateusz Kisielewski (1774-77). The Jesuit painter Ignacy Doretta (1751-54) is known to have been present, but there is no evidence that he actually worked on the church. In 1758 the basilica was completed and renovated.

This design was unique to the Pińsk church and is not encountered elsewhere in the Commonwealth. The original Baroque façade had a monumental classical style of pilasters, a heavy entablature, three pediments and towers at the corners. There is a highly unusual design above the lower level in which three distinct temple fronts are located, consisting of a small window-opening with a fanciful surround of pilasters and curved pediment set within a larger façade of pilasters, with Tuscan capitals supporting an entablature and pediment. Two of the temple fronts are placed on the second storey, while the third is squeezed precariously

between them at a slightly higher level. The effect, though imposing, is unbalanced, crowded and lacks grace. The two towers with their five levels culminating in little domes are even more of an aesthetic problem, tacked-on as they are behind the façade, with the arcades curving-round on either side. Embellished in the elaborate Rococo style, with its pierced openings, pinnacles, complex capitals and buttresses, the towers and arcades bear little conceptual and visual relation to the heavy Tuscan order of the three temple fronts on the façade. In September 1939 the invading Soviet army bombarded the church and the remnants were shamelessly demolished in the 1950s on the grounds that the church lacked any historical value.<sup>22</sup>

Nowadays, one stands aghast amid the topiary and flower-beds marking-out and pathetically replacing the basilica, confronting the iniquity of the barbarism that destroyed a unique building, one of a kind, not just in the Commonwealth, but in Europe as a whole. It is difficult to think of a direct comparison in a great church elsewhere. In its scale alone it competed with the larger European cathedrals and in its imaginative fantasy (whether aesthetically pleasing, or not) it was unique and irreplaceable.

In Pińsk there were, in addition, still more churches that have been callously destroyed, such as that of the Carmelite Order which has vanished so completely from the historical record that even its appearance is unknown. This is also the case with the church and convent of the Sisters of the Marian Life (Mariawitek) which was demolished in 1850 and of which no illustrations survive. Only known are the original locations on the city-plan.

At least, the Bernardine church continues to exist in a much reduced form, as does the church of the Bartolomites, or the priests of the Common Life, known in Polish, misleadingly, as the “Communist priests” (official name: Pol. Zgromadzenie Kłeryckie Księży Życia Wspólnego; Lat. Institutum Clericorum Saecularium in Communi Viventium), a monastic community of officiating priests for the laity founded in 1640 at Logman in Bavaria. The little church is no longer used for its original purpose and its interior has been destroyed. From the exterior it is a well-proportioned late Baroque building, with a three bay façade. It is entered through the gabled porch in the bell tower that stands in the middle of the facade. This is a three-storey structure with two clustered pilasters on each side of the two windows one above the other, the lower being the smaller, but adorned with a substantial pediment. The bays on each side of the tower on the façade have double-pediments, so that there is half a pediment on

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22 Górska, *Kresy Przewodnik* (no date; 200?), pp. 172-73.

each side overlaid over another lower pediment, producing a lively, stepped edge to the facade. The architectonics and decorative elements are monumental, if somewhat stocky in proportion. There is a great plasticity in such a small edifice and the structure displays an inventive use of classical elements.

This is only one of the many exceptional and completely unknown, or disregarded, churches in western Belarus. None of the churches that have managed to survive have retained their original function in Pińsk, apart from the Franciscan cathedral. The rest have either disappeared, or have been converted to secular purposes, or they have been awarded to the Orthodox Church. For example, the Baroque church of St. Charles Borromeo dating from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, after many vicissitudes, has been a concert hall since 1992. The other treasure in the city is the church of St. Barbara Martyr, dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the early 1930s, which has been given to the Orthodox Church for their liturgical use. There are present in this particular church some rare Catholic icons specifically Our Lady of Jerusalem (Pol. "Matka Boska Przewodniczka zwana Jerozolimska") dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as some 18<sup>th</sup> century works.

The oldest Catholic church in Pińsk and one of the oldest in Greater Lithuania is the cathedral of St. Francis. In 1396 the existing Franciscan church and monastery (now the cathedral) was founded by the Prince of Pińsk and Turów, Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz. The original church and Franciscan monastery were constructed in wood, but these were replaced with the current Baroque stone edifice in 1712-30. The cathedral consists of a tall nave, with lower side-aisles and a dome over the crossing of the nave and transepts, while the sanctuary is semi-circular in form. The façade dates from 1766. It is wider than the nave of the church, with three elaborately decorated stories and towers on each side crowned with domes, as well as side-chapels. The bell-tower is free-standing and was erected in 1817.

The church is officially known as a cathedral basilica and is dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The monastery was closed by the Tsarist authorities in 1852, but the Catholic foundation was restored at the time of the Polish republic and in 1925 the church became the cathedral of the Pińsk diocese.



*8.6 - 8-7 Franciscan cathedral, Pińsk, photographs by U. Szulakowska*



*8.8 Franciscan cathedral, Pińsk, photographs by Urszula Szulakowska*



8.9 Franciscan cathedral, Pińsk, photograph by U. Szulakowska

It has an exceptional Baroque interior containing a densely-carved 18<sup>th</sup> century pulpit cut from a single block of wood. Both the tall roof of the pulpit and its lower level are made from the same block. It has figures of the apostles Peter and Paul, the four Evangelists and St. Michael the Archangel. Of particular note, also, are the gilded side-altars dating from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, six of which are of wood and one of stucco. The central painting on the main altar depicts the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary after Murillo. A rare survivor from the 16<sup>th</sup> century in one of the side-altars is an Italian painting of the Holy Family with St. Francis. Among the many other treasures are icons, such as that of St. Anthony and the Christ-child, covered with silver-gilt, and dating from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, as well as a fine oil-painting of St. Michael of the same date. The Secessionist Pińsk Madonna with Child is a standing figure with the facial expression and pose of a fashionable lady of the period. It was produced in 1894 by Alfred Roemer. The breath-taking interior decoration is the work of the Franciscan friar Jan Szmytt. The polichromy was repainted in 1909 by Stanislaw Rudziński and Bronislaw Wiśniewski in predominant colours of gold, green and pink.

In 1990-91 there was no incumbent on the bishop's throne but after the *perestroika* of 1991 the Papacy appointed Kazimierz Świątek to the bishopric. He was made a cardinal and metropolitan of the diocese of Mińsk-Mohylew. Cardinal Świątek was a deeply revered figure owing to



his life-long stand against the predations of the communist authorities for which he spent eight years in the Siberian gulags.

The Franciscan cathedral is the only one of the former Polish Roman Catholic churches in Pińsk to have remained in use from the very beginning.



*8.10 St. Anthony of Padua, early 18th century Catholic icon with silver-gilt cope, Franciscan cathedral, Pińsk, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

Of the Orthodox foundations, the earliest church in the city used to be St. Theodore's. This was typically converted into a cinema by the communist authorities in the 1940s. It was restored to the faithful in 1994 and at this time is in the process of reconversion to an Orthodox church, with a neo-classical frontage newly-added to the façade. However, the current edifice graced by the name of St. Theodore is now an entirely different building altogether, since the saintly dedication has been transferred from the original edifice to a modern Russian-Byzantine centralised church boasting five domes. This extremely tall, massively-vertical and threatening structure was erected in 2001 and is sited well beyond the city-centre in the settlement of Ługa. The building is typical of the triumphalist style of the East European religious architecture erected since the fall of communism in the 1990s. Comparable domineering and hideous new churches may be found in Poland, proclaiming, in that instance, the triumph of Roman Catholicism. The political rhetoric of victory is the same whichever religious denomination is involved and the aesthetic just as questionable.

Near the much older foundation of the first St. Theodore's there can still be located the original buildings of the ancient Orthodox consistory. In the same area there is another Orthodox church dedicated to St Stephen, as well as the newly restored Orthodox convent of St. Barbara.

Beyond the city of Pińsk in the nearby area very few churches have survived from the centuries prior to the 1700s. Often, however, an ancient wooden building has been replaced in stone, even as late as the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in a more expansive form. Or the earlier wooden structure has sometimes burned down, or fallen down, or has been destroyed in war, sometimes never to be replaced. Wooden churches are a distinctive feature of Lithuania, especially in the Belarus region, due to the lack of stone quarries and of brick-manufactories. Stone was an expensive building material in that it had to be shipped down the waterways. Brick was more readily available, although mainly in the urban centres where it was manufactured. Although wooden religious architecture can also be seen further south in Crownland Poland, there are fewer surviving examples, but many of the existing stone structures would also have originally been constructed in wood. Certainly, wooden churches are plentiful in Małopolska in Crownland Poland and, most especially, in the Podlasie forested region across the modern border from Belarus, as well as in the Carpathian foothills on the Ukrainian border. However, the surviving wooden churches located today in the marches of the former Eastern Commonwealth are mostly Orthodox, or Uniate.





*8.5 Orthodox Church in Pińsk formerly dedicated to St. Theodore, in the process of reconversion from a cinema, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

Another feature of churches through-out Lithuania, Belarus and Crownland Rus in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was the manner in which their religious denomination changed from Orthodox to Uniate to Catholic and back again (or some other variant of this process). Some Catholic churches in Belarus were converted for Calvinist use, although most were originally founded as Calvinist places of worship. This could be very long-lasting, even as late as the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

In the *Materiały* series of catalogues and essays concerning Crownland Rus from the Jagiellonian University (general editor, Jan K. Ostrowski) there have recently appeared several new volumes edited by Maria Kalamajska-Saeed dealing with the Lithuanian Principality. The works for the województwa of Nowogródek and Wilno have been completed. There are also volumes covering the Pińsk region and the hinterland of western

Polesie.<sup>23</sup> These investigations reveal that in the Belarussian region the Catholic religious buildings are mostly early 18th century constructions, although often erected on the site of earlier wooden edifices usually not predating the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are a very few exceptions to these dates, such as the important parish church in Wołkowysk, the main town of the administrative district in Nowogródek województwo which dates from as early as 1386. The later dates of the Catholic sites in comparison to the very early medieval Orthodox foundations demonstrate the length of time that it took for western Belarus to become colonised.



8.11 Ruined Orthodox basilica, Turau, 10<sup>th</sup> century, photograph by U. Szulakowska

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23 *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski) Kraków : Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury w Krakowie, 1993- ongoing. The following volumes in this series concern the catalogue of sacred buildings and artefacts in Lithuania and Belarus: Part. 2. vols. 1-4. “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogródzkiego” (General editor) Maria Kałamajska-Saeed; Part 3. vols 1-4 “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa wileńskiego” (General editor Maria Kałamajska-Saeed); Part. 4. vol. 1 “Kościoły i klasztory Grodna” (General editor Maria Kałamajska-Saeed ), vol. 2 “Katedra w Grodnie”; vol. 3 “Kościoły Grodna”; Part 5. vols. 1-3 “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa brzeskoliteńskiego” (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski), Krakow 2016.

The considerably earlier Orthodox Ruthenian sacred sites had often been constructed in wood, but not entirely as is evidenced by the massive stone ruins of the Orthodox basilica at Turau (Pol. Turów), dating from the 10<sup>th</sup> century, which was destroyed in a medieval earthquake. The stone basilica at Turau has a very long nave, with side aisles and three apses at the east end where the sanctuary is located. The walls are extremely elevated and the roof-line is uniform as in the classical Roman basilica on which this Byzantine type of church is based. The roof-line does not reveal anything about the interior space. This is the type of sacred architecture encountered in Kiev and is characteristic of early medieval Ruthenia.

Prior to the Russian occupation of western Belarus from 1772 the Muscovite type of church-plan had never been used by architects and patrons. This consisted of a centralised domed space surrounded by domed chapels, all with their own roof-line, as at St. Basil's in Moscow. Such a form specifically alluded to the notion of Muscovy as the Third Jerusalem, the roof-lines signifying clusters of churches seen at a distance. This latter type is not encountered in the Belarussian lands prior to the Partition period and it is rarely encountered in Ukraine either in the late medieval era, as Krasny records, where it was used only for a few cemetery chapels.

## Uniate church art and architecture in the Pińsk region

One important feature of both the basilical and the Muscovite church styles is that both designs have a central dome, often set on a high drum and clearly visible from the outside. This was usually accompanied, even in small cemetery chapels, by additional smaller domes. Uniate churches that were converted to Orthodox use in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had small external domes added to them, as in the case of the Uniate church at Kobryń, near Pińsk, for example, or at Sienkiewiczze in the Łuniniec powiat. All churches in the Eastern Commonwealth of any religious denomination had a bell-tower standing nearby, separately from the main church. Sometimes the bells were hung from a free-standing stone, or wooden framework, open to the seasons.

The Polish historian, Wojciech Walczak, has recently produced an account of the Uniate Church in the Turau-Pinsk eparchy in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries which is available in an English translation. Most of the research concerning the Uniate Church is quite extensive in Belarus, but is not available to English-speakers, so that Walczak's work is almost a unique resource at the present time.<sup>24</sup> Under Jan Sobieski's rule the Uniate

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24 Wojciech Walczak, *The structure of the Uniate Turau-Pinsk eparchy in the 17th and 18th centuries*, trans. Anna Stawikowska, first published as *Unicka*

Church (Greek Catholic) was brought into existence in 1595-56 by the Union of Brześć. The former Orthodox who entered into full communion with Rome kept the Byzantine liturgy and the use of Church Slavonic. The Uniates were mostly Lithuanian in nationality and Belarussian in ethnic identity. Ukrainians from Crownland Rus joined the Uniates after 1700, but Belarussians continued to constitute a good half of the Uniate laity. By 1795 80 per cent of the Christians in Belarus were Uniates, 14 per cent were Roman Catholics and 8 per cent were Orthodox. After the Russian occupation of Poland in 1772 the entire Belarussian regions were engulfed into the Tsarist empire with the result that in 1795 many Belarussians were persuaded, or forced, to join the Orthodox Church under the Muscovite Patriarchy. The numbers involved are disputed by scholars and some argue that many more remained Uniates in communion with Rome. The Uniate Church in contemporary Belarus is in steep decline and Orthodoxy is by far the dominant confession, whereas prior to 1941 Roman Catholicism, including the Uniate Church, was the majority faith in the Belarussian territories.

The art and architecture of the Uniate Church currently remain little-researched, even in Belarus. One of the most interesting phenomena in this respect is the unique design of the typical wooden Uniate church with its three distinctive internal spaces. The earliest of these types has survived at Dawidgródek in Polesie near Pińsk, dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century soon after the Union of Brześć itself. Like most of the other wooden Uniate churches, including those at Kobryń and Sienkiewiczze, the Dawidgródek church was converted to Orthodoxy under the Tsarist occupation, then back to the Uniate confession under Polish rule 1921-39 and then back again from the 1940s to Orthodoxy. External pointed domes on drums of the Russian Orthodox type were added in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The ground plan of the wooden Uniate churches was in large part determined by three factors: first, the constraints of building in wood, rather than in stone, or brick: second, the relative poverty of the Uniate Church which attracted the poorer Ruthenian town-workers and peasants and, third, the ideological compulsion to build in a manner distinct from that of the Orthodox whom the Uniates were intended to replace. Due to the relative fragility of wood and the limitations ensuing from the limited lengths of timber, it was easier to erect three separate buildings set end to end, rather than to throw a lengthy nave constructed as a single space which is possible only in stone and brick. The Uniate structures in Belarus

built for the poor local Ruthenians are small and cramped. The congregation moves from one separate room into another in a very few steps, from the porch to the babiniec to the main nave in front of the sanctuary.



8.12 Former Uniate church, Dawidgródek, Polesie, Pińsk region, 17<sup>th</sup> century, photograph by U. Szulakowska

In the church at Dawidgródek, the earliest of the church types, the room line of the three spaces on the outside is quite distinctive, consisting of three steeply pitched roof lines, originally without a dome in sight from the exterior, although inside there is a domed space over the nave. The origins of this three-space ground plan seem to be Orthodox Wallachian and Moldavian, as previously discussed. The form is known in Polish as “trójdzielny” (triple-division). This plan provides a space at the east end for the liturgy, while the men occupy the middle space and the women are located at the west-end near the entrance.<sup>25</sup> Giovanni Maria Bernardoni in his project at Mir for Mikołaj Radziwiłł in 1600 also adopted this plan for

25 Krasny, *Architektura Cerkiewna*, p. 70.

his stone and brick chapel.<sup>26</sup> Since the surviving Uniate churches in Belarus were all erected after the Union of 1595, then they could not have been Orthodox in origin. It is a puzzle to explain the sources of this triple-space format in Belarus. Were these wooden churches in Belarus modelled on the Orthodox examples in southern Rus, or did the idea come directly from Wallachia/Moldavia? Or, was there an influence from Bernardoni's church at Mir? Or is this all purely coincidental?

A distinctive survivor from the earliest years of the Uniate Church is the chapel of St. George located in the village of Sienkiewiczze in the modern "rejon" of Łuniniec, near Pińsk. The chapel was closed, except for funeral rites, under the Soviet occupation of the 1940s, but it was reopened in 2017 for daily liturgical use. During the Russian occupation, like most Uniate churches and chapels, the chapel was transferred to the Orthodox Church under the hegemony of the Moscow patriarchate.

Sienkiewiczze lies in the same parish as the nearby village of Mokrowo where there survives a small, but impressive, traditional Orthodox church of the basilical type, with cupolas on tall drums along the roof-line. (There is also a Roman Catholic parish at Łuniniec.) The chapel at Sienkiewiczze is a cultural treasure of Belarus, since its form and décor have been preserved unaltered since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It has remained much the same as it was when the Uniates worshipped there in the 1930s. Preserved in a time-warp due to its lack of use for the past seventy years, all is nearly as it was a century ago. Certainly, the interior has been kept clean, the walls and woodwork have been painted and gilded and the embroidered textiles have been renewed, but otherwise the place breathes the air of the 1930s and to enter the chapel is to be thrown back in time, a most moving and startling experience.

The "cerkiew" (the Polish term for an Orthodox church) at Sienkiewiczze was intended to be a cemetery chapel and it stands at the entrance to the extensive cemetery on the edge of the village, typically sited on an elevated piece of ground to avoid flooding by the marshes that once surrounded the village. The chapel was built at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, as a Uniate church. Although built of wood, at some date since the 1940s the chapel has had its walls and roofs clad with steel plates, now rusting and disintegrating to reveal the lamentable condition of the wood beneath. Originally there were none of the little cupolas on their tall drums that are currently standing on the roof-line, with their distinctive metallic Orthodox crosses.

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26 Paszenda, "Architekci Jezuiicy w Polsce" in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 245-46 (Brizio and Bernardoni and their pupils, 1575-1627).



In front of the chapel there stands a bell-tower of wood. It has also been clad in metal plates and is elevated on a platform, leaning precariously. The roof is square in form and, beneath it, at the top of the tower there is open lattice-work to allow the sound of the bells to ring out. The chapel lacks any but the most rudimentary foundations of large, rough-cut stones lying shallow in the earth, above which the wooden structure is suspended. High steps lead into the porch. The narrow babiniec of the Sienkiewiczze chapel is entered from the porch. The floor rises alarmingly due to the sinking foundations, but is covered carefully by rugs. The babiniec is wider than the porch and leads into the nave which is of the same height as the babiniec, but even wider, ending in the sanctuary.

This is a single storey building, but although there is no visible exterior central dome as in Orthodox churches, there is an equivalent which consists of a square-shaped ceiling elevated above the nave so that the four sides curve outwards and inwards like a dome and there is a text in Church Slavonic running around the lower rim. This squared dome is only visible from the inside. On the exterior all that can be seen is an elevated tower with a sloping four-sided roof-line from which there springs another, taller, but narrower, tower with a roof. Each of the four areas of the chapel has its own roof-line.

The narrow and cramped sanctuary is protected by the “Royal Door “ and by a most unusual iconostasis consisting of diagonal, painted wooden slats that reveal the holy space clearly, unlike in a traditional Orthodox church. Around the chapel there are placed brass votive candle-holders, as well as a stand for the icon designated for special veneration according to the seasons of the liturgical year. There are two additional free-standing altars in front of the sanctuary to the right and the left dedicated to saints. Icons of the apostles are hung above the iconostasis and the Royal Door.

Around the walls of the chapel there are a multitude of other icons and a few printed black and white images. None of these have ever been subjected to study by scholars and their history is unknown. The iconography and styles of the various paintings and prints are a medley of eastern Orthodox and western Catholic style and iconography. The printed icons belong to the iconography of the Fourteen Stations of the Cross which is a specifically Catholic devotion never used in Orthodoxy. These date from the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the series is not complete. It is possible that some of the Stations were removed here after the war from the Polish Catholic church built in 1937 by the frontier garrison stationed in Sienkiewiczze. This church was burned down and no trace of it remains, but, as a matter of course, it would have displayed the Stations of the Cross around the nave. It is likely that this is where these most un-

Byzantine images originate from. The prints are copies of late 19<sup>th</sup> century paintings from the French, or Italian, school. Others of the paintings may have also originated in the destroyed Catholic church.



8.13 Cemetery chapel of St. George (pre-1940s Uniate), Sienkiewiczze, photograph by U. Szulakowska



8.14 Cemetery chapel of St. George (pre-1940s Uniate), Sienkiewiczze, photograph by U. Szulakowska





8.15 – 8.19 *Orthodox Cemetery chapel of St. George (pre-1940s Uniate), Sienkiewiczze, photographs by U. Szulakowska*

All of the other icons are originals painted in a naïve style, suggesting the work of unschooled local painters. Some seem to date from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but most of the painted icons are likely to be 19<sup>th</sup> century works, or even much later. The very rough and vigorous imagery of the apostles and those of other holy figures encased in gilt metalwork are likely, however, to belong to the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. There are also copies of western images, such as a naïve scene of the Annunciation after Tiepolo

which would be a local product of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even post-1940, and this must also be the case with the Raphaelesque Madonna and Child which looks comparatively recently painted, though it may prove to belong to the pre-war period. There is also a Holy Family on the iconostasis composed after western models which, again, may be a 20<sup>th</sup> century work.

The iconography found in these Uniate churches is a real conundrum and the types in Belarus must not be confused with those found in the West, such as those located in the Belarussian Uniate church of St. Cyril of Turau in London with its mainly 20<sup>th</sup> century iconography, or in the Uniate churches of the United States where the iconography and church ritual has been much affected by Roman Catholic practices and is latinised. The icons found in Uniate churches in Belarus from the late 16<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century still closely follow ancient Orthodox liturgical practice. There were no statues. Nor were there many scenes of the suffering Christ, since Orthodoxy stresses the Resurrection, rather than the pain of the Passion and emphasises redemption and eternity.

There is no use of the Marian rosary in the Eastern Rite, although there is a different kind of rosary (“czotki”) used for the “Jesus prayer,” the repetition of a single prayer addressed to Christ. Hence, when one encounters prints with scenes from the Catholic Stations of the Cross at Sienkiewicze, there has to be an interesting and complex story behind their arrival in the formerly Uniate, then Orthodox, cemetery chapel.

It is certainly the case that by the 18<sup>th</sup> century Belarussian icons had often become latinised stylistically and had adopted certain Catholic compositional motifs, as elsewhere in Russian Orthodoxy and in the Ukrainian Uniate churches. These included Raphaelesque Madonnas and Infants, rich in human sentiment. Depictions of saints and angels by the 19<sup>th</sup> century also often followed western types and there was a use of western perspective, landscape and realistic portraiture and figurative styles. Many icons, however, were still covered by sheets (“dresses,” or “crowns”) of silver and silver-gilt in the Byzantine style, with only the faces and hands displayed and always curtained by embroidered linen towels. Liturgical vestments in the Uniate Church have remained those of the Byzantine rite.

Sienkiewicze (Bel. Синкевичи; Sinkevicy) is a medium-sized village in the modern “obwod” of Brześć lying in the “rejon” of Łuniniec which is located in the county of Pińsk. The village lies about thirty-eight kilometres east of Łuniniec on the river Łań, a tributary of the river Prypeć. This territory was included in the “ordynacja” of the Radziwiłł

princely family, specifically of the Nieśwież lineage. The region, including the nearby town of Łachwa, along with Nieśwież itself and Ołyka was granted by the king Kazimierz Andrzej IV Jagiellończyk (1427-92) to the Kisków family in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Anna Kiskówna, the only daughter of the Wojewod of Smoleńsk, Stanisława Kiszko of Ciechanowiec, brought these lands in 1513 as her dowry into the possession of her husband, Jan Radziwiłł Brodaty (the “Bearded”). In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century these estates, villages and towns belonged to the “powiat” of Nowogródek in the województwa of the same name.

According to a new study conducted by Siekierski, the estate of Łachwa in Polesie was one of the largest private estates in the Grand Principality of Lithuania.<sup>27</sup> Between 1533 and 1588 the rights to the estate were shared by the Radziwiłł and the Kiszko families. It was divided legally into two separate parts in 1588. Siekierski, basing himself on recently discovered archival information, has been able to provide a detailed account of the property in the hands of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł before and after 1588. Sienkiewiczze originally belonged to the part of the estate held by the Radziwiłł prior to 1588, along with Sitnica nearby and Łachwa itself. Seven villages are mentioned in the archives prior to 1588 and there were 198 peasant households in this area. There are tax receipts for 1582 and 1583, as well as a summary of the income from Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s estates for June, 1587, among which there is another mention of Sienkiewiczze. Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł divided the Łachwa estate with Jan Kiszko. In the document of 1588 the twin villages of Sitnica and Sienkiewiczze were allotted to Jan Kiszko. Siekierski comments that this probably recognises a “de facto” situation prior to the 1588 legal agreement in which there had existed an east-west division of the estate. Siekierski argues, however, that prior to 1588 Kiszko had never had any share in the villages of Sienkiewiczze, Sitnica and Wilcze. Another inventory made in 1626 lists Sienkiewiczze and Sitnica, along with other villages near Łachwa, as a separate estate, but Siekierski considers that in naming these villages in close proximity to the mention of the town of Łachwa they must have been related to the Łachwa estate and, hence, in the possession of the Radziwiłł in ca. 1616.

In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the population of Sienkiewiczze would have consisted of minor Belarussian szlachta and peasantry. The szlachta owed military service as a feudal due to the Radziwiłł family at Nieśwież

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27 M. Siekierski, “The Estate of Łachwa of Prince Nicholas Christopher Radziwiłł (1549-1616): A Contribution to the Study of the Historical Geography and Economy of Southern Byelorussia,” *The Journal of Byelorussian Studies*, vol. 5, no.1, year 17 (1981) pp.19-28.



in return for tenancy of their lands. There is evidence that in many instances, with time, these lands became the legal personal possession of the tenantry of the Radziwiłł. The szlachta tenantry served as lightly-armed Cossack troops who were mostly stationed in their own homes, but who also served in the main castle, as required. There is a lack of documentary evidence for the ethnicity of the inhabitants of Sienkiewicze in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, though it seems likely from the general history of the ethnic settlement of the region that it consisted of a Belarussian population, with Jews settled on the outskirts of the village working as traders. Sienkiewicze is located on the main trade routes from the major northern towns of Lithuania to the southern agrarian wealth of Wołyń and eastwards into the Prypeć marshes with their fishing, hunting and timber. Consequently, Sienkiewicze seems always to have been quite a substantial settlement, attracting new occupants due to its wealth of forest produce and Radziwiłł princely patronage.

In the period of the Second Polish Republic from 1919 to 1939 Sienkiewicze was located in the “powiat” of Łuniniec in the województwo of Polesie and within the village there was stationed a large garrison of the border patrol known as the KOP Battalion "Sienkiewicz." At this time ethnic Poles from Poland were encouraged to settle in the regions controlled by the Polish border garrisons and these came mostly from the Podlasie region round Białystok. In addition, a number of the minor (Pol. “drobna”) Belarussian szlachta families converted from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism, while the peasantry in large numbers returned to the Uniate faith of the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, as well as converting occasionally to Catholicism.<sup>28</sup> The converted szlachta adopted a Polish ethnic identity and language, while the peasantry retained their Ruthenian ethnicity, or simply identified themselves as “locals” (Tutejsi), or “Polesians” (Pol. “Poleszucy”), or sometimes they adopted a Polish ethnicity. Sienkiewicze in 1921-39, due to the presence of the garrison with its many economic and organisational necessities, had attracted a mixed population of polonised Belarussians, native Poles, native Belarussians and Jews. In the modern day, having survived the horrors of Nazi SS Einsatzgruppe atrocities and Soviet collectivised farms, Sienkiewicze continues to be a thriving village with a quarry, manufactory, railway station and a major trunk-road.

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28 Dorota Michaluk (ed.) *Dwór i wieś na Litwie i Białorusi w XIX i na początku XX wieku*, series: Szlachta i Ziemiaństwo na Ziemiach Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, Warszawa (2014); See also Dorota Michaluk and Krzysztof Mikulski (eds.) *Szlachta i ziemiaństwo na pograniczu kultur dawnej Rzeczypospolitej od XVI do początku XX wieku*, Warszawa (2016).

In comparison to the devastation in Pińsk itself the Roman Catholic heritage of Polesie has survived in some noteworthy churches in other parts of the rural areas and small towns and these can be exceptional by any standards. Often these churches survived communist rule by being transferred to secular use. A few have still not had their original sacred purpose restored to them, such as Telechany church (built in 1817-64) which has been given a secular character and is no longer used for worship. For the rest, some have been restored to the Polish Catholic church since 1989, such as the 18<sup>th</sup> century church at Duby which is a very rare late Baroque survival.

Others of equally high worth are much later in date, most notably, at Horodysze the church and monastery built in 1810 and at Janów Poleski the 19<sup>th</sup> century sanctuary of St. Andrzej Bobola, as well as the religious site at Pohość Zahorodzki. In addition, there exist edifices dating from the 20<sup>th</sup> century which are either outstanding examples of revivalist historical types, or have been designed in the most innovative modernist forms by architects from Wilno and Warsaw. One such is the church at Łahiszyn built in 1905-10 using a Gothic Vistulan-Baltic style, regarded as a particular "Polish type." Other modernist churches that have disappeared are known from photographs and archives, such as the one at Lemieszewicze built in the 1930s by the Warsaw architect Teodor Bursz. Another 20<sup>th</sup> century modernist architect designed the chapel at the hospital in Pińsk. He may be identifiable with Wiktor Sołomowicz.

There are also older historic churches still surviving which were once noted for the high quality of their innovative, but much later, 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century contents, such as Bezdricze church which was Roman Catholic originally, then owned by the Orthodox for decades and regained by Catholics in 1914 and 1990. Of the five known altars, not one has survived, but a cross and two banners do remain and these are exceptional in quality.

Similarly in Janów Poleski there was already an earlier church in existence in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it was not mentioned in the archives until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The later church built here was intended to hold the remains of St. Andrzej Bobola, who was martyred in that place. The church was used after 1945 as a granary, then as a house of culture. At least the reliquary of St. Andrzej crafted in 1926 has survived, as has the wooden cross created in 1926 by the noted Polish sculptor, Napoleon Orda. There is also extant a silver sash worked by Helena Skirmuntowa, a 20<sup>th</sup> century sculptor and painter originating from Eastern Poland who had strong connections with Pińsk. (She was also consulted about a proposed

altar for Ochowa church where she proposed to create an eclectic tabernacle.)

As well as the Uniate wooden churches, there have survived some good examples of Catholic wooden religious architecture in Polesie, although most of these are later in date than those of the Uniates. There is the former Catholic church, now Orthodox, which is located in the cemetery at Ochów. Before 1758 it was used by the Franciscans from Pińsk, then it was transferred to the Uniates and, finally, to the Orthodox.<sup>29</sup> In the cemetery at Soszne there is another wooden church originally built as a relief church, or chapel of ease, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century when the Bernardines moved there from Horodysze. Also during the 18<sup>th</sup> century the local Franciscan Rosary Brotherhood built a wooden chapel in the town cemetery at Podhacie. In fact, further north in the Nowogródek region as late as the 20<sup>th</sup> century wooden churches were still being constructed. At Nowojehia there existed a wooden chapel brought over from Rędzinowszczyzna in 1936 and rebuilt on a new site. In 1984 this was transformed into a stone building. It has one central tower of two stories, with a steeple and cross. There are windows in each storey and an indented entrance doorway, with tympanum and side-wings jutting forward.

The village of Ruda Jaworska also has a wooden church from the same period, that of Sw. Jozef Oblubieniec (St. Joseph the Beloved). It was commissioned and founded in 1935-37 by Archbishop Kazimierz Michalski from Wilno. This similarly has a central tower with a pitched roof. At the east-end there is an ornate square apse. The architects were brought in from Wilno and they worked with modernist trends. Yet another church dedicated to St. Barbara at Sielwicze was in a continuous state of construction from its first version in 1877, right up to 1908 and then again in 1930. It also has a central tower, although this is not in the modernist style as at Ruda Jaworska.

Then there still exists the wooden church of St. Michael at Skrundzie. This was originally built as a wooden chapel in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was renovated in 1821 and 1822 when a wooden bell-tower was planned. In 1900 the church was reconstructed in the form of an Orthodox church. In 1905-6 it was restored to the Roman Catholics, who once more reconstructed the edifice to suit their own liturgical requirements. It was decided then to erect a new, much larger, church alongside the old edifice

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29 The information concerning the following churches in the Polesie region is drawn from the *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Part 5. vols. 1-3 “Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa brzeskolitewskiego” (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski), Krakow (2016), passim.

and the original building was left standing as a wooden chapel. In 1935-7 Kazimierz Michalski was again brought in as architect. In 1964 both the church and the chapel were torn down by the communist authorities, but since the supporting walls had survived then a new church was raised in 1992-6 which was burned down deliberately in 2013 as an act of arson. One shakes one's head in disbelief.

In Lithuania due to the dominating influence of Calvinism on the princes, nobility and urban population the denominations of some various churches shifted between Calvinist and Catholic, for example, at Hniezno where there stands a Calvinist church built between 1559 and 1640 whose founders were Anna Szmetów and Hieronim Chodkiewicz.<sup>30</sup> The last of these Calvinist foundations was erected in wood at Izabelin in 1668, but in 1778 a new stone Calvinist church replaced the original wooden structure. Another parish church at Międzyrzecz was laid to ruin by schismatics and heretics in 1668, according to the contemporary record left by Bishop Mikołaj Słupski. The Catholic parish of Międzyrzecz was founded in 1514, but the later owners of the land were Calvinist. The Grabowski family had been among the original founders of the Calvinist parish and its members still belonged to the Reformed Church in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There are numerous other such examples of persistent loyalty to Calvinism.<sup>31</sup> In the case of Międzyrzecz the parish church was also used by Uniates (Greek Catholic Church), as well as by the Roman Catholics. Such tolerant ecumenical use by different denominations of the same church was not uncommon in the Lithuanian Principality.

The Church dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Łyskowce (Kościół pw. Św. Trójcy and Klasztor Misjonarzy) was founded as a missionary church, another type of Catholic religious foundation specific to Lithuania and the Ruthenian Crownlands further south.<sup>32</sup> The parish here was founded in 1527 and the wooden church was used until 1783. After that date, a new stone church was built alongside the original wooden structure.<sup>33</sup> Only the walls of the stone church survive at the present time, the roof having fallen in since 1957 although in the 1950s the church was still intact and still functioning.<sup>34</sup> The church was closed in 1957 and has been allowed to decay and fall into ruin. It breaks your heart. What else can be said?

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30 Ibid, p. 43.

31 *Materiały* (Wojewódstwo Nowogródzkie), Part 2, vol. 2 (Ed. Kałamajska-Saeed), Plate 114.

32 Ibid (vol. 2), pp. 88-104.

33 Ibid (vol. 2), p. 88.

34 Ibid (vol. 2), see Plates 202-204 (condition in 1957) and Plates 204-205 (condition in 2004) and see also the following plates to no. 221.

## The województwo of Nowogródek

The województwo of Nowogródek was constituted in 1566 by King Zygmunt August who included the powiat of Słonim which had formerly belonged to the województwo of Troki (added to Troki in 1413). Thus it remained until the Nowogródek region was absorbed into the Soviet Union in 1939. It was removed from the old Lithuanian Principality and awarded to the new Belarussian Soviet Republic constituted after 1921 within the Soviet Union. Belarus was enlarged by two hundred miles of Polish territory. The former Polish Catholic dioceses left straddling in 1945 along the pre-1939 borders of Poland, Lithuania and Belarus were regularised in 1991, so that Nowogródek now belongs to the diocese of Grodno, whereas before 1939 it had belonged to the diocese of Wilno.

In comparison to Polesie from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards there was a larger settlement of ethnic Poles in the Nowogródek region, although this was still an underpopulated land. The majority of the population in the Nowogródek and Grodno regions remained Orthodox and the number of Roman Catholic parishes was fewer. However, in the hinterlands of Nowogródek the Catholic parishes were founded much earlier than was the case in the Polesie region. The Polish settlements north of Polesie appeared at an earlier date because of the Lithuanian political connection with the Polish Crown and also due to the close proximity of the of Nowogródek region to the capital Wilno and to major cities such as Kowno (Kaunas), all of which had sizeable Polish populations. The land-holdings in this region belonged to polonised Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes whose conversion to Catholicism and to Polish culture was already well under way in the 15<sup>th</sup> century during the reign of the Jagiellonians. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century there were founded the Catholic parishes of Mołczadź (in 1422), Rohotna (in 1460), Porozowo (in 1460), Zelwa (in 1470), Mscibów (in 1492), Słonim (in 1490), Zdzięcioł (in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century) and early in the 16<sup>th</sup> century new parishes were constituted in Łukonica (1505), Dworzec (1516) and later in Dereczyn (1618). Even considerably later in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, despite the hegemony of the Tsarist regime, new Polish Catholic parishes were still emerging.<sup>35</sup>

In 1655 the powiat of Słonim had been among the most devastated by the invading Muscovite forces of Alexei Michailowu Trubetskoy and the Cossacks of Ivan Zlotorenka. In fact, this whole region was laid waste in

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35 *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (General editor Jan K. Ostrowski) Kraków (1993- ongoing) Part. 2. vol. 2, "Kościoły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogródzkiego" (General editor) Maria Kałamajska-Saeed.

the 17<sup>th</sup> century and then again in the Northern Wars of the early 18<sup>th</sup> century fought between the Russians and Swedes.<sup>36</sup> In 1659-60 the troops of Ivan Andrejewicz Chowanski destroyed more than a dozen churches in the Catholic decanate of Słonim alone, including Lachowicze, Słonim and Rohotna. Among the surviving Catholic churches some are of particular importance, such as that at Zdzięcioł which was founded in 1646 by Prince Lew Sapieha (1557-1633).<sup>37</sup> The ground plan consists of a single nave, with a semi-circular apse and a sygnaturka tower (flèche) for the bell. This edifice managed to survive the Muscovite invasion of 1655-61. In 1674 it was consecrated, at which date it held paintings of the Holy Trinity, as well as paintings on wood of the patron saints of Kazimierz Lew Sapieha (1609-1656), the son of the founder, Lew Sapieha, and of Aleksander Hilary Połubiński (1626-79), Great Marshall of Lithuania from 1669.

The church at Zdzięcioł was one of the very few from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to be originally built of stone in this region. It is an eclectic Mannerist Baroque church, typical of the foundations of Prince Kazimierz Lew Sapieha. He also founded other stone churches in this region, such as the parish church at Siemiatycze (1637), the Bernardine church at Druo (1646) and the church of the Bernardine nuns in Grodno (1645). All of these have early Baroque façades, elaborate doorways and two towers. Often the churches in this region continue to retain Mannerist Renaissance details. One church at Rędzinowszczyzna has been misleadingly dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century and identified as a Uniate church by Belarussian historians. According to Kałamajska-Saeed this church is, in actuality, a late 17<sup>th</sup> century building of a widespread Baroque type which was greatly altered in a 19<sup>th</sup> century restoration. After the fall of communism in Belarus this was rebuilt by Polish Catholic parishioners in 1989-92 and dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Other stone churches of this date are one found at Różana (1617), another belonging to the Lateran canons at Krzemienicy (1619) and two more in Słonim built of stone, namely, the parish church of 1635 and the Bernardine church erected in 1649.

However, many of the former Polish Catholic foundations were deliberately destroyed after 1943 during the Soviet occupation of the region, such as the lost monastery of the Lateran canons in Krzemienicy which was an exceptionally important historical foundation.<sup>38</sup>

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36 *Materiały* (Województwo Nowogródzkie), Part 2, vol. 2 (Ed. Kałamajska-Saeed), p. 9.

37 *Ibid*, pp. 151-83.

38 *Ibid*, pp. 25-81.



In terms of the aesthetic tastes of the patrons and, more important, the feasibility of construction, the town of Wołkowysk is a good example of how churches continued to be constructed out of wood until a very late date. The Catholic parish church of St. Waclaw, with its miracle-working Madonna icon, was built and rebuilt of wood. In 1712 the new wooden church was burned down, but the other older wooden churches continued to exist in Wołkowysk. Even the 20<sup>th</sup> century church of St. Stanislaw Kostka was constructed from wood. In the parish of Wołpa<sup>39</sup> there originally existed an older parish church of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which was rebuilt continuously, with a third version being constructed in 1640 and a final one in 1773 which has survived.<sup>40</sup> In style the Wolpa church is typical of those found through-out the Nowogródek region and very different in aesthetic from the contemporary stone examples in Crownland Rus. The Wolpa church is very tall, with a central tympanum over the main entrance and a tower, with turret, on either side. It has to be said that the quality of the extant architecture in Polesie and Nowogródek can be exceptional by any standard.

### **Religious painting, sculpture and the decorative arts in the Polesie and Nowogródek regions**

There exist some rare paintings that have survived in these areas of western Belarus. In painting, surprisingly, in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century the works are of a high aesthetic quality and workmanship, although this did not endure, declining to mostly provincial production in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The artists were often introduced by patrons from Wilno, where they had trained in workshops using Netherlandish engravings as copies. The Nowogródek region has numerous examples of such paintings. One of the most exceptional paintings is that of the icon of the *Throne of Mercy* in Szydłowice, dating from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This was once set within the main altar. At the present time it urgently requires restoration, as is the case with the majority of sacred buildings and their furnishings, hindered by lack of finances, administrative disorder and the lack of trained conservators in Belarus. Also from the same church in Szydłowice are two other significant paintings, one from around 1620 of the *Holy Family* and another, 17<sup>th</sup> century in date, of *Our Lady of Victories*. (Both of these are now conserved in the Museum of Ancient Belarussian Culture in Mińsk.) They are the work of an artist from Wilno,

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39 Ibid, pp. 194-201, 202-44.

40 Ibid, pp. 207-11.

basing himself on Netherlandish engravings of sacred scenes, as was customary artistic practice in Wilno and northern Lithuania (as was also the case with the Ostrabrama icon set in the eastern gate of Wilno). There exists a fourth important icon in Międzyrzecz depicting St. Anne, the Virgin Mary and Child (now located in the Museum of the History of Religion in Grodno).<sup>41</sup> This has been modelled after an engraving by the Netherlandish engraver Johann Sadeler (first quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century). It is popularly reputed to be a miracle-working icon and once had a pilgrimage cult associated with it. All of these 17<sup>th</sup> century icons are of exceptional artistic quality and were produced either in Wilno, or by artists trained in that city, but working elsewhere. A painting of Our Lady of the Snows originally belonged to the destroyed Dominican church in Pińsk and is now held by the Museum of Ancient Belarussian Art in Mińsk.<sup>42</sup> A feretron (an image mounted to be borne on the shoulders of devotees in procession) which once belonged to the Rosary Brotherhood in the Dominican church is now located in the cathedral of Pińsk.<sup>43</sup> The quality of painting in this region decreases in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, although in contradiction to this general rule the main altar of the church in Horodyszcze once displayed an exceptional painting of the education of the Virgin Mary based on an original by Tiepolo in Sta. Maria della Consolazione in Venice. Perhaps the copy was made by a Roman-trained painter, Jan Bogumil Plersche (1732-1817), a rare work of high quality in that provincial context.

Furthermore, an unexpectedly large quantity of precious metal-work has survived in western Belarus. Much of this takes the form of popular art, such as the votive offerings left at miracle-working shrines. These consist of commemorative plaques of silver and silver-gilt, engraved in a broad local style, depicting narratives and symbols pertaining to the miracle accomplished. Among the metalwork surviving at Wołkowysk parish church there are several collections of silver “vota.” At the church in Roś there is another fine series of such populist devotionalia, created in a rough folkloristic style by untrained local craftsmen. Strubnica parish church has also conserved many silver vota.<sup>44</sup> There are also many rich and rare textiles that have survived, although these all date only from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, such as altar cloths, banners, chasubles, stoles, woven wall-hangings of tapestry and damask, as well as embroidery.

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41 Ibid, p. 10.

42 Ibid, Plate 323.

43 Ibid, Plates 312-322.

44 Ibid, Plates 579-594.

Krzemienicy church, in particular, holds an exceptional collection of fine textiles, church vestments, altar dressings and banners.

It is known, in addition, that there were once large numbers of Ruthenian icons commonly located in Roman Catholic churches, but none of these have survived.<sup>45</sup> They were usually images of the Virgin and in the records they are recorded as “moskiewskie” in style (muscovite) or “z ruska malowane” (painted after the Ruthenian, or Russian manner). In 1633 these were once found in Mołczadź, for example, and in 1653 another is recorded in Zdzięcioł. Both were said to have been decorated with precious stones and metals. Other recorded, but since lost, icons contained unusual subject-matter that did not belong to the Orthodox Ruthenian, or Russian, iconographic repertoire. Such types may have been written by Orthodox, or Uniate, artists specifically for a Polish Roman Catholic context, such as the Deposition from the Cross said to have once been held at Łukonice and described as “ruski” (Ruthenian, or Russian in style). Another in Mołczadź is recorded as depicting the Polish national patron saint, St. Stanisław. In 1653 the records show that at Zdzięcioł church there used to be a painting on copper of the Mother of God in a silver frame and gilded.<sup>46</sup>

There are some good examples of imported sculpture in the Słonim area of which the most important is the wooden Gothic figure of Matka Boska Bolesna (Our Lady of Sorrows) at Ruda Jaworska belonging to the German school and dating from the second quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>47</sup> According to Maria Kałamajska-Saeed the Gothic sculpture was found at Ruda Jaworska in 1934 and she compares it to another image by Master Paul dating from 1520-30 which is held in the Marian basilica in Gdańsk. Wojciech Walanus has argued that the Gdańsk figure is indeed from the hand of Master Paul. Such figures were created in Gdańsk, or Wilno, where the visual artists were mainly German. Wilno had lively contacts with Gdańsk and Lithuanian patrons introduced Michael of Enkinger to Wilno in order to build the church of St Anne.<sup>48</sup>

For the sandstone portal of the church at Zdzięcioł the German sculptor Wilhelm Richter produced a stone relief of a Madonna enthroned with child (dated 1646). This is stylistically related to the Ascension of Christ

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45 Ibid, p. 10.

41 Ibid, p. 173.

47 Ibid, pp. 10-11. See also Wojciech Walanus, “Matka Boska Bolesna ze Zdzięcioła jako przykład oddziaływania sztuki Mistrza Pawła,” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 61 (1999), pp. 423

48 Walanus, “Matka Boska Bolesna ze Zdzięcioła,” *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 61 (1999), pp. 423-26.

in the church of the Brigittines in Grodno (dated 1642). The Zdzięcioł façade is organised in the Mannerist Renaissance style with decorative niches and apses. The doorways are also Mannerist in style. According to Mariusz Karpowicz, the portal at Zdzięcioł is the work of the same anonymous sculptor who created the figure on the sarcophagus of Archbishop Adam Nowodworski (d. 1634) at the cathedral of Poznań in western Poland.<sup>49</sup> Previously, this same portal had been attributed to Wilhelm Richter, pupil and co-worker of Willem van dem Blocke in Gdańsk. Kalamajska-Saeed has argued, however, that it is the hand of another sculptor, Anton Massener, which can be seen at Zdzięcioł, as also at the Grodno Brigittine church in the Mannerist portal. Willem Richter had been engaged in 1646 by Kazimierz Leon Sapieha to produce six portals for the chancellery in Wilno and also Sapieha's own sarcophagus in the Carthusian church in Bereże.<sup>50</sup> There is some quality sculpture remaining also from the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Stone sculpture is, in fact, rare in the lands of the Lithuanian Principality. In the Belarussian area they are confined to the sepulchres of the Wolski family located in Krzemienicy which consist of portrait figures, along with statues of the Cardinal Virtues and the Resurrected Christ. Typically, they reflect the Mannerist tendencies of the time, but with realistic facial types and figures.<sup>51</sup> Krzemienicy had been a foundation of the Lateran canons from the outset. The village itself had been founded in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Raczkowicz family.<sup>52</sup> Mikołaj and Barbara Wolski in 1617 founded the Lateran Canons monastery and the foundation stone of the church was laid in 1619, taking thirty years to complete. A new parish church replaced this and it currently survives as a single nave, two-bay structure, with an elongated rounded apse and adjoining presbytery. It is very provincial in style and typical of the region. The commemorative stone figures of Mikołaj and Barbara Wolski date from around 1630.<sup>53</sup> They are constructed out of marble and sandstone and are elevated on a plinth. Along with figures of Christ and the three Virtues the statuary consists of squat figures, with large heads and short legs, but they are vigorously expressive in their execution. Crude in manufacture they may be, but they constitute magnificent and vital rare survivals.

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49 Mariusz Karpowicz, "Portal kościoła w Zdzięciole" in *Świat pogranicza* (eds. M. Nagielski, A. Rachuba, S. Gorzyński,) Warszawa (2003), pp. 199-202.

50 Dorota Piramidowicz, *Feniks Świata Litewskiego, Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne K. Lwa Sapiehy* (1609-1656), Warszawa (2012), passim.

51 Ibid, p. 11.

52 Ibid, pp. 25-81.

53 Ibid, p. 44 and see Plates 63-66.

In addition, there have long endured a few wooden sculptures found in the Nowogródek region of a high aesthetic quality. They are carved in a Mannerist style dating from the 1620s, such as the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist from Mscibów and Krzemienicy. Apart from the Mannerist decorativeness, these also reveal the influence of the Gothic revival taking place in the region during the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. The parish church at Mscibów was originally built of wood, as is evidenced in a photograph from 1900, but it was replaced by a brick building.<sup>54</sup> (Interestingly in the original the classicising elements had been carried out in wood.) The wooden painted sculpture located here was carved at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in a Gothic revivalist style.<sup>55</sup> The earliest ones are the figures of Mary and St John<sup>56</sup> which are hieratic and immobile in their Gothic rigidity, but the later two versions of Mary and St John have a Baroque vitality, while retaining the Gothic linearity, though with added contrapposto. Nonetheless, they retain a hieratic quality.<sup>57</sup> By the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, unfortunately, very few sculptures were created of a similarly high artistic value. Among these there are the monumental Baroque crucifixes found in Mscibów and Krzemienicy.

In addition to the sacred art and architecture of western Belarus, some secular material culture has also survived in the form of castles and palaces with accompanying urban sites. These exist in various states of repair, from the lamentable to the spectacular. The condition of conservation ranges from a former site being no more than an archaeological excavation, or earthworks, with the occasional fortress drowned in a swamp (Rzaberski castle) and in the process of excavation by scuba-diving archaeologists. Then there are the few extensive monuments intended to become major international tourist attractions which have been meticulously restored of late, or are currently in the process of reconstruction.

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54 Ibid. Plate 272.

55 Plate 308-315.

56 *Materiały* (Województwo Nowogródzkie), Part 2, vol. 1 (Ed. Kałamajska-Saeed Kraków), Plates 308-309.

57 Ibid, Plates 310-311.

# CHAPTER NINE

## CASTLES AND FORTIFIED RESIDENCES IN BELARUS

Slightly north of Nowogródek there is the city of Grodno (Bel. Гродна) which was once the Lithuanian capital. It was not only a regional centre in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, for during the reign of Stefan Batory (1576-86) it became the seat of government for the entire Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> The town is located on the rivers Niemen, Łasianka and the Haradniczanka, with its branch of the Jurysdyka. The city's origins as a small fortified trading-post are very ancient, dating back to the first Rurik rulers of Rus in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The name of the city is derived from the Slavic word “grad, meaning an enclosed protected space, as well as a fortress, town and enclosed garden. Grodno had been ruled by the descendants of Yaroslav the Wise as the capital of an independent principality. Vytautas became prince of Grodno from 1376-92, taking up residence in the town. From 1413 after the Battle of Grunwald (1410), Grodno became the centre of a “powiat” (administrative district) in the województwo of Trakai (Pol. Troki). A Jewish community was encouraged to settle in Grodno in 1389 to develop trade and in 1441 the town was granted the Magdeburg Rights.<sup>2</sup>

Old Grodno Castle was a stone construction, originally built by Great Prince Vytautas. In 1580 Stefan Batory ordered it to be reconstructed in the Renaissance style following the designs of the Italian architect, Santi Gucci.<sup>3</sup> Batory used the castle as his principal residence and he ruled the

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1 See Adam Liss and Krzysztof Maćkowski, *Grodno. Miasto nad Niemnem*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Bezdroża (2005), pp. 13-17, 21-25, 28-31.

2 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 28-31. In the present day the city remains a strong centre of Polish culture with large population of ethnic Polish. The city is also an important focus for the Belarussian Orthodox community.

3 Mikola Volkau, “Архітэктара Старога замка часоў Вітаўта ў Гародні” (Architecture of the Old Castle in Hrodna in the Times of Vitaut) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>; see also Mikola Volkau, “Аб некаторых аспектах архітэктурны Старога замка ў Гародні часоў Стэфана Баторыя” (On some aspects of the architecture of the Old Castle in Hrodna (Belarus) under



Commonwealth from Grodno. He died in the palace in 1586 and was buried in the Jesuit cathedral, later being moved to Wawel. Batory (Hung. István Báthory), (1533-71) was a Hungarian prince from Transylvania who had been elevated to the throne of Poland in 1576 through his marriage to the last member of the Jagiellonian dynasty, Anna (1523-96), daughter of Zygmunt I. Anna had been elected by the Sejm as King of Poland in her own right at the instigation of Jan Zamoyski. In 1577-82 Batory conducted a successful war against Moscow, decisively crushing the Tsarist forces.<sup>4</sup>

The castle at Grodno is the only royal residence in the modern state of Belarus, although there still stand the remains of the princely castle at Nowogródek, a town which may have once acted as the capital of the old Lithuania, although this cannot be confirmed by historians. The town of Lida was also once the capital of Lithuania in the time of the Great Princes and the castle there has been most successfully and convincingly restored.

The Old Castle in Grodno was rebuilt in 1673-78 by the Chancellor of Lithuania, Krzysztof Pac, for the purpose of housing the General Sejm, since Batory's original palace was too small to house all the delegates and it did not suit the needs of Jan III Sobieski and his family.<sup>5</sup> A new wing was added next to the river Niemen for the use of the Sejm, with separate halls for the lower house of provincial delegates and the upper house of the Senate. This was joined by a corridor to the Batory palace, where another expansive hall was used for royal audiences. Few traces are left of these buildings. They were once decorated with political allegories in stucco, similar to those in the rooms of the Sejm at the Royal Castle in Warsaw.<sup>6</sup> The palace situated within the Old Castle was two stories in

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Stephen Báthory) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>; and also see Mikola Volkau, “Архітэктура Старога замка ў Гродна ў XVI – XVIII стст.: выгляд і прызначэнне збудаванняў размешчаных уздоўж нёманскай сцяны” (The architecture of Hrodna Old Castle in the 16th – 18th centuries: view and function of buildings along the Nieman wall)

<https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>. For the argument raised against Bachkov's proposed demolition and rebuilding of the current Grodno castle see Mikola Volkau, “Аб рэстаўрацыі Старога замка ў Гародні // Першы міжнародны навуковы кангрэс беларускай культуры : зборнік матэрыялаў” (Мінск, Беларусь, 5–6 мая 2016 г.). Мінск, 2016. С. 77–79 <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

<sup>4</sup> Davies, *God's Playground* (2005), pp. 318-26.

<sup>5</sup> Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 61-62.

<sup>6</sup> A thorough discussion of the entire castle complex may be found in Jerzy Lilejko, “Przebudowa Starego Zamku w Grodnie na cele sejmowe w latach 1673-1678 (The Rebuilding of the Old Castle in Grodno for Purposes of the Diet)” in

height with a steep pitched roof and it stood directly against the encircling walls of the castle. In the centre of the palace façade, one bay of the wall projected forwards and was decorated with arcading. There were two other bays containing double and triple windows set on two levels on each side of the central projection.

A decree was passed in 1673 that from 1658 one third of the meetings of the General Sejm of the Commonwealth should take place in Grodno. This effectively made Grodno the unofficial third capital city of the Commonwealth which encouraged the settlement of magnates and nobility who constructed impressive palaces and mansions for themselves. After repeated destruction in the wars, the Old Castle of Grodno had become derelict and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Saxon kings of Poland chose to build the New Castle on the neighbouring hill, directly across the narrow ravine from the Old Castle, leaving the Old Castle in ruins. It was rebuilt as a barracks by the Russian occupying forces in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. From 1919 it served as a museum under the direction of the Polish archaeologist, Józef Jodkowski (1890-1950), who published several studies of the history of Grodno. Most of the archives and collections were stolen during the Second World War.

Currently some Belarussian historians have put forward a proposal to rebuild the Old Castle in a Renaissance form vaguely recalling late 16<sup>th</sup> century palatial residences.<sup>7</sup> Historians and conservators have argued about the correct manner in which the Old Castle in Grodno should be restored. There is no agreement and the officially-accepted plan has been designed as a tourist “fairy-tale” castle modelled on Neuschwanstein in Bavaria.

Since the 1990s there has been a concerted policy on the part of state authorities in Belarus to restore the country’s devastated castles and palaces in succession to the less ambitious plans of inter-war Polish historians. To date, the castles of Nieśwież, Lida and Mir have been reconstructed and their interiors restored. The gatehouse at Różana has also been rebuilt from total ruination and the interior is now a museum concerned with the history of the Sapieha family. The Belarussian architect, Vladimir Bachkov, was responsible for the restoration of the palace at Nieśwież and his controversial project included a dome more suited to an Orthodox church. This object has since been removed after international protests and the outraged intervention of the Radziwiłł family. Bachkov is currently preparing to deconstruct Grodno. The tragedy

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Jerzy Kowalczyk (ed.), *Kultura Artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku* (1995), pp. 129-145, 265-267 (English translation).

<sup>7</sup> Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 58-63.

is that at Grodno the plan involves the demolition of 17<sup>th</sup> century buildings dating from the reign of Jan Sobieski in order to rebuild the entire complex in the supposed style of the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the time of Stefan Batory. There is little evidence in the archives, in fact, to prove conclusively the original appearance of the 16<sup>th</sup> century palace. The project is entirely based on a very small detail in the background of an old engraving of the city of Grodno produced by Tomasz Makowski in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. This provides only a general impression of the castle and palace complex designed by Santi Gucci. The proposed plan by Bachkov is a fantastic fabrication. The aim is to attract tourism to Belarus. A similar catastrophe probably awaits Nowogródek.



*9.1 Old Castle, Grodno, condition in September 2017, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

In the 1930s the first Polish restoration project for Grodno was based on thorough archaeological excavations undertaken on the castle hill. However, the plan remained unrealised. Some of the bastions were rebuilt by the Poles, however. Sadly, this modest work has provided the current authorities with an excuse to demolish these ancient defenses altogether on the grounds that they are not the authentic structures. In fact, inside the reconstructed masonry there has been conserved the original late medieval and Renaissance stonework. The Belarussian historian, Mikola Volkau, is

among the foremost protesting against the plans to rebuild the castle in a historically inaccurate form. A conference was held at Grodno in 2015 on this issue. At the end of 2015 the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences in Mińsk wrote a letter to the Ministry of Culture, presenting the case against the project. In early 2018, with the discovery of Renaissance frescoes on the walls of one of the upper rooms over the gateway, the ministerial authorities have suspended the reconstruction and are now examining alternative proposals.



*9.2 Old Castle, Grodno, condition in September 2017, photograph by U. Szulakowska*





*9.3 – 9.4 Old Castle, Grodno, condition in September 2017, photographs by U. Szulakowska*





9.5 New Castle, Grodno, post-war Soviet reconstruction of destroyed original, condition in September 2017, photograph by U. Szulakowska

The city of Grodno had benefitted consistently from the generous patronage of the early Lithuanian princes, such as Mindaugas and Vytautas, as well as from that of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk who had accepted the royal crown of Poland in this place. Bona Sforza also resided in the city, but in her own mansion. She ruled Grodno as a personal fief, reforming its civic and economic arrangements and granting new trading privileges. The kings of Poland continued to support the development of the city.

Aleksander I ordered the construction of the first permanent bridge across the river Niemen and he also founded the Bernardine and Augustinian monasteries. The church and monastery of the Bernardines were raised in 1602.<sup>8</sup> After the Union of Brześć in 1595-6 the Dominicans and Carmelites were also established in Grodno.<sup>9</sup> The Jesuits arrived in Grodno in 1621 and their cathedral (1678-1705) was financed by Stefan Batory as his last resting-place and mausoleum, but it remained incomplete on his sudden death in 1586. Further work on the project recommenced in 1621 on the initiative of the Wojewoda of Grodno,

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8 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), p. 53.

9 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 50-52; Jerzy Paszenda, "Kościół pojezuicki (farny) w Grodnie [The former Jesuit (parish) church in Grodno]" in Kowalczyk (ed.), *Kultura Artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce baroku* (1995), pp. 191-211; 271-72 (English translation).



Stanisław Kossobudzki, and the scheme was directed by the parish priest, Franciszek Dołmat-Isajkowski, but the Northern Wars delayed progress.



*9.6 Grodno cathedral, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

In November, 1654, the king, Jan Kazimierz, arrived in Grodno and although he sought to defend the city from Russian forces, it was captured. Work on the Jesuit church resumed in 1660 and a miraculous image of the Virgin Mary was presented to the church in 1664 by Albrycht Radziwiłł. The Jesuit church was never completed, but was consecrated in its

unfinished condition and dedicated to St. Francis Xavier.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in 1750-62 the church was remodelled and reconstituted in the Rococo style, along with a dome. The Grodno cathedral was one of the largest Baroque churches in the Commonwealth (sixty metres in length and thirty metres wide). The chancel is narrower than the nave and side aisles. Clustered pilasters of the Corinthian order separate the spaces. Its two towers are crowned with bronze lanterns.<sup>11</sup>



9.7 Grodno cathedral, photograph by U. Szulakowska

The nearby parish church of Grodno, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, was erected in the second half of the 14th century under the patronage of the Great Prince Vytautas. Unfortunately, like many other important monuments in Belarus, it was destroyed in 1961 on the order of the Soviet city council.<sup>12</sup> The form taken by the parish church had been that of a late Gothic edifice, with nave and side aisles and, according to the archival evidence, it had once been enriched with sumptuous decorative effects. Fortunately, some other buildings in Grodno from the 16th and

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10 Baranowski, “Między Rzymem, Monachium i Wilnem” in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 35, 37, 45.

11 Bartłomiej Kaczorowski, *Grodno*, Warsaw: Griffin (1991), *passim*.

12 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), p. 58.

17th centuries still endure. One of these is the Bridgettine foundation of the Annunciation (1632-42).<sup>13</sup> The convent was built from brick in 1642, but its church was constructed in wood, then in 1651 replaced by a new brick building. The patron of this project was the Grand Marshall of Lithuania, Krzysztof Wiesiołowski, who had purchased land in Grodno on which he planned to create the religious foundation. The Bridgettine church is a Baroque edifice with only a single nave and a chancel with a semicircular apse. The ceiling is barrel-vaulted on the model of the single-nave churches in the Lublin district in the Mazowsze region, south-east of Warsaw. The whole Bridgettine complex is surrounded by a defensive wall that originally had four, now only two, towers.<sup>14</sup>

Another church and monastic site of the same period is the Bernardine monastery and Church of the Holy Cross (1602-18, renovated in 1680 and 1738). It was funded by donations contributed by Polish nobles returning from the Russian wars. The church has stylistic features connecting it with the collegiate church in Zamość, such as the design of the pilasters on the interior walls of the nave, the twin windows and the arcade of pilasters along the façade.

In addition, on the left bank of the river Niemen there has survived a Franciscan convent and a church dedicated to Our Lady of the Angels which was completed in 1635.<sup>15</sup> The founders of the Franciscan monastery in Grodno were Eustachy Kurcz and his wife, Zuzanna Tyszkiewicz. The original buildings were badly damaged during the Russian invasions, but from 1660 work commenced on a new church, consecrated in 1744. Further projects in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century increased the impressive appearance of the church. The Franciscan Province of Lithuania was created in 1686 and its administrative centre was at the Grodno monastery.

Apart from the two castles in Grodno there are many other fortresses elsewhere in modern Belarus, mostly standing as ruins, or evidenced only in archaeology, due to war and criminal political policy. Of exceptional strategic importance were those at Stary Bychów, Słuck, Lachowicze, Nieśwież, Nowogródek, Lida and Mir. These have now either completely disappeared, such as Lachowicze and Słuck, or, very rarely, a few have survived in a ruined, but more complete form, for example, Stary Bychów

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13 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 49-50. For a general over-view of Grodno see Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po zabytkach kultury na Białorusi*, Warszawa: Burchard Editions (1997), pp. 60-70.

14 Mikola Volkau, “Абарончыя храмы ВКЛ: меркаванне аб паходжанні тыпа” (Fortified churches of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: opinion on a type origin) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

15 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), p. 54.

and Nieśwież. The castles at Lida and Mir have recently been renovated and rebuilt. Nowogródek had all but vanished, but is now undergoing a process of partial reconstruction and is rematerialising. The marvel that was once Lachowicze castle, sadly, exists at this time only as an archaeological site.



*9.8 Franciscan convent dedicated to Our Lady of the Angels, Grodno, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

The castles at Lachowicze and Lida had been royal foundations that passed into noble hands, while Mir and Nieśwież were associated with the Radziwiłł family. Nowogródek is linked with the princes of Lithuania. Stary Bychów has a unique history as a fortress that withstood all attacks by Cossacks and Muscovites in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was taken solely by treachery at the end.<sup>16</sup> Its history is closely related to that of the Chodkiewicz family and, then, to that of the Sapieha princes. Other castles worthy of mention include Holszany, associated with the Sapieha, and Słuck with the Radziwiłł. Słuck also had an exceptional history as a

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16 Mikola Volkau “Панарама Старога Быхава другой паловы XVII ст.” (Panorama of Stary Bychaŭ from the Second Part of 17th Century) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

fortified town and castle with ground-breaking Renaissance fortifications of the most advanced type.

From the early 16<sup>th</sup> century there was an increase in the number of fortified residential palaces being built by the magnates of the Eastern Commonwealth as a result of their increased political and economic power.<sup>17</sup> The situation in England, in comparison, was quite different. Here many stately residences were constructed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century without any fortifications due to the peaceful conditions prevailing under the Tudor kings. In Lithuania the earliest castles were built on a modest scale, but in the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the scale of these magnate residences increased. These included fortresses such as Holzszany, Lachowicze, Nieśwież and Stary Bychów which now also included luxurious palaces. Their defences were fabricated on the model of the very latest and the most effective Italian models, with ravelins, bastions and Netherlandish-style earthworks. Such fortified residences were the centres of political life in Lithuania and they ensured the economic wealth of the countryside and towns in the surrounding areas.

Among these residences were the multitude of castles and palaces owned by the Sapieha and Radziwiłł families. The Sapieha family was of ancient Ruthenian stock (Bel. Carrera, Lith. Sapiega) and its members had been medieval boyars who had originated in the Smolensk region.<sup>18</sup> Their wealth and political authority were acquired in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century through the efforts of Lew Sapieha (1557-1633) who was Great Chancellor (1589-1623) and Great Hetman of Lithuania (1625-33). He held many other offices of state, including Marshall of the Sejm convened at Warsaw in 1582. He was also Governor of Wilno from 1621, as well as of Słonim, Brześć and Mohylow. Between them the various members of the extensive Sapieha family and its branch-lines mopped-up most of the major official positions in central Lithuania and at the royal court.

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17 Mikola Volkau, “Абарончыя рэзідэнцыі як сімвал самарэпрэзентацыі магнатэрыі (на прыкладзе роду Радзівілаў)” (Fortified residences as the symbol of self-representation of magnates (the case of Radziwiłł family)) *Гістарычна-археалагічны зборнік* (2015) 30, pp. 67 – 74  
<https://www.academia.edu/16370988/>

18 Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, *Genealogia przez obrazy: barokowa ikonografia rodu Sapiehów na tle staropolskich galerii portretowych*. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki Polskiej Akademii Nauk (2006); Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, *Dom Sapieżyński*. Pt. 2, *Ikonografia / Eustachy Sapieha*, Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN (1995).

From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the incomparable palace at Różana in the Brześć region was the primary seat of the senior Sapieha lineage.<sup>19</sup> It now lies in ruins, destroyed in a fire in 1914, rebuilt in 1930 and ruined again in 1945. The central pavilion and the side wings are no more than shells, but the palace gates have survived and have recently been restored.<sup>20</sup> The palace was first built in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century as a castle for Lew Sapieha and was destroyed in 1700. Nothing is left of these earlier Renaissance and Baroque works and the ruins are those of the neoclassical residence of the 1770s, designed by Jan Samuel Becker from Saxony for Aleksander Michał Sapieha.

Another of their 17<sup>th</sup> century seats, now also reduced to ruins, is Holszany castle set in the region of Grodno.<sup>21</sup> In its former magnificence and scale it was once the equal of Mir castle and it was designed to challenge the wealth and power of the Radziwiłł. Holszany was ruined by the Swedes and was never rebuilt. Further predations destroyed its towers. There are currently no plans to reconstruct the site. Holszany as a town in the województwo wileńskie was the seat of the Holszański family and it was here that Queen Zofia Holszańska (1405-61) was born. She was the second wife of Władysław II Jagiełło and the matriarch of the entire royal line of the Jagiellons.<sup>22</sup> The town was in private ownership. It was said to have been founded by the legendary Holsza, son of Romunt, a Lithuanian prince. Subsequent to the death of Paweł Algimuntowicz Holszański (bishop of Łuck and then Wilno) Holszany was inherited by Helena Dubrowicka who married Paweł Sapieha and the town passed to Kazimierz (d. 1639) and Tomasz (d. 1646) Sapieha.

The fortress of Holszany was built in 1610 at the directive of Paweł Stefan Sapieha who was Vice-Chancellor of the Great Principality of Lithuania. It stood on the banks of the river Olszanka. It was constructed as a brick two-storey castle, quadrangular in form, with octagonal towers at each corner.<sup>23</sup> The building was advanced in plan, being provided with the home-comforts of a heating-system, water-pumping machinery and plumbing. There were dedicated quarters for guests, decorated in fresco,

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19 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 221-23.

20 Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po zabytkach kultury na Białorusi* (1997), pp. 207-9.

21 Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik* (1997), pp. 73-75.

22 Czwojdrak, *Zofia Holszańska*, Warszawa (2012), passim.

23 See Mikola Volkau and Irena Hanetskaja, “Замкі тыпу кастэль Вялікага княства Літоўскага ў еўрапейскім архітэктурным кантэксце” (Quadrangular castles in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the European cultural context)

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with elaborate stucco-work, as were the galleries. The floors were inlaid with terracotta tiles. The Sapieha family also maintained an impressive library, as well as a rich collection of art-works in the castle. In the grounds surrounding the residence there were three artificial lakes whose lower depths were tiled. The castle was reconstructed several times, but it fell into ruin in the course of the Swedish invasions in the 17<sup>th</sup> century when it was looted and devastated. The destruction was completed in 1880 after a number of different owners, when the towers were demolished, along with part of the walls.

In the town itself Paweł Stefan Sapieha founded a monastery for the Franciscans in 1618, along with the church of St. John the Baptist. His widow added a rotunda to the church in which she ordered a marble sepulchre to be erected for her late husband, along with three others for each of his first three wives. In 1970 these were relocated to the Museum of Ancient Belarussian History and Culture in Minsk.

The new types of fortified defenses were also employed in a number of Radziwiłł family residences, such as that at Słuck. In the 16<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Radziwiłł maintained permanent garrisons in their castles, comprising both regular infantry, as well as conscripted sections of society (szlachta and tradesmen) who would only be summoned only when there arose a specific threat. Mercenaries were more effective in defence, but their high cost did not permit the Radziwiłł to employ them on a regular basis. From the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century mercenaries were only used in the major permanent garrisons at Nieśwież and Słuck. The fortified residences of the Radziwiłł families in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, according to Volkau, functioned as defensive, administrative, economic, cultural and religious centres.<sup>24</sup>

By the royal privilege of 1387 the right to own land in Lithuania had been extended to those members of the Lithuanian nobility who had accepted Roman Catholic baptism. Jagiełło had intended by this move to create a new basis for his royal authority in the face of resistance from the old elite, specifically, from those princes of the Gediminas dynasty who were themselves claimants to the throne. As a result of this reform, one of the ancient boyar families to rise in political influence and wealth was the Radziwiłł. In the later royal privileges awarded by Jagiello in 1432 and by Sigismund Kęstutaitis in 1434, the right to own land with fortresses was now extended to the Orthodox princes and boyars. In 1447 this right was confirmed by the privilege of Kazimierz IV which allowed landowners to

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24 Volkau, “Абарончыя рэзідэнцыі як сімвал самарэпрэзентацыі магнатэрыі (на прыкладзе роду Радзівілаў) (2015) pp. 67 – 74  
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establish private towns and trading rights, to sell their own lands and villages and to build stronger fortifications. There was a surge in the construction of privately owned castles from the late 15<sup>th</sup> century. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the estates of the Radziwiłł family in Belarus at Kleck, Sluck, Kopyl, Kopyś and Świsłocz developed in different ways.

Volkau has mentioned the research of the Belarussian historian, Nikolay Skepyan, who has argued that the impetus for the construction of stone fortified residences was due to the expansion of ties with the court of the Holy Roman Emperor, as well as closer links with the aristocratic Renaissance culture of northern Europe. The fortified residence as a new architectural form had first appeared in Italy, France and Germany and, then, in Lithuania at Trakai and Kaunas. The ideological influence of the German Empire was powerful within the Eastern Commonwealth, so that many wealthy landed families who had not been granted a princely title in their homeland now sought to obtain one from the Emperor instead. Among the first in the Commonwealth to attain the title of “prince” in 1518 was Mikołaj II Radziwiłł. His nephews followed the same tactic and in 1547 Mikołaj V Radziwiłł (nicknamed the “Black”) received the title of Prince of Nieśwież and Ołyka for himself, as well as the title of prince for his cousin, Mikołaj.

Volkau argues for a similar Germanic imperial influence on the development of castles and palaces in Lithuania from the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The first of the new-style fortified palatial residences was constructed by the Radziwiłł at Birże. Other such luxurious residences were raised by the Radziwiłł at Ołyka and Nieśwież. Such defensive edifices became one of the most important defining elements of dynasty and class in the ideology of the higher elite of landowners and magnates.

Volkau comments that

... in the residence of this type there was incorporated a solid ideological and symbolic content that is easily readable in the local context and in the context of the Western European tradition.<sup>25</sup>

(Author’s translation)

For magnate families the construction of a residential fortress was a way of asserting their equality with the princes of the reigning families and

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25 Mikola Volkau, *Забеспячэнне абароназдольнасці рэзідэнцый роду Радзівілаў на беларускіх землях Вялікага Княства Літоўскага ў XVI – пачатку XVIII ст.: аўтарэферат на саісканне вучонай ступені кандыдата гістарычных навук на спецыяльнасці : 07.00.02 / М. А. Волкаў*, doctoral dissertation, Minsk (2016) pp. 272 ff <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

a legitimate way of gaining entrance into the ranks of the ruling elite of the state. They appeared at a time when many of the great magnates, including the Radziwiłł, were constructing a generic mythology of their ancestral origins, preferably deriving their forefathers from the Roman Empire. Hence, the classical revival in Renaissance architecture, as Volkau points out, was bound to influence the design of magnate edifices in making the same statement concerning their elevated origins. The geometrical regularity of the classical Roman encampment set the type for the castle in Lithuania which took a similar regular, quadrangular form, with evenly-spaced bastions. A certain mathematical perfection, Volkau argues, entered the expectations of the patron of the castle and demonstrated a radical change of direction in the self-image of the princely classes and magnates. The regular form of the castle with bastions replaced the now obsolete wooden castles, with their palisaded earthworks. The magnates were, in fact, the only economic group who could afford to construct the new type of bastioned castle built from stone and brick. Neither the lesser nobility, nor the burghers, had the wealth to emulate the example of the great magnates and they had to be content with cheaper earthworks. Hence, the bastioned castle was both a visual statement of the political authority of the magnates, as well as a practical means whereby they could maintain their status and role. These new castles were integral to the polemic of the magnates in their challenge to the old political order in which the Gediminid princes had dominated the Lithuanian state. The Renaissance castles were a manifesto of a new political directive by which the magnate princely families, rather than those of the royal blood, would hold the reins of power.

However, as Volkau comments, the quadrangular bastioned fortresses constructed in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries by the Lithuania princes were never built on the same monumental scale as Italian Renaissance castles, such as that of the Sforza in Milan, or the Montefeltro fortress palace in Urbino, as well as the sprawling complex of the Gonzaga ducal palace in Mantua which is a town in its own right. Nor are the Lithuanian princely fortified residences comparable in size and sheer weight of masonry to the enormous castles built by the English kings in Wales from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards, such as those at Caernarvon, Harlech, or Conway, with their irregular ovoid forms, multiple towers, dungeons and concentric curtain-walls designed by French military architects. In fact, as Volkau relates, the Renaissance quadrangular castles of Lithuania soon became too small for their purpose when it became necessary to station large permanent armies within their walls in the course of the endless 17<sup>th</sup> century wars. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century most of them were no longer serving their original function

and by the 19<sup>th</sup> century most had been allowed to fall into decay, some such as Słuck and Lachowicze disappearing altogether.

Volkau considers that the most typical example of ideological geometry is the fortress town of Słuck, constructed in 1650-1660 by the Radziwiłł. Although the fortifications were utilitarian in intention, the form further expressed the ideological orientation of its owner. The bastion citadel, with its clear military function, asserted the absolute dominion of the Radziwiłł. Its symbolic image served to repress the lower classes' political aspirations for self-government.<sup>26</sup> The role of the citadel as a means of subjugating the local townspeople was discussed by several theorists of the Renaissance.<sup>27</sup> The aims of the magnates in utilising this form of defensive system were simultaneously military, socio-economic and cultural. The military function was obvious and it correlated with current technological developments in arms and armaments. The socio-economic function was related to the local demography and land-use. The cultural factors included the symbolism of such defensive architecture and the external cultural influences affecting the architectural design. Volkau has perceived five types of fortifications in the residences of the Radziwiłł from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. These consisted of traditional wooden fortifications, upgraded wooded and earthen forts, stone castles, bastion fortifications on the Italian model and bastion fortifications of an older, pre-Renaissance type.

The main Radziwiłł residences, Nieśwież and Słuck, were continually upgraded with new types of reinforcements. In regard to their other estates, their maintenance and fortification depended on the contingencies of the military operations taking place in their local area. In general, it was the development of artillery and hand-guns that determined the level of fortification considered necessary at any one site. The type of artillery and personal armaments in use were reflected directly in the type of fortification constructed. Volkau points out that at Nieśwież and Słuck, the main family residences, the Radziwiłł family in the late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries stored large stocks of arms and ammunition to ensure the defensive capability of these sites. The arsenals at other estates were considerably sparser, indicating that they were of secondary importance, as the fortifications similarly reveal. The backbone of the Radziwiłł

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26 Mikola Volkau, “Абарончыя рэзідэнцыі як сімвал самарэпрэзентацыі магнатэрыі (на прыкладзе роду Радзівілаў)” (Fortified residences as the symbol of self-representation of magnates (the case of Radziwiłł family) *Гістарычна-археалагічны зборнік* (2015), 30, pp. 67-74.

<https://www.academia.edu/16370988/>

27 Ibid, pp. 149, 160, 167

garrisons became the hired professional fighting-unit which was more effective and disciplined than conscripted burghers and local szlachta.

Volkau's research into the correspondence of the Chodkiewicz and Sapieha families has provided new information concerning another extraordinary castle that once towered above Stary Bychów.<sup>28</sup> It was one of the most important magnate residences in the Belarussian area in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Bykhov (Pol. Bychów) had evolved from a fortified settlement first mentioned in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century it was the property of the Drucki family and then the Gasztold. After the death of the governor and the chancellor of Wilno Albrecht Gasztold in 1542, Bychów passed into the possession of the Lithuanian Great Prince. In 1556 these latifundia were transferred to Gregor Aleksandrowicz Chodkiewicz (d. 1572), the governor of Kiev, although he was not awarded all of the Bychów estate. More of the estate, including most of Bychów in 1560, was later purchased by the Chodkiewicz family. In 1560 the king permitted the foundation of the town and castle. At this time the castle was no more than an earthen mound. Then later a brick residence, with a town alongside, was laid out in grid-form. The Chodkiewicz family also established an armaments factory. The town's fortifications were developed by the Chodkiewiczze on the steep bank of the Dnieper river.

The adjoining settlement of New Bychów was established in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century and the older site was re-named Old Bychów. The Jews settled in Bychów and in the 1640s a fortified synagogue of a type unique to the Eastern Commonwealth was constructed.

The sons of Gregor Chodkiewicz died without descendants and their estates, including a part of Bychów, passed into the possession of the indirect lines of inheritance.

Bychów was one of the most innovative and impenetrable fortifications in all of Belarus. The construction work by Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (ca. 1560-1621) had commenced here at the same time as the work being carried-out at the fortress in Lachowicze which belonged to the same family. Jan Karol was a military commander of the Commonwealth forces, as well as Field Hetman of Lithuania (1601) and Grand Hetman of Lithuania (1605). He played a major role in the Swedish wars (1600-11) and in the campaign against the Muscovites (1605-18), as well as in the war against the Turks in 1620-21. Due to the privilege granted him by Zygmunt III Waza, after 1590 Chodkiewicz undertook the construction of

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28 Volkau, "Панарама Старога Быхава другой паловы XVII ст." (Panorama of Stary Bychaŭ from the Second Half of the 17th Century)  
<https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

the castle on the banks of the Dnieper. An intensive redevelopment of the fortified site was conducted in 1610-19, but the final shape of the fortress was determined by Hetman Lew Sapieha who inherited the Bychów estates in 1625. The first defenses were earthworks made of logs in-filled with sand, with stones laid on the upper surfaces. These were over six foot in height. Chodkiewicz commenced the actual construction of the permanent fortress in ca. 1614, although he lacked sufficient funds to construct both Bychów and Lachowicze simultaneously and most of his resources were concentrated on Lachowicze in 1618 and 1619. Hence, the construction at Bychów was conducted slowly and remained incomplete on the death of Chodkiewicz at the Battle of Chocim.

Bychów had been developed into a fortress-town surrounded by the most up-to-date fortification system of the Dutch type, with five bastions and six ravelins. The latter were fortifications constructed beyond the main ditch, jutting-out in front of the curtain-wall. Two faces of the ravelin formed a salient angle. In addition, there was a separate stone wall around the castle itself, with an earth-work and bastions. The castle was sited within the town. The Sapieha had organised a permanent station of about a thousand heavily-armed men who were maintained from the Sapieha family funds. The arsenal contained strong artillery. The fortifications at Bychów were matched only by those at the Radziwiłł castle at Sluck.

In 1648 the castle of Bychów repelled a siege by the Cossack forces and in 1654 the Commonwealth forces at Bychów were able to survive attacks by about twenty thousand Cossacks led by Iwan Zolotareńko. When the Cossacks took New Bychów on 8<sup>th</sup> September, 1654, they laid siege to the fortress at Old Bychów. The troops inside the castle consisted of two thousand townsfolk, six hundred heavy-infantry, two hundred hajduks, one hundred dragoons, three hundred szlachta and about one thousand Jews. The artillery consisted of four heavy cannon and twenty-six field artillery guns. The castle was besieged from 8<sup>th</sup> September till 26<sup>th</sup> November, 1654, but the troops inside the fortress forayed out from the castle walls and launched offensive attacks against the Cossacks, causing them fearful losses. Zolotareńko did not dare to attack the town and castle and limited his strategy to a blockade, counting on a final capitulation. However, the losses caused by his enemies' attacks, as well as conflicts between the Cossack forces and those of the Muscovites and, moreover, the onset of winter led Zolotareńko to break the siege of the fortified old town. He waited out the winter in quarters south of New Bychów. On 28<sup>th</sup> December volunteer Commonwealth troops led by Colonel Samuel Oskierko relieved Bychów.



In response to the victory at Bychów, the king Jan Kazimierz rewarded the inhabitants of the town for their fortitude by cancelling all payments of taxes for twenty years from 31<sup>st</sup> May, 1655. In spite of his defeat, Zołotareńko moved back to the fortified site at Old Bychów in April and May, 1655, at a time when the Commonwealth armies were preoccupied with the siege at Mohylew. Meanwhile, Kazimierz Lew Sapieha had strengthened his forces with new regiments of dragoons and infantry, partly funded by the Commonwealth. The town once more opposed the Cossacks. The inhabitants managed to withstand for three weeks another siege by a force of ten thousand led by Alexei Trubetskoy in July and August, 1655. In October of the same year Ivan Zołotareńko was killed in action. In 1655 the Sejm of the Commonwealth agreed to fund a further three hundred German infantry troops in order to strengthen the forces at Bychów led by Kazimierz Lew Sapieha. In 1659 the Muscovite armies led by Ivan Łabanow Rostowski and Siemien Zmijew commenced one more siege of the fortified town, but Stary Bychów managed to hold out until December, 1659.

Stary Bychów was the only fortress of the Commonwealth along the Dnieper river which was never been taken by either Cossacks, or Russians. The town and its castle finally fell to the Russians on 14<sup>th</sup> December, 1659, but only because of an act of treachery from within, not due to the incapability of the defenders. However, the Polish armies, under the command of Stefan Czarniecki, retook the fortress in the course of the winter of 1660-61. The fortified town was again besieged during the Northern Wars in 1707 when its commander was Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, who was a supporter of Stanisław Leszczyński. It was taken by General Krzysztof Sienicki, who later went over to the side of the Swedish king, Charles XII, after which Old Bychów was taken by the Russians. Consequent on these events, the castle within the old town was transformed from a military site into a residential Baroque palace, with a clock-tower. In the Partition of 1772 the town was occupied by Tsarist Russia and after the Tractate of Riga in 1921 between the Second Republic of Poland and the Soviet Union, Bychów was left stranded in the USSR.

Today, there still survives the basic form of the original castle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, with its fortified walls standing aloft on a high cliff above the river Dnieper. Also remaining are the army barracks and one corner tower. The Baroque architecture dating from the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was heavily reconstructed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by Tsarist authorities. A factory was established within the castle itself by one Sapieha (not connected with the princely family) which led to the ruin of the ceilings and the consequent deterioration of the entire fabric, now open to the sky.

Nonetheless, a fair amount of the original brick fabric has been left intact over a couple of the floors, with much of the sand and cement rendering still clinging to the walls, both inside and outside. There are vaulted ceilings in the undercrofts with massive, but carefully proportioned, forms, while the windows and the external detailing (such as remain) are monumental and robust in their scale. Characteristic, if plain, Renaissance elements feature in the window-frames and the multiple-cornices.





*9.8 - 9.9 Stary Bychów Castle, present condition in 2017, by permission of Dr. hab. Mikola Volkau*



*9.10 - 9.11 Sary Bychów Castle, present condition in 2017, by permission of Dr. hab. Mikola Volkau*

Lachowicze castle (Bel. Ляхавічы) and its accompanying town were gifted by Zygmunt II to Jan Hieronym Chodkiewicz, the Ruthenian Castellan of Wilno.<sup>29</sup> His son the Great Hetman of Lithuania, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, fortified the castle and town in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, turning the site into the largest fortress in the Commonwealth, with walls one kilometre in length.<sup>30</sup> Located on the left bank of the river Wiedźma, whose waters provided a broad defensive moat, the fortress was built by Chodkiewicz from his own experience of the latest designs devised in the Netherlands, following Italian models. The fortifications took the shape of a quadrangle, with large extended bastions at the four corners whose walls were slanted at an acute angle to withstand artillery-fire. Further defensive earthworks were placed on top of each bastion. The single entrance gate with a draw-bridge was surmounted by a look-out turret, topped by a decorative brass globe and pinnacle.<sup>31</sup>

The main palatial residence inside the keep, opposite the gateway, was begun by Jan Stanisław Sapieha (1589-1635), but was never completed. This palace consisted of two main stories, five bays in width, a pitched roof and two side wings, one bay in width, placed at right angles to the main façade which was decorated with stepped gables and pinnacles. A 17<sup>th</sup> century engraving reveals that there were once small circular turrets on the upper floor on the inner walls of the side wings. The turrets had pointed roofs and windows. In the same engraving of about 1660 there is depicted another matching pair of side-wings on the rear elevation of the palace, facing the curtain-wall. The central façade carried arcading on both stories. Its appearance is known from a background-detail in a portrait, dated 1644, depicting the Vice-Chancellor of Lithuanian, Kazimierz Lew (Lev) Sapieha (1609-56). Kałamajska-Saeed has identified the building in the background as the central façade of Lachowicze palace. The lower colonnade consisted of robust Tuscan pillars standing on substantial plinths and bearing arches, while the upper level had an eccentric design

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29 Filip Sulimierski (ed.), *Słownik geograficzny królestwa polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* (multi-volume), 5, Warszawa (1880-1904), pp. 56-57; Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po zabytkach kultury na Białorusi*, Warszawa: Burchard Edition (1997), p. 116.

30 Mikola Volkau, “Ляхавіцкая фартэцыя: перспектывы вывучэння” (Liachavičy fortress: research perspectives) and see also Mikola Volkau, “Абарончая сістэма Ляхавіцкай фартэцыі” (Defensive system of Liachavičy fortress) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

31 Mikola Volkau, “Будаўніцтва бастыённага замка Яна Караля Хадкевіча ў Ляхавічах” (The construction of the Liachavičy bastion castle by Jan Karol Chodkiewicz) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>



with columns of an organic eastern Slavonic type, round and bulbous at the bases, but attenuating as they rise up towards the capitals. These also stood on solid plinths and supported the arches.

The defenses of Lachowicze were impregnable, among the strongest in the Commonwealth. Their finest moment arose in the course of the campaign against the Muscovites commencing in 1654. In 1660 the governor, Stanisław Michał Judycki, successfully withstood four overwhelming attacks by Russian forces led by Tsar Alexei which led to a six month siege. When provisions and gunpowder were running low in the besieged citadel, the defenders were aided at last by the armies of Paweł Sapieha, Great Hetman of Lithuania, and by Stefan Czarnecki, Wojewod of Rus. With this turn of events, Judycki led his forces out of the fortress and defeated the Russian army. Lachowicze remained untaken until it was captured by the Swedes in 1706 when Charles XII took the Grodno region.

A copper-plate engraving (ca. 1660) describes the defence of Lachowicze from 23<sup>rd</sup> March to 28<sup>th</sup> June, 1660. This shows a bird's eye view of the castle and its surrounding terrain. Kałamajska-Saeed has suggested that this engraving was produced on the orders of Hetman Paweł Sapieha. The fortress as depicted in the engraving has been copied in yet another image, that of a silver "votum" of ca. 1665 made for a church altar and presented by Stanisław Michał Judycki in thanksgiving to the Virgin Mary.<sup>32</sup> Her image appears in the sky above the castle in this work.

Lida, lying fifty-three kilometres from Nowogródek, was originally founded in around 1180 by the princes of Rus in order to defend the borders of the state against the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians. It was incorporated into Lithuania in 1323 by Great Prince Gediminas and it became the capital of the state. The princes Olgierd, Jagiełło and Vytautas made it their main residence. The ruins of the castle date from the reign of Gedyminas (ca. 1326). Lida castle was raised at the junction of the rivers Lidziejka and Kamionka, taking a plain and practical four-cornered shape, with two bastions and a defending-wall twelve metres high.

The castle repelled the attacks of the Teutonic Knights in 1392 and 1394. They took the castle only once in 1384, as did the Tatars led by

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32 The only recent study is Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, "O Przydatność Pewnego Wotum w Badaniach Architektury Militaris" in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 179-87. This also provides illustrations of the engraved portrait of Sapieha, as well as the engraving of the siege of Lachowicz and the votum of Judycki; See also Tadeusz Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów*, Warszawa: Drukarnia Wojciech Lewicki (2001), pp. 147-50. This provides a description also of the parish church in Lachowicze, as well a photograph of the 17th century drawing of the castle.



Tachtamysz in 1396-99. In 1434-43 it was again captured by the Tatar forces led by Hadzi-Girej.<sup>33</sup> It was next captured in 1655 by the Cossacks and then burned down by the Swedes in 1702 and 1710. The castle was restored during the following centuries, but fell into ruin during the Russian occupation. Lida was located on a defensive line constructed across the Lithuanian state which included the fortresses at Nowogródek, Kreva, Miedniki and Trakai.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries Lida was one of the five largest towns in Lithuania and in 1590 it was awarded the status and rights of a city.<sup>34</sup> A number of important trade routes led through the city to Wilno, Polotsk (with whom there existed a special economic relationship), Nowogródek and Mińsk. Imports from Polotsk included cloth, iron, honey and lead. In Lida various trades flourished, such as the working of animal-skin, footwear and the brewing of beer. The market-place in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was of such significance that an impressive town-hall was built there. In 1590 the town was granted the Magdeburg Rights, at which point Lida ceased to be a feudal holding of the nobility ruled by appointed starostas, with tenantry renting the rights to the town from the noble family to which it belonged and exercising feudal rights and dues. After attaining the Magdeburg Rights Lida escaped this feudal yoke and was governed, instead, for the first time by its own municipal council. At its head was the Wojt who was appointed for life by the king himself.<sup>35</sup>

In 1672 Adam Narbutt brought the Discalced Carmelites to Lida and, later, Ignacy Scypion introduced the Pijar Fathers (Ordo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum). There were also many Orthodox churches in the town, the oldest being located within the castle itself and dedicated to St. George (1533). The congregation and the name of the church were later relocated to another site in the town. There were four other Orthodox churches which after the Union of Brześć (1596) were awarded to the Uniate Church. In 1650, however, the king Jan Kazimierz restored the church of the Holy Saviour (Bel. Sw. Spasy) to the Orthodox community. The rest were destroyed by the invading Russian forces and the Swedes in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.

According to a privilege granted by Stefan Batory in 1584, a synagogue was built. In 1633 Władysław IV agreed to permit it to be restored and rebuilt. There were two synagogues in Lida, as well as various houses of prayer.

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33 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), p. 30.

34 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 80-81.

35 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów*, pp. 147-50.



*9.12 – 9.13 Lida Castle, photographs by U. Szulakowska*

After the Swedish wars from 1656 Lida was open to constant invasion of one kind, or another, and ownership of the castle and town passed from hand to hand. The worst destruction was in 1710 when the Swedes detonated the castle and the town lost its defenses. Under the Second Polish Republic (1919-39) a project to rebuild Lida Castle was initiated by the Polish authorities and this project was continued by Belarussian specialists in 1982. A tower and the upper levels of the defensive walls with





9.14 – 9.15 Lida Castle, photographs by U. Szulakowska

a wooden gallery were rebuilt. Lida castle, like other fortresses in Belarus, has curtain-walls and castle that are square in shape. There are two corner towers with crenelated walls, five storeys high (12-15 metres) and 1.5-2 metres thick. The fabric of the walls is distinctive and typical of Belarussian medieval and Renaissance architecture, consisting of courses of fired red-bricks, along with others composed of large, roughly-cut stones.<sup>36</sup>

In contrast to Lida, Mir castle has developed out of an entirely different situation in the context of the power struggles between the Ruthenian magnates in Lithuania.<sup>37</sup> It was constructed in the Gothic style at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries by Jerzy Iwanowicz Illinicz (d. 1527), a member of a politically active Ruthenian family.<sup>38</sup> Illinicz was the Marshall of the Lithuanian princely court (1519-26), as well as Starosta of Lida (1501-02, 1507-24), Starosta of Brześć (1510-24 and of Kowno (Lith. Kaunas) (1519-23).<sup>39</sup>

36 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 153-58 (Lida castle and town); 158-66 (other towns and architecture in the local area).

37 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (200?), p. 37.

38 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 204-7. This provides a quite shocking photograph of the ruinous condition of Mir castle in the inter-war period.

39 Mikola Volkau and Kiryl Karliuk, catalogue and texts; photography by Vital Rakovich, *Міжнародная выстава “Ultima ratio regum. Беларусь у Паўночных войнах сярэдзіны XVII – пачатку XVIII ст.*, catalogue of exhibition in Mir

The original construction at Mir was in brick, with stone perimeter walls, seventy-five metres in length, taking the form of a square with four towers. There was a two-storey residence located in the south-west corner of the courtyard. In 1568 Mir Castle passed into the possession of the Radziwiłł princes, with whom it is primarily associated. They rebuilt the castle in the Renaissance Mannerist style, incorporating a palace that extended the length of the eastern and northern walls. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century the palace was elevated to the level of three storeys and richly decorated elements were added. The castle was surrounded by earthworks, moats and a park. This imposing and extraordinary construction was built on a scale worthy of a royal residence. The expansive palace had white stuccoed walls on the upper two levels, with square Renaissance windows. The lowest level was left unrendered. Window-frames, lintels and door portals were picked-out in grey limestone and a pitched roof covered the whole. There were five towers, of seven storeys each, including a monumental tower over the main entrance on the west side. The lower levels of the towers were square, but the topmost storeys were octagonal and carried pointed steeples, clad in red terracotta tiles.



9.16 Mir Castle, photograph by U. Szulakowska

The contemporary appearance of the castle in its heavily restored condition is even more remarkable, with its walls decorated in white and

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Castle 21st April-24th September, 2017, Mir: Museum “Castle Complex “Mir”  
(2017) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

brick-red colours, blind arcades and other geometric surface decoration. Balconies and ornate porches contribute to the magnificent effect. In 1923-24 there commenced a programme of restoration and the castle was preserved in a remarkably intact condition through-out the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present day. Within the castle compound the Renaissance Mannerist church is still extant, dedicated to St. Mikołaj (1599-1605) and designed by Giovanni Maria Bernardoni. Its form is the “trójdzielny” (triple-division). This plan provides a space at the east end for the liturgy, while the men occupy the middle space and the women are located at the west-end near the entrance.<sup>40</sup> It has side-aisles and a semi-circular apse at the chancel end with two adjoining semi-circular sacristies. The façade has moulded cornices and niches and a square central tower.<sup>41</sup>



9.17 Mir Castle, photograph by U. Szulakowska

40 Krasny, *Architektura Cierkiewna*, p. 70.

41 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp. 83-85. See also Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po zabytkach kultury na Białorusi* (1997), pp. 141- 44.





9.18 – 9.19 Mir Castle, photographs by U. Szulakowska

The second major city in the Wilno region (Pol. Wileńszczyzna) was Nowogródek (Bel. Navhradak) ruled in ca. 1241 by the prince of Lithuania, Edywiła, although the original foundation was Ruthenian from the previous century.<sup>42</sup> It is possible that Great Prince Mindaugas may

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42 Machyna and Marcinek, *Kresy. Zamki i Fortalicje*, Kraków (no date – 200?), p. 36.

have chosen Nowogródek to be the capital of the Lithuanian kingdom. This idea has been disputed, however, by some scholars since there does not exist any archival evidence in support of this. In 1252 Mindaugas and his wife, Marta, were baptised in a Roman Catholic rite in Nowogródek Castle and in 1253 he was crowned king here. He constructed a fortress with earthworks on the hill above the town. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century Nowogródek was repeatedly laid under siege by the Teutonic Knights who eventually destroyed it. The city and the castle were rebuilt in 1415, only to be further devastated by the Tatars in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1662 further demolition followed on the part of the Russian army. In 1710 and 1751 the castle was burned down. From the early 19<sup>th</sup> century the castle has stood in a desperately ruined condition. The remaining ghostly fragments include a church tower, a gate and part of the eastern section of the walls, the earthen embankments and a moat. However, in 2009, the Belarus Ministry of Culture commenced a project to rebuild the castle. At this time one of the corner bastions has been half-rebuilt, presenting a very odd appearance. It is supported by steel-girders like a piece of stage-scenery. There are still extant some walls buried beneath the earth which may be restored. The earthworks and moat around the castle are still in good condition and there are, undoubtedly, archaeological remains under the turf.<sup>43</sup>



9.20 Nowogródek Castle, photograph by U. Szulakowska

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43 Tadeusz Polak, *Zamki na Kresach*, Warsaw: Pagina (1997), pp. 157-58.



*9.21 – 9.22 Nowogródek Castle, photographs by U. Szulakowska*

In 1507 Nowogródek became the regional capital of an area incorporating the towns of Wołkowysk, Słonim and Słuck.<sup>44</sup> In 1511 Zygmunt I awarded the city the Magdeburg Rights. It was in Nowogródek that the local nobility petitioned the king to replace the Ruthenian language (known as Old Belarussian, or Old Ukrainian) with Polish in the administration of the Lithuanian state and the Sejm agreed to this request in 1696.

In the course of the Reformation there were public debates between the Jesuits and the Arians in Nowogródek (1609), as well as with the Calvinists (1616). The Calvinist church of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century was eventually closed in 1618. With the financial support of the magnates, new Catholic churches and monasteries were founded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, most notably those of the Jesuits and the Bonifraters, funded by Lew Sapieha. There were others for the Franciscans and Dominicans funded by Krzysztof Chodkiewicz. A Uniate Church was endowed by Adam Chreptowicz.

The parish church (“Biała Fara”) dedicated to the Transfiguration of Christ (reconstructed in 1719-23) still holds some important artefacts and architectural elements from an earlier period. It was first erected in the 14<sup>th</sup> century by Prince Vytautas and in the nave there remains the original Gothic cross-vaulting. It was in the medieval church on this site that Władysław Jagiellon married his second wife, the Ruthenian noblewoman Zofia Holszańska, and, thus, commenced the dynasty of the Jagiellonian kings of Poland and Lithuania.

The parish church stands directly below the castle hill and is currently home to a convent of nuns. It is an extremely important pilgrimage site. The church is in the process of extensive restoration, including the reconstruction of the devastated Baroque high altar, currently being rebuilt from wood and plaster. It is a relatively small one-nave church, with a semicircular sanctuary. The façade is topped with a triangular gable, flanked by two low, four-sided towers. In the nave of the church there are preserved barrel vaults, while in the chapels there are Gothic rib vaults.

The parish church contains some exceptionally important icons of the greatest spiritual significance to all nationalities in Belarus. The most significant is the famous 18<sup>th</sup> century icon of the Mother of God of Nowogródek (Pol. Matka Boska Nowogródzka). This is, reputedly, a

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44 For the history, architecture and art of the city and its local area see Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 13-114 (history of the Nowogródek region), pp. 167-88 (Nowogródek city and locality). See also the reliable information in Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik po zabytkach kultury na Białorusi* (1997), pp. 164-68.

miracle-working image and has for centuries been the object of a major popular cult through-out Belarus, Lithuania and Poland and far beyond in the international diaspora.



9.23 Parish church (“Biała Fara”) dedicated to the Transfiguration of Christ (reconstructed in 1719-23) Nowogródek, photograph by U. Szulakowska

Stolen by the Russians in 1905 the icon was rediscovered in an Orthodox church and has been restored to the Catholic parish. It is sited in a small and intimate side-chapel where it is readily accessible to its devotees. This large painting is covered with a cope of silver. The image is known in the Eastern Church as the Hodegetria type of Virgin and Child, a particular iconographic depiction of the Mother of God pointing at the Child Jesus on her arm, thus indicating him as the source of salvation for humanity. She gazes benevolently out of the picture at the beholder. The icon at Nowogródek is so fresh and vital that it has evidently been extensively restored. In fact, there was some serious scholarly debate after it was rediscovered as to whether it was the original 18<sup>th</sup> century image, or only a copy. It has been concluded since that it is the original icon. The soft realistic facial types indicate western artistic influences. However, the image has been insufficiently studied by scholars to be able to say any more concerning the artist and his origins. It is possible that the 18<sup>th</sup>



century western facial types cover an older image painted in a more traditional Byzantine style, but this is purely speculation.



9.24 *The Mother of God of Nowogródek, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

In the parish church there is also displayed an icon of the Archangel Michael, patron saint of Nowogródek. The most important artefact in the church, however, is a very unusual marble funerary monument in the Corpus Christi Chapel (1643), funded by the Castellan of Nowogródek, Jan Rudomina Dussiacki. It commemorates his brother, Jerzy, and eight of his friends who died at the Battle of Chocim. On the carved marble tablet



there are nine (now headless) figures kneeling in prayer, as well as an image of Dussiacki himself who is praying for their souls.<sup>45</sup>

## The Radziwiłł princely family

The history of the Commonwealth and specifically the regions of Nowogródek, Baranowicze and the hinterland of Brześć are associated inherently with the Radziwiłł family. Concerning the origins of the family, there was an unsubstantiated legend that they arose from some Lithuanian pagan high priests, Lizdejko and Wojszund, or Syrupucia (1280). Factually, the Radziwiłł were Lithuanian boyars in origin, being descended from the Astikai noble family. Ostyk (Lith. Astikas) had been the Lithuanian castellan of Wilno in 1419-1422. He was admitted into the ranks of the szlachta at Horodlo in 1413. The change of surname was due to the personal name of Radvila Astikas and his grandson, Mikalojus Radvila. At the court of the Great Prince they grew in power and wealth, particularly under Vytautas. The princely title of the family was granted by the Holy Roman Emperor in 1515. This was soon rendered extinct, but the title was re-invested by the Emperor in 1547 when the family was already seated at Nieśwież. Mikołaj Czarny (the Black) (1515-67) was the first holder of the princely designation. He was the brother of Queen Barbara Radziwiłłówna. The family also held yet more princely titles with the style of "Serene Highness." Their domination of the political life of the Commonwealth is evidenced by the fact that they produced forty senators in the Sejm over the centuries, as well as seven great hetmen of the Great Principality of Lithuania, seven field hetmen, eight great chancellors, seven vice-chancellors, five great marshalls, thirteen wojewod of Wilno, seven castellans of Wilno, six wojewod of Troki, eight castellans of Troki, one cardinal and one bishop of Kraków. This list does not include many other dignities in Lithuania, nor other high military rankings, as well as the dignity of starosta through-out the Principality and the attainment of high chivalric orders.<sup>46</sup>

The Radziwiłł in the 15<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries had purposefully acquired land in the central regions of the Lithuanian state. This was partly for reasons of economic management, as well as owing to their distance from the borders of the state which secured them from enemy attack and, finally, in consideration of the proximity of the

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45 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp.81-83.

46 Andrzej S. Ciechanowiecki, *Nieśwież. Międzynarodowy Ośrodek Kultury na Białorusi*, Warszawa: Zakład Poligraficzny Piotra Włodarskiego (1994), p. 6.

latifundia to the centers of power at Nowogródek, Grodno and Wilno. The Radziwiłł's concentration of land-holdings in vast adjacent, or proximate, parcels from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries is revealing of their plan to establish an independent state of their own, free of the Commonwealth. Later, they attempted to put this project into effect as an autonomous region within the partitioned Russian territories, but such proposals were rejected by the occupiers. The Radziwiłł castles and fortified towns were officially included within the overall defenses of the Commonwealth and their importance for the defence of the state grew from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as was evidenced in the Russian wars of 1654-67.

Mikalojus Radvila, castellan of Vilnius, had three sons from whom there descended the three Radziwiłł family branches. Two had become extinct by 1695 (the Goniądz-Meteliai and the Birże-Dubingiai lines), while the Nieśwież-Kleck-Ołyka line continues to survive at the present time. The Radziwiłł once owned twenty-three palaces, four hundred and twenty-six towns, two thousand and thirty-two estates and ten thousand and fifty-three villages. In 1612 the former Sluck principality was added to these estates. The fortified residences/castles included those at Nieśwież, Ołyka, Birże, Sluck, Żółkiew, Złoczów, Biała and Pomorzany. The Radziwiłł also owned palaces in other cities, such as Warsaw and Grodno, which were used when attending the meetings of the Sejm. There were still more at Wilno, Lublin and Nowogródek where the Tribunal of the state met. They also had stately homes in Mińsk and Lwów, as well as in Gdańsk and Wrocław. The descendants of Mikołaj "the Black" in 1586 instituted a legal ruling concerning the inheritance of land in the Nieśwież-Kleck-Ołyka line. The legal principle of the "ordynacja" allowed individual properties to be inherited only by male heirs of that lineage, although other estates and wealth could be inherited by female heirs, or even alienated altogether from the family. The enormous wealth of the Radziwiłł was secured in large part due to their connections with the Italian banking families of the Altoviti and Strozzi which permitted them to gain titles and further possessions from the Roman Curia at the Vatican. When the Ołyka and older Kleck lineages were extinguished, their wealth passed to those in the Nieśwież line.

Mikołaj "the Black" was the most effective politician of the family. He was strongly opposed to the Union of Lublin which had united Lithuania and Poland and he rallied other princes, nobles and szlachta to his side. The Radziwiłł were never supporters of the Crown of Poland, unless themselves aspiring to the throne. They had opposed the Union of Lublin since it weakened their political authority in the Principality. In the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century Northern Wars their defection, along with a

large part of the Lithuanian nobility, to the side of the Swedes was decisive in swinging the course of the war against the armies of the Commonwealth. The Radziwiłł's indifference to the issue of loyalty to the Crown played a large part in the eventual downfall of the state.

The son of Mikalojus Radvila, another Mikołaj, was created an Imperial Prince of the Holy Roman Empire of Goniądz and Meteliai in 1518 by the Emperor Maximilian I. Then in 1547 the Emperor Charles V created Mikołaj "the Black" and his brother, Jan, imperial princes of Nieśwież and Ołyka, while their cousin Mikołaj "the Red" was made imperial prince of Birże and Dubingiai. These titles were confirmed by the king of Poland, Zygmunt II August, in 1549. Only five szlachta families of the Commonwealth, including the Radziwiłł, ever acquired the right to the title of imperial prince.

Two branches of the family converted to Calvinism, since it seemed to offer the family independence from the legal jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. The Nieśwież-Kleck-Ołyka lineage persisted in this confession for two generations, until Mikołaj the Black returned to Catholicism. The Birże-Dubingiai line remained Calvinists till their lineage was extinguished in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Mikołaj the Black financed a Polish translation of the Bible known as the *Radziwiłł Bible*, or *Biblia Brzeska*, published in Brześć in 1564. Mikołaj the Red founded churches and schools. The Radziwiłł took on the direction of the Calvinist Church, not only in the Principality, but also in the Polish Crownlands. Without their support the Reformation could never have made such marked headway in Lithuania and Belarus. For the same reasons of political domination and independence of the state, the Radziwiłł later supported the Union of Brześć, seeing in the new Uniate Catholic Church yet another potential arm for extending their political authority. With the same intention the Radziwiłł also supported other weaker non-conformist groups. They also supported the Jewish faith.<sup>47</sup>

In their family alliances the Radziwiłł were affiliated to the other great magnates of the Commonwealth such as the Zasławski, Olszański, Lukomski, Sanguszko, Sapieha, Chodkiewicz, Sobieski, Wiśniowiecki and Leszczyński families. The Radziwiłł dynasty was one which had loyalties to no-one, nor to anything, other than its own interests. They represented only the Principality of Lithuania, never the Polish Crown. They never regarded themselves as being mere citizens of the Commonwealth, nor did they acknowledge the sovereignty of the monarch. They rarely considered the broader interests of the Commonwealth, but were solely concerned

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47 Ciechanowiecki, *Nieśwież*, p. 8.

with their own ambitions. As the wealthiest and most powerful princes in Lithuania the Radziwiłł maintained enormous private armies, numbering in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century about 10, 000 armed men. By the 18<sup>th</sup> century the army of Hieronim Florian Radziwiłł was equal in strength to the entire combined forces of the Commonwealth and its desertion to the Swedish forces led to the fall of the state. Their most questionable political activity was in their support of the Swedish invaders of the Commonwealth against the forces of the king, although it must be recalled that Jan Sobieski himself had also served in the Swedish armies for reasons still debated by historians.

Janusz Radziwiłł and Bogusław Radziwiłł allied themselves with Sweden in anticipation of the ultimate defeat of the Commonwealth by the Swedes, Russians and Cossacks when the partition of Poland was proposed by the Swedish king. The Radziwiłł, in their turn, proposed to establish an independent state, under their own princely authority, out of the three województwa of Podlasie, Brześć-Litewski and Nowogródek. That is, they intended to make western Belarus into an independent principality. This region was already the Radziwiłł heartland, where their power and wealth was centralised and from where their territories and political authority extended south into Crownland Rus and north into Lithuania.<sup>48</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century this project of establishing their own state did not eventuate, but this did not stop the Radziwiłł from attempting to carry out the same plan when their territories fell under the hegemony of Tsarist Russia in the later 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Radziwiłł also plotted to have one of their numbers elected king under the Commonwealth, vainly, however. They also established a commandery of the Knights of Malta in Stołowicach to enhance their political and social prestige. Oddly amiss, in view of their limitless ambition, the Radziwiłł never made any effort to have their family entered into the official ranks of the royal lineages of the Holy Roman Empire, a fatal mistake that limited their political standing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when they were not considered equal to the European reigning monarchies.

In the numerous Radziwiłł castles, according to Volkau, most frequently the fortifications were traditional Belarussian-type wooden constructions (such as those at Dawidgródek, Kopyłów, Kopyś, Kleck, Nowy Świerżeń, Świsłocz, Stuck), since they were cheap and there was a local tradition of building in wood. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Radziwiłł also owned three stone castles (Dzierżynsk, Lubcz, Mir), as well as three other citadels with separate stone buildings (Kleck, Miadzioł, Stuck). Volkau considers

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48 Ciechanowiecki, *Nieśwież*, p. 8.

that among the best examples of the newest type of bastioned residence was that of the Radziwiłł property at Nieśwież (along with Ołyka, Lachowicze, Stary Byków and Zasław in the hands of other magnate families). However, very little is known about the process of their construction.<sup>49</sup>

As one example of the manner in which the Radziwiłł princes engaged on the battlefield and developed their fortified defenses, there was an important castle, which, though, not under their direct ownership, they did attempt to secure. This was the once powerful fortress of Rechitsa (Pol. Rzeszyca), standing on the right side of the Dnieper river in the Mińsk province.<sup>50</sup> The exceptional prowess of its defenders under a Radziwiłł military leader deserves mention, as also does the importance of the site as a major fortress in the Eastern Commonwealth. In the period of the Gedyminid dynasty the town and castle of Rzeszyca were integrated into the Lithuanian state. In 1569 Rzeszyca became subject to the direct control of the Polish king as Crown property. The town had been granted the Magdeburg Rights in 1511 by Zygmunt I which were confirmed by his son Zygmunt II and, again, in 1596 by Zygmunt III. In 1648 the castle was besieged by Chmielnicki and the Cossacks and it was forced to surrender, but Janusz XI Radziwiłł came to the rescue. The decisive battle was fought on 6<sup>th</sup> July, 1650, at the river Rzepka, when Radziwiłł gained the victory and proceeded to fortify the Rzeszyca site in 1653, bringing in more armed men and establishing a strong presence. Nevertheless, the defeat of the Lithuanian army at Orsza by the Russians under Trubestskoy led to the occupation of Rzeszyca and the castle was totally destroyed.

The Radziwiłł's own fortress at Słuck, similarly, is no longer extant. This site was a private town owned by magnates and it lay in the powiat of Nowogródek in the województwo Nowogródzkie. The name of the town was drawn from that of the river Słucz. Some important studies of the history of this site have been conducted by Mikola Volkau, including a

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49 T. Wasilewski, "Budowa zamku i rezydencji Radziwiłłów w Birzjach w latach 1586-1654" in Zbigniew Bania et al. (eds.), *Podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego: studia z historii architektury, sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (1988), pp. 263-272.

50 Mikola Volkau, "Застройка города, городские укрепления и замок [Речица] (Buildings, fortifications and castle of the city [Rečyca]" <https://nasby.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>; Mikola Volkau, "Речица на рисунках середины XVII века" (Rečyca on the drawings from the middle of the 17th century) <https://nasby.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

monograph recording maps of old Słuck.<sup>51</sup> The site is first mentioned in 1116 in a text known as the *Accounts of Times Past* (Pol. *Powieści minionych lat*) where it is described as belonging to the Principality of Turów. In 1160, however, it became the capital of an independent Principality of Słuck with its first prince, Włodzimierz Mściśławowicz, the grandson of Włodzimierz II Monomach. From 1320-30 until 1793 Słuck belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, within the Great Principality of Lithuania.

The town of Słuck received the Magdeburg Rights in 1441. On the right side of the Slucz river, at the junction with the Byczek river, there was constructed the upper castle and lower down another castle was built. In 1502 the Tatar attacks on Słuck began and in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century Anastazja Słucka, after the death of her husband, Siemion Michajłowicz, undertook the defence of the town. On the right bank of the Slucz she had the town surrounded with fortifications. On the left side of the river she ordered the construction of the New Castle.<sup>52</sup> The site was now so strong that all Tatar attacks could be repelled, as were the Muscovite incursions. In 1579 the town was divided between three Olelkowicz brothers into the districts known as the Old Town, the New Town and Ostrów. However, in 1592 these were re-united under the princess, Zofia Irówna, the last of the Olelkowicze. The Cossacks finally took the town in 1595, not due to the failure of the defenses, but because of the lack of organised resistance due to a weakened leadership. In 1617 after the death of the princess Zofia, the town passed to Janusz Radziwiłł who was a Calvinist convert. In 1617 a Calvinist school was functioning in Słuck and in 1624 a gymnasium. The Cossacks did not succeed in taking the town in the 1648 Uprising. In 1650 for the second time the town received the Magdeburg Rights.

The most significant and innovatory work of fortifying the site was undertaken at the command of Bogusław Radziwiłł in 1655 during the war against the Swedes and Muscovites.<sup>53</sup> The innovations were directed by Wilhelm Paterson, a Scot, who was rewarded with estates in the Słuck

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51 Mikola Volkau, *Планы Слуцка XVII – XIX стст* (Plans of Słuck from 17-19th centuries) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>; also useful is Mikola Volkau, “Слуцкая цытадэль XVII-XVIIIст.”(Citadel of Słuck in the 17th-18th) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>.

52 Mikola Volkau, “Новый замок в Слуцке” (New castle in Słuck) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

53 Mikola Volkau, *арганізацыя і забеспячэнне будаўніцтва фартыфікацый у слуцку пры багуславе радзівіле (1654-1669 гг.)*” (the organisation and the supply of the construction of the fortifications in słuck by duke boguslaw radziwiłł (1654-1667)) <https://nasb-by.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>



area. The garrison was reinforced with infantry led by Jan Berk. The New Castle replaced the earlier version and it was built on the latest model in a compact quadrangular form, with four ravelins. The whole town was surrounded with earthworks on the Dutch model, apart from the suburbs of Ostrów and Trojcań. The earthworks were 266 metres in width and eight metres high, with 12 bastions. The entire length of the earthworks was 3,840 metres. There were also four gates, three of which were of stone. These advanced defenses withstood the attacks of the Russian armies under Alexei Trubetskoy in 1655. Wilhelm Paterson was the governor of Słuck at this time. In 1659 the Sejm of the Commonwealth co-opted Słuck garrison into its own professional forces. In 1660 new formations were created, consisting of the armed szlachta stationed within the garrison. The fortress was further strengthened with additional defenses in 1667-69. Serving in the infantry were about one thousand men, dragoons and foot-soldiers. Słuck passed to the Tsarist occupiers in 1793. By the Tractate of Riga in 1919 at the end of the Polish-Soviet war Słuck became part of the Soviet Union in the Belarussian republic.

The Radziwiłł castle of Nieśwież (Bel. Nesvizh-Нясвіж) is situated near the town of Baranowicze in the Polesie region<sup>54</sup> and the complex has recently been extensively and controversially restored.<sup>55</sup> A few Renaissance sections are still extant, especially in the church.<sup>56</sup> The first mention of the site is in 1223 when it belonged to the Kiszko family. It passed to the Radziwiłł in 1533 and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549-1616), Grand Marshall of Lithuania, built the castle, as well as a Jesuit church and monastery. The earliest history of the site is ill-documented. At first there seems to have been a fortress here belonging to the Krzywicz family. In the 13<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries Nieśwież belonged to one or another of the various Belarussian principalities. By the 15<sup>th</sup> century the land-holding of Nieśwież lay in the Lithuanian principality and the king, Kazimierz, in 1446 granted the lands to Mikołaj Jan Niemiryczów (d. 1489). In 1492 King Aleksander gave the lands to Piotr Janowiczów Mondygiadowicz. His descendants by marriage passed the estates to Mikołaj Radziwiłł (d. 1552) when they became the foundation of the subsequent rise to wealth and power of the entire family.<sup>57</sup>

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54 Grzegorz Rąkowski, *Czar Polesia* (2001), pp. 86, 173, 218, 269, 303.

55 For an account of the entire complex and settlement see Ciechanowiecki, *Nieśwież. Międzynarodowy Ośrodek Kultury na Białorusi* (1994), op. cit. See also Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 189-202 (this discusses the history and buildings on the estate and in its local area).

56 Rąkowski, *Ilustrowany przewodnik* (1997), pp. 156-64.

57 Ciechanowiecki, *Nieśwież*, p. 11.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century the castle and its surrounding buildings were constructed of wood. The castle stood between two lakes and was surrounded by battlements of rammed earth. Nearby, there stood a wooden Catholic parish church, as well as two Orthodox churches, founded by the Radziwiłł. These wooden buildings were replaced with brick and stone edifices by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (d. 1616) who settled in Nieśwież in 1584 and reintroduced Catholicism to the family. The foundations of the new castle were laid on 8<sup>th</sup> May, 1584. Work on the Radziwiłł palace within the castle-walls commenced in 1582, following a late Mannerist/Baroque model. The plan was devised by Bernardoni and it was finished in 1604, with the gallery being added in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> There were four octagonal towers at each corner of the palace (as at Mir Castle).<sup>59</sup> The complex was rebuilt several times and the final design is neo-classical. The lay-out of Nieśwież town and castle is known from an engraving of 1604 made by the court artist Tomasz Makowski. In 1613 Mikołaj Krzysztof commissioned from Makowski a great map of the Lithuanian Principality, as well as scenes of the Radziwiłł estates, including Nieśwież.

The fortifications have been discussed by Volkau.<sup>60</sup> The engraving of 1604 shows stone and brick fortifications raised according to the most innovative Italian plans, with great angled bastions at the four corners and surrounded by a large moat on all sides. The moat was fed from a large lake lying next to the castle on two sides. The entrance to the castle was by means of a fortified, turreted gateway, over a bridge across the moat. Within the walls, the residential palace was depicted in Makowski's view as having three main floors, with ten bays of windows. A tower with pinnacles was set to one side. The chapel was an imposing presence, standing separately from the palace and there were other service buildings shown.<sup>61</sup> Raided by the Russians in 1667 and then by the Swedes in 1706, the palace was ravaged and its fortifications destroyed. However, its earlier form was basically retained in the rebuilding commencing in 1720 by Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, who employed the architect, Kazimierz

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58 Paszenda, "Architekci Jezuiicy w Polsce" in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 245-46 (Brizio and Bernardoni and their pupils, 1575-1627).

59 Mikola Volkau, "Абарончы комплекс Нясвяжа ў XVI-XVIII стст." (Defensive complex of Niasviž in the 16th-18th centuries)

[https://www.academia.edu/Defensive\\_complex\\_of\\_Niasvi%C5%BE\\_in\\_the\\_16th-18th](https://www.academia.edu/Defensive_complex_of_Niasvi%C5%BE_in_the_16th-18th)

60 Volkau, Mikola, "Абарончы комплекс Нясвяжа ў XVI-XVIII стст." (Defensive complex of Niasviž in the 16th-18th centuries)

<https://nasby.academia.edu/MikolaVolkau>

61 Ciechanowiecki, *Nieśwież*, see illustration on p. 12.

Zdanowicz. The fate of Nieśwież subsequently under Stanisław Karol Radziwiłł was chequered, since he neglected the site. He fought against the king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, in the rebellion known as the Confederation of Bar and his goods were confiscated in 1764-77. On his return from exile, Nieśwież returned to its former glory as a major cultural centre, until the Russians robbed the castle of most of its contents during the Partitions. The palace was restored and refurbished by the owners in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the events of the First World War led to the further loss of its priceless contents. After 1945 the palace was turned into a sanatorium, a common fate for former princely possessions under communist rule.

As in the case of the palace at Podhorce, there is nothing left of the original historic interior. In 2002 there was further damage by fire to the top floor and in 2005 the restoration work led to dissension and sharp criticism. The Belarussian restorers added a Byzantine, onion-style helm to one of the towers which was removed after international protests including presentations from the Radziwiłł family itself. In 2008 the Belarussians destroyed one of the galleries. The contents of the interiors are now a mixture of restored stucco on the walls and ceilings, as well as new wooden panelling and doors. Period furniture has been installed, as well as textiles, while some of the original smaller decorative and religious arts and craftwork have survived and are on display. The paintings on the walls are either copies of the well-known family portraits that are scattered through-out Eastern Europe, or they are far more convincing digital reproductions. These images contribute to the historical atmosphere of the place and, in a small way, give some impression of what the original interiors may have looked like. The paintings and some original sculptures are also informative historically. This is the general practice in Belarus where destroyed buildings have been reconstructed and the interiors furnished with similar period furnishings and often with photocopies of related historical documents. The devastation of historical artefacts has been so complete in Belarus, more so than in any other part of Europe, that historians and conservators have to scrape around for any sparse resources that will enable reconstruction and they seize on whatever remaining material can be copied and exhibited. Rarely is there much surviving material culture.

Mikołaj Krzysztof rebuilt the town, including heavy defenses. In 1587 Nieśwież received the Magdeburg Rights. Churches and monasteries were built: those of the Bernardines (1598) and the first female Bernardine convent in Lithuania (1590), as well as foundations for the Benedictines and Dominicans. There were also Uniate and Orthodox churches constructed,

a hospital and other charitable institutions. Radziwiłł also built roads and funded educational scholarships for the disadvantaged.



9.25 – 9.26 Nieśwież Castle, photographs by U. Szulakowska

A synagogue was provided and Mikołaj Krzysztof awarded the Jewish community wide-ranging privileges, ratified by his successors, thereby encouraging the growth of one of the most important Jewish educational and cultural centres in the Commonwealth.

In 1586 a Jesuit college was founded in Nieśwież, an ambitious project housing two hundred Jesuit priests. In the 17th century another Jesuit church was founded dedicated to St. Michael with an additional, smaller college. The earlier Jesuit church was dedicated to the Corpus Christi and it was the first Baroque church to be constructed in the Commonwealth

(1584-93). Its architect was the Jesuit priest, Giovanni Maria Bernardoni, who designed it on the model of the basilica of Il Gesù in Rome, though on a smaller scale.<sup>62</sup> He also extended the aisle by one bay over the transept which produced the effect of a freely-circulating interior space. This plan was subsequently copied for the first Jesuit Church in Lwów. The Jesuit church at Nieśwież was also constructed as a mausoleum and it contains the birch coffins of one hundred and two members of the Radziwiłł family.<sup>63</sup>

There still exists an altar to Christ crucified sculpted by Venetian artists in 1583. In 1623-24 the rector of the church was the Jesuit saint, Andrzej Bobola.<sup>64</sup> In 1625 the Polish poet and Jesuit Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski also resided in the monastery.<sup>65</sup>



9.27 Crypt with coffins of the Radziwiłł family, Jesuit church, Nieśwież, photograph by U. Szulakowska

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62 Jerzy Paszenda, “Architekci Jezuicy w Polsce” in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 245-53; 245-46 (Brizio and Bernardoni and their pupils, 1575-1627).

63 Baranowski, “Między Rzymem, Monachium i Wilnem” in *Praxis Atque Theoria* (2006), pp. 35, 37, 41, 43-45.

64 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej, I, Wołyń* (2005), pp. 49-170.

65 Maćkowski, *Grodno* (2005), pp.86-88.



9.28 Jesuit church, Nieśwież, photograph by U. Szulakowska

The church also contains a Mannerist wall monument commemorating Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (1549-1616), the founder of the church, who was Court Marshal of Lithuania, then Grand Marshal of Lithuania, Castellan of Trakai, Wojewod of Trakai county and of Vilnius county and Governor of Šiauliai. He was given a nickname, like all the Radziwiłł, which was that of the “Orphan” (Pol. *Sierotka*). With an unusual dislike of meddling in politics, Mikołaj Krzysztof made his name by making a long pilgrimage around the Middle East, including one of the earliest visits by a European to Egypt. He recorded his adventures which were published in 1601, documenting also his travels to Palestine, Syria, Crete, Cyprus, Italy and Greece. Mikołaj Krzysztof was originally a Calvinist but he converted to Catholicism during his visit to Rome under the influence of the Jesuit preachers Piotr Skarga and Stanisław Hosius. He was a great patron of the arts and sciences.





9.29 Jesuit church, Nieśwież, photograph by U. Szulakowska

In addition, a convent and church of Benedictine nuns was founded at Nieśwież in 1590 on the initiative of Mikołaj Krzysztof. The most interesting aspect of this project concerns the inter-changes between the patron and the nuns in the discussions concerning the architectural design. It appears that the Benedictine nuns, at first, left the decisions concerning the form of the proposed structure to Radziwiłł, who encountered great problems in establishing a definitive form for the project. The Benedictine Order had recently been reformed and the new ordinances specified a radical spatial re-organisation in the plan of future churches. This would have the effect of isolating the religious community from the laity, as well as separating the different ranks within the religious community from each other. In total perplexity Radziwiłł pestered the nuns to provide him with a copy of the plan of the church at their mother-house in Chełm. This they refused to produce, since they regarded their former church as old-fashioned and wanted, instead, something considerably more innovative and exciting. In the end Radziwiłł managed to obtain a viewing of the old plans, only to reject them himself. He next sought help from Cardinal Andrzej Batory, who had recently reconstructed the Jesuit collegiate church at Pułtusk. Radziwiłł had the vain hope that Batory might provide some ideas for the reformed foundation at Nieśwież. At this point, the prioress at the mother house in Chełm intervened and on a personal visit to

Nieśwież insisted on an original plan that would be unique to the house at Nieśwież. By the end of 1590 this was forthcoming, although no particular architect has ever been recorded. The decision seems to have been a joint one on the part of the founder Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the prioress and some unknown masons. Between 1733 and 1811 the nuns made further adjustments to this design, as their funds permitted. The final shape of the convent was that of a letter E, with the small church of St. Euphemia in the centre, set on a Latin-cross plan, with a conch-shaped chancel that provided additional space for the nuns.



9.30 Monument to Krzysztof Radziwiłł, founder of the Jesuit church, Nieśwież, photograph by U. Szulakowska

The unusual survival of detailed records relating to the evolution of this project have permitted a glimpse into the history of female patronage and taste in the 17th century and the manner in which female religious could manipulate their noble patrons.<sup>66</sup> The sad part of this story is the eventual fate of the complex. Both church and convent managed to survive until the 1940s when substantial damage was sustained by the buildings. In the 1990s the nuns had the upper stories of the church towers and of some other buildings removed, conserving only the lowest levels.

The history of the Radziwiłł family in Lithuania, Belarus, Poland and the German Empire has been insufficiently examined by English-speaking historians. At the present time there is still lacking any substantial scholarly work in English that would do justice to both their political and cultural achievements, as well as their negative role in the downfall of the First Commonwealth. Certainly, there are a few popular texts published in the English language, in addition to some scholarly papers and mentions in broader works of history. However, a thorough monograph concerning the family has still to be written. In the Eastern European languages more is available, although this still takes the form of shorter scholarly works, or mentions in more general histories. It is possible that a thorough history of the Radziwiłł will be produced eventually by Belarussian historians, for whom the family are Ruthenian nationals and central to the history of Belarus. In specifically Lithuanian history also the Radziwiłł are regarded as nationalist supporters of an independent principality, freed from Polish hegemony. To Polish historians, the role of the Radziwiłł in their own national histories is more problematic, despite the fact that from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and through-out the 20<sup>th</sup> century the family has consistently identified itself with Poland. However, in earlier centuries the Radziwiłł family was a national group of its own, existing by its own right and strictly for itself.

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66 A full account is given in Tadeusz Bernatowicz, "Kościół i klasztor Benedyktynek w Nieświeżu" in Ostrowski (ed.), *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich* (Kraków, 1996), pp. 127-46.

## CHAPTER TEN

### JEWISH SYNAGOGUES AND KARAITE KENESE

Prior to the beginning of the war in 1939 in cities, such as Mińsk and Wilno, the Jewish population formed as much as sixty per cent of the total residents. There were once thriving and dynamic Jewish settlements at Wilno, Słonim, Nowogródek, Grodno, Pińsk, Brześć, Słuck, Łuck, Brody, Lwów, Dobromil, Drohobycz, Krzemieniec and further east in Zbaraż, Żółkiew and Tarnopol. In addition, most villages and smaller towns had communities of Jews living on the outskirts in their own hamlets (“shtetl”). The synagogue was a common sight through-out eastern Europe, but most especially in the territories of the Eastern Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup>

There is little Jewish material culture remaining from the Renaissance and earlier Baroque periods, although more has survived from the succeeding centuries.<sup>2</sup> A major resource continues to be the catalogue to the exhibition *Treasures of Jewish Galicia: Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine* which was shown in 1996 at the Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora.<sup>3</sup> This relates mainly to Jewish material culture from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards and there is little mention of artefacts from earlier times. The journal *Ars Judaica*, produced by the Department of Jewish Art at Bar-Ilan University, recently published an issue dedicated to the history and art-history of Jewish Galicia, which included the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>4</sup> One of the most important resources is the Museum of the History of Polish Jews in Warsaw.<sup>5</sup> For the English-

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1 Masha Greenbaum, *The Jews of Lithuania. A History of a Remarkable Community, 1316-1945*, Jerusalem; New York; Gefen (1995), pp. 1-53, 209-11.

2 For the current condition of synagogues in Poland, see also Andrzej Trzciniński “Zachowane wystroje malarskie bożnic w Polsce,” *Studia Judaica*, 4, 1-2 (7-8) (2001), pp. 67–95.

3 Sarah Harel Hoshen (ed.), *Treasures of Jewish Galicia: Judaica from the Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lvov, Ukraine*, Tel Aviv: Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora (1996).

4 *Ars Judaica*, v. 6 (2010), Ramat-Gan: Department of Jewish Art, Bar-Ilan University.

5 POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews <http://www.polin.pl/en>

speaker the most useful secondary sources continue to be Carol Herselle Krinsky's work on European synagogues,<sup>6</sup> as well as that of Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka on the history of wooden synagogues.<sup>7</sup> A major archive for the history of Polish Jewry is the catalogue of synagogues undertaken by Samuel Gruber and Phyllis Myers in the *Survey of Historic Jewish Monuments in Poland* (Jewish Heritage Council's World Monuments Fund) (1995). Unfortunately, there is no comparable report either for Ukraine, or for Belarus and Lithuania.

The historian Edward Fram has presented an over-view of the various arguments concerning the historical origins of the Jewish community in Poland. Did these Jewish settlers originate from Eastern Palestine, Byzantium, Persia, or from 11<sup>th</sup> century German territories? Certainly by the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century a rabbinic Jewish community already existed in Poland. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century Jews of German descent were certainly present in Poland.<sup>8</sup> Ashkenazy Jews moved to Poland in the 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. By the late 15<sup>th</sup> century there were from ten to fifteen thousand Jews in Poland.

Jewish traders were already present in Poland and Silesia in the course of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, working the trade-routes leading eastwards to Kiev and Bokhara. The Polish chroniclers of the time record their presence in the first capital city Gniezno and, according to the Jewish scholar Jehuda ha-Kohen, the first permanent Jewish community was established at Przemyśl in 1085. From 1098 there commenced large-scale Jewish migrations into Poland. In the reign of Bolesław Chrobry (1102-1139) the General Charters of Jewish Liberties were included in the Statute of Kalisz (1264) and these encouraged Jews to enter both Lithuania and Poland. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century Poland had become a refuge for the largest population of Jews in Europe.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the mass slaughter of Jews in 14<sup>th</sup> century Germany and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, within the Polish borders the Jewish community were mostly left in peace. Overall, the Jewish people thrived economically and culturally.

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6 Carol Herselle Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: architecture, history, meaning*, New York: Dover (1996).

7 Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Wooden synagogues*, Warszawa: Arkady (1959); Also see, Maria and Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's Gate: wooden synagogues in the territory of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, Warsaw: Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences (2004).

8 Edward Fram, *Ideals face reality: Jewish law and life in Poland, 1550-1655*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press (1997), pp. 15-37.

9 Greenbaum, *The Jews of Lithuania* (1995), pp. 1-53.

Kazimierz III (1303-1370) especially encouraged Jewish settlement and he amplified the Charter of Jewish Liberty of 1264 by his own Wiślicki Statute in 1332. Despite these royal provisions the first pogrom against the Jews took place in Poznań in 1367 and anti-Semitic riots broke out in the same city in 1399. There were more such riots in Kraków in 1407. The Catholic clergy in the Commonwealth were under pressure from the Papacy to enforce the anti-Semitic legislation determined at the Council of Constance by the Catholic hierarchy in 1414.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Jewish communities of the Commonwealth retained their distinctive identities.<sup>11</sup> Jewish traders and merchants organised the export of grain, wood, skins, furs, horses and the running of other primary industries, as well as agricultural production and the luxury textile trade.<sup>12</sup>

In 1569 the Jewish population numbered only twenty to thirty thousand, constituting fifteen per cent of the population of western Poland, eighty per cent of whom lived in towns. However, not all towns permitted Jews to reside within their boundaries, especially larger cities such as Kraków, Gdańsk, Lublin and Warsaw which did not grant official residence permits to Jews, but did permit Jewish traders to operate there. Hence, most of the Jewish population resided in the smaller towns, both those owned by the king, as well as those in the private possession of the princes and aristocracy. In fact, the Jewish communities mostly developed on the edge of the major economic centres. In 1578 there were 1,500 Jews in Lwów, gathered in two communities, one within and the other without the city walls. By 1648 this number had grown to 4,800 in Lwów out of a total population of 30,000. In 1578 the Lwów region consisted of seventeen towns, in addition to Lwów itself, and out of a total population of 27,410 the Jews constituted 10.2 per cent. By the 16<sup>th</sup> century there were 150,000 refugees in the Eastern Commonwealth fleeing persecution especially from Germany where the massacres of Jews continued until about 1553.

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10 Greenbaum, *The Jews of Lithuania* (1995), pp. 1-53.

11 For the medieval history of the Jews in Lithuania through to the 17th century, see Masha Greenbaum, *The Jews of Lithuania. A History of a Remarkable Community, 1316-1945*, Jerusalem; New York; Gefen (1995), pp. 1-53, 209-11. See also Jack Kagan, *Novogrudok: the history of a shtetl*, London; Portland, Oregon: Vallentine Mitchell (2006), passim and also Andrzej Żbikowski, "Żydzi" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 99-114.

12 "Overview: Jews in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth" in Center for Judaic Studies online (Cojs.org) [http://cojs.org/cojswiki/Overview:\\_Jews\\_in\\_the\\_Polish-Lithuanian\\_Commonwealth](http://cojs.org/cojswiki/Overview:_Jews_in_the_Polish-Lithuanian_Commonwealth)



Their numbers were small in relation to the total population of the Commonwealth of ten million inhabitants in which the Poles themselves were only 40 per cent of all the different ethnicities.

The kings of Poland and their citizens had benefited from the considerable wealth brought by the Jews into the country, as well as from their experience in trade and banking and their high level of education. The nobility engaged Jews to be managers of their landed estates. Kazimierz IV (1447-92) attempted to ensure that the political and economic status of the Jews did not decline as a result of the increased social and clerical prejudice. The szlachta, however, forced him to issue the Statute of Nieszawa by which the old privileges of the Jews were abolished. Nevertheless, the king continued to protect the Jews and he issued another decree stating that he refused to deprive the Jews of his benevolence, since Divine Law demanded that the principle of toleration be maintained in the Polish state. His successors swayed this way and that in their policies concerning the Jews. Aleksander I Jagiellończyk (1501-1506) expelled the Jews from the Great Principality, although on becoming the king of Poland in 1503 he reversed his decision and proclaimed official toleration within the kingdom. In 1532, by a royal privilege, the Jews were permitted to trade anywhere within the Polish-Lithuanian state. By that date some eighty per cent of world Jewry lived in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>13</sup> The protectionist policies of Zygmunt I (reigned 1506-48) and his son Zygmunt II (reigned 1548-72) granted the Jews the right to govern and administer their own autonomous communities under the jurisdiction of the Qahal. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century there arrived additional refugees from Italy and Turkey of Sephardic origin. In 1573 on the death of Zygmunt II, the szlachta in a council at Warsaw signed a document of limited toleration, whereby all the major religions were to mutually respect and support each other. (This excluded the Arian Unitarians, the Polish Brethren.)

Conditions for the Jewish community at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were at their best in the small towns under private jurisdiction, which constituted sixty per cent of all towns in the Commonwealth. Since these boroughs were free from the control of the king and the Sejm, they offered enhanced legal status for Jews and other minorities. In fact, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century the central authority in the realm had lost much of its control over the towns. The Jews found themselves living under different types of

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13 See Magda Tete, *Jews and heretics in Catholic Poland: a beleaguered church in the post-Reformation era*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press (2006). Also see Fram, *Ideals face reality: Jewish law and life in Poland, 1550-1655* (1997), passim.

legislation, no longer able to rely on the protection of the formerly supportive monarchy. The communities had to negotiate their legal rights when settling in every new area. In the royal towns controlled by the king, wherever there existed large numbers of Jews, then the Qahal (the local semi-autonomous Jewish communal government) received special privileges specifying its powers and the electoral procedures of its members. However, the successor to any king granting such privileges could void them at will and they would then have to be reconfirmed.

In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century the majority of Polish Jews made a living by debt-for-merchandise agreements, whereby merchants took goods from non-Jews and would return a stipulated sum at the next fair. In Kraków of the 1620s and 1630s money-lending was the basis of the Jewish economy and they were also involved in crafts and trade. In Podole the sale of liquor was very lucrative. However, Polish laws forbade the Jews to own farmland. Within the communities the Judaeo-German tongue was common, but the Jews also spoke the regional and national languages.

By the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century the situation for the Jews in the Commonwealth had become considerably more difficult. The Jewish settlement roused opposition from the clergy, especially from the Jesuits, and the late 17<sup>th</sup> century saw the end of religious toleration within the Commonwealth. The interaction with the gentile population varied, but even friendship occasionally arose between Jews and non-Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews did not consider themselves to be properly embedded in Polish society, but only located precariously for the duration. Despite this uncertainty, they found stability for themselves within the Commonwealth until the period of the Cossack wars and the Swedish invasions from 1648. Then they frequently became targets of violence on the part of the Cossacks. Indeed, the Jewish population had been subject to harassment by their gentile neighbours even prior to the Cossack predations, as in Lwów, but, overall, they had been relatively secure. They had not been massacred as happened later during the Cossack rebellions and in the pogroms of the Russian imperium. Fundamentally, however, the Jews lacked a truly secure future, even at the best of times, and they were never awarded the same civic rights as the gentiles of the Commonwealth. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Jews were legally barred from full participation in the state economy and they were not allowed to settle in certain cities. They were never equal citizens with Christians.

In turn, the Jews had their own laws and cultures that separated them from non-Jews. The Qahal collected and paid taxes to the state and the municipality, secured political support for the community among Polish officials, set up schools, maintained Jewish hospitals, assessed the taxes,

decided who could settle in the community and fined members. They could make and enforce ordinances which were enacted not by halakhic authorities, but by lay communities. The qahal was imbued with power by the Polish state who dealt with the Jews as a single corporate body. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century there were various meetings held of Jewish leaders from across the Commonwealth. By 1576 there existed a Jewish court of the three lands, consisting of Greater Poland (Wielkopolska in the west around Gniezno and Poznan), Little Poland (Małopolska, including the Kraków region and Mazowsze) and Crownland Rus. There was also another Jewish council of the four lands which were Greater Poland, Little Poland, Wołyń (Volhynia), Crownland Rus and Lithuania. These councils represented the Jewish community before the state government.

Rabbis did not participate in these councils and they gathered separately. In 1503 the king appointed the great rabbi, Jakub Polak (1460-70-1522), as the official Rabbi of Poland, thereby establishing the Chief Rabbinate and from 1551 the Jews were allowed to select their own Chief Rabbi unhindered. The Chief Rabbinate controlled law and finance, appointed judges and officials and collected government taxes, keeping only thirty per cent for the use of the community. The 16<sup>th</sup> century in Poland was a creative period for Polish Jews in the development of rabbinical law (halakhah). There was a Talmudic academy led by Rabbi Shalom Shakra (d. 1558).<sup>14</sup> Shakra's students included Rabbi Moses Isserles (d. 1572) and Solomon Luria (ca. 1510-74). Volumes of halakhic thought were produced, as well as many students who furthered exegetical and legal studies. The long periods of peace in Poland of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and early 16<sup>th</sup> century provided opportunities for study and the development of printing facilitated the work of the Jewish schools of higher learning. The existence of the printing-press brought rare works to a wider audience, such as the glosses of Polish rabbis on earlier legal Talmudic texts and their answers to questions on points of law. In these texts, no rabbi appointed himself as sole authority, but, rather, he was obliged to harmonise his ideas with communal consensus. An important legalist with international influence was Solomon Luria (1510-73), rabbi of Ostrog and then head of the Lublin Yeshiva after rabbi Shachna. Luria was an independent legal authority and social critic who did not regard legal tradition to be sacrosanct, but argued that it had to accord with successive changing conditions.

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14 Fram, *Ideals face reality: Jewish law and life in Poland, 1550-1655* (1997), p.5. See also Fram, *My Dear Daughter: Rabbi Benjamin Slonik and the Education of Jewish Women in Sixteenth-Century Poland* (2017), passim.

A famous yeshiva (Jewish religious school) was established in Kraków by Moses Isserles (1520-72) who was a legal scholar, kabbalist, historian, philosopher and astronomer. He authored the *Ha-mappah* (a part of the *Shulchan Aruch*).<sup>15</sup> Other noted Jewish scholars of the Commonwealth included Hillel ben Naphtali Zevi (1615-90), as well as Mordechai Yaffe (1530-1612), for a time rabbi of Grodno, who codified the *Halakha*. One of the most outstanding figures was Shalom Shachna (d.1558) who was a Talmudist and head of the Lublin Yeshiva in eastern Poland, a major site of international Jewish scholarship.

Despite the Cossack massacres in 1648-49, then the Swedish invasion of Kraków and Poznań in 1655 and the massacre of Jews in Wilno, Lwów and Lublin in 1655, the Talmudic academies continued to flourish and foreign scholars came to attend the schools. However, many Jews also fled the realm, such as Rabbi Shabbetay ben Me'ir ha Kohen (1621-62).<sup>16</sup> The consequences of the Cossack and Swedish wars were grave for the Jewish community.<sup>17</sup> Although the Polish yeshivot continued to function after the 17<sup>th</sup> century tragedies, according to Edward Fram, they did not reach the intellectual heights of the 16<sup>th</sup> century schools. Despite this, Poland was still a centre for Torah studies through to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.

During the Cossack uprising of 1648 a third of the population of the Commonwealth died (over three million people), among whom there were between 100,000 and 200,000 Jews. The Cossacks perceived the Jews as being allies of the Polish szlachta, since they served on their estates. Furthermore, the Orthodox Church encouraged anti-Semitic actions. In 1655-58 during the Swedish wars, the Jews became victims, in turn, of the Polish forces who accused them of serving the Swedes. Nevertheless, after the warfare ended the Jews returned and rebuilt their communities and, even though they were now greatly impoverished and decreased in numbers, the Jewish settlement in the Commonwealth was still the largest in Europe and it was the spiritual centre for all Jews. The kings of Poland continued to support Jewish settlement.

From the later medieval period it had often been the king, or the local landowner who had funded the building of the synagogue and the local Jewish community was permitted to have as many of these as was necessary in any particular settlement. The distinctive styles of synagogues

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15 Myer S. Lew, *The Jews of Poland: their political, economic, social and communal life in the sixteenth century as reflected in the works of Rabbi Moses Isserles*, London: E. Goldston (1944).

16 Fram, *Ideals face reality: Jewish law and life in Poland, 1550-1655* (1997), p. 6

17 Fram, *Ideals face reality: Jewish law and life in Poland, 1550-1655* (1997), p. 6.

in Poland-Lithuania were determined both by the factors of perpetual war, as also by the availability of materials. Wooden synagogues were unique to the Eastern Commonwealth and although the larger ones have since disappeared, some of the smaller ones have managed to survive. According to Hrinsky and Piechotka, wooden synagogues originated in the mid-16<sup>th</sup> and mid-17<sup>th</sup> centuries in the dense forests of the Eastern Commonwealth where there was a shortage of stone. The wooden synagogue type was based on several different models, including native Polish and Ruthenian wooden building traditions, as well as on earlier stone synagogues. These wooden synagogues were an expression of authentic Jewish folk tradition. They provided dedicated spaces for men and women, the men's space being prioritised, with a women's space screened-off in an annexe. A "cheder" ("room") was included to house an elementary school teaching the elements of Judaism and the Hebrew language. In front of the Ark containing the Torah ("Aron Kodesh") in the men's hall there would stand a "bimah" (pulpit).

In the wooden synagogues the internal space consisted solely of a large hall, with neither side aisles, nor apse, unlike the lay-out of stone synagogues. There was neither any entrance hall, nor any central pillars, as in the stone synagogue. Instead, the wooden domed ceiling was suspended by trusses directly from the roof. The external silhouette of a pitched roof concealed the existence of the inner dome. The vaults in the ceiling could be very elaborate, especially during the Baroque period. There were carvings and paintings on the walls and the domed and vaulted ceilings were often painted blue with stars known as "raki'a." The exterior, though plain, could be impressive due to the imposing scale of the building and often the roof-line was built-up of several different levels with carved corbels.

In the Eastern Commonwealth during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the stone synagogue took a form unique to that region and its style differed significantly from those found in the Czech state, or in Hungary, where they took a more delicate form. In contrast, in the east all stone synagogues were designed in the form of robust fortresses. Often they were incorporated into the fortified walls surrounding the town and they would be located near the main gate. Defensive parapets began to appear on synagogues of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Occasionally, they even had cannon stationed on the roof, as in Łuck where the rabbi and his male congregation were expected to man the defenses of the town and, indeed, they did so with great valour.<sup>18</sup> Soldiers paid for by the Jewish community

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18 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, Wołyń (2005), pp. 235-36.

of the Commonwealth were active in other battles fought by the Polish forces during the Cossacks wars. The interior of the stone synagogue could include stuccoed rib-vaults, as at Szczepieszyn (ca. 1620), Zamość (before 1630) and Łęczna (before 1648). In the centre of the men's hall, around the bimah platform, there would stand four massive pillars bearing simple capitals. The Ark would be concealed by curtains of velvet and silk, heavily embroidered in gold and silver thread and often adorned with bejewelled silver plaques. Renaissance pediments and colonettes in rare marbles and precious woods were added to the decoration of the Ark.



10.1 Fortress synagogue at Łuck, photograph by U. Szulakowska

In the Łuck synagogue (1626-28),<sup>19</sup> as well as at Słomim<sup>20</sup> and Tykocin (1642), the bimah was placed in the centre of the men's hall within a massive hollow pillar pierced by four arches, with a vaulted dome inside the pillar. The beginnings of the Jewish settlement in Łuck can be traced back to 1388 and by the late 15<sup>th</sup> century the Jews had acquired great wealth and influence so that Zygmunt I granted them royal privileges. In 1569 Łuck became the administrative centre of the Wołyń województwo.<sup>21</sup> In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century two synagogues were operating in the city serving

19 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, Wołyń (2005), pp. 235-36.

20 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 133.

21 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, Wołyń (2005), pp. 223-42.



the Rabbinic Jewish and Karaite communities, respectively. On the destruction of the brick synagogue during the Tatar raid of 1617, Zygmunt III in 1626 permitted the Jewish community to erect a new one built of stone on condition that it would be fortified and that the community would maintain at its own expense both men-at-arms and a cannon. The local Catholic clergy disputed the royal privileges granted to the Jews and work on the new synagogue was delayed for two years. The Dominicans especially objected to the proximity of the synagogue to their own church, in particular, to its proposed height which would be taller than the church. Nonetheless, Zygmunt III Waza re-confirmed the rights of the Jews and permitted them to construct a synagogue in Łuck of massive dimensions which played an important role in the defense of the city against the Cossacks in 1648-49.

In order to make it more defensible a tunnel was constructed connecting the Łuck synagogue to other sites in the old town, including the Catholic cathedral, a Greek Orthodox church, the residence of the regional governor and the regional court. The tunnel linked the fortified part of the town to the outer districts and it was used during sieges for supplying the town's defenders with food and ammunition.<sup>22</sup> The top storey of the main building of the Łuck synagogue, as well as of the adjacent tower, featured an attic decorated with a blind arcade running around all four walls. This characteristic Polish Renaissance motif was adopted for other such fortress synagogues. In addition to its ornamental value, the attic afforded protection to those fighting from the roof-top. The watch-tower at the Łuck synagogue also had loopholes for arrows. Other notable examples of the fortress synagogue in eastern Poland and Rus have also managed to survive, including the Old Synagogue of Kraków (14<sup>th</sup> century; redesigned in the 16<sup>th</sup> century), as well as the main synagogues of Brody<sup>23</sup> and Żółkiew (17<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>24</sup>

The destruction of the old fortress synagogue at Przemyśl (1594) by the Nazis in 1941 is only one example of the devastating catastrophe befalling the Jewish community and their material culture during the war. This particular synagogue was built in the Renaissance style, rectangular in form, with additional buildings nearby housing a school and other prayer halls. The Jewish community of Przemyśl had been awarded a Royal Privilege on 20<sup>th</sup> March, 1559, by Zygmunt II that allowed them to

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22 Rąkowski, *Przewodnik po Ukrainie Zachodniej*, I, *Wołyń* (2005), pp. 235-36.

23 Ostrowski, *Kresy bliskie i dalekie*, Kraków (1998), pp. 11-15.

24 For Christian-Jewish relations in Żółkiew see Stefan Gaşiorowski, *Chrzeşçijananie i Żydzi w Żółkwi w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności (2001), *passim*.

settle permanently, along with rights to trade. They were placed directly under the royal jurisdiction at the local court of the wojewod. In 1560 the Jewish community had been worshipping in a wooden synagogue founded by two wealthy Spanish Sephardic immigrants. Later, in 1592 after attacks on Jews by their Christian neighbours permission was granted for them to build a fortified stone synagogue, designed according to the latest Italian models of fortification. The synagogue was situated close to the walls of the city and formed an integral part of the system of defenses. The ghetto area was destroyed by fire in 1637, although the synagogue was not harmed and in 1661 the king permitted the Jews to use the synagogue as collateral for a loan. The building was successively destroyed by anti-Semitic crowds in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and substantially rebuilt. In 1941 the German forces set it alight. In 1956 the communist city council ordered the remains of the synagogue to be demolished since it had lain derelict since 1941. This was carried out despite earnest protests by conservationists.<sup>25</sup>

An exceptionally important and rare survivor of the fortified synagogue is the Old Synagogue in Kraków, rebuilt in the 1570s. It is the oldest surviving synagogue in Poland and is located in the old Jewish district of Kazimierz. This was the most important site for Polish Jewish communities until 1939. The original 15<sup>th</sup> century building was reconstructed in 1570 by the Italian architect, Matteo Gucci, although it has since been considerably altered.<sup>26</sup> The building includes an attic balustrade in the Mannerist style, with slots for firing arrows. The windows are placed high above the ground in the manner of military architecture, with thick walls and heavy buttressing. Like many synagogues of this kind it stands on a hill. It is now a museum of the history of Kraków's Jewish community (Historical Museum of Kraków). Once ruined by the Nazis and neglected by the communists, the synagogue has been completely restored since the 1990s.

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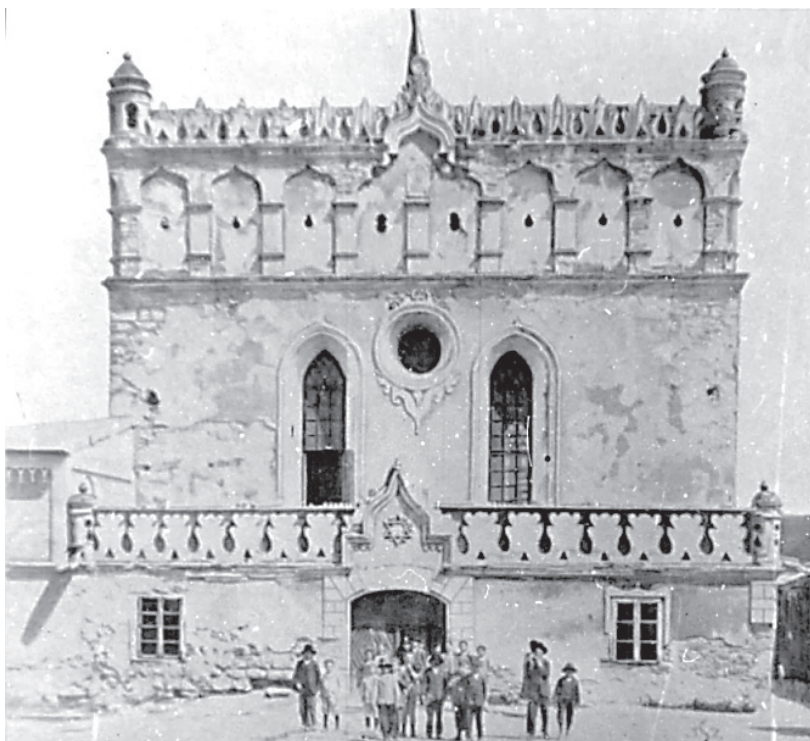
25 For Poland, see Samuel Gruber and Phyllis Myers, *Survey of Historic Jewish Monuments in Poland, A Report to the United States Commission for the Preservation of America's Heritage Abroad*, Jewish Heritage Council's World Monuments Fund, rev.2nd ed. (1995).

26 Michał Rożek and Henryk Halkowski, *The Jews in Cracow: a 700-year history*, Cracow: Judaica Foundation, Center for Jewish Culture (2005); Michał Rożek, *Żydowskie zabytki krakowskiego Kazimierza*, Kraków: Oficyna Cracovia (1990).



*10.2 Golden Rose synagogue (Turei Zahav synagogue), Lwów, by permission of the Instytut Sztuki, Jagiellonian University*

The oldest synagogue in Ukraine, as well as the most important, was the Golden Rose in Lwów (Turei Zahav Synagogue), also known as the Nachmanowicz Synagogue. Like most other remaining synagogues in Belarus and Ukraine it was designated a World Heritage site by UNESCO in 1998. The land for the edifice was purchased in 1580 and funds were provided for building-works in 1581 by Yitzhak ben Nachman (Izak Nachmanowicz), banker to Stefan Batory. In the following year the architect chosen for the task was Paulus Italus from Tschamut in Canton Graubunden, Switzerland, also known in the guild records as Paweł Szczęśliwy. In 1595 at the site of the new synagogue he was assisted by Ambrogio Nutclaus (Ambroży Przychylny), Adam Pokora and Zachariasz Sprawny (Zaccaria de Lugano). They built an entrance hall, a women's gallery and the main prayer-hall which had a Gothic rib-vault and pointed lunettes. The Torah Ark was constructed in alabaster with classical ornamentation. On the exterior the roof was decorated with an attic in the Mannerist Polish style. In 1606 the Jesuits confiscated the synagogue and in 1609 after paying 20, 600 guilders the Jewish community purchased their own building back from the Jesuit Order.



*10.3 Husiatyn, synagogue (between the wars), by permission of the Instytut Sztuki, Jagiellonian University*

Further east, in the town of Husiatyn in Podole (south-east Ukraine, near Tarnopol and Kamieniec Podolski) on the western bank of the Zbruch river, there still endures an outstanding example of a fortress synagogue constructed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Mannerist style. It is universally acclaimed as the most beautiful synagogue in Ukraine. The high walls take a cubic form and they bear an exquisite upper attic, with small inlets for arrows. Each of the parapets is stepped and below the parapets the small windows are surrounded by blind arcades. The effect is that of lace. The main building has tall Gothic pointed windows and lunettes, while an additional building has been sited alongside the prayer-hall. This is similarly decorated with a lacey parapet. At the corners of both buildings there are round turrets with conical roofs. Ruined during the war, it was restored in

1972 and became a museum until the roof collapsed. At the present time its future has not been decided.<sup>27</sup>

An even more impressive synagogue has survived at Słonim (1642) in the Grodno district which is the best preserved Baroque synagogue in Belarus.<sup>28</sup> There had already existed a Jewish community here in 1316 under the rule of the Great Prince Gedyminas, although it is recorded in the taxation records of the town only from 1551. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century eighty per cent of the population in the town was Jewish. There was trade between the Jewish merchants in Słonim and the towns of Lublin and Poznań. The plain lower façade has a pedimented central doorway with an oculus above and two simple side windows. The impressive attic level is modelled on the finest examples of Baroque Catholic architecture in Lithuania. The façade is tall and divided into two levels. The lower level supports an entablature and is decorated with volutes. These are set at the edges of two sets of double Corinthian pilasters standing on either side of an oculus. The volutes terminate in pinnacles. The external pitched roof of the Słonim synagogue conceals an inner dome set on pendentives and carved in dense swags of foliage and flowers in a free classical style. The pendentives spring from sculpted capitals borne by four massive octagonal pillars. The Bimah platform is surmounted by three levels of arcades. The richest embellishments are reserved for the Ark which is adorned with pilasters, narrowing at the foot in the Mannerist style and carrying two levels of capitals, above which there rest double pediments, one over the other. The architrave on the Ark is decorated with blue lapis lazuli and gold motifs. There are other relief carvings on the Ark. The decorative ensemble around the Ark is surmounted by a large cartouche, with laurel garlands at the sides and a crown overhead. Two lions sculpted in high-relief bear two stone tablets on which are engraved the Ten Commandments.<sup>29</sup> Plans were under way in 2016 to develop the Słonim

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27 Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-day Ukraine*, Princeton N. J.: Princeton University Press (2007), pp. 105 ff. See also <http://www.judaica.kiev.ua/eng/MuseumEngl/sinag/sinagTXT.htm> (Synagogues of Ukraine)

28 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 133 (photographs of synagogue).

29 Rachel Wischnitzer, *The Architecture of the European Synagogue*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society (1964), pp. 125-47; Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*, Cambridge, Mass: Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1985); Dover Publications (1996), pp. 53-58; Murray Zimiles et al., *Gilded Lions and Jeweled Horses: the synagogue to the carousel*, University Press of New England (2007), p. 5; Thomas C. Hubka, "Medieval Themes in the Wall-

synagogue as a museum of Jewish culture financed by the Słonim regional administration and the Słonim Jewish Association in Israel. Extensive restoration work has been undertaken, but the museum has yet to eventuate.



10.4 Słonim synagogue, photograph by U. Szulakowska

In Lithuania the Great Synagogue of Grodno (1576-80), commissioned by Rabbi Mordechai Yaffe, had originally been a wooden structure designed by Santi Gucci. Subsequently, over the centuries this was rebuilt in stone after successive destruction. The synagogue burned down in 1902. Another synagogue was constructed in the Moorish style between 1902 and 1905. This has recently been restored to the local Jewish community and renovated. Jews played a major role in the city life of Grodno as merchants and craftsmen, setting-up printing-presses and training as medical practitioners. Grodno was a most important intellectual centre for

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Paintings of 17th and 18th-Century Polish Wooden Synagogues" in Eva Frojmovic (ed.), *Imagining the Self, Imagining the Other*, Leiden: Brill (2002), p. 213 ff.



Jewish scholarship and in the present day there has been some revival of Jewish cultural life in the city, aided by charity foundations from abroad.

In addition to the settlements of orthodox Jewry in Lithuania there were separate settlements of Tatar Karaite, the origins of whose faith lay in Judaism. In an attempt to disassociate the Karaite community from their Jewish inheritance the Karaite philologist, Seraya Shapshal, from 1928 insisted on the affiliation of the Karaite religion with Islam due to their Turkic ethnicity. Shapshal sought to eliminate the Judaic elements of Karaite belief and practice, including the use of Hebrew. He claimed that the original religion of the Karaite had been a Turkic pagan nature cult and that, although they had later converted to Judaism, the Karaite had always revered both Jesus and Mohammed. These ideas have not been universally accepted by scholars, although they were promoted and developed during the Soviet period by the Karaite themselves. The Crimean Karaim Association in 2000 adopted the ideas of Shapshal as their official history and broke with their former Judaic connections.<sup>30</sup> They have also made a claim that in their origins they were the Khazars of central Asia.

They are also known as Karaime and Qaray. In the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century they were found living on the shores of the Black Sea and subscribing to that branch of Judaism which had rejected the Talmud. Despite their name they are not the same group as the Karaite of Levant, Anatolia and the Middle East, although they do share beliefs in common. Many of the original Crimean Karaite (or Karaim) were brought to Lithuania as soldiers by Great Prince Vytautas at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1392 he organised the Karaite into his personal bodyguard at Trakai castle and it is here that there still exists the largest modern settlement of Karaite.<sup>31</sup> A Karaite regiment was reportedly stationed at Trakai until 1655. They brought with them their Tatar dialect and many of their customs. Vytautas gave them a charter of rights, assuring them the status of freemen, as well as religious liberty, the right to their own jurisdiction and commercial freedom. Subsequent Lithuanian princes and Polish kings extended these privileges. In 1441 Kazimierz III granted Trakai the Magdeburg Rights, by which time half of that town was already settled by Karaite and they were ordering their own jurisdiction, with their own court of law. In 1533 a council of all the Karaite of Lithuania met at Trakai, in co-operation with the Rabbinate Council of Lithuania. Both

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30 Anna Sulimowicz, "Karaimi" in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebnie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 147-60.

31 Mickunaite, *Making a Great Ruler: Grand Duke Vytautas of Lithuania* (2006), pp. 188-95.

worked together on the issue of taxation and the Karaite paid their taxes through the Rabbinate council.

Karaite communities suffered severely during the wars between Russians and Poles in the years 1654-1667 and, as a result of their diminished numbers, they could no longer meet the demands for taxation by the authorities. By 1680 there were only thirty Karaite families left in Trakai. The town was devastated again during the wars with Charles XII of Sweden and by ensuing famine and plague. By 1765 some three hundred Karaite survived in the town. At the present time, some two hundred and fifty still live in Lithuania, fifty of whom reside in Trakai.

Originally the Karaite/Jewish links had been very strong. For example, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century Karaite scholars from Lithuania had studied with the Jewish scholar, Elijah Bashyazi, in Istanbul. Karaite religious texts produced in Lithuania were initially written in Hebrew. Later, they made translations into their own Karaimsk tongue and also wrote original works in that language, such as prayers, hymns and songs of mourning for departed leaders. Some of the main Karaite writers and thinkers were Isaac ben Abraham of Troki (1533?-1594?) and his pupil, Joseph ben Mordecai Malinovski. Then there was Zerah ben Nathan of Troki (1576-1620), as well as the physician Ezra ben Nisan (d. 1666), Salomon ben Aharon of Troki (late 17<sup>th</sup> century) and Josiah ben Judah (d. after 1658). The museum at Trakai castle conserves a large selection of Karaite books and manuscripts.

All Karaite religious services are conducted inside a sacred building known as a “kenesa,” which has many similarities to a synagogue, although there are differences that recall Islamic practices, such the removal of footwear before entering the building, although this is a Near Eastern custom common to all religions. There are only two kenesa extant in Lithuania, one dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Vilnius, built out of stone and brick, and a wooden one at Trakai. Both of them are modern reconstructions. The original wooden kenesa at Trakai was destroyed in 1812 and the current version is a re-construction dating from 1903-4.

The kenesa at Trakai takes the form of a plain square wooden building painted a cream colour, with a pale blue roof. There is little indication externally as to which religious confession is involved. The Trakai kenesa has no dome, but instead there is a double roof on which there stands a small turret with open sides. In addition, there are two pinnacles, one on the roof and the other on the turret. By tradition there are three separate windows in the lower walls, in this particular case, divided by pilasters, with more pilasters on the corners of the building.



*10.5 Karaite kenese, Trakai, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

The structure has a Baroque appearance. The interior is far richer than that of Islamic mosques and, in this case, it encloses an impressive altar dating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, also not an Islamic feature. The altar is decorated with black Corinthian columns and a relief sculpture of the two tablets of the Ten Commandments, as in a synagogue. The Trakai kenese, in fact, has a somewhat novel appearance that bears little resemblance to any other type of sacred architecture in the Eastern Commonwealth, whether Christian, Muslim, or Jewish. The 19<sup>th</sup> century kenese in Vilnius is a much more imposing building, recalling the architecture of contemporary synagogues in its orientalising features, specifically the large squat dome and wall decoration.

There are also some ancient Islamic communities in Lithuania and Belarus whose history and material culture should be acknowledged.

# CHAPTER ELEVEN

## ISLAM IN THE EASTERN COMMONWEALTH



*11.1 Tatar mosque at Kruszyniany, Poland near Belarussian border, photograph by U. Szulakowska*

For centuries the Tatars of Poland and Lithuania retained their distinctive ethnic identity, maintaining resilient communities and their Islamic faith.<sup>1</sup> They were mostly spared extreme persecution by the German forces in 1939-45, unlike the Jews and Karaites.

No significant Tatar material culture has survived from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, only a few cemeteries, although the archival record of their settlement is largely intact, as is their literary history. It is only since the 1990s that research into the history of the Crimean Tatars has commenced in earnest among both regional and international scholars, although there are a few earlier studies dating from the 1930s.<sup>2</sup>

Since the earliest centuries of the Polish state, kings, nobles and traders were looking eastwards in order to trade in luxury goods. As early as the 10<sup>th</sup> century there were arriving in the lands of the Polanie (one of the ancestral groups of modern Poles) traders and merchants from lands east of the river Bug, even from India.<sup>3</sup> After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the trade routes with the Levant were closed to Polish merchants and these were taken over by Armenian traders. In flight from the Ottoman Turks, the Armenians settled in Moldavia and Wallachia from where many migrated to Kamieniec Podolski and then on to Pokucie, Lwów and Zamość. The Armenians caused the eastern trade-routes to Turkey and the Crimean region to be re-opened.<sup>4</sup> Since they were familiar with the Turkish language, Armenian merchants became the main operators trading south-east into the Levant and then into Persia, the Caucasus and Bokhara. The trade-routes led from Lwów towards the Levant first along the “droga mołdawska” (Moldavian road), then through Halicz, Stanisławów, Kołomyja, Czerniowiec, eventually arriving in Białogrod (Akermanu), a port on the Black Sea. There was in addition, a second road, the “droga tatarska” (Tatar road) that led through Gliniany, Brody, Tarnopol, Husiatyn and

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1 Arkadiusz Kołodziejczyk, *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów Tatarów litewsko-polskich i islamu w Polsce w XVII-XX wieku: w 600-lecie osadnictwa tatarskiego na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Siedlce: Instytut Historii WSRP w Siedlcach (1997), pp. 9-19, 26-28, 186-93.

2 Stanisław Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy: próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warszawa: Rada Centralna Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego Tatarów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1938); Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII-XVIII w.*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (1989).

3 Jan Tyszkiewicz, “Tatarzy” in Kopczyński and Tygielski (eds.), *Pod Wspólnym Niebie. Narody Dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (2010), pp. 133-46.

4 Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce* (1935), passim; Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (1959), pp. 15, 67-86; Mańkowski, *Sztuka Ormian Lwowskich* (1934).

Kamieniec Podolski to the Crimean region. The third route to Asia Minor went via Istanbul by sea to Bursa and Smyrna (Izmir). The imports from the east into the Commonwealth included wares such as spices, textiles, metal-work and gold-work, while exports eastwards included salt, wax, amber and skins.

Turkish and Persian influences on the fashion and textiles of the Commonwealth have been well recorded by Polish historians. By the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Polish nobility had developed an obsession with Islamic decorative arts and crafts, most of all with textiles.<sup>5</sup> However, the arts of sculpture, oil painting, fresco and architecture remained untouched by Islamic influences. The nobles at first purchased Central Asian wares from merchants, but they soon began to organise their own workshops in which supremely-skilled craftsmen copied eastern silks, damasks, cloth-of-gold, carpets, embroideries, arms and armour.<sup>6</sup> Some of the nobility even began to collect Islamic calligraphy and illuminated Persian manuscripts.<sup>7</sup> By the 18<sup>th</sup> century this had become a wide-spread interest and major collections of Islamic manuscripts of international importance were created by the Zamoyski, Czartoryski and Potocki families. The greatest numbers of these have survived in the Czartoryski Foundation library and museum in Kraków.<sup>8</sup>

The precious Islamic artefacts existing in modern Polish collections are often those that once belonged to the nobility of the old Commonwealth. These include works from the Persian dynasties of the Sassanids, Buyids, Safavids and Qajars, as well as from the later monarchies of Achaemenids, Arsacids and Sasanians. In 1585 Stefan Batory bought Persian textiles from Armenian merchants and commissioned more carpets from the east. Zygmunt III Waza, in turn, ordered luxury items from Persia, including brocaded sashes and weaponry through the Armenian merchant Sefer Muratowicz from Lwów whom Zygmunt sent to Kashan on a diplomatic

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5 Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (1959), pp. 7-15, 27-49, 50-63, 67-86, 90, 93-98, 100-111, 150-89, 190-210, 223-39; Mańkowski, *Sztuka Islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, etc (1935), pp. 47-116.

6 See the textiles illustrated in Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), No's 35-43, pp. 171-85; No. 52, p. 203 (tent); No. 70, p. 227; No. 72, p. 231 (horse caparison); And also Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI-XVIII wieku* (1954).

7 See Zdzisław Żygulski, "The Impact of the Orient on Old Poland," in Jan K. Ostrowski, *Winged Horsemen* (1999), pp. 69-79. See also Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI-XVIII wieku* (1954).

8 Beata Biedrońska-Słota, Dorota Malarczyk and Barbara Męcarska, "Poland II. Persian Art and Artifacts In Polish Collections" in online *Encyclopaedia Iranica* <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/poland-ii-persian-art-in> (2009).



mission in 1601.<sup>9</sup> The inventories of furnishings in noble castles and palaces reveal that Persian art was collected by the Lubomirski family at Wiśnicz in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and also by later collectors in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, namely, the Sieniawski, Radziwiłł, Potocki, Krasinski and Sanguszko families. In 1616 at Dubno Prince Ostrogsky possessed silk carpets woven with gold thread and in 1653 the Firlej had dozens of silk carpets at their palaces in Dąbrowica and Ogrodzieniec.<sup>10</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the major collector of Persian art was Prince Władysław Czartoryski.<sup>11</sup> There is an exceptionally rare carpet in the Czartoryski collection known as the “With Animals” carpet that was produced at Tabriz in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, woven by craftsmen from Herat. It was brought back to Poland after the battle of Vienna in 1683 by the Hetman Polowy Koronny (Field Hetman of the Crown) Mikołaj Hieronim Sieniawski (1645-83) and it was inherited by his great-grandson, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (1734-1823).

Imitation Persian textiles were manufactured in Poland. One essential item in the dress of the Polish nobility was the sash (“pas”) made of Persian silk and these were first brought into the country from Persia in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century such items were being woven in Poland in workshops called “persjarnie” (“Persianeries”) in two-sided, or even four-sided, formats. Further Persian artefacts reached Poland in the form of diplomatic gifts, war booty and as bespoke items. There have also survived a quantity of Persian textiles in churches and monasteries through-out the successor states to the old Commonwealth. The nobility made gifts to the Catholic Church of silk, cloth-of-gold, woven silver thread, embroidered hangings and clothing and the clergy had these items reworked into liturgical garments and altar-cloths.<sup>12</sup>

The Polish language itself adopted many words from Turkish and Tatar. These are found, for example, in the literature of the Polish poet, Kasper Twardowski (1592-ca.1641), as well as in the writings of the poet and historian, Wespazjan Kochowski (1633-1700), both of whom were born in Rus. Turkish words are also found in everyday speech. There were no influences, however, from Islamic literature on Polish writing which drew its models solely from Latin classical antiquity, as well as from Renaissance and Baroque humanism. Catholic prejudice against the

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9 Muratowicz, pp. 35-36, 42, 47.

10 Biedrońska-Słota (1983), p. 98.

11 Biedrońska-Słota (1983), pp. 93-94.

12 Mańkowski, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej* (1959), passim. See also Maria Kałamajska-Saeed, *Polskie pasy kontuszowe*, Warszawa: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza (1987), passim.

religion of Islam led to a disregard of its written literature, although calligraphy as an art-form was increasingly appreciated for its beauty. The sole exception was the case of the Polish Brethren. Due to their rejection of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, they developed a sympathetic attitude towards Islam and a tolerance of its followers. In fact, some contemporaries accused the Brethren of being crypto-Muslims.

Accordingly, it was from Protestant, rather than from Catholic, circles that there appeared the first Polish orientalists. The nobleman, Krzysztof Dzierżek, was sent to Istanbul by Zygmunt II in order to learn Turkish and he translated historical Turkish manuscripts into Polish. Stanisław Starowolski produced an account of the court of the Sultan in Istanbul which was constantly republished in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The Polish historian, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, has examined the role of the nobleman, Samuel Otwinowski, who played an important role in Polish diplomatic initiatives to the Tatar Khanate in the Crimea. Otwinowski translated diplomatic correspondence and resided for several years in Istanbul.<sup>14</sup> Several dictionaries of Central Asian languages first appeared in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, most notably that of Franciszek Mesgnien-Meniński (1628-98) who produced a Turkish-Arabic dictionary (1680) and a Turkish grammar. A most extraordinary scholar was Jan Herbinius (1627-79) who produced a rare textbook on the Islamic religion, *Catechesis Turkesis* (1675). Even so, in spite of this interest by certain scholars in learning the Turkish and Tatar languages, few works concerning Islamic history and culture were published in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Commonwealth.

Meanwhile, the Tatars already settled in the Commonwealth were producing their own literature with its echoes of the Levant and the Black Sea. This was primarily religious literature, such as the “kitab,” that is, commentaries on the Koran.<sup>15</sup>

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13 Stanisław Starowolski, *Dwór Cesarza Tureckiego y residencya iego w Konstantynopolu. Przeróbka z dzieła włoskiego, siedmiokrotnie wydawana w ciągu kilkadziesiątu lat (w 1646, 1647, 1649, 1665, 1701 i 1715 r.)* Kraków (1609); (2nd ed. 1613); (3rd ed. under a different title: *Theatrum świata wszystkiego*, Kraków, 1659).

14 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania : international diplomacy on the European periphery (15th-18th century)...*, Leiden; Boston: Brill (2011), pp. 619, 935, 942.

15 J. Stankiewicz, *Bielaruskija muzulmanie i bielaruskaja literatura arabskimpismom*, Wilno: Hadawik Biel. Nawuk. Tow. w Wilnie, 1 (1933), pp. 111-41; Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy* (1938), pp. 218-19. And see the recent conference on Tatar literature, Katedra Badań Filologicznych “Wschód – Zachód” Wydział Filologiczny Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku Oddział Podlaski Związku

The first Tatars to settle in the Commonwealth in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century had been known as Lipka Tatars from the old Crimean Tatar name for Lithuania. The first such settlers were pagans. Then, from the late 14<sup>th</sup> century through into the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Islamic Tatars were invited to Lithuania by Great Prince Vytautas and also by the Polish kings. At first, on completion of their military service, the Tatars would return to the Crimea, but Vytautas and Władysław Jagiełło encouraged their settlement in Lithuania, eastern Poland and the Halicz area. Crimean Tatars were Sunni Muslims and they were always given the freedom to practice their faith as they wished, without any interference. The Tatar military fought under their leader, Jalaj ad-Din Khan, in the battle of Grunwald against the Teutonic Knights (1410).<sup>16</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries more Tatars of Nogay and Crimean origin arrived in Poland-Lithuania. They settled near Vilnius, Trakai, Grodno and Kaunas and, eventually, moved southwards into the Belarussian area. They were descendants of the Golden Horde of Genghis Khan, as well as of the Kazan Khanate and other later settlements created by the followers of the invading Mongols.

By 1590 there were around 200,000 Lipka Tatars living in the Commonwealth, with four hundred mosques. The largest communities were in the cities of Lida, Nowogródek and Iwe. The Tatars did not confine themselves only to the rural areas, however, where they served in the role of mounted knights. They created new communities in the urban settlements also. The kings granted them administrative and legal autonomy, with many additional royal privileges. This allowed them to retain their Islamic faith and culture through into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, although Polish was soon adopted as the language of daily life and they ceased to speak their original Turkic language.<sup>17</sup> The Lipka Tatars were considerably more liberal in their social and cultural lives than the Muslims of the Middle East, notably in their treatment of women. Girls were educated in schools alongside the boys and they were not veiled. The

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Tatarów ..., *Estetyczne Aspekty iteratury Polskich, Białoruskich i Litewskich Tatarów (od XVI do XXI w.)* Białystok–Sokółka 14–15 listopada (2014).

16 Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce; studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII w.* (1989), pp. 343ff; Piotr Borawski, *Tatarzy w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza (1986), pp. 317ff. See also Piotr Borawski and Aleksander Dubiński, *Tatarzy polscy*, Warsaw: Iskry (1986), p. 270ff. Also there is Ryszard Saciuk, *Tatarzy podlascy*, Białystok: Regional Museum of Białystok (1989), pp. 36ff.

17 For an extended analysis of Tatar religious literature in Lithuania, see Mikołaj Golubiewski, Joanna Kulas and Krzysztof Czyżewski (eds.) *A Handbook of Dialogue: Trust and Identity*, Sejny: Wydawnictwo Pogranicze (2011), pp. 215–17.

culture, in fact, had adopted influences from Christian society, while retaining its Islamic characteristics and traditions.

The leading families were ennobled as szlachta and awarded their distinctive coats of arms. Many married out of the Tatar community and were assimilated into Polish culture, since they were permitted to marry Polish and Ruthenian Christians. The Tatars were also granted the right to send delegates to the General Sejm in order to represent their interests. Nevertheless, in 1672 the Tatars staged a rebellion against Jan III Sobieski in reaction to the limitations placed on their statutory rights by the Sejm. This occurred due to the Tatars' religious kinship with the Turks which led to objections against them on the part of the Jesuits and Dominicans. In 1674 the Tatars returned to their allegiance to Sobieski and fought with him against the Turks at the Battle of Vienna (1683). By the 18<sup>th</sup> century most of the noble Tatars in the military had become polonised, while the lower classes had adopted the Ruthenian language. Tatar traditions were preserved, even so, and a distinctive eastern European Muslim culture emerged in which Muslim orthodoxy mingled with religious tolerance and liberal attitudes.

When it comes to assessing the artistic achievements of the Lithuanian Tatars, there remains little of their historic material culture to discuss. Few of the original mosques still exist and those that continue to stand on their original sites have been rebuilt over the centuries, since they were constructed out of perishable wood.<sup>18</sup> In addition, there have remained a number of the old Islamic cemeteries,<sup>19</sup> as well as a substantial number of manuscripts and archival documents.<sup>20</sup>

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18 Agata S. Nalborczyk, "Mosques in Poland. Past and present" in Katarzyna Górak-Sosnowska (ed.), *Muslims in Eastern Europe Widening the European Discourse on Islam*, Warsaw: Faculty of Oriental Studies, (2011), pp. 183-93 [http://www.academia.edu/1152035/Mosques\\_in\\_Poland\\_Past\\_and\\_present](http://www.academia.edu/1152035/Mosques_in_Poland_Past_and_present)

19 Kołodziejczyk, *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów Tatarów litewsko-polskich i islamu w Polsce* (1997), pp. 186-93. For Tatar cemeteries in Poland and Lithuania, see Andrzej Drozd, Marek M. Dziekan and Tadeusz Majjida, *Meczet i cmentarze Tatarów polsko-litewskich*, Warszawa: Res Publica Multiethnica (1999).

20 For the Proceedings of 6th International Conference on Islam and Muslim Tatars of Belarus, Lithuania and Poland at the Millenium (2000), see (in Belarussian) Leanid Mikhaïlavich Lych and Ibrahim Barysavich Kanapatski (eds.) *Islām i umma (abshchyna) tatar-musul'man Belarusi, Litvy i Pol'shchy na miazhy tysiachahoddziaŭ: ...*, Minsk: [s.n.] (2001): Ibrahim Barysavich, pp. 5-18 (Tatars in Belarus, Lithuania and Poland; Ibrahim Barysavich, pp. 63-66 (Belarussian Tatars); Leanid Mikhaïlavich Lych, pp. 24-31 (culture of Belarussian Tatars and the 1st Commonwealth).

The builders of the first mosques in Lithuania were the same architects who worked on Catholic and Orthodox churches. As a result, the appearance of the Lithuanian Tatar mosques is totally different from those encountered in Islamic countries, such as Turkey, or through-out the Middle East. In the Islamic countries, or in European countries conquered by the Ottomans such as Serbia and Hungary, the mosques follow the Middle Eastern model of a large central dome elevated over a cubic lower hall.<sup>21</sup> The mihrab (prayer niche) points towards Mecca. There is an atrium with running water for ritual ablutions and a minaret for the calls of the muezzin. This type of mosque from the 17<sup>th</sup> century has survived at Pecs and Siklos in Hungary and several minarets are also still in place in towns such as Eger (Hungary) and Kamieniec Podolski (Ukraine).

However, this Middle Eastern model was not the stylistic type employed in Lithuania, nor in the Polish Crownlands that remained free of Turkish occupation. It is only very recently, since 1990, that a number of mosques have been built, or reconstructed, in Belarus on the model of the Middle Eastern formats, including a monumental structure in Minsk. Earlier, in villages and towns such as Kruszyniany there had appeared wooden mosques of a completely different design.<sup>22</sup> Three original wooden mosques have also survived in modern Lithuania in the villages of Nemėžis, Keturiasdešimt Totorių (Vilnius district municipality) and Raižiai (Alytus district municipality), as well as the completely new brick mosque recently erected in Kaunas. In 1679 the Tatars had been awarded the territory of Kruszyniany by Jan Sobieski and the surviving mosque here probably dates from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It takes the shape of a square and is constructed out of weather-boards, laid horizontally. There is an entrance porch with a window-less tower on each side. The two towers are capped by curved dome-like roofs, surmounted by crescent moons. The side-walls are pierced by small pointed windows. There is a protruding

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21 Sosiński, *Ziemia Nowogródzka zarys dziejów* (2001), pp. 134-41. This records the fate of the Tatar population in the towns of Iwia and Nowogródek during WW2 and also has some photographs of the former Tatar village of Murawiszczyna near Iwia (p. 136), as well as the former wooden mosques in Iwia and Nowogródek (p. 138). There is also a photograph of an existing Tatar gravestone in the Tatar cemetery near Slonim (p. 140).

22 Stanisław Kryczyński, "Bej barski. Szkic z dziejów Tatarów polskich w XVII wieku. Bey de Bar," *Rocznik tatarski*, 11, Zamość (1935). Also see Stanisław Kryczyński, "Przywilej króla Michała dla Tatarów wołyńskich w roku 1669," *Rocznik tatarski*, 11, Zamość (1935). And, Stanisław Kryczyński, *Tatarzy litewscy. Próba monografii historyczno-etnograficznej*, Warszawa: Wydanie Rady Centralnej Związku Kulturalno-Oświatowego Tatarów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej (1938).

niche at the back to mark the presence of the mihrab. The interior is simple, with carpets laid on the floors and calligraphy on the walls. At Nemezis near Vilnius, as well as at Bohoniki near Białystok in Poland, the dome and minaret seem to have been integrated into a central tower, with windows at the summit, topped by a dome-like structure. It is not known how these mosques would have looked in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but their current appearance is likely to be close enough to their original forms.

Nor are Lithuanian Tatar cemeteries anything like those found in Hungary. For example, in Pecs, the centre of the Turkish occupation from 1526 to the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, in the cemetery next to the former mosque (1543), some stone pillars still stand over the graves. These are topped by either carved turbans, or veils, to denote male, or female, deceased. In contrast, in the Commonwealth the 17<sup>th</sup> century Islamic grave monuments, such as those at Kruszyniany, take the form of upright rectangular stone slabs on which there are carved lengthy inscriptions, basically looking much the same as those encountered in Christian and Jewish cemeteries. The oldest tombstone in Kruszyniany dates from 1699 and is inscribed in Arabic. There are more old Islamic cemeteries in the Vilnius area and also near Nowogródek and Grodno in modern Belarus.

The only case of violence offered to Muslims in Lithuania took place in 1609 when Christians stormed the mosque in Trakai at the instigation of the Catholic clergy. Then, in 1668, for the first time in the history of Lithuania, a legal restraint was placed on the construction of new mosques on land where they had not stood previously. In spite of this legal obstruction in 1679 new mosques were erected in Kruszyniany and Podlachia. Eventually, the right of Muslims to build sanctuaries was restored by the Constitution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 1768, and by that of 1775. Prior to 1795 there had existed twenty-three mosques and five prayer-houses in Lithuania.<sup>23</sup>

After World War II most Tatar communities found themselves in the territories annexed from Poland by the Soviet Union in 1940. Only three Tatar settlements still remained in Poland, namely, those at Bohoniki, Kruszyniany and Sokółka. Unwilling to accept the new state of affairs, large numbers of Tatars crossed the Russian border, much preferring to settle in eastern Poland at Białystok and in nearby towns. They also moved further west to Gdańsk and Gorzów Wielkopolski. Currently, around 4,000 Muslims of Tatar origin live in Poland, although there is a much larger and more active Tatar community still residing in Belarus and Lithuania. In

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23 Kołodziejczyk, *Rozprawy i studia z dziejów Tatarów litewsko-polskich i islamu w Polsce w XVII-XX wieku* (1997), *passim*.



1971 the Muslim Religious Association was reactivated. The Society of Muslims in Poland was organised in 1991 and the Association of Polish Tatars was formed in 1992. These organisations are extremely diligent in the preservation of Tatar heritage and in working for the future of their communities. Surprisingly, in the 2002 Polish census only 447 people declared themselves a Tartar national, although this does not necessarily indicate any loss of a sense of original Tatar ethnicity, nor of loyalties to the ancestral community.

In contemporary Belarus there are found mosques in Smilovichi, Ivye, Slonim, and Novogrudok in the Grodno region, Kletsk in the Minsk region, as well as in Minsk itself, and at Vidzy in the Vitebsk region. The largest settlement of Muslims in the former Eastern Commonwealth, until quite recently, was in modern Ukraine, specifically in the Crimean region, their original homeland. In the entire Ukraine (including the Crimea) there had once existed 445 communities, 433 ministers and 160 mosques, with more mosques in the process of construction. Muslims constituted approximately 0.9% of the total Ukrainian population, but as much as 12% of the Crimean populace. This was the situation prior to the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Federation. Since the annexation the political situation of the Tatar population has severely declined under the oppressive policies of the new regime directed specifically against Tatar civic liberties and culture.

## EPILOGUE

With the death of Jan III Sobieski in 1696 the Commonwealth entered an era of increasing insecurity, faced with incessant predations on its territory by Russia and Prussia. Sobieski had failed to reform and rationalise the workings of the Sejm, or to establish stable dynastic rule. In hindsight, perhaps nothing could have stopped the collapse of Poland-Lithuania. Eventually, most of the nobility of the Commonwealth voluntarily surrendered control of their state to hostile neighbouring countries at the last meeting of the Sejm in the New Castle at Grodno from 17<sup>th</sup> June to 23<sup>rd</sup> November, 1793. Many deputies were bribed by the Russians into passing the Second Act of the Partition of Poland, though others believed that such an action would prevent the complete disappearance of the state, which did come to pass, regardless, in the final Partition of 1795. The political and economic weakness of the Commonwealth had prevented its recovery in the 18<sup>th</sup> century when new wars had dragged it into the abyss. The elected Saxon kings failed to serve the best political and economic interests of the Polish-Lithuanian state.

Yet, even as the state apparatus revealed increasing signs of weakness, the arts and culture flourished in the 18<sup>th</sup> century as never before. Artists and architects adopted first the Rococo style of southern Germany and France and, then, that of the neo-classical revival. In sculpture there appeared a sculptor of international importance, Jan Jerzy Pinsel (d. ca. 1761/2). He was of south German origins, but he established his base at Buczacz. Under the patronage of Mikołaj Bazyli Potocki (1712-82), the major patron of the Eastern Commonwealth, Pinsel was put to work alongside the Rococo architect, Bernard Meretyn (d. 1756), in constructing the glorious Uniate cathedral of St. Jura in Lwów, as well as the City Hall in Buczacz. Pinsel also produced altars for churches at Hodowicy, Horodenko and Monasterzysk. Another significant Rococo sculptor was Franciszek Olędzki of Lwów (d. 1792) who decorated the church tower with statuary for the Dominicans at Podkamień. A leading painter who worked beside him was Stanisław Stroiński (1719-1802) who produced the exquisite frescoes inside the chancel of the Podkamień church. Meanwhile, at the cathedral in Wilno the Polish painter, Franciszek Smuglewicz (1745-1807), was producing the impressive frescoes at the Kazimierz chapel. The imposing Baroque complex at Pochaiv monastery

was enlarged in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with additional constructions built in a southern German Rococo manner.

The great magnate palaces of Różana and Nieśwież were redeveloped in these later centuries and most other castles and manors were rebuilt and embellished with Rococo motifs. The city of Wilno has retained its 18<sup>th</sup> century classical appearance in the Old Town which has become a UNESCO World Heritage site.

Artistic and architectural innovation continued unabated in the Commonwealth through-out the 18<sup>th</sup> century, even into the period after the Partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was dismantled by the occupying powers of Russia, Germany and Austria. These lands were not re-united, until briefly during 1919-1939 in a territorially reduced form as the Second Republic of Poland.

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