

Lech Kalinowski (d. 2004), one of the most eminent Polish art historians. Professor at the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. A specialist in mediaeval and Renaissance art, his scholarly interests concentrated on iconology. Since 1958 he had been working on the Polish volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, and for many years had been the President of Polish National Committee of the *Corpus Vitrearum*.

Helena Małkiewiczówna, a renowned Polish art historian, professionally associated with the Czartoryski Museum and the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow. Author of many fundamental studies on Gothic monumental painting in Poland. For many years she was involved in the studies on the Polish volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*.



Lech Kalinowski, Helena Małkiewiczówna *Ars Vitrea. Collected Writings on Mediaeval Stained Glass*

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ON THE COVER

Agnus Dei (detail), stained glass panel, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow
Photo: Daniel Podosek / Corpus Vitrearum Poland

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In the late spring of 2004 I was contacted by Professor Lech Kalinowski who announced his wish to visit me. Already then he was at quite an advanced age (84), of ailing health and his visits to the Jagiellonian University, with which he had been associated throughout his entire professional life, had been extremely rare. At that time, I acted as Head of the Institute of Art History and Professor Kalinowski as President of the Polish National Committee of Corpus Vitrearum; Professor Kalinowski wished to discuss the future of this undertaking with me. He came together with Ms Helena Małkiewiczówna, his long-standing colleague and collaborator in research devoted to stained glass. During the meeting I was obliged by Professor Kalinowski to publish the collected articles on mediaeval stained glass, which the two scholars had authored, in the form of a book.

The above-mentioned meeting constituted my last personal contact with Professor Kalinowski. Shortly afterwards, he was taken to hospital where he died on 15 June of the same year. Over the years, I did not forget about my pledge to publish the book on stained glass, yet there were other, more urgent tasks to complete before that. I am therefore extremely pleased that at long last we have finally managed to bring the project to a successful conclusion. However, it ought to be stressed that this would not have been possible without the personal involvement and dedication of Dr. Dobrosława Horzela and Joanna Utzig M.A. – the continuators of Lech Kalinowski and Helena Małkiewiczówna's work on the corpus of mediaeval stained glass in Poland. It was thanks to them that the articles had been standardised editorially and the illustrative material – often in new and better quality – had been gathered anew.

It is no coincidence that it is the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences which is the publisher of this volume. This oldest corporation of academics in Poland which was founded in the year 1872, had fulfilled a leading role in Polish academic life up until 1952, when its operation was suspended by the communist authorities. A reactivation of the Academy had taken place shortly after the political transformation of 1990 in Poland, and Professor Kalinowski became actively involved in the activity of its Art History Commission (whose president he had become), as well as in the activity of its First Philological Department, within which the afore-mentioned Commission had resumed its operation.

The articles published in this book had been authored chiefly in the course of the last twenty years of the previous century. They concern both the well-known European works of art as well as the lesser-known mediaeval stained glass works preserved on the territory of Poland. I am convinced that a publication of these papers in a single volume – years after they had originally been created – will contribute to preserving the efforts of their authors to the history of research on stained glass.

*Prof. Dr. Wojciech Balus
President of the Polish National Committee
of the Corpus Vitrearum*

INTRODUCTION

Lech Kalinowski is known as a member of a group of very active international art historians during the decades following World War II, and as a scholar who inherited a rich Polish intellectual legacy. In the course of a long career in medieval European art history, I have had the honour and pleasure of knowing four distinguished art historians of Polish origin who were my seniors: Louis Grodecki (1910–1982), George (Jerzy) Zarnecki (1915–2008), Jan Białostocki (1921–1988), and Lech Kalinowski (1920–2004)¹. Two became very well-known outside Poland because they chose to pursue their scholarly goals elsewhere. Zarnecki, who had studied and taught at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, eventually migrated to London and had a foundational influence on the new discipline of art history in the United Kingdom, through his publications and teaching as well as the directorship of the Courtauld Institute of Art; his studies of Romanesque sculpture in France, England and Italy were foundational. Grodecki settled in France in 1928, but unlike the others he had not yet chosen art history as his metier, having hoped for a career in drama; he became one of the very able students of Henri Focillon, himself a convert from another field, philology. Grod later spent a year at Princeton (1949–1950) and taught for a semester at Harvard (1958), and was inspired by Erwin Panofsky and Sumner Crosby to work on the stained glass of Saint-Denis, though his dominant focus remained style development. Białostocki and Kalinowski maintained their careers in Poland, although both were very familiar figures in other countries through their

¹ Of a younger generation, Yolanta Załuska trained in Paris, receiving her doctorat de 3e cycle in art history at the University of Paris 4, in 1986. A notable scholar of Cistercian manuscripts, she became Chercheur au CNRS in 1991.

lectures and their publications in French, English, German and Italian, on all aspects of European art². Białostocki had very broad interests, and founded a tradition of art historiography at the University of Warsaw. They both served on the national committee for the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* that operated under the aegis of the Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, and thus became part of a pioneering international movement to study and conserve medieval stained glass; from half a dozen founding members, the *Corpus Vitrearum* now has fourteen active national committees, and has expanded its purview beyond the middle ages. It is particularly satisfying that Kalinowski's contributions to stained glass studies are appearing in translation, so that they will be widely available to the larger community of stained glass scholars, and art historians at large³.

Looking back on my intellectual and personal encounters with each of these men, it seems valid to ask what they had in common. Some patterns of behaviour that transcended changes in local context might be thought of as cultural: humility and reticence, generosity in sharing their research and commenting on that of others, and a quiet sense of humour that guaranteed survival of the inner psyche in any circumstances. Grodecki appeared to be an exception since his habitual mode of being was as assertive and blunt as the others were gentle and genteel, yet he had the same underlying generosity of spirit and unwavering focus on advancing the field of art history as a shared enterprise⁴. A common intellectual identity includes the proficiency in several languages that is the common fate of literati whose mother tongue is regrettably little understood outside their country – Polish, Hungarian, Catalan, Baltic and Scandinavian scholars almost always put Anglophones and Francophones to shame. However the universal basis for a life of learning in pre-World War II Europe was an education in Greek and Latin, traditionally leading to an appreciation of Renaissance humanism and of the Enlightenment, but equally useful as new generations turned to the study of medieval European and Byzantine art. Unfortunately that changed for post-war generations in many parts of Europe. My own early mentor, Francis Wormald, bemoaned the decision about 1960 to drop Latin as an entry requisite for the Cambridge University colleges, telling me “You and Peter [New-

² BALUS 2012, pp. 446–447.

³ It is regrettable that I cannot read Polish, so my comments on Kalinowski's work are restricted to his publications in other languages.

⁴ See the introductory notes and bibliography in CROSBY et al. 1981, pp. 5–11, 19–32.

ton] are the last;” one of his most-repeated complaints in his paleography seminar was “no, no! You must make a *Latin* word out of it.” Kalinowski habitually called on his early philological training to gain insights into works of art and theories about art, and Latin phrases are woven through his writing, also appearing in the titles of several articles. Unlike German, French and English, scholars who defined cultural studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and tended to dwell on their own art and literature, many twentieth-century Polish scholars used their broad linguistic training to communicate with the learned world beyond their borders⁵. Kalinowski wrote about Polish art in German and French, thus beginning to fill a huge gap in common knowledge outside Poland⁶. He also contributed to the study of art made outside Poland.

For those immersed in the Catholic liturgy, or conscious of a Catholic past, it was natural to decipher images with the help of texts. In France the legacy of Emile Mâle, a product of the *École des Chartes* who claimed so much authority for theology in the creation of medieval art that there was little room to notice the style of the work, was challenged by Henri Focillon who regarded style development as an inevitable process, governed by “le vie des forms en art”⁷. Breaking art away from its social and intellectual context may also be viewed as a critique of Hegel’s *Geistgeschichte*, the epistemology that tended to dominate art history in the early twentieth century. Grodecki, along with many others of his generation and mine, were swept up in Focillon’s modernist project, which provided the excitement of focusing on visual change and innovation. Just as modern French and German artists were vying to prove who was first with the Fauve or Blaue Reiter movements, art historians debated which side of the Pyrenees was the cradle of the “premier art roman”, and which side of the Channel produced the first “proto-Gothic” works⁸. Meanwhile, Białostocki and Kalinowski contributed to the great Polish tradition of solving iconographic puzzles, and refining an “iconological” framework that could provide a deeper understanding of artistic production and reception⁹. In 1972, Kalinowski published an important critique

⁵ This was the successful strategy of the Catalan art historians and artists who brought attention to their Romanesque art, such as Josep Puig i Cadafalch, Josep Pijoan, Edouard Junyent, Joan Ainaud de Lasarte, Pablo Picasso and Joan Miró: CAVINESS 2007, pp. 59–69.

⁶ As in an exploration of French influence on Polish sculpture, early in his career: KALINOWSKI 1958; and among his last contributions, a joint study of the uses of antiquity in Polish art: KALINOWSKI, KACHIAK 2003.

⁷ FOCILLON 1939.

⁸ New York 1975, vol. 2, and the accompanying exhibition catalogue.

⁹ BALUS 2012, p. 448.

of Panofsky's uses of the term in which he examines the older definitions of iconography and iconology and points out the confusions created by inconsistencies in his theory¹⁰; this was a few years ahead of the "crisis in the discipline" of art history that was declared in the U.S., and the resulting re-evaluations of Panofsky's "method"¹¹. When Grodecki first approached the stained glass of Saint-Denis it remained under the blanket of Panofsky's translation of Abbot Suger's writings¹². Although he was intensely interested in the different "hands" in evidence in the surviving panels, Grod was not exclusively a stylist¹³. In 1961, in the lead article in a new journal, he published a lengthy study of a multiplicity of theological texts that inform the allegorical windows of Saint-Denis, departing from Panofsky's logocentric view by taking visual sources into equal account¹⁴. Years of mutual inspiration between Grodecki and Kalinowski followed; twenty years later, in his article for Grodecki's *Festschrift*, Kalinowski acknowledged that Grod had suggested to him that the divine idea of humankind might be represented in an enigmatic sculpture in the creation cycle of the north porch of Chartres Cathedral, but it was for Kalinowski to reveal in detail the multiple textual and visual resonances, some of them from antiquity, but all of them relevant to the immediate context¹⁵. In 1983, Kalinowski appropriately dedicated to Grodecki's memory a thorough and nuanced study of the precious twelfth-century panels from the Premonstratensian Abbey church of Arnstein an der Lahn¹⁶. Taking issue with earlier reconstructions of a series of typological windows, he looked closely panel by panel at the inscriptions, biblical and theological parallels, and similar twelfth-century representations in a variety of media, gradually discounting comparisons with later programmes and scenes, which made it possible to demonstrate the dense and complex relationships between the existing panels and their human context.

Kalinowski's involvement with medieval stained glass was probably occasioned in the first instance by the need for the Polish Academy of

¹⁰ KALINOWSKI 1972 (I am grateful to Wojciech Bałus for an English translation, which will be published).

¹¹ As voiced in the special issue of a journal of the College Art Association of America: *The Crisis* 1982. See also: HOLLY 1984; CAMILLE 1986; KIDSON 1987; HART 1993.

¹² SUGER [1946]; see KIDSON 1987.

¹³ His stylistic analysis of one panel (GRODECKI 1995, pp. 99–108, "Un *Signum Tau* mosan à Saint-Denis", first published in 1982), is complemented by Kalinowski's iconographical approach: KALINOWSKI 1983, pp. 16–17, fig. 12.

¹⁴ GRODECKI 1961.

¹⁵ KALINOWSKI 1981.

¹⁶ KALINOWSKI 1983.

Sciences to form a committee in response to the creation of the project known as the CVMA¹⁷. As a result of taking down most medieval windows for safekeeping during World War II, and photographing them as a further precaution against their total loss, a group of European art historians decided to begin universal and systematic research and publication of all stained glass dating from before 1480. The programme was formulated in Amsterdam in 1952 at the Congress of the Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art (CIHA, the International Committee for the History of Art, a member of the International Council of Philosophy and Humanistic Studies that had been founded by UNESCO). Hans Hahnloser (Switzerland) became the first international president of the new project, with support from Dagobert Frey (Austria), Johnny Roosval (Sweden) and Marcel Aubert (France); national committees were formed in Austria, France, the German Republic, and Switzerland, and the founders sought scholars in Belgium, England, Italy, Poland and the United States who would do the same¹⁸. Colloquia in the 1950s assured clear guidelines for the publications of the Corpus, yet there were very few scholars trained in the field of stained glass at the time. Switzerland took the lead, and Ellen Beer turned from manuscripts to glass paintings to write the first volume¹⁹. Jean Verrier had enlisted Grodecki in 1939 to study the French stained glass that was still in storage, and when the Corpus Vitrearum came into existence he and Marcel Aubert, who also understood the importance of documenting this vulnerable medium, named Grodecki and Lafond as authors of the first French volume²⁰. During two decades of teaching in Strasbourg and Paris, Grodecki introduced a number of advanced students to the study of medieval windows, among them Catherine Brisac, Chantal Bouchon, and Claudine Lautier, all of whom have made important individual and collaborative contributions to the field²¹. Françoise Perrot assisted Jean Lafond with the Corpus volume on the

¹⁷ Academy of 'Sciences' has become the general usage for these organisations, stemming from francophone use of *sciences* by UNESCO and the UAI; it does not mean sciences in the usual English meaning of physics and chemistry etc. (e.g. the American Academy of Arts and Sciences), but learning or scholarship in general (as German *Wissenschaft*). Similarly *scientifique* should translate as scholarly, not scientific. However it is too late to correct international français.

¹⁸ *Corpus Vitrearum* 1982, p. 94.

¹⁹ BEER 1956.

²⁰ AUBERT et al. 1959.

²¹ E.g. BOUCHON et al. 1979, pp. 16–24. Brisac also collaborated with Grod on two important volumes: GRODECKI et al. 1977 and GRODECKI, BRISAC 1984; reprint 1985, *Gothic Stained Glass 1200–1300*. Lautier edited several Corpus volumes, as an Engineer of the Centre Nationale de Recherches Scientifiques, through the 1990s.

fourteenth-century choir glazing of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, and built on his studies of sixteenth-century glass in Normandy as well as participating in the pre-Corpus regional *Recensement* volumes²². In 1975 Grodecki succeeded Hahnloser as President of the international board of the CVMA. Elsewhere too, graduate students began to work on topics in stained glass. Architectural historians Sumner Crosby at Yale and Robert Branner at Columbia deemed this ornamental medium a suitable topic for women, providing opportunities for Jane Hayward, Virginia Raguin and Meredith Lillich as the first generation of Corpus Vitrearum authors in the U.S.²³.

The technical study and conservation of painted glass advanced with the art historical project. Before 1952, Jean Lafond, a former student of Emile Mâle, was already publishing extensively on glass painting, and benefited from his friendship with J.-J. Gruber, in order to refine his observations of medieval painting techniques, and to examine glass in the restoration workshops²⁴. “L’archéologie du verre” reflected a third element of French art history, the close attention to the material itself and the technical means of working with it in the production of artifacts. Grodecki developed a life-long collaboration with Jean Taralon, who and founded a laboratory for technical studies, having succeeded Verrier as head of the government agency that oversaw monuments conservation in 1968²⁵. In Austria, Eva Frodl-Kraft collaborated with Ernst Bacher, an art historian with a command of technical conservation issues through his work at the Bundesdenkmalamt. In all countries, the requirements of the Corpus Vitrearum for accurate “restoration charts” in which every piece of non-medieval glass is noted, pressured teams to examine panels on the bench if at all possible – sometimes, like Bacher and Frodl-Kraft, waiting years for the opportunity – or to work from scaffolds on the exterior and interior, as I did in Canterbury. By the 1960s it was apparent that the deterioration of monumental stained glass in Europe was accelerating, due to air pollution and acid rain, so sub-committees of glass restorers and glass scientists were formed in each country, with an international director and a *Newsletter* that disseminated new information on medieval materials and conservation. With this structure, ad hoc advisory committees composed of art historians, scientists and restorers, could be rap-

²² LAFOND et al. 1970; PERROT 1978–1979, pp. 49–98; GRODECKI et al. 1978; GRODECKI et al. 1978a; GRODECKI et al. 1981.

²³ CAVINESS et al. 1985; HAYWARD 2003; RAGUIN, ZAKIN 2001; LILLICH 2004.

²⁴ LAFOND 1943a; LAFOND 1978 (a posthumous reprint of his 1966 book, with his bibliography).

²⁵ *In Memoriam* 1997.

idly formed to carry out site visits and offer advice on conservation, for instance for Augsburg and for Chartres Cathedrals. In some cases, like Canterbury Cathedral, permanent advisory committees were formed.

In the 1950s, England, like Poland, had lacked stained glass specialists with academic positions but Francis Wormald, who had been recruited by the British Academy to head the committee for the CVMA, directed Peter Newton's doctoral dissertation. Peter eventually had a chair at the University of York and advised Peter Gibson of the York Glaziers Trust on the restoration of the Minster glass; York has remained a powerhouse of glass studies, with Richard Marks, Sarah Brown and Tim Ayres continuing the tradition to the present day. Meanwhile, in order to begin serious study of medieval glass painting and contribute to the English volumes, I had spent a year in France with Lafond and Grodecki, and it was through Parisian contacts that I eventually met Lech Kalinowski; he was in residence at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale in Poitiers in 1956 and returned often to France. He also contributed to the Center's journal, the *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, by reporting on Romanesque archaeological discoveries made in Poland in 1961, including at his own excavation in Tyniec²⁶. The Jagiellonian University generously shared him with several other centers of learning: In 1959 he was in London, at the Warburg Institute, and returned there, to the Courtauld, in the 1970s; he was in London again in December 1984 to review the splendid exhibition of English Romanesque art that had been organised by George Zarnecki (and signed my treasured offprint of his 'Virgo Versatur' article)²⁷. He also participated in an important symposium and publication on narrative in Romanesque sculpture²⁸.

In 1964–1965 Kalinowski was at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, returning to the States in 1969 for a semester at Johns Hopkins University. Meanwhile he had attended the first biennial colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, in Erfurt in 1962. We both regularly attended these colloquia, though I had missed the first one. I well remember his amused private aside to me in Erfurt in 1989 to the effect that this was not the right venue for the kind of theoretical/historiographical paper that I had delivered. One of his talents was indeed to be able to use his vast knowledge to communicate on levels appropriate to the audience;

²⁶ KALINOWSKI 1962.

²⁷ KALINOWSKI 1988; with all his habitual erudition and civility, he corrected several iconographic identifications offered in the catalogue.

²⁸ KALINOWSKI 1992.

for instance when the Union Académique Internationale held its annual assembly in Cracow in 1999, he was called upon to give an informative lecture on the wooden churches of Lesser Poland that we would see on excursion²⁹. The same year he contributed an introductory essay to the catalogue of an exhibition of seventeenth-century prints from the collection of the Polish Academy in Cracow, explaining the techniques of print-making and the impact of the availability of such multiple images³⁰. The very large *Festschrift* published in Kalinowski's honour in 2002 is one measure of his scholarly breadth and outreach: the forty-two contributors include scholars from Austria, England, France and the United States of America, and the topics range, as did his own work, from antiquity to modernity, from Paris to Byzantium, from architecture to reliquaries, and from explorations of art historical methods to contextual case studies³¹.

In order to advance the CVMA project in Poland, Kalinowski joined the committee as author, with Helena Małkiewiczówna as co-author and Paweł Karaszkiewicz as technical expert. They projected a single volume for Poland's medieval glass, but its richness and diversity, as well as inaccessibility in some instances, held up the publication of full volumes. Instead, they produced preliminary studies of some important sites and regions. For instance, an exploration of the fourteenth-century glass in Toruń appeared in 1995³². Much of the fourteenth-century glass painting of Poland belongs in the broader context of the international style of Prague and German-speaking lands. By the fifteenth century more distinctive regional styles are apparent. Kalinowski himself published catalogue entries for the remnants of bishop saints and a Madonna and Child from the Dominican church in Cracow, discussing them in relation to German, Austrian, and Italian models³³. He also focused his attention on cultural contacts and artistic transmission, such as the relation of Italian art to that north of the Alps, an old saw of art historians, in two important articles that gave scope to considerations of historiography and theory; one case-study concentrates on early fourteenth-century stained glass, the other on thirteenth-century sculpture³⁴.

Meanwhile the Polish Corpus Vitrearum team was preparing the volume for the fourteenth-century windows of the market church in the

²⁹ KALINOWSKI 1999.

³⁰ KALINOWSKI 1999b.

³¹ *Magistro et amico* 2002.

³² KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995.

³³ KALINOWSKI 1989.

³⁴ KALINOWSKI 1997a; KALINOWSKI 1999.

central town square of Cracow. Yet as Grodecki had found in the case of Saint-Denis, it became necessary to first publish a complete narrative of the history and of the glass and the restorations that had altered it³⁵. This important preliminary study appeared in 1997³⁶. The next year, Kalinowski organised the Corpus Colloquium in Cracow, around the theme of glass in its architectural setting³⁷. Scholars attending that meeting were able to look under his guidance at the very beautiful east window of St Mary's from an interior scaffold, the only way to fully appreciate the painting because of the deterioration of the glass. These upward excursions have become a staple of Corpus colloquia. That year too, Kalinowski and Małkiewicz published a useful contribution to *l'archéologie du verre*, through the study of some late fourteenth-century panels that had largely been stolen and dispersed from Chełmno; this paper was the occasion for an extensive listing of other examples of flashed glasses with parts of the coloured layer removed by abrasion or chemical means, for decorative or representational purposes; the authors suggest that salt peter could have dissolved the coloured glass containing copper oxide, leaving the colourless glass intact³⁸.

Following the trajectory of studies of medieval stained glass in Lech Kalinowski's oeuvre is like listening to one voice in a choir. Occasionally that voice forms a fugue with Grodecki's glass studies, yet both were constantly and simultaneously sounding out problems in other media and other centuries, and questioning theories and historiographies. These intellectual pursuits probably dampened their enthusiasm for positivist projects like the *Corpus Vitrearum*, still bound by the rules of 1956³⁹. Neither Grodecki's canonical volume for Saint-Denis nor Kalinowski's for St Mary's ever appeared. The varied directions that they allowed the ideas and works of art they encountered along the way to dictate to them, leave us with a very rich legacy of art historical interrogation and interpretation.

³⁵ GRODECKI 1995.

³⁶ KALINOWSKI et al. 1997.

³⁷ KALINOWSKI et al. 1999.

³⁸ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1998.

³⁹ This is not to devalue the enormous usefulness of the volumes as reference works, comparable as Jean Lafond used to say to scholarly editions of primary texts.

ARS VITREA.
THE MEDIAEVAL ART OF LIGHT,
COLOUR AND SYMBOL¹

Among the nearly thirty research projects which are currently being sponsored by the International Union of Academies (Union Académique Internationale), in which the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* plays a prominent role, one finds Poland among the numerous European countries involved. But what does stained glass really involve?

In the nineteenth century, when art history emerged as a separate university discipline, the production of stained glass was regarded as a branch of the applied arts. It was only approximately fifty years ago that it became clear that stained glass belongs to monumental (architectural) painting and that it constitutes its most perfect realisation. The change of awareness in this respect occurred during the Second World War as a direct consequence of the action of protecting mediaeval stained glass against mechanical destruction which was undertaken in Europe; the above task consisted in taking out the stained glass panels from the church windows, photographing it and subsequently depositing it in boxes in secure places. In France the action of dismantling nearly the entirety of the nation's stained glass was carried out by *Service des Monuments Historiques*, under the supervision of Jean Verrier; in Germany it was Hans Wentzel who was responsible for the same task; in Austria, the action of dismantling the stained glass was organised by the *Institut für Denkmalpflege*, whereas the photographic documentation was gathered by *Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft*. Similar actions were organised and conducted in England, Belgium, Italy and Switzerland and also in Poland (St Mary's Church in Cracow).

¹ The present article constitutes a paper which was delivered by the author on 9 June, 1993, at a session of the Academic Society of the Catholic University of Lublin in connection with having been granted the Prize of Rev. Idzi Radziszewski for the year 1993.

In these circumstances, after the end of war activities, there arose a unique opportunity for commencing detailed and systematic research devoted to mediaeval stained glass. Among the pioneers of this research, there were, alongside others, Hans Wentzel in Germany and Jean Lafond in France. The two exhibitions of French mediaeval stained glass organised by Jean Verrier, first in Rotterdam in the year 1952, and then in Paris in Pavillon de Marsan, in the year 1953, contributed to arousing a wide interest in stained glass.

In the year 1952, during an International Congress of Art History in Amsterdam, its organiser, the International Committee of Art History (Comité International d'Histoire de l'Art), had brought into being an organization known as *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*². National committees were being created in the individual countries of Europe and the United States and work had begun; the main hurdle, besides the shortage of funds, which the UNESCO organisation was trying to remedy, was the shortage of well-educated specialists.

Today, after forty-five years in existence, the *Corpus* may pride itself on having published a few dozen national volumes, and among the number of volumes which are being prepared for publication, there is also a Polish volume, which from the initiative undertaken by Władysław Tarkiewicz on behalf of the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Nauk), I have been working on for many years, recently with the active participation and co-authorship of Helena Małkiewiczówna M.A.

Ever since its emergence in the second half of the first millennium, mediaeval stained glass has been associated with the windows of churches³. In Greek and Roman antiquity, the window did not play a major role in the architecture of a temple, as the latter was a place which was inaccessible to the faithful; it was a dark and murky abode of the deity and in order to fulfil their obligations consequent upon being members of the cult, the followers had to gather outside the temple which usually had to be climbed up to be a series of steps. From a text authored by Pliny the Younger, we are only able to learn that Roman windows were filled with partitions, known as *claustra* (later on referred to as *transenna* – lattice-work), executed in natural or artificial stone and also wood.

² *Corpus Vitrearum* 1982.

³ FRODL-KRAFT 1979, pp. 13–28; BRISAC 1986, pp. 7–12; BECKSMANN 1988, pp. 7–23; LEE et al. 1989, pp. 12–13; BRISAC 1990, pp. 7–15; CASTELNUOVO 1994; DA, vol. 29, pp. 497–519, (*Stained Glass*); CAVINESS 1996.

The situation had changed in the Christian church which was, above all a place where the faithful gathered during the liturgy celebrated in the presence of a priest. The interior filled by darkness was supplanted by the interior filled by natural, solar light which infiltrated the inside of the church through the windows and emanated from the artificial light provided by oil lamps and subsequently candles.

The written sources and preserved fragments of painted window glass allow one to conclude that the beginnings of stained glass should be associated with post-Carolingian times. Amid the above-mentioned fragments one finds among others: the head of John the Baptist in a nimbus from Lorsch and the head from the Abbey Church of St Peter in Wissembourg⁴. The full bloom of stained glass occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and it continued in stylistically changing forms until the sixteenth century.

Territorially stained glass extended to all corners of Western Christian Europe, spanning an area from Scandinavia to Bohemia and Slovakia, and in the west it corresponded to the range of Gothic architecture. It is only in Hungary that due to the course of historical events almost no stained glass has been preserved at all⁵. It has also never really existed on the territories belonging to the Orthodox civilisation, in Ruthenia and on the Balkans⁶.

As regards the material elements which go into the making of stained glass, one should mention the follow: glass which fulfils the role of support, the image placed on the glass and lead which plays a similar role as stone or wood in window partitions, and latticework. The glass may be clear, that is blank (the kind usually used by Cistercian monks) or coloured; the latter had been obtained by adding metal oxides to sand and ash in the course of melting in glass furnaces in a temperature of up to 1200 degrees. The image, usually only internal, although it could

⁴ Lorsch: GRODECKI et al. 1977, pp. 46–47, figs 30–31 (coloured) and p. 272, cat. no 17 – Lorsch, ninth century (?).

Wissembourg, Weissenburg: WENTZEL 1954, fig. 3 on p. 15 – Weissenburg; GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 49, fig. 35 and p. 295, cat. no 107 – Wissembourg, between 1040 and 1074, 1060 (?); FRODL-KRAFT 1979, fig. 2 to the text on p. 63 – Christuskopf aus Weissenburg im Elsass, 1060 (?).

⁵ The range of stained glass painting in the Middle Ages corresponds generally to the range of Gothic architecture; see: KALINOWSKI 1994.

⁶ Disregarding the unexplained problems associated with the early-Byzantine period, discussed by FRODL-KRAFT 1979 and BRISAC 1990, the material traces of mediaeval stained glass in Constantinople are linked with the art of the Latin Empire. See: MEGAW 1963; reviews were published by: WENTZEL 1964; LAFOND 1968.

also be applied on the reverse of the glass, consists of the following three layers of black (German *Schwarzlot*) or brown paint (German *Braunlot*) applied chronologically; thus the whole image was in fact monochromatic. The first layer, which was applied directly onto the glass, formed a so-called wash, that is the spreading of strongly diluted black or brown paint, commonly referred to in Polish as “kontura”; this corresponds in mural painting to the surface of the presented theme which may be a human figure, object or ornament. The second, middle layer, which is slightly darker, constitutes the so-called modelling. Finally, the third layer, the strongest in tone, is made up of the drawing itself (French *dessin*, German *Zeichnung*)⁷. The above procedure is quite contrary to the one adopted, for example in Renaissance painting, which Alberti writes about in the second book of his *Treatise on Painting*, saying that at first one has to draw a contour, that is an outline of the object, then deal with the composition, that is with the arrangement of the individual surfaces, and at the very end deal with colour, which is defined as the reception of light⁸. In the case of stained glass, after having been applied to blank or coloured glass, every layer of the painting must subsequently be fired at a temperature of up to 600 degrees, so as to be organically bonded with it.

The glass tiles covered with a fired “drawing” (proper image) are joined together to form rectangular and in some instances square sections which are reinforced by means of a set of differently shaped lead section-frames, also known as cames. Thanks to the softness and flexibility of the lead, the fundamental spatial unit of a stained glass window, that is the panel, cannot be higher than 80–90 centimetres and wider than 60–70 centimetres, so that the whole window consists of a few, a dozen or so, and in some cases even of a few dozen panels, depending on its size (width and height). What is more, in order for the stained glass to retain its vertical position in the windows, particularly in the changeable weather conditions (wind, storm and hail), they have to be secured as a set of panels with horizontal reinforcement bars (muntins) placed at distances

⁷ GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 29, fig. 13 and 14, cat. no 41 on p. 278: Châlons-sur-Marne, cathédrale, salle du Trésor, 1147; FRODL-KRAFT 1979, fig. on p. 42 and fig. 42; BRISAC 1990, p. 59, fig. 14; BECKSMANN 1988; STROBL 1990, pp. 94–98, fig. 10 on p. 23. Reproducing after Grodecki the three-phase model of creation of a stained glass, Strobl carries out a detailed critique of Grodecki’s hypothesis of 1962, accepted by: E. Frodl-Kraft, R. Becksmann and C. Brisac; he does so relying on the technological practice described in the mediaeval written sources. According to Strobl, a painting used to be created in three phases, following the order from a drawing to an underpainting. See also: CAVINESS 1996, pp. 51–53, figs 1b, 2, 3, 4 and 5, also p. 52, footnote 26 polemic towards Strobl.

⁸ ALBERTI [1963], pp. 28–29.

of every 25–30 cm in the window jambs, so that a panel in the shape of a vertical rectangle usually has three such muntins. As a rule, stained glass is installed in window frames on the external side of the building.

A fortuitously preserved textbook of circa A.D. 1100, entitled *De diversis artibus*, also referred to as *Diversarum artium schedula*, written by a craftsman-artist Theophilus, identified with a Benedictine monk known as Roger, from the Helmarshausen abbey, *Incipit prologus libri primi Teophili qui et Rugerus*⁹, provides us with very detailed and precise information concerning the way of executing mediaeval stained glass. The second part of the textbook provides detailed information on how to prepare and lay out a project in the 1:1 scale on a table (the only table of this kind, dating back to the fourteenth century has been preserved in Catalonia). It also addresses how to cut the glass by means of a special tool used for breaking off glass edges (diamonds had not yet been used for this purpose), how to arrange and number all the glass tiles on the project draft, in accordance with the theme of the stained glass, and how to approach the subsequent phases of painting and firing the image.

From the point of view of style, two periods are distinguished in the development of the mediaeval stained glass, namely: the Romanesque (the eleventh/twelfth, twelfth and the beginning of thirteenth centuries)¹⁰ and the Gothic (from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries)¹¹.

The first period is represented by the earliest stained glass to have been preserved intact in the Augsburg cathedral and dated to around A.D. 1100; here one finds images of the representatives of the Old Testament (Daniel, David, Jonah and Moses – the latter being a sixteenth century copy – as well as Hosea), depicted in such a way that each figure fills the entire tapering window finishing in a semicircle. This first period is also represented by the glazing of the windows of the western façade of the cathedral in Chartres; the latter were executed in the middle of the twelfth century and fortunately saved from being destroyed by the fire which devoured the whole of the Romanesque cathedral in 1194. On the square panels one finds an image of the Tree of Jesse on the northern side,

⁹ THÉOPHILE [1843] (original and French translation), pp. 89–117; THEOPHILUS [1966] (original and English translation), pp. 36–61; THEOPHILUS [1979] (English translation), pp. 46–74; TEOFIL [1880], pp. 17–78.

¹⁰ GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 24. The first stained glass windows were purely decorative, as in the Basilica of the Maccabees in Lyon, described by Sidonius Apollinaris. See: BRISAC 1990, p. 7. Among the oldest preserved remnants, one finds the fragments found in the year 1930 by Cecchelli in San Vitale in Ravenna, dated to around the year 540.

¹¹ GRODECKI, BRISAC 1984.

some scenes from Christ's Childhood in the middle as well as scenes from the Passion on the southern side.

The Gothic is represented, among others by a unique complex of stained glass dating back to the first half of the thirteenth century which fills out the entire interior of the Chartres cathedral, and is characterised by an incredible wealth of light and colour effects, as well as a variety of iconographic themes.

Technologically, from the beginning of the twelfth century Gothic stained glass had become enriched by the use of flashed glass so as to obtain a red hue, and since the year 1300, also a silver stain (French *jaune d'argent*, German *Silbergelb*); the whole process consisted of painting the glass on the outside, so that one could introduce into a blank (or coloured) glass another golden hue, without having to introduce lead¹².

In Poland, all of the preserved mediaeval stained glass is Gothic and is associated with the two main centres of its production: in Cracow – these are panels from the Dominican church and monastery, from the end of the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, 1360/1370–1400 and in the Corpus Christi church (first half of the fifteenth century) and in Toruń – the stained glass from the Toruń churches of Saints Johns (1330), the Church of St Nicolas (1340), and the St Mary's Church (around 1370 and around 1390), as well as the stained glass in Włocławek (1350–1360) and in Chełmno (1380). None of the above glazings have survived in their original shape, place and quantity. In three of the eastern windows of St Mary's Church in Cracow, the order of the panels had been severely disturbed in the nineteenth century. The iconography of this complex is distinguished by its programme of the *Biblia Pauperum* which comprises 120 panels, placed in two windows, originally meant to be read from the bottom upwards. And to think that as late as at the turn of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century, mediaeval stained glass filled as many as eleven windows of the choir; unfortunately shortly afterwards it was decided that the stained glass from eight southern as well as from all of the northern windows of St Mary's Church was to be removed as it had supposedly made the interior look dark¹³.

If we define a stained glass window (French *verrière*) as a juxtaposition of a few, a dozen or more square or rectangular panels, and a panel as a juxtaposition of an array of multi-coloured glass tiles, joined together by

¹² LAFOND 1943; LILLICH 1986.

¹³ KALINOWSKI 1991.

means of lead and presenting a definite iconographic theme or an ornament, then attempting to find the technical and artistic sources of such a procedure one ought to conclude that before the creation of stained glass, in its entire variety of forms, art had realised similar principles but in a different material and with different goals in at least two different ways.

For the first time, this was achieved in *opus musivum* – a figural or ornamental decoration of an architectural surface, consisting of joining together small, coloured stones of different shape and size, sometimes covered glazed. Mosaic had been used ever since the Roman antiquity on the floors of villas and afterwards on walls, vaults and apses of early-Christian basilicas. These coloured stones set densely next to one other in an appropriately thick layer of mortar or putty, so that their edges nearly touch one another, create a network of joints which look a bit like a delicate cobweb. This network is sometimes reminiscent of tiny, more or less random craquelure on an oil painting; yet while craquelure in an oil painting is a secondary and rather undesirable phenomenon, the joints between the pebbles-stones-cubes are a structural feature, which is a constitutive element of this branch of architectural decoration. A similar function, although in a different dimension, is fulfilled by the bent and curved lead comes which join together the glass tiles in a stained glass window.

In accordance with the classical and early-Christian tradition, mosaic decoration had been widely used to the south of the Alps until the middle of the thirteenth century, above all in Italy; it is enough to recall here the magnificent mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, Venice and Sicily¹⁴.

In countries situated north of the Alps, where from the early Middle Ages both monumental and book painting employed large colourful surfaces where colour saturation was spread out evenly on the entire painted surface, mosaics had never been used as a means of artistic expression; whereas the principles of juxtaposing colourful elements to form compositional and thematic arrangements had been employed from the very beginning by mediaeval goldsmiths in the form of metal inlays, chiefly in copper, bronze and gold, but above all enamel with precious stones (in early Middle Age almandines).

Enamel is nothing else but glass coloured with metal oxides, bonded to the metal surface by means of firing and soldering. Powdered glass, seasoned with limewater or oil, is applied to metal, and after drying it is fired

¹⁴ EWA, vol. 10, 1965, col. 324–358 (*Mosaics*); FISCHER 1969; *Mosaics* 1989.

in a suitable temperature to form a uniform mass, which adheres strongly to the base¹⁵. In turn the above-mentioned mass can be given a shine through polishing. Depending on its chemical composition, enamel can be transparent, revealing the base, or else opaque in which case it covers the base.

In the Middle Ages, enamel was widely used for figural and ornamental decoration of objects of liturgical cult, above all of numerous *vasa sacra et non sacra*, especially large and small, sumptuous reliquaries¹⁶. At the time of the flowering of the stained glass art in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, thanks to the Limoges products, the *cloisonné* enamel (French *email cloisonné*, German *Zellenschmelz*) and *champlevé* enamel (French *email champlevé*, German *Grubenemail*) became widely used in the whole of Europe.

In the *champlevé* enamel, the protruding parts of copper or bronze, sometimes gilded, create the “drawing” framework for the proper enamel; in the *cloisonné* enamel the framework is made up of thin strips of gold which are soldered to the gold base. Both the protruding parts of gilded copper, creating the image of a frame, and the golden strips which correspond to them, serve the purpose of separating from each other the individual colours of the enamel which make up the figural or else ornamental composition. One may say that they are lines of visual junction between the glazed cubes in a mosaic.

In a stained glass, the function of the protruding parts of metal in *champlevé* enamel and of strips-lamina in *cloisonné* enamel, is fulfilled by lead comes and arranged to form a kind of net (French *réseau de plomb*) corresponding to the distinct elements of the iconographic theme isolated by colour as well as technical possibilities. The above-mentioned lead tubes are much thicker than the protruding parts of gilded copper in *champlevé* enamel, not to mention the difference in thickness in relation to the *cloisonné* enamel. But at the price of materialising both the junction of enamel cubes in a mosaic, and the thickening of the separate metal parts in both types of enamel, the stained glass gains a certain brightness

A comparison between stained glass and a mosaic is carried out, among others by L. Réau; RÉAU, COHEN 1955, p. 248: “[les] vitraux du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle sont des mosaïques de morceaux de verre [stained glass] teint dans la masse, assemblés dans un réseau de plomb”; see also: LEE et al. 1989, *l. c.*

¹⁵ EWA, t. 4, 1961, col. 734–748 (*Enamels*); LK, vol. 2, 1989, pp. 313–316 (*Email*). See also: van FALKE, FRAUBERGER 1904; KOMORNICKI 1929, pp. 44–45; GUTH-DREYFUS 1954.

¹⁶ GAUTHIER 1972; GAUTHIER 1973. A comparison between stained glass and enamel also in: LEE et al. 1989, *l. c.*

and intensity of colour, which is unattainable in the sphere of mosaic as a monumental art, and in enamel, as a minor or “lesser artform” (French *art mineur* that is characteristic of *objets d’art*). As Umberto Eco wrote in *Sviluppo dell’estetica medievale* (1959) – “it was the Middle Ages which created the type of art, in which the brightness of simple, clear colours weds in an unsurpassable way the brightness of light, the stained glass of a Gothic cathedral”¹⁷.

Light is the substantial form of bodies as bodies; it is the creative principle of all, even the smallest of beings.

In his work *I. Sent.*, p. 1¹⁸, St Bonaventure (1221–1274), “Seraphic Doctor”, an outstanding mediaeval scholar who studied the nature of light, distinguishes three categories of light: *Lux* – that is light in itself; the principle of existence of light and movement called it into life on the very first day of creation with the words of the Creator-Logos: *Fiat lux. Lumen* – is material, yet invisible light that pervades the space of the world in the form of rays. Rays are a sign of the solar light reaching the earth. *Color*, on the other hand – is nothing else but rays of light which fall on a body that does not allow it to pass through¹⁹. If *lux* has the properties of the substance of form in the neo-Platonic sense, then *color* has an accidental or coincidental form.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, a Franciscan friar Bartolomeo da Bologna in his *Tractatus de luce*, mentioned yet another, fourth type of light which is associated in a special way with a work of art: “When rays emanating from a luminous body reach another body which is smooth, polished and shiny, such as a sword or golden table (*tabula deaurata*) and they become reflected from this body, we are dealing with a splendour [today we would say glitter]. In the effect of such a reflection in space and its consequent multiplication, light becomes a splendour”²⁰.

In order for a mosaic to be able to exist visually in its constituent elements and as an artistic whole, one needs light-*lumen*. It is the latter which calls to life colour that is a characteristic feature of material bodies that do not let in light.

In order to give splendour to a mosaic, one needs gold. For gold reflects the rays of natural and artificial light; it causes lustre, splendour of

¹⁷ ECO 1959; in English: ECO 1989, p. 45; in Polish: ECO 1994, p. 73.

¹⁸ HILLS 1990, p. 11. See also: KOBIELUS 1995.

¹⁹ HILLS 1990, *l. c.* Bonaventure uses the terms *color* and *splendor* interchangeably, yet as he himself clarifies further on: “Strictly splendour was the light of luminous bodies, colour of terrestrial bodies”.

²⁰ HILLS 1990, p. 9.

the gold itself as well as of the colours that are adjacent to gold, just as in the above-mentioned Italian mosaics. The light reflected from gold radiates onto the smooth, polished elements which make up the mosaic and by glittering it multiplies its shine and glitter.

Just like in a mosaic, golden flakes used in the background of ornaments and scenes with an often quite complex iconographic programme contribute to the shine of the enamelled cubes or polished stones – hence sometimes one talks of mosaics that are dripping with gold – so in enamel the function of golden flakes is also fulfilled by gold: in the case of *cloisonné* enamel it is pure gold, in *champlevé* enamel it is bronze or gilded copper; as soon as natural or artificial light falls on them, it brightens up the colours of the enamel and multiplies its potential lucidity. A similar function is played by precious stones²¹.

The situation is different with the splendour of stained glass. Contrary to a mosaic, enamel or precious stones, stained glass placed in the interior against the wall, but not in the window, even though lit up by light shining on it, remains colourless, dark or nearly black. One can see no colours; there is no reflection of light in the form of glitter. One can at best make out the weak contours of lead. Stained glass becomes revived by colour only when it is placed into a window. But the mere placing of stained glass into a window will not suffice for it to illuminate if there is no natural, solar dependant light. In order for stained glass to become a painting which is realised visually, in other words, a colourful image, it must be lit up from the outside. The light may be natural, as is the case with church windows that are lit up from dawn until dusk, or else it may be artificial, as is the case in museums which exhibit stained glass, for example Musée de Cluny in Paris, exhibiting stained glass panels executed during the tenure of abbot Suger from the Saint-Denis abbey near Paris; the same can be observed in the case of the thirteenth/fourteenth century Dominican stained glass exhibited in the National Museum in Cracow or in the case of the fourteenth-century Toruń stained glass shown in the District Museum in Toruń. For stained glass is the only kind of painting which acquires colours when light shines on it from behind. Whereas in the Middle Ages it was exclusively natural, solar light, *claritas solis* that really mattered²².

²¹ On comparing stained glass to precious stones see: GRODECKI 1976; reprinted in: GRODECKI 1986, pp. 249–260.

²² On the concept of *claritas* in mediaeval aesthetics see: STRÓŻEWSKI 1961; STRÓŻEWSKI 1961a.

If it is true that colours exist thanks to light, as St Bonaventure used to say, this truth is materialised a hundredfold in stained glass displaying a veritable wealth of varieties and nuances depending on the changing nature of light; such a variety is not to be found in any other type of painting, including miniature, panel, easel or wall painting. For the source of the “splendour” of stained glass is light matter itself, which passes through, or penetrates through the glass, and not reflected and intensified light.

In mediaeval thought, light is the principle of order and values. The value of objects depends on their participation in light. Light exists bodily, but it reveals the world without revealing itself; it is in its essence invisible. In order for light to be visible in its pure form, one needs the intervention of the Divine Grace, as it is described in Psalm 35(36):9 – “et in lumine tuo videbimus lumen” (by your light we will see the light).

Into the interior of a Gothic cathedral, enclosed on all four sides, as in Chartres, there permeates not only *claritas solis* – a natural light joined here by the myriad colours of the stained glass – but *splendor Dei* – the mystical light²³.

The luminescence of Gothic stained glass is the luminescence of the Heavenly Jerusalem from the *Book of the Apocalypse* which was referred to in the church dedication ritual²⁴. Here is *civitas Dei* – the city of God: “lumen eius simile lapidi pretioso tamquam lapidi iaspidis sicut crystallum” (21, 11 – having the glory of God, its radiance like a most rare jewel, like a jasper, clear as crystal); “Et erat structure muri eius ex lapide iaspide, ipsa vero civitas auro mundo simile vitro mundo” (21, 18 – The wall was built of jasper, while the city was pure gold, like clear glass); “et platea civitatis aurum mundum tamquam vitrum perlucidum” (21, 21 – and the street of the city was pure gold, like transparent glass); “Et civitas non eget sole neque luna ut luceat in ea nam claritas Dei illuminavit eam et lucerna eius est Agnus” (21, 23 – And the city has no need of sun or

²³ JANTZEN 1928; JANTZEN 1951; JANTZEN 1960, pp. 11–73 – used the terms “diaphane Struktur” and “diaphane Wand”. The role of light and stained glass in the creation of Gothic architecture is interpreted in the spirit of neoplatonism by PANOFSKY 1973. See also: GAGE 1982. Whereas RUDOLPH 1990, pp. 74–75 accepts the influence of Aristotelianism from Hugo of St Victor.

²⁴ I quote the text from the *Apocalypse* in accordance with *Biblia sacra* [1975], p. 1904. The above quoted words from the *Book of the Apocalypse* were also used by M. Lillich in the title of her book on the Gothic stained glass in Lorraine: LILLICH 1991. On the role of the *Apocalypse* in the liturgy of church dedication see: von SIMSON 1956, pp. 8 and 11.

moon to shine on it, for the glory of God gives it light, and its lamp is the Lamb).

As regards biblical texts that are of particular importance from the point of view of the symbolism of the window and light one ought to mention an excerpt from *Canticum canticorum* (2, 9) – *Song of Songs*, which talks of the Bridegroom: “et ipse stat post parietem nostrum despiciens per fenestras, prospiciens per cancellos” – “Behold, there he stands behind our wall, gazing through the windows, looking through the lattice”²⁵. In accordance with the early-Christian allegorical exegesis, the vision of a Bridegroom who peers through the window into the home of his Bride, was conceived of as a Logos which travelled from the infinity of God to the finiteness of man.

Since light is a constituent element of stained glass as a form of painting, and colour is its main ornament: “ornatus elegantiae varietate stupendus”²⁶, symbolic thinking, which is characteristic of the mediaeval period, took advantage of both features of stained glass painting, namely, light transitioning and the calling to life of colour for a theological-artistic interpretation of the mystery of Incarnation, in accordance with the *Gospel of St John*: “Erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum” (1:9 – The true light, which gives light to everyone, was coming into the world). The role of light in stained glass art was particularly suitable for this end. For the mediaeval theologians and poets explained the miraculous conception of Christ in Mary’s womb and Her virginal maternity, that is the birth of God’s Son, by comparing it to solar light passing through a glass pane. It was already in the twelfth century that Bernard of Clairvaux had given voice to it in a statement: “Sicut splendor solis vitrum absque laesione perfundit et penetrat eiusque soliditatem insensibili subtilitate pertraicit, nec cum ingreditur, violat, nec, cum egreditur, dissipit: sic Dei verbum, splendor Patris, virgineum habitaculum adiit et inde clauso vitro prodiit...” – Just as a ray of sunshine falling on glass, penetrates it and pierces its permanent structure (form) with imperceptible subtlety, neither scarring it while entering, nor damaging it while coming out: so the Word of God, the light of the Father, entered the virginal home and subsequently came out of the closed womb.

²⁵ HORN 1967; see also GOTTLIEB 1981, pp. 65–82 and footnotes on pp. 425–426.

²⁶ *Sacri et canonici* [1734], p. 395; cit. after: CAVINESS 1990, p. 65.

In this way, St John's words "Et Verbum caro factum est" (The Word became flesh), had found a metaphorical, but also an artistic and material explanation.

If Christ was light-*lux* – *secundum deitatem*, but also *lumen* – *secundum humanitatem* – Mary was the glass, through which the Holy Spirit descended upon the earth. It was from such metaphors that in the ninth century or even earlier, that is at the time when stained glass had first emerged in the West in Carolingian art, there arose the image-topos of a ray of sunshine and a window pane. The strength of this comparison consisted in the fact that it had referred to both "thresholds" of the miracle": both to the conception of God's Son in Mary's womb, and to His birth – His coming to the world²⁷. That is why, since about 1300 or even earlier, in the manuscripts of the *Biblia Pauperum* the metaphor of light passing through a window is represented pictorially in the scene of Annunciation and Christ's Nativity.

To St Brigid who, along with the vision of Mary kneeling in adoration of the miraculously born baby Jesus lying before her on the ground in the scene of God's nativity, substituting the iconographic type of Mary lying in bed, in accordance with the Byzantine tradition, Christ himself addresses the following words in the first revelation: "Assumi carnem sine peccati et concupiscentia, ingrediens viscera Virginis, tamquam sol splendidus per lapidem mundissimum. Quia sicut Sol vitrum ingrediens non laesit, sic nec Virginitas Virginis in assumptione humanitatis meae corrupta est" – I accepted the body without sin and passion, entering the womb of the Virgin, just like the sun miraculously penetrates the purest of stones. For just like the sun which passes through a window pane, does not damage it, Mary's virginity had not been violated by the adoption of my human nature.

That is why – writes Millard Meiss – on the paintings of the Annunciation dating back to the end of the fourteenth century as well as of the whole of the fifteenth century, the rays of light which often symbolise the Holy Spirit, take their origin in "heaven" or radiate from the figure of God the Father, aiming at Mary's ear "qui per aurem concepit", when passing through the stained glass window. Such is the case with Melchior Broederlam's (1394–1399) Annunciation in the Municipal Museum in Dijon, with the Annunciation in the triptych of Mérode, the Master of Flemalle (1422), in the collection of The Cloisters of Metropolitan Mu-

²⁷ MEISS 1945.

seum in New York and with Jan van Eyck's *Annunciation* (1430) in the National Gallery in London.

In the twelfth century when stained glass became more and more widespread as a fundamental form of window glazing as well as monumental painting, the comparison-metaphor of Christ to a ray of sunlight and of Mary to glass, became enriched with the colour attributes of this branch of art which is called to life by light. Just as light passing through stained glass endows it with colour, so the Holy Spirit assumes human form when entering the womb of the Virgin Mary.

Having made the allusion to rays of sunlight passing through a window pane without causing damage to it, St Bernard of Clairvaux, adds the following comment in the above-mentioned text: "Sicut radius vitrum purus ingreditur, incorruptus egreditur, colorem vitri induit [...] sic Dei filius purissimum Virginis uterum ingressus naturam humanamque speciei decorem induit et praecinxit." – It enters into glass like a pure ray of sunlight and it comes out undamaged but it acquires the colour of glass... just like the Son of God, having entered into the immaculate womb of Mary, assumed the nature of man and became clothed in its dignity.

In this way, monumental painting in the form of colourful stained glass was able to reproduce and reflect, like a mirror, not only the world of divine persons, human beings and material objects that surrounded man, but also make man more aware of the magnificence of the Divine mystery of the miraculous conception of God's Son within Mary's womb, that is of Her virginal maternity and of the relation between God and man.

As Johan Huizinga had declared at one time: "The Middle Ages had never forgotten that it would have been absurd if the significance of all existing things was limited to their function and to the place they occupy in the world of phenomena; in other words, if they did not in their essence step beyond this world"²⁸.

The proper reception of a painter's art requires the gift of seeing (just as the gift of hearing is necessary for the reception of music), but in some cases, it also requires some knowledge relative to it and the ideas represented by it. Sir Ernst Gombrich had aptly, though it might seem at first glance paradoxically, stated that everyone sees what he knows²⁹. If he does not know what stained glass meant to a mediaeval artist and recipient, he must satisfy himself exclusively with an aesthetic sensation.

²⁸ HUIZINGA 1954, p. 201 (chapter XV).

²⁹ GOMBRICH 1972, p. 331: "We can never separate what we see from what we know".

To give full justice to the knowledge of art, let me end this paper with the words of Gervase of Canterbury which were written by him in 1175 in connection with the tragic fire and subsequent reconstruction of the local cathedral: “Haec omnia clarius et delectabilius oculis possunt videri quam dictis vel scriptis doceri” – All of the things which have been described above are much easier to understand and delight in when seen with the eye, rather than receiving them in spoken or written word³⁰.

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³⁰ *Chronica Gervasii* [1852], p. 1302–1303; also: ASSUNTO 1961, p. 177 and 282, footnote 18; *ibidem*, p. 205: “visu melius quam auditu intelligere valenti patebuntur”.

VIRGA VERSATUR.

REMARQUES SUR L'ICONOGRAPHIE DES VITRAUX
ROMANS D'ARNSTEIN-SUR-LA-LAHN

A LA MÉMOIRE DE GROD

Parmi les objets d'art conservés au Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte à Münster et déposés par le comte C. von Kanitz de Cappenberg, il y a cinq panneaux de vitraux provenant de l'église des prémontrés d'Arnstein-sur-la-Lahn en Hesse: trois quadrilatères, plus hauts que larges et deux terminés en demi-cercle. Découverts vers la fin du XIX^e siècle dans l'ancienne collection du Reichsfreiherr Heinrich Friedrich Karl vom und zum Stein à Nassau par Heinrich Oidtmann, ils furent rénovés en 1895–1897 dans son atelier à Linnich¹. Dès le début, on tendit à avancer la thèse que les cinq vitraux correspondent à deux groupes iconographiques composant primitivement deux verrières de trois panneaux chacune. Le premier groupe, qui se rapporte à la vie de Moïse, comprendrait la Vocation de Moïse auprès du Buisson ardent (Ex. 4: 1–4), Moïse et Aaron devant la Verge fleurie (Num. 17: 1–8) et Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi (Ex. 20: 1–7; Deut. 4: 5–13) [Fig. 1]; l'autre représenterait l'Arbre de Jessé (Is. 11: 1); seuls deux panneaux nous seraient parvenus: le premier d'en bas, avec Jessé couché et le roi David siégeant sur la première ramification de l'arbre [Fig. 2], et le troisième, avec le Christ adolescent entouré des sept dons du Saint-Esprit [Fig. 3]. Il n'y a pas de doute que les vitraux ont été faits par le maître Gerlachus; son portrait est inséré en bas du panneau avec Moïse devant le Buisson ardent [Fig. 4]. Oidtmann, acceptant l'opinion d'Alexander Schnütgen, l'identifiait avec le peintre de Cologne de ce nom, dont l'acti-

¹ OIDTMANN 1897, col. 275–288 avec illustrations; OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 29, 30, 32 et 70–72, figs 20 et 28–32, pl. II–III.

vitité se situe, selon l'évidence des sources écrites, au cours de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle.

Transférés de Nassau au château de Cappenberg près Lünen de la comtesse Kielmannsegge-von den Groeben ils furent exposés et étudiés à trois occasions: ils ont été montrés une première fois en 1902 à l'occasion d'une importante exposition des Beaux-Arts à Düsseldorf², puis un bon quart de siècle plus tard, en 1928, au Städtisches Kunstinstitut à Francfort-sur-le-Main avec d'autres vitraux du Moyen Age provenant de la collection du Freiherr vom Stein³. C'est alors que Georg Swarzenski, à la suite d'une analyse iconographique approfondie, conclut qu'il avait dû exister à l'origine une troisième verrière avec des scènes de la Vie du Christ qui justifierait la verrière de Moïse. Ainsi l'ensemble des vitraux d'Arnstein se composerait de trois fenêtres. En rejetant définitivement les relations hypothétiques avec Gerlachus de Cologne suggérés par Oidtmann, Swarzenski datait tous les panneaux vers 1170 et voyait leur place dans trois des quatre fenêtres hautes du côté sud de la nef principale de l'église abbatiale. En 1933, Franz Jansen, qui comptait les vitraux d'Arnstein au nombre des produits de l'école d'orfèvrerie et d'enluminure de Helmarshausen, et, plus tard après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, Hans Wentzel et Louis Grodecki ont accepté la position du catalogue de Francfort⁴. Une troisième fois les panneaux de Cappenberg ont été présentés au public, en 1966, au Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe à Hambourg, parmi les chefs-d'oeuvre du vitrail médiéval réunis par le célèbre homme d'État⁵. Rüdiger Becksmann a émis l'hypothèse selon laquelle existait au

² Düsseldorf 1902, p. 85, nos 792 et 793; von FALKE, FRAUBERGER 1904, pp. 42 et 135-136, pl. 118; Voir aussi: SCHMITZ 1913; pp. 6-7, fig. 6 (datation autour de 1200); FISCHER 1914, p. 66; FISCHER 1937, pp. 33-35.

³ Frankfurt 1928, pp. 28-32, n° et fig. 8-12.

⁴ JANSEN 1933, pp. 13-14, 91 et 121; WENTZEL 1951, pp. 19-22 et 86-87, fig. 18-29; GRODECKI 1953, pp. 245-246. Voir aussi: BAUM 1930, pp. 310 et 311, fig. 330 (datation vers 1200); ZSCHOKKE 1942, p. 179, notes 51 et 57; GRUBER 1958, p. 57; GRODECKI 1958, p. 109; JANSEN 1963, pp. 32-33 et 97-98, fig. 6; EUA, XIV, 1966, col. 752, pl. CCCXXIV (E. Castelnuovo, *Vetrata*); SOMMER 1966, p. 168 note 104. Seul BÉNÉZIT 1966, IV, p. 219, supporte la date vers 1200 et ajoute; «C'est peut-être le même artiste qui travaillait entre 1220 et 1257 à Cologne».

⁵ R. BECKSMANN [dans:] Hamburg 1966, pp. 26-27: *Kunstgeschichtliche Einführung in die Sammlung* et pp. 30-42, nos 1-5, fig. 4-10; BECKSMANN 1969; p. 18 note 30 et p. 27; A. von EUW, [dans:] *Das Mittelalter* 1969, p. 263, n° et fig. 368; Köln-Brüssel 1973, pp. 126-127, n° et fig. VIIe (J. Helbig, A. von Euw); BECKSMANN 1975, pp. 65-67, fig. 1; Stuttgart 1977/1979, I, n° 400, pp. 276-277 (R. Becksmann), II, fig. 202; GRODECKI et al. 1977, nos 2 et 3, pp. 151-161 et 268-269, fig. 128, 129 et 133; voir aussi p. 302 sub voce *Gerlachus /maître-verrier/*; LAFOND 1978, p. 70; BECKSMANN 1977/1979, pp. 113-115, fig. 29. Je tiens à remercier le Dr Rüdiger Becksmann de Stuttgart qui a eu la gentillesse d'attirer mon attention sur l'iconographie des vitraux d'Arnstein.

début une autre paire de verrières typologiques. A l'Annonciation correspondrait la Vocation de Moïse sur le mont Horeb: la Nativité du Christ serait l'antitype de Moïse et d'Aaron avec la Verge fleurie, et la Descente du Saint-Esprit ferait pendant à Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi; il resterait donc une lacune iconographique entre la Nativité du Christ et la Pentecôte. Si l'on observe les différences de composition et de couleur au fond des panneaux vétérotestamentaires, ou encore la bordure séparant la scène représentant Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi et d'autres scènes avec le même personnage, on peut penser que le panneau avec Moïse sur le Sinaï fait partie du haut de la seconde verrière de l'Ancien Testament⁶. Ainsi, selon la lecture proposée par Becksmann, la place du Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi, sur la verrière vétérotestamentaire de la première paire typologique, serait occupée à l'origine par la Traversée de la mer Rouge correspondant au Baptême du Christ; pour la deuxième paire Becksmann suggère, en avançant de bas en haut, le Serpent d'airain, préfiguration de la Crucifixion; Samson avec les portes de Gaza, type de la Résurrection du Christ, puis Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi, et son antitype la Descente du Saint-Esprit⁷. En somme, avec les deux panneaux de l'Arbre de Jessé qu'il faut compléter par le panneau médian, l'ensemble aurait compté quinze panneaux disposés dans cinq fenêtres de l'abside occidentale⁸. L'analyse stylistique permit enfin au savant allemand de fixer la date des vitraux d'Arnstein aux années 1150–1160 – ce qui a aussi été accepté dernièrement par Louis Grodecki⁹ – et d'attribuer l'oeuvre à un atelier de Coblence¹⁰.

Cinq verrières romanes, qui réalisent un programme iconographique commun, constituent l'un des premiers ensembles typologiques parmi les vitraux antérieurs au milieu du XII^e siècle parvenus jusqu'à nos jours. Aucune des églises, dont les vitraux sont discutés par Louis Grodecki dans son très beau volume sur le vitrail roman, à l'exception de l'église abba-

⁶ BECKSMANN [dans:] Hamburg 1966, pp. 38–39. Soulignons que les feuilles de la bordure sur les trois panneaux représentant Moïse touchent directement à l'encadrement intérieur, tandis que sur la verrière de *l'Arbre de Jessé* elles commencent par un demi-cercle (*Halbscheiben* selon ZSCHOKKE 1942, p. 107).

⁷ BECKSMANN 1966, fig. sur p. 40; Stuttgart 1977/1979, I, n° 400, fig. sur p. 278.

⁸ OIDTMANN 1897, col. 276, fut le premier qui émit l'hypothèse que les vitraux provenaient des fenêtres du choeur occidental. Sur l'église d'Arnstein voir: LUTHMER 1907, pp. 216 et 221, fig. 190. MIEDEL 1957, date le choeur occidental de 1145–1160, le corps de la nef de 1170–1180 et le choeur oriental de 1180–1208; KUBACH, VERBEEK 1979, pp. 60–64, préférèrent dater l'église vers la fin du XII^e siècle, mais pour les vitraux acceptent la date de 1150–1160.

⁹ GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 152, fig. 127.

¹⁰ Stuttgart 1977/1979, I, n° 400, pp. 278–279 (R. Becksmann).

tiale de Saint-Denis, n'a préservé un programme si riche. A Chartres, il ne se trouve que trois verrières de la façade occidentale, datées 1145–1150/1155, où l'Ancien Testament touche au Nouveau: la fenêtre du milieu avec le cycle de l'Enfance de Jésus, la fenêtre du nord avec l'Arbre de Jessé et la fenêtre du sud avec le cycle de la Passion¹¹.

Vers le milieu du XII^e siècle, un ensemble typologique composé de six épisodes de la vie du Christ se succédant l'un à l'autre selon l'ordre historique, de l'Enfance du Christ à la Descente du Saint-Esprit, est une réalisation plutôt exceptionnelle sinon unique¹². Entre 1140 et 1160 la typologie était orientée vers l'idée de la Passion. Dans l'orfèvrerie mosane, la composition est, en général, centrée de telle façon que l'antitype du Nouveau Testament, en principe la Crucifixion, soit entouré de nombreuses préfigurations vétérotestamentaires. Ainsi deux scènes de l'Ancien Testament correspondent à une scène du Nouveau sur le triptyque émaillé d'Alton Towers, vers 1150: la Crucifixion au milieu est flanquée par l'Offrande d'Isaac et le Serpent d'airain, la Descente aux Limbes par Léviathan pris au hameçon et par Samson emportant les portes de Gaza, et la Résurrection par Jonas sortant de la baleine et par l'Ascension d'Élie sur un char de feu¹³. Sur la plaque d'émail de Chantilly, datable de 1160–1170, la Crucifixion, les Trois Maries au tombeau et l'Ascension sont encadrées des deux côtés par des préfigurations vétérotestamentaires et, en haut et en bas, par les prophètes¹⁴. Mais dès les environs de 1150, à la place de la typologie symbolique, apparaît une typologie qui observait l'ordre historique des événements du Nouveau Testament¹⁵. En France la première annonce de cette nouvelle conception aurait été le parement d'autel jadis à l'église abbatiale de Saint-Denis, où s'appariaient trois couples typologiques, l'Entrée à Jérusalem à Melchisédech saluant Abraham,

¹¹ GRODECKI 1977, n° 45, pp. 279–280, fig. 1. L'existence des vitraux romans vétérotestamentaires du XII^e siècle à la cathédrale de Spire est discutée par WENZEL 1959, et soutenue par FRENZEL 1961.

¹² La restitution proposée par Becksmann est contestée par HAUSHERR 1978, pp. 126–127, note 75. Sur la typologie médiévale voir: Cornell 1925, pp. 120–153; KÜNSTLE 1928, pp. 59–61, 82 et 85–59; GOLDKUHLE 1954, pp. 69–76; BLOCH 1963; BLOCH 1969; STROHM 1971; LCI, 4, 1972, col. 395–404 (P. Bloch, *Typologie*); Köln–Brüssel 1973, II, p. 263 et notes 14–26; CAVINESS 1977, pp. 115–120; BUSCHHAUSEN, BUSCHHAUSEN 1977/1979; HAUSHERR [dans:] Stuttgart 1977/1979. Nous attendons toujours une étude détaillée de toutes les modifications de la typologie au XII^e siècle.

¹³ LASKO 1972, pp. 213–214, fig. 241.

¹⁴ LASKO 1972, p. 215, fig. 243.

¹⁵ GOLDKUHLE 1954, p. 69.

la Cène à l'Offrande d'Isaac, et le Christ portant la croix aux Émissaires de Josué¹⁶.

Malgré plusieurs des interprétations émises, nous ne connaissons plus, hélas, le système typologique de la Grande Croix érigée à Saint-Denis, avant 1147, grâce à l'initiative de Suger, qui l'avait lui-même décrite, mais de manière trop ambiguë: « Salvatoris historia cum antiquae legis allegoriarum testimoniis designatis »¹⁷.

En Angleterre des réalisations typologiques sont attestées; citons, entre autres, les peintures datées vers 1160 décorant les *dorsalia* de l'église abbatiale de Peterborough qui n'existent plus mais ont été copiées vers 1300 dans le Psautier de Peterborough¹⁸, et les restes des vitraux de la cathédrale de Canterbury, au dernier quart du XII^e siècle¹⁹; la typologie historique apparaît aussi sur les *ciboria* de Kennet-Balfour et de Malmesbury, confectionnées vers 1170²⁰, et dans le texte de *Pictor in Carmine*, composé vers 1200 par Adam, abbé de Dore²¹. Les grands programmes typologique réalisés en Allemagne aux XI^e et XII^e siècles ne sont connus que par leurs

¹⁶ PANOFKY 1979, chapitre XXXIII, pp. 60–63 et 186–191. Voir aussi: VERDIER 1970, pp. 16–17.

¹⁷ PANOFKY 1979, pp. 56–61 et 180–183, chapitre XXXII: *De crucifixo aureo*. Voir aussi: LAURENT 1924. La dernière restitution théorique a été publiée par LASKO 1972, pp. 188–191, fig. 7.

¹⁸ GOLDKUHLE 1954, p. 74. CAVINESS 1975, p. 383, note 18, et CAVINESS 1977, pp. 115–120, s'oppose aux arguments de L. F. Sandler, qui propose la date de 1233–1245, soutenue de sa part par HAUSSHERR 1978, p. 118.

¹⁹ CAVINESS 1977, pp. 107–138.

²⁰ Sur les deux ciboires, six sujets du Nouveau Testament sur le couvercle sont mis en relation typologique avec six scènes de l'Ancien Testament sur la coupe. Sur le ciboire de Kennet ou de Belfour du Victoria and Albert Museum à Londres: Baptême du Christ – Circoncision d'Isaac; le Christ porte la croix – Isaac porte le bois de son bûcher; Crucifixion – Sacrifice d'Isaac; Saintes femmes au tombeau – Samson brise les portes de Gaza; Descente aux Limbes – David tue l'ours; Ascension du Christ – Ascension d'Élie dans un char de feu. (SKUBISZEWSKI 1965, pp. 9 et 11, fig. 2; New York 1970, p. 166, n° et fig. 72; GAUTHIER 1972, pp. 160 et 362, n° et fig. 115; LASKO 1972, pp. 238–239 et 310, note 33; MORGAN 1973, p. 272, note 20). Sur le ciboire de Malmesbury à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York: Nativité – Aaron et la Verge fleurie; Présentation au temple – Sacrifice d'Abel; Baptême du Christ – Circoncision d'Isaac; le Christ porte la croix – Isaac porte le bois de son bûcher; Crucifixion – Moïse et le serpent d'airain; Résurrection – Samson brise les portes de Gaza (SKUBISZEWSKI 1965, pp. 10–11 et 37, fig. 26; New York 1970, pp. 164–165, n° et fig. 71; GAUTHIER 1972, pp. 159 et 362 n° et fig. 114; LASKO 1972, pp. 239 et 310, note 35, pl. 28; MORGAN, *ibidem*). Il n'existe que la coupe avec les scènes vétérotestamentaires du ciboire de Warwick au Victoria and Albert Museum de Londres; Moïse et le Buisson ardent; Sacrifice d'Abel; Circoncision d'Isaac; Isaac porte le bois de son bûcher; Sacrifice d'Isaac et Jonas vomit par la baleine (SKUBISZEWSKI 1965, pp. 10–12, fig. 3; New York 1970, p. 166, n° et fig. 72; GAUTHIER 1972, pp. 29 et 315, n° et fig. 5; LASKO 1972, pp. 238–239 et 310 n. 33 Morgan, *ibidem*). La juxtaposition de tous les sujets sur les trois ciboires est donnée par GAUTHIER 1972, p. 161.

²¹ JAMES 1951.

descriptions et ne peuvent donc servir de points de repères sûrs; c'est le cas des peintures murales de la cathédrale de Mayence du temps de l'évêque Aribo († 1031)²² et de celles de l'église Saint-Emmeram de Ratisbonne, exécutées après 1166²³, ainsi que des tapisseries de l'église Saint-Ulrich et Sainte-Afre d'Augsbourg, brodées sous les abbés Udalskalk et Heinrich (1174–1179)²⁴. Seules la peinture des manuscrits et l'orfèvrerie de Basse-Saxe datables de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle ont conservé des exemples de typologie; elle est toujours symbolique²⁵. Finalement, la mise en parallèle de deux types vétérotestamentaires avec un antitype du Nouveau Testament qu'enrichissent en outre des figures de prophètes, selon l'organisation conçue en 1181 par Nicolas de Verdun sur l'ambon de Klosterneubourg, diffère entièrement de l'ordre observé aux vitraux d'Arnstein²⁶.

Le panneau de Moïse s'entretenant avec Dieu sur le mont Horeb se distingue parmi d'autres représentations du Buisson ardent par un trait particulier: Moïse tient dans sa main droite la queue du serpent en quoi Dieu a changé la verge de Moïse, lorsque celui-ci exprima des doutes sur la possibilité que s'accomplisse l'ordre reçu du Seigneur. En invoquant l'exemple du motif du serpent, Hans Wentzel et Rüdiger Becksmann font référence à un vitrail du dernier quart du XIII^e siècle provenant de Wimpfen en Souabe et déposé au Hessisches Landesmuseum de Darmstadt; sur cette pièce, le serpent s'enroule autour d'une branche l'arbre auprès duquel Moïse ôte ses chaussures²⁷. Pourtant un serpent semblable, mais suspendu en l'air, apparaît une des miniatures de l'Évangélaire d'Averbode, daté 1160–1180; provenant de cette abbaye de Prémontrés, il est conservé à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Liège [Fig. 5]²⁸. L'exemple mosan est d'autant plus intéressant que le visage du Christ d'Averbode ressemble au visage de Moïse d'Arnstein et, de plus, sur les vitraux d'Arnstein aussi bien que dans l'Évangélaire d'Averbode, on trouve sur les vêtements, le même type d'ornements d'orfèvrerie: sur la

²² *Schriftquellen* [1938], n° 2573, pp. 557–578.

²³ ENDRES 1902.

²⁴ KURTH 1926, I, p. 30.

²⁵ BEISSEL 1902. Les scènes typologiques sur les calices de Trzemeszno (dernier quart du XII^e siècle) sont analysées dernièrement par: SKUBISZEWSKI 1981, ici pp. 8–31.

²⁶ RÖHRING 1979; BUSCHHAUSEN 1974; BUSCHHAUSEN 1975, pp. 122–131.

²⁷ WENTZEL 1958, p. 254: «Völlig ungewöhnlich aber die Verbindung mit dem Beglaubigungswunder»; Hamburg 1966, p. 30. Incompréhensible est la position de WENTZEL exprimée dans sa note 52: «In der Glasmalerei m. W. sonst nur auf den Gerlachus-Scheiben, dort aber nicht so eindeutig (!)».

²⁸ Ms. 363, f° 16; STIENNON 1976, pp. 116 et 119.

cuisse de Jessé et le bras de David à Arnstein, au dessin végétal, et sur la cuisse et le bras de la Vierge au rhinocéros dans l'Évangélaire d'Averbode, au dessin géométrique [Fig. 6]²⁹. Du reste, le motif du serpent suspendu dans l'air se répète deux fois sur les miniatures anglaises du XII^e siècle, à savoir sur une feuille qui provient peut-être du Psautier d'Edvin de la Pierpont Morgan Library où Moïse, tourné à gauche, reste debout devant le buisson tandis qu'on distingue, entre lui et l'arbre, le serpent disposé en oblique³⁰, et dans le Psautier de Canterbury, vers 1200, avec le serpent placé verticalement³¹.

Le motif du serpent tenu par la queue par Moïse devant le Buisson ardent était certainement beaucoup plus populaire au XII^e siècle qu'on ne le soupçonne: on le trouve par exemple en Italie vers la fin du XII^e siècle, sur les fonts baptismaux de S. Frediano à Lucques où le serpent est représenté sous la forme d'un énorme dragon ailé³². Plus tard, au XIII^e siècle, la même manière de tenir le serpent, en lequel Dieu changea la verge, caractérise la scène représentant Moïse et Aaron devant le Pharaon (Ex. 7: 9–12) sur le vitrail datant de 1225 environ dans la cathédrale de Sens³³. Enfin Moïse tient le serpent comme un attribut sur la lettrine typologique I des Antiquités Judaïques de Flavius Joseph provenant de Zwiefalten, datées entre 1170 et 1180, à la Landesbibliothek à Stuttgart, où la tête du serpent est tournée vers le haut³⁴.

Mais le serpent dans la main de Moïse n'est pas la seule étrangeté du panneau figurant le Buisson ardent: l'inscription VIR...ATUR placée en bas du vitrail n'est pas moins singulière. Rüdiger Beckmann, en adoptant l'opinion de Hans Wentzel, supplée les caractères qui manquent pour

²⁹ Ibidem, f^o 17, p. 118. Les enclaves d'orfèverie sur les vitraux d'Arnstein remplies de rinceaux enlevés, sont distinctement visibles chez OIDTMANN 1912, I, pl. I (*Jessé*). HEIMANN 1975, p. 320, ill. 12–15, signale le prototype byzantin du motif dans les Homélies du moine Jacques de Paris et de Rome.

³⁰ New York, ms. 724, vers 1150. Cf. HENDERSON 1972, pp. 185–187, ill. 123. Sur le manuscrit voir SWARZENSKI 1938, pp. 67–69.

³¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 8846, f^o a. Cf. HENDERSON 1972, pp. 185–186, ill. 122. La formule végétale est d'origine anglaise; employée pour la première fois par maître Hugo vers 1135 dans la Bible de Bury-St-Edmunds, conservée au Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, ms. 2, elle atteint son apogée vers 1170 dans le Psautier de Copenhague, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. Thott 143 2^o. Cf. KAUFFMAN 1975, n^o 56, pp. 88–90 et n^o 96, pp. 118–120, ici p. 119; ZARNECKI 1981, p. 95.

³² BIEHL 1926, pp. 72 et 117–118 note 11, pl. CXXIX a et b; CRICHTON 1954, p. 108, ill. 63a.

³³ MÂLE 1959, II, pp. 117–118, ill. 102; GRODECKI 1948, pl. XXVI.

³⁴ BOECKLER 1930, p. 118, n^o et ill. 74; BLOCH 1963, ill. 75. L'iconographie de la verge de Moïse, changée en serpent, est discutée par BERGMAN 1980, pp. 40–42, pl. XVIII et XCIII–XCVI. Consulter aussi GOLDSCHMIDT 1926, p. 32, pl. LXV et LXXXVIII, ill. 6.

déchiffrer la sentence VIRGO SALUTATUR INNUPTA MANENS GRAVIDATUR³⁵. Georg Swarzenski a déjà suggéré cette restitution, mais l'un et l'autre auteurs rejettent les suppositions du catalogue de l'exposition de Francfort selon lesquelles l'inscription aurait été ajoutée plus tard. Ils pensent qu'elle se trouvait dès l'origine en haut du panneau, d'où le fragment aurait été transféré en bas par Oidtmann.

Il faut remarquer, avant tout, que la formule VIRGO SALUTATUR INNUPTA MANENS GRAVIDATUR est un titulus canonique de la Bible des Pauvres et n'apparaît dans la littérature sacrée que vers le milieu du XIII^e siècle. Elle n'accompagne les images qu'après 1300, toujours au-dessus de l'Annonciation et seulement en relation avec cette scène³⁶. On ne sait pas bien quand ni où elle a été créée ; on ne la trouve pas en tout cas dans le poème de Pierre Riga Aurora, qui est une version versifiée de la Bible, ayant servi de modèle au moins à deux tituli de la Bible des Pauvres³⁷. Il faut noter pourtant qu'une formule semblable, VIRGO SALUTARIS VERO VERBO GRAVIDARIS, accompagnait déjà au XII^e siècle la scène de l'Annonciation peinte «ante dormitorium» au couvent de Saint-Ulrich et Sainte-Afre d'Augsbourg; l'inscription avait été composée par Udalskalk³⁸.

De tout cela on peut tirer deux conclusions. Tout d'abord, si l'on rapporte l'inscription à Marie et si on la déchiffre en ajoutant le moins possible au fragment préservé, comme le fait, avec la plus grande prudence, Louis Grodecki: VIRGO SALUTATUR, il ne faut pas chercher sa place sur le panneau de Moïse, qui, en s'entretenant avec le Seigneur, attrape la queue du serpent, mais – comme le supposait Georg Swarzenski – sur le panneau de l'Annonciation perdu au cours des siècles. C'est là seulement que la formule VIRGO SALUTATUR acquérait son sens iconographique. Si l'on accepte cette solution, il s'ensuit que l'inscription sur le panneau du Buisson ardent a été transférée du panneau de l'Annonciation³⁹. Il serait difficile d'en préciser la date exacte. Et il est douteux dans ce cas que le panneau de Moïse sur le mont Horeb ait été dès l'origine dépourvu de sa propre inscription.

³⁵ Frankfurt 1928, p. 31; Hamburg 1966, p. 33; Stuttgart 1977/1979, p. 278 (ici INNUPTA au lieu de INNUPTA).

³⁶ CORNELL 1925, p. 16; SCHMIDT 1959, p. 153; GULDAN 1966, pp. 50–62.

³⁷ GUIBERT 1905; BEICHNER 1965, I, p. 41: *Liber Genesis, De lapsu protoplastorum*, vers 361: « Viperam uim perdit, sine ui pariente Puella »; p. 94: « Liber Exodus, De ortu Moysi », vers 79: « Lucet et ignescit sed non rubus igne calescit ».

³⁸ CORNELL 1925, pp. 138–139.

³⁹ Frankfurt 1928, p. 31.

On en arrive alors à une seconde conclusion. Il est possible que les caractères conservés VIR...ATUR doivent être complétés et déchiffrés différemment qu'on ne l'a proposé jusqu'à présent, d'autant plus que les autres inscriptions sur les panneaux d'Arnstein ne sont pas des tituli, mais de simples identifications des personnes ou des sujets iconographiques. Aucune d'elles n'est construite sous forme de versiculum rimé, et la différence entre les deux systèmes d'inscription est la même qu'entre les tituli composés par Suger – de la version allégorique des vitraux – et la formule succincte de la verrière illustrant le texte d'Ézéchiel à Saint-Denis⁴⁰.

Puisque toutes les inscriptions sur les autres panneaux d'Arnstein sont très succinctes et brèves, comme: MOYSES et ARON (dans la scène avec la Verge fleurie), MOYSES et LEX DEI (dans la scène avec les Tables de la Loi), ECCE VIGA ISAI (panneau de Jessé couché), MARIA MATER DOMINI (en bas du panneau avec le Christ de l'Arbre de Jessé, qui concerne certainement le panneau avec la représentation perdue de Marie) ou comme les dons du Saint-Esprit, il faut chercher une formule courte qui identifierait la scène sur le mont Horeb. Le texte du récit biblique sur la verge de Moïse changée en serpent est le suivant (Ex. 4: 2–4): «Le Seigneur lui dit donc: Que tiens-tu en ta main? Il répondit: Une Verge. Et le Seigneur dit: Jette-la par terre; il la jeta, et elle fut changée en serpent; de sorte que Moïse s'enfuit. Et le Seigneur lui dit: Étends ta main et saisis sa queue; il l'étendit et saisit le serpent, et il redevint une verge»⁴¹.

En se servant de ces mots de la Vulgate, on pourrait suggérer pour la scène où Dieu assure Moïse de sa volonté par un miracle, la formule: VIRGA VERSATUR, c'est-à-dire la verge se transforme. Cette locution exprime à la fois la transformation de la verge en serpent représentée sur le vitrail et la transformation du serpent en verge qui va suivre la saisie par Moïse de la queue du serpent. C'est la teneur de l'inscription qui correspondrait au sujet de la scène, car il est évident que le vitrail représente le texte: «Extende manum tuam et apprehende caudam eius. Extendit et tenuit». Cet accord avec les paroles du Seigneur adressées à Moïse expliquerait le mieux pourquoi on ne s'est pas servi de l'abréviation du titulus canonique pour l'iconographie du Buisson ardent: VIDEBAT QUOD RUBUS ARDEBAT ET NON COMBURERETUR

⁴⁰ GRODECKI 1961, p. 41 et pl. en couleur.

⁴¹ «Dixit ergo ad eum quid est hoc quod tenes. Respondit virga. Ait proice eam ad terram. Proicit, et versa est in colubrum; ita ut fugeret Moses. Dixitque Dominus: extende manum tuam et apprehende caudam eius. Extendit, et tenuit, versaque est in virgam». Texte français selon la Sainte Bible traduite d'après les textes sacrés, avec la Vulgate, par A. Eugène Genoud (*Sainte Bible* [1820–1824], pp. 344–345).

(Ex. 3: 2)⁴². En aucun cas le titulus VIRGO SALUTATUR INNUPTA MANENS GRAVIDATUR ne pourrait ici concerner le Buisson ardent sans comporter la moindre allusion à l'entretien de Moïse avec Dieu sur le mont Horeb. Remarquons enfin que l'auteur anonyme du texte *Pictor in Carmine* prévoit pour le type du *Colloquium Gabrielis et virginis de incarnatione verbi*, entre autres préfigurations, la scène décrite: «Virgam proicit Moyses in terram coram domino qui /que/ vertitur in colubrum»⁴³.

Des trois panneaux de l'Arbre de Jessé, comme on l'a déjà noté, ne sont préservés que les deux extrêmes; le panneau du milieu a été restitué au XIX^e siècle sous la forme d'un personnage royal, il s'agissait certainement de Salomon⁴⁴. Cette restitution ne prenait pas en considération l'inscription MARIA MATER DOMINI placée en bas du panneau représentant le Christ adolescent. Hans Wentzel, dans une lettre adressée à Rüdiger Becksmann, a formulé l'opinion que la partie supérieure du Christ et sa tête ont remplacé la figure primitive de Marie, transférée d'une autre verrière. Mais Becksmann exclut cette possibilité persuadé que Marie, même s'il arrivait qu'elle figurât seule entourée des sept dons du Saint-Esprit, n'est jamais représentée avec eux au sommet de l'Arbre de Jessé⁴⁵. Cependant la position iconographique de Becksmann semble être moins décisive puisque l'on voit Marie entourée des dons du Saint-Esprit au sommet de l'Arbre de Jessé sur une miniature du Missel de Bertold de l'école de Ratisbonne, datant du deuxième quart du XIII^e siècle et provenant du couvent de Weingarten⁴⁶. Néanmoins Becksmann restitue correctement le type de l'Arbre de Jessé d'Arnstein⁴⁷. Quant à la figure perdue de Marie on peut l'imaginer pareille à sa représentation plus tardive de Fribourg-en-Brisgau, où la Vierge, bien que le style da la verrière soit beaucoup plus avancé, est assise sur l'embranchement des feuilles, qui pendent mollement (*lappig umgeschalgene Blätter*), identiques aux feuilles de l'Arbre de Jessé d'Arnstein⁴⁸.

⁴² Dans l'Évangélaire d'Averbode le texte au-dessous du Buisson ardent porte: DENUDARE PEDES IUSSUS STUPET ECCE MOYSES; cepedant le long du côté gauche de la miniature on lit: QUEM SUBIIT CRISTUS ARDENS MANET HAUT RUBUS USTUS.

⁴³ JAMES 1951, p. 151.

⁴⁴ OIDTMANN 1898, fig. sur col. 275–276; von FALKE, FRAUBERGER 1904, pl. CXVIII; CORNELL 1925, pl. F.

⁴⁵ Hamburg 1966, p. 37. Sur l'iconographie de l'Arbre de Jessé voir: SCHILLER 1966, pp. 26–33; BECKSMANN 1969; LCI, IV, 1972, pp. 549–558 (A. Thomas, *Wurzel Jesse*).

⁴⁶ SCHILLER 1966, p. 27, fig. 24.

⁴⁷ Hamburg 1966, p. 38.

⁴⁸ BECKSMANN 1969, p. 11, fig. 2; BECKSMANN 1975, pp. 365 et 368, fig. 2. Les feuilles de l'arbre de Jessé sur le panneau de Marie à Fribourg sont beaucoup plus proches des feuilles de l'Arbre de Jessé d'Arnstein que des feuilles stylisées dans l'Hortus Deliciarum (ibidem, p. 40).

Trois traits caractérisent l'Arbre de Jessé d'Arnstein. Premièrement, trois personnes seulement constituent la descendance de Jessé: David, Marie et le Christ au sommet de l'arbre. Une telle composition est connue par plusieurs exemples du XII^e et de la première moitié du XIII^e siècle dans les manuscrits à peintures⁴⁹. On accepte aussi cette composition pour la verrière de l'église Saint-Patrocle de Soest en Westphalie, datée de 1166, qui décorait primitivement la chapelle du côté nord du chœur⁵⁰.

Cette rédaction «abrégée» de l'Arbre de Jessé est bienfondée dans la littérature du XII^e siècle. Déjà Honorius Augustodonensis dans son *Speculum Ecclesiae*, au chapitre «In Annuntiationem S. Mariae», réduit la généalogie du Christ à ces trois personnages principaux: «Jessé était père du roi David qui fut la racine de cette sainte génération. De cette racine poussa David comme un arbre sur lequel a bourgeonné une noble verge, car la Vierge Marie d'elle quand la Vierge Marie a engendré le Christ»⁵¹ semble donc que, dès le début, le type de l'Arbre de Jessé à trois personnages existait indépendamment de la composition à plusieurs figures et qu'un tel exemple a pu inspirer le maître des vitraux d'Arnstein.

Deuxièmement, les sept dons du Saint-Esprit, qui entourent la figure du Christ au sommet de l'arbre, sont symbolisés par des colombes⁵². Les

Il faut corriger aussi l'opinion, formulée en marge de la restitution de l'Arbre de Jessé dans la cathédrale de Strasbourg, selon laquelle la figure de Marie siégeant sur le trône n'est pas conforme à la tradition iconographique de l'Arbre de Jessé (ibidem, p. 30). Cependant Marie – aussi bien que David et le Christ – est représentée assise sur le trône dans le Psautier d'Imola et dans le Psautier de St Louis et Blanche de Castille et sur un vitrail à Canterbury (CAVINESS 1977, fig. 133–134).

⁴⁹ Voir, par exemple: le Psautier d'Henri de Blois, 1140–1160, à Londres, British Museum, Cotton ms. Nero C IV, f^o 9 (cf. TURNER 1971, p. 9, pl. I); le Psautier de l'abbaye de Shaftsbury, de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, f^o 15 (SCHILLER 1966, fig. 32); Raban Maur, *De Laudibus sanctae crucis*, XII^e siècle, provenant d'Anchin, à Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, où l'inscription MARIA est placée au pied du Christ et au-dessus de la tête de Marie (cf. BOECKLER 1930, p. 121, n^o et fig. 14; SOMMER 1966, p. 43, fig. 30); le Psautier anglais, daté 1204–1216, à Imola, Biblioteca Comunale, ms. n. 111, f^o 21 r^o (cf. FAVA 1932, pp. 34 et 36, fig. 16; HASSELOFF 1938, pp. 14–16, pl. I); le Psautier d'Ingeborgue, vers 1210, Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1695, f^o 14 (cf. DEUCHLER 1967, pp. 32–34, pl. X, fig. 18); Le Psautier de saint Louis et de Blanche de Castille, du XIII^e siècle, à Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 1186, f^o 15 v^o (cf. MARTIN [n. d.], fig. 5).

⁵⁰ WENTZEL 1959, p. 99, fig. 45; BECKSMANN 1967a; MÜNSTER 1975, n^o 45, pp. 97–100; GRODECKI et al. 1977, n^o 27, p. 275.

⁵¹ PL [1895], t. 172, s. 904: «Exiet virga de radice Jesse, et flos de radice ejus ascendet, et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini (Isa XI). Jesse fuit pater David regis, qui erat radix huius sacrae stirps. De hac radice David ut arbor succreverat, de qua nobilis virga pullulaverat, qua virgo Maria de ejus protulit, dum virgo Maria Christum genuit».

⁵² Sur les colombes d'Arnstein voir: LCI, IV, 1972, pp. 552–553 (A. Thomas, *Wurzel Jesse*), fig. 3 (datation 1170/80).

oiseaux, placés dans des cadres circulaires, ont été disposés symétriquement, la colombe centrale descendant la tête tournée verticalement vers le bas, ce qui apparente la verrière d'Arnstein aux vitraux de Saint-Denis, de Chartres et de Gercy (vers 1220)⁵³. Mais leur type, sans cadres, remonte au XI^e siècle comme le prouve l'exemple de la peinture murale jadis à l'église-porche de Saint-Michel d'Hildesheim⁵⁴.

Troisièmement, les ancêtres spirituels du Christ sont absents, ce qui est plutôt atypique vers la moitié du XII^e siècle. Pour suppléer à ce défaut, on voudrait voir aux fenêtres voisines de la verrière principale des grandes figures de prophètes représentés debout, comme celles du Psautier d'Henri de Blois ou de celui de Shaftsbury, ainsi que sur un relief du début du XIII^e siècle de Bamberg, avec les sept dons du Saint-Esprit, mais sans la Vierge⁵⁵, ou des petites figures en buste, comme dans *De Laudibus sanctae Crucis* de Raban Maur d'Anchin – avec quatre prophètes de chaque côté – ou sur la verrière de la cathédrale de Ratisbonne, datée de 1220–1230⁵⁶. Un tel enrichissement typologique transcenderait-il l'usage du milieu du XII^e siècle?

Mais les figures des prophètes n'étant pas prévues dès le début dans le programme des vitraux d'Arnstein, quelles scènes pourrait-on envisager sur les verrières typologiques?

Dans le poème *Arnsteiner Marienlied* ou *Marienleich*, écrit vers 1150 à Arnstein, faisant partie d'un Psautier latin, déposé au Staatsarchiv à Wiesbaden⁵⁷ l'auteur (peut-être Guda, femme du comte Louis d'Arnstein, fondateur de l'abbaye, qui menait la vie d'une recluse près d'une église d'Arnstein), compare la maternité virginale de la Vierge aux rayons du soleil qui passent par le verre en évoquant, en tant que types de l'Ancien Testament, l'Arbre de Jessé, le Buisson ardent, la Verge d'Aaron et la

⁵³ Saint-Denis: GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 83, p. 289, fig. 72; Chartres: VERRIER 1949, pl. XIV, pl. II; GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 45, pp. 279–280; Gercy: *Le vitrail* 1958, pl. V; PERROT 1975.

⁵⁴ HEIMANN 1890, col. 310, fig. sur col. 315–316; JANSEN 1933, p. 121; SOMMER 1966, pp. 41–49 et particulièrement note 110 sur pp. 168–169. Nous ne partageons pas l'opinion de BECKSMANN (Hamburg 1966, p. 37), selon qui les colombes d'Arnstein seraient semblables, par leur forme et leur arrangement, aux colombes du Saint-Esprit sur la miniature de l'Arbre de Jesse dans un Lectionnaire de Siegbourg à Londres, British Museum, Harley ms. 2889, f° 4r°, daté avant 1164 par: Köln 1975, p. 230 et 236, n° et fig. G 1 (J. M. Plotzek).

⁵⁵ LITTLE 1975; GABORIT-CHOPIN 1978, pp. 132 et 204, n° et fig. 192; Stuttgart 1977/1979, I, p. 490, n° 629; II, fig. 435.

⁵⁶ MADER 1933, p. 94, fig. 36 et 37; ELSEN 1940, pp. 3-5, fig. 3 et pl. IV-XI; Stuttgart 1977/1979, I, n° 421, pp. 296–297 et fig. 5 dans le texte.

⁵⁷ Cod. c 8, f°s 129 v°–135 v°.

porte fermée d'Ézéchiél⁵⁸. Et pourtant nous ne croyons pas qu'au-dessus du panneau de Moïse et d'Aaron devant la Verge fleurie ait pu être représentée la porte close d'Ézéchiél. Ni le caractère littéraire de la source religieuse, ni l'incertitude concernant l'identification de l'église près de laquelle vivait la recluse, ni l'iconographie des autres panneaux d'Arnstein n'autorisent une telle hypothèse⁵⁹.

A la lumière des sujets introduits sur les panneaux préservés, le programme de l'ensemble des vitraux se révèle décidément christologique. La disposition des figures de l'Arbre de Jessé accentue le fait qu'il s'agit de l'arbre du Christ. Dans ces circonstances, Moïse qui tient le serpent en s'entretenant avec le Seigneur sur le mont Horeb, ainsi que Moïse avec Aaron devant l'Arche d'alliance ne se rapportent pas d'une manière exclusive à Marie, comme il était de règle vers la fin du Moyen Age, mais en général au mystère de la Rédemption par l'Annonciation – la vocation de Marie et la conception de Jésus, la Nativité – la maternité virginale de Marie, et la Crucifixion, l'acte même de la Rédemption en tant que satisfaction du péché des premiers parents.

Dans le développement de l'iconographie de l'Arbre de Jessé au cours du XIII^e siècle, les protagonistes de l'arbre généalogique cèdent la place aux principaux épisodes de la vie du Christ et de la Rédemption de l'humanité: sur la verrière de l'abside de Saint-Cunibert à Cologne (1215–1226/1230) à l'Annonciation, la Nativité du Christ, la Crucifixion et la Résurrection⁶⁰ et sur la verrière dans le choeur Occidental de la cathédrale romane de Ratisbonne à l'Annonciation, la Nativité, l'Adoration des Mages et la Crucifixion⁶¹. Dans ce contexte ne semble-t-il pas justifié d'admettre que la Crucifixion, juxtaposée au Serpent d'airain, se trouvait en haut de la première verrière du Nouveau Testament au lieu de l'hypothétique Baptême du Christ, préfiguré par la Traversée de la mer Rouge?

Comment une telle Crucifixion pouvait-elle être figurée? Elle ressemblait certainement à la Crucifixion faite par le maître Gerlachus de la collection du baron von Zwierlein à Geisenheim, achetée en 1887 par le

⁵⁸ *Die deutsche Literatur* 1937, col. 245–247 (L. Denecke, *Mariengebet von Arnstein*); MAURER 1964, I, pp. 433–452; *Lexikon der Marienkunde* 1967, col. 374–375 (A. Bechmann, *Arnsteiner Mariengebet (Arnsteiner Marienlied)*); *Kleinere deutsche Gedichte* [1973], pp. 225–234.

⁵⁹ LUTHMER 1907, pp. 212–213 «Guda von Boyneburg, inclusa in einer Klausel in unmittelbarer Nähe der Kirche, deren Altar sie aus einem Fenster derselben sehen konnte». Outre l'église abbatiale, il y avait à Arnstein, l'église Ste Marguerite, plus ancienne que l'abbaye et qui lui fut incorporée en 1139, détruite en 1814. Sur la comparaison entre les rayons du soleil passant par le verre et la maternité virginale de Marie voir GRODECKI 1958, p. 40.

⁶⁰ SOMMER 1966, p. 47, fig. 38.

⁶¹ ELSSEN 1940, pl. II–III.

Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum de Berlin⁶², qui exposait le crucifié sur le fond d'une gloire bleue semblable à la gloire écarlate qui sert de fond à la Crucifixion de Châlons-sur-Marne⁶³. On ne saura jamais si l'oeuvre de Gerlachus à Berlin, détruite en 1945, appartenait à l'ensemble des vitraux d'Arnstein. Le style et l'iconographie s'accordent, mais les dimensions, même si l'on ajoute la bordure du même type que la bordure des vitraux d'Arnstein, semblent s'y opposer⁶⁴.

Sans entrer dans les détails de la restitution théorique suggérée par Becksmann de la seconde paire typologique des vitraux d'Arnstein, il ne nous semble pas prudent d'admettre, comme antitype de Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi sur le mont Sinaï, la Descente du Saint-Esprit, à laquelle les symboles de ses dons ne pouvaient manquer, juxtaposée au Christ adolescent entouré de sept dons du Saint-Esprit au sommet de l'Arbre de Jessé⁶⁵. On pourrait envisager plutôt l'Incrédulité de saint Thomas, représentée à la manière du diptyque en ivoire du X^e siècle au Bodemuseum à Berlin [Fig. 7]⁶⁶. Selon saint Paul (II Cor. 3: 3) les *tabulae*

⁶² OIDTMANN 1912, p. 72, fig. 78; SCHMITZ 1913, II, p. 3, n° 1, pl. I; Frankfurt 1928, p. 28: « Eine weitere Scheibe des Meister Gerlachus, die aber nicht zu diesem Zyklus gehört, befindet sich im Berliner Kunstgewerbe-Museum ». GRODECKI 1953, pp. 242 et 245, fig. sur p. 242; BECKSMANN 1966, p. 41: « Eine ehemals im Berliner Schlossmuseum befindliche, 1945 zerstörte Kreuzigungsscheibe ist seiner Hand noch zuzuweisen, stammt aber aus einer anderer Verglasung »; WENTZEL 1954, p. 87, fig. 21; GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 5, pp. 155 et 269, fig. 130.

⁶³ GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 41, pp. 123 et 278, fig. 100. La gloire dans ce cas signifie l'hostie. Sur la forme du pain eucharistique au XII^e siècle voir: Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma animae*, I, cap. XXXV: *De forma panis*, dans PL [1895], col. 555. Sur l'image du Crucifié sur l'hostie informant: JUNGSMANN 1952, II, p. 46; LThK, V, col. 495–496 (W. Dürrig, *Hostie*).

⁶⁴ Pour le vitrail du Kunstgewerbemuseum de Berlin: SCHMITZ 1913, II, p. 3, n° 1, donne les dimensions suivantes: hauteur 56 cm, largeur 33,5 cm; selon OIDTMANN 1912, p. 72, fig. 78, la largeur serait de 28 (26) cm; GRODECKI et al. 1977 détermine une largeur de 33 cm. Cependant les dimensions des panneaux supérieurs d'Arnstein selon BECKSMANN 1966, pp. 34 et 37 et GRODECKI et al. 1977, pp. 268–269) sont de 58,5 cm de hauteur et 50 cm de largeur. Hans Karl Freiherr von Zwierlein (1768–1850), juriste et collectionneur d'oeuvres d'art établi à Geisenheim en Rheingau, rassemblait des vitraux de plusieurs églises des environs en Rhénanie. Vers 1820 il acquit les panneaux de la collection de l'opticien Wilhelm Düssel, puis ceux des collections coloniales du marchand de vins Ch. Geerling et de J. B. Hirn et aussi ceux des édifices conventuels et des églises de Lorsch, Assmannshausen, Mariahausen et d'autres. Nous en sommes informés par ADB 1899, pp. 538–541 (W. Sauer); ROTH 1895, et aus'm WEERTH 1888, ici p. 263. Hélas, ni le catalogue *Die Freiherrlich* 1887, p. 12, n° 135, ni le *Führer* 1910, pl. III, ne précisent d'où vient la crucifixion de Berlin. SCHMITZ 1913, I, p. 6 écrit au sujet des verres: « Die Farbläser sind die gleichen wie in den Kappenberger Fenstern ».

⁶⁵ BECKSMANN 1966, p. 40 (verso); Stuttgart 1977/1979, p. 278.

⁶⁶ SCHNEIDER 1888; GOLDSCHMIDT 1918, II, n° 24b; *Bildwerke* 1966, p. 52, n°s 193–194: Westdeutschland um 1050; Köln-Brüssel 1973, n° Cb, pp. 182–183; GABORIT-CHOPIN 1978, p. 98 et 196, n° et fig. 126. En s'appuyant sur le cycle typologique de la fenêtre de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle à l'église Saint-Paul de Brandebourg, W. MOLS DORF 1926, p. 36, n° 394, affirme à tort que Moïse recevant les Tables de la Loi sur le mont Sinaï serait un type de la

lapideae de Moïse seraient en relation typologique avec les *tabulae cordis carnis* révélées à saint Thomas incrédule. Ce rapprochement typologique final pourrait être précédé par la Résurrection, au milieu de la verrière, ayant pour type Jonas vomé par la baleine, et par la Descente aux Limbes, mise tout en bas, préfigurée par Samson avec les portes de Gaza.

Les vitraux d'Arnstein sont parmi les plus anciens, après les vitraux d'Augsbourg, et les plus précieux des verrières allemandes. Ce qui les distingue c'est la qualité de leur exécution, la préciosité, si fortement soulignée par Louis Grodecki, mais aussi et avant tout, c'est l'autoportrait du maître-verrier. Au-dessous de la scène de Moïse s'entretenant avec le Seigneur sur le mont Horeb, on voit représenté en demi-figure un homme tourné vers la gauche, habillé d'un vêtement blanc ou d'une tunique et d'un manteau bleu jeté par-dessus ses épaules. Sa tête, sur un long cou légèrement levé, est entourée d'une courte barbe couvrant les joues. Des moustaches décorent son visage aux grands yeux et au nez régulier. De sa main gauche dont le bras reste collé au corps, l'homme soutient le pinceau long et effilé avec lequel il semble donner, devant nos yeux, les dernières touches de l'inscription qui forme un vers léonin composé de deux parties rimées: REX REGUM CLARE GERLACHO PROPICIARE⁶⁷.

La personne de Gerlachus se présente dans un champ en demi-cercle à fond rouge, bordé d'une zone interne concentrique verte, décorée de rinceaux enlevés avec le point ou la patte⁶⁸ et de la zone noire de l'inscription aux lettres jaunes. Ce type de découpe demi-circulaire en bas du grand rectangle, renfermant le sujet iconographique principal, est caractéristique de l'enluminure basse-saxonne du XII^e siècle et le modèle que suivait le maître d'Arnstein pourrait être du type de la miniature de dédicace dans l'Évangélaire de la cathédrale de Lund, réalisé vers 1140 à Helmarshausen et conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Uppsala [Fig. 8]: son champ semi-circulaire avec donateur, les mains tendues en prière, est bordé de l'inscription: MARTYR LAURENTI PRECIBUS

Crucifixion. Cette erreur a été corrigée par RENTSCH 1958, pp. 90-95 et 113-119, mais LCI, IV, 1972, col. 395-404 et LCI, III, 1971, p. 295 (H. Schlosser, *Moses*) la répètent toujours.

⁶⁷ BECKSMANN 1966, p. 30 et après lui GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 17 ramènent à tort clare à Gerlacho; WENTZEL 1949, p. 54 a déjà lu correctement (mais il écrit erronément Gerlachus au lieu de Gerlacho), de même que, dernièrement, BECKSMANN 1975, p. 66, et Stuttgart 1977/1979, p. 279.

⁶⁸ WENTZEL 1948, p. 94; WENTZEL 1949, p. 54, exagère en voyant dans ce genre de décoration le trait caractéristique exclusif de l'art du vitrail de la Basse-Saxonie, ce qui a provoqué, à juste titre, une remarque critique de la part de FRODL-KRAFT 1952, p. 277, suivie d'une réponse acerbe de WENTZEL 1952, p. 66. Déjà JANSEN 1933, p. 91 constate ce genre de décoration dans les vitraux français au XII^e siècle; voir aussi GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 151.

SUCCURRE PETENTI⁶⁹. L'école d'Helmarshausen pouvait s'inspirer de modèles anglais comme la feuille avec le Christ en Majesté de la Bible de l'abbaye Bury Saint Edmunds (f° 19) des années 1130–1140, dans la Bibliothèque de Corpus Christi College à Cambridge⁷⁰, (ms. 2, f° 281v°); on y voit Ézéchiel au-dessous du Christ, dans le champ correspondant au 3/4 du cercle⁷¹.

L'inscription d'Arnstein par son caractère et son contenu rappelle vivement les mots initiaux de l'inscription REX BENE SUGERII DIGNARE/avec la suite PIUS MISERERI, et la seconde ligne DE CRUCE PROTEGE ME, DE CRUCE DIRIGE ME/, placée sur la Grande Croix du Suger, près de son portrait, à Saint-Denis⁷².

Du reste le portrait de l'artiste au travail s'accorde bien avec la tradition iconographique du XII^e siècle et l'image de Gerlachus s'apparente par sa forme, sa composition et son dessin à celle du peintre dans les *Opera omnia* de Saint-Ambroise de la première moitié du XII^e siècle à Bamberg⁷³.

Nous ne possédons pas de renseignements sur la personne de Gerlachus, de même qu'on ne sait pas s'il y a quelque relation entre son nom et le nom de l'ermite Gerlachus (né vers 1100, mort en 1166), solitaire vivant à Houthen dans la province néerlandaise de Limbourg, particulièrement respecté et vénéré dans l'ordre des Prémontrés⁷⁴.

J. L. Fischer dans la première édition de son *Handbuch der Glasmalerei*, parue en 1914, a reconnu, dans l'autoportrait de l'artiste, un prémontré, en identifiant son vêtement avec l'habit d'un ecclésiastique: il attribue au manteau la couleur noire⁷⁵. Cependant Rüdiger Becksmann incline, à juste titre, à voir dans l'artiste un peintre-verrier séculier, en même temps

⁶⁹ CORVEY 1966, n° 182, pp. 493–494.

⁷⁰ Ms 2, f° 281 v°.

⁷¹ ZARNECKI 1975, pl. en couleur XL. Parmi les exemples du portrait d'un personnage vu à mi-corps dans une niche, découpant la base de la scène superposée, nous citons encore deux reliquaires mosans des années 1160–1170 à Maastricht où un évêque ressuscité s'adresse à deux anges qui, dans le premier case montrent la couronne du martyr, dans l'autre, la saisissent. Voir VON FALKE, FRAUBERGER 1904, pp. 80 et 131, p. 81; Köln–Brüssel 1973, pp. 246–247, n° et fig. G9 dont une en couleur. Vers 1200 l'orfèvre Conradus, tenant l'outil de son métier dans sa main gauche, est représenté de manière similaire sur la patène de Kalisz, publiée par SKUBISZEWSKI 1962, pl. VI, fig. 4.

⁷² PANOFKY 1979, p. 183; VERDIER 1970, p. 9.

⁷³ EGBERT 1967, pp. 28–29, pl. IV.

⁷⁴ *Acta SS. Januarii* [1943], pp. 304–321; LCI, VI, 1974, col. 399 (J. J. M. Timmers, *Gerlach von Valkenburg*). JANSEN 1933, p. 14, n. 56, remarque « Unter der Helmarshäuserer Mönchen ist gegen 1160–1170 in Corveyer liber vitae (Münster Staatsarchiv I 133) ein „Gerlagus“ aufgeführt ».

⁷⁵ FISCHER 1914, p. 66. B.C.K. (replin), THIEME-BECKER, XIII, 1920, col. 471 (*Gerlachus*), se décide aussi à voir dans Gerlachus un ecclésiastique.

que le donateur. Et pourtant l'action exécutée par maître Gerlachus n'indique pas l'acte de donation⁷⁶. Car ce n'est pas ainsi que sont représentés les donateurs sur la grande verrière de la Crucifixion de la cathédrale de Poitiers (1155–1162)⁷⁷, sans parler de vitraux plus récents comme le vitrail rhénan du Hessisches Landesmuseum de Darmstadt représentant saint Augustin et saint Nicolas (vers 1250), où les donateurs, ainsi qu'à Poitiers, portent le modèle du vitrail donné à l'église⁷⁸, ou celui de l'église Sainte-Marguerite d'Ardagger (daté par Mme Frodl-Kraft de 1226–1241), où le prévôt Heinricus offre le modèle de l'église⁷⁹. Il est évident qu'il y avait une raison spéciale pour qu'un donateur, si nous acceptons l'interprétation de Becksmann, soit représenté en tant que peintre. Quel pouvait être l'origine de cette idée?

Il nous paraît juste de commencer par l'analyse de la première partie de l'inscription: REX REGUM CLARE. La formule REX REGUM se retrouve au XII^e siècle sur le reliquaire en forme de quatre-feuilles du moine Welandus, daté vers 1160, notamment au-dessus de la figure du Christ siégeant entre saint Oswald, roi de Northumbrie, et deux autres personnages royaux, saint Sigismond et un certain saint Eugeus⁸⁰. Il n'y a pas de doute que les mots REX REGUM, sur le vitrail d'Arnstein comme sur le reliquaire d'Henri II, se rapportent au Christ et révèlent un contexte apocalyptique. Car la formule REX REGUM, dont saint Paul se sert dans son Épître à Timothée (I, 6: 15), est empruntée à l'Apocalypse (17: 4 et 19: 6). Donc, avec l'invocation REX REGUM CLARE, l'artiste adresse au Seigneur la prière qu'il lui soit propice quand il paraîtra dans toute sa gloire le jour du Jugement Dernier.

Dans la typologie des formes architecturales, le champ demi-circulaire dans lequel Gerlachus est représenté, correspond à la porte d'entrée. Dans ce contexte, il est significatif que l'activité de l'artiste d'une certaine façon s'apparente à l'activité de l'homme traçant le *Signum Tau* avec le sang de l'agneau pascal sur la porte des maisons juives en Égypte (Ex. 12: 7), mais aussi à l'homme marquant le signe Thau sur les fronts des élus dans la vision d'Ézéchiël (Ez. 9: 2). Les deux signes: Tau et Thau, que l'on iden-

⁷⁶ BECKSMANN 1975, pp. 65–67 et 69 (*Typen des Stifterbildes*). Déjà l'auteur de l'article sur Gerlachus dans Thieme-Becker a reconnu en lui un donateur.

⁷⁷ GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 73, pp. 71 et 286, fig. 56.

⁷⁸ BECKSMANN 1975, p. 69 et pl. I en couleur.

⁷⁹ FRODL-KRAFT 1954, ici fig. 1, 2 et 27 au texte pp. 10 et 11 n. 6; BECKSMANN 1975, p. 67, fig. 2. Le sujet du donateur tenant un modèle de l'église a été étudié récemment par LIPSMAYER 1981.

⁸⁰ VON FALKE, FRAUBERGER 1904, pp. 109–110, 133–134, fig. 104; LASKO 1972, pp. 204–205.

tifiait dans l'iconographie du Moyen Âge, annoncent la future offrande du Christ et préfigurent l'image apocalyptique des élus (Ap. 7: 3 et 9: 4)⁸¹.

Ainsi Gerlachus, tel un «Vir vestitus lineis et atramentum scriptoris ad renes eius» (Ez. 9: 2), le pinceau dans la main droite, soulevant de sa main gauche la couleur dans un pot semi-circulaire, ressemble à l'homme écrivant le *signum THAU* sur le vitrail de Saint-Denis (1145–1150)⁸² et à celui qui est figuré sur la verrière de Châlons-sur-Marne (de 1147)⁸³ ou sur les vitraux du XIII^e siècle d'Orbais (1210–1215), de Bourges (1210–1215) et de Chartres⁸⁴, sans parler de plusieurs représentations de cette scène dans l'orfèvrerie en Basse-Lotharingie vers le milieu du XII^e siècle⁸⁵.

Du point de vue de l'économie du salut, comme le souligne Floridus Röhrig, la scène néotestamentaire est toujours quelque chose de plus qu'un type de l'Ancien Testament⁸⁶. Il faut donc poser la question finale. Si le maître Gerlachus est le créateur et le donateur de tout cet ensemble des vitraux d'Arnstein, comme on le croit, et si son portrait se trouvait dès le début à la place qu'il occupe aujourd'hui, selon l'opinion soutenue par Becksmann⁸⁷, et n'a pas été ajouté plus tard, comme le supposent George Swarzenski et Grodecki⁸⁸, pourquoi ne lui a-t-on pas réservé quelque place plus digne sur l'une des verrières du Nouveau Testament? Et pourquoi son image entourée d'une inscription au

⁸¹ LCI, I, 1968, col. 2–4 (M. Dienst, *Aaron*), ici col. 3; VERDIER 1966–1967, particulièrement pp. 19–22; LCI, IV, 1972, pp. 156–158 (E. Dinkler-von Schubert, *Siegel*). Sur les textes anciens qui ramènent la lettre Thau au signe de la croix voir: RAHNER 1953; DANIELOU 1961, pp. 146–152.

⁸² GRODECKI 1961, p. 41, pl. en couleur entre pp. 38 et 39; VERDIER 1966–1967, p. 34, fig. 19; GRODECKI 1976a, pp. 103–105, fig. 12; p. 189, fig. 104; pp. 203–205, fig. 136–142; GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 70, pp. 129–130 et 286, fig. 11.

⁸³ GRODECKI 1953, p. 163, pl. XXVn, 3; *Le vitrail* 1958, p. 125, fig. 94; VERDIER 1966–1967, p. 36, fig. 21; GRODECKI et al. 1977, n° 70, p. 286 et fig. 111 sur p. 129.

⁸⁴ Orbais: *Le vitrail* 1958, pl. VI; Bourges: CALLIAS BEY et al. 1978, pl. IX; Chartres: GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 290.

⁸⁵ VERDIER 1966–1967, p. 22, fig. 5 (Paris, Louvre, Exodus Tau); p. 27, fig. 11 (Saint-Omer, pied de la croix de Saint-Bertin, Signum Tau); p. 38, fig. 22 (Londres, Victoria and Albert Museum, Exodus Tau). Aux exemples mosans du XII^e siècle rassemblés par Verdier il faut ajouter une plaque rectangulaire en émail de la collection de M. et Mme Georges E. Seligman, publiée dans: New York 1968, n° et fig. 148 et une plaque à quatre lobes du reliquaire philactère au Musée de l'Ermitage de Leningrad, reproduite dans *L'Art appliqué* 1971, n° 6. L'homme écrivant le signe Tau est assimilé à Moïse sur un reliquaire de la Sainte-Croix, daté vers 1180, de Tongres. Voir: COLLON-GEVAERT et al. 1961, n° 49; VERDIER 1966–1967, p. 37; Köln 1973, II, p. 211, fig. 28 et 29.

⁸⁶ RÖHRIG 1979, pp. 44–52.

⁸⁷ BECKSMANN 1966, p. 33; BECKSMANN 1977, p. 278.

⁸⁸ Frankfurt 1928, p. 32: «Möglicherweise sass die eigentliche Gerlachusscheibe ursprünglich nicht im Mosesfenster»; GRODECKI et al. 1977, p. 152: «de la même main, incrusté plus tard dans la verrière».

sens eschatologique est-elle au-dessous de Moïse qui tient la queue du serpent?

Dans les *Questiones in Veterum Testamentum*, texte exemplaire pour la typologie au Moyen Âge, Isidore de Séville explique le rôle sotériologique de la queue du serpent: «Il y a en effet dans la queue du serpent (l'image) de la fin du monde, car c'est ainsi que la mortalité de l'Église passe par le glissement du temps: les uns s'en vont, les autres viennent, comme par (le mouvement) du serpent, et d'ailleurs c'est par le serpent que la mort a été semée. Mais à la fin des temps comme par la queue du monde nous rentrons sous la main de Dieu et, saisi (par lui) nous serons restaurés et ressuscités, notre dernier ennemi, la mort, étant détruit, nous serons désormais comme la verge de la royauté dans la droite de Dieu⁸⁹». La formule inscrite par Gerlachus ne serait-elle pas une prière pour que sa mortalité, comparée au serpent, se transforme en une verge dans la main du Seigneur? La signification symbolique du serpent a été exprimée le mieux par un titulus du XII^e siècle qui se trouvait jadis près de l'image de la Crucifixion dans la nef de l'église Saint-Emmeram à Ratisbonne: «Car la verge de Moïse n'est rien d'autre en elle-même que la Sainte Croix⁹⁰». L'homme responsable du programme iconographique des vitraux d'Arnstein connaissait bien les textes sacrés et les a adroitement adaptés aux exigences du donateur⁹¹.

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⁸⁹ PL, 83, 1862, col. 290: « Est enim in cauda serpentis saeculi finis, quia sic mortalitas Ecclesiae per lubrica temporum volvitur; alii eunt, alii veniunt, tanquam per serpentem; mors enim per serpentem seminata est. Sed fine novissimo velut cauda saeculi redimus ad manum Dei, atque apprehensi reparabimur, et, novissima inimica morte destructa, resurgentes in dextera Dei virga regni erimus ». Cf. BEICHNER 1965, I, pp. 95–96: *Liber Exodus, De uirga per quam fiunt miracula*, vers 121–128:

Virga Dei serui terre projecta fit anguis;
 Ille rapit caudam, prima figura redit.
 Quam tenuit Moyses ludeam uirga figurat,
 Quam primum tenuit per sacra iussa Deus,
 Quo modo fit serpens nam fundit ubique uenenum,
 Nec Christum credens, nec sua iussa sequens.
 Cauda notat finem quis plebs, licet impis, Christus
 Credet et in mundi fine fidelis erit.

⁹⁰ ENDRES 1902, p. 236, col. 278 et 280, n. 29. Il n'est pas sans importance de remarquer que l'inscription VIRGA AARON se trouve sur une croix-encolpion du XII^e siècle suspendue en second lieu sur un reliquaire byzantin du XII^e siècle dans le trésor de Hohe Domkirche à Cologne. Cf. Monumenta Annonis, Cologne et Siegbourg, Köln 1975, p. 164, n° D2, pl. en couleur XV.

⁹¹ NOWOTNY 1969, p. 145. L'histoire de la fondation de l'abbaye d'Arnstein est présentée par BACKMUND 1949, I, pp. 153–154.

LECH KALINOWSKI
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ALLERHEILIGENBIDLITANEI AUF DEN GLASFENSTERN VON STRASSENDEL

Die Kirchenfenster des Presbyteriums der Wallfahrtskirche, die in den Jahren 1346–1355 in Strassengel in der Nähe von Graz (Steiermark) in Österreich erbaut wurde und der Zisterzienser Abtei in Rein angehört, wurden vom Jubilar Ernst Bacher untersucht und seine Forschungsergebnisse sind 1979 veröffentlicht worden. Sowohl unter stilistischem als auch ikonographischem Gesichtspunkt gehören die besagten Kirchenfenster zu den wichtigsten europäischen Glasmalereien¹. Sechsendneunzig Rechteckfelder, dreiundzwanzig Maßwerkscheiben und elf Nonnen, die vorwiegend *in situ* erhalten sind, ausgenommen einige, die sich in Sammlungen (hauptsächlich im Landesmuseum von Graz) befinden, bilden einen erstaunlich großen Überrest der ehemaligen Verglasung von elf Bildfenstern; darunter befinden sich sieben dreibahnige, sechs- bis siebenzeilige und vier zweibahnige, achtzeilige Fenster, durch welche die drei polygonalen, gestaffelten Chöre erleuchtet wurden. Aufgrund stilistischer Merkmale wurde das ganze Kunstwerk von Ernst Bacher drei nacheinander wirkenden anonymen Meistern zugeschrieben: Hauptmeister „A“ – um 1350–1355, Meister „B“ – späte sechziger oder frühe siebziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts, Meister „C“ – wahrscheinlich späte siebziger Jahre, jedoch wohl vor 1380².

Unsere Bemerkungen betreffen nur jenen Teil des Werkes von Meister „C“, der aus Scheiben mit Darstellungen einzelner Figuren besteht. Dies sind vor allem Apostel-, Evangelisten- und Heiligengestalten, die hauptsächlich stehend dargestellt, sich nach links oder rechts wenden und

¹ BACHER 1979, S. 111–200, Abb. 293–513. Neulich auch: OBERHAIDACHER-HERZIG 2000, Kat. 178, S. 425.

² BACHER 1979, S. 126–131.

vor einem rubinroten oder dunkelblauen Hintergrund stehen, der mit zierlichem Blätternornament „bewachsenen“ ist und unter architektonischen Baldachinen und Ädikulen situiert sind. Die Neigung der Gestalten zur Mitte, die architektonische Form der abschließenden Verzierungen, die sich gelegentlich auch paarweise „zueinander“ richten, sowie auch die ursprünglichen und die heutigen Maße der Fensterfelder (die Höhe von etwa 1 m, die Breite: 0,25–0,35 m) verweisen eindeutig auf ihre Herkunft, wenn wir sie mit entsprechenden Maßen der zweibahnigen Fenster in Seitenchören vergleichen. Gegenwärtig (seit ihrer Restaurierung im Jahr 1885) befinden sich die Scheiben mit Apostelfiguren im Fenster nord IV und bilden das Apostelfenster³; ein Teil der Scheiben mit Heiligenfiguren, die im Jahr 1885 mit lateinischen Identifizierunginschriften samt mehreren im selben Jahre angefertigten Feldern versehen wurden, befindet sich im Fenster nord V und setzt sich zu einem Nothelfer (Heiligen-)fenster⁴ zusammen. Darüber hinaus gibt es einige, nachträglich verbreiterte Scheiben in den Fenstern nord II (ab 1885 mit einem stilistisch und ikonographisch uneinheitlichen Scheibenensemble von Meister „A“ und Meister „B“)⁵, die aus Szenen des Jüngsten Gerichtes und anderen neu geschaffenen Feldern bestehen⁶; eine Scheibe mit dem Erzengel Gabriel wird im Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz aufbewahrt⁷.

Eine Einsicht in die vorherige (nicht unbedingt jedoch die ursprüngliche), sich von der jetzigen unterscheidende, Scheibenanordnung der Fenster nord IV und nord V wird durch die erste zeichnerische Bestandaufnahme des Presbyteriumfenster aus dem Jahr 1857 ermöglicht, die vom Hofmeister P. Gerhard Schröder angefertigt wurde, nachdem in den Jahren 1850–1851 zum ersten Mal eine große und gründliche Renovierung der Kirchenfenster vom Glasmeister Eduard Grillwitzer aus Leoben durchgeführt worden war⁸. Im Fenster nord IV („Das dritte Fenster von der Sakristei hinter dem Altare des Heiligen Sebastian“), in dem die Verglasung des Maßwerks und der Nonnen nicht angegeben wurde, befanden sich zu dieser Zeit:

³ Ibidem, S. 158–164, Fig. 14, Abb. 368, 370–391, Farbtafel 8.

⁴ Ibidem, S. 172–176, Fig. 16, Abb. 413–427.

⁵ Die Scheibe mit Hl. Bernardus: ibidem, S. 144–145, Abb. 326–343.

⁶ Die Scheiben mit den Darstellungen: Muttergottes mit Kinde, Hl. Dreifaltigkeit, Evangelisten: Johannes, Lukas und Matthäus, Erzengel Michael; ibidem, S. 153–155, Abb. 349, 357–362.

⁷ Ibidem, Kat. 79, S. 193, Abb. 489, 493.

⁸ Ibidem, S. 115–117, hier das sämtliche ehemalige Verzeichnis der Scheiben in den Fenstern nord III, süd III, nord IV, süd IV, süd V, nord VI, süd X, Südrose.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Heilige Dreifaltigkeit? | Maria Hilf |
| Christus am Kreuze | |
| Erzengel Michael | Ein Engel mit einem Szepter alter Kopf |
| alles ubrige ist unkenntlich [...] | |

Im Fenster nord V („Das zweite Fenster von der Sakristei hinter dem Altare des Heiligen Sebastian“), in dem die Verglasung des Maßwerks und der Nonnen ebenfalls nicht angegeben wurde, befanden sich dagegen:

| | |
|---|---------------------------|
| Petrus | der Name Matthäus |
| Andreas | |
| Paulus | Ein Apostel oder |
| Jakobus | Evangelist mit einem Buch |
| Johannes, auf dem Nimbus | |
| alles übrige ist bereits unkenntlich, vielmehr von dem vorgesezten Altare verdeckt oder zu den anderen zehn grossen Fenstern verwendet. | |

Heutzutage befinden sich im Maßwerk des Fensters nord IV: als 2ab – eine Blattrosette auf zyklamvioletterm Grund, als 1a – eine Blattrosette auf rubinrotem Grund, als 1b – eine Blattrosette auf kornblumenblauem Grund; die Nonnen enthalten dagegen Helmendigungen mit feinen Ranken aus Hasellaub, jeweils auf rubinrotem oder dunkelblauem Hintergrund. Die Vermutung von Ernst Bacher, dass sich die Nonnen an ihrem ursprünglichen Platz befinden, scheint wohl richtig zu sein⁹. Somit wäre anzunehmen, dass in diesem Fenster der folgende Wechsel der Hintergrundfarben „verpflichtet“ war: die Vertikale „a“: – rubinrot, die Vertikale „b“: – dunkelblau; der Ornamenttyp wiederholte den von den Nonnen. Diesem künstlerischen Vorhaben entsprechen die Scheiben, die sich heute im Fenster nord V befinden und: „ST. ERASMUS“ (2a; rubinroter Hintergrund), „ST. KATHARINA“ (2b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), „ST. CIRIACVS“ (3a; rubinroter Hintergrund), „ST. BLASIVS“ (4b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), „ST. GEORGIVS“ (6b; Hintergrund wie oben) darstellen; im Fenster nord IV befinden sich dagegen: Johannes der Täufer (2a; rubinroter Hintergrund), Prophet (6b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), im Fenster nord II sind zu sehen: St. Bernardus von Clairvaux (2b; Hin-

⁹ Ibidem, S. 159, 164.

tergrund wie oben), im Fenster süd II: Muttergottes mit Kind (2b; Hintergrund wie oben) und Gnadenstuhl (3b; rubinroter Hintergrund) und Erzengel Michael (4b; Hintergrund wie oben), in Graz wird dagegen die Scheibe mit Erzengel Gabriel (dunkelblauer Hintergrund) aufbewahrt¹⁰.

Im Maßwerk des Fensters nord V befinden sich jetzt: als 2ab – eine Blütenrosette auf hellgrünem Grund, als 1a – eine Blütenrosette auf mittelblauem Hintergrund, als 2b – eine Blütenrosette auf rubinrotem Hintergrund; die Nonnen enthalten Helmendigungen mit feinen Ranken mit kleinen efeuartigen Blättern, jeweils auf rubinrotem und dunkelblauem Hintergrund, was – ähnlich wie vorhin – den Ornamenttyp im Hintergrund und seinen Farbwechsel in der Vertikalen andeutet¹¹. Diesem künstlerischen Vorhaben entsprechen die Scheiben im Fenster nord IV, mit Darstellungen von: Johannes dem Evangelisten (3a; rubinroter Hintergrund), Apostel (3b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), Andreas (4a; rubinroter Hintergrund), Jacobus der Ältere (4b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), Apostel (5a; rubinroter Hintergrund), Apostel (5b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), Bartholomäus (6a; rubinroter Hintergrund), Apostel (7a; Hintergrund wie oben), Matthias (7b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), Petrus (8a; rubinroter Hintergrund) und Paulus (8b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), und darüber hinaus die sich im Fenster süd II befindlichen: Evangelist Johannes (3c; dunkelblauer Hintergrund), Evangelist Lukas (4a; rubinroter Hintergrund) und Evangelist Matthäus (4c; dunkelblauer Hintergrund); dieser Gruppe gehörte zweifellos ursprünglich auch „ST. ACHATIVS“ (nord V, 3b; dunkelblauer Hintergrund) an, der im Jahr 1885 – worauf Ernst Bacher aufmerksam wurde – von einem Apostel in einen Bischof verwandelt worden ist¹².

Die beiden oben beschriebenen Scheibenensembles ergeben offensichtlich ein homogenes Ganzes, sowohl hinsichtlich der Autorschaft als auch der Komposition und – trotz aller Vorbehalte und Zweifel von Ernst Bacher¹³ – stellen sie auch ein ikonographisch konsequentes Programm dar: dies ist nämlich eine Darstellung der Personen aus der Allerheiligentanei (genauer gesagt aus ihrem ersten Teil), die sich ehemals in zwei benachbarten zweibahnigen Fenstern, zweifellos nord IV und nord V befanden. Die Litanei enthält Anrufungen an die Heiligen (*sanctorum nomina*

¹⁰ Die Zusammenstellung der Scheiben von BACHER 1979, S. 125, siehe auch S. 144, 153–155, 159, 160, 164, 172–175, 193.

¹¹ Ibidem, S. 172, 175–176.

¹² Die Zusammenstellung der Scheiben von BACHER 1979, S. 125, 159, 161–164. Zur Verwandlung des Apostels in den Bischof – siehe S. 159, 174.

¹³ Ibidem, S. 119, 120, 123–124, 144–145, 153, 154–155, 159, 172–173, 193.

seriatim), die im 7. Jahrhundert mit zwei weiteren frühchristlichen Teilen verbundene wurden: mit Christus-Anrufungen und den an Ihn gerichteten Fürbitten. Das Hersagen der Litanei an bestimmten Tagen des Kirchenjahres, insbesondere zur Fastzeit oder bei höheren Weihen und insbesondere ihre Aufnahme in die liturgischen Offizien waren die Ursache dafür, dass ihr Text im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter u. a. in die Liturgiepsalterien, Breviere und Horen Eingang fand. Die Gliederung der Litanei selbst, die Anzahl der Initialanrufungen, die Zahl und die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Heiligenkategorien und der Kanon der wichtigsten Heiligen kristallisierten sich im Laufe der Jahrhunderte heraus; im 14. Jahrhundert stand der Kanon bereits fest, während bis zur Unifizierung, die zur Zeit des Papstes Pius V. vorgenommen wurde, die Zahl und Auswahl der Lokalheiligen noch sehr unterschiedlich gewesen war¹⁴. Den Autoren steht der Text der österreichischen Litanei der Zisterzienser aus dem 14. Jahrhundert, der sicherlich als ikonographische-literarische Grundlage des Litanei-Zyklus in Strassengel diente, leider nicht zur Verfügung, so dass sie sich in diesem Falle ersatzweise des Textes aus dem niedersächsischen (Magdeburger?) Psalter der Breslauer Klarissinnen (Wrocław, Universitätsbibliothek, I.Q.233, fol. 145v–149) aus der Zeit ca. 1280–1290 (1300?) bedienen mußten¹⁵.

¹⁴ Zum Thema der Allerheiligenlitanei siehe u. a.: BISHOP 1918; *Dictionnaire d'archéologie*, 9, 1930, col. 1540–1551 (H. Leclercq, *Litanie*); MOELLER 1938; COENS 1936/1937/1941/1944; MARTIMORT 1961, S. 134–135; LThK, 1, 1986, col. 348–349 (B. Fischer, *Allerheiligenlitanei*). In dieser Zeit (Ende des VII. oder Anfang des VIII. Jhs) bildeten sich *Laudes* heraus, die von KANTOROWICZ 1942 eingehend besprochen werden. Vgl. auch KANTOROWICZ 1995. – Siehe auch: LEROQUAIS 1934, S. LXXIII–LXXV; LEROQUAIS 1940–1941, S. LVII; KÖNIG, BARTZ 1998, S. 138–139.

¹⁵ Zu diesem Psalmenbuch u. a.: KLOSS 1942, S. 210, Abb. 15–16, 21–24; JASIŃSKI 1959; KROOS 1964, S.129–176, 179f., 189; WALICKI 1971, I, S. 272, Abb. 948–962, II, S. 785; SIKORA 1998. Litaneitext: fol. 145v: „Kyrie eleison, Christe eleyson, Christe audi nos, Christe audi nos, Pater de celis deus miserere nobis, Fili redemptor mundi deus..., Spiritus sancte deus..., Sancta trinitas unus deus..., Sancta maria ora pro nobis, Sancta dei genitrix..., Sancta virgo virginum...“; fol. 146: „Sancte michael ora pro nobis..., Sancte gabriel..., Sancte raphael..., Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli orate pro nobis, Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines..., Sancte iohannes baptista ora pro nobis, Omnes sancti patriarche et prophetae orate pro nobis, Sancte petre ora pro nobis, Sancte paule..., Sancte andrea...“; fol. 146v: „Sancte iacobe..., Sancte iohannes..., Sancte thoma..., Sancte iacobe..., Sancte philipe..., Sancte batholomee..., Sancte mathee..., Sancte symon..., Sancte thadee..., Sancte mathia..., Sancte barnaba..., Sancte luca..., Sancte marce..., Omnes sancti apostoli et ewangeliste orate pro nobis, Omnes sancti discipuli domini..., Omnes sancti innocentes..., Sancte stephane ora pro nobis, Sancte laurenti..., Sancte vincenti..., Sancte fabiane..., Sancte sebastiane..., Santi iohannes et paule orate pro nobis, Sancti cosma et damiane ..., Sancti geruasi et prothasi..., Omnes sancti martires...“; fol. 147r: „Sancte silvester ora pro nobis, Sancte gregori..., Sancte martine..., Sancte augustine..., Sancte ambrosio..., Sancte ieronime..., Sancte nicolae..., Omnes sancti pontifices et confessores orate pro nobis, Omnes sancti doctores..., Sancte benedicta ora pro nobis, Sancte francisce..., Sancte

Das zweibahnige und achtzeilige (plus Nonnen) Fenster nord IV bildet gleichzeitig das Fenster I des einjochigen, mit drei Fenstern versehenen Nordchors, der im Mittelalter wahrscheinlich den Heiligen Drei Königen gewidmet war¹⁶. Das Fenster bestand ursprünglich aus sechzehn Scheiben mit einem vertikalen Hintergrundfarbenwechsel: rubinrot-dunkelblau, die den Grundkern der ersten Litanei in der Anordnung von oben (Himmel) nach unten (Erde) illustrieren sollten. Der erste Teil des rekonstruierten Ensembles erweckt keine Zweifel: es war das Scheibenpaar mit dem Gnadenstuhl und der Gottesmutter mit Kind. Der thronende Gottvater mit dem Kruzifix, über den sich die Taube des Hl. Geistes erhebt und die ebenfalls thronende Muttergottes mit dem Kind in den Armen, befinden sich in zwei gleichen Ädikulen, deren eckige Giebel in die Nonnen übergreifen. Die beiden Gestalten sind eine Darstellung der ersten zwei Litaneianrufungen:

Pater de coelis Deus miserere nobis
 Fili Redemptor mundi Deus miserere nobis
 Spiritus Sancte Deus miserere nobis
 Sacta Trinitas Deus miserere nobis
 Sancta Maria ora pro nobis
 Sancta Dei genetrix ora pro nobis
 Sancta virgo virginum ora pro nobis.

Von den drei in der Litanei nacheinander erwähnten Erzengeln (samt Raphael) wurden in der nächsten Reihe lediglich der mit Drachen kämpfende Erzengel Michael und der Erzengel Gabriel mit Zepter in der Hand dargestellt (diese Verteilung der Scheiben wurde in der Bestandaufnahme aus dem Jahr 1857 bestätigt, siehe oben):

Sancte Michael ora pro nobis
 Sancte Gabriel ora pro nobis.

Der weitere Teil der Litanei, der „omnes sanctos beatorum spirituum ordines“ enthielt, wurde unabänderlich durch Anrufungen eröffnet:

Sancte Iohannes Baptista ora pro nobis
 Omnes sancti patriarchae et prophetae orate pro nobis,

antoni..., Sancte dominice..., Sancte bernarde..., Omnes sancti monachi et heremite orate pro nobis, Omnes sancti sacerdotes et levite..., Sancta maria magdalena ora pro nobis, Sancta agnes..., Sancta lucia..., Sancta cecilia..., Sancta agatha..., Sancta katherina..., Sancta clara...; fol. 147v: „Sancta elyzabeth..., Omnes sancte virgines et vidue orate pro nobis, Omnes Sancti et sancte dei intercedite...“.

¹⁶ BACHER 1979, S. 119.

deren Gestalten im nächsten erhaltenen Scheibenpaar mit Darstellungen von Johannes dem Täufer und einem Propheten (oder einem Patriarchen) erscheinen.

Die Darstellungen der im weiteren Wortlaut der Litanei erwähnten Apostel und Evangelisten befanden sich im Fenster nord V, worauf wir noch später zu sprechen kommen werden. Zu weiteren Heiligenkategorien gehörten in der Litanei *sancti martyres, confessores, monachi et heremite* und *sanctae virgines*. Die Wahl und Anzahl der Heiligen dieser Kategorie (gelegentlich einige Hundert) war meistens vom jeweiligen Diözsenkultus oder dem Kultus eines Ordens oder aber des Stifters oder Auftraggebers abhängig. Ausnahmsweise wurde jedoch der Heilige Stephanus als erster Märtyrer erwähnt:

Sancte Stephane ora pro nobis.

Die aufrechterhaltene Darstellung des Hl. Stephanus wurde, nach der richtigen Vermutung von Ernst Bacher, im Jahr 1885 in die Gestalt eines anderen heiligen Diakons verwandelt (anscheinend hielt der Heilige Steine in der Hand, die nachträglich durch ein Buch ersetzt wurden) und mit der sekundären Inskription: „ST. CIRIACVS“ versehen¹⁷. Der nicht mehr aufrechterhaltene, gewöhnliche Partner des Hl. Stephanus war der in der Litanei obligatorisch zu erwähnende Hl. Laurentius:

Sancte Laurente ora pro nobis,

obwohl sein Name nicht immer unmittelbar nach dem von Stephanus folgen musste.

Das nächste Märtyrerpaar bildeten zwei heilige Bischöfe: ein anonymer Bischof mit einem Buch in der Hand, der durch eine Inskription aus dem Jahr 1885 sekundär mit dem Hl. Erasmus identifiziert wurde¹⁸, und der Hl. Blasius mit gekreuzten Kerzen, der als Lokalheiliger verehrt wurde:

Sancte Blasii ora pro nobis.

Die letzte Märtyrergruppe bildeten die Ritter. Das erhaltene Bildnis vom obligatorischen Litaneimartyrer – Hl. Georg:

Sancte Georgii ora pro nobis

wurde zweifellos in der Vertikale „a“ von einem anderen, jedoch schwer zu identifizierenden Partner, ebenfalls einem Ritter begleitet. Der An-

¹⁷ Ibidem, S. 173, 174. Laut der Bestandaufnahme aus dem Jahr 1857 befand sich im Fenster nord VI eine Scheibe mit „Stephan“, vgl. BACHER 1979, S. 116.

¹⁸ Die Bestandaufnahme aus dem Jahr 1857 erwähnt im Fenster nord VI: „Bischof mit einem Buche“, vgl. BACHER 1979, S. 116.

zahl der Scheiben ist zu entnehmen, dass die Bekenner lediglich durch zwei heilige Mönche repräsentiert wurden. Das erhaltene Bildnis eines Heiligen, der von Ernst Bacher richtig als Hl. Bernardus von Clairvaux¹⁹ identifiziert wurde und dessen Namenerwähnung in der Litanei mit der Zugehörigkeit der Kirche in Strassengel zu den Zisterziensern in Rein im offensichtlichen Zusammenhang steht, wurde in der Vertikale „a“ durch den Gründer des Benediktinerordens und gleichzeitig einen obligatorischen Mitglied der Litanei – den Hl. Benedictus – begleitet:

Sancte Benedicte ora pro nobis.

Seine, nicht mehr erhaltene, doch im Jahr 1857 erwähnte Darstellung²⁰, befand sich wahrscheinlich unter dem Baldachin, der im stark veränderten (1885) Scheibe mit dem „Hl. Achatius“ zu sehen ist, und dessen Form mit dem Baldachin über dem Hl. Bernardus identisch ist²¹.

Im letzten untersten Scheibenpaar befanden sich die Darstellungen der heiligen Jungfrauen. Die Partnerin der in der Litanei verpflichtend vorkommenden Hl. Katharina:

Sancta Catherina ora pro nobis

war eine der Jungfrauen, von denen in der Litanei gewöhnlich eine ganze Reihe erwähnt wurde, hier könnte es wohl die Hl. Margarete gewesen sein.

Die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Verteilung der beinahe vollständig erhaltenen Scheiben des Fensters nord IV sieht also folgendermaßen aus [Fig. 9]:

| | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| 9 Nonne mit Helmendigung | Nonne mit Helmendigung |
| 8 Gnadenstuhl | Muttergotes |
| 7 Erzengel Michael | Erzengel Gabriel |
| 6 Hl. Johannes der Täufer | Prophet |
| 5 Hl. Stephanus | [Hl. Laurentius?] |
| 4 Hl. Bischof | Hl. Blasius |
| 3 [Heiliger Ritter] | Hl. Georg |
| 2 [Hl. Benedikt] | Hl. Bernhard von Clairvaux |
| 1 [Hl. Margarete?] | Hl. Katherina |

¹⁹ Ibidem, S. 144–145. Laut Bestandaufnahme aus dem Jahr 1857 befand sich im Fenster nord VI eine Scheibe mit „Bernard“, vgl. Ibidem, S. 116.

²⁰ Im Fenster nord VI: „Ein Abt mit einem Buche, Benedikt (?)“, vgl. Ibidem, S. 116, 145 und Anm. 12.

²¹ BACHER 1979, S. 174, vergleicht den sekundär verwendeten Baldachin der Scheibe des „Achatius“ mit jenem der Scheibe des Hl. Stephanus („Kyriakon“), vgl. Abb. 417–418. Die Verwandtschaft mit dem im Jahr 1885 umgearbeiteten Baldachin des Hl. Bernhardus scheint uns jedoch enger zu sein, vgl. Abb. 418 i 343 (326).

Eine wesentliche Ergänzung zu den heiligen des wichtigsten Litaneeikerns, die sich im Fenster nord IV befinden, ist im Scheibenensemble des ebenfalls zweibahnigen und achtzeiligen (plus Nonnen) Fenster nord V (nord II des Nordchores) mit Darstellungen der Apostel und Evangelisten. Die im ersteren Fenster (nord IV) fehlenden Personen erscheinen hier im vollen Gremium auf einem einheitlichen ornamentalen Hintergrund unter paarweise gleichen architektonischen Bekrönungen und mit einem zum ersteren Fenster analogen Wechsel der Hintergrundfarben in vertikaler Richtung: rubinrot-dunkelblau. Auch hier sind die Scheiben paarweise von oben nach unten „abzulesen“. Am Anfang steht in der Litaneei das unmittelbar nach der Anrufung der Patriarchen und Propheten erwähnte Paar *ducum in militia Christi*:

Sancte Petre ora pro nobis

Sancte Paule ora pro nobis

– der Hl. Petrus mit Schlüssel und Evangelienbuch und der Hl. Paulus mit Schwert und Evangelienbuch in den Händen, die sich beide unter gleichen architektonischen abschließenden Bekrönungen befinden, deren Spitzhelme in die Nonnen übergreifen. Die Reihenfolge der Apostelaufzählung in der Litaneei, die der „Autorschaft“ der einzelnen Verse vom Credo entspricht, war verschieden und hing von dem jeweiligen Muster ab: es konnte nämlich die Reihenfolge der Apostelnamen aus dem Evangelium des Hl. Matthäus (X, 2–4), die aus der Apostelgeschichte (I, 13) oder aber die aus dem Messkanon (*Communicantes*) gewesen sein²². Die im Folgenden dargestellte, mit dem Kanon übereinstimmende Reihenfolge, entspricht sowohl der im 14. Jahrhundert bevorzugten Version als auch der Komposition der Baldachine, mit denen die Scheibenpaare verziert worden sind:

Sancte Andrea ora pro nobis

Sancte Iacobe ora pro nobis,

findet seine Entsprechung augenscheinlich in den zusammengehörigen Scheibenpaar (mit gleichen, zueinander gerichteten Baldachinen) mit Darstellung der Apostel, die mit individuellen Attributen versehen worden sind: der Hl. Andreas mit dem Kreuz und der Hl. Jakobus der Ältere

²² Nach dem Evangelium des Hl. Matthäus: Petrus, Andreas, Jakobus, Johannes, Philippus, Bartholomäus, Thomas, Matthäus, Jakobus der Jüngere, Thaddäus (Juda), Simon, [Matthias]; nach AA: Petrus, Johannes, Jakobus, Andreas, Philippus, Thomas, Bartholomäus, Matthäus, Jakobus der Jüngere, Symon, Juda, [Matthias]; Nach dem Kanon: Petrus, (Paulus), Andreas, Jakobus, Johannes, Thomas, Jakobus, Philippus, Bartholomäus, Matthäus, Simon, Thaddäus, [Matthias]. Zu dem Thema s. auch u. a. BÜHLER 1953; GORDON 1965.

im Pilgerhut mit Muschel und mit Stock und Sack in den Händen (die hier vorgeschlagene Verteilung der Fensterfächer entspricht der Bestandaufnahme aus dem Jahr 1857, s. o.). Unter den weiteren Aposteldarstellungen finden sich nur bei zweien identifizierende Attribute, die anderen Figuren sind lediglich mit Büchern versehen. Diese Tatsache und die spiegelbildlich gleichen Gehäuse überzeugen uns, dass Johannes der Evangelist mit einem Kelch in der Hand und der ihm entsprechende Apostel mit der rechten Hand auf der Brust – wohl der Hl. Thomas (jetzt nord IV, 3b) – im Einklang mit der Litanei:

Sancte Iohannes ora pro nobis

Sancte Thoma ora pro nobis

das nächste Paar gewesen sein müssen.

Das folgende Paar nach unten zu bildete zweifellos der Apostel mit einem aufgeschlagenen Buch (jetzt nord IV, 5a) – Jakobus der Jüngere – und der ihm entsprechende Apostel mit gehobener Hand – der Hl. Philipp (heute nord IV, 5b):

Sancte Iacobe ora pro nobis

Sancte Philippe ora pro nobis

Somit musste im nächsten Gestaltenpaar der Hl. Bartholomäus mit dem Messer in der linken Hand folgen, der von dem einzigen hier noch fehlenden Apostel begleitet werden musste, von dem Hl. Simon nämlich, der 1885 in den „Hl. Achatius“ verwandelt wurde und der unter einem heute nicht mehr existierenden, seinem Partner entsprechenden Baldachin stand. In der spätmittelalterlichen Fassung der Litanei wurden die beiden Apostel durch den Hl. Mathäus getrennt:

Sancte Bartholomee ora pro nobis

Sancte Mathia ora pro nobis

Sancte Symon ora pro nobis,

doch scheint es, angesichts der Einschränkung der Zahl der Apostel auf 12 und trotz der Anwesenheit des Hl. Paulus, dass gerade der Hl. Matthäus – obwohl Apostel und Evangelist – hier unberücksichtigt geblieben ist.

Das letzte Paar in diesem Gremium bildeten der Apostel mit gesenkter rechter Hand (jetzt nord IV, 7a) – intentionell der Hl. Judas Thaddäus und der letzte Apostel, der anstelle von Judas Iskariot gewählt wurde – Hl. Matthias, der mit einem Axt in der Hand erscheint:

Sancte Thadee ora pro nobis

Sancte Mathia ora pro nobis.

Eine Art Kompromiss zwischen dem weiteren Wortlaut der Litanei, in der, nach dem Hl. Barnaba, der in unserem Fenster „übergangen“ wurde, nur noch zwei Evangelisten, die jedoch keine Apostel waren, in der Reihenfolge Markus – Lukas oder Lukas – Markus „bei Namen“ erwähnt werden und angesichts des vorhandenen freien Platzes im Glasfenster, war die Darstellung aller vier Evangelisten, darunter des oben unberücksichtigten Hl. Matthias und die nochmalige Darstellung des Hl. Johannes nötig. Sie sitzen, im Einklang mit der im Mittelalter beharrlich andauernden antiken Tradition an ihren Pulten und sind mit dem Niederschreiben der Evangelien beschäftigt. Die Neigung der Gestalten, die Form der Baldachine und die Inschriften in den Nimben weisen darauf hin, dass dem in der Litanei erwähnten Hl. Lukas an der rechten Seite der Hl. Matthäus und dem Hl. Markus (die Scheibe ist nicht mehr erhalten) der Hl. Johannes als Partner bestimmt wurden. Die „Musterlitanei“ für das beschriebene Glasfenster musste also Anrufungen in folgender Reihenfolge enthalten:

Sancte Luca ora pro nobis

Sancte Marce ora pro nobis

Omnes sancti apostoli et evangelisti orate pro nobis.

Die Rekonstruktion der ursprünglichen Verteilung der beinahe vollständig aufrechterhaltenen Fensterfächer im Glasfenster nord V wäre also wie folgt [Fig. 9]:

| | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 9 | Nonne mit Helmendigung | Nonne mit Helmendigung |
| 8 | Hl. Petrus | Hl. Paulus |
| 7 | Hl. Andreas | Hl. Jakobus der Ältere |
| 6 | Hl. Johannes | „Hl. Thomas“ (n IV, 3b) |
| 5 | „Hl. Jacobus der Jüngere“ (n IV, 5a) | „Hl. Philippus“ (n IV, 5b) |
| 4 | Hl. Bartholomäus | „Hl. Simon“ (n V, 3b) |
| 3 | „Hl. Thaddäus“ (n IV, 7a) | Hl. Matthias |
| 2 | Evangelist Lucas | Evangelist Matthäus |
| 1 | [Evangelist Marcus] | Evangelist Johannes |

Somit waren zwei von den drei Fenstern, die den Nordchor erleuchteten (gegenwärtig gibt es noch keine Anhaltspunkte für die Rekonstruktion des Programms des dreibahnigen Fensters nord VI²³) mit der

²³ Gegenwärtig befinden sich im Maßwerk zwei weitgehend originale Dreipässe mit Blüten- bzw. Blattrosetten des Meisters „C“, vgl. BACHER 1979, S. 183, Abb. 451. Laut Bestandsaufnahme aus dem Jahr 1857 befanden sich in den Nonnen: „Ein rother Vogel – Ein Löwe bewacht seine Jungen – Ein blauer Vogel“ und eine Reihe von Scheiben, die sich sowohl auf die

konsequent umgesetzten Darstellung der Litanei erfüllt, wobei auch Anfangsanrufungen berücksichtigt worden sind.

Es gibt ziemlich zahlreiche weitere Präzedenzfälle von Bildlitaneien, wie sie in den Glasfenstern von Straßengel zu finden waren, in den illuminierten deutschen Psaltern aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, was jedoch nicht bedeuten muss, dass diese ihr direktes Vorbild gewesen sind²⁴. Ein besonders umfangreiches Programm repräsentiert die Bilddarstellung der Litanei im sogenannten Psalterium der Hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen, das vor 1217 für den Landgrafen Hermann von Thüringen angefertigt wurde (Civiale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, ms CXXXVII). Am Anfang bildet (auf fol. 167v) befindet sich ein Bild der Heiligen Dreifaltigkeit mit dem knieenden Landgrafenpaar, die eine ganze Buchseite einnimmt und dem (auf fol. 168) der Anfang des Litaneitextes gegenübergestellt ist. Der Text, der eine Spalte einnimmt, wird von einem Rahmen umgeben, auf dem sich zwischen der Gottesmutter und dem Hl. Johannes dem Täufer der thronende Christus befindet, weiter sind ein Cherubinspaar und drei Erzengel abgebildet. Auf den nächsten Seiten (fol. 168v–170), welche die Fortsetzung von *sanctorum nomina seriatim* enthalten, wird der Text von Medaillons umgeben, auf denen sich zwölf Apostel und zwölf Märtyrer und genauso viele heilige Jungfrauen befinden. Die Anrufungen der weiteren Teile der Litanei (*Propicius esto...*, *Peccatores te rogamus*) werden von umrahmten Textillustrationen mit Darstellungen des Kampfes der Engel gegen Satan und Abbildungen des Lamms zwischen den Engeln aus *arma passionis*, das von dem knieenden Landgrafenpaar und sieben weiteren Personen verehrt wird, begleitet²⁵. Im Psalterium des Landgrafen Hermann von Thüringen, aus den Jahren 1211–1213 (Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek H.B. II. fol. 24) geht der Litanei eine Initiale mit der Hl. Dreifaltigkeit voran (fol. 171v); der Text selbst, der sich auf zwei Spalten auf fol. 172–174 befindet wird oben von zwei Büsten der Hl. Maria und Johannes des Täufers, im weiteren von zwei heiligen Rittern, zwei Märtyrerjungfrauen, zwei Bischöfen sowie auch von Hermann und seiner Frau Sophie, dem

Litanei als auch auf das Leben Marias bezogen (und von den Fenstern des Südchores stammen), darüber hinaus: „Franz Seraphim“, vgl. BACHER 1979, S. 116.

²⁴ STONES 1997, von der (S. 32–36) in einem beinahe textleeren Buch, das aus ganzseitigen Miniaturen besteht, die um 1285 von nordfranzösischen Künstlern angefertigt wurden (Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acc. 16251), die auf fol. 55v–104 illustrierte Litanei identifiziert wurde. Die Autorin macht (S. 28) auf die deutsche Tradition der Bilddarstellung der Litanei aufmerksam, während derartige ikonographische Programme ziemlich selten in französischen Miniaturen anzutreffen sind.

²⁵ Siehe u. a. HASELOFF 1897, S. 13, Abb. 66, 67–71; *La miniatura* 1972, Kat. 8, S. 66, Abb. auf S. 74; STONES 1997, S. 28, Fig. 39.

königlichen Paar von Ungarn und Böhmen begleitet²⁶. Im Psaltern aus Donaueschingen, nach 1235 (Fürstl. Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek Hs. 309) ist der Litaneitext auf fol. 186–192 auf jeder Seite mit Büsten von zwölf Heiligen entsprechender Kategorie versehen, dem Ganzen geht auf fol. 185v die Darstellung Christi zwischen der Hl. Maria und Johannes dem Täufer umgeben (oben und unten) von halbfigurigen Engeln voran²⁷. Im Würzburger Psalter von ca. 1250–1259 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 3900) konzentriert sich die Bebilderung dagegen ausschließlich auf die Initiale „K“[yrie] auf fol. 207, die mit dem Bild des thronenden Christus und der unter ihm thronenden Maria, die von Johannes dem Täufer und drei stehenden Erzengeln begleitet werden, verziert wird²⁸. In der 2. Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts beschränken sich die Litaneiabbildungen meistens auf Darstellungen einzelner Vertreter der Heiligenkategorien, oder wie es im Psalter der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München (cod. lat. 23094) der Fall ist – sind es Heiligenpaare, die sich neben der Textspalte unter einer schmalen Arkade befinden²⁹.

Die sich mehrenden Darstellungen von Vertretern der verschiedenen Heiligenkategorien nahmen wohl in der mittelalterlichen Glasmalerei

²⁶ HASELOFF 1897, S. 9

²⁷ Ibidem, S. 19

²⁸ Der Text der Litanei (fol. 207v–210) ist mit keinen Bildern versehen, vgl. SWARZENSKI 1936, Textband, Kat. 86, S. 158, Tafelband, Abb. 981.

²⁹ Psalter (München, Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 23094): Litanei auf fol. 146–148, Darstellungen: Muttergottes und Erzengel, Hl. Petrus und Hl. Paulus, Hl. Stephanus und Hl. Laurentius, zwei Bischöfe, zwei Märtyrerjungfrauen, vgl. HASELOFF 1897, S. 22; KROOS 1964, S. 176, 187. Siehe auch Psalterium der Bamberg–Eichstätter Diözese um 1255 (Melk, Stiftsbibliothek, Hs. 1833): Litanei auf fol. 169–174, Darstellungen: Hl. Petrus, ein hl. Diakon (Stephanus?), ein hl. Bischof, Hl. Benediktus, hl. Märtyrerjungfrau, vgl. SWARZENSKI 1936, Textband, Kat. 94 auf S. 163, Tafelband, Taf. 194, Abb. 1052, 1053. Psalterium (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, cod. Helmst. 515): Litanei auf fol. 139–141, Darstellungen: Muttergottes, Hl. Petrus, Hl. Stephanus, ein hl. Bischof, hl. Märtyrerjungfrau, vgl. HASELOFF 1897, S. 21; KROOS 1964, S. 185. Psalterium aus dem Jahr 1276 (ehem. Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 1200, vernichtet): Litanei auf fol. 172v–175v, Darstellungen: Anbetung der Drei Könige (eine halbe Seite einnehmende Miniatur am Anfang der Litanei), Hl. Johannes der Täufer, ein hl. Märtyrer, ein hl. Ritter (Mauritius?), ein hl. Bischof, hl. Märtyrerjungfrau (Katharina?), Hl. Maria Magdalena, vgl. LEROQUAIS 1940–1941, S. 270, Pl. CI–CII; KROOS 1964, S. 177. Psalterium (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 1834): Litanei auf fol. 126–127v, Darstellungen: Muttergottes mit Kind, Hl. Stephanus, ein hl. Bischof, eine hl. Märtyrerjungfrau, vgl. HASELOFF 1897, S. 23; KROOS 1964, S. 130, Abb. 22. Psalterium der Breslauer Klarissinnen (Wrocław, Universitätsbibliothek, I.Q. 233): Litanei auf fol. 145v–147v, Büstendarstellungen in kugelförmigen Medaillons: der Leidende Christus – Muttergottes, Erzengel Gabriel – Patriarch – Hl. Petrus, Hl. Stephanus, ein hl. Bischof, eine hl. Märtyrerjungfrau (Katharina?), vgl. KLOSS 1942, S. 210, Abb. 24; KROOS 1964, S. 140–141; WALICKI 1971, S. 785, Abb. 950–955; SIKORA 1998, Abb. 24–27. Die Litaneibilder in den angeführten Psaltern sind kurz besprochen von HASELOFF 1897, S. 35 und KROOS 1964, S. 139–140.

einen wichtigen Platz ein, was der Zahl der erhaltenen Werke zu entnehmen ist. Sie stellten verschiedene Programme dar, die uns jedoch aufgrund des heutigen Zustands dieser Werke nicht immer ganz klar sind und die mit der Frömmigkeit des Stifters oder einer Stifterfamilie, Standes- oder Berufsgruppe der Stifter, mit dem lokalen, Diözesen-, oder „Staatskultus“ oder mit dem Kultus eines Ordens zusammenhängen. Im Straßburger Dom, in dem sich ein Scheibenensemble aus dem romanischen Domvorgängerbau aus den letzten 30 Jahren des 12. Jahrhunderts erhalten hat, stellen die Glasmalereien die Gottesmutter, die Propheten, der Apostel, die heiligen Bischöfe und Ritter, sowie auch der Herrscher des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation. Die Darstellung wurde als Illustration: „de la congrégation des Tous-Saints ou de l'Église“ interpretiert; den literarischen Bezug zu diesem Programm bildet *Speculum Ecclesiae* von Honorius von Autun, den ikonographischen Bezug findet man in einer der Miniaturen des *Hortus Deliciarum* der Herrad von Landsberg (Hohenbourg)³⁰. Dieses Programm wurde in einer erweiterten Version, in der Verglasung des Chores des gotischen Straßburger Doms wiederholt, für den 192 Heiligenbilder vorgesehen und in den Jahren 1240–1275 wohl 116 angefertigt wurden³¹. Das homogene Ensemble der Scheiben des Kölner Doms im nordöstlichen Fenster (nord IV) der Johanneskapelle (ursprünglich im Mittelfenster der Katharinen-Engelbertuskapelle aus der Zeit um 1330–1340) enthält in neun Segmentbogenstreifen, die oben mit der Szene der Krönung der Heiligen Maria verziert wurden, die Darstellungen der Märtyrer, Märtyrerinnen, Bekenner, Könige, Bischöfe, Propheten, Päpste und Apostel, die in Begleitung von Engeln erscheinen. Dazu äußert sich Herbert Rhode: „Das Fenster hat den Namen Allerheiligen-Fenster, aber ikonographisch besagt es mehr, denn die Hierarchie der *communio sanctorum*, abzuleiten von der Allerheiligenlitanei, ist mit der Hierarchie der Neun Chöre der Engel vereint [...] so ist das spiri-

³⁰ ZSCHOKKE 1986, S. 26–29, Abb. 10–11, 13–14. Ibidem, S. 27 entsprechende Zitate aus *Speculum Ecclesiae*, in denen die Heiligenkategorien erwähnt werden, die sich auf die Kirche zusammensetzen: „Patriarche de quorum semine Christus propagatur[...] Post hos sunt prophete [...] Post prophetas[...] apostoli et evangeliste [...] Post hos exstitit martirum exercitus [...] Exinde lucerne Ecclesie, scilicet confessores [...] His aptantur candidule virgines“. Die Herrschenden sind auch einbezogen: „De iudicibus. Deus justus constituit populo suo principes ut justum iudicium faciant [...]“ und Fig. 9 mit Darstellung der Ecclesia nach *Hortus Deliciarum*, fol. 225v. Siehe auch S. 48, 85, 97, 106, 148–150, 186, Fig. 68, 77, 80, 84–85, 88, 162, 169, Pl. I. Gesamttext der Ausschnitte aus *Speculum Ecclesiae* in: *Herrad of Hohenbourg* 1979, S. 321–322 (fol. 193–193v), S. 371, Pl. 128, S. 376 (fol. 227).

³¹ Ibidem, S. 156–157, 165, 173–175, 298–299, 314, 327, 340, 342, 353, 366, 395, 408–409, 422–423, 438, 451, Fig. 139, 148, 153, 299, 307, 318, 325, 356, 369, 379, 386, 398, Pl. V–VI, XI–XIII.

tuale coelum dargestellt”³². In der Pfarrkirche St. Stephan zu Konstanz sind fragmentarisch zehn Standfiguren erhalten geblieben (Gottesmutter mit Kind und die Heiligen Johannes der Täufer, Johannes der Evangelist, Stephanus, Nikolaus, Cäcilie, Barbara, Dorothea, Appolonia, Katharina) aus der Zeit um 1430, die sich in Hochschiff-Fenstern befanden. In der Ansicht von Rüdiger Becksmann: „da demnach nur knapp ein Siebtel des ursprünglichen Figurenbestandes erhalten blieb, dürfte es sich um einem umfangreichen Allerheiligenzyklus gehandelt haben”³³. Der umfangreiche Bestand an Glasmalereien, der in den bis jetzt veröffentlichten Bänden des *Corpus vitrearum Medii Aevi*, das jedoch noch lange nicht abgeschlossen ist, zu finden ist, liefert erstaunlicherweise kein unmittelbares Vergleichsmaterial für die Bildlitaneei der Glasfenster in Straßengel. Ohne Zweifel ist nicht die Seltenheit des Themas, sondern die Lückenhaftigkeit der Glasmalereienbestände ein Grund dafür³⁴.

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³² RODE 1974, S. 65–68, Abb. 68–85, Farbtafel 7. Zitat auf S. 66. Zur gegenwärtigen Datierung der Kapellenfenster des Chorgangs, siehe BRINKMANN, LAUER 1998.

³³ BECKSMANN 1979, I, S. 125–131, insbesondere S. 126, Abb. 146–155.

³⁴ Nicht auszuschließen ist, dass die z.T. zerstreuten Fensterfächer mit Darstellungen von Christus, Maria, Engeln, Aposteln, Heiligen und Märtyrerjungfrauen in der Wallfahrtskirche St. Leonhard in Lavanttal (Kärnten) aus der Zeit um 1330–1340 ein Überrest der Bildlitaneei bilden, vgl. KIESLINGER 1928, S. 74–76, Taf. 43; OBERHEIDACHER-HERZIG 2000, Kat. 175, S. 423–424.

MEDIAEVAL STAINED GLASS
IN POLAND

Among the various genres of mediaeval painting, stained glass holds a special position¹. This is the outcome of the fact that through its connection with architecture and the function it plays within it, its very existence is dependent on natural external light. Unlike the other painting genres, stained glass viewed in the light of the interior, in conditions in which one looks at a miniature, panel or mural painting, does not reveal its colour properties; one might say that it remains lifeless; at best, it may be partially recalled to its artistic life in artificial lighting, as it happens during museum exhibitions, when it is lit up with electric light in an enclosed and darkened space.

A painter's creation of a stained glass work is effected in natural light and only in a situation when the light falls on its reverse side. When perceived as a material object from the front, stained glass is no more than a set of white or coloured glass plates, joined together by means of lead, and such is its local colour in the falling light. It only reveals its proper colour when sunlight passes through the glass from behind, creating a work of art, right in front of the viewer's eyes.

Another feature which distinguishes stained glass from the other painting genres is the fragility of its artistic existence, which is conditioned by the susceptibility of glass to material destruction. For stained glass is continually exposed to the destructive impact of unforeseen mechanical factors, being struck with an object such as a stone or a bird's beak, and its preservation, depends, to a large extent, on the changing natural conditions, such as wind, rain, hail, snow and sudden changes of

¹ On the issue of the distinctive features that characterise stained glass see: KALINOWSKI 1997.

temperature; its state of preservation is also the effect of the intentional removal of stained glass in later periods² – as elements which apparently darkened church interiors. Due to the latter tendency, the number of preserved mediaeval stained glass on Polish territories is indeed infinitesimal and it in no way reflects the original condition which is virtually impossible to retrace. It is enough to realise that not a single stained glass panel which could be defined as stylistically Silesian, has been preserved intact on the territories of Lower and Upper Silesia; but we shall comment at greater length on this point later on in the article. Thus, for example – as can be seen from comparative studies – the Crucifixion from Miedzna (now in Silesian Museum, Katowice), which has always been regarded as a Silesian work – has turned out to be an artefact from Cracow³.

If one were to assume that every Gothic church had to be glazed and that not only white crown glass or rhombus type, or else glass in the shape of polygonal plates, had been used, but also coloured glass in the form of stained glass, the quantity of the existing panels, not to mention bigger units, by no means matches the contemporary needs and achievements, and sometimes it does not even permit one to speak of the existence of stained glass as a distinct discipline of art, characterised by its own qualities and artistic development. When we juxtapose the number of the preserved panels with the number of churches mentioned in the catalogue and scrutinised in the four volumes of the textbook *Architektura gotycka w Polsce* (1995), we have to sadly come to the conclusion that the quantity of historical material is indeed marginal.

In light of the forthcoming Polish volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, the total number of the existing Gothic panels amounts to around 250, including the partially preserved panels in the shape of elements stuck in window traceries or else at the top or bottom of windows,

² For example, the mediaeval stained glass in the Wawel cathedral was being removed successively from the beginning of the seventeenth c. until the year 1772; see, among others, *Fabrica Ecclesiae* [1993], item 358 on p. 167 (bishop Kajetan Sołtyk's letter concerning the removal of the "old-fashioned" windows). Similarly, in St Mary's Church in Cracow, the old panels were being replaced with new ones, whereas at the turn of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth c., the mediaeval stained glass had been knocked out of nine windows of the choir; see: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1997, pp. 18, 19, 20–21.

³ KZSP, VI, 10, p. 18; KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 23 and footnote 12; *Zbiory* 1995, p. 130 (L. Kalinowski, H. Małkiewiczówna, *Kwatera witrażowa z Ukrzyżowaniem z Miedznej*); Kraków 2000, cat. no 11/52, p. 92, fig. 466 (H. Małkiewiczówna). Similarly, the origin of the two "Silesian" panels (Crucifixion, Holy Trinity), currently in the collection of the National Museum in Poznań, can also be traced back to a Cracow workshop; c.f. among others, PAJZDERSKI 1938, pp. 241–244; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 40 and subs.

as is the case in Niepołomice or Olkusz⁴. Within the above number, one finds nine complexes consisting of a dozen or so, or else a few dozen panels, and only a single bigger complex, consisting of 117 panels, which has survived *in situ* from the fourteenth century until the present day in St Mary's Church in Cracow (two panels are to be found in the collection of the Museum of the Jagiellonian University), despite the immense losses incurred by this church towards the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

One should also take into consideration repairs which had been carried out since the seventeenth century, as well as the consecutive restoration and conservation work which have succeeded one another right up to the present day.

In this situation, outlining the history of Gothic stained glass in mediaeval Poland, or at least in some of its regions, proves to be an extremely difficult, if not simply a non-viable task, chiefly due to a lack of a sufficient number of historical monuments which would allow one to confirm developmental continuity. The attempts to present a comprehensive overview, undertaken in the nineteenth century by Władysław Łuszczkiewicz (1880), and in the twentieth century by Feliks Kopera (1925), Hanna Pieńkowska (1953) or Tadeusz Dobrowolski (1962), have produced but very modest results. In these conditions, one has to limit oneself to a stylistic analysis of the detected complexes as well as of a few dozen, individual panels, against the background of European stained glass painting, above all in countries with which Poland had formerly had borders, or else was culturally affiliated to.

Another obstacle which makes it difficult to execute the above task is a shortage, if not a complete lack of reliable sources which would allow one to get to know the conditions of the execution of stained glass works, both with regard to the founders and ordering parties as well as to persons responsible for arranging their iconographic programme and the executors of the individual artefacts: artists and craftsmen.

Not a single mediaeval tool used by a local glazier has survived in Poland; no wooden board or table used for drafting a stained glass project, such as for example the fourteenth century table discovered a dozen or so years ago in Girona in Catalonia⁵. No cartoon with a stained glass project has been found either. We do not have any "vidimuses" or sketchy draw-

⁴ Detailed information to be found in: KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 22 and footnotes 4-5.

⁵ *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, p. 25, fig. 9 on p. 22.

ings accompanied by a statement of the commissioning party that the stained glass project is indeed in accordance with his wishes⁶.

It is not known either where the glass needed for the execution of the work had come from. It could have come from the local glassworks, references to which can be traced back to as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century⁷, but equally well it could have come from foreign sources, as England had at that time imported from France a higher quality of glass than its own.

Importing glass from foreign glassworks by glaziers operating locally seems highly likely with regard to flash glass whose production in Poland is not mentioned anywhere in the sources. The technological research within this area has not yet been completed.

Ever since stained glass appeared on Polish territories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which is confirmed by the archeological finds in the Greater Poland, Kujawy, Silesia and Lesser Poland regions, as well as by the older Dominican panels in Cracow, they had constituted a permanent element of the interior decoration of churches, both wooden ones (Szaniec, Iwkowa, Równe, Miedźna) and those built in stone⁸. Among their founders and commissioning parties, one finds, on the one hand, higher church as well as lay dignitaries, such as for instance prince Leszek Czarny (d.1288)⁹, and on the other hand, wealthy townsmen, such as the Cracow Wierzynek family.

In the majority of cases, stained glass constituted a religious lesson (*docere* and *movere*), as well as artistic ornaments (*delectare*) of sacral buildings: churches, chapels and monastic utility rooms, but they also found their uses in lay urban architecture (Żagań, Nowy Korczyn, Przemyśl, Lviv).

Who were the *vitreatores* or the executors of stained glass? Did they constitute a separate professional group?

The job of a stained glass artisan involved basically two types of skills: artistic, purely painterly skills, requiring a sensitivity to colour, precision of execution and the use of drawing in the project design, covering the glass with vitreous paints, as well as other artisanal skills related to the construction of stained glass, the latter consisting in breaking the

⁶ MARKS 1993, pp. 24, 25, 27, 31, 61, 207, 217, 222; figs 21, 176, 184.

⁷ See among others: OLCZAK 1987, pp. 48–57; a map illustrating the distribution of glass foundries in Poland from the fourteenth to the seventeenth c. can be found on p. 50.

⁸ KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 22, footnote 6, 8, as well as p. 28, footnote 25.

⁹ KALINOWSKI 1989, p. 116.

glass with the grozing iron and subsequently joining together pieces of coloured glass by means of lead comes within the surface area of a panel. These would then be installed in the panels of the window openings secured by means of protective saddle bars and sometimes also by means of a wire mesh¹⁰. The laying down of lead comes should follow the contours of the clearly outlined silhouettes of the presented persons or objects. What was absolutely indispensable for a stained glass worker to be able to perform the above activities was an excellent knowledge of both the materials and the technological process.

There can be no doubt whatsoever that these artisans had the necessary practical knowledge of their craft which they supplemented with the artistic and craft-related theoretical information concerning their trade, relating in particular to the process of purchasing glass and lead, both in Poland and abroad, as well as with information relating to the basic painting materials and equipment necessary for their own workshops – in accordance with the description contained in the second book of Theophilus Presbyter's treatise *Diversarum atrium schedula* dating back to the beginning of the twelfth century. A familiarity with this text is confirmed by the manuscript drawn up in the first half of the fifteenth century in St Augustine's monastery of Canons Regular in Żagań, which is currently kept in the University Library in Wrocław; moreover, the above manuscript contains valuable information concerning the techniques used for obtaining the so-called silver stain (German *Silbergelb*)¹¹.

The close bond between the stained glass and the building, determined by the function of the window which marked out the shape of the stained glass surface, as well as the very method of installing stained glass panels on the external side of the building, during the process of its erection, all contributed to the fact that stained glass was from the very beginning regarded as architectural painting, and since it constituted an integral part of the wall which let in light, it also formed an organic part of the walls themselves. Thus it seems unjustifiable that due to the materials used for its production (glass, lead and metal for saddle bars) as well

¹⁰ E.g. in 1417 in the church of St Nicolas in Brzeg; see: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 49.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 49 and footnote 39. The Żagań text has been published recently together with the translation into Polish in: TEOFIL PREZBITER [1998], pp. 171–174, the passage describing the use of silver stain is to be found on pp. 171–172. The use of silver stain was also recently described by LAUTIER 1999; information on the Żagań manuscript can be found on pp. 239–240, 258–259.

as the sheer physical effort associated with its execution, it is sometimes classified as artistic craft.

Stained glass is related in a certain degree to mural painting, yet on the time scale of painting decoration of Gothic architecture, it appears earlier than mural painting.

Moreover, its “architectural” dimension differs from that of mural painting in that it constitutes a part of the structure of the building, while mural painting only covers the face of the walls. As works of architectural painting, stained glass panels were generally viewed from the bottom upwards, in accordance with the direction of ascendance of the pointed arch which co-created the span and the window.

The above-displayed link between stained glass and architecture prompts one to regard the creators of stained glass projects, as well as of the realised stained glass works as artists and craftsmen who closely cooperated with the members of the stonemason’s workshop that erected the building under the supervision of an experienced *magister operis*.

On numerous occasions, both architects and stained glass artisans resorted to the use of a similar repertoire of architectural forms, such as canopies and tabernacles, as well as basically the same type of ornaments, containing geometrical and plant motifs, to be found in stained glass as well as on decorated backgrounds and bordures. That is why, as Richard Marks aptly observes, there were cases right up until the end of the fourteenth century (that is a time when a system of guilds replaced the former organization of stonemasons’ workshops) when it was a member of a stonemason’s workshop, and not the painter who had the last word as regards the ultimate appearance of a stained glass window¹².

In the Middle Ages, stained glass artisans belonged as a rule to the painters’ guild. And so, for instance in Wrocław, a common guild grouping painters, carpenters, and stained glass artisans could already be found prior even to the year 1386. The exact year of creation of a similar guild in Cracow is not known. Yet in light of the fact that the majority of Polish towns were based on the German town law, it could have already existed in the fourteenth century, if not formally, then certainly customarily, on the basis of an adopted and observed agreement. In the *Balthasar Behem Codex* of 1505 one can find a statute of painters, woodcarvers and stained glass artisans dating back to the year 1490. It mentions a Virgin

¹² MARKS 1993, pp. 51–58.

with Child, Crucifixion and St George on Horseback¹³ as masterpieces, obligatory for those who wished to become a master craftsman.

Once he became a master craftsman, a stained glass artisan could have two journeymans and one apprentice; although there were cases when the master did not himself apply the paint, but only prepared the cartoon and supervised the work of the apprentices.

A separate mention ought to be made here of itinerant stained glass artisans, both lay and monastic ones, who journeyed across Polish lands in order to execute the orders which they had been commissioned. The latter ones could operate independently of the local guild, once they have confirmed their status of masters of their trade.

Although the names of artisans are known from all sorts of documents, we do not always know whether they refer only to glaziers, those working on the stained glass, or else painters designing the cartoons. The names which were used with reference to them will be discussed on the example of written Silesian sources.

The source materials referring to Cracow stained glass are contained mainly in the following publications: *Cracovia artificum* by Jan Ptaśnik and his followers, including the supplements¹⁴ and *Wypisy źródłowe do dziejów Wawelu* by Bolesław Przybyszewski¹⁵. The above publications contain the names of craftsmen: stained glass workers, membrane artisans, fenestrators, and glaziers who operated in Cracow since the end of the fourteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth century¹⁶. Among them, special mention ought to be made of: “Stanislaus vitreator de domo Drasin”, who died between 1376 and 1397; in all likelihood, it was he who in his capacity as cathedral glazier, exercising control over its windows, was responsible for the execution of at least a part of the glazing of the cathedral (consecration of the nave in 1364); “Nicolaus vitreator de Cracovia”, who in the year 1389 was paid for the glazing of the windows in the royal castle in Nowe Miasto Korczyn; after the creation of the guild: Waclaw, whose name appears as a six-time guild elder in the years 1405–1430, Andrzej – who was a three-time guild elder in the years 1403–1436, Hannus

¹³ ESSENWEIN 1869, Beilage XII (on pp. XXI–XXII).

¹⁴ *Cracovia artificum* [1917] and *Cracovia artificum. Supplementa* [1985–1993] C.f. especially, *Cracovia artificum. Supplementa* 3, on pp. 141–144 commentary to the activity of glaziers and their list.

¹⁵ All the volumes edited by B. Przybyszewski, appeared in the series *Źródła do dziejów Wawelu*. C.f. particularly *Wypisy 1526–1535* [1984], on pp. 109–112 commentary to the activity of glaziers.

¹⁶ The more important records together with references to the source publications have recently been listed by MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2000, pp. 15–18

Sneberg – who was a four-time elder in the years 1436–1444 (?), “Niclos vitreator de castro Cracoviensi”, mentioned in the years 1491–1514, who at the beginning of the ninth decade of the 15th c. executed “membranas vitreas” for the church of the Augustinians in Kazimierz (in present-day Cracow), or finally “Stanislaus in Stradomia vitreator-blonyarz”, mentioned in the years 1525–1543, as the author of a number of glazing jobs in the Wawel castle and cathedral, who in the year 1531 was paid, among others for “una ymagine imposita nova in choro ecclesiae” (naturally, of the cathedral).

The following records found in the *Town Privileges Admittance Book* for the years 1392–1506, bear testimony to where some of the admitted glaziers and stained glass artisans came from; e.g. “Iacob glezer de Wratislavia” (1427), “Thomas glezir de Aldenstat in Moravia” (1440), “Iocusch glazar de Robschicz” (1441), “Nickel glazer de Mislimicze” (1442), “Matis glazer von Dopsczicz” (1475), “Andreas Zolkowicz de Skrzywna vitrator” (1483), “Lorencz mangemeistir adir ferbir de Ulm eyn glazer” (1488)¹⁷.

It is by no means easy to define their nationality. Some of them were local residents; others came from Silesia, Bohemia as well as from German-speaking countries, quite regardless of their nationality.

Many names of stained glass craftsmen are also to be found in Silesian written sources which were carefully scrutinised in the nineteenth century by German scholars who subsequently published the results of their research which we shall yet comment on in the next part of the present article. Yet it is a tragic quirk of fate that none of the above names of stained glass craftsmen can be linked to concrete works, simply because these works have not survived. Similarly, nothing can be attributed to the stained glass artists who are known from the sources available to us, as simply no signed stained glass exist.

The remaining Polish written sources have not yet been systematically researched. From a document issued by the bishop of Poznań Jan III Doliwa in 1327 and published in the *Diplomatic Codex of Great Poland*, in the year 1840, we are able to learn that a stained glass artisan known as “Thiczko vitreator” was employed to repair the old and install the new glazing in the cathedral in Poznań¹⁸. We shall discuss the situation in Toruń further on in the present analysis.

¹⁷ *Cracovia artificum* [1917], p. 12*, footnote 2.

¹⁸ *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny* [1840], entry LXXXVIII, pp. 101–102; see also: WYROBISZ 1968, p. 16.

* * *

The number and territorial distribution of stained glass works, that is of stained glass window complexes, individual stained glass windows as well as individual window panels and their tracery elements, allow us to assume that the origin and development of stained glass painting was mainly associated with the urban art and craft centres. The town created suitable conditions both for setting up stained glass workshops and for their activity, as well as for the initiatives of the sponsors and commissioning parties. For in towns and cities there was no shortage of iconographic sources to be used as inspiration for arranging programmes, such as voluminous book collections and numerous works of art: including mural, panel and miniature painting as well as artistic craft works, and from the fifteenth century onwards, also works of graphic art.

A fundamental obstacle which makes it difficult to outline and characterise the history of stained glass in the southern regions of mediaeval Poland is a lack of preserved historical material in Silesia. This lack is experienced all the more acutely since, as is borne out by the existing written sources, stained glass painting in Silesia played a fundamental role not only in the history of the Silesian monumental painting, but also in the history of stained glass of the indigenous Lesser Poland province, the eastern as well as northern territories of Poland, primarily as an intermediary in the sphere of transferring technological abilities and stylistic values, between western stained glass, particularly German, Austrian and Bohemian, and that in Poland.

Following a critical review of the fragments of the existing stained glass monuments which were formerly being associated with Silesia, the present-day condition of these remnants has been defined as rather modest; they consist of *disiecta membra*¹⁹. Among the oldest of these specimen, one finds archeological materials in the shape of fragments of stained glass dating back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, discovered within the research programme dedicated to the millennium of the Polish state; the fragments, with the preserved ornamental drawing, come from Ostrów Tumski as well as from the churches of St Adalbert, St James and St Vincent in Wrocław (in the latter case, they also include a fragment of a lead framework) and are currently stored, among others, in the Wrocław University Archeological Museum. Among some of the other remnants, one finds the remains

¹⁹ On the remnants of Silesian stained glass see: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 38–46; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2002, p. 28 and subs., pp. 34–36.

of coloured stained glass, discovered in 1970 in the northern arm of the transept of the Cistercian church in Lubiąż, in the tracery rosette of the eastern window of the northern wall; the glass dates back to around 1300 (the glazing consists of ruby-red, blue and yellow glass plates).

Among the rare specimens scattered all around Silesia, one finds, among others, the recently discovered glazing from a chancel window tracery in the parish church of St Stanislaus in Stare Bielsko, dating back to the end of the fourteenth century²⁰ as well as a tiny fragment with vine – the only original element of a section of a stained glass panel dating back to around 1500, presenting an unidentified (until World War II) figure holding an escutcheon with a white eagle and a crescent on its breast, against a ruby-red background; the fragment comes from the castle in Brzeg (currently in the National Museum in Poznań).

Another group includes stained glass panels from the territory of Lower Silesia which still existed in the twentieth century, but which unfortunately have not survived until the present day; they come, among others from the parish church of St Catherine in Bąków (in the former Grodków district on the territory of the Opole province); the above panels with the figures of St John the Baptist and Christ the Savior, dating back to the end of the fourteenth century, were destroyed (?) in the year 1987; moreover, in the same group, one also finds three panels from the parish church of St John the Baptist in Ozorowice (in the former Trzebnica district on the territory of the Wrocław province) with representations of the scene of Crucifixion (circa 1370) as well as of saints Catherine and Margaret (from around 1410–1420); the above scenes constituted a remnant of the two stages of glazing of the church which had already existed in the year 1353; up until the Second World War they were stored in the Museum of Artistic Crafts and Antiquities in Wrocław.

A separate mention ought to be made of the unpreserved stained glass panels which are known exclusively from the nineteenth-century stock-taking reports; they include, for instance, panels from a chapel (founded in 1420 by the local townsman Franz Schobircz) in the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Legnica with the Silesian eagle and the escutcheon of the city of Legnica; in Pełcznica near Kąty Wrocławskie, in one of the southern windows of the nave of the parish church dedicated to St Nicolas: “eine Haupt Christi mit Liliennimbus aus dem 15. Jahrhundert”, and

²⁰ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 52, footnote 56. Towards the end of 1999, conservator Jarosław Szpakowicz extracted from one of the formerly walled up traceries, a very well preserved colourful quatrefoil; c.f. KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2002, p. 33.

in Szydłowice near Brzeg, in the parish church of St Bartholomew, erected in 1880: “Christuskopf, dem bekannten Selbstbildnis Dürers nicht unähnlich, sorgfältig auf Glas gemalt. Anfang des XVI Jahrhunderts”.

In order to make the account relating to the state of preservation of the achievements of the Silesian milieu in the field of stained glass more complete, one should incorporate into it a multitude of various mentions and comments concerning glaziers and glazing jobs, contained in the source materials which have recently been listed by Lech Kalinowski and Helena Małkiewiczówna in a chronological order²¹; a collection of these notes and comments may serve scholars to fill in the gap caused by a lack of objects. As was frequently pointed out in the existing source literature, the terms which are used in the sources, such as: “glazer”, “glassetzer”, “glaser und moler”, “moler” are often ambiguous. Thus the term “glaser” in most cases probably referred to the exercised occupation, which meant that it could also have referred to the employees or proprietors of glass foundries; but it could equally well have been just a person’s “name”. If the term “glaser und moler” refers unequivocally to a glazier who is able to make drawings and fire them on glass, that is to a stained glass artisan strictly speaking, then the term “glaser” could have referred to a glazier who was skilled exclusively in embedding the so called blank glazing consisting for instance of diamond shaped glass plates or crown glass in window panels. This skill was also possessed by a “glassetzer”; yet the latter also sometimes executed figural or ornamental panels. From the preserved notes and comments, we can also infer that a “moler” also performed glazing jobs, in all likelihood of figural representations. Finally, the terms “fenestrae vitreae” or “glazefenster”, which are mentioned in the sources, could equally well refer to windows with white glazing as to those with figural stained glass.

Passing on to the history of stained glass, let us recall a fact which has already been mentioned above, namely that in accordance with the sources preserved in Silesia – a common guild of painters and carpenters was created in Wrocław before 1386 and that stained glass artisans were also among the members of this guild. In the year 1390 king Wenceslaus IV endowed it with a statute which was approved in 1420 by king Sigismund of Luxemburg.

The activity of stained glass artisans is confirmed by the extant sources not only relating to Wrocław, but also, among others to Brzeg, Legnica

²¹ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 46–52.

and Zgorzelec. Special mention ought to be made here of “Conradus glaser alias moler de Legnicz” (“magister Conrad der Moler”), who received the town privileges of Wrocław in 1374 and in all likelihood shortly afterwards was hired, together with his assistants, to complete the work on the stained glass in the Lady Chapel of the Wrocław cathedral, and in 1394 he undertook to complete twelve stained glass panels (“tofeln Glaswerkes”) for the Dominican church (?) in Brzeg. An entry for the year 1417 discloses information concerning the order of twelve “paintings” (“bilde”) from masters Peter and Nicolaus Fischbach, commissioned for the eastern chancel window of the parish church of St Nicolas in Brzeg. A separate entry for the years 1444–1463 (1477) mentions the name of “Paul glaser der moler”, a many-time elder of the Wrocław guild; another record referring to the years 1489–1499 – mentions an artist known as “Jacobus pictor”, whom the residents of Wrocław paid “pro clenodiis vitreis” or “pro ymagine in vitro”. Also “Nicolaus pictor antiquus”, who has recently been identified with the painter Nicolaus Obilman, the author of the main altarpiece (1466) in the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Legnica, was also hired for the glazing of the monastery of the above-mentioned Dominicans in the year 1488²².

Stained glass decorations adorned not only church, but also lay buildings; for example, in the year 1431 “Jokoff der Glaser von Zittau” (of Żytawa) received payment for “ein grosses Fensterglas” in the upper chamber of the Zgorzelec town hall, and in the year 1480, Prince John II of Żagań is reported to have smashed in his living quarters “eine schöne grosse Glasscheibe, darauf Christus am Kreuze hangend gemahlet war”.

The patrons of stained glass windows included, among others, bishops, such as for example: Arnošt of Pardubice, the archbishop of Prague (d. 1364) – who commissioned stained glass windows for the church of the Canons Regular in Kłodzko, and also Przeclaw of Pogorzela – who commissioned stained glass decorations for the afore-mentioned Lady Chapel in the Wrocław cathedral; lay rulers, such as for example Duke Louis I of Brzeg, who in his last will (1396) bequeathed funds for the glazing of a single window in the hospital church of St Anthony as well as funds for a single window in St Mary’s Church in Brzeg; town councils – such as the one in Brzeg which donated funds for glazing in 1417, or wealthy townsmen – such as Katarzyna Jacuschinne (bequest of 1401 for the glazing of the chancel windows in the church of St Dorothy in Wrocław).

²² WITKOWSKI 1997, pp. 65–68.

* * *

Necessarily excluding the province of Silesia – today entirely deprived of stained glass – the extant examples of Gothic stained glass on mediaeval Polish lands from around 1280 to the end of the fifteenth century originated in two important centres of production: Cracow in the Lesser Poland province, and Toruń on the territories of northern Poland (East Prussia with the Chełmno and Dobrzyń Lands as well as Kujawy).

In the light of the existing source records, on the territories of southern Poland, stained glass could also have been produced in Przemyśl and Lviv in the fifteenth century²³. Whereas the dispersion of isolated panels in churches situated on the northern territories of the country, would seem to suggest that stained glass had also been produced in Elbląg or Gdańsk²⁴.

PART I: THE SOUTH

A publication which is of inestimable help in the studies on the stained glass of the southern, Lesser Poland region, is an album of watercolours entitled *Szyby Kolorowe w Kościołach Krakowskich. Zebrał i Odmalował Ludwik Łepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r.* (Coloured Glass in the Cracow Churches. Collected and Painted by Ludwik Łepkowski in 1864 and 1865), preceded with an introduction by Józef Łepkowski. The album, currently kept in the collection of Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University, documents the entire historical material available at that time, which was more abundant than the one available today. An expression of the nineteenth-century interest in mediaeval stained glass, which was particularly intense during the time of the restoration of the panels from Cracow's St Mary's church, its Dominican, as well as Corpus Christi church, during the last two decades of this century, were the relatively numerous publications of partial review surveys of the preserved monuments, which were sporadically associated with attempts aimed at dating and interpreting their iconography. The interwar period brought about a few publications which had the character of cross-sectional analyses and a still largely up-to-date analytical monograph, regarding composition and iconography, of

²³ KALINOWSKI 1994, pp. 28, 34–37.

²⁴ See: Part II: The North.

the stained glass from St Mary's church in Cracow, authored by Reverend Henryk Brzuski (1926); the post-war period resulted in further attempts to come up with both partial and general analyses²⁵.

The oldest Gothic stained glass panels preserved on Polish territories originate from the Cracow Dominican Church and are currently to be found in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow; these relate to smaller groups of stained glass panels, as large complexes or windows unfortunately no longer exist.

Chronologically speaking, they include two panels with frontal representations of the busts of St Augustine [Fig. 10] (whose rule forms the basis of the Dominican Order) and bishop St Stanislaus [Fig. 11] (patron of Cracow and Poland). The representations of the two saints in pontifical attire, were in all likelihood executed from the legacy of Duke Leszek Czarny, benefactor of the church and monastery, who had made his endowment shortly before his death in 1288. Both representations probably constitute the remains of the two standing figures, each of which used to fill out two panels, in the manner of the popular representations of bishop saints, which were common during the thirteenth century (Strasbourg, Naumburg). Jacek Odrowąż's links with Italy and Carinthia allow one to adopt the perceived artistic influences of the Austrian milieu. Taking into consideration that the custom of drawing up portraits of persons canonised by the Church, had become an already established practice in the thirteenth century, the panel with the image of St Stanislaus, should be recognised as a copy of the saint's image which had earlier been executed in Assisi, on the occasion of the saint's canonisation on 17 September, 1253.

In turn, to the two above-mentioned panels, forming the stained glass complex which had originally adorned the interior of the choir of the Dominican church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, erected in the second half of the thirteenth century, one should add the contemporary and now a circular panel, a medallion with the theme of Crucifixion [Fig. 12]. Its size and shape, as well as the very scene of the Crucifixion incline one to regard this panel as an element of a tripartite window which was once found on the main axis of the choir. As can be inferred from the rich Western European comparative material, the above panel must have formed part of a typological Biblical window.

Stylistically, both the busts of St Augustine and St Stanislaus, as well as the Crucifixion, which was almost identical with the one to be found

²⁵ MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2000, pp. 9–11, footnotes 1–11 (detailed list of publications).

on the portable from Kasina Wielka (currently in the Diocesan Museum in Tarnów) and originally from the Cracow Dominican monastery²⁶, were dated back to the same time; moreover, all three display the characteristic features of the so called Zigzag Style (German *Zackenstil*), which was defined by Hans Belting as “alternative Gothic”²⁷. Consequently, all three panels appear to be age-mates of the oldest Polish monument of panel painting, namely, The Two Holy Virgins painted on a wooden panel from the church in Dębno, as well as of the image of St Peter the Apostle on the imprint of a secret seal to be found in the treasury of the Wawel Royal Castle²⁸, not to mention the above-mentioned portable in Tarnów.

Finally a separate place ought to be reserved for the Dominican panel presenting the Virgin with Child [Fig. 13]. It was created under an obvious influence of the Sieneese School of painting of the early Trecento, and in light of the comparative material relating to Mary’s attire and the gesture of the Child’s left hand, it should be dated to around 1320²⁹. The style and date seem to be additionally justified by the influence of the Italian monastic milieu.

The second group of Cracow’s Gothic stained glass, in terms of chronology, is made up of the complex of window glazing in the presbytery of the parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, also known as St Mary’s Church. This complex, executed in the years: from around 1360 to 1400, comprised originally eleven glazed windows: five within the choir termination and three each on the southern and the northern side. Thanks to the stained glass decorations, in the course of forty years, the choir of St Mary’s church, the fruit of a generous burghers’ foundation, became visually transformed into a kind of “courtly” chapel. Both as regards the quantity of the stained glass (today 117 panels) and its iconographic programme, it constitutes the biggest complex of stained glass decorations in Cracow and in contemporary Poland.

In accordance with the long-established tradition handed down to us in the sources, the four-bayed presbytery with a choir enclosed by five sides of an octagon, with a quadripartite rib vault, was erected, in all likelihood after the year 1340, but before 1360, thanks to the patronage

²⁶ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1999, p. 82, footnotes 9–10, photograph 6 on p. 96; Kraków 2000, cat. no 11/246, pp. 244–246, fig. 675 (H. Małkiewiczówna).

²⁷ BELTING 1978. More recently, see also: HESS 1998.

²⁸ Kraków 1994, cat. no II/18 on pp. 21–22 (A. Włodarek).

²⁹ KALINOWSKI 1989, pp. 117–119.

of Mikołaj Wierzynek the Elder – a merchant, banker and Sandomierz Pantler (d. 1360).

The church interior is lit up by eleven tapering, tripartite windows, whose lower sections had been secondarily walled up; all of the windows are crowned with traceries, the majority of which had been reconstructed towards the end of the nineteenth century. Most of the windows measure over twenty metres in height (except windows s VI, n V and n VI), and their clearance openings or “lancets” differ in width: from 61–64 centimetres to 68 centimetres, and in windows n V and n VI around 52–55 centimetres. As regards their composition and shape of framing, the panels can be divided into nine groups, which for the sake of clarity are marked with letters of the alphabet from “A” to “I”, namely – “A”: a panel containing a round medallion with a figural scene, which is placed against four ornamental backgrounds and bordures: with motifs of grand rosettes (“A/1”), small rhombuses and bordures from slanting leaves (“A/2”), small rhombuses and bordures with semicircles (“A/3”) and fish scales (“A/4”); “B”: within the field of the panel, one finds a diagonally placed rhombus, which closes the figural scene and is supplemented with four semicircles with busts; “C”: within the field of the panel, one finds a four-arched framing closing a figural scene; “D”: within the field of the panel, one finds a six-arched framing which closes the figural scene; “E”: within the panel field one finds a six-arched “streamlined” framing, closing the figural scene; “F”: within the panel field a figural scene is placed under the architectural coping; “G”: a figural representation without framing is to be found within the panel field; “H”: within the panel field one finds exclusively architectural motifs; “I”: within the panel field one finds exclusively ornaments with floral motifs. During the second half of the fourteenth century, a few teams of stained glass craftsmen executed successively the mostly figural glazing of the eleven windows of St Mary’s Church – beginning customarily with the liturgically most important window I and moving steadily in the western direction. On the basis of the size of the windows and the sizes of the original panels (95 × 65–70 cm), one may assume that each of eight windows – I–IV and s V – contained as many as twenty-three panelled rows whose height measured 95 centimetres, while in the shorter window – s VI – there were altogether seventeen rows; in the two biggest windows – n V and n VI – one could in all likelihood find panels which measured 78 centimetres in height and were arranged in fourteen or fifteen rows. Consequently, the estimated number of original panels in all of the presbytery windows exceeded six hundred. On the

basis of the available source literature and the results of the conducted research on the Polish volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, in the existing stained glass collection, one can distinguish the remains of eight separate iconographic complexes; among them, one finds:

1. The cycle of the *Biblia pauperum* – sixty-nine panels
2. The Old Testament cycle – fourteen panels
3. The New Testament cycle – twenty-one panels
4. Marian cycle I – one figural and two architectural panels
5. Marian cycle II – four panels
6. The Cycle of the Wise and Foolish Virgins – one figural and one architectural panel
7. Hagiographic cycle – two panels
8. Ornamental glazing – two panels.

The above complex can be expanded to include five fields which are mentioned in Ludwik Łepkowski's album, but which disappeared without a trace during the restoration conducted by Teodor Zajdzikowski in the years 1883–1886; they include two panels with Old Testament scenes from the *Biblia pauperum* cycle, one scene from the hagiographic cycle, one ornamental scene and another lost scene, which is nevertheless known from a photograph; the above scene belongs to the Marian cycle and presents an angel playing a dulcimer (formerly in the collection of the Museum of the Jagiellonian University).

Taking into account the composition of the panels and their triads, the *Biblia pauperum* cycle is divided into two parts. In the first one [Fig. 14], the arrangement of a row consisted in placing a panel from group "B", with a New Testament scene, surrounded with four busts of prophets holding speech scrolls, between two panels from group "F", with their corresponding "identifications", by incorporating the Old Testament types, originally placed at the bottom and crowned with identical architectural motifs. The number of coping patterns that a workshop had at its disposal was smaller than the number of rows; hence their numerous repetitions. The composition of a window as a whole was created by juxtaposing the middle row, composed of rhombuses superimposed on an ornamental background (German *Langpass*) and stretching as far as the canopy tops, with the extreme rows, in which the architectural copings took on the shape of multi-tiered towers. This verticalism was balanced by a horizontal differentiation of colour – which was important for the correct interpretation of the iconographic order; it was formed of a consistent alternation of background colour within and in-between rows:

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| Blue in the background of the scene | Ruby-red in the background of the scene in rhombus Blue in the background of semicircles | Blue in the background of the scene |
| Ruby-red in the background of the scene a | Blue in the background of the scene in rhombus Ruby-red in the background of semicircles b | Ruby-red in the background of the scene c |

The iconographic analysis of the preserved panels from the first part of the cycle indicates that originally this part consisted of twenty triads – thus it filled out the entire window beginning with the currently unpreserved triad: Annunciation between the Old Testament types corresponding to it – The Curse on the Serpent and Gideon’s Fleece, up to the triad which is preserved intact: Christ before Pilate between the types corresponding to it – Jezebel desiring Elijah’s Death and The Babylonians Demanding Daniel’s Death. In accordance with the established stained glass tradition, the direction in which the scenes were meant to be viewed was from the bottom upwards, towards the top of the window.

The first part of the cycle followed very faithfully the selection and arrangement of the respective sections of fourteenth-century illustrated manuscripts of the *Biblia pauperum*, which as a rule consisted of thirty four triads of representations. Certain details and iconographic forms of the preserved scenes, among others of: The Fall of the Egyptian Idols (Mary with Baby Jesus in Egypt, David’s Return to Hebron, Jacob’s Return, Crossing the Red Sea, Three Angels visit Abraham, The Shunammite’s Son Resurrected, Joseph Sold to Potiphar, or Abner’s Murder, point directly to the model which was being used, namely the unpreserved (?) manuscript of the *Biblia pauperum* from the “Austrian family”, belonging to the Konstanz “sub-family” distinguished by Gerhard Schmidt³⁰.

If one were to judge by its stained glass replica, the original of the panels in St Mary’s church was not only older than the one in Konstanz, as its prophetic Bible verses were in Latin (and not as in Konstanz, in Ger-

³⁰ SCHMIDT 1959, pp. 16–17. A copy which is currently in the collection of Rosgartenmuseum in Konstanz, Ms. 31, south-German manuscript from the third quarter of the fourteenth century; it was published at the end of the nineteenth century; see: *Biblia Pauperum* 1892.

man translation), it also represented a different, more elaborate version of iconography as well as a higher level of execution.

In the case of the panels in St Mary's church, the transformation of the original model consisted in substituting the circular medallion with a representation of a New Testament scene – with a rhombus, which better filled out the space of the panel, as well as in introducing architectural copings above the Old Testament scenes; all *tituli*, as well as lessons and inscriptions identifying some of the Old Testament figures were omitted; yet the Latin prophecies on the scrolls were left intact and Latin “captions” under the Old Testament scenes were introduced.

The second part of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum* cycle, which constituted a direct continuation of the first cycle, also consisted originally of twenty triads, including the multi-panelled, multi-row representation of the Last Judgment, filling out the surface area of the entire window. Yet the arrangement of the rows had undergone a fundamental change in relation to the first part: namely, it was considerably simplified; in place of rhombuses with semicircles, there appeared archaic, circular medallions which had also replaced architectural copings [Fig. 15]. The centrally placed panel belonging to group “A/1” presenting a New Testament scene, or else a scene concerning the Last Judgment, was accompanied on the sides with two panels belonging to group “A/2” with suitable Old Testament types or representations associated with *Extremum Iudicium*. Thus the composition of the window as a whole was made up of a network of identically-shaped circles (medallions), placed on ornamental backgrounds with bordures reaching up to the canopy tops and alternating vertically in accordance with the rhythm: “a” – “b” – “a”. This definitely vertical composition was to some extent weakened by the consistent use of a blue background on all of the medallions. Similarly as in the first part, the narrative evolved from the bottom of the window upwards.

The second part of the cycle began (?) with the preserved triad: Christ Crowned with Thorns placed between The Mocking of Noah and The Mocking of Prophet Elijah. What constituted a departure from the “canonical” set of triads based on the *Biblia pauperum* was the ending of the whole cycle with the scene of the Coronation of Mary, preceded by her Dormition, while usually the above scenes were used interchangeably, with the same pair of types: Bathsheba and Solomon and Esther and Ahasuerus sitting on the throne. This proliferation of the Marian accents in the Cracow cycle was in all likelihood associated with the dedication of the church – the Assumption of Virgin Mary. Having at one's disposal

a single pair of types, in the reconstruction it was the Old Testament coronations that were adopted as the types of Mary's Dormition (just as in the Austrian "sub-family" Sankt Florian), introducing *Virgines capitales* in place of the Old Testament types of Mary's Coronation (to be found on two of the preserved panels).

The representation of the Last Judgment, mounted at the very top of the window, had probably filled out four rows, which were reconstructed in accordance with analogous representations, found but rarely in the manuscript copies of the *Biblia pauperum*. Thus if the second part of the cycle took up fifteen rows, and the *Last Judgment* – four, there still remained one unknown row, in all probability the first one at the very bottom of the window. It could have contained the scene of The Flagellation of Christ together with the corresponding types – occurring but sporadically in this context in the fourteenth century – or else the representations of the founders. Theoretically speaking, it is also possible that the row which preceded the Last Judgment, also accommodated the triad with the End of the World (types: The Flood and The Destruction of Sodom) known from the Austrian Kremsmünster "sub-family".

If the first part of the cycle was modelled on a copy of the Konstanz "sub-family", then in the case of the second cycle one observes a disappearance of these relations, in favour of other, more diverse ones.

In the Old Testament cycle, the arrangement of panels within a single row consisted in enclosing the middle panel from group "D" in between two side panels from group "C". In this way, the composition of the entire window was made up of three vertical arrangements with alternating framings as well as ornamental backgrounds and bordures reaching up to the unpreserved canopy tops, in accordance with the rhythm: "a" – "b" – "a". With this type of verticalism, partly diminished by the consistent use of blue background in the scenes, the reading of the cycle proceeded along a horizontal line, in accordance with the arrangement of the rows, from left to right.

The themes of the scenes are associated with the beginning of the *Book of Genesis*: The Creation of the Angels, The Creation of Plants, The Creation of the Sun and the Moon, The Creation of Four-Legged Creatures, God Shows Adam the Animals, The Creation of Eve, God Brings Eve to Adam, Ban on Eating the Fruit from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, the Original Sin, God Puts a Curse on the Serpent, The Expulsion from Paradise [Fig. 16], God Gives Clothes to Adam and Eve, The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, The Murder of Abel and a scene from

Adam and Eve's Earthly Toils – known from a watercolour in Łepkowski's album. There is no doubt that the cycle filled out the entire surface area of the window and consequently that it must have consisted of sixty representations, beginning with a complete illustration of the Seven Days of Creation, which was in all likelihood placed "in heaven", that is at the very top of the window. This direction of unfolding the narrative, which is different from the one usually employed in stained glass windows, is also characteristic of the other *Genesis* cycles which have been preserved in the West, although without absolute consistency. It is impossible to establish the full selection of scenes that make up the scope of illustrations in the above cycle.

Without a doubt, originally, the New Testament cycle also filled out the entire window and had an identical formal and colour composition as the Old Testament one. The preserved scenes: Annunciation, Visitation of the Virgin Mary, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation of Jesus at the Temple, Return from the Temple in Jerusalem, The Baptism of Christ, Healing the Centurion's Servant, Healing a Blind Man, Healing a Deaf Mute, Healing a Man with Dropsy, Healing of a Lame Man, Healing of a Woman with a Bent Back [Fig. 17], Healing the Demon-Possessed of Gadarnes (?), The Feast at Simon's House, Resurrection of Lazarus, Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, The Carrying of the Cross, The Coronation of Mary, St Barbara and St Margaret – point out that the cycle was originally divided into four, no doubt "equivalent" parts: Christ's Childhood – His public activity with numerous illustrations of miracles – Christ's Passion – the period after the Resurrection (*Incarnatio – Vita publica – Redemptio* that is *Passio – Resurrectio*). This time the direction of the cycle narrative ran no doubt from the bottom upwards – beginning with the *Annunciation* or the scenes that preceded it, and ending with the scene of Coronation of Mary, which was flanked by panels with the holy virgins, Barbara and Margaret.

Only a single figural panel from the middle row of group "G" has survived from the Marian cycle I – namely, the Coronation of Our Lady presented against a ruby-red background – and two architectural panels from group "H": from row "a" against a blue background and from row "b" against a ruby-red background, which testifies to the original alternation of background colours along the vertical line: blue – ruby-red – blue. This time, we are dealing with but vestigial remains of the cycle which in all probability filled out the entire window. Its composition was made up either of exclusively figural scenes which were crowned with architectural

panels only at the top of the windows, or else the rows of figural panels were divided rhythmically by architectural panels. For obvious reasons, a reconstruction of the iconographic programme of this cycle is impossible.

As regards Marian cycle II, two panels have been preserved in their original shapes and sizes (78 × 53 cm); they present the following scenes: The Holy Family on their Way to the Temple in Jerusalem, Return from the Temple in Jerusalem (currently in the collection of the Museum of the Jagiellonian University); the two successive panels have been considerably transformed and enlarged: Christ Carrying Mary's Soul to Heaven, An Angel Playing the Lute (from row "c"); the successive panel (missing) presenting An Angel Playing the Dulcimer (also from row "c"), is known exclusively from a photograph; all the panels which currently belong to or originally used to belong to group "E", have a uniform blue background. Thus the entire window composition was made up of a network of identical, multi-arched framings which were partially contiguous. It was, as it seems, a very complex and expanded narrative cycle which contained numerous and detailed illustrations relating to Christ's childhood (containing, among others, the preserved and rarely presented scene of *The Journey to the Temple*), preceded, in all likelihood, by scenes relating to the Infancy and Youth of Mary, and ending with a multi-panel and multi-row composition presenting the Dormition, Funeral (?) and Coronation of Mary.

The panel with the Wise and Foolish Virgins [Fig. 18], from group "G" in the middle row, presented against a blue background and the single preserved panel with architecture, from group "H" in the same row and with an identical colour of the background, may testify either to the original alternation of background colours along the vertical line: ruby-red (?) – blue – ruby-red (?), or else to the exclusive existence of the blue background; yet, the former of the two suppositions seems to be more likely, due to a clear similarity to the Marian cycle I. Similarly, the compositions from the Virgins cycle, could have formed exclusively figural representations which were crowned at the top of the window with architectural elements, or else were separated rhythmically with rows of architectural panels. A precise reconstruction of the cycle, which no doubt at one time filled out the entire window, is currently impossible; apart from a presentation of the remaining Virgins, the cycle could have contained an extended composition of the Last Judgment.

Two panels from the hagiographic cycle have survived until the present day, namely: Martyrdom (group "A/3") and The Funeral of an Unknown Woman Saint (group "A/4"), whereas the successive scene with

A Teaching Woman Saint (?) (group "A/3") is known from a water colour in Łepkowski's album; all of the above scenes were portrayed against a blue background. A more ornate "A/4" type of background may suggest that the panels in this group were originally placed in the middle row, whereas the "A/3" panels were placed in the extreme rows. The composition of the entire window would then consist of a network of uniform circular medallions, placed on ornamental backgrounds alternating in accordance with the rhythm: "a" – "b" – "a" and continued along the vertical lines up to the unpreserved canopy tops. In this way, a window with a hagiographic cycle possessed a formal and colourful composition which was fully in accord with the second part of the *Biblia pauperum*. An unequivocal identification of the woman saint is not currently possible; at the same time, it is highly likely that in a window which originally consisted of sixty panels, illustrations of the legends associated with several saints had been incorporated.

The entire ensemble of stained glass from St Mary's Church is currently supplemented by two (during Łepkowski's times by three) *en grisaille* ornamental panels which possess only vestigial traces of colour; they consist of floral and plant elements inscribed within a geometrical pattern which stretches *ad infinitum*; the panels also form a so-called open composition (according to Riegl's classification) which is the consequence of juxtaposing panels side by side with each other, as well as stacking them up one above the other.

Since its origin in the fourteenth century, the stained glass complex in the presbytery of St Mary's Church, had been undergoing numerous and diverse both quantitative and qualitative transformations, thereby losing its original stylistic characteristics both in respect of the overall design pattern and colour scheme; the conservation carried out in the years 1989–1999 was aimed at restoring them, at least partially. The physical reinforcement of both the elements of the construction and the glass itself was accompanied by a process of "recovery" of the clarity of colours and the original appearance of details. Moreover the process of identification of the stylistic features of the stained glass from St Mary's Church was additionally complicated by the lack of both contemporary and earlier stained glass which could have served as comparative material for stained glass specialists; this lack was experienced by the artistic circles of both Cracow, Lesser Poland, Silesia as well as neighbouring countries. In this situation, the identified iconographic cycles had remained, in a way, dissociated.

Yet, within the preserved ensemble, one can distinguish certain clearly discernible artistic individualities. Chronologically speaking, the first place here goes to the Master, who was no doubt associated with the building workshop selected to erect the new presbytery for St Mary's Church. Due to the iconographic cycle which was realised by him, it seems only appropriate to refer to him as the Master of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum*. His style is characterised by the ability to use architectural constructions suggesting space. Under the Italianate, Romanesque-Gothic copings, one comes across figural scenes with relatively slender figures, livened by delicate drawing, with heads and physiognomies differentiated according to age; the figures have curly beards and locks of curly hair and their eye pupils and irises seem to be additionally emphasised.

If one were to look for a similar way of placing figural representations, portrayed against the background of architectural constructions with a prominent coping, within the field of a single panel, one should mention, above all, the panels of windows XIII in the corpus of the Regensburg cathedral, dated to around 1350, the latter day glazing of window I in the Pilgrimage Church in Strassengel (Styria), and the stained glass from the *Biblia pauperum* cycle in St Mary's church in Frankfurt (Oder) dating back to around 1360³¹.

In the second part of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum* complex, which is characterised by a different design composition, similarly as in the first part, the scenes and figures are deprived of architectural copings; instead, there appear motifs of rocky earth and trees.

On the basis of the similarity of composition of the preserved panels and their linear arrangement, the style of the Master of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum* may also be linked to the hagiographic cycle; and on the basis of the motif of the rosette and of certain leaf-patterns, he may also be associated with ornamental glazing. The "hagiographic" semi-rosettes appear to correspond to ornamental rosettes, and the leaf patterns – to the similarly-shaped leaves in the background of some scenes from the second part of the *Biblia pauperum*.

In light of the analysis of the panels executed by the Master of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum*, one can observe the following order of execution of the glazing: part one of the *Biblia pauperum* around the year 1360, part two around 1365, the hagiographic cycle around 1365 or later, ornamental panels around the year 1370 (?) or 1380 (?).

³¹ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1997, p. 53 and footnote 9 (list of illustrations).

A separate place is reserved for the Master of the Old and New Testament cycles, whose panels display the features of a specific analytical realism. This time, the expression of Biblical narration is rendered by emphasising size and almost “liberating” the selected parts of the human body, such as head, hand or leg. The usually three-quarter view images of faces in multi-figure scenes are accompanied by side views of heads with a thickly drawn outline, which is decidedly different from the delicate calligraphic line of the Master of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum*. Developmentally, the activity of the Master of the Old and New Testament constitutes a specific reaction to the work of the predecessor, by contrasting the mobility of a lively narration with the balanced contour of a static composition. If the style of the Master of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum* is a local counterpart of the achievements of “new realism” in Viennese art of 1331–1350, then the style of the Master of the Old and New Testament seems to fully correspond to the achievements of the realistic art of the third quarter of the fourteenth century in Bohemia as well as to the stained glass painting in the Erfurt cathedral from the fourth quarter of the same century, which is also derived from Bohemia. One should assume that the works of the Cracow Master date back to around 1370–1380.

The third artistic individuality is represented by the Master of Marian Cycle II, who was in all likelihood active in the final years of the fourteenth century, around 1390–1400, particularly if we take into consideration the features heralding the international beautiful style which could already be observed in his panels. The above features can be noticed particularly in his head types and in the way the artist had shaped the robes of the figures that appear on his panels. The above features seem to constitute the artist’s response to the new impulses that emerged in Bohemian art in the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century and which simultaneously had found their way to the stained glass art in Silesia and in Cracow.

The panels belonging to the Marian cycle I and the cycle with the Virgins should be placed somewhere in-between the activity of the Master of the Old and New Testament and the panels created by the Master of Marian Cycle II. Their creator had made use both of the technological experiences of the Master of the Old and New Testament – if one accepts the possibility of artistic development based on the filling out of the entire field of the panel, without framings – and he also transformed the architectural constructions of the Master of the Cracow *Biblia pauperum*.

Both in the case of the Marian cycle I and the cycle with the Virgins, one can observe a strong influence of Bohemian wooden sculpture and panel painting from the years 1380–1390, which helps to establish the date of origin of these panels.

Taking into consideration the present-day distribution of the panels in the presbytery of St Mary's Church, the reconstruction of their history outlined above, and their iconographic and stylistic analyses, the following order of stained glass panels has been established in individual windows. As in window I, one can find *in situ* three partially preserved original tops with the continuation of ornamental backgrounds and group "B" panels in the middle row, while in the extreme rows, one can find group "F" panels – it may be inferred that the first part of the *Biblia pauperum* was to be found in this window from the very beginning, just as it is now. It is highly likely that the execution of this oldest preserved stained glass window should be associated with the patronage of Mikołaj Wierzynek the Elder.

Similarly in window s II, one can find *in situ* three partially preserved canopy tops, this time with the continuation of ornamental backgrounds and bordures of group "A/4" panels in the middle row, while in the side rows – one can find panels belonging to group "A/2". This would seem to indicate that the second part of the *Biblia pauperum* was located in this very window from the very beginning. The striking, fundamental change in the composition, in relation to window I with the first part of the *Biblia pauperum*, was probably a direct consequence of the change of the patron, and in this way of the financing scheme of the entire undertaking. Similarly as in the case of window I, one can state with an equal degree of certainty that the patron of this window was Mikołaj Wierzynek Junior (son of Wierzynek the Elder), and patron of the main altar in St Mary's Church.

Such a location for both parts of the *Biblia pauperum* is atypical chiefly due to its binary asymmetry and strong compositional differentiation. The question arises, whether the panels of window I are in their original position? Were they not meant to be installed in window n II, and was not window n I originally filled with the traditional theme of The Tree of Jesse, or a later Marian theme, as was traditional in the West since the twelfth century? Some light could be shed on this matter by the canopy tops from 1931, embedded in window n II, which are identical with the canopy tops found in window I. For the canopy tops in window n II appear to be a mechanical repetition of the ones found in window I, or else they were executed in accordance with the reconstruction of 1886 which was based on the original canopy tops; the latter view seems to be confirmed by the water-

colour found in Łepkowski's album. If the above watercolour does possess some documentary value, then in the extreme rows, below the canopy tops, the unpreserved scenes must have been enclosed by architecture, just as in the analogous rows of window I. Therefore it is quite legitimate to assume hypothetically that window n II originally did contain the first part of the *Biblia pauperum* cycle. Yet such a solution seems rather unlikely, as it would require one to accept the notion that the glazing of window n II had at one time been transferred to window I. On the other hand, if Łepkowski's watercolour has no documentary value, then the present state of preservation does not give one any clues as to the composition or the iconographic programme of the original glazing of window n II.

Finally, one may also consider the option that initially an identical composition of panels as in window I, had been planned for windows n II and s II. As has already been mentioned above, a change in the ultimate arrangement of panels should be associated with the revision of the founder's will.

In window n II, one can at present find Old and New Testament scenes depicted on panels that have subsequently been slightly widened at the sides, in other words, panels which must have originally come from slightly narrower windows, that is n III, n IV or s III, s IV. One may presume that both cycles were either juxtaposed side by side with each other, or else, more likely, that they were placed opposite each other. The decision whether this concerned window pairs III or IV, depends on the dating and the place where the hagiographic cycle, and the ornamental panels were to be found. If – as has provisionally been accepted above – the hagiographic cycle had arisen immediately after the second part of the *Biblia pauperum*, and moreover, if it had been installed in window n II, then the cycles associated with both Testaments could have filled both windows III; whereas if had been placed in window n III or s III – the Old and New Testament cycles would have been placed in both windows IV. On the other hand, if one were to assume that the hagiographic cycle had arisen later, after the cycles of both Testaments, the latter would have been installed in both windows III.

The ornamental panels, preserved in window I, have also been secondarily slightly widened. If they had been executed before the cycles of both Testaments, then, assuming that the hagiographic cycle filled out window n II – they must have been glazed in window n III or s III, and both Testaments in windows IV; if the ornamental panels had arisen later – the configuration must have been the exact opposite.

Whereas, taking into consideration the colour saturation of the windows in the termination end of the chancel, leading to an insufficiency of natural light by the main altar, it is the hypothesis concerning the existence of ornamental *en grisaille* type of glazing in windows III, belonging to the side walls of the eastern span of the presbytery, which seems to be the more likely hypothesis.

The watercolours in Łepkowski's album, reproduced in accordance with the arrangement of the hagiographic cycle (in 1865, they were placed in windows I and n II, at present, they are in window s II), do not reveal any secondary broadenings; whereas due to the fact that the composition of the medallions and the colour scheme of this cycle fully corresponded with the composition of the medallions and the colour scheme of the second part of the *Biblia pauperum* in window s II, the hagiographic cycle – if it had been executed around 1365–1370 – was originally placed in window n II, most probably from the foundation of Mikołaj Wierzynek Junior. Thus if one accepts the early date of origin of the two alleged ornamental windows (n III and s III), the above-presented hypothesis relating to the five windows of the eastern span of the presbytery would seem to be the final outcome of the first phase of glazing of St Mary's Church; the above phase was completed by a single workshop associated with the patronage of both representatives of the Wierzynek family. On the other hand, if the hagiographic cycle had arisen later, after the cycles relating to both Testaments, it could have been placed in one of the windows IV.

In window I, one can at present find panels which have been considerably widened; they constitute remnants of the following cycles: Marian cycle I as well as the cycle with the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The cycles represented by these panels must have at one time filled out the narrower southern windows s V and s VI. They were united by the same type of composition as well as by the principle of background alternation; besides, they were executed in the same workshop around 1380–1390.

There is no doubt that the Marian cycle II, of which only the smallest-sized panels have remained, had originally been placed in the narrowest window n V or n VI. If we take into consideration an alleged extension of the cycle, the panels would probably have filled the two windows which had been glazed at the very latest, that is around 1390–1400 – possibly from the foundation of Jan Kranz, an altarist and sacristan at St Mary's Church – thus concluding the process of glazing the presbytery windows.

On the basis of the conducted studies and analyses, one may accept the conception relating to the distribution of the individual iconographic cycles and panel complexes in the specific church windows proposed by Lech Kalinowski and Helena Malkiewiczówna in 1997³².

Apart from the relatively numerous fourteenth-century stained glass panels in St Mary's church, two other complexes of late mediaeval stained glass, both from the fifteenth century, have been preserved in Cracow, namely: in the Dominican church of the Holy Trinity, situated within the boundaries of Cracow's Old Town, and in the parish church of Corpus Christi of Canons Regular of the Lateran in the Cracow borough of Kazimierz.

The "younger" Dominican complex consists at present of nineteen panels: fourteen are kept as a deposit in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow, three in the local monastery, one at the Wawel cathedral and one, of alleged Dominican provenance, in the collection of the Wawel Royal Castle.

If one were to judge by the differences in their sizes, the preserved panels must have originally adorned the church's presbytery windows, but above all, the chapels which were rebuilt or added on to the three-aisled corpus in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The technical properties of the above panels seem to point out that they must have been created in different workshops: the use of black (German *Schwarzlot*) or dark brown (German *Braunlot*) contour or ruby-red coated glass on olive green; the same is confirmed by the use of certain compositional features: different patterns of background and their colour alternation and the use (or non-use) of architectural copings; finally one also observes certain stylistic differences.

The whole complex is characterised by elements of the "soft style" in its beautiful international variety, whose predominant colour scheme is: saturated blue, very light amethyst violet, emerald green, olive green, yellow, white and pink.

The iconographic programme consists of the following themes: The Holy Trinity (one panel), scenes from the life of Mary and Christ (six panels), a single-person representation of the Virgin and Child (two panels), images of the saints (three panels): the Apostle, the Learned Doctor of the Church and Martyr as well as the Holy Virgins (six panels).

³² Ibidem, pp. 54–57, fig. 1b.

The above-mentioned technological and compositional differences, combined with the number of stylistic nuances, and moreover, the sheer number of stained glass artists who were active in Cracow in the fifteenth century, whose names had been recorded in the written sources, allow one generally to distinguish at last a few workshops, which were active in the first half of the century that might have been involved in the execution of the Dominican stained glass complex. Thus in the chronological order which corresponds to the clearly distinguishable workshops, one should mention the following panels: St Mary Magdalene (standing between two slender columns) – workshop from the second decade of the fifteenth century; St Catherine of Alexandria and St Margaret of Antioch [Fig. 19], appearing under trefoil-headed arcades – workshop from the end of the first quarter of the fifteenth century; St Catherine of Alexandria, St Mary Magdalene, St Dorothy, St Andrew the Apostle, St Thomas Aquinas [Fig. 20] and St Peter Martyr Dominican [Fig. 21] – workshop from around the year 1430; Crucifixion – a kindred workshop (the fourth one) from the same period; the Virgin standing on a crescent against the background of the sun and a burning bush, holding the Child on her right arm and a bird in her left hand – workshop (fifth one) from around the years 1430–1440; similarly as in the case of the previous panel, Virgin with Child on a crescent against the background of the sun and a burning bush [Fig. 22], An Angel and Mary from the scene of Annunciation (on two panels), The Adoration of the Magi (placed on two panels) [Figs 23, 24], The Coronation of Mary (also on two panels) – workshop (sixth one) from around 1445 (?).

Without a doubt, among those who ordered the stained glass panels, there were mainly the patrons of chapels: the voivode of Łęczyca Jan Ligeża (d. 1418), the voivode of Cracow Piotr Szafraniec (d. 1438), the provost of St Mary's church Mikołaj Pieniążek (d. 1432), members of the guild of wine merchants, and certainly the Dominican friar and bishop of Chelmno Jan Biskupiec (d. 1452), who is portrayed in a kneeling position on a missing panel, known from Ludwik Łepkowski's album. Among those who executed the panels, there were, in all likelihood, guild stained glass craftsmen.

The stained glass complex in the parish church of Corpus Christi in the Cracow borough of Kazimierz, which ever since 1405 has been in the hands of Canons Regular of the Lateran, consists of fifty-one panels, two canopy tops and a single fragment of a tracery. The above-mentioned panels are a remnant of the glazing dating back to around 1380–1440 which

used to fill out nine windows (three on the eastern and six on the southern side), each of which (?) consisted originally of 22 panels located along the side vertical lines, and 23 panels along the middle vertical line of a six-span presbytery, with the exception of a single, latest panel (after 1480), which came from the north (?) aisle. In the year 1913 all of the panels had been transferred to window s IV. Their current arrangement is based on an iconographic reconstruction of the preserved material; in the course of the above reconstruction efforts have been made to preserve in as far as only possible the layout corresponding to the mediaeval tradition.

The following themes and motifs have remained from the original programme: scenes and full-length representations from the life of Christ; scenes and full-length representations from the life of Mary; full-length representations of the saints, both male and female; representations of Canons Regular of the Lateran as well as of the lay founders and their families; representations of architecture and a single figural panel with an ornamental fish scale motif in the background.

Technically and stylistically, one can distinguish as many as five different workshops. The differences among them are based on the colour of vitreous paint – either brown or black – as well as the type of background which accompanies the figural representations. Among the features that help to establish the differences between the individual workshops, are also: the size of the panels (width) and certain stylistic similarities.

Around the year 1380, the first workshop executed by means of black vitreous paint the panel with Christ as the Man of Sorrows [Fig. 25], which was subsequently renovated by using brown vitreous paint around the year 1430. The above panel constitutes the only remnant of the first glazing of the presbytery, whose altar is already mentioned in the year 1372 and 1378, in spite of the fact that it was consecrated only in 1401. Another trace of the activity of this workshop is also the ornamental glazing with a geometric interlace pattern, which may only be known from Łepkowski's album.

The narrow and secondarily widened panels with Our Lady and St John the Evangelist [Fig. 26], attributed to the second workshop, known for its use of brown vitreous paint and the motif of negative loose leaves (obtained through the removal of paint), come most probably from the tripartite window of the chapel of the Assumption of Virgin Mary, erected in 1410 within the main corpus of the church. Both of these panels with the alternating colours of the background (ruby – red

– green), which originally flanked the unpreserved scene of Crucifixion and which appear to be stylistically linked to Silesian art³³, are distinguished by the use of a sophisticated contour delineating the outlines of human figures, as well as by the complex arrangement of soft folds.

It seems that in the years 1420–1430, the glazing of the presbytery was carried out by two workshops operating simultaneously; one of them (a), perhaps working to the order of a lay patron, used a brown contour, and the other (b), associated with the Canons Regular – a black contour; both enriched the colour palette of the panels with their lavish use of silver stain. The first of the above-mentioned workshops executed the diverse scenes belonging to the Christological and Passion cycle, consisting at present of as many as eighteen sections – including the architectural ones; the cycle was fitted originally in window I and it culminated at the top with the figure of Christ the Judge in the scene of the Last Judgment (preserved); the workshop was also responsible for the execution of a Marian cycle, represented today by only eight panels, with the scenes of the Dormition of Mary [Fig. 27], The Assumption (preserved panel with *Levatio animae*) [Fig. 28] and The Coronation of Mary (preserved section with an angel playing the lute). Workshop (b), on the other hand, was responsible for the execution of full-length images of the saints, including the image of St Augustine with the kneeling figure of the provost of the Kazimierz monastery [Fig. 29].

Workshop (a) had “borrowed” the figure types and the manner of drapery presentation from fourteenth-century Bohemian painting; in the backgrounds of scenes, which were almost exclusively blue, it used negative branches with feathery leaves; the panels within a single row were encircled with a common frame, thereby joining together three scenes placed side by side with each other, or else three panels into a single scene (e.g. The Dormition of Mary) [Fig. 27]. The tops of windows were usually crowned with elaborate, fairytale like spatial architecture penetrating exclusively the highest placed extremities of the figural scenes. Workshop (b) revealed its no doubt Silesian provenance in the large-eyed human figures known from the Silesian art of illumination of the first quarter of the fifteenth century³⁴; the blue, ruby-red or amethyst-violet backgrounds

³³ C.f. the carved Crucifixion group in the Dumlose chapel in the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (currently in the National Museum in Wrocław), from the beginning of the fifteenth century. See also: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2002, p. 38 and subs.

³⁴ C.f. the art of Jan of Żytawa – see: MIODOŃSKA 2004. See also: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2002, p. 39 and subs.

were filled with the ornament of tightly twisted branches with spirally coiled leaves scratched out in paint; they were additionally adorned with relatively large rosettes, increasing the brightness of the field; sporadically, the figures had been placed under architectural canopies. Another characteristic compositional feature which was commonly used by this workshop was the triad layout that was reminiscent of a triptych. Among others, the group of Mary and the crescent moon, between St Catherine of Alexandria and another saint, missing today (most probably St Barbara), was precisely an example of such a “triptych”; a similar situation occurred in the case of triptychs representing the Lesser Poland panel painting: for example in Przydonica (circa 1450–1460), Cerekiew (circa 1455–1465) or Paczółtowiec (circa 1460–1465). Similar arrangements can be encountered in Hungary, Slovakia and Bohemia. The problem is that in the case of the stained glass from the Corpus Christi church in Cracow, the triptych arrangement occurred some thirty years earlier (which equals the span of an entire generation) than it did in the existing panel painting of Lesser Poland. Whereas, the contemporary mural painting in Cracow and on the territory of the Cracow county has survived in too fragmentary a state to be able to explain the origin of this type of configuration.

Compared to the stained glass in St Mary’s Church in Cracow, which is classical both in its construction and style, the stained glass complex in the Corpus Christi church, like the rather quantitatively modest Dominican one, represent a decisively later phase of Gothic stained glass– the last one in Lesser Poland. The compositional and stylistic transition to the new phase takes place thanks to the fact that the decorative function of the panel, resulting from the consistent use of the frame (German *Langpass*), the ornamental background and bordure, gives way to thematically ordered panels-images: without frames, ornamental backgrounds or bordures. The above panels adjoin each other both horizontally and vertically. Like a chessboard, the window is now divided into quadrangular fields which are filled with figural representations.

In panel painting such a situation is sometimes to be encountered in Silesia, e.g. on the wings of a retable in Rusko (around 1420–1430) and on the triptych with the Legend of St Hedwig in Wrocław (around 1440), whereas in mural painting, in the nave of the parish church in Mirocin Górny (second quarter of the fifteenth century).

A “triptych” painted around 1440 with black and brown vitreous paint, from a townsmen foundation, is the work of yet another workshop; it presents the theme of *Mulier amicta sole* in the centre, the patron with

his sons on the left-hand side and his wife with daughters on the right [Fig. 30]. The panel with the image of St John the Baptist, in all likelihood associated with the glazing of the (north aisle?) of the corpus, dates back to the time after the year 1480.

Among the creators of the stained glass in the Corpus Christi church there were no doubt outstanding craftsmen who distinguished themselves by their experience and social status; the best confirmation of this fact is that such stained glass craftsmen as Wacław, Andrzej or Hannus are mentioned as the elders of the guild of painters and carpenters, which they had then belonged to (see above).

In the case of the stained glass ensemble from the Corpus Christi church which has been handed down to us by history, one cannot define precisely how the nine windows of the presbytery had once been glazed nor what the original location of the individual panels was. Up until the year 1913, they were placed in different windows of the choir and of the northern nave, which corresponded but partially to the original condition. The only certain thing is that the Christological and Passion cycle filled out window I, the most prestigious one in the presbytery and the entire church; the Marian cycle was to be found, in all probability, in window n II. The programme and compositional layout of windows II as well as of the southern windows, is now known. Judging by the abundance of the ornamental panels which were still preserved in the nineteenth century, one may assume that single or multiple triads of figural panels had been placed in between them.

Apart from the three above-mentioned stained glass complexes, the Cracow stained glass collection also includes various so-called *disiecta membra*: for example a small panel with an ornamental geometrical and plant motif decoration dating back to before the middle of the fourteenth c., most probably from the church of the Order of Poor Clares, dedicated to St Andrew in Cracow (currently in the Diocesan Museum in Tarnów)³⁵; the busts of two prophets from before 1358 (?) to be found at the top of a presbytery window in the parish church of Virgin Mary, Ten Thousand Martyrs and Eleven Thousand Virgins in Niepołomice [Fig. 31]³⁶; a well preserved panel with the standing figure of St Stanislaus (?), dated to the end of the fourteenth century, from the church in Szaniec (currently in

³⁵ KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 22, footnote 3.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 22 and footnote. 5; Kraków 2000, cat. no II/49, pp. 89–90, fig. 467 (H. Małkiewiczówna).

the collection of the Diocesan Seminary in Kielce) [Fig. 32]³⁷ two panels with the scene of Annunciation, from the turn of the fourteenth century, of unknown Cracow origin (from the cathedral or from the Dominican church?), distinguished by the beauty of their composition and execution, currently in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow³⁸; the panel with Mary and the Christ Child on a Crescent Moon in the *Mulier amicta sole* type, dating back to around 1420, from a wooden cemetery chapel (originally parish church) dedicated to the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Iwkowa (Diocesan Museum in Tarnów) [Fig. 33]³⁹; the panel with the Sarykoń coat-of-arms of the Szafraniec family, dated to around 1420, in St Stephen's chapel of the Cracow cathedral⁴⁰; finally, the panel with St Gregory the Great in a sitting posture from around 1420–1430, in the parish church of St Gregory in Ruszcza⁴¹.

Moreover, the Cracow production also included two panels which are currently to be found in the National Museum in Poznań and were once inaccurately associated with Silesia, namely, the panel with the scene of Crucifixion dating back to the end of the fourteenth century, and the panel with the Throne of Grace from around the middle of the fifteenth century⁴². The panel with the scene of Crucifixion dated to the end of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, from the wooden parish church of St Clement in Miedzna in Upper Silesia (currently in the Archdiocesan Museum in Katowice) was also in all probability of Cracow provenance⁴³.

Out of necessity we shall leave out here the unpreserved panels whose existence has been confirmed by the sources, such as the Virgin with Child in the parish church of the Nativity of Virgin Mary in Zielonki; the “remains of stained glass panels” in the parish church of St Margaret in Raciborowice, or the stained glass glazing in eight windows of the parish church of St Elizabeth in Sary Sącz⁴⁴.

Finally, a separate group, rather than complex, is made up of stained glass panels scattered throughout the eastern territories of Poland, along the line where the easternmost boundary of the Gothic could be found:

³⁷ KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 22, footnote 6, Kraków 2000, cat.no II/50, pp. 90–91, fig. 464 (H. Małkiewiczówna).

³⁸ KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 22 and footnote 7.

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 22 and footnote 8; Kraków 2000, cat. no II/51, pp. 91–92, fig. 465 (H. Małkiewiczówna).

⁴⁰ KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 22 and footnote 9.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 22 and footnote 10.

⁴² C.f. footnote 4.

⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴ KALINOWSKI 1994, p. 23 and footnote 13.

a select few of these panels are luckily well-preserved, others are known exclusively from iconographic accounts (drawings); still others are only mentioned in written sources.

Among the well-preserved panels, one finds the following: the panel with the Strzegomia (or Kościesza) coat-of-arms belonging to Piotr of Chrzastów, the bishop of Przemyśl (in the years 1435–1452), from the parish church in Równe near Dukla, dating back to the middle of the fifteenth century currently in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow⁴⁵; a fragment of a Gothic stained glass panel with the Larysza coat-of-arms, embedded secondarily in the western elevation of the parish church of St Nicolas in Połomia (?) [now in Dioecesan Museum in Rzeszów – editor]⁴⁶; a circular stained glass panel from Biecz with the personification of the “sun” dating back to the second quarter of the sixteenth century, currently in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow [Fig. 34]⁴⁷.

From iconographic accounts, found among others in Łepkowski’s album, we also know of a panel with the theme of *Mulier amicta sole* [Fig. 35] as well as of a medallion with the Leliwa coat-of-arms, dating back to the 15th century, at one time found in the church of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher in Przeworsk⁴⁸. In turn, from an entry found in the Jury Court Register in Przemyśl for the years 1445–1452, we are able to learn that on 14 January 1449, a Przemyśl painter known by the name of Maciej accepted an order from a Jewess called Muncha, the wife of David, lessee of Przemyśl customs duties, to execute for her two stained glass windows in Przemyśl and one in her home in Lviv⁴⁹. In the year 1489, a Cracow painter Stanisław Lutek had appeared before the archbishop’s court in Lviv in connection with the “case” relating to his alleged execution of the glazing for the church of Virgin Mary in Busko⁵⁰. In accordance with later accounts, the Lviv cathedral was adorned with multi-coloured stained glass⁵¹. In 1544, a stained glass craftsman by the name of Jakub Słowik, died in Biecz⁵².

Both the preserved stained glass panels and the ones known exclusively from iconographic and written sources seem to point to the existence of milieus focused on the execution of stained glass in the eastern

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 28 and footnote 25.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, p. 28 and footnote 26.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 28 and footnote 27.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 30 and footnote 29.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 34 and footnote 31.

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 34 and footnotes 32–33.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 35 and footnote 39.

⁵² Ibidem, p. 30 and footnote 28.

part of the Lesser Poland province. The afore-mentioned milieus existed chiefly in the major cities of eastern Lesser Poland, such as Przemyśl, Lviv and Biecz. Yet, in the absence of available sources and accounts, it is difficult to determine today the extent of their independence or else establish the degree of their dependence on Cracow or Silesia (?). Undoubtedly, Cracow was the main centre of stained glass production in mediaeval Lesser Poland, as well as a focal point of artistic emanation of this art form onto the entire south-eastern territories, stretching out to as far as Chełm and Lithuania. The best proof of this emanation is an entry in the register of the Cracow governor, recorded under the date of 27 May 1418, when an unnamed stained glass artisan, accompanied by his wife, is reported to have set out for Lithuania (in all likelihood, Vilnius); the city had purchased for him glass for the execution of the windows, as well as iron bars and dyes for painting⁵³.

The quantity of the panels found in the entire southern range, the majority of which originated in Cracow, allows one to characterise their general technological, as well as compositional and stylistic features; it also allows one to characterise their iconographic programmes.

With regard to technology, one should draw attention to the use of ruby flashed glass, ever since the end of the thirteenth century (Cracow, older Dominican panels), as well as the scratching out of ornamental motifs ever since the second half of the fourteenth century (Cracow, St Mary's Church, Old and New Testament cycle); the latter technique had been derived from the achievements of north-west German stained glass artistic circles⁵⁴; another characteristic feature of this art consisted in using cartoons in the process of obtaining ornamental patterns (Cracow, Dominicans: end of the thirteenth and the middle of the fifteenth centuries); moreover, since the end of the fourteenth century (Annunciation in the National Museum in Cracow), familiarity with the technique of obtaining silver stain has found its confirmation in the Żagań manuscript⁵⁵. Colour-wise, the trace line and shading paint is differentiated into black (in older complexes) and brown, depending on the workshop practice, and since the middle of the fifteenth century (Cracow, Corpus Christi Church), both colours are used within the same panel.

In the original composition of older Dominican panels (before 1288), belonging to the late phase of the Zigzag Style, in all likelihood

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 30, 34 and footnote 30

⁵⁴ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1998, pp. 64–71.

⁵⁵ C.f. footnote 12.

of south-German provenance, one could come across circular framings; moreover, one may assume that multi-formed framings were also used. The panel with Our Lady, which was younger by a generation, and displayed evident Italian influences, was probably crowned with an arcade. In the fourteenth-century composition of single panels, one is struck, on the one hand, by the conservatism of circular framings, which were rather typical of the thirteenth century, but nevertheless still used in Cracow after the middle of the fourteenth century (St Mary's Church, part II of the *Biblia pauperum*, hagiographic cycle), and, on the other hand, by the introduction of new "fashionable" architectural copings, which had a clear Italian air within the presented spatial layout (St Mary's Church, *Biblia pauperum*, part I). At the same time, the composition of individual scenes is characterised by the use of the calligraphic style of the first half of the fourteenth century, no doubt taken over from the south-German art of stained glass making. The subsequent phase in the temporal development of stained glass is represented by the compositional and stylistic features of panels with multi arched framings (St Mary's Church, Old and New Testament cycle, Marian cycle II), which continue to draw on thirteenth-century practices. In the style of the panels, these (consciously?) archais-ing compositional features are accompanied by elements inspired by the current changes taking place in Bohemian miniature and mural painting; for it would be difficult to find references to stained glass, after it had been almost totally destroyed already during the Hussite era. At this point it seems worth giving voice to a conviction that Cracow stained glass of the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century and the first quarter of the fifteenth century, could constitute the basis for a hypothetical reconstruction of the style and composition of Bohemian stained glass, in a similar manner as do, for instance the stained glass panels in the Erfurt and Ulm cathedrals as well as in the churches of St Martha in Nuremberg and St Mary in Mühlhausen⁵⁶. This refers to the so called Parler style of stained glass which is characterised by a considerable degree of realism in the way of rendering human figures and their facial features as well as by the architectural composition of entire windows. Traces of these types of solutions dating back to the end of the fourteenth century have been detected in the remains of Marian cycle I as well as in the panels with the Wise and Foolish Virgins in St Mary's Church in Cracow, whereas the next developmental stage is represented by the stained glass panels

⁵⁶ DRACHENBERG 1979; KAHSNITZ 1986, p. 90; RICHTER 1993, pp. XLVI-XLVII; SCHOLZ 1994, pp. XLIV-XLV

with architectural copings found exclusively at the top of the windows in the Corpus Christi Church, dating back to the years 1420–1430. For, it seems that the stained glass painting in the southern provinces of Poland, continued to be influenced by currents coming directly from Bohemia, or else via Silesia, from the beginning of the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century to the third decade of the fifteenth century. It was only shortly before the middle of the fifteenth century that a local style of stained glass making had emerged (Cracow, Corpus Christi Church, “townsfolk triptych”).

The majority of the preserved panels come from the windows of presbyteries and side chapels; except for the single preserved figural panel from the Corpus Christi Church (after 1480), there are no stained glass panels from nave windows. As regards the iconographic programmes, one should mention the occurrence of typological complexes in the eastern windows of presbyteries in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Cracow, the Dominicans, circa 1288, St Mary’s Church, the cycle continued in the south-eastern window, around 1360–1365); in the fifteenth century – of strictly narrative Passion complexes (Corpus Christi Church, around 1420–1430). The New Testament cycles also occurred in other presbytery windows, either as intentional “supplements” to the programme of window I (Marian cycle in the Corpus Christi Church, in all likelihood, originally in the north-eastern window), or as specific repetitions, resulting from a lack of or else abandonment of the original programme extending to all presbytery windows, in favour of successive partial foundations (St Mary’s Church: two windows with narrative, Old and New Testament cycles, two Marian cycles; the Dominicans: alleged Marian cycle dated to before the middle of the fifteenth century). The presbytery windows also contained formal representations of saints (Cracow, the Dominicans, before 1288; Corpus Christi Church, circa 1420–1430) or else narrative hagiographic cycles (St Mary’s Church, circa 1370). In turn the panels found in chapels (Cracow, Corpus Christi Church, circa 1410, the Dominicans, second quarter of the fifteenth century) testify to the fact that both Christological cycles (panels with the image of the Annunciation, end of the fourteenth century, National Museum in Cracow; Corpus Christi Church) as well as (above all) the formal representations of saints, usually centered around the central image of the Virgin Mary, could have occurred here.

PART II: THE NORTH

The second geographical range of Gothic stained glass extending to the territory of Poland, as well as that of the neighbouring states, is made up of the stained glass of the North, and is associated with Toruń as the main centre of its production and dissemination. The role of Toruń, first outlined in an article by Gwido Chmarzyński in 1933⁵⁷, became the subject of systematic research studies conducted by Edward Kwiatkowski and Jerzy Frycz after the end of the Second World War; the above-mentioned studies comprised the stained glass complexes in the Old Town: from the parish church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, the Franciscan Church of the Virgin Mary, as well as in the New Town – from the no longer extant Dominican church of St Nicolas⁵⁸. The aim of the above studies was, among others, to establish the history of the Dominican stained glass complex, which until the end of the Second World War had been glazed into one of the windows of the castle chapel in Malbork, and was regarded in some of the older sources as a local product which had from the very beginning been destined for this chapel. In this way, the studies had ultimately explained the role of Malbork as a place where the Toruń stained glass panels had only been “stored” in the nineteenth century. Namely, on the order of the Prussian authorities in Gdańsk, in the years 1819–1839, Theodor von Schön, embarked on the task of finding monuments of Gothic art, including, above all, stained glass in Toruń and on the territory of the entire Chełmno Land; the above monuments were to be used in the Malbork castle chapel which was being restored at the time. As a consequence of this action which was “forgotten” with time, both the Toruń Dominican panels, as well as stained glass panels from the church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, and from other places whose whereabouts cannot be established today, had been transferred to Malbork. The second phase of this action took place in the last decades of the nineteenth century and, according to the written sources, was associated with the initiative of Conrad Steinbrecht; it concerned the transfer to Malbork of a complex of stained glass panels from the parish church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Chełmno as well as some stained glass from the Franciscan church in the Old Town in Toruń.

⁵⁷ CHMARZYŃSKI 1933, pp. 34–38, figs. 1–5.

⁵⁸ KWIATKOWSKI 1954–1955; KWIATKOWSKI 1963, sp. 98–133, figs 1–15; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1974, pp. 161–165, figs 144–150; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1977, pp. 89–118, figs 1–18.

Another outcome of Edward Kwiatkowski's and Jerzy Frycz's studies was also the finding that the Chełmno panels and the stained glass complex in the Włocławek cathedral were both products of the Toruń stained glass centre which transgressed city boundaries and incorporated into its sphere of influence both the Chełmno Land, and the Kujawy district.

Our knowledge of the still extant stained glass panels, which had been executed in Toruń in the fourteenth century, can be supplemented with source materials. The oldest preserved registers of a lay justice court in the Old Town in Toruń, referring to the end of the fourteenth and the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries, mention some names of craftsmen glaziers and glass workers, among them: Niclos (1388), Gunther (1393), Segemund von Breslau (1408 and 1409), Petir (1411), Hans (1426, 1427); whereas from a preserved letter of the town council of Brześć Kujawski addressed to the town council of Toruń (dated to the first half of the fifteenth century), we are able to learn that a Toruń *vitreator* by the name of Nicolas, executed a window (windows) for the parish church in Brześć⁵⁹. It is also important to note that one of the above-mentioned glaziers came from Wrocław which may give us some clues as to the route along which the Bohemian influences had spread northwards, via Silesia (a point which will be discussed further on in the present analysis).

Both the preserved panels and the indirect sources reveal some information concerning the identity of the patrons. The remains of the panels with the images of the escutcheons and heraldic crests from the Franciscan Church in Toruń (among others, belonging to the Rockendorf and von Allen (?) families) seem to indicate that most of the donors came from townsmen's families who were subsequently buried within the nave of the church; in all likelihood the situation was similar in the case of the parish church in the Old Town⁶⁰ as well as St Mary's Church in Chełmno⁶¹. Among the donors of the stained glass panels in the Domini-

⁵⁹ HERBST 1933, p. 189 and footnotes 3–4; *Liber scabinorum* [1936], p. 38, item 219, p. 65 item 393, p. 121 item 743, p. 138 item 837, p. 143, item 866, p. 358, item 1870, p. 384, item 1965.

⁶⁰ In the so called *Memoranda* of John Baumgarten from the beginning of the eighteenth century, we are able to read the following about the church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist: "templum elegantissime exstructum, extrinsecus duplicem fenestrarum satis altarum atque amplarum (ubique insignibus antiquissimis familiarum nobilium huius civitatis, praesertim in choro vivis expressis coloribus decoratum) habens ordinem"; c.f. *Miscellanea źródłowe* [1989], p. 118.

⁶¹ In accordance with the text of the visitation from the years 1667–1672, in St Mary's Church in Chełmno, the stained glass windows "prae se ferunt sanctorum effigies, fundatorum insignia et memoriam", and in the text from the year 1680, they "repraesentabant ideisque divorum, fundatorum stemmata et antiqui monumenta"; c.f. *Visitationes episcopatus* [1902], p. 135;

can Church, there were probably the prior Jan Biały (Johannes Albus, mentioned in the records dating back to the years 1335–1339, during whose lifetime the construction of the presbytery was completed), members of the “de Redzey” family, who – as one can learn from a document dating back to the year 1339 – contributed financially to the construction of the presbytery and moreover commissioned the altarpiece within the nave of the church, or Konrad Magnus, a Hungarian merchant (d. 1340), who no doubt must have been regarded as an important benefactor, since he had been buried in the presbytery in front of the main altar⁶². The stained glass panels in the Włocławek cathedral had probably been executed at the expense of the local bishop Maciej from Gołańcza (d. 1368), or at least from his initiative.

The stained glass collection in the northern part of Poland comprises six panel complexes which have survived until today: four in Toruń itself and two outside its boundaries – from Chełmno and in Włocławek. All stained glass panels within this range have survived only fragmentarily and all date back to the fourteenth century.

The complex which is associated strictly with Toruń is made up, among others, of panels to be found within the Toruń Old Town, in the parish church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist (also known as church of Two St Johns), dated to around the year 1330, as well as from the Franciscan church, dating to around the years 1370 and 1390; and in the New Town – from the Dominican church of St Nicolas, dating back to the year 1340.

Chronologically speaking, among the oldest fragments, one finds the remains of a colourful glazing in the eastern window of the church of the Two St Johns⁶³. These consist exclusively of but ornamental foliage of the tracery as well as of a single canopy top with an architectural motif [Fig. 36]. The now unpreserved sections with architectural motifs and a two-panel male figure, in all likelihood of Christ, both known from Steinbrecht’s pictorial drawings and cartoons, had also probably come

see also: SEEMANN 1856, p. 9, footnote 26; *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler* 1887, p. 51 footnote 163.

⁶² Cf. JASIŃSKI 1989, p. 39 and footnote 58, p. 46, footnote 1 and p. 4 – the text of the document from the year 1339. About the unpreserved Konrad’s tomb see e.g. SEMRAU 1892, p. 9.

⁶³ FRYCZ 1952, pp. 124–125, fig. 120 on p. 123; DOMASŁOWSKI et al. 1956, fig. 15 and 17 on pp. 125–126; KWIATKOWSKI 1963, p. 100; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1974, p. 161; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1977, pp. 92–93, fig. 1 on p. 92; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1987, p. 167; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 150, 156, 167. In the tracery of one of the northern choir windows a fragment of glazing with three rosettes has recently been discovered, cf. GRAJPEL 2001, pp. 42–43; GRAJPEL 2002, pp. 9–13.

from this church. They consisted chiefly of flat-looking tabernacles reduced to a single plan which crowned the Gothic arcades, underneath which one could find human figures. This type of composition was derived from the glazing of the “tall” windows of the nave in the Strasbourg cathedral, from around the middle of the thirteenth century⁶⁴. It seems that the above tradition had travelled from the Rheinland through the western and northern territories of Germany (Brandenburg cathedral – circa 1300; Wismar, the Church of St Nicolas, panel from around 1300, currently in the Schwerin Museum, and Doberan, the Cistercian church – beginning of the fourteenth century ?)⁶⁵, and was adopted in the decoration of the first parish church in Toruń simultaneously with the termination of its construction, that is around the year 1330.

If in the eastern window one could find a huge figure of Christ, then taking into account the quadripartite window and the two-time repetition of the now unpreserved figures under the architectural tabernacles, one may assume that among the figures of eight saints, one could also find representations of the church’s two patrons. The whole composition had a representative character and it may have been devoted to the community of All Saints.

While the stained glass panels from the church of the Two St Johns constitute but a remnant of the once flamboyant programme, the first complex which distinguishes itself in respect of its quantity and quality is made up of the panels from the no longer extant Dominican church of St Nicolas. Out of a number of tapering, tripartite and a dozen or so-tiered windows enclosed within the space of a presbytery terminated with five sides of an octagon, completed before the year 1339, only seventeen panels have survived until the present day and are currently in the collection of the District Museum in Toruń. Their iconography consists of scenes from the life of Christ as well as of standing figures of Old Testament prophets and patriarchs; the three subsequent fields with representations of prophets, which are currently missing, had been stored until the end of World War II in Berlin’s Kunstgewerbemuseum. The above panels had originally filled window I.

The New Testament scenes appear in circular medallions, against an ornamental background with the motif of a quatrefoil inscribed into diagonally arranged squares; the same motif is repeated in the bordures.

⁶⁴ BEYER et al. 1986, e.g. pp. 289, 295, 325–326, 338, 340, Pl. XII, figs 264–267, 307, 332.

⁶⁵ WENTZEL 1944, pp. 20, 21, figs 7, 9; RENTSCH 1958, sp. 111–113, table 13, figs 24–27; DRACHENBERG et al. 1979, pp. 193–194, fig. 37; RICHTER 1989, fig. 1 on p. 53.

The Christological cycle comprised Christ's Infancy (only the Presentation in the Temple has survived) as well as His Passion, maybe also Ascension and The Descent of the Holy Spirit. The figures representing the Old Testament (with the figure of Isaiah reappearing in a few places) are enclosed in elongated sexafoil framings, surrounded with bordures of oak leaves arranged in a zigzag pattern as well as halved quatrefoils. In each tier, the New Testament scenes originally appeared in the middle row "b", while the Old Testament figures appeared in rows "a" and "c".

The figures of prophets and patriarchs – originally found in the extreme rows, had been borrowed from the Rheinland transformation of the theme of the Tree of Jesse as is illustrated, for instance, by the example of the church of St Kunibert in Cologne (around 1220–1230), and above all in the version presented on the fragmentarily preserved panels from the parish church in Lohne, from around 1250 (according to the reconstruction: Christological scenes in the vertical centre, in the extremities, exclusively prophets, including the recurring image of Isaiah)⁶⁶. The date of the Toruń cycle (around 1340–1350) corresponds roughly to the time of execution of the glazing in window I of St Jacob's Church in Rothenburg, although in the literal sense of the term, the latter one has already very little in common with the theme of The Tree of Jesse; in this case, in a quadripartite window, there occur Christological scenes localised in two vertical centres, whereas along the extreme vertical lines – one comes across immense figures of prophets⁶⁷.

Chronologically speaking, the Dominican panels are younger by about a decade than the remains of the stained glass in the church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist. The figures of the former panels are stubby; they have oval faces with long noses and close-set eyes; their hair is curly and the way it is presented does not take into consideration spatial relations. Hermann Schmitz, who was not aware of the Toruń origin of the three panels in the Berlin museum, mentions them as an example of German south-eastern school from around the year 1300; yet, in terms of their style and execution, no direct link to, for instance the Regensburg stained glass can be observed, apart from the general similarity between the motifs of the respective ornamental backgrounds and bordures⁶⁸. According to the suggestion of Frycz and Kwiatkowski, the Dominican master could have come into contact with the workshops of

⁶⁶ *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, pp. 53–54, 62–63.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 114–115.

⁶⁸ SCHMITZ 1913, p. 14, fig. 20.

the Thuringia-Saxony milieu of stained glass artisans through the Augustinians Friars in Erfurt (around 1300–1320) as well as in St Blaise's Church in Mühlhausen; however the observed links concern exclusively the medallions and their juxtaposition with the elongated framings and the decorated backgrounds; whereas they do not relate to individual stylistic features.

As regards the issue of style, certain similarities can be observed between the Dominican panels [Figs 37–39] and the stained glass in Gotland (end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries), which in turn can be traced back to Westphalia and Lower Saxony⁶⁹. The creator of the Dominican panels could have come from the territory of the north-German provinces and he may have ultimately shaped his style in Lübeck (as is borne out by the facial features of his figures), whereas in the composition of the scenes, he could have at the same time consulted the illuminated manuscripts which originated in the Thuringia-Saxony region in the thirteenth century. The dating of the panels to around the year 1300 seems likely, yet their execution was probably completed towards the end of the construction work conducted in the presbytery, that is, around the years 1335–1340.

The twenty three panels with the theme of The Tree of Jesse from the presbytery windows of the Włocławek cathedral (currently exhibited against the background of a window in one of the aisle chapels) [Figs 40–42], dating back to around 1350, are also associated with the Toruń stained glass cycle. They constitute a remnant of the three-tired, thirteen-rowed window I (including the canopy tops) and maybe also of the two-tiered windows n II and s II.

The leading theme consists of New Testament scenes which are flanked on each side with panels containing pairs of Old Testament figures. All figural representations are framed within circular medallions, whereas only the Christological ones appear against an ornamental background with a leafed grapevine growing in the vertical direction.

The central motif of a vine tree, which joins together all of the medallions of the middle row, as well as the presence of prophets and Christ's ancestors in the side fields, point out that the main theme was indeed The Tree of Jesse which derived in terms of its iconography from the art of the Rhineland, where Christ's ancestors, placed originally (in French art) along the central axis, had been consistently substituted with the

⁶⁹ ANDERSSON 1964, pp. 45–82.

Christological cycle. Naturally, the lowest field in the middle row had to originally contain the figure of Jesse, either in its own separate field, as in the Biblical scenes on the windows of the parish church of St Denis in Esslingen (1280) and the church of the Dominican Sisters in Stetten (around 1280–1290), or else – which is more likely – together with the scene of the Annunciation in a common panel, as is the case with the Biblical windows of the chivalry church in Wimpfen im Tal (around 1270–1280) and the church of Premonstratensians in Speinshart (1333; known from a seventeenth century drawing)⁷⁰. From the list of Christ's thirty-nine ancestors, in the line of ascent, from Abraham to St John the Baptist (in accordance with the *Gospel of St Matthew* 1:1–16 – which served as the proper written source here) – in the presbytery window of the Włocławek cathedral one could find representations of twenty four figures of ancestors arranged in pairs and portrayed as *pars pro toto* – in accordance with the window height; the above pairs are matched by twenty four figures of prophets who are also arranged in pairs. A detailed reconstruction including the corresponding New Testament scenes would be difficult to carry out today.

The head of Christ placed in the culmination between the busts of Our Lady and St John the Baptist, corresponds to the tradition dating back to the thirteenth century in accordance with which Christological cycles and typological arrangements used to end either with the scene of The Last Judgment or with the *Deesis* group. The composition in Włocławek corresponds to the arrangement found in the church of St Anne in Limburg an der Lahn (1320), where however St John the Evangelist takes the place of St John the Baptist, or else in the parish church in Etelhem in Gotland, dating back to the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁷¹

The panels in Włocławek are seemingly very similar to the Dominican ones, chiefly in respect of applying the motif of the medallions in their composition, as well as in the choice of ornamental background as well as in the manner of presentation of human figures; the above similarities could have been the result of the proximity of both workshops in Toruń. Kwiatkowski (1962) ascribed both complexes to the same workshop, whereas Frycz (1977) was of the opinion that the master of the panels in Włocławek was an apprentice of the Dominican painter; yet

⁷⁰ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 71, 72, figs 10, 12 (Esslingen), pp. 198, 199, 204, 210, figs 470, 477, 509 (Stetten), pp. 252–253, fig. 530 (Wimpfen i. T.); FRITZSCHE 1985.

⁷¹ OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 120–124, figs 181, 185; ANDERSSON 1964, pp. 175–178, fig. 88.

the Włocławek panels differ from the Dominican ones in respect of a few stylistic features as well as their origin.

The thick, simple drawing; the long robes with folds running cross-wise and pressed tightly to the bodies with one's elbows; the wavy, curved scrolls filled with the inscriptions – all of these elements are difficult to explain exclusively by local practices. The specific archaism of the entire window, brings to mind various, older European centres such as Alsace (Neuweiler, around 1260–1270)⁷². At the same time, what surprises one in the composition are the links with the Tree of Jesse which fills the initial “I” with the beginning of the *Gospel of St Matthew*, in the so called Capuchin Bible from the Abbey of St Bertin (Champagne, around 1160–1180; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 16746, fol. 7^v)⁷³; other similarities include, among others, the arrangement of pairs of marching prophets, enclosed in circles and the curved scrolls with inscriptions, but the exact route in space and time which led from the West to Toruń in the middle of the fourteenth century, remains still unknown.

In spite of technical similarities to the Dominican complex, the eastern window of the Włocławek cathedral differs from it in terms of iconography, among others, by its selection of New Testament scenes, which were evidently modelled on the *Biblia pauperum* (hence the scenes of The Flight into Egypt and The Return from Egypt or Fall of the Egyptian Idols); it is interesting to note that the above-mentioned *Biblia pauperum* was in its Austrian version, which belonged to the so called Sankt Florian sub-family (the nearest was the Vienna copy of 1331)⁷⁴. Certain elements of costume design, as well as the very motif of circular medallions, are also in accord with this version of the Bible.

From the point of view of their iconography and stylistics, it is also possible to date the Włocławek stained glass to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, yet according to the chronology of construction of the cathedral, one should rather assume that they were completed around the year 1350.

It seems that the sacral building which was most richly endowed with glazing within the northern part of Poland was the Franciscan church of the Virgin Mary in Toruń. Unfortunately, only nineteen panels or their fragments have survived from this complex (currently in the District Museum in Toruń, in Schnütgenmuseum in Cologne, Roseliushaus Museum

⁷² BECKSMANN 1979, pp. 67–70, figs 78–83.

⁷³ CAHN 1982, pp. 280–281, cat. no 97, fig. 179.

⁷⁴ SCHMIDT 1959, pp. 10–11.

in Bremen and at The Institute of Art in Detroit). The above panels can be divided into two basic groups which differ in respect of their age and style: one group comes from the windows of the south aisle and dates back to around the year 1370, and the other from the culmination of the middle window in the western façade – from around 1390.

The older group, that is the fourth complex is currently made up of the following scenes: the bust of Our Lady of Sorrows [Fig. 43] (originally a full-length representation), the panels with architectural copings [Fig. 44] as well as fragments with coats-of-arms; towards the end of World War II the following panels went missing: the lower section of the representation of Our Lady of Sorrows and the entire two-panel figure of Christ of Sorrows clutching the Column of the Flagellation (known from Steinbrecht's drawings and archival photographs). Undoubtedly the above panels came from the same two rows of the window, whose three-partite division required that scene should be completed by a third figure, in all likelihood that of St John the Evangelist [Fig. 47]. According to a reconstruction, in southern windows, one could find recurrent (multiplied?) triads of figures under architectural copings, separated with stripes of ornamental panels with the motif of a star (a single field has survived in Bremen). Deciphering the whole complex iconographic programme does not seem to be fully possible. Yet what draws one's attention is the fact that on the walls of buttresses introduced into the interior of the south aisle and creating, as it were, a second "chapel" on the eastern side, one may find specific reiterations of the representations of Our Lady of Sorrows and Christ of Sorrows at the Column of the Flagellation (circa 1390). In stained glass and mural painting – both pairs are at first glance almost identical, in terms of the theme and composition, yet the style, the dimensions of the portrayed figures, the shape of the canopies that crown them as well as the emotional content of the postures and gestures, are quite different. On the stained glass panels, Our Lady and Her Son face each other and appear to be engaged in a painful dialogue, whereas on the mural paintings, they are presented with their backs to each other, while addressing the community of the faithful.

The iconographic congruence between the stained glass and mural paintings allows one to assume that the remaining pairs painted on the interior walls of buttresses – namely of Archangel Michael with Archangel Gabriel, St Andrew with St Christopher and St Mary Magdalene with St Elizabeth of Thuringia – may also constitute repetitions of the lost panels.

Another characteristic feature is that in both of the above figures one finds architectural canopies, whose Romanesque elements are intertwined with the Gothic ones; juxtaposed at different angles and presented from different viewpoints, the above elements create the impression of an almost fantastic spaciousness, which in reality is derived from the Italian Trecento.

Our Lady of Sorrows holds a truly worthy place among a number of exquisite examples of Bohemian painting dating back to the years 1350–1360; among them, one finds works such as: St Hedwig under an architectural aedicule on a mural painting in the church of St Thomas in Prague (after 1350)⁷⁵, St Hedwig standing on a tall and architecturally complex coping of a throne in the Lubin Codex (1353), Virgin Mary with Child of Kłodzko (circa 1360)⁷⁶.

Stylistically, the figures of Mary and Christ in Toruń are reminiscent of the works of Master Theodoric found in the chapel of St Cross in Karlštejn (1367) as well as of Master Oswald (?) in the chapel of St Wenceslaus in the Prague cathedral (1372)⁷⁷; consequently, they should both be dated to around 1370, when the corpus of the church had already been completed.

The scope of the Toruń stained glass also includes thirteen panels from the parish church (currently cathedral) in Chełmno, dating back to the years 1380–1390 [Figs 45, 46, 48–51]; the above stained glass ensemble constitutes the successive, fifth complex which consists of scenes from Christ's Infancy as well as representations of the apostles with the corresponding verses of the Apostles' Creed. What is generally regarded as a great loss is the disappearance towards the end of World War II of twelve fields with Passion scenes and representations of St Paul and four prophets – Joel, Malachi, Ezekiel and Zechariah, and moreover of canopy tops with representations of Our Lady and Christ. Up until the end of the nineteenth century all of the above-mentioned panels had filled in a four-tiered eastern presbytery window, in such a way that in the middle rows one could find the narrative Christological cycle, in the middle canopy tops, the scene of Mary's Triumph, and in the extreme rows – prophets and apostles, originally arranged in accordance with the verses of the prophetic and apostolic Creed. The composition of the panels – in particular

⁷⁵ *Dějiny* 1984, fig. 251 on p. 309.

⁷⁶ MATĚJČEK, PEŠINA 1955, fig. 28.

⁷⁷ FRIEDL 1956; BURIAN 1975, figs. 48–50; *Oswald* in DA, vol. 23, 1996, p. 627 (A. Simpson).

the concept of surrounding the individual fields with a quadrangle of framings with semi-circular corners – made the entire window look like a page from an illuminated French manuscript from the times of Charles V (d. 1380).

The main difficulty with the correct interpretation of the preserved panels consists in the fact that we are dealing here with the second, fourteenth-century glazing of a thirteenth-century window which has only eleven rows to accommodate twelve apostles and twelve prophets. Steinbrecht was of the opinion that ten pairs of figures were to be found in the side rows, the eleventh pair was located in the canopy tops, whereas the twelfth pair was in the bottom five-leaved traceries. It seems that two other solutions are also acceptable, namely: either one of the apostles was holding a scroll with two articles of the *Creed* (as in the town parish church in Esslingen (1280), where St Paul displays two verses)⁷⁸, and the last pair was to be found in the canopy tops, or else the window in Chełmno had from the very beginning accommodated twelve apostles and only eight prophets, or in fact seven prophets as well as St Paul. The whole programme presented the history of salvation of the humankind.

The Apostolic Creed, together with the Christological cycle and The Triumph of Mary are consistent with the iconography popular in the fourteenth century in East Prussia. One may point here to the alleged, yet extremely probable occurrence of the Apostolic Creed on the preserved statues of the twelve Apostles holding open books, on which the verses are no longer to be found today, in the nave of St Mary's Church in Chełmno itself (circa 1330–1340)⁷⁹, and above all, to the Apostolic Creed on the mural paintings in the choir of the parish church in – Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (circa 1350–1360), as well as to the iconographic programmes of the altars from the milieu of Madonnas on Lions⁸⁰.

The composition of the eastern window in Chełmno was the reverse of the architectural organization of the "Parler" type of windows which had been executed, among others, in the cathedrals in Erfurt and Ulm, or in the hospital church of St Martha in Nuremberg⁸¹; whereas the use of rather stocky figures is well within the convention of the Parler style. In all likelihood, the creator of the Chełmno panels was not a permanent employee of a stonemason's workshop, but a painter-craftsman of panels

⁷⁸ WENZTEL 1958, p. 127, fig. 230.

⁷⁹ JURKOWLANIEC 1989, pp. 44, 76, 136, figs 75–89.

⁸⁰ BIAŁOWICZ–KRYGIEROWA 1981, pp. 33–58.

⁸¹ C.f. footnote 13.

or else a miniature painter, who was able out of his own will to transform a window opening into a kind of panel painting, or else into what looked like a parchment page of an illuminated manuscript. He was well acquainted with the painting from the third quarter of the fourteenth century in Bohemia; it is enough to recall here the interior decoration of the chapels in Karlštejn castle, Emmaus monastery or the Prague cathedral. The physiognomies of the figures painted by him are distinctively similar to the art of Master Theodoric of Prague. The Chełmno panels are younger than the older Franciscan group (circa 1370), although they are similar to them. The iconographic links with the painted retable of the Toruń Franciscans (circa 1390?) as well as with the Annunciation on the baptismal font in the church of St Nicolas in Elbląg (1386)⁸², suggest that they must have been created relatively late, around the years 1380–1390.

The sixth complex is made up of the younger group of Franciscan stained glass panels in Toruń (circa 1390). The glazing of a multipartite tracery in the middle window of the western facade, in which only five whole fields and a fragment of the sixth have remained, allow one to speak of a so called “pictorial” window (German *Bildfenster*), in the sense that its individual elements created a common whole, without architectural or geometrical framings. Even Johann Heise towards the end of the nineteenth century was able to distinguish in it eight different parts of an iconographic programme: the first field is filled by Christ’s head which is youthful in appearance and presented in a traditional way; right next to it, on the left, we can see the figure of St Peter with the key as well as Apostle Paul [Fig. 52], who is holding a sword; underneath, three successive panels present the Resurrection and some minor figures, whereas in the side fields, one can distinguish two figures holding scrolls. The two subsequent panels, enclosed within an arched section in the lower part of the tracery, also present figural representations⁸³.

If one took into consideration the above description and compared it with the extant stained glass panels and their dimensions, then at the very top one would find a *vera effigies Christi* (today only the face exists), below *duces in militia Christi* – St Peter and St Paul, and still further below the Apotheosis of St Mary Magdalene (wrongly interpreted by Heise as a Resurrection). The prophets Isaiah and Enoch would be found in the lowest sector, in a row consisting of five fields. In all probability, the apos-

⁸² CLASEN 1939, I, pp. 268–270, 312, II, figs 395, 399, 400.

⁸³ *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler* 1889, p. 284.

gles must have been placed on both sides of St Mary Magdalene as well as in the row underneath.

The types of heads and drapery folds are very close to the ones observed on the Chelmno panels; they even display certain features of a later style, such as the one used in the so called Brunswick Sketchbook (before 1400)⁸⁴.

A separate place should be reserved for two, almost monochromatic medallions with the image of St John the Baptist (The Institute of Art in Detroit) and John the Evangelist (District Museum in Toruń), constituting a specific type of *Kabinetstück*, no doubt originally embedded in a window glazed with crown or rhombus glass; the two seem to be reminiscent of the style represented by the younger group.

The younger Franciscan group makes up the last preserved stained glass produced in the Toruń workshops over the period of a hundred years. A separate and last complex is made up of a group of panels and their fragments, executed *en grisaille* at the turn of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and dispersed throughout the territory of East Prussia. In chronological order, these include: Christ's head in a crown of thorns, with a lyrical expression, found in the cloisters of the Cistercian monastery in Pelplin (the present-day oval shape and the framing of tiny pearls are the outcome of later conservation work), no doubt from the scene of the Crucifixion from the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century; monolithic cabinet stained glass: from the cemetery chapel in Nowe near Świecie, a roundel with the bust of Mary with the Christ Child flooded by sunbeams, from around 1480 (currently in the Diocesan Museum in Pelplin); two rectangular Easter decorations with St Barbara and St Catherine in the parish church in Klonówka, dating back to around 1500; stained glass with a representation of St Nicolas, in which the *en grisaille* technique is combined with the use of coloured glass (circa 1500–1510), in the parish church in Lisewo in the Żuławy district⁸⁵.

Yet, the question where these stained glass panels had been executed: whether in Gdańsk, Elbląg, or maybe in Toruń – remains unanswered. It is very difficult to decide precisely where.

The above-mentioned stained glass constitute the last remnants of mediaeval stained glass art both within the northern territory, and generally on the entire territory of Poland.

⁸⁴ DROBNA 1956, p. 48, fig. 94.

⁸⁵ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1992, p. 160, footnotes 19–23, figs 1–5.

If one looks at the entirety of the stained glass paintings within the northern territory, that are known to us directly from more or less well preserved works, or indirectly from iconographic and written sources, which in the case of Toruń do not extend beyond the fourteenth century, and at the turn of the sixteenth century are confirmed by various *disiecta membra*, executed in the known centre, there emerges the following picture.

As regards the technology of stained glass production, we are dealing with phenomena and methods which were commonly known and applied at the time, such as the use of flashed ruby-glass and in the case of the Chełmno panels with decorative motifs scratched out to attain a white hue; painting with black vitreous paint (Dominican complex, Włocławek complex), brown vitreous paint (Chełmno complex), or else painting with both paints (both Franciscan complexes); modelling by applying the technique of wash drawing or else hatching – the latter had been taken over from the art of goldsmithing (Chełmno complex). Silver stain occurs in the preserved works only at the end of the fifteenth century. The Dominican, Włocławek as well as both Franciscan complexes contain the characteristic examples of multiple use of the same cartoon, which is often turned around or just differently coloured and applied to both figural and architectural representations.

The origin of stained glass in Toruń was associated with the construction of the town's churches and that is why, it corresponds quite closely to their chronology, except for the Chełmno panels belonging to the so-called second glazing. Customarily, the construction of each new church, with the exception of the church of the two St Johns, began with the presbytery. And because the presbytery is liturgically the most important part of the church, all preserved panels, as well as those known exclusively from written accounts, constitute the remains of the glazing of window I in the eastern wall of the choir.

This painting, which can be dated more precisely to the period 1330–1390, was the outcome of the activity of a few (at least six) workshops which operated in Toruń in the first half of the fourteenth century (the churches of the Two St Johns, the Dominicans, the cathedral in Włocławek) which owed their technological skills and artistic achievements to the inspiration of the flourishing centres of stained glass, above all in the German-speaking countries (in the West, in the North and in the south-eastern regions), and in the second half of this century, also to the influence of Bohemian painting (the older Franciscan complex, the

Chełmno panels, the younger Franciscan complex); the majority of the contemporary works of mural as well as panel painting in East Prussia was also subject to the latter influence. It is impossible to say whether this influence came directly from Prague and Bohemia in general, or else whether it came via Wrocław, for as was stated above, both Bohemian and Silesian stained glass had been almost totally destroyed. In this context, it is worth noting that at the beginning of the fifteenth century one of the Toruń glaziers came from Wrocław.

Initially, one of the characteristic features of the Toruń school was the fact that stylistically it had clearly lagged behind the leading centres; this revealed itself above all in a certain conservatism noticeable in the composition of the panels (framings, ornamental backgrounds and bordures), in the use of circular medallions derived from the Romanesque tradition as well as in the archaism of iconographic programmes, particularly in Włocławek. Consequently, it might be said that, in the light of available comparative material, the first three stained glass complexes, in terms of chronology, could have been dated as having originated more or less thirty years earlier, or one generation. The process of gaining experience was slow and it was only after the initial period of acquiring the necessary creative skills and enacting them that the development of stained glass in Toruń and the whole of the Chełmno Land, was able to develop in a parallel manner as other art genres, such as mural and panel painting above all, as well as sculpture.

Having acquired the means of artistic expression specific to stained glass, the latter art form developed during nearly the entire fourteenth century within the art of the region, and once it had gained “independence” it began in turn to exert influence on the remaining genres of art.

And so the “tabernacle” layout used in the eastern window of the church of St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist, dating back to around 1330, was applied thirty years later (around the years 1360–1370) in the mural painting presenting both patrons on the same wall.

In a similar manner the iconographic theme of the Tree of Jesse on the panels in Włocławek (circa 1350) had preceded by about thirty years the mural painting in the Toruń church of the two St Johns (circa 1380–1390), on which the Tree of Jesse was subjected to a complex theological transformation.

In turn, ten years after the stained glass panels with Our Lady and Christ of Sorrows standing under architectural tabernacles had been glazed into the windows of the southern wall of the Franciscan hall church (circa 1370), similar representations of saints, in terms of theme and

composition, were painted on the interior walls of buttresses, although this time the figures of saints had been placed under much more ornate copings (circa 1380–1390).

Around the years 1350–1360, on the mural paintings in the presbytery of the parish church in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, there appeared a type of apostle figure which had occurred earlier in the Dominican panels (around 1340), whereas in the afore-mentioned mural composition in the church of the two St Johns (around 1380–1390), quatrefoil framings of the representations of virtues and vices had appeared simultaneously with identical framings in the Chełmno stained glass panels (from around 1380–1390).

The fact that the milieu of Toruń stained glass artists had been open to artistic currents arriving here from the south of Europe, through Bohemia as well as through the influence of various sketchbooks and drawings, as is best and quite startlingly borne out by the panel with the scene of the Visitation from Chełmno, which in itself constitutes an interesting, reversed reiteration of Giotto's fresco from Cappella dell'Arena in Padua; the latter example sheds interesting new light on the reception of the art of the Trecento in areas situated north of the Alps, and not only in the Chełmno Land.

Regardless the lack of preserved historical material dating back to the sixteenth century, it seems that the art of "classical" stained glass, which had flourished within the northern territory in the fourteenth century, had all but died out at the threshold of the modern era. The presence of a few monolithic, circular and rectangular glass plates, which had been painted at the end of the fifteenth century exclusively with trace line painted silver stain, corresponds in scale and technological advancement to the transformations of European stained glass production of the time observed particularly on the territory of the Netherlands⁸⁶.

* * *

Summarising this outline of the history of Gothic stained glass on the territories of Poland and neighbouring countries, one should also try and answer the question concerning its place in the history of stained glass in Europe, since it no doubt constituted the eastern-most testimony of the latter. This state of things was the outcome of two fundamental causes. Firstly, the stained glass which undoubtedly had originally existed

⁸⁶ See: HUSBAND 1991, pp. 15–34.

in the Gothic architecture of Hungary and the Baltic states – Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia – was destroyed. And secondly, the Orthodox East, which bordered with the Catholic countries, was not acquainted with the techniques of stained glass making.

Naturally, the stained glass preserved both on the territory of Lesser Poland and Eastern Pomerania, correspond to their western counterparts; one should only draw attention to possible delays in the introduction of silver stain: thus, for example, in France it had been introduced at the end of the thirteenth century, while the oldest preserved example on the territory of Lesser Poland dates back to the end of the fourteenth century (panels with the Annunciation scene currently in the National Museum in Cracow), in Eastern Pomerania – from the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century. In the first phase – until the beginning of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, the art of stained glass making in this part of Europe had remained under the stylistic influence of stained glass of the German lands, beginning with the Rhineland, through southern provinces: Bavaria, Thuringia, Austria, and ending with the northern ones (Brandenburg, Saxony, as well as Scandinavia which had in turn remained under the latter's strong influence). Later on, it was clearly the influence of Bohemian painting that dominated the territory of all contemporary Central Europe. It was only in Cracow, where works dating back to the fifteenth century have been preserved, that one can speak of the formation of a unique local style before the middle of this century (the Corpus Christi church, workshop dating back to around 1440); this style originated together with the nascent art of panel painting of the Cracow school. One may also observe isolated, yet nevertheless clearly perceptible influences of Italian painting: in Cracow around 1320 (the panel with Our Lady with Child in the Dominican church), and in Toruń around 1380–1390 (the Chełmno panel with the scene of Visitation).

The glazing in St Mary's Church in Cracow constitute an important contribution in respect of iconography: the *Biblia pauperum* with its full typological layout as well as prophets, is composed of but one of a few and one of the best preserved fourteenth-century cycles of this type⁸⁷; it also contains the Old and New Testament cycles, whose layout pattern

⁸⁷ Others, without the prophets, include among others, a dozen or so panels dating back to around 1340, in the presbytery of St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna (see: FRODL-KRAFT 1962, pp. 5–8, 20–23, 26–31, figs 8, 22, 23, 27–29, 34–37, 40) as well as over thirty panels dating back to around 1360 from the presbytery of St Mary's Church in Frankfurt (Oder); see: *Die Kunstdenkmäler* 1912, table 11, 13; KOZINA 2002, pp. 28–33, fig. on pp. 44–45, 52–58.

continues to be unidentified and which had originally been juxtaposed together, on the basis of their congruence with *Veteris et Novi Testamenti*; is it possible that it was the Prague stained glass cycles (in St Vitus Cathedral?) which constituted the model for their arrangement⁸⁸.

In relation to the number of stained glass panels described in the volumes of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* in Central and Northern Europe, which are now being prepared for publication, the group of Polish stained glass monuments is far more modest; the description and analysis of this collection comprises but a single volume, similarly as the analysis of the collection in Bohemia and Scandinavia. In other countries, whose mediaeval stained glass may serve as a historical comparative material for Polish stained glass of this period, the goals and present state of editorial achievements of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, which testify to the volume of the preserved monuments, are the following: in Austria, three out of the originally planned eight volumes have appeared in print (Vienna, Lower Austria, part I; Styria, part I), in Germany, out of the planned twenty-two volumes in forty books, thirteen have been published so far, including five relating to the territory of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Erfurt: cathedral and the remaining complexes; Mühlhausen; Stendal: cathedral and the church of St James).

Due to the key significance of the Prague milieu at the time of Charles IV's reign, particularly as regards the development of contemporary art, the current lack of an in-depth analysis of stained glass from the Prague cathedral constitutes a big gap in the preserved material as well as a serious hurdle in on-going research.

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⁸⁸ MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1997, pp. 47–49.

DIE ÄLTESTEN GLASGEMÄLDE DER DOMINIKANERKIRCHE IN KRAKAU¹

Im Jahre 1222 brachte der Krakauer Bischof Iwo Odrowąż (geb. zwischen 1170 und 1180, gest. 1229) Mitglieder des damals gerade gegründeten Dominikanerordens aus Italien nach Krakau herbei und siedelte sie an der Dreifaltigkeits-Pfarrkirche an. Unabhängig von der einfachen romanischen Klosteranlage mit Kapelle wurde bald nach dem Tatareneinfall von 1241 mit dem Bau eines neuen, stattlichen Gotteshauses begonnen, das aus einem rechteckigen dreijochigen Langchor und einer dreischiffigen, fünfjochigen Halle bestand. Im Laufe des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts wurde der Chor erhöht und das hallenartige Langhaus zu einer basilikalischen Anlage umgebaut².

Von Anfang an war das Innere der gotischen Kirche mit farbigen Glasfenstern geschmückt, von denen heute nur spärliche Reste erhalten geblieben sind. Bestimmt noch vor 1820, und vielleicht schon nach dem großen Brand, der 1668 die Kirche vernichtete, wurden die erhaltenen Scheiben in den Kreuzgang versetzt. Im Jahre 1864 hat Ludwik Łepkowski – auf Anregung des Grafen Aleksander Przeździecki – die 23 damals noch vorhandenen Scheiben in Form leicht gefärbter Aquarelle unter Angabe ihres Standortes in den einzelnen Kreuzgangflügeln nachgezeichnet³. Als dann 1895 Restaurierungsarbeiten im Kreuzgang begannen, wurden die Glasgemälde ausgebaut und dem Künstler Stanisław Wyspiański überge-

¹ Ohne die Hilfsbereitschaft von Fräulein Helena Malkiewiczówna, M. A., meiner Mitarbeiterin am polnischen Band des *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*, hätte der vorliegende Aufsatz nicht entstehen können. Ich fühle mich ihr zu Dank verpflichtet.

² JAMRÓZ 1970; GRZYBKOWSKI 1979, S. 69 und 101–102, Anm. 104 und 105; GRZYBKOWSKI 1983, S. 159; GRZYBKOWSKI 1983a, S. 147.

³ ŁEPKOWSKI 1864/1865.

ben, mit dem Auftrag, Nachzeichnungen im Maßstab 1:1 für die geplante Erneuerung auszuführen⁴. Diese Arbeit wurde erst 1902–1904 von dem Glasmeister Teodor Zajdzikowski durchgeführt und bestand in Ergänzungen und Umbildungen wie der Hinzufügung von Bordüren, Umrahmungen und Inschriften. Die erneuerten Scheiben kamen in die Kreuzgangfenster zurück⁵. Während des Ersten Weltkrieges wurden die Glasgemälde 1915 zum Schutz gegen Vernichtung wieder ausgebaut. Nach dem Ausbruch des Zweiten Weltkrieges wurden sie zu einem Teil im Kloster in Kisten aufbewahrt und zum anderen von den deutschen Okkupanten nach Wawel verlegt. Im Jahre 1946 erfolgte ihre Übergabe durch die damalige Stadtbehörde an den Krakauer Glasmalerei-Betrieb S. G. Żeleński zur neuerlichen Restaurierung ausgebesserte Scheiben wurden 1948 im Nationalmuseum in Krakau deponiert und die übrigen 1954 nach Thorn gesandt, wo sie unter der Leitung des Konservators Edward Kwiatkowski einer Erneuerung unterzogen wurden, die Reinigung, Imprägnierung des Glases, Zusammenkleben der Sprung- und Bruchstellen, Ergänzung durch neues Glas und Neuverbleien umfasste⁶.

Vom ursprünglichen Glasgemäldebestand der Dominikanerkirche sind bis heute nur 22 Scheiben erhalten geblieben; davon befinden sich 18 in dem Nationalmuseum in Krakau, drei bleiben weiterhin in dem 1953 verstaatlichten Betrieb S. G. Żeleński, und eine schmückt seit 1964 das Innere der Wawel-Kathedrale⁷. Stilistisch und zeitlich bilden sie vier Gruppen, deren Entstehung in die Zeit vom Ende des 13. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts fällt. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit verdient die älteste Gruppe von vier Scheiben, die in die Zeit zwischen 1285 und 1325 zu datieren sind. Drei von ihnen, der hl. Augustinus [Fig. 10], der hl. Stanislaus [Fig. 11] und die Muttergottes mit dem Kind [Fig. 13], sind Teile einfiguriger Darstellungen; die vierte ist eine Kreuzigung [Fig. 12] – ursprünglich in einem Kreis, der an den Seiten verschnitten worden war, um in das Rechteckfeld der neuen Glasscheibe eingepasst werden zu können. Auf Grund der gleichen stilistischen Merkmale und Proportionen sind die hll. Augustinus und Stanislaus wohl derselben Verglasung und ausführenden Hand zuzuschreiben. Die Muttergottes mit dem Kind ist

⁴ WYSPIAŃSKI 1899. Die originalen Zeichnungen von Wyspiański befinden sich im Nationalmuseum in Krakau.

⁵ „Teka Grona Konserwatorów Galicji Zachodniej”, 2, 1906, S. 400.

⁶ PIENKOWSKA 1949a; PIENKOWSKA 1949, S. 182–189; PIENKOWSKA 1950.

⁷ H. MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA, *Katalog der Dominikaner-Glasgemälde in Krakau*, Maschinenschrift im Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Jagiellonen-Universität.

einige Jahrzehnte später entstanden. Die Kreuzigung bedarf weiterer Untersuchungen und ist darum nicht Gegenstand der vorliegenden Analyse.

In dem bisherigen Schrifttum werden die beiden Scheiben mit der Darstellung des hl. Augustinus und des hl. Stanislaus (vgl. Katalog) in die zweite Hälfte des 13. bzw. die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts datiert⁸. Beachtet man Ausmaße und Form der einfigurigen Glasscheiben um die Wende jener Jahrhunderte, so besteht kein Zweifel, dass die Krakauer Scheiben Teile einfiguriger Glasgemälde sind. Jede Figur umfasste ursprünglich zwei Scheiben, so wie es mit der Darstellung des hl. Biulfus (196 cm × 84 cm) im Straßburger Münster aus der Zeit um 1240 bis 1250 der Fall ist⁹. Aus dem Vergleich mit Łepkowskis Aquarellen ist zu ersehen [Figs 53, 54], dass Zajdzikowski über den Köpfen beider Heiliger etwa 15 Zentimeter blauen Hintergrundes hinzugefügt hat, um die erhaltenen Scheibenteile oben ergänzen und den Kreuzgangfenstern anpassen zu können. Die einstige Höhe der unteren Scheiben lässt sich durch eine Verlängerung des schrag angeordneten Bischofsstabs feststellen. Daher dürfte die Höhe der beiden Scheiben etwa 190 cm betragen haben.

Weder der heutige Erhaltungszustand noch die Aquarelle von Łepkowski informieren über den ursprünglichen Hintergrund. Im 13. und Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts gab es in dieser Hinsicht – wenn man von der Anordnung der Figuren ohne jeglichen Rahmen sowie mit bzw. ohne ornamentalen Hintergrund absieht – zwei Lösungen. Bei der einen, deren Tradition bis zu den Glasgemälden der Kunibert-Kirche in Köln zurückreicht, ist die frontal dargestellte Figur in einen Langpass eingefasst¹⁰. In diesem Fall waren die Krakauer Scheiben dem hl. Gregorius im Westchor des Naumburger Domes um 1250¹¹ oder den hll. Benedictus und Bernhardus, 1295–1297, aus St. Walpurgis bei St. Michael unweit von Leoben¹², verwandt. In der anderen Lösung – zeitgleich – ist die Figur in eine Arkade eingefasst, wie Dux Leopoldus um 1300 auf dem sich jetzt in der Pfarrkirche in Steyr befindlichen Glasgemälde¹³. Diese letztere Lö-

⁸ Literatur bei Malkiewiczówna, wie Anm. 7; vgl. auch M. Pietrusińska in: *Sztuka polska przedromańska* 1971, II, S. 721.

⁹ WENTZEL 1954, S. 90, Abb. 8; BEYER ET AL. 1986, S. 50, Abb. 26 und S. 118–123, Abb. 102–105.

¹⁰ WENTZEL 1954, S. 87, Abb. 26. Zu dem Langpass vgl. FRODL-KRAFT 1959, S. 12–14; BACHER 1975, S. 15–16.

¹¹ DRACHENBERG et al. 1979, S. 219–220, Abb. 21; BEYER ET AL. 1986, S. 50, Abb. 27.

¹² Hl. Benedictus: *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* 1977, S. 38, Nr. 81; hl. Bernhardus: WENTZEL 1954, S. 91, Abb. 92.

¹³ FRODL-KRAFT 1959, Abb. S. 13; BINDERMANN 1972, S. 10–15, Abb. 5.

sung scheint dem Bestand des Hintergrundes und den Proportionen der Dominikaner-Scheiben besser zu entsprechen als die erste.

Die stilistischen Merkmale der Krakauer Glasgemälde erscheinen nicht charakteristisch genug, um sie sicher einzuordnen. Unter dem erreichbaren Vergleichsmaterial bieten sich im allgemeinen die österreichischen, vor allem die steierischen Scheiben aus dem Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts an, wie die schon erwähnten Scheiben aus St. Walpurgis, zu denen man auch den „Abt Heinrich von Admont“, ebendort und aus derselben Zeit¹⁴, sowie die Christus-Scheibe aus der Franziskanerkirche in Bruck an der Mur, vor 1295, derzeit im Steyerischen Landesmuseum Joanneum in Graz¹⁵, hinzufügen kann. Doch das sind nur stilistische Ähnlichkeiten, nicht solche der Werkstatt. Die Krakauer Glasscheiben sind ein relativ selbständiges Werk.

Was die Datierung derselben betrifft, so lassen sich einige Hinweise dem Kult des hl. Stanislaus entnehmen. Als *terminus a quo* seiner „Porträt“-Darstellungen ist seine Heiligsprechung anzunehmen, die 1253 in der Basilika des hl. Franziskus in Assisi von dem Papst Innozenz IV. verkündet worden ist.

Die Krakauer Dominikaner waren an den Bemühungen um die Verbreitung des Kultes des hl. Stanislaus und um dessen Heiligsprechung lebhaft beteiligt. Die vielgelesene Lebensbeschreibung des Heiligen – *Vita Sancti Stanislai episcopi Cracoviensis* – ist von Wincenty aus Kielcza, dem Kapellan des Krakauer Bischofs Iwo Odrowąż, seit 1227 Krakauer Domherr, später Dominikanerpater, verfasst worden; die *Vita minor* – vor der Heiligsprechung, 1242, die *Vita maior* – nach derselben, 1260 bis 1261¹⁶. Aufgrund der bekannten Ikonographie des hl. Stanislaus im 13. Jahrhundert dürfte das Dominikanerglasgemälde als die erste erhaltene „Porträt“-Darstellung des Heiligen gelten; sie ist zweifellos eine Nachbildung seines Bildnisses auf der Kanonisationsfahne. Über sie steht in der *Vita maior*, Abschnitt 56: „Post hec vero cum Romanus pontifex ascendisset pulpitem ad pronuntiandum tante sanctitatis eulogium, apparuit coram eo decens vexillum, habens nomen et impressum imaginem beati Stanislai protomartiris Polonorum. Cuius vexilli rubor representavit effusionem

¹⁴ BACHER 1975, S. 20–21, Nr. 10, Abb. II und 5.

¹⁵ BACHER 1975, S. 21–22, Nr. 12, Abb. 10; BACHER 1979, S. 57–58, Kat. Nr. 1, Abb. 132–135. Die gotische Glasmalerei in der Steiermark charakterisiert ders. in: St. Lambrecht 1978, S. 151–157; BACHER 1979, S. XXIII–XLVIII.

¹⁶ PLEZIA 1962.

preciosi sanguinis et imago gloriosum antistitem sive personam individui patientis”¹⁷.

Um die Entstehungszeit der Glasscheibe mit dem hl. Stanislaus noch näher zu bestimmen, könnte man auf den – zwar hypothetischen, aber doch sehr wahrscheinlichen – Stifter hinweisen, und zwar auf den Fürsten Leszek Czarny (geb. 1240 bzw. 1241, gest. 1288), den Landherren von Łęczycza, Sieradz, Krakau (seit 1279) und Sandomierz¹⁸. Er war ein eifriger Verehrer des hl. Stanislaus, was durch sein einzigartiges, in einigen Exemplaren erhaltenes Siegel bezeugt wird, deren ältestes 1281 datiert ist. Es stellt den Fürsten kniend am Altar vor dem hl. Stanislaus dar, der bei der Eucharistiefeier eben den Kelch emporhebt¹⁹. Dieses Siegel gilt als Ausdruck politischer Bestrebungen des Fürsten nach der Wiedervereinigung der Teilfürstentümer des damaligen Polen²⁰. Als Wohltäter und Gönner der Krakauer Dominikaner wurde Leszek Czarny im Chor ihrer neuerbauten Kirche beigesetzt – an der Stelle, die er, selbst zu seinen Lebzeiten gewählt hätte. Joannes Longinus berichtet darüber in seiner *Historia Polonica* unter dem Jahre 1289 wie folgt: „Altiori deinde morbo et aegritudine correptus, ultima Septembris die, in castro Cracoviensi, sacro percepto viatico, animam exhalat, et in Sanctae Trinitatis monasterio ordinis Praedicatorum, in parte chori sinistra, quem locum vivens delegerat, iusto et ducali honore sepelitur”²¹.

Das ist möglicherweise ein Grund dafür, die Anfertigung der Glasscheibe mit dem hl. Stanislaus in die Zeit vor 1288 zu datieren.

Wenn man nun nach den Zwischengliedern sucht, die die künstlerischen Beziehungen der Krakauer Dominikaner zu den österreichischen Ländern vermitteln könnten, ist die Aufmerksamkeit vor allem auf das Dominikanerkloster zu Friesach in Kärnten zu lenken. Nach der alten Tradition, die von dem im 14. Jahrhundert lebenden Dominikaner Stanislaus Lector in seinem Werke *De vita et miraculis sancti Jacchonis* überliefert worden ist, soll der hl. Hyazinthus, seit 1220 Dominikanerpater in Bologna, einer der Mitbegründer des Dominikanerklosters zu Friesach 1221 gewesen sein, wo er sich zusammen mit seinem Bruder, dem sel. Czeslaus (gest. 1242) und dem Dominikanerkonvers Hermann sechs Monate aufhielt. So lesen wir bei Stanislaus Lector: „Anno Domini MC-

¹⁷ *Vita S. Stanislai* [1884], S. 437.

¹⁸ J. Mitkowski, *Leszek Czarny* in PSB, VII, 1 H. 72, S. 157–159.

¹⁹ PIEKOSIŃSKI 1899, S. 124–125, Nr. 182, Abb. 140.

²⁰ PIECH 1983.

²¹ DEUGOSZ, *Historia Polonica*, S. 495.

CXVII beatus Dominicus spiritu Dei instigente et episcopo Yvone devote petente, filios suos videlicet sanctum Iazechonem et sanctum Cesslaum et conversum Hermannum, dans eis ymbrem celestis benedictionis, in Poloniam misit, qui venientes in Theothoniam ad civitatem Frizacensem ibi verbo et exemplo populum edificantes, primum conventum receperunt, ubi infra sex menses numerosam multitudinem sacerdotum et clericorum ad ordinem receperunt et ordinis observantias, et ex ore beati Dominici docti fuerunt, eos informaverunt”²².

Außerdem zeugt es von ihrer Bedeutung, dass die 1228 gegründete polnische Dominikanerprovinz zu Lebzeiten des hl. Hyazinthus (d.h. vor 1257) von dem Dominikanerpater Otto von Friesach visitiert wurde²³.

Ob die Krakauer Dominikaner über direkte Beziehungen zur Kunst in Friesach verfügten, lässt sich aus den Schriftquellen des Krakauer Klosterarchivs nicht ersehen. So könnten höchstens die in Friesach aus der Zeit um 1300 erhaltenen Werke als Vergleichsmaterial herangezogen werden. Zu beachten ist in diesem Zusammenhang das Pergamentbild des hl. Nikolaus in Pontifikaltracht mit Pallium auf einer Holztür im Joanneum in Graz, die ursprünglich in die Sakristei der Dominikanerkirche St. Nikolaus in Friesach geführt hat²⁴. Von besonderer Bedeutung scheinen auch die dortigen Glasgemälde mit Klugen und Törichten Jungfrauen unter dreibahniger Arkade – ursprünglich in der Dominikanerkirche, jetzt in der Pfarrkirche St. Bartholomäus zu sein²⁵. Bei allgemeiner Ähnlichkeit des Zackenstils dieser Scheiben meinen wir besonders eine der Klugen Jungfrauen [Fig. 55], und zwar die Art, wie die Bleiruten ihre Haare vom Gesicht trennen, der dreieckige Ausschnitt am Hals und die gerade Anordnung der auf die Schulter herabfallenden Haarflechten. Eine theoretische Rekonstruktion lässt möglich erscheinen, dass auch die Krakauer Heiligen, Augustinus und Stanislaus, ursprünglich unter einer Arkade gestanden haben. Die Werkstattverwandtschaft zwischen den beiden Letzgenannten legt nahe, dass beide gleichzeitig und aufeinander bezogen entstanden sind. Die Wahl des hl. Augustinus wäre dadurch zu erklären, dass die von ihm stammende Ordensregel derjenigen des Dominikanerordens zugrunde gelegt worden ist.

²² *De vita et miraculis* [1884], S. 847.

²³ KIELAR 1973, S. 36.

²⁴ Joanneum, Alte Galerie, Inv.-Nr. 301; Krems an der Donau 1964, S. 207–208, Kat. Nr. 181 (H. Fillitz), Farbtafel 16; Wiener Neustadt 1979, S. 402, Kat. Nr. 186 (G. Fritsche), Abb. S. 403.

²⁵ KIESLINGER 1920, S. 20, FARBTAFEL 2; Wiener Neustadt 1979, S. 403–404, Kat. Nr. 187.

Wie die hll. Augustinus und Stanislaus ist die Muttergottes mit dem Kind (vgl. Katalog) ursprünglich eine einfigurige Darstellung gewesen. Aus dem Fragment einer senkrechten Stütze, die am linken Rand auf dem Aquarell Łepkowskis zu sehen ist [Fig. 56], ergibt sich, dass die Krakauer Madonna von einer gotischen Arkade umrahmt war, so wie die Muttergottes mit dem Kind aus Wiener Neustadt (110 cm × 61 cm), erstes Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts, im Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg²⁶. In der bisherigen Literatur wird diese Scheibe – ebenso wie diejenigen mit den Heiligen Augustinus und Stanislaus – in die zweite Hälfte des 13. und die erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts datiert²⁷.

Nach der Meinung von Władysław Podlacha weist sie Einflüsse des Trecento bzw. der ostkirchlichen Malerei auf²⁸. Neuerdings brachte Jadwiga Chruszczyńska die Krakauer Scheibe zu dem Sieneser Glasgemälde der sitzenden Muttergottes mit dem Kind, zweite Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, in Santuario della Madonna della Grotta bei Siena in Verbindung²⁹. Sie ist der Meinung, die ältesten Dominikanerscheiben „dürften auf Bestellung in Italien, in Siena, ausgeführt worden sein oder – was noch wahrscheinlicher ist – ein Werk örtlicher Ordensleute nach italienischem Muster“ sein³⁰.

Drei Merkmale zeichnen die Krakauer Muttergottes aus: erstens der abgewandte Kopf des Kindes; zweitens die Art, wie die rechte Hand der Maria die linke Hand des Kindes hält; drittens die zum Gesicht der Maria erhobene rechte Hand des Kindes. Alle drei entstammen der Sieneser Malerei; die zwei ersten treten in dem ersten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts auf, das letztere erscheint bereits gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts³¹.

Obwohl die Beziehung zwischen der Krakauer Muttergottes und der Sieneser Malerei keinem Zweifel unterliegt, erregt doch die frühe Datierung im 13. Jahrhundert ernste Bedenken. Wie nämlich aus dem Erhaltungszustand des Glasgemäldes in Santuario della Madonna della Grotta folgt, ist das sich abwendende Gesicht des Kindes erst später verändert

²⁶ *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* 1977, S. 38, Nr. 82, Abb. 39; *Schatzkammer der Deutschen* 1982, S. 43, Nr. 26, Abb. S. 42.

²⁷ Vgl. Anm. 8.

²⁸ PODLACHA 1913/1914, S. 66–68.

²⁹ CHRUSZCZYŃSKA 1974, S. 155–156, Abb. 136.

³⁰ Dieser Datierung und Bestimmung der Herkunft folgt STOLOT 1981, S. 24–25 mit Abb.

³¹ CARLI 1955, S. 35–38; MARCHINI 1955, S. 27, Tafel A und S. 223, Anm. 30: „*Notons qu'aucours d'une restauration malheureuse, la position de la tête de l'enfant fut invertie*“; GRODECKI, Brisac 1984, S. 220–221, Abb. 214 und S. 266, Nr. 105; Avignon 1983, S. 34–35, Nr. 1.

worden³². Außerdem ist die Anordnung der Hände des Krakauer Kindes eher für andere ikonographische Typen und Varianten der Hodegetria als der durch die Sieneser Madonna vertretenen charakteristisch.

Die chronologische Reihenfolge (nach der Datierung von Stubblebine) der Sieneser Bilder mit dem von Maria abgewandten Kopf des Kindes ist folgende: das Bild aus Monte Oliveto, vor 1310, in Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, wo diese Bewegung durch die Anwesenheit der anbetenden Engel erklärlich ist³³; das Bild aus Badia a Isola, um 1320, in der Pinakothek von Siena (Nr. 583) [Fig. 57]³⁴; das Polyptychon 39, 1325–1330, aus der Kirche St. Franziskus in Pisa, ehemals in der Sammlung Schiff-Giorgini, z. Z. an einem unbekanntem Aufbewahrungsort³⁵; das Madonnenbild aus Grosseto³⁶, 1330, im Museo d'Arte di Grosseto. Ähnlich wie das Kind von der Muttergottes wendet Maria ihren Kopf von der hl. Anna auf dem Bild von Ugolino, 1325–1330, in Ruvigilana bei Lugano, ab³⁷.

Die Art, wie die linke Hand des Kindes von der rechten Hand der Maria gehalten wird, hat ihr Muster in solchen Darstellungen der Madonna wie der Duccios, 1300–1305, aus dem Kloster S. Domenico in Perugia, in Galleria Nazionale dell' Umbria in Perugia³⁸, und dem Bild aus Città di Castello, vor 1320, im Kunstmuseum in Kopenhagen³⁹, oder in der Darstellung der hl. Anna mit Maria auf dem obengenannten Bild von Ugolino. Im Falle der Madonna aus Badia a Isola sowie der auf dem Polyptychon 39 aus Pisa hält Maria nicht die linke, sondern die rechte Hand des Kindes, was die diagonale Anordnung beider Hände – anstatt der waagerechten, wie auf der Krakauer Scheibe – zur Folge hat.

Die zum Gesicht der Maria erhobene rechte Hand des Kindes knüpft an solche Tafelbilder an wie die Madonna aus Crevole, 1295–1300, in Opera del Duomo in Siena [Fig. 58]⁴⁰, die dem Duccio zugeschriebene Madonna Stocklet aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt des 13. Jahrhunderts⁴¹ oder

³² Die Typen und Varianten der Muttergottes mit dem Kind, das sich von Maria abwendet, sind durch SHORR 1954, S. 83–109, ausführlich analysiert.

³³ STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 94–95; II, Abb. 212.

³⁴ Ebenda, I, S. 84; II, Abb. 183.

³⁵ Ebenda, I, S. 179, II, Abb. 443.

³⁶ Ebenda, I, S. 155, II, Abb. 507.

³⁷ Ebenda, I, S. 170, II, Abb. 419.

³⁸ WHITE 1979, S. 62–63 und *Portfolio of Duccio's works*, Abb. 7; STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 30–31, II, Abb. 44; DEUCHLER, S. 209, Nr. 5, Abb. 44.

³⁹ STUBBLEBINE, I, S. 88–89, II, Abb. 193.

⁴⁰ WHITE 1979, S. 24, Abb. 3 und *Portfolio of Duccio's works*, Abb. 1; STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 124–125, II, Abb. 298–299; DEUCHLER 1984, S. 207, Nr. 1, Abb. 28–29.

⁴¹ WHITE 1979, S. 63, Abb. 30; STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 27–28, II, Abb. 40.

die Thronende Madonna, 1320, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, in Venedig⁴² – in allen diesen Beispielen erhebt das Kind seine linke Hand, um den Saum des Schleiers auf dem Kopf der Maria zu ergreifen – bzw. wie die Madonna aus der Zeit 1280–1285 in der Pinacoteca Santa Verdiana in Castelfiorentino⁴³ oder die Thronende Madonna von Duccio, 1290–1300, in der National Gallery in London – wo die rechte Hand des Kindes die Wange der Mutter liebkost⁴⁴. In der Krakauer Scheibe ist die erhobene Hand des Kindes nicht organisch mit dessen Körper verbunden, wodurch ein Eindruck einer gewissen Unnatürlichkeit der Geste entsteht.

Der Vergleich der Krakauer Muttergottes mit den angeführten Beispielen erlaubt es, deren Abhängigkeit von der Sieneser Tafelmalerie zu bestimmen und ihre Entstehung ungefähr in die Jahre um 1320 zu datieren. Die Scheibe ist nicht die Nachahmung eines einzigen Musters, sondern eine Zusammenfügung aller drei Merkmale, von denen nur zwei in einem italienischen Bild zusammen vorkommen. Von der Sieneser Tafelmalerie weicht sie ab durch den übermäßig großen Kopf der Maria im Verhältnis zum Köpfchen des Kindes, durch das für die Gotik nördlich der Alpen charakteristische Festhalten des Mantels von Maria mit ihrem Ellenbogen und Unterarm, vor allem aber durch das Ausfüllen der Niben der Maria und ursprünglich auch des Kindes mit langen Blättchen in kleinen Arkaden. Ähnlich gestaltet ist der Nimbus des auferstandenen Christus auf der Glasscheibe von Steyr, um 1300, wobei allerdings die Steyrer Blättchen nicht so gespitzt sind wie die Krakauer⁴⁵.

Mangels einer zufriedenstellenden wissenschaftlichen Untersuchung über die gotische Kloster- und Kirchenanlage der Krakauer Dominikaner ist es nicht möglich, den ursprünglichen Standort der drei oben behandelten Glasscheiben genau zu bestimmen und deren vermutliche Entstehungszeit mit der Analyse der Architektur in Einklang zu bringen. Es steht jedoch außer Zweifel, dass sie die Fenster des 1248–1251 errichteten Chores geschmückt haben. Der 1970 von P. Adam Studziński OP auf dem Gebiet des Klosters entdeckte Ofen aus dem 13. Jahrhundert zum Ausbrennen glasierter Fußbodenkeramik könnte die Annahme zulassen, dass alle drei Scheiben – ungeachtet des Stil- und Zeitunterschieds zwi-

⁴² STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 81–82, II, Abb. 176 und 177.

⁴³ STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 28–30, II, Abb. 41 und 42.

⁴⁴ STUBBLEBINE 1979, I, S. 75–76, II, Abb. 160.

⁴⁵ KIESLINGER 1920, S. 62, Tafel 28; FRODL-KRAFT 1972, S. XXIX, Abb. 2; BACHER 1979, S. XXVI, Abb. 7. Man vergleiche auch den auferstandenen Christus aus Annaberg: FRODL-KRAFT 1972, Farbtafel I zur S. 8.

schen den Scheiben mit den hll. Augustinus und Stanislaus und der der Muttergottes mit Kind – in dem Kloster selbst ausgeführt worden sind.

Katalog:

Hl. Augustinus

(MNK = Nationalmuseum in Krakau, Inv.-Nr. MNK-ND-5524), 90,5 cm × 54 cm, Halbfigur, 72 cm hoch, frontal dargestellt, in Pontifikaltracht, mit Pallium. Im Rundnimbus gotische Majuskelschrift: S. AVGVSTINVS.

Erhaltung

Die Innenseite: Glas in relativ gutem Zustand, stellenweise matt geworden. Oberfläche abgenutzt, mit Ausnahme des Grüns, Zeichnung lesbar, ausgebessert und sekundär gebrannt. Verbleiung neu, mehrere Sprungbleie.

Farbigkeit

Inkarnat blasses Lilarosa. Haar helles Violett. Nimbus goldgelb. Mitra helles Graublau; Titulus und Circulus rubinrot, mit Perlenmuster; Fanoes violett mit grünen Endungen. Tunicella am Halsausschnitt und auf dem enganliegenden Ärmel der rechten Hand rubinrot. Parura am Hals violett; der rechte Ärmel der Dalmatika grauviolett, mit Perlenmuster. Ornat grün mit rotem Futter. Pallium zitronengelb. Der Besatz des Ornats am Halsausschnitt und Handschuhe graublau; der rechte Handschuh mit goldgelbem Besatz, der linke hat Rautenmuster mit Kreuzchen. Bischofsstab: Holz helles Ocker, Krümmung zitronengelb. Hintergrund beiderseits mittelblau.

Technik

Lotbemalung schwarz; Lasuren innen und außen, außen nur auf dem Grün (nach der Zeichnung der Innenseite) erhalten; negative Ornamentmuster; Kratzspuren (Krümmung des Bischofsstabs).

Hl. Stanislaus

(MNK = Nationalmuseum in Krakau, Inv.-Nr. MNK-ND-5523), 90,5 cm × 53,5 cm, Halbfigur, 72 cm hoch, frontal dargestellt, in Pontifikaltracht, mit Pallium. In rundem Nimbus gotische Majuskelschrift: S. STANISLAVS.

Erhaltung

Die Innenseite: das Glas matt geworden. Oberschicht stellenweise abgelättert. Die Zeichnung verbessert und sekundär abgebrannt, auf dem Bartwuchs abgelöst (sichtbares Negativ). Die Außenseite gereinigt. Das Grün sehr glatt. Verbleiung neu.

Farbigkeit

Inkarnat hellblau-violett; Haar blasses Lilarosa. Nimbus goldgelb. Mitra helles Graublau; Titulus und Circulus rubinrot, mit Perlenmuster; Fanones violett, mit grünen Endungen. Tunicella, sichtbar am Hals, violett. Parura am Hals grün; Ärmel der Dalmatika grün, mit gekreuzten Linien. Ornat Rubin verschiedener Intensität. Besatz des Ornats am Halsauschnitt und Handschuhe in der Farbe der Mitra, auf der linken Seite Rautenmuster mit Kreuzchen. Pallium zitronengelb. Bischofsstab: Holzschäft helles Ocker, Nodus rubinrot. Krümmung zitronengelb. Hintergrund mittelblau.

Technik

Lotbemalung schwarz; Überfangglas Rubin auf Weiß; Lasuren; negative Ornamentmuster; Kratzspuren (Krümmung des Bischofsstabs).

Muttergottes

(MNK = Nationalmuseum in Krakau, Inv.-Nr. MNK-ND-5522), 90,5 cm × 53 cm, Halbfigur, in Dreiviertel nach rechts gewandt, mit dem Kind auf ihrem linken Arm, das seinen Kopf nach außen abwendet und seine rechte Hand zum Gesicht der Mutter erhebt. Die rechte Hand der Maria hält die linke Hand des Kindes.

Erhaltung

Die Innenseite: das Glas an den meisten Stellen glatt; die Oberfläche teilweise zerstört: Abblättern der oberen Schicht. Die Zeichnung lesbar, ausgebessert und sekundär gebrannt. Neue Rahmenborten wiederholen die alten. Auf den Gesichtern von Maria und Kind Verdickungen, die der Zeichnung auf der Innenseite entsprechen.

Farbigkeit

Inkarnat sehr blasses Lilarosa mit brauner Abtönung. Muttergottes gekleidet in grünes Gewand mit goldgelbem Besatz am Hals und am rechten Ärmel und Mantel in Rubinrot verschiedener Intensität, mit blauem

Futter. Auf rechtem Unterarm ein querliegender violetter Streifen. Das Kleid des Kindes grün, Besatz am Hals goldgelb, mit Weinranken. Nimbus von Maria goldgelb, mit einem Motiv von strahlenförmig angeordneten, halbrunden Arkaden, die von scharfkantigen Blättchen ausgefüllt sind. Nimbus des Kindes ähnlich, mit rubinrotem Kreuzchen und nicht erkennbarem Muster. Der Hintergrund in blau verschiedener Intensität.

Technik

Die Zeichnung ist schwarz. Lasuren auf dem Gesicht und dem Hals von Maria und auf dem Gesicht des Kindes. Überfangenes Glas, Rubin auf Weiß. Negative ornamentale Muster.

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THE THIRTEENTH-CENTURY
STAINED GLASS CRUCIFIXION PANEL
OF THE DOMINICAN CHURCH IN CRACOW

To the group of stained glass panels still extant from the oldest preserved painted furnishings of the Dominican Holy Trinity Church in Cracow (and more generally to the oldest surviving ones on Polish soil), from which three – St Augustine (around 1280–1288), St Stanislaus (around 1280–1288) and the Virgin with Child (around 1320) [Figs 10, 11, 13] – have already been analysed in detail¹, one should also include the panel with the Crucifixion [Fig. 12]². Originally enclosed in a circular medallion, this panel has been previously mentioned only in passing and incorrectly dated to the end of the fourteenth century. Like the remaining preserved Dominican panels from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, it was installed in the nineteenth century in the cloister (in one of the windows of the east wing), where it survived a church fire in 1850. In 1895, with the start of the restoration of the cloisters, it was removed and underwent conservation by Teodor Zajdzikowski (post 1902), only to be reinstalled there. It was again removed, however, with the beginning of the First World War, and upon the end of Second World War, along with the rest of the recovered panels, it was deposited at the National Museum in Cracow (no MNK-ND-5594). In 1963, it underwent refurbishing at the Stained Glass Conservation Workshop in Toruń, under the supervision of Edward Kwiatkowski, using the method of Wiesław Domaśłowski, Edward Kwiatkowski and Leonard Torwirt. Recently, it has been included in

¹ KALINOWSKI 1989, figs 1–12.

² PIENKOWSKA 1949, p. 188; PIENKOWSKA 1950; PIENKOWSKA 1950a.

the permanent display of the Gallery of Decorative Art at what is now referred to as the New Building of the National Museum in Cracow³.

Beginning with the nineteenth century, the panel underwent various forms of documentation: a watercolour by Ludwik Łepkowski, from 1864, referenced in the book, *Coloured Windows in Cracow's Churches...*, containing coloured sketches of all the Gothic stained glass windows in Cracow as well as neighbouring lands (stored at the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University)⁴ [Fig. 59]; a tracing copy in 1:1 scale, executed by Stanisław Wyspiański in the years 1895–1896 for the purposes of a planned restoration of the Dominican stained glass windows, taking into account all the preserved and original details of the drawing (National Museum in Cracow, Inv. No. MNK-NI-103199)⁵; and furthermore, photographs showing the condition of the panels before and after conservation in 1963⁶. For the needs of this paper, taking into consideration the clarity of the drawing, we depend first and foremost on the retracings by Wyspiański.

Today's quadrilateral panel, measuring 88 by 53 centimetres, originated from a circular surface, measuring circa 66 to 67 centimetres in diameter, by subtracting its sides and adding glass so that it became an upright rectangle. The surface – despite the presence of several new pieces of glass and the advanced deterioration of the black contour – visible to a great extent only in the negative, continues to represent the original arrangement and the characteristics of style which are discernible in the above mentioned watercolour painting by Łepkowski and in Wyspiański's retracing. In accordance with the so-called liturgical-type of the Crucifixion, Christ hanging on a Latin Cross, standing on a slight hill, with his left foot crossed over his right one and penetrated by a single nail, is accompanied by the figures of the Mother of God (heraldically at his right) and St John the Evangelist (heraldically at his left). Streaks of blood flow from under the nails in his hands and feet, as well as, from his lanced side. The body of Christ, girdled by a loin cloth reaching down to his knees, tied to his left side with a sharp projection protruding from the knot, is hanging

³ The history of the Dominican stained glass was compiled by: WALCZY 1987; WALCZY 1989.

⁴ KALINOWSKI 1991.

⁵ Twenty-two tracing copies made by Stanisław Wyspiański, of all the Dominican panels existing at the time, were purchased in 1899 for the National Museum in Cracow. On the subject of their inception see inter alia: WYSPIAŃSKI [1979], part 1, pp. 284, 291, 306, 308–309, 459; part 2, pp. 165, 170, 224, 280, figs 114, 115.

⁶ Photographic documentation in the archives of the CVMA Poland.

slightly twisted to the right, in harmony with the direction of his bent at the knees legs. Together with his head nodded over his right shoulder, the figure of his body likens itself to an elongated upside down letter “S”.

Christ’s face, eyes closed, fashioned with a delicate stubble, shown from both sides with falling curls of hair, without a crown of thorns, is encircled by a crossed halo, filled out by a motif of semicircular petals.

In the development of the theme of the Crucifixion over the centuries, the Dominican Crucifixion carried distinctive traits from the end of the thirteenth century. These are indicated by the S-shaped arrangement of the body, semicircular extended arms with open palms, forming a natural extension of the shoulders, the length of the perizoma and the way it is tied, the way the feet are nailed and the absence of a crown of thorns⁷.

The Mother of God is wearing a long dress with a coat thrown over her head and shoulders; her left hand by her cheek supports her head, which is bowed towards Christ’s head, while her right hand holds up the seam of her robe. Mary’s dress has a wide band with a fine pearl ornament sown into the neckline, and her halo is rimmed with the motif of negative squares.

Mirroring the Mother of God, on the other side of the Crucified Christ, is St John in a garment reaching down to his ankles and exposing his bare feet; similarly as in the case of Mary’s robe, a band with fine pearls, which also doubles back as the finishing trim of his left sleeve, is also sewn into a coat thrown over his shoulders; his right hand supports his head, encircled by a halo, outlined by several circles, while his left hand holds onto the sides of his open robe.

In accordance with the principles of mirror image symmetry, the Mother of God and St John reflect each other in the arrangement of their hands and garments; the coat under the right hand of the Mother of God and under the left hand of St John lays itself in a similar manner as the perizoma on Christ’s right side – crosswise, folded into the shape of an inverted letter “V”, heavy, realistic garment folds, giving the figures a statuesque character.

The clear, raw composition is enhanced by the colour tone: the scene is placed on a dark sapphire, plain background, crossed by a violet purple cross, growing out of a light purple ground; Mary’s ruby red coat recurs in the colour of John’s dress, the emerald green of Mary’s dress is paired

⁷ Abundant material concerning Crucifixions from the thirteenth century, is discussed and reproduced by ТНОВЬ 1959, pp. 129–158, figs 10–20, plates LXXXIX–CXXII.

off with the cold violet coat of the Evangelist. The whole is lit up by the flesh coloured complexions with intense yellow halos and garment trims.

The stylistic traits of the Crucifixion medallion – similarly as the iconographic ones – point to the turn of the thirteenth century, but the elements of the so called Zigzag Style (German *Zackenstil*), named by Hans Belting as “the alternative Gothic”⁸, suggest the date of origin which had earlier already been accepted for the Dominican panels with both St Augustine and Bishop St Stanislaus; the latter are characterised by similar types of stylistic elements that go back years before 1288.

The Dominican Crucifixion has some unique, still unpublished, comparative material on the marble slab (measuring 30 × 25 cm) of a portable altar, stored in the Diocesan Museum in Tarnów (Inv. No. 112) which had been acquired after 1932 in Kasina Wielka [Fig. 60]⁹. On the face of the slab, inside an engraved outline of a heart executed, in all likelihood, in 1625 (the date is visible in the lower part of the surface), one finds an image of an early-Gothic Crucifix. In fact, Christ on the Dominican panel and Christ on the portable altar, most closely resemble each other from among a number of similar Crucifixions: the position of the bodies, the way the feet are nailed to the cross, the manner in which the perizoma is tied to Christ’s left side and the style of the drawing, are indeed very similar.

In all probability, the portable altar from Tarnów came from the Dominican Church in Cracow, and was transferred to the church in Kasina Wielka (before or after 1625?) after the village was offered as a fief to the Cracow Monastery by Jan Niewiarowski in 1596¹⁰. Both works of art, therefore, one may believe, originated at the same time, from within the same artistic circle and may even have arisen from the same model.

The Cracow stained glass medallion with the Crucifixion, had until 1945 a “partner” in an analogical medallion (diameter circa 60 cm), with an inscribed sexafoil ornament, dating to around 1280, and from 1908 found in the tracery of window n IX, in the Dominican Church in Erfurt [Fig. 61]. In Erhard Drachenberg’s opinion, the Erfurt Crucifixion,

⁸ The notion of a Zigzag Style was introduced back in 1897 by Haselhoff. See also inter alia: BELTING 1978; HESS 1998. On the subject of the above reproduction of the Crucifixion see: KRONBICHLER, KRONBICHLER-SKACHA 1984, Cat. no. 37, p. 26, fig. 4.

⁹ SMULSKI 1986. On the subject of portable altars inter alia: BRAUN 1924, pp. 37–42, 71–86, 419–517, tables: 74–76, 78–99; MONTEVECCHI, ROCCA 1998, pp. 36–37, figs. 7–10.

¹⁰ *Protocollon privilegiorum*; NISIECKI [1841], p. 562; BARĄCZ 1888, p. 25, footnote 41. Undoubtedly, the so called altarwings from Kasina Wielka are also of Dominican provenance (second half of the seventh decade of the fifteenth century), presently in the Diocesan Museum in Tarnów, see: GADOMSKI 1988, p. 38, figs 23–26.

similar to its analogical medallion, alike in shape and measurement to the Annunciation (in the 1896 tracery of window n IV, destroyed in 1945) as well as two small medallions (23 cm in diameter) with the busts of prophets still extant, originally belonged to a larger Christological series, located in the presbytery, most likely in the tracteries, or in the windows themselves. Alternatively, it was located either in one of the medallion windows, completely glazed with figurative scenes, or in several windows glazed partly with ornamental decorative patterns¹¹.

In 1995 Christa Richter, in an unpublished paper, given during the 17th International Conference of the CVMA¹², eliminated the first and third possibilities mentioned above. Taking into consideration, both the preserved panel sets, as well as the recognised principles governing the norms of iconographic programming in glazed windows from the thirteenth century east of the Rhine (the situation will change, and a certain rigour will ease in the fourteenth century), one should accept, that the Crucifixion should not at all find itself in the celestial sphere at the top of the window, that is in the tracery, reserved – if it had figurative glazing – for presenting the “glorious”; however, a place for it should be sought in the window itself, within the framework of the Christological cycle. The latter, in principle, occupied the most important place in the glazing programme of the presbytery – the eastern window I placed on the axis and corresponding with the main altar. This observation should, in the whole of its implication, also refer to the Cracow medallion.

If we assume there was a Christological programme for window I in the thirteenth century, then only one of its two basic “versions” could come into play: a typological or purely narrative one. Both of these having been inherited after the twelfth century, and reminiscent of, on the one hand, a typologically “concentric” window with the Crucifixion from the Cathedral at Châlons-sur-Marne (circa mid-twelfth century)¹³, or known only from a single surviving medallion, a Passion window in one of the chapels in the ambulatory of the Benedictine church in Saint-Denis near

¹¹ DRACHENBERG et al, 1976, p. 93, footnote 28, pp. 94, 145–147, figs 217, 218, 105, 106; Ibidem, p. 145, footnote 133: reference to the medallion with the Crucifixion circa 1300 (diameter around 60 cm) in the tracery of the west window of the Cistercian Church in Haina, c.f. WENTZEL 1954, p. 95, fig. 127; DRACHENBERG 1990, p. 215 (fig.), p. 216.

¹² A paper titled, *Beispielhafte Heiligenwiten in Glasmalereizyklen*, read by Christa Richter, at the XVIII International Conference of the CVMA in Siena in 1995, dedicated to the issues of narration and iconography in Medieval and Renaissance stain glass windows.

¹³ GRODECKI et al. 1977, pp. 120–124, figs 98, 100, p. 278 f.; LILICH 1996, p. 469, figs 2, 11, 14.

Paris (circa 1140–1144)¹⁴. On the other hand, window I can be related to the narrated series of Christ's Childhood and Passion in two windows of the western façade of the Cathedral in Chartres (circa 1150)¹⁵, or the monumental window I with the Crucifixion at the Cathedral in Poitiers (circa 1170)¹⁶ in all its symbolism containing evident connotations of narrative structure.

It seems that on the territories of the German Empire and lands which remained under its artistic influence, it was the Christological cycles of typological character that predominated in the thirteenth century. In the first twenty years, most likely in the Rheinland area, a characteristic transformation occurred of the classical, "French" motif of the Tree of Jesse, with the royal ancestors of Christ on the main tree trunk growing out in the form of a sleeping Jesse; namely, the Tree had been transformed into a "historiated" tree, in which the ancestors were replaced by Christological scenes, "announced", as it were, by the Prophets along the sides, Christ's ancestors by spirit, and prefigured by the appearance of a none too consequential typological compositions (Tree of Jesse in window I of the St Kunibert Church in Cologne, circa 1220–1230)¹⁷. A further transformation of this type of Tree is a typological, so-called Biblical window (German *Bibelfenster*), dating from the thirteen century. Its origin was associated with the appearance east of the Rhein, of a Gothic, initially bipartite tracery window. Along its vertical axis on the right ("b"), a Christological cycle unfolded consistently from the bottom upwards, with scenes enclosed within circular, multifoil or geometrical fields, connected by a branch climbing vertically and offshoots with paired busts of Prophets spreading sideways.

The cycle invariably begins with the Annunciation, initially "growing out" of Jesse whose figure subsequently disappears, and the trunk transformed into a floral ornament; the cycle culminates at the top of the window with the scene of the Resurrection, Ascension or Pentecost. The number of scenes depended on the window height, whereas their choice, with the exception of the basic scenes, was occasionally random. Along the vertical axis on the left side ("a") New Testament scenes were matched by Old Testament types, whose source may have been the scene

¹⁴ GRODECKI 1995, pp. 95–108, fig. 44.

¹⁵ PERROT 1977, fig. on p. 20; MANHES-DEREMBLE 1993, pp. 374, 377–376.

¹⁶ GRINNELL 1946, figs 1–5.

¹⁷ The whole window was reproduced (according to the retracing) and analyzed by OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 79–81, fig. 89. Also see: *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, Cat. no 7, pp. 52–54, fig. on p. 77.

of the Original Sin, juxtaposed with the figure of Jesse. The few preserved tracery panels contained representations of the Last Judgment. From the years 1270–1280, in connection with the emergence and subsequent expansion of the tripartite window, the typological window contained in the centre vertical (“b”) events from the New Testament, and in both extreme verticals (“a”, “b”) corresponding Old Testament scenes. The Biblical windows, nearly always placed on the axis of the presbytery, became a virtually mandatory element of the programme, regardless of the dedication of a given church, since each one was dedicated to God¹⁸. Despite the incalculable damage, which mediaeval stained glass have suffered, typological windows continue to be discovered today in practically all types of churches, starting with cathedrals (e.g. the chapel of The Three Magi, on the axis of the presbytery at the cathedral in Cologne, with a bipartite, eleven-row window I [including the so-called heads], from the years circa 1250–1260, with panels measuring: 110 by 93 cm)¹⁹. many examples of typological windows also in collegiate churches – Strasbourg, formerly dedicated to St Thomas, in whose presbytery erected circa 1260 the bipartite and twelve-row windows n II and s II were most likely fitted with an extensive typological cycle (tripartite window I – cycle with St Thomas); these panels, from around the years 1270, were relocated to another presbytery, erected in the fourteenth century, and currently their remains are stored at the Musée de l’Oeuvre Notre-Dame in Strasbourg²⁰, or at Wimpfen im Tal in Swabia, Ritterstiftkirche of St Peter, formerly a bipartite, thirteen-row window I, with panels measuring 74 by 46 centimetres from the years 1270/1280, with Christ the Judge in the glazed tracery, currently stored at the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt²¹.

Typological windows are also to be seen in the main parish churches in cities (German *Stadtkirchen*) – for example Esslingen (Swabia),

¹⁸ On the subject of biblical windows, their origin and transformation see inter alia, OIDTMANN 1912, p. 105 and subs.; HAUSSHERR 1978, p. 97, pp. 114–122; BECKSMANN 1986, pp. 362–365; BECKSMANN 1992, pp. 26–27; MARTIN 1993, pp. 2–15 and pp. 158–168 (a set of diagrams of typological windows).

¹⁹ OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 95–98, figs 114–116, table VII; RODE 1974, pp. 48–75, figs 3–42, 60, colour tables 1–3; MARTIN 1993, p. 162; KEMP 1991, figs 14–15. It is uncertain whether the three panels (110 × 62 cm) with the scenes of Christ’s Nativity, Flagellation and the Resurrection (currently in the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt a. M.), executed in central Rheinland circa 1240/1250 and probably initially constituting (together with the Old Testament type) a part of a bipartite window, really did come from the cathedral in Frankfurt am Main. C.f. *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, Cat. No. 14, p. 64, ill. on p. 84.

²⁰ BECKSMANN 1986, p. 146, footnote 13; HÉROLD, GATOULLAT 1994, pp. 226–227.

²¹ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 245–248, 252–258, figs 530–549, 554–555, colour table 11; BEEHLUSTENBERGER, *Abbildungsteil*, figs 15–38; *Textteil*, pp. 35–53; MARTIN 1993, p. 165.

a church of St Denis, with a bipartite, fourteen-row window I, with panels measuring 82 by 52 centimetres, from the years circa 1280²²; Wimpfen am Berg in Swabia, a parish church with a bipartite eight-row window I, consisting of panels measuring 74 by 30 centimetres, from the last three decades of the thirteenth century²³ and others – e.g. Rouffach (Alsace, German: Rufach), formerly St Mary's Church with bipartite and ten-row window I; the preserved panels from the above church, dating back to around 1270/1280, are currently to be found in the collection of count Hans Wilczek, at the Kreuzenstein castle near Vienna²⁴; Oppenheim, the church of St Catherine, the cycle formerly in the bipartite, twelve-row window I, whose preserved panels, measuring 94 by 76 centimetres, from circa 1277–1291 are currently glazed into window sII²⁵; Esslingen, St. Mary's Church with tripartite and ten-row window I, whose panels measuring 75.5 by 42 centimetres were executed around 1320/1330²⁶. The situation with the monastic churches was similar, to mention for examples, the Benedictine church in Mönchengladbach, the abbey church of St Vitus with a bipartite, twelve-row window I, including the heads, from around 1260/1275, in the tracery with the scene of The Last Judgment²⁷; Wissembourg (Alsace, German: Weissenburg), the abbey church of St Peter and St Paul with a bipartite, eleven-row window including heads dating back to around 1280²⁸; the Franciscans in Assisi, the upper church of St Francis, with the typological cycle installed in three bipartite, nine-row windows in the termination end of the chancel, whose panels, measuring 75 by 98 centimetres, date to after 1253²⁹; Esslingen, the church of St George with a tripartite, fifteen-row window, with panels measuring 66 by 56 centimetres, dating to around

²² WENTZEL 1958, pp. 64–79, figs 3, 9–36, colour table 1. On the subject of the planned presbytery with bipartite windows, their plans of reconstruction and changes in the dating of the panels, see BECKSMANN 1992, pp. 24–25; Lastly: BECKSMANN 1997, pp. 33–45, 47, 58–62, figs 26 (reconstruction plans for presbytery windows, including window 1), 44–47.

²³ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 230–233, figs 524–529.

²⁴ BECKSMANN 1986, pp. 143–152, figs 160–167.

²⁵ BECKSMANN 1989 pp. 363–365, figs 2–3; RAUCH 1997, pp. 13–15, 115–132, tables 5–8, figs 6–11.

²⁶ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 160–168, figs 280, 320–348, colour table 6; BECKSMANN 1992, pp. 40–41; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, cat. No 32, p. 110, fig. on p. 134; BECKSMANN 1997, pp. 119–127, figs. 125, 133–135.

²⁷ OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 109–111, figs. 156–164, table IX; MARTIN 1993, p. 164.

²⁸ MARTIN 1993, p. 163; HÉROLD, GATOUILLAT 1994, pp. 255–258, fig. 247 (here a list of older sources).

²⁹ HAUSSEHERR 1978, pp. 95–128, figs. 1–27, diagrams of windows on pp. 116–117; MARTIN 1993, pp. 1–16, figs 1–59.

1300³⁰; and lastly in the Dominican churches – in Strasbourg, the former church under the invocation of St Bartholomew with a bipartite and a dozen or so rowed window I, with panels from around 1255/1260 which were subsequently transferred to the new presbytery whose construction began in 1307 – at present, the remains of the panels are glazed in the window of St Lawrence’s chapel in the Strasbourg cathedral³¹; Cologne, the former church of the Holy Cross with a bipartite, fifteen-row window I, from around 1280, currently in the chapel dedicated to St Stephen (s X) in the ambulatory of the Cologne cathedral with a bipartite, eleven-row window whose panels measure 110 by 93 centimetres³²; Stetten (Swabia), the former church of the Dominican Sisters with a tripartite, twelve-row window I, with panels measuring 45–52 by 38 centimetres, from around 1280/1290, currently preserved in several collections³³; Wimpfen am Berg, formerly a Dominican church with a tripartite, twelve-row window I, including vertical “c” with the scenes from the life of St Dominic whose panels from circa 1300, measuring 92 by 52 centimetres, are currently in the chapel of the Erbach castle³⁴; Brandenburg, the former church of St Paul with a tripartite, dozen or so rowed window with panels measuring 67 by 58 cm, from the period between the second quarter – the middle of the fourteenth century, currently in the church of St Catherine in Brandenburg³⁵. To the latter group, one should hypothetically incorporate the above-mentioned medallions from the Dominican church in Erfurt.

A different, “liturgical”, version of the typological combinations are presented by the iconographic programmes of windows I in the Stiftskirche of St Maternian and St Nicolas in Bücken on the Weser from around 1250, with a single-casement, 400 centimetre-high window divided by fittings into three verticals and seven rows; half-height, along the central vertical with the Christological cycle, one finds the scene of

³⁰ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 138–148, figs 254–274, colour table 4; MARTIN 1993, p. 167; BECKSMANN 1992, pp. 37–40; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, cat. no 37, pp. 102–103, fig. on p. 129; BECKSMANN 1997, pp. 103–118, and especially pp. 112–118, figs 119, 121–124.

³¹ BEYER 1956; BECKSMANN, 1967, pp. 126–127; HÉROLD, GATOUILLAT 1994, pp. 210–213 (list of older sources), fig. 195.

³² OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 111–114, table X; RODE 1974, pp. 83–91, 141–142, figs 152–202, colour tables 12, 13; BRINKMANN 1984, pp. 1–40, colour tables I–XXII; MARTIN 1993, p. 165.

³³ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 197–199, 204–211, figs 470–501, 509, colour table 9; MARTIN 1993, p. 166.

³⁴ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 234–236, 239–243, figs 577–598, colour table 12; MARTIN 1993, p. 167; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, cat. no 26, p. 101, fig. on p. 128.

³⁵ RENTSCH 1958, pp. 91–95, 113–119, figs 11–22; DRACHENBERG et al. 1979, p. 195 and subs., figs 61–63.

the Crucifixion, while in the side verticals – within the so called rememorative allegorising – illustrations of the subsequent phases of the Holy Eucharist³⁶; similar representations can be found in the cathedral of Saints Donatus and John the Evangelist in Meissen from around 1260/1270, containing a tripartite, eleven-row window I, including the heads, whose panels measure 101 by 75 centimetres; in the middle vertical of the above window, one finds representations of the royal ancestors of Christ and the prophets, in vertical “a”, scenes presenting the Old Testament sacrificial rituals, and in vertical “c”, scenes with the Christological cycle³⁷.

Finally, one should mention here a “sub-group” which is also derived from the “historiated” Tree of Jesse, with the middle vertical filled with New Testament scenes, enclosed on both sides with pairs of full-length prophets predicting the events of the New Covenant. It seems that this type of glazing, represented in the middle of the thirteenth century by the fragmentarily preserved panels from window I in the parish church in Lohne (Westphalia), now in the Westfälisches Landesmuseum in Münster³⁸, is currently known from but a few preserved examples; yet in the thirteenth century it may have been much more widespread. Its late offspring, deriving from around 1340, yet stylistically clearly rooted in the thirteenth century, was the glazing in window I of the Dominican church of St Nicolas in Toruń’s New Town; the above window had particular significance for the Dominicans in Cracow as it arose within the same religious province (the church had been demolished in the year 1834; its window I was tripartite and consisted of a dozen or so rows; the present day measurements of the preserved panels are 56 by 42 centimetres; they include the scene of the Crucifixion which is currently stored in the District Museum in Toruń)³⁹.

³⁶ WENTZEL 1961, pp. 69–72, figs 55–56; WENTZEL 1962, pp. 143–151, figs 109–112; KORN 1992, figs 13, 68.

³⁷ SCHULTZE 1989, pp. 28–41, figs 1–5; MARTIN 1993, p. 163; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, cat. no 20, pp. 91–93, ill. on p. 122.

³⁸ KORN 1992, pp. 34–37, figs 28, 30, 33; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, cat. no 12, pp. 62–63, fig. on p. 82.

³⁹ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a, pp. 154, 159, 167–168, figs 2b, 3ab. The slightly older panels than the ones found in Toruń, presenting Passion scenes and representations of sitting prophets, executed in all likelihood in the second or third quarter of the fourteenth century (dimensions: 78 × 61 cm), from the church of the Benedictine Sisters in Hadmersleben, currently in the church of St. Sebastian in Magdeburg, belong to the same “sub-group”, c.f. RENTSCH 1958, pp. 82–86, 142–148, figs 83–93; DRACHENBERG et al. 1979, p. 213 and subs., fig. 51; so does the glazing of window I in the church of St. Jacob, erected by the Teutonic Order in Rothenburg on the Tauber, which is slightly younger than the one in Toruń (quadripartite, thirteen-row window, Christological cycles in two central vertical planes, panel dimensions

In the thirteenth-century iconographic programs of presbytery glazing there also occurred purely narrative Christological cycles which were sometimes installed right next to typological ones (a point addressed later in the present article). From the second quarter until the end of the thirteenth century, what was a particularly characteristic feature of Gotland, and on the basis of stylistic and iconographic export also of north-German stained glass decoration (Saxon-Westphalian), was the glazing of the eastern triad of presbytery windows (closed with a straight wall pierced with single-casement windows, with the middle window being the tallest) with the following narrative cycles: Christ's Childhood and Public Activity in the side windows, Christ's Passion and the period following the Resurrection in the middle window. Numerous examples of these types of programs are provided by the fragmentarily preserved stained glass windows in the churches located, among others, in Dahlem, Endre, Skokloster, Mora, Sjonhem, Lojsta, Rone, Eksta, Trakumla, Alskog⁴⁰, as well as in Breitenfelde (Schleswig-Holstein, glazing in window I from around the middle of the thirteenth century)⁴¹, in Heimersheim on the Ahr (glazing in window I from the middle of the thirteenth century)⁴² and, as Frank Martin has recently convincingly demonstrated, in the triad of the eastern single-casement windows in the presbytery of the Franciscan church in Erfurt (Thuringia) from around the middle of the thirteenth century⁴³.

Yet the process of moving away from typology and the gradual ascendance of narrative cycles can be observed only at the end of the thirteenth century; with relatively rare cycles modelled directly on the *Biblia Pauperum* or *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, it seems that, in fact, narration belonged already to the fourteenth century, yet the latter hypothesis requires a separate study. In the case of the parish churches, the cycles which deserve to be mentioned are, among others, the following: the remains of the Christological cycle from the third quarter of the thirteenth century in the church of St Martin in Westhofen (Alsace), which come, in all probability from a bipartite and eight-row window I⁴⁴; the remains of the cycle beginning with the story of Joachim and Anna, and ending with

96 × 47 cm), c.f. FRITZSCHE 1992, pp. 84–91, figs 2, 12, 14, 18; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, cat. no 36, pp. 114–115, fig. on p. 138.

⁴⁰ ANDERSSON 1964, particularly pp. 36–29, 61–68, figs 1, 3–13, 15–17, 31–33, 36–40, 43–47, 50–62, 67–68, 74–76.

⁴¹ HASELOFF 1931; ANDERSSON 1964, pp. 78–80, fig 37 a–d.

⁴² OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 91–94, fig. 110; WENTZEL 1954, p. 88.

⁴³ MARTIN 1993, pp. 151–156, drawing with the reconstruction on p. 156, figs 99–104.

⁴⁴ BECKSMANN 1967, pp. 144–145; HÉROLD, GATOUILLAT 1994, pp. 254–255, fig. 244.

Christ's Baptism in the tripartite and ten-row window n II (in window I a typological cycle), from around 1330 in Frauenkirche in Esslingen⁴⁵; the remains of a Christological cycle, dating back to the same period, from a bipartite and seven-row window I in the church of St Anne in Anaberg (Lower Austria), currently in the ambulatory of the monastery in Lilienfeld⁴⁶, or – to return once again to Esslingen – the remains of a grand cycle beginning with Joachim and Anna, through Christ's Childhood, Passion, up to the Resurrection and Last Judgment, originally installed in the quadripartite and fourteen-row window n II (typological cycle in window I) in the church of St Dionysius; in accordance with the findings of Rüdiger Becksmann, the above cycle had been executed in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴⁷ Similar examples also abound in monastic churches, for example the Christological cycle formerly in the church of the Norbertine nuns in Altenberg, from circa 1290/1300 (bipartite, ten-row window I (including the heads), with Christ the Judge in its tracery; the preserved panels are currently to be found at the Erbach castle)⁴⁸, the Passion cycle in the church of the Order of St John the Baptist in Münchenbuchsee (Switzerland) from the years after 1310 (bipartite, five-row window I with panels measuring 98.5 by 48 cm)⁴⁹, the Christological cycle in the Williamites church dedicated to St William in Strasbourg, from the beginning of the fourteenth century (the panels are currently in the window of the western façade)⁵⁰ or in St Anne's Church in Limburg on the Lahn, from 1320–1330 (tripartite, seven-row (?) window I, including the heads, with the Deesis scene)⁵¹, in the Cistercian church in Hauterive near the Swiss Fribourg, from before 1327 (six-partite, eleven-row window I, with panels measuring 70 by 54 cm, partially dispersed)⁵², in the church of the Teutonic Order (so called Leechkirche) in Graz (remains of a Christological cycle from around 1330)⁵³, in the Franciscan church in Königfelden, from the years 1325–1330 (three tripartite, five-row win-

⁴⁵ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 153–159, figs 282–319, colour table 5; *Deutsche Malerei* 1995, cat. no 33, p. 111, fig on p. 135; BECKSMANN 1997, pp. 128–130, fig. 136–138.

⁴⁶ FRODL-KRAFT 1972a, pp. 3, 6–9, figs 1, 7, 11, 18–26, colour table 1.

⁴⁷ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 86–88, 108–112, 115–118, 130–133 (dated to the end of the thirteenth century), figs 121–129, 132–162, 240–251; BECKSMANN 1997, pp. 82–86 (change of dating to the middle of the fourteenth century reconstruction of the composition of the entire cycle in a single window (n II), figs 80–83.

⁴⁸ HESS 1995, pp. 38–42, figs 4, 6, 7, see also: *ibidem* footnote 18 and 19 on p. 50.

⁴⁹ BEER 1956, pp. 98–101, 104–109, tables 58–63, colour table 8.

⁵⁰ HÉROLD, GATOUILLAT 1994, pp. 214–215 (older sources), pp. 217–221, fig. 205, pl XXIII.

⁵¹ OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 120–124, figs 181, 183–185.

⁵² BEER 1965, pp. 77–82, 86–87, 91–95, tables 60–67, 82–87, colour table 3.

⁵³ BACHER 1979, pp. 26, 29–36, figs 28–41, colour table 2.

dows in the termination end of the chancel, with a division into Christ's Childhood (n II), Christ's Passion (I), the period after the Resurrection (s II)⁵⁴ or finally the cycles found in the Dominican churches. At the turn of the thirteenth century, in the presbytery of the above-mentioned church of the Dominican Nuns in Stetten, besides the typological, one could also find a Christological (exclusively Passion?) cycle installed in one of the bipartite, eleven-row windows (five of its panels are currently preserved in St Michael's Chapel at Hohenzollern castle)⁵⁵. In another presbytery, which was raised from scratch in the church of St Bartholomew in Strasbourg (see above) at the beginning of the fourteenth century, not only was the thirteenth century typological cycle (in windows n II and s II?) preserved, but a grand, narrative Passion cycle (preserved panels are currently in the chapel dedicated to St Lawrence in the Strasbourg cathedral)⁵⁶ was executed around 1325–1330 for its quadripartite and eleven-row window I. As regards the presbytery of the Dominican church in Constance, erected around the years 1250–1270, with its tripartite and eleven-row window I, we are only familiar today with the remains of the second glazing, dating back to circa 1320; these include: eighteen New Testament, chiefly Passion-related panels (with dimensions: 90 by 49 cm, at present in the castle chapel in Heiligenberg)⁵⁷.

Where thus in the presbytery of the Dominican church in Cracow, in the course of its construction phase dating to the ninth decade of the thirteenth century⁵⁸ should one look for the alleged Christological cycle, from which only a medallion with sides cut off, with the scene of the Crucifixion, has remained until the present-day and to what type could this cycle have belonged? In fact, it is quite certain that our stained glass cycle filled out the contemporary window I. This is the only window to

⁵⁴ MAURER 1954.

⁵⁵ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 199, 207, figs 506–507, 513, colour table 10; HESS 1995, p. 41, fig. 5.

⁵⁶ BECKSMANN 1967, p. 128; HÉROLD, GATOUILLAT 1994, pp. 210–121, fig. 194.

⁵⁷ BECKSMANN 1967, pp. 82–84; figs 64–65; BECKSMANN 1979, pp. 132–147, fig. 85 (reconstruction of window I), figs 156–176, colour table V.

⁵⁸ The state of research on the architecture of the thirteenth century church of the Cracow Dominicans, as of 1970, has been presented by M. Pietrusińska in: *Sztuka polska przedromańska*, vol. 2, pp. 720–721; see also: GRZYBKOWSKI 1979, p. 69 and footnotes 104–105 on p. 101 and subs.; GRZYBKOWSKI 1983, p. 159; GRZYBKOWSKI 1983a, pp. 138, 151. The issue of the thirteenth-century architecture of the church and convent of the Cracow Dominicans constitutes the subject of a doctoral dissertation which is currently being completed by Marcin Szyma M.A. in the Department of Mediaeval Art History in the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University [the dissertation appeared in print, see: SZYMA 2004 – editor's note]. The above dissertation has led to a number of interesting new insights and findings.

be found in the eastern wall of the presbytery. Its outline, in the shape of a very wide, walled up recess with a slightly pointed (?) coping, had become manifest after the fire of 1850⁵⁹ which proved so tragic for Cracow and the above church. As revealed by the iconographic documentation that arose directly after the conflagration⁶⁰, the fire had consumed the roof and the attic of the small vault that adhered on the eastern side to the presbytery and which had been erected already in the modern times. In turn, the contemporary state of preservation of the above recess, on the side of the presbytery interior, after the retable had been consumed by fire, is revealed by a woodcut published by August Essenwein⁶¹, though not altogether a very accurate rendering. Judging by the iconographic documentation, this arcade – the walled in, original window I – must have reached to the arcaded frieze surrounding the presbytery and it must have begun at the level of window sills of the side, bipartite presbytery windows. The tripartite window visible above the arcade, whose width corresponded to that of the lower one, which in the nineteenth century was deprived of a tracery, had its own sill, installed at the level of the above-mentioned frieze and it filled the central part of the original church gable. The piercing of a separate “upper” window I, was associated with the need to raise the height of the presbytery, a task which according to Tomasz Węclawowicz was carried out in the years prior to 1320; this in turn necessitated the raising of the windows in the southern walls of the presbytery and called for reusing in them the original traceries⁶². The lower window I (the only one in existence at the turn of the thirteenth century) was 900 cm in height (up to the tracery) and 350 centimetres in width; it was, in all likelihood, a tripartite window whose verticals were nearly 100 centimetre in width⁶³. If we decide to multiply hypotheses and assume that the original height of the panel from which the preserved medallion with the scene of the Crucifixion originates, corresponded to

⁵⁹ GRABOWSKI, *Cracovia incinerata*; see also more recently: BOROWIEJSKA-BIRKENMAJEROWA 1985, pp. 24–33, 37–39.

⁶⁰ Iconographic documentation presenting the views of the church after the fire of 1850 has been gathered by the Studio of the Iconography of Cracow in the National Museum in Cracow.

⁶¹ ESSENWEIN 1866, p. 115, fig. 57.

⁶² WĘCLAWOWICZ 1993, pp. 24–25. During the restoration of the church after the fire of 1850, the sill of the upper window I was installed below the level of the arcade frieze, which consequently meant that the frieze itself became destroyed, whereas the window became reshaped into a quadripartite one, and was crowned with a tracery. On the topic of the thirteenth century traceries in the presbytery, see: WĘCLAWOWICZ, PIETRZYKÓWNA 1989, pp. 47–49, fig. 1.

⁶³ At present, architectural studies of the western facade of the presbytery are being conducted under the supervision of Waldemar Niewalda M.A.

the alleged height of the stained glass panels with Saints Augustine and Stanislaus (over 90 cm?), we may conclude that window I could have accommodated a cycle consisting of three vertical columns and nine rows of panels of quite considerable dimensions, comparable to the dimensions of panels from the presbytery of the Dominican church in Cologne (110 × 93 cm). Moreover, in accordance with the above-presented comparative material, we may assume that at the time of the heightening of the above presbytery by leaving the existing window intact and piercing a separate window opening directly above it – it was an “approved” typological cycle which preceded by a few dozen years the glazing of the two windows (I, s II), with the stained glass cycle modelled precisely on the *Biblia Pauperum*, in the termination end of the “Wierzynek” presbytery in the nearby church of St Mary. Consequently, the iconographic stained glass program of the Dominican presbytery, founded in all probability by Leszek the Black, Duke of Cracow in the years 1279–1288, who was buried in this presbytery⁶⁴, consisted, similarly as in the case of the Dominican church in Cologne⁶⁵, of the following: the Biblical window along the axis and a pair of full-length representations of saints with the preserved busts of saints Augustine and Stanislaus, and the alleged saints Dominic and Peter the Martyr in the side windows adorned with ornamental glazing.

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⁶⁴ KALINOWSKI 1989, p. 116.

⁶⁵ RODE 1974, p. 141.

DIE KULMER GLASSCHEIBEN
VOM ENDE DES 14. JAHRHUNDERTS
ALS BEISPIEL FÜR GEOMETRISCHE
GETUPFTE MUSTER IN ÜBERFANGGLAS

Der Bau der Pfarrkirche Assumptionis Beatae Mariae Virginis in Chełmno (Kulm) – *civitate capitali* des Kulmerlandes – wurde um 1280 bis 1290 mit der Errichtung des dreijochigen, gerade geschlossenen Chores begonnen. Die dreischiffige Halle des Langhauses entstand in den beiden ersten Jahrzehnten des 14. Jahrhunderts. Das vierbahnige und einschließlich der Kopfscheibe elfzeitige Achsfenster mit seinem reich gegliederten Maßwerk hat bis in die achtziger Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts beinahe drei Viertel seines mittelalterlichen Glasbestandes bewahrt. Die gegenwärtige figürliche Verglasung, um 1380 bis 1390 – also ein Jahrhundert nach der Errichtung des Chores – entstanden, ist ohne Zweifel das Werk einer Thorner, durch die böhmische Kunst beeinflussten Werkstatt¹.

Johann Heise notierte im Jahre 1887 in den *Bau- und Kunstdenkmälern Westpreußens*, dass dieses Fenster seit 1710 durch ein prächtiges Hochaltarretabel ganz verdeckt war, aber immer noch 32 von ursprünglich 44 Feldern enthielt. Ein mit Ausnahme der Geburt Christi fast vollständig erhaltener Christuszzyklus besetzte die beiden mittleren Bahnen. Von unten nach oben waren dargestellt: Verkündigung an Maria – Anbetung der Hirten – Heimsuchung – Darbringung im Tempel – Anbetung der Könige

¹ Die wichtigste Literatur: *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler* 1887, S. 39–53, insbes. S. 51 f., Beilage 4, 5; FISCHER 1937, S. 77, Taf. 26; WENTZEL 1944, S. 24 f., Abb. 20; WENTZEL 1954, Abb. 149; KWIATKOWSKI 1963, S. 104–108, 119–124, Abb. 1–3; ANDERSSON 1964, S. 127, 130; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1977, S. 102–106, Abb. 9–10; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a, S. 149, 155–157, 162 f., 166, 169, Abb. 2c, 6a.

– Bethlehemitischer Kindemord – Flucht nach Ägypten – Abendmahl – Gebet am Ölberg – Gefangennahme – Christus vor Pilatus – Verspottung – Geißelung – Kreuztragung – Kreuzanheftung – Kreuzigung – Kreuzabnahme – Grablegung – Auferstehung – Marienkrönung (in den beiden Kopfscheiben)². Die Verluste in den äußeren Fensterbahnen waren wesentlich größer. In der Bahn „a“ blieben von ursprünglich elf Feldern nur fünf übrig: der heilige Paulus und die Propheten Joel, Malachias, Ezechiel und Zacharias, alle sitzend und mit Schriftbändern dargestellt. In Bahn „d“ haben sich sechs Felder erhalten, sie zeigen die Apostel Petrus, Andreas, Jacobus Major, Thomas, Jacobus Minor und Philipp mit den aufeinanderfolgenden Versen des Credo³.

Im Jahre 1888 wurden alle Felder durch Conrad Steinbrecht, Landesbauinspektor und Leiter der Restaurierungsarbeiten am Marienburger Schloss, für die dortige Schlosskirche St. Marien gekauft. In den Jahren 1891 bis 1893 hat sie der Glasmaler Johann Baptist Haselberger in Leipzig einer umfassenden Restaurierung unterzogen und dann zusammen mit 66 neuen „ergänzenden“ Feldern in die vier gegenüberliegenden Fenster der Schlosskirche eingebaut. Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges wurden sie ausgebaut und in Kisten geborgen. Nach dem Krieg konnten jedoch nur 13 Felder wiedergefunden werden. Diese kamen im Jahre 1956 in das Pommerische Museum – jetzt Thorner Kreismuseum – und wurden zwei Jahre später einer gründlichen Wiederherstellung unterzogen.

Die beinahe quadratischen, 57 × 55 cm großen Kulmer Scheiben sind aus dicken Gläsern von glatter oder leicht gewellter Oberfläche gefertigt. Weiße und farbige, in der Masse gefärbte Gläser – gelb, goldgelb, amethystviolett, purpurviolett, blau und smaragdgrün – sowie rubinrote Überfanggläser sind mit betonten Konturstrichen bei nur sehr sparsamen Lasuren mit Braunlot bemalt. Reiche Kreuz- und Parallelschraffuren modellieren besonders die Architekturelemente und die Gewänder. Das einzigartige technische Merkmal der Kulmer Scheiben sind jedoch relativ große, in Rubinüberfangglas mechanisch ausgeschliffene weiße Tupfen, die schon die Aufmerksamkeit Heises auf sich lenkten: „in dem rothem Überfanglase sind durch Ausschleifen kleine Muster hergestellt, eine weitere Bemalung der ausgeschliffenen Stellen hat jedoch nicht

² *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler* 1887, S. 51 (Anm. 162). Diese Szene ist höchstwahrscheinlich irrtümlich mit der Anbetung der Hirten identifiziert, dafür erwähnt der Verfasser die erhaltene Scheibe mit der Beschneidung Christi nicht.

³ Die Identifizierung der Szenen in den äußeren Bahnen wurde von Conrad Steinbrecht im Jahre 1889 durchgeführt.

stattgefunden“⁴. Die Tupfen erscheinen auf allen erhaltenen Feldern und sind auch auf sechs der acht archivalisch bekannten Schwarz-Weiß-Fotografien sichtbar.

Bei der Verkündigung [Fig. 48] bedecken dicht und unregelmäßig zerstreute Tüpfchen den Mantel Marias, manchmal von Zeichnung, aber nie vom Glasrand überschritten. Ähnliches gilt für die Heimsuchungsszene [Fig. 49], wo aber der rubinrote Hintergrund der Arkade nicht ausgeschliffen wurde, sowie die Beschneidung Christi, die Anbetung der Könige und die Darbringung im Tempel [Fig. 50]. Letztere zeigt außer Maria auf der rechten Seite auch einen Mann in rubinrot ausgeschliffenem Mantel. In der Kindermordszene enthält der Mantel des Herodes und ebenso in der Flucht nach Ägypten der Mantel der Gottesmutter weiße Tupfen. Auf dem verlorengegangenen Feld der Kreuztragung ist das Wams des Häschers aus dünnem Rubinrot Überfangglas ausgeführt. Dort findet man dicht gekreuzte Tupfen mit einem „schwarzen“ Lotpunkt in der Mitte. In der Kreuzigung hat nicht nur Marias Mantel Ausschleifungen, sondern auch der Lentner des Centurions, wo Tupfen die Knöpfe markieren. Sein Körper ist aus einem Glasstück in verlaufendem Rotüberfang geschnitten.

In der Grablegung ist der Mantel Marias mit je drei gruppierten Tupfen geschmückt; der breite Kragen des Nikodemus bestand – wie es scheint – ebenfalls aus verlaufendem Rotüberfangglas. In der Krönungsszene [Fig. 45, 46] ist der Nimbus Marias mit „Schwarz-Punkt-Tupfen“ geschmückt, die in Dreiergruppen auf ihrem rubinroten Gewand wiederkehren. Der breite Mantel Christi zeigt ebenfalls in Dreiergruppen angeordnete große Tupfen. Ausschleifungen erscheinen auch bei den Apostelscheiben, so auf dem Mantel des Petrus [Fig. 51], des Jakobus Major, des Jakobus Minor und den Gewändern des Andreas, des Thomas und des Paulus. Auf zwei archivalischen Fotografien sind Propheten ohne Tupfen zu sehen. Leider ist es unmöglich zu entscheiden, ob dieser „Unterschied“ auch sonstige Prophetengestalten betraf, da Aufnahmen der übrigen elf verschollenen Felder nicht aufzufinden waren.

Zusammenfassend ist folgendes zu bemerken: Bei den Kulmer Scheiben wurde das Rubinrotglas, entsprechend der Farbkomposition der Felder, fast ausschließlich für die Gewänder der Figuren verwendet. Diese waren mit Tupfen verziert, ohne dabei auf einen positiven Charakter der Personen – wie bei Maria, Christus und den Aposteln – oder eine negative Bewertung – wie etwa bei Herodes und den Häschern – Rücksicht zu neh-

⁴ *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler* 1887, S. 51.

men. Die Tupfen wurden jeweils nach dem Zuschneiden der Überfanggläser ausgeschliffen, vereinzelt sind sie in Dreiergruppen angeordnet. Die Gläser wurden erst nach dem Ausschleifen bemalt und die Mittelpunkte manchmal mit Braunlot-Tropfen versehen. Diese bilden offenbar die einzige Verzierung der abgetragenen Überfänge, da sich sonst keine Spuren einer Lotbemalung der Tupfen oder gar einer Verwendung von Silbergelb erhalten haben.

Neben den vereinzelt rubinroten Rosetten mit ausgeschliffenen Tupfen in Bordüren auf einigen Feldern der Marienkirche in Krakau (um 1360, um 1370–1380)⁵ sind die Kulmer, d.h. eigentlich Thorner Felder ein Sonderfall unter den erhaltenen mittelalterlichen Glasmalereien in Polen. Sie markieren Thorn auf der europäischen Landkarte als eines der Zentren der Anwendung des Überfangausschliffs in mittelalterlichen Glasmalereiwerkstätten.

Im 13. Jahrhundert wurden zwei technische Methoden der farbigen Bereicherung der Glasmalerei ohne zusätzliche Verbleiung eingeführt: Das Abtragen bzw. Ausschleifen der oberen Schicht des Überfangglases war seit Mitte des Jahrhunderts üblich, die Bemalung mit Silbergelb verbreitete sich seit der Wende des 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert. Anfänge und Anwendung des Silbergelbs wurden schon ausführlich von Jean Lafond⁶ und Meredith Parsons Lillich⁷ analysiert und besprochen. Die Technik des Abtragens der oberen Schicht des Überfangglases, obwohl in Deutschland schon von Heinrich Oidtmann an zahlreichen Beispielen beschrieben⁸, in Frankreich zum ersten Mal von Lafond in Rouen beobachtet und in einer kleinen Notiz besprochen⁹, ist jedoch keiner angemessenen kunsthistorischen Würdigung unterzogen worden. Man beschränkte sich auf die Feststellung ihrer Anwendung, so beispielsweise Hans Wentzel¹⁰ und Eva Frodl-Kraft¹¹, oder auf strikt technische Analysen, wie z. B. Sebastian Strobl, der die Technik des Ausschleifens des Glases mit dem Edelsteinschliff vergleicht¹².

⁵ Z. B.: Fenster I, Scheiben mit den Szenen Verschwörung der Juden, Judaskuss, um 1360; Fenster n II, Scheiben mit den Szenen Erschaffung von Sonne und Mond, Die Heilung des Wassersüchtigen, um 1370–1380.

⁶ LAFOND 1943.

⁷ LILICH 1986.

⁸ OIDTMANN 1912, S. 9–11, 191 f.; OIDTMANN 1929, S. 454.

⁹ LAFOND 1943, S. 117–121.

¹⁰ WENTZEL 1954, S. 15, 32, 41, 67, 72, 77.

¹¹ FRODL-KRAFT 1970, S. 54–56, Taf. II.

¹² STROBL 1990, S. 105–109.

Die Technik des Abtragens der oberen Schicht des Glases ist auf natürliche Weise mit der Existenz des Überfangglases verbunden. Sie kommt in zweierlei Weise zustande: entweder mechanisch, durch Ausschleifen der farbigen – roten, blauen, grünen – Oberschicht mit der Eisenfeile bzw. mit Schmirgelpulver, oder chemisch, durch Ätzen mit einer Säure.

Catherine Brisac zufolge wurde das Ätzen schon gegen Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts angewandt¹³, wofür die Verfasserin jedoch keine Beispiele anführt. Sebastian Strobl möchte das Glasätzen auf die Toskana um 1400 beschränken¹⁴, demgegenüber bestätigt Hartmut Scholz die älteste bekannte Benutzung der neuen Technik bei den Glasscheiben der Bessererkapelle in Ulm im Jahre 1431¹⁵.

Vom Gesichtspunkt der künstlerischen und ästhetischen Funktion der abgetragenen Flächen des Überfangglases in der Bildkomposition sind zwei Arten dieser Behandlung zu unterscheiden. Die erste beruht auf der Entfernung eines kleinen Elements der figuralen Darstellung. In ikonographisch-gegenständlicher Anordnung können wir folgende Beispiele – leider ohne Untersuchung der Originale – aufzählen:

Kreuznimbus Christi

– Lye/Gotland, Pfarrkirche. Fenster I: Darbringung, um 1325¹⁶

Circulus der Mitra

– Regensburg, Dom. Fenster s V: Bischof Konrad V von Luppurg, um 1300¹⁷

Augen des Ochsen

– Köln, Dom. Stephanskapelle, Bibelfenster s X, 2b (ursprünglich Dominikanerkirche Heilig Kreuz): Geburt Christi, um 1280¹⁸

– Breslau, Architekturmuseum: Geburt Christi, um 1300 (stilistische Beziehungen zu Esslingen)¹⁹

¹³ BRISAC 1990, S. 60 f., 118.

¹⁴ STROBL 1990, S. 109.

¹⁵ SCHOLZ 1994, S. 137.

¹⁶ FRODL-KRAFT 1970, S. 56; ANDERSSON 1964, S. 44, 118, 198, Taf. 23.

¹⁷ STROBL 1990, S. 105, 163 (Anm. 629). Die Scheibe ist beschrieben (ohne die benutzte Technik des Ausschlifts zu erwähnen) und reproduziert von FRITZSCHE 1987, S. 174, Farbtaf. II, Taf. 126/Abb. 315.

¹⁸ RODE 1974, S. 24, 87, Farbtaf. 5/Abb. 13; Taf. 58/Abb. 166; STROBL 1990, S. 105, 163 (Anm. 632).

¹⁹ Unpublizierte Scheibe.

Augen, Zähne, Nasenlöcher des Monstrums

- Rouen, Saint-Ouen. Fenster XXVI: der Drache von Vaux in der Legende des heiligen Nicasius, um 1340²⁰
- Rouen, Saint-Ouen. Fenster XXX: ein Dämon in der Legende des heiligen Bartholomäus, um 1340²¹
- Rouen, Saint-Ouen. Fenster XXXII: der Teufel, um 1340²²

Stern

- Köln, Dom. Dreikonigskapelle: Geburt Christi, um 1250–1260²³–Thann, ehemalige Stiftskirche St. Theobald. Passionsfenster Chor I: Sterne auf Gewölbekappen, um 1425²⁴

Wappen

- Brünn, Mährische Galerie, Kabinett für Angewandte Kunst: vier Wappen aus dem alten Rathaus in Brünn (Brno), 1437–1439 (Wappen Böhmens, Wappen der Markgrafschaft Mähren, Wappen des Herzogtums Österreich, böhmisch-ungarisches Wappen)²⁵
- Glasgow, Burrel Collection (ursprünglich Fawsley Hall/Northantsire): Wappen de Were, 1537–1542²⁶

Inscription

- Straßburg, Dom. Fenster n III: Bischof Arbogast, um 1265–1275²⁷

Teile der menschlichen Gestalt (Köpfe, Hände usw.) und der Kleidung

- Groß-Kerben, Privatbesitz (aus dem Haus der Patriziergesellschaft Alten-Limpurg?): Patrizierturnier, um 1475²⁸
- Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum (aus dem großen Ratssaal des Ulmer Rathauses?): fünf Rundscheiben (Verkündigung an Maria, Geburt Christi, Heilung des stummen Besessenen, Speisung der Fünftausend, Einzug in Jerusalem), Straßburg 1474–1480²⁹.

²⁰ LAFOND 1970, S. 140, 142, Pl. 30.

²¹ LAFOND 1970, S. 102 f., Pl. 23.

²² LAFOND 1970, S. 98 f., Pl. 20.

²³ RODE 1974, S. 24, 53, Taf. 7/Abb. 11; STROBL 1990, S. 105.

²⁴ SCHOLZ 1994, S. 152 (Anm. 93).

²⁵ MATOUŠ 1975, S. 23–25, Taf. VII, Abb. 1, 2, 5; SCHOLZ 1994, S. 152 (Anm. 93).

²⁶ MARKS 1993, S. 38, Pl. II(a).

²⁷ BEYER et al. 1986, S. 423, 428, Pl. XIII.

²⁸ BECKSMANN 1968, S. 352–357; BECKSMANN 1988, S. 158 f., Farbtaf. 45; HESS 1994, S. 149 f., Abb. 46 (Ausschliff roter, violetter und blauer Überfangläser).

²⁹ *Bilder aus Licht* 1995, S. 98, 100, 103 f., 107, Abb. 10–11, 14–15, 17.

In der zweiten Anwendung wird der Überfangausschliff als Ornament benutzt. Zum einen sind es rein geometrische, selbstständige Punkte, zum anderen kommen die Punkte im Zentrum der rubinroten Rosetten vor. Es können jedoch auch unregelmäßige Fleckchen bzw. Tupfen in Gestalt von Blumen, Blättern und anderen vegetabilen Formen das dekorative Muster von Gewändern bilden:

Selbstständige weiße Punkte

- Straßburg, Dom. Fenster n III: Stola des heiligen Solarius, Fanonen der Mitra und die Armbinde des heiligen Justus, um 1265–1275³⁰
- Köln, Dom, Stephanskapelle. Bibelfenster s X (ursprünglich Dominikanerkirche Heilig Kreuz): in der alttestamentlichen Bahn ein breites rotes Band mit weißen Tupfen, um 1280³¹
- Köln, Dom, Neue Sakristei. Fenster b XI (ursprünglich Dominikanerkirche Heilig Kreuz): heiliger Dominikus, Rotausschliff in den Zwickeln der Randbordüre, um 1280³²
- Wisby, Gotlands Fornsal (ursprünglich Hablingbo, Pfarrkirche): Verkündigung und Taufe Christi, waagrecht und senkrecht regelmäßig verteilte Tupfen, in der Szene der Verkündigung untermalt mit Silbergelb und umrahmt mit Lot, um 1350³³
- Soest, Wiesenkirche: Punkte an Gewändern, 1357³⁴
- Kulm, um 1380–1390³⁵

Rosetten als Verzierung der Kleidung

- Straßburg, Dom. Fenster S II: heilige Jungfrauen, um 1245–1250; Fenster n III: Straßburger Bischöfe, um 1265–1275³⁶
- Köln, Dom. Königsfenster S V, um 1304–1315³⁷

³⁰ BEYER et al. 1986, S. 426 f., Fig. 379.

³¹ Beseitigt während der Konservierung im Jahre 1892, siehe OIDTMANN 1912, S. 113; RODE 1974 S. 86; STROBL 1990, S. 163 (Anm. 632), mit Berufung auf eine vor 1892 ausgeführte Aufnahme (Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Pl. 40816).

³² RODE 1974, S. 144–147, Taf. 151/Abb. 343, Taf. 152/Abb. 344.

³³ ANDERSSON 1964, S. 44, 118, 241–243, Taf. 28, 120, 124.

³⁴ OIDTMANN 1912, S. 227, Abb. 398; ANDERSSON 1964, S. 120, Abb. 57b. Leider nicht zugänglich war uns die Arbeit: LANDOLT-WEGENER 1959.

³⁵ Siehe Anm. 1.

³⁶ BEYER et al. 1986, S. 294, 300, 329 f., 336, 426–428, Pl. XIII, Fig. 304, 305, 307, 372, 375 f., 379.

³⁷ Die Borte des Gewandes unter dem Hals des alten Königs, siehe BEYER 1964, Pl. 29; RODE 1974, S. 127 (Rode erwähnt nicht das Ausschleifen), Taf. 109/Abb. 275, Taf. 110/Abb. 278, S. 78, 83 (Rode bemerkt im allgemeinen den Ausschliff „in den Gewandsäumen“, „in den Gewandborten“ in der Michaelskapelle, Fenster s VI, sowie auch in der Stephanuskapelle,

*Rosetten als Verzierung des Hintergrundes**a) Rosetten an Schnittpunkten der Quadrat- oder Rautennetze*

– Köln, Dom, Kapitelsaal. Petrus Martyr-Fenster n XIII (ursprünglich Dominikanerkirche Heilig Kreuz), um 1280; Dreikönigenkapelle. Fenster s II, um 1315–1329; Johanneskapelle. Fenster n V, um 1315–1320; Agneskapelle. Fenster s III, um 1315–1320³⁸

b) Rosetten in den Maschen der Quadrat- oder Rautennetze

– Köln, Dom, Königskapelle. Fenster s II, um 1315–1320; Johanneskapelle. Fenster s IV, um 1315–1320³⁹

Rosetten in kontinuierlicher Anordnung an Teppichen

– Esslingen, Stadtpfarrkirche St. Dionys. Steinhövelfenster: Bahn „d“, um 1280⁴⁰

Rosetten in Bordüren/Randborten

– Straßburg, Dom, Fenster n III: innere Randborte der Bahn „c“, 1265–1275⁴¹

– Esslingen, Stadtpfarrkirche St. Dionys. Steinhövelfenster: Bahn „c“, „um 1280⁴²

– Freiburg i. Br., Münster. Erstes nördliches Seitenschiffenfenster, erste Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts⁴³

– Krakau, Marienkirche. Fenster I: zwei Felder um 1360; Fenster n II: zwei Felder um 1370–1380⁴⁴

Weißer Punkte in jedem Blatt der Vierblätter

– Köln, Dom, Michaelskapelle. Fenster s VII und s VIII, um 1315–1320⁴⁵

Fenster s IX, beide um 1300–1320 aus der Dominikanerkirche Heilig Kreuz, alle diese Details sind auf Reproduktionen nicht erkennbar: Taf. 46/Abb. 136, Taf. 51/Abb. 150.)

³⁸ RODE 1974, S. 61 f., 69, 72 f., 108, 112, 144, 148, Farbtaf. 3/Abb. 8, Taf. 23/Abb. 57, Taf. 24/Abb. 58, Taf. 34/Abb. 89, Taf. 35/Abb. 92, Taf. 81/Abb. 235e, Taf. 156/Abb. 350.

³⁹ RODE 1974, S. 58, 60, 67 f., Taf. 18/Abb. 44.

⁴⁰ WENTZEL 1958, S. 60, 67, Taf. 8, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, 55, 57, 58, 60, 61. Wentzel datiert um 1300: „zum ersten Mal in dieser Ausdehnung im rechtsrheinischen Deutschland – zeitlich nach den Beispielen im Hochschiff des Straßburger Münsters und vor den nächstjüngeren Beispielen im Christus-Zyklus in Herford“; STROBL 1990, S. 105; BECKSMANN 1992, S. 24, 28 f. (Datierung und hypothetische Verknüpfung mit Speyer).

⁴¹ BEYER et al. 1986, S. 420, 423, Fig. 372, 375.

⁴² WENTZEL 1958, S. 60, 67, Taf. 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 46.

⁴³ STROBL 1990, S. 105, 163 (Anm. 631). Die Arbeit: GEIGES 1931 war uns leider nicht zugänglich.

⁴⁴ Siehe Anm. 5.

⁴⁵ RODE 1974, S. 80, Farbtaf. 4/10, Taf. 47/Abb. 142, Taf. 49/Abb. 144, Taf. 50/Abb. 147, 148.

Vierblatt-Blumen in den Maschen des Rautennetzes als Verzierung des Hintergrundes

– Orvieto, Dom. Fenster I (Lorenzo Maitani), um 1334⁴⁶

Fünfblatt-Rosetten als Verzierung der Kleidung

– Herford/Westfalen, Johanneskirche: Geburt Christi und Flucht nach Ägypten, regelmäßig zerstreute, mit Silbergelb untermalte Rosetten, um 1320–1325⁴⁷

Fiederranken und Gewanddamast

– Ulm, Dom, Bessererkapelle. Fenster I, 2b: Bethlehemischer Kindermord, um 1430/31; Westfassade. Westportalfenster Lhs w XIX, 1c, um 1440–1450 (nach Scholz: geätzter Überfang)⁴⁸

– Bern, Münster, Krauchthal-Erlach Kapelle: ehem. Passionsfenster I, 1b (Hans von Ulm), 1441⁴⁹

Straßburger Werkstattgemeinschaft:

– Ulm, Dom. Kramerfenster Chor n II: Ausschliff in fünf Farben, um 1480–1481⁵⁰

– Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum (ehemals Stiftskirche Nonnberg bei Salzburg): heilige Katharina und thronende Muttergottes, um 1480⁵¹

⁴⁶ Marienzyklus und Darstellungen der Propheten, vgl. MARCHINI 1955, S. 27 f., Pl. 20–21, hier besonders S. 28: „Un procédé nouveau pour graver le verre rouge doublé que l'on rencontre en Italie pour la première fois...“.

⁴⁷ Der christologische Zyklus im Presbyterium, vgl. WENTZEL 1954, S. 41: „Christuszyklus mit frühen Rot-Ausschliffen“, Datierung um 1320–1330; BEYER 1964, S. 51: „Of particular interest is the fact that small white flowers in the Virgin's cloak were abraded quite early on by the use of a flashed glass technique“, Pl. 34, 35; ANDERSSON 1964, S. 90 und besonders S. 119: „bezüglich Hablingbo ist es interessant festzustellen, dass in Herford Rotausschliff in ähnlicher Weise für ein Muster aus Hellen Tupfen in roten Gewändern vorkommt“. Wie oben erwähnt, war uns die Arbeit von LANDOLD-WEGENER nicht zugänglich.

⁴⁸ SCHOLZ 1994, S. 137: „Neu oder doch bislang in keinem früheren Beispiel bekannt ist die Beherrschung des Ätzens von Überfanggläsern...“, S. 132, Taf. XXXIII a sowie zum Westportalfenster mit dem Passionszyklus S. 211, 217, Taf. XXXIII b (Mantel des Pilatus).

⁴⁹ SCHOLZ 1994, S. 152, Taf. XXXIII d; Scholz 1992, S. 149 (Anm. 86). Leider nicht zugänglich war uns die Arbeit: MOJON 1960.

⁵⁰ SCHOLZ 1994, S. 92, 111, 114–116, 118, 121 f., 124, Farbtaf. XV, XVI, XVIII; *Bilder aus Licht* 1995, S. 83, 86, 88, Abb. 6, Abb. 8.2.

⁵¹ BEEH-LUSTENBERGER 1967/1973, Abb. 147, 148; S. 170 (Ausschliff); BECKSMANN 1988, S. 165, Farbtaf. 49.

– Nürnberg, Pfarrkirche St. Lorenz. Volckamerfenster Chor s III, um 1481⁵²– Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum: Muttergottes im Strahlenkranz begleitet von Engeln, um 1480⁵³

Dreiecke

– Köln, Dom, Dreikönigenkapelle. Petrus Maternus-Fenster s II: in den roten Zwickeln weiße Dreiecke als Ausschiff, um 1315–1320⁵⁴.

Die angeführten Beispiele erlauben folgende Feststellungen zur Anwendung des Überfangausschliffes in der mittelalterlichen Glasmalerei: Die ältesten bekannten Beispiele dieser Technik stammen aus der Zeit um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts in der Kathedrale von Straßburg, kurz nachher tritt sie mehrmals in Köln auf. Straßburg war ein Zentrum für die Ausstrahlung nach Schwaben (Freiburg i. Br., Esslingen) und Köln für die nach Westfalen (Soest). Die Rheinlande und Westfalen beeinflussten ihrerseits Skandinavien (Hablingbo und Lye in Gotland), und der Einfluss von Skandinavien gelangte bis nach Thorn (Kulm).

In Italien wurde Vasari zufolge die Technik des mechanischen Abtragens von Überfangen zum ersten mal 1518 im Duomo d'Arezzo angewandt, und zwar von seinem Lehrer Maestro Guglielmo di Pietro, einem Franzosen, der eigentlich Marcilliat hieß. Mary P. Merrifield erinnert daran, dass die Gesuati in Florenz so begierig waren, diese Technik kennenzulernen, dass sie eine der Scheiben in ihren Besitz brachten und sie zerlegten, um sich zu überzeugen, wie sie eigentlich entstanden war und woraus sie sich zusammensetzte⁵⁵.

Bleibt noch die Frage nach der theoretischen Kenntnis des Abtragens der oberen Schicht der Überfänge im mittelalterlichen technischen Schrifttum zu beantworten. Zuerst muss man feststellen, dass keiner der bewahrten und wissenschaftlich untersuchten Traktate des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts – also des *Heraclius*, der *Compositiones Lucenses* (Codex Luccensis 490), der *Mappae clavicula* und des Theophilus Presbyter *Schedula diversarium artium* – die Technik des Überfangs behandelt und somit den Ausschiff von Überfanggläsern kennt⁵⁶. Auch die

⁵² BECKSMANN 1988, S. 166, Farbtaf. 50.

⁵³ *Bilder aus Licht* 1995, S. 146, Abb. 34 (Ätzen in rubinrotem, violetterm und blauem Überfangglas).

⁵⁴ RODE 1974, S. 62 f.: „die Zwickel zwischen ihnen [Masswerkstege] sind rot mit einem weißen Dreieck in der Mitte“, Taf. 23, Taf. 24/Abb. 58 – Details unlesbar.

⁵⁵ MERRIFIELD 1967, Vol. I, S. LXXV.

⁵⁶ Siehe von SCHLOSSER 1977, S. 25–32.

Kenntnisse in der Technik des Edelsteinschliffs, die Strobl im Abschnitt „Schliff“ seines Buches untersucht, geben uns keinen Aufschluss über die Anfänge des mechanischen Abtragens der Überfänge.

Dagegen ist die chemische Methode, die Technik des Ätzens mit Salpetersäure, schriftlich im Traktat des Antonio da Pisa (1395)⁵⁷ und im *Bologneser Manuskript* eines anonymen Verfassers des 14. Jahrhunderts im Abschnitt 217 („A fare aqua de tagliare al vetro“) bezeugt⁵⁸. Nach Joachim Sandrart wurde die Erfindung der Technik des Glasätzens dem Glasschneider des Kaisers Rudolph II., Heinrich Schwanhardt, für das Jahr 1670 (!) von einem gewissen Beckmann zugeschrieben⁵⁹.

Die Frage, ob es im 14. Jahrhundert möglich war, die obere Schicht des Überfangglases auf chemischem Wege zu entfernen, um damit Zweifarbigkeit innerhalb einer Glasscheibe zu erzielen, wird von Hartmut Scholz und Sebastian Strobl unterschiedlich beantwortet. Nach Meinung von Strobl wäre die Ätzwirkung der Salpetersäure zu schwach, um die Oberfläche des Überfangglases in ausreichender Masse abzutragen⁶⁰. Ein von Scholz durchgeführtes Experiment sollte überzeugen, dass die Wirkung der Salpetersäure stark genug ist, um die obere Schicht des Überfanges zu beseitigen⁶¹.

Diese Kontroverse konnte vielleicht in folgender Weise gelöst werden: Sicher zersetzt die Salpetersäure nicht das Glas, weshalb sie auch in gläsernen Gefäßen aufbewahrt wird. Aber sie zersetzt das Metall, dort also die Metalloxide, so auch die Kupferoxide. Wenn die obere Schicht des Überfangglases mit Kupferoxid gefärbt ist, zersetzt die Salpetersäure das Kupferoxid, und die rubinrote Farbe verschwindet, ohne die untere Schicht des Glases anzugreifen.

Kunsthistorisch interessant wäre die Frage, ob die Technik des Glasätzens die Erfindung und die Anfänge der Radierung als Ätzkunst beeinflusste.

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⁵⁷ BRUCK 1902, insbes. S. 259–261; STROBL 1990, S. 200–211, insbes. S. 206 f.

⁵⁸ MERRIFIELD 1967, Vol. II, S. 495; STROBL 1990, S. 217.

⁵⁹ SANDRART [1675], Vol. I, S. 346; vgl. MERRIFIELD 1967, Vol. II, S. 332 f.

⁶⁰ STROBL 1990, S. 107–109.

⁶¹ SCHOLZ 1994, S. 137.

UN ÉPISODE GIOTTESQUE DE LA VERRIÈRE DE CHELMNO (KULM)

Tous les vitraux du moyen âge produits sur le territoire actuel de la Pologne (c'est-à-dire celui établi après la Seconde Guerre mondiale) peuvent être répartis en deux groupes territoriaux correspondant à deux centres de la création des vitraux. Au sud du pays c'est le groupe de Cracovie, au nord – celui de Toruń. Nous tenons à souligner qu'aucun panneau ancien de production locale n'est conservé en Silésie¹.

Le groupe du nord date du XIV^e siècle et il comprend cinq ensembles dont trois proviennent des églises de Toruń: de l'église paroissiale dédiée à deux saints Jean: Baptiste et l'Évangéliste; de l'église Saint-Nicolas des dominicains et de l'église de l'Assomption de la Vierge des franciscains; un ensemble de la cathédrale sous le vocable de l'Assomption de la Vierge de Włocławek et un ensemble de l'église paroissiale de l'Assomption de la Vierge de Chełmno².

L'église de Chełmno a été érigée en deux étapes³. Le chœur à trois travées, au chevet plat percé d'une grande fenêtre à quatre lancettes et onze registres, couronnée d'une riche rosace, fut construit entre 1280 et 1290; les murs latéraux laissaient entrer la lumière par les fenêtres à deux lancettes. Le corps à trois nefs égales fut élevé au cours des deux premières décennies du XIV^e siècle.

En 1688, au cours d'une réparation de la grande fenêtre du chevet, certains panneaux en couleur ont été remplacés par le verre blanc. En

¹ L'unique panneau médiéval conservé en Silésie provient de l'église paroissiale en bois Saint-Clément à Miedzna en Haute Silésie; il représente la Crucifixion, date des années vers 1440-1450 et stylistiquement dépend des ateliers de Cracovie. Cfr KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995; voir aussi *Zbiory* 1995, pp. 26 et 130.

² Sur les vitraux de la région de Toruń voir KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a.

³ Sur l'église de Chełmno voir *ibidem*, pp. 169-172.

1710 le très riche retable en bois du maître-autel, à construction architectonique, a voilé la majorité des panneaux. Encore en 1887 J. Heise a pu noter 32 scènes du Nouveau Testament à partir de l'Annonciation jusqu'à la Résurrection du Christ, surmontées de la Vierge, du Sauveur, des figures de cinq Prophètes, de saint Paul et de six Apôtres. En 1888 tous ces panneaux ont été achetés par Conrad Steinbrecht pour la chapelle du château des chevaliers teutoniques de Malbork. Après la restauration des années 1891–1892 par le peintre verrier Johann Baptiste Haselberger qui a ajouté 26 nouveaux panneaux réalisés d'après le programme iconographique proposé par le Dr Hanach, cet ensemble, dans son intégralité, a été installé à l'intérieur de quatre fenêtres, opposées deux par deux dans la chapelle du château⁴.

Quand, en 1939, la Seconde Guerre mondiale a éclaté, tous les panneaux de Malbork ont été démontés et cachés. A la fin de la guerre, il y a cinquante ans, on n'en a retrouvé que treize. En 1956 ils ont été déposés au Musée Municipal de Toruń, où deux ans plus tard M. Edward Kwiatkowski les a nettoyés et restaurés⁵.

Nous passons maintenant à une très courte présentation de la verrière de Chełmno telle qu'elle pouvait être au temps de sa réalisation pendant la seconde phase du vitrage du chœur de l'église, c'est-à-dire presque cent ans après l'érection du chevet, donc vers 1380–1390.

Le noyau de l'ancien programme iconographique était formé par le cycle christologique englobant 20 scènes surmontées d'un Triomphe de la Vierge [Fig. 45, 46] placé dans deux panneaux en arc brisé (en allemand *Kopfscheiben*). Ce noyau dont n'existent que : l'Annonciation [Fig. 48], la Visitation [Fig. 49], l'Adoration des Mages, la Circoncision, la Présentation au Temple [Fig. 50], la Fuite en Egypte et le Massacre des Innocents, était enrichi de figures des Apôtres assis dont subsistent st Pierre [Fig. 51], st Philippe, st André, st Jacques le Majeur, st Thomas et st Jacques le Mineur, et de Prophètes qui dès l'origine étaient rangés selon les versets du Credo apostolique et prophétique⁶. La restitution théorique de la disposition primitive des personnages assis est difficile puisque la fenêtre n'a que onze au lieu douze registres auxquels on s'attendrait si tous les Apôtres – et pareillement tous les Prophètes étaient situés des deux

⁴ Ibidem.

⁵ KWIATKOWSKI 1963, pp. 119–130.

⁶ Sur le Credo apostolique et prophétique voir: BÜHLER 1953; GORDON 1965; LCI, t. 1, cols 461–464 (H. van Os, *Credo*); BIAŁOWICZ-KRYGIEROWA 1981, pp. 56–58; KNAPIŃSKI 1991, pp. 44–47; KNAPIŃSKI 1994; BOESPFLUG 1994, s. 69. Voir aussi les actes du colloque: *Pensée, image* 1993.

côtés de la trame narrative, la onzième était, selon lui, dans les panneaux en arc brisé et la douzième occupait les parties basses des rosaces. Il nous semble que deux autres solutions soient à envisager: ou l'un des Apôtres tenait un phylactère avec deux versets du Credo comme par exemple à l'église paroissiale de la ville d'Esslingen (*Stadtpfarrkirche* en allemand) où saint Paul présente à la fois deux textes, et la dernière paire était disposée dans les *Kopfscheiben*⁷, ou bien la verrière du Credo dès l'origine n'avait que huit Prophètes, c'est-à-dire sept Prophètes et saint Paul, à côté des douze Apôtres, tous disposés par dix dans chacune des lancettes latérales.

L'idée directrice du programme iconographique de la fenêtre correspondait à l'histoire du salut de l'humanité. Le Credo apostolique et prophétique joint au cycle de l'Incarnation du Christ, à sa Passion et au Triomphe de la Vierge s'accorde bien avec l'iconographie adoptée dans la région sous l'influence de l'art des chevaliers teutoniques pour la décoration sculpturale de la nef principale de l'église paroissiale de Chełmno (1330–1340), pour les peintures murales dans le chœur de l'église paroissiale de Neumark (1350–1360)⁸ et pour certains retables du milieu nordique des Madonnes au lion (*Löwenmadonnen-Kreis* en allemand)⁹.

Les correspondances iconographiques avec le retable de l'église des franciscains de Toruń (1390)¹⁰ et avec la scène de l'Annonciation des fonts baptismaux de l'église Saint-Nicolas d'Elbląg¹¹ et avant tout la formation stylistique suggèrent une datation vers 1380–1390.

Quand on aborde le problème du style, il apparaît au premier coup d'oeil que la composition de la fenêtre est toute contraire à l'arrangement architectural typique du style dit parlerien contemporain, par exemple, celui des vitraux de la cathédrale d'Erfurt, de Münster d'Ulm ou de l'église de l'hôpital Sainte-Marthe de Nuremberg¹². L'artiste qui a créé la verrière de Chełmno n'était certainement pas un membre professionnel

⁷ WENTZEL 1958, pp. 120–122, ici p. 121: saint Paul.

⁸ DOMASŁOWSKI et al. 1990, p. 14.

⁹ BIAŁŁOWICZ-KRYGIEROWA 1978, p. 258.

¹⁰ Sur le retable des franciscains de Toruń voir: DOMASŁOWSKI et al. 1990, pp. 68–75, ill. 8 sur p. 69.

¹¹ Sur les fonts baptismaux de l'église Saint-Nicolas d'Elbląg voir: CLASEN 1939, I, pp. 312–313, n. 135; II, ill. 349; ŁOZIŃSKI 1992, p. 375, ill. 48.

¹² La notion du style dit parlerien a été introduite par WENTZEL 1954, pp. 46–52. Voir aussi: DRACHENBERG 1979; Selon la position de BECKSMANN 1995, p. 145, n° 43, de nombreuses raisons font croire que les verrières d'Erfurt, de Nuremberg et d'Ulm descendent d'un commun modèle, qui malheureusement a été détruit pendant les guerres hussites; les verrières de la cathédrale de Prague en seraient le modèle. Sur cette question consulter aussi KAHSNITZ 1986 – l'accent mis sur Nuremberg; SCHOLZ 1991, ici pp. 39–56 – l'accent mis sur Ulm; RICHTER 1993, pp. XXXII–LI et 77–84 – l'accent mis sur Erfurt.

du chantier de construction des bâtiments, mais plutôt un peintre de tableaux ou un miniaturiste imaginatif qui a transformé la fenêtre en une grande page illuminée sur le parchemin¹³; certainement il connaissait bien la peinture de Bohême du troisième quart du XIV^e siècle.

Mais, c'est la composition de la scène de la Visitation qui est le trait le plus remarquable de la verrière de Chełmno [Fig. 49]; elle évoque vivement la composition de la même scène peinte par Giotto dans la Chapelle de l'Arène à Padoue [Fig. 62]¹⁴. Cette fois-ci nous ne sommes pas face à une « copie », comme au revers du retable de Klosterneubourg près de Vienne, où vers 1329–1330 l'artiste autrichien a répété la composition giottesque de l'Apparition du Christ ressuscité à Madeleine: *Noli me tangere*¹⁵, mais en même temps il n'y a pas de doute que la composition de Giotto a servi de modèle à la Visitation de Chełmno. Le verrier de Toruń a adapté l'image italienne en sens inverse, à rebours. Les couleurs de la fresque sont: vert clair, rouge, jaune moutard et bleu; à Chełmno: rubis (*verre doublé*, en allemand *Überfangglass*), vert, bleu.

La scène de la Visitation de Padoue témoigne de l'incomparable aptitude dramatique de Giotto, qui se manifeste à la fois dans l'iconographie et dans le style. Devant le porche de la maison d'Élisabeth supporté par deux minces colonnettes, la mère du futur Baptiste, placée du côté droit dans la partie droite de la composition, assez âgée, s'incline profondément pour embrasser Marie, qui, debout du côté gauche, toute droite, bien que plus jeune, domine l'événement en tant que mère du Sauveur. La main gauche d'Élisabeth touche le flanc droit de la Vierge, tandis que Marie semble soutenir de sa main droite le bras tendu de sa cousine.

La scène est enrichie de la présence de trois personnes-témoins de cette rencontre sacrée. Pendant qu'Élisabeth est accompagnée d'une servante qui garde une distance de déférence, Marie est suivie de deux jeunes filles dont l'une, sa main droite couverte d'une étoffe (un voile) correspond à la servante d'Élisabeth, tandis que l'autre reste au second plan, au fond de la scène.

À Chełmno, faute de place, le verrier a réduit les participants à deux personnes principales; le porche géométrisé, à une seule colonnette visible, servant d'accessoire à la rencontre des deux protagonistes, est situé

¹³ AVRIL 1978, pp. 102–105, ill. 52 et 53.

¹⁴ Sur la Visitation de Giotto à Padoue voir: RINTELEN 1923, p. 31; GNUDI 1959, p. 156, ill. 86; SCHILLER 1966, pp. 65–68, ill. 132 à la p. 66; *The Arena* 1969, ill. 24; BACCHESCHI 1977, p. 102, ill. 66; BELLOSI 1981, pp. 41 et 53; BARASH 1987, pp. 108–110; MIETH 1991, pp. 74–75, 87–88 et 204–205, pl. 3; COLE 1993, p. 68, ill. 15.

¹⁵ FRITZSCHE 1983, pp. 17–21, ill. 12–14.

du côté gauche de la scène. Cette fois Élisabeth, placée du côté gauche, répète la révérence de la formule giottesque devant la jeune figure de la Vierge redressée, pendant que la main gauche de Marie tâte le ventre, *uterum*, de sa cousine qui tient fortement le coude gauche de la Vierge. Un arbre y remplace les deux compagnes de Marie peintes par Giotto.

Ce qui distingue la scène de Padoue, c'est la façon dont Élisabeth examine attentivement, d'en bas, le visage de Marie. Cette expression d'interrogation est reprise à Chełmno.

L'influence de l'art de Giotto sur la peinture des pays situés au nord des Alpes au cours du XIV^e siècle n'est pas une constatation nouvelle. Pourtant, aux exemples connus depuis longtemps – on pense avant tout au retable déjà mentionné de Klosterneubourg et puis à l'épisode anglais découvert il y a un demi-siècle par Otto Pächt, qui indique la Cène de Giotto à Padoue comme source d'inspiration pour la scène du Banquet de Joseph représentée par le Maître de la Genèse Egerton (Brit. Lib. MS 1894)¹⁶ – nous pouvons ajouter aujourd'hui la verrière de Chełmno. L'intervalle de plus de 70–80 ans qui sépare le panneau de Chełmno (1380–1390) de la fresque de Giotto (1305–1310) suffirait à expliquer la différence de style. La date autour de 1380–1390 semble d'autant plus plausible qu'en 1389, Boniface IX, pour mettre fin au grand schisme d'Occident, a étendu la Fête de la Visitation à toute l'Église latine¹⁷. C'est alors aussi qu'on a exécuté la superbe statuette de la Vierge enceinte, Sancta Maria Gravida, de l'église paroissiale des deux Saints Jean de Toruń, disparue malheureusement pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale¹⁸.

La verrière de Chełmno permet de souligner l'actualité de la peinture novatrice de l'artiste italien au nord des Alpes au cours de XIV^e siècle. La voie qui a conduit de Padoue à Chełmno reste inconnue. Nous ne savons pas et vraisemblablement nous ne saurons jamais si l'artiste responsable de la composition de Chełmno est allé à Padoue, et il est également peu probable qu'un artiste italien ait pénétré jusqu'à la région de Toruń pour contribuer à la confection de la verrière de Chełmno ou au moins du panneau avec la scène de la Visitation. L'inversion que la composition de Giotto a subi dans l'atelier de Toruń, où la verrière a été exécutée, per-

¹⁶ PÄCHT 1943, pp. 67–68, ill. 19 b et c. Ibidem, p. 51, note 7. Pächt souligne la dépendance des miniaturistes anglais du XIII^e siècle (William de Brailes) de l'art du dessin du vitrail.

¹⁷ CLASEN 1939, I, pp. 141–144, n° 600, II, ill. 157–161; MÜLLER 1966, p. 42.

¹⁸ Sur la fête de la Visitation (Luc 1: 39–56) voir: RÉAU 1957, pp. 195–205; LCI, II, cols 229–235 (M. Lechner, *Heimsuchung*); LThK, V, 1960, col. 173 (H. Paulus, *Heimsuchung Mariä*); LThK, VII, 1962, cols 65–68 (H.-J. Schultz, *Marienfeste*); *Marienlexikon*, III, 1991, pp. 117–121 (*Heimsuchung*).

met de supposer que le contact avec elle s'accomplit par l'intermédiaire d'un dessin ou d'un livret de croquis. Le rôle intermédiaire de la peinture tchèque est très suggestif en vue des relations brièvement indiquées de la verrière de Chełmno avec la peinture de Bohême au XIV^e siècle. Mais ce n'est qu'une hypothèse à vérifier.

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WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT MEDIAEVAL SILESIAN STAINED GLASS?

Despite the fact that mediaeval stained glass has not been preserved in Silesia in its material form, we do know that it undoubtedly did originally exist¹. The classic stained glass technique had originated already in Carolingian times and it consisted of joining together pieces of flat glass by means of lead strips to form a whole possessing an aesthetic quality – such as an ornamental pattern or figural image; in time, stained glass became an indispensable element in the decoration of churches and more and more commonly of lay buildings². That is what must have happened in Silesia as well. Even if we assume that the windows of church naves were blank glazed, then undoubtedly since the thirteenth century, the windows (or some of them) in the choirs and chapels had been filled with stained glass. The sacral architecture in the Wrocław diocese, which was relatively dense already in the Romanesque period, and clearly abundant in the Gothic period, may give us a sense of the richness of the original resources³. The above conclusion, which is purely theoretical in character

¹ The first scholar who dealt with this issue and collected source documents relating to it was KNOBLICH 1870. See also: von CZIHAK 1891, pp. 4, 5, 41–43; OIDTMANN 1898, pp. 245, 319; PAJZDESKI 1938; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995. The present article is an altered, amended and extended version of the publication of 1995. At present, in many footnotes concerning the issues discussed in the previous publication, we have limited ourselves to quoting the fundamental or selected sources.

² See the general publications concerning the history of European or German stained glass (due to the proximity of Silesia), among others OIDTMANN 1898; OIDTMANN 1912; OIDTMANN 1929; FISCHER 1937; WENTZEL 1954; FRODL-KRAFT 1970; BRISAC 1986; BROWN 1988; *Glasfenster der Welt* 1992; *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995; CASTELNUOVO 1994; *Glasmalerei aus acht Jahrhunderten* 1997.

³ KUMOR 1969. On architecture see, among others: ŚWIECHOWSKI 1955; KOZACZEWSKI 1990; KOZACZEWSKI 1994; KOZACZEWSKI 1994a; KOZACZEWSKI 1994b; KUTZNER, ŻŁAT 1995.

and which remains valid for every artistic region in mediaeval Latin Europe, is supported by a number of cases in Silesia.

The lack of preserved stained glass – the effect of natural destruction or else damage caused by man – is recompensed at least to some extent by written sources, whose inventory (drawn up on the basis of earlier publications without covering the entirety of the available material) was included in chronological order in the present authors' article of 1995⁴. The above source information was presented in a manner different than in the current publication: here the sources are arranged according to the names of the patrons or donors, lay or religious ones, single or collective, and subsequently artists and their works, and last of all, cities which the above had been associated with, or for which they had worked.

A selection of cases illuminate these connections. On 8 March, 1329, brothers Rudegerus and Heinricus in Henryków confirmed that their deceased father Kilianus de Hugowicz had bequeathed in his will the hereditary rent (*censum hereditarium*) in the village of Ziębice to the local Cistercian monastery, for, among other matters, the expenses associated with the restoration and repair of the glazing in the windows of their family chapel which was adjacent to the monastery: “[...] pro instauratione et reparacione fenestrarum vitrearum et tecti capelle nostre annexae monasterio”⁵. From this, one can infer that in the above-mentioned year the stained glass in the chapel windows had already existed and the father of the Hugowicz brothers – in all likelihood the patron of the chapel and its stained glass – had ensured financial support for the repairs that would no doubt be inevitable in the future⁶.

⁴ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 46–52.

⁵ BRETSCHNEIDER 1928, no 29, p. 72.

⁶ The representatives of the Hugowitz family of Thuringia (Hugewitz, Huguwitz, Haugwitz), using the ram's horns coat of arms (Romany), are mentioned in Silesian sources mainly at the beginning of the fourteenth century – see among others, *Księga Henrykowska* [1949], pp. 188 (341), 191–194 (343–347), 197–198 (349–351), 203–204 (355–356), 220 (370). See also: Marian Gumowski, „Pieczęcie śląskie do końca XIV wieku” in *Historja Śląska* 1936, pp. 335, 341, 346, 348, 350, 355, 392; M. Gumowski, „Moneta na Śląsku do końca XIV” in *Historja Śląska* 1936, pp. 616, 617, 630. The crest of the Hugowitz family is also to be found on one of the keystones in the south aisle of the Corpus Christi Church in Wrocław, dating back to the sixties of the fourteenth century, c.f. KACZMAREK 1999, p. 163, fig. 229. The Hugowicz family chapel in Henryków, in all likelihood sepulchral in shape, whose existence was confirmed by the sources in 1329, has not been taken into consideration in the analyses of source literature up until now. Maybe it ought to be identified with the so-called abbot chapel (Holy Cross Chapel) situated to the north of the presbytery and erected as a free-standing structure around 1300 (?) and subsequently transformed at the beginning of the sixteenth century (1506). This chapel is adjacent in the south to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre which adheres to the presbytery; the latter is evidently younger than the former, as it was probably erected in the middle

On 4 April, 1396, Duke Louis I of Brzeg bequeathed five marks in his testamentary bequest for the stained glass in the church of the Order of Canons Regular (Hospitalier) dedicated to St Anthony in Brzeg: “[...] czu eym glasefenstir czu sente Antonio zall man gebin funf marg czur kirchen”, and eight marks for the stained glass in the church of the Virgin Mary in the same city: “Czu vnser libn frouwen zal man gebin acht marg czu eym glazfenster, daz wir globt habin vnser libn frouwen czumachen”⁷. The fact that both ducal bequests concerned exclusively a „single” window, inclines one to assume that in both cases the reference was to the most important eastern window of the terminating end of the choir. Whereas the fact that the church of St Anthony was erected around the year 1314, and the church of the Virgin Mary had already existed before the city had been granted its charter in the year 1248, most probably since the turn of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries⁸, leads one to the conclusion that in both cases the reference was to the execution of at least the so-called “second glazing”. Finally, one may assume that especially duke Louis’ „own” architectural foundations: the chapel of the Lord’s Body and Blood and the Chapel of Saints Hedwig and Mary Magdalene at the Lubin castle (erected in the years

of the fourteenth century only to be thoroughly rebuilt in the first half of the sixteenth century (?); two keystones with the Rogala coat-of-arms, preserved in the present-day chapel of Christ’s Sepulchre are supposedly to have constituted part of its interior decoration – see: KUTZNER 1969, p. 83; ŁUŻYŃIECKA 1995, p. 112, fig. C on p. 107; ŁUŻYŃIECKA 1998, p. 70; “Henryków. Kaplice Świętego Krzyża i Grobu Świętego” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 95 (A. Włodarek) the latter is in favour of the sixteenth century origin of both chapels (here also older sources). More or less concurrently with the testamentary bequest, for in the year 1327, a Poznań bishop Jan III Doliwa (during whose term of office the construction of the new body of the cathedral was begun in Poznań) transferred the glass mill (*vitrorum molendinum*) on the Cybina river to *Thiczkonii vitratori*, on condition that the latter will “*vitra fenestrarum nostrae majoris ecclesiae praenominatae quotiens opus fuerit ejusdem ecclesiae reparare et reformare tenetur*”. C.f. *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny* [1840], point LXXXVIII, p. 101.

⁷ *Urkunden der Stadt Brieg* [1870], Beilage XXXVI, p. 254. As the beginning of the first above-cited sentence reads: “Den brudirn off den berge czum Brige zal man gebin czen marg czur kirche, vnd [...]”, LUTSCH 1889, p. 322, and after him OIDTMANN 1892, p. 245 associated the two different bequests mentioned in this sentence with the Dominican church, whose monastery (*Oberkloster*) was situated on a nearby hill, whereas KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970, p. 86 interpreted the text in the following way: “the duke set up a fund for the execution of a stained glass window with the image of St Anthony for this [Franciscan?] complex”. In the will one could find bequests in favor of all the churches in Brzeg, including the Hospitalier Church of the Holy Spirit and the parish church of St Nicolas which was still under construction, whereas the above quoted bequest undoubtedly concerns the Order of Hospitaliers of St. Anthony, who had settled in Brzeg at the beginning of the fourteenth century, (bequests in their favour of the latter been referred to as: *ad sanctum Antonium*); c.f. HEYNE 1864, pp. 545–553.

⁸ ZLAT 1979, pp. 7, 15, 16, 23. The former of the two churches had been demolished in 1805, the latter already in 1534.

1349 – before 1358) and the chapel (erected in the years 1359–1361) and since 1368 the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity and St Hedwig at the Brzeg castle had been equipped with stained glass since the time of their erection or else termination⁹.

In the year 1401, a Wrocław townswoman Katharina Jacuschinne had offered one mark for the stained glass windows in the choir of the church of the Order of Hermits of St Augustine dedicated to St Dorothy in Wrocław: “1 mr. gr. zu S. Dorotheen czu glazefenstern im kore”¹⁰. At this time work on the glazing of the side windows of the above church was probably in progress or else was being terminated since holy mass had been celebrated in the church’s choir since the year 1381¹¹.

After the burning down of the Cistercian Abbey in Lubiąż by the Hussites in 1432, members of the Głogów family of Michael Loben, “reficere fecerunt quatuor fenestras integras in ecclesia nostra retro chorum”¹². Undoubtedly, this meant simply that they had sponsored the glazing of four (of six) bipartite windows in the chapels situated in the eastern end of the church’s ambulatory, which were situated behind the choir, that is behind the stalls for the friars¹³.

In 1437, thanks to the efforts of Mikołaj Gramis, *magister fabricae* of the Wrocław cathedral, the stained glass window above the main altar of this cathedral had been renovated: “renovata fuit fenestra vitrea ecclesiae

⁹ The activity of Louis I the duke of Brzeg (1313(?)–1398), as patron and sponsor, both in the sphere of architecture, architectural sculpture and painting (the so called Lubin Codex with the *Pictorial Legend of St Hedwig* of 1353, currently in the USA, Malibu, J.P. Getty Museum), and moreover his library and art collection, known chiefly from the two wills drawn up in 1360 and 1396, are discussed by KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970, pp. 5–98; in footnote 156 one finds a supposition concerning the ducal foundation of the stained glass for the castle church in Brzeg. Also see: KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970a; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970b; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1991, pp. 16–18, 32, 56, 86–88, 91, 104–105, 119–120, 128, 130, 133, 134. Also see: KĘBŁOWSKI 1984. As regards the issue of the architectural foundations of duke Louis I, see among others: GRZYBKOWSKI 1990, pp. 128–140 (the chapel of the castle in Lubin), pp. 141–159 (the chapel of the castle in Brzeg); “Brzeg. Kaplica zamkowa p.w. św. Jadwigi”, in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, pp. 35–36 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek), *ibid.* information on older sources concerning this subject.

¹⁰ SCHULTZ 1870, p. 138.

¹¹ BURGEMEISTER, GRUNDMANN 1934, p. 108. See also: “Wrocław. Kościół p.w. św. Doroty i Stanisława augustianów”, in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, pp. 267–268 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek), *ibid.* information on older sources on the subject. At least some of the stained glass in the church had been destroyed by a gale force wind on 11 March 1598: “Den 11. März hat ein sehr grosser Wind zu S. Dorothea Kirche die Glasfenster ausgeschlagen”, cf. *Jahrbücher der Stadt* [1823], p. 187.

¹² *Necrologium Lubense* [1861], p. 56 (October 27). On the Hussite attack: JAŹDŹEWSKI 1992, p. 68.

¹³ C.f. PILCH 1973, fig. 25. On the location of the friars’ choir within the monastic church see: HARPER 1997, p. 54, fig. 1 on p. 51.

Wratislaviensis super summum altare”¹⁴. It may have been the first, still existing and undoubtedly figural glazing of the most important quadripartite eastern window of the chancel, erected in the years 1244–1272¹⁵.

In the period 1466–1469, next to the northern aisle of the church of Canons Regular dedicated to the the Blessed Virgin Mary “on the Sand” in Wrocław, a chapel had been erected from the foundation of a Wrocław townsman Filip Dachs who had the chapel “cum omni fenestratura et ornatura, tam altaris quam cappelle etc. consummavit consumatamque certis ornamentis, calice et clenodiis dotavit”¹⁶. The above record, which had luckily been preserved in the monastic chronicle, should be regarded as an exemplary enumeration of the „obligations” associated with the founding of a chapel; the latter obviously included the obligation to glaze the windows, in all likelihood with stained glass.

In the year 1486 Stanisław Krodel donated six marks for the glazing of a window in the parish church of Saints Stanislaus and Wenceslas in Świdnica: “1486 Stanislaus Krodel 8 Mark für Glasfenster”¹⁷. Today it is impossible to state precisely whether the note referred to the second glazing of one of the windows in the church erected around the years 1330–1386, or to the first glazing of one of the windows in the western façade¹⁸.

In the year 1489, following the efforts of Paul I Haugwitz, abbot general at the abbey of Canons Regular in Żagań, the windows of the cloister had been re-glazed – after the fires of 1473, and particularly after the fire of 1486: “ambitum sepulture fratrum, longa monasterii vastatione fenestris vitreis omnino anichilatis de novo reparare et fenestrare procuravit”¹⁹.

Apart from individual patrons or donors, mediaeval sources also mention the commissioning entities: monastic orders, as well as city and church councils which possessed funds obtained from donors whose iden-

¹⁴ ROSICZ [1883], p. 52. See also: GRÜNHAGEN 1863, p. 146, footnote 1.

¹⁵ On the construction of the choir, see among others: BURGEMEISTER 1930, pp. 61–63.

¹⁶ “Chronica abbatum Beatae Mariae Virginis in Arena”, in *Scriptores Rerum*, vol. 2, 1839, p. 251. On the subject of the chapel see: NIEMCZYK 1983, pp. 64–65, fig. 94 (idem also older sources).

¹⁷ WERNICKE 1874, p. 12: “1486 Stanislaus Krodel 8 Mark für Glasfenster”.

¹⁸ C.f. the listing of source information and the analyses of the individual phases of the construction: “Świdnica. Kościół par. p.w. Panny Marii oraz śś. Stanisława i Wacława”, in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, pp. 230–231 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek).

¹⁹ „Catalogus abbatum Saganensium”, in: *Scriptores Rerum*, vol. 1, 1835, pp. 398, 402. On the history of the monastery in the fifteenth century. see: ŚWIERK 1965, pp. 26–29; on the history of architecture: “Żagań. Kościół par. p. w. Panny Marii i św. Jana Chrz. oraz klasztor augustianów” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 276 (M. Machowski).

tities remain unknown²⁰. For example, in the year 1382 fifty marks had been spent on the purchase of four windows in the choir of the Franciscan church dedicated to the Virgin Mary in Zgorzelec: “Das Chor ist sehr lang, fünfseitig geschlossen und zu seiner Länge viel zu wenig beleuchtet, obgleich sieben Fenster sich in ihm finden. Vier dieser Fenster waren gewiss einst gemalt, denn in alten Rechnungen ist bemerkt, dass im Jahre 1383 im Chore 4 Glasfenster verfertigt worden wären, „welche 50 Mark gekostet hätten“²¹.

Therefore the glazing had commenced directly after the completion of the choir in the years 1371–1381²².

In the year 1390, Peter Hertil, a member of the city council of Legnica had paid twelve marks and one ferton to the painter Nicolaus for the execution of two windows for the church of Sts Peter and Paul in this city: “Nicolao dem moler von czweyn venstirn XII m. vnd eyn firdung”, and ten marks to Nicolaus and Kunczin for one window: “Nicolao vnd Cunczin X m. vor eym venstir”²³. Comparing the records concerning the history of the church’s construction with the dates on the invoices, one may come to the conclusion that the above-mentioned sums referred to the windows in the eastern part of the church²⁴. The fact that at least one painter-glazier (see below) had been employed for the execution of these three windows, suggests that these were the three presbytery windows and that they were given a figural composition.

On 20 January, 1417, the Brzeg city council signed a contract with masters Peter and Nicolaus Fischbach – for the sum of twenty six marks – as payment for the glazing of a single long (tall) window at the terminus of the choir (referred to as *haubn* – dome) of the local parish church dedicated to St Nicolas; the two artisans were to execute twelve “images” (*bilde*) as well as a lattice protecting the window (attached to the window footing or arch?) from the iron and nails which were supplied to them: “Wir haben fordinget eyn lang glasefenster in der haubn meyster Peter vnd Nicol. Fischbach vmme xxvj. marg. doryn sulln se machen. xij. bilde

²⁰ On the distinction between the contracting-commissioning entities, authors of iconographic programmes and donors see: KURMANN-SCHWARZ 1996.

²¹ BÜSCHING 1824, p. 180.

²² LUTSCH 1891, pp. 654–655.

²³ WERNICKE 1877, col. 207; WERNICKE 1881, no 37, p. 253; ZIEGLER 1878, pp. 178–179, footnote 27.

²⁴ See: “Legnica. Kościół par. p.w. śś. Piotra i Pawła”, in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 136 (S. Skibiński).

vnd eyn necze do for bis an dy fensterbang. dorczu solln wir en geben ysen vnd nayl“²⁵.

From the analysis of the invoices for construction work on the church, published by Alwin Schultz, one may infer that work on the glazing of the choir windows began directly after the completion of the work on its ceiling and after its walls had been whitewashed and its traceries repaired (contract of 5 December 1414); this work began once all the remaining ceilings in the church had been completed and the entire nave had been whitewashed (contract of 17 December, 1416)²⁶. It is not at all certain which of the three immense quadripartite windows at the end of the choir the contract concerned; one may only surmise that it concerned the main – eastern window. The employment of two painters (which will be discussed further) and the mention of the “images” would seem to indicate that the glazing was figural; yet the use of the term *bilde* remains somewhat enigmatic in the “technical” sense, as the latter cannot be identified with a panel (*Tafel*), but should rather be interpreted as a multi-panel representation.

Records for the years 1456–1458 reveal that the glazing by a newly erected tabernacle in the form of a tower (1455) in the choir of the parish church of St Elizabeth had also been commissioned and paid for²⁷. Regardless the precise dating of the above-mentioned choir (before 1389, around the middle of the fourteenth century), one can assume that it was a second, most probably figural glazing; yet there is no reason to assume that originally it had been a blank glazing²⁸.

The records published by Hermann Luchs are associated with the expenses of the Dominican monastery in Wrocław for the years 1487–1501, that is from the time of the reconstruction of the nave of the church as well as of the entire monastic complex (including the arcades). These records point to a whole range of expenses associated with the glazing of windows, beginning with the costs for the repair of the “instrument”

²⁵ SCHULTZ 1867, p. 173; *Urkunden der Stadt Brieg* [1870]: s. 111, no. 774. The use of a protective lattice in Brzeg was first drawn attention to by OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 43–44.

²⁶ KUTZNER 1973, especially pp. 64–71. See also: “Brzeg, Kościół par. p.w. św. Mikołaja” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 36 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek).

²⁷ BURGEMEISTER, GRUNDMANN 1933, pp. 74, 76; the authors suppose that it must have been “gemalte Glasfenster”.

²⁸ C.f. “Wrocław, Kościół par. p.w. św. Elżbiety” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 266 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek) as well as KUTZNER 1996. Without providing any evidence ŻELBROMSKI 1996, pp. 144–145, 146 assumes that: “Up until the second half of the fifteenth century light penetrated into the entire interior of the church of St Elizabeth through transparent glass installed in the windows of its naves and chapels”.

for the pulling of lead: “pro reparatione instrumenti ad plumbum pro fenestris, vor die bleyczie” (1487), through multiple purchases of iron for the windows (metal mutins between the panels): “pro ferramentis ad fenestras in ambitu” (e.g. 1488); expenses for the glass itself, often purchased in stacks (most probably of the “bullseye” type): “pro 24 sexag. vitrorum pro ambitu” (e.g. 1489); or else Venetian glass: “pro vitris venecialibus” (the years 1491, 1494, 1496, 1499), or “forest” – most probably, local, Silesian glass: “pro vitris silvestribus sive montanis” (1494), “pro 10 sexag. vitrorum silvestrium” (1498); for the “wedges” (flat glass panes inserted in-between the bullseye glass): “pro vitris ad angulos fenestrarum” (e.g. in the years 1493, 1494); moreover for the glass paint: “martino moler vor lot” (1489); and for the iron used in (protective) latticework in the window: “pro ferramentis ad rethe ferreum in fenestra” (1499)²⁹. Thus in the majority of cases the windows were glazed. The records also confirm that coats-of-arms and figural images had also been executed; the latter tasks had been entrusted to painters who had also to be remunerated for their work (the latter aspect will be discussed in the subsequent part of the article).

In the year 1511 the town council and the chief treasurer of the parish church dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Lwówek Śląski, had signed a contract (published in its entirety by Wernicke in 1882) with master Hans Schwantener, referred to as a *glasssetzer*, for the glazing of the windows of the above-mentioned church: “vmme das ver-glasyn itcz gemeltir kirchin”; the glazier was to have used good, Venetian glass: “guttin venedischim glasse” which no doubt involved the use of glass disks – bullseye glass, as the contract also mentions the “wedges” (*winckilglasz*) and „halves” (*halbin scheybin*); whereas there is no mention of any figural glass work³⁰. From the records documenting the individual stages of the church’s construction – whose eastern part was erected around the year 1493 – one may deduce that the contract did not take into consideration the eastern windows of the aisles with polygonal terminations which by that time must have already been glazed (with figural representations?)³¹.

²⁹ LUCHS 1859; the quotations are to be found on: pp. 211, 224, 225, 239, 254, 266, 291, 256–257, 286, 245, 257, 227, 287. The use of window lattices (already known from the Brzeg contract of 1417) was drawn attention to by OIDTMANN 1912, p. 44.

³⁰ WERNICKE 1882.

³¹ C.f. “Lwówek Śląski, Kościół par. p.w. Wniebowzięcia Panny Marii” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, pp. 148–149 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek). The collapse of

The preserved sources also quote the names of glaziers, and in sporadic cases the extent of the tasks which had been executed by them; the latter are referred to in the sources as “glaser”, “glassetzer”, “glaser und moler”, “moler” – which no doubt corresponded to their chief specialisation; in any case a “glazier and painter” or simply “painter” hired for the task of glazing windows was undoubtedly an author of colourful, figural compositions³². The oldest glazier who is known by name and who in 1374 received Wrocław’s borough rights was referred to as “Conradus glaser alias moler de Legnicz”; shortly afterwards, he was reported to have been employed by bishop Przeclaw of Pogorzela to execute the stained glass for the clerical mansioners’ chapel in Wrocław cathedral and in the year 1390 – if it is legitimate to identify him with Kunczin – he is reported to have executed together with painter Nicolaus the glazing of a single window in the church of Sts Peter and Paul in Legnica; in the year 1394 he is reported to have pledged to execute twelve stained glass panels (*tofeln*) for the monastic church in Brzeg: “Magister Conrad der Moler hat globit, den Monchen czum Brige xij. tofeln Glasewerkes vor laurencius [10 August] ganz breytet koigin dem Brige vngehindert czu antwortin”³³. Due to the fact that at that time there were two monastic churches in Brzeg – a Franciscan one (the Franciscans had settled here around the year 1280 and the church had been erected in stages, also in the second quarter of the fourteenth century) and a Dominican one (the Dominican complex was founded here in 1336, the construction of the monastic buildings continued until 1394 [!], the church and monastery were demolished in 1545), the above record is not unequivocal; the concurrence of dates would seem to point to the Dominicans and

the ceilings in the church in 1512 had postponed the issue of glazing the windows until the year 1533.

³² More information on this issue can be found in KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 46. Lists of names of Silesian (Wrocław) glaziers, as well as lists of painters or representatives of other handicrafts, in a chronological or alphabetical order, were published, among others, by: SCHULIZ 1866; KNOBLICH 1870, pp. 106–108; LUTSCH 1903, pp. 513–747; von CZIHAK 1891, pp. 5, 43.

³³ SCHULTZ 1866, p. 44; *Urkunden der Stadt Brieg* [1870], p. 78. A bibliography concerning master Konrad of Legnica (Wrocław) was compiled by Lutsch 1903, pp. 622, 624; see also: THIEME, BECKER, vol. 7, 1912, p. 311 and SAP, vol. 4, 1986, p. 95. The information concerning the employment of master Konrad, as well as his co-workers for the task of completion of stained glass windows in the cathedral St Mary’s – Priests’ chapel, and at the same time the bishop’s burial vault (d. 1376) had been quoted on many occasions ever since the nineteenth century, yet without disclosing the source of the information, see, among others, LUCHS 1872, p. 18; KNÖTEL 1888, p. 91; LUTSCH 1886, p. 25; BURGEMEISTER 1930, p. 66; BUKOWSKI 1962, p. 71. WERNICKE 1877, col. 207 identifies master Konrad with Kunczin of Legnica.

therefore it may well be that the eastern window of the choir had indeed been adorned with the undoubtedly figural panels executed by master Konrad³⁴.

Thus the beginning of the documented activity of this master preceded the creation of a joint guild of painters and carpenters in Wrocław – prior to the year 1390; as is borne out by the privilege of king Wenceslaus IV, issued on 4 January, 1390, in Prague, which regulates the organization of this guild, glaziers had from the very beginning belonged to it. Despite the fact that the above privilege mentions “by name” only “der moler vnd castenmacher”, its third statute it is stated clearly that “Keyn man sal erbeiten mit dem pynzel, is sey glaser ader moler, er en tete denn rehte gen der stat; wer dorwider tete, der sol vorbuzen noch der stat gnaden”. On the other hand, in the confirmation of the statutes by emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg in the year 1420, glaziers are definitely presented as titular members of the guild³⁵. One may suppose that in the earlier period, beside the lay executors of stained glass windows, there were also monastic glaziers. Maybe it is with the activity of the latter that one should associate e.g. the above-mentioned stained glass windows in the monastery of the Canons Regular in Żagań, dating back to the year 1333³⁶. For the manuscript dated to the first half of the fifteenth century containing, among others, an excerpt from the work of Theophilus Presbyter from the beginning of the twelfth century entitled *Diversarum Artium Schedula*, concerning the technique of executing stained glass, amended with the description of how to obtain and use the so called silver stain, introduced into stained glass technology in the north of France around the year 1300, comes precisely from the library in Żagań (currently in Wrocław, University Library, manuscript IV.oct.9, fol. 68–71)³⁷.

³⁴ On the issue of the Franciscan church see, among others, EYSYMONT 1978, p. 79–80; “Brzeg. Kościół p.w. śś. Piotra i Pawła oraz klasztor franciszkanów” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, pp. 36–37 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek). On the issue of the Dominicans in Brzeg, consult, among others, ZAWADZKA 1999, pp. 75–76. KNOBLICH 1870, p. 106, and after him OIDTMANN 1898, p. 245 associated the information with the Dominicans, whereas KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970, p. 86 – provisionally with the Brzeg Franciscans.

³⁵ The content of the privilege of 1390 was analysed by WACKERNAGEL 1829, pp. 505–506; it was published by SCHULTZ 1866, pp. 19–22 as well as in *Schlesische Urkunden* [1867], p. 85, point LX on pp. 85–87. See also: von CZIHAK 1891, p. 42.

³⁶ This information containing a reference to the sources concerning canons regular of Żagań, to be found in the National Archives in Wrocław, yet without citing its exact content, is conveyed by von CZIHAK 1898, p. 5; see also: OIDTMANN 1912, p. 24. On the topic of the church in Żagań, see footnote 19, above.

³⁷ See: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 49 and footnote 39 on pp. 49–50 with a list of older source materials concerning the Żagań manuscript. See also: LAUTIER 1999, pp. 258–

Wrocław was – at the latest since the last decades of the fourteenth century, but in all likelihood already in the thirteenth – the most vibrant centre of stained glass production in Silesia. In the fourteenth century, besides the already mentioned Konrad, the sources also mention *Hannos Gloser*, *Krystan Gloser*, and *Mertin Gloser*³⁸ as glaziers who executed stained glass windows here as early as in the year 1391. In the same year, one of the elders of the guild was *Bart.[-usch?] Glaser*, and in the year 1406 – *Johannes Glaser ante Valvam Sti Nicolai*³⁹. In the years 1444–1463 this post had been filled repeatedly by *Paul glaser*⁴⁰. In the last decades of the fifteenth century, the following craftsmen had worked for the Dominican monastery: *Nicolaus pictor antiquus* who was identified with the painter Mikołaj Obilmann and *Jacobus pictor*; the latter had been paid: “pro vitris Nicolao pictori antique” (1488), “magistro Jacobo pictori pro clendiis vitreis ad fenestras ambitus” (1489), “pictori pro coloribus et vitris cum ymaginibus” (1494), “magistro Jacobo pictori pro ymagine in vitro” (1496)⁴¹. In the year 1496, borough rights had been obtained by “Wilhelm von Oche [Aachen] moler oder glasesetzer”⁴². Quite clearly the Wrocław glaziers had catered not only for the needs of their own city, but also for the needs of the neighbouring cities: master Konrad had worked for Legnica (?) and Brzeg (in the years 1390, 1394); other Wrocław glaziers, such as master Piotr and Mikołaj Fischbach had also worked for Brzeg; the latter one had obtained borough rights in 1403 and had held the post of guild elder at least twice (in the years 1417 and 1422)⁴³. In light of extant source materials, which are, however, incomplete, one may suppose that ever since the beginning of the fifteenth century (if not earlier), it was also Zgorzelec that had become a powerful centre of Silesian stained glass where in 1413 the sources mention *Enderlin glaser*, and

259 as well as TEOFIL PREZBITER [1998], pp. 171–174 (Latin version and a Polish translation of a suitable excerpt from the Żagań manuscript).

³⁸ KNOBLICH 1870, p. 106, footnote 3; LUTSCH 1903, pp. 580, 627, 643. See also: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 48 and footnote 26 – on the issue of the alleged stained glass master Rabon (1387).

³⁹ SCHULTZ 1866, p. 23.

⁴⁰ Yet regarded as a painter, c.f. SCHULTZ 1866, pp. 24, 25, 62–63; KNÖTEL, p. 309; LUTSCH 1903, p. 670.

⁴¹ LUCHS 1859, pp. 224, 225, 258, 272. See also: LUCHS 1863, p. 9; KNOBLICH 1870, pp. 109–110; LUTSCH 1903, pp. 604, 644, 660. The sources as well as the works of Nicolas OBILMAN, conditionally identified with “Nicolas the old painter” who had worked for the Wrocław Dominicans, are listed by WITKOWSKI 1997, *passim* and particularly on pp. 64–68.

⁴² SCHULTZ 1866, p. 83; KNOBLICH 1870, p. 109; LUTSCH 1903, p. 513.

⁴³ SCHULTZ 1866, pp. 24, 50 (the above source also mentions other Wrocław painters by the name Piotr); SCHULTZ 1867, p. 173, footnote 1 and 2; LUTSCH 1903, pp. 673 and 555.

in 1414 – “Herr Johannes in dem Spital”, who obtained two *skojeces* (i.e. a mediaeval unit of account in central Europe) for the glazing of the windows in the city hall, and in 1431 “Jokoff der Glaser von Zittau” (Żytawa), who was paid two *skojeces* for installing a large window in the very same town hall⁴⁴. After the middle of the fifteenth century it was also Legnica which became a powerful stained glass centre, where in 1459 the sources mention master “Hannos der Glassetzer”, and in the years 1469–1502 (?) – *Christoph*, referred to either as *moler*, or else *glaser*; in the year 1515 – there appears “Ambrosius glaser”⁴⁵, and since the end of the fifteenth century the sources begin to mention Świdnica, where in the year 1498 there is reference to “Jacob Crilsche”, a glazier or perhaps a craftsman working in stained⁴⁶.

Yet the preserved sources, in which sporadically there is talk of “*vitris cum imaginibus* or *ymagine in vitro*”, or else of the number of commissioned, no doubt figural *Tafeln* – panels or *Bilde* – representations, do not provide any information as regards the issue of iconography. In this way, there are no grounds for a reconstruction of the iconographic programmes of the above-mentioned four windows in the choir of the Franciscan church in Zgorzelec (1382), of the three windows in the choir (?) of the church of Sts Peter and Paul in Legnica (1390), of twelve panels ordered from master Konrad for the Dominican (?) church in Brzeg (1394), of the eastern choir (?) windows in the Brzeg churches of the Hospitallers of St Anthony and Virgin Mary (1396), of the choir windows in the church of St Dorothy in Wrocław (1401), of the eastern choir window in the church of St Nicolas in Brzeg, consisting of twelve representations (commissioned in 1417), of four *retro chorum* windows in Lubiąż (after 1434), of the eastern choir window in the Wrocław cathedral (renovated in 1437), of choir windows in the church dedicated to St Elizabeth in the same city. What is characteristic and at the same time quite typical is that the majority of the preserved records focus precisely on the choir windows, with special emphasis on the eastern window – for it was here that the entire splendour of figural stained glass remained to be seen, while the windows of the nave usually displayed an ornamental pattern or were blank-glazed. In the art of mediaeval stained glass there were no strict rules concerning the iconographic programmes of the choir windows, its

⁴⁴ WERNICKE 1877, col. 176; LUTSCH 1891, p. 681; LUTSCH 1903, pp. 549, 581, 603.

⁴⁵ WERNICKE 1877, col. 208 and footnote 3; WERNICKE 1894, p. 282; LUTSCH 1903, pp. 582, 616, 515.

⁴⁶ WERNICKE 1875, col. 146; WERNICKE 1875a, p. 266, point 20; LUTSCH 1903, p. 627.

visual programme depending rather on the will of the patrons or commissioning entities. Yet one can clearly observe a certain logical predilection – if regardless of its own dedication, every church was dedicated to God – as it was only logical to place a Christological cycle in the eastern window: either typological or narrative one (sporadically extended to a few windows); the above cycle was usually accompanied by Marian or hagiographic cycles in the other windows, or else by representations of saints associated with the church’s “own” dedication, its character or function⁴⁷. Yet the above premises are too general to allow one to draw some concrete conclusions concerning individual Silesian churches.

In the preserved sources, one also finds references to chapel windows⁴⁸, for example, in the chapel of the de Hugowic family in Henryków (1329), in the clerical mansioners’ chapel in Wrocław cathedral (after 1374) or in Filip Dachs’ chapel in the church of Canons Regular dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary “on the Sand” in Wrocław (1466–1469), whose programmes could have presented a whole range of iconographic solutions. At this point it may be worth putting forth a somewhat risky hypothesis which nevertheless seems to be, to a large extent, justified by the “Marburg precedent”. The church dedicated to St Elizabeth in Marburg (d. in 1231) had been constructed “above” the saint’s tomb (located in a small hospital church founded by her) since her canonisation in 1235. In this new church already around the year 1240, a hagiographic cycle concerning St Elisabeth had been inserted, most probably on one of the two bipartite windows of the northern concha, directly adjoining Elizabeth’s mausoleum.⁴⁹ Consisting originally of twelve scenes (only eleven have survived until the present), painted in medallions, the cycle arranged vertically presents scenes from the saint’s life: Saying goodbye to Louis IV, Landgrave of Thuringia, setting out on a crusade (originally preceded by an image of Landgrave Louis picking up a cross?), The messengers hand over to Elizabeth her husband’s ring and bones, Brother Konrad clothes Elizabeth in a third order habit, Elizabeth distributes gold (or bread), Elizabeth’s death, and vertically, on the left-hand side, six deeds of mercy of St Elizabeth: Feeding the hungry, Washing the feet and

⁴⁷ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZOWNA 1999, pp. 83–93.

⁴⁸ On the architecture of the medieval chapels in Silesia, see, among others: NIEMCZYK 1983, pp. 9–66; GRZYBKOWSKI 1990, *passim*; GRZYBKOWSKI 1997.

⁴⁹ MICHLER 1984, pp. 9–37; KÖSTLER 1995, pp. 16–28, 73. On the topic of the stained glass cycle with St Elizabeth, see a more recent publication by BIERSCHEK 1991, pp. 182–194, 196–197 and according to the index, pl. IV. See also: *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, Cat. no 9, pp. 56–58 (*ibidem* older sources).

quenching the thirst of the thirsty, Clothing the naked, Giving shelter to the pilgrims, Looking after the sick, Visiting the imprisoned; the whole is crowned with the images of the Coronation of St Francis by Christ and The Coronation of St Elizabeth by the Virgin Mary which had been placed in a circular field of the tracery.

Duchess Hedwig, the aunt of Elizabeth of Thuringia, the widow of Duke Henry the Bearded and the mother of Henry II the Pious who died in 1241 in the battle of Legnica, had died in the year 1243 in the Monastery of Cistercian Nuns in Trzebnica; she was buried in the local monastic church. In the year 1268, shortly after her canonisation of 1267, “above” the saint’s tomb, in place of the southern chapel, right next to the choir – a construction of a new, quickly completed burial vault had commenced from the initiative of Duchess Hedwig’s grandson, Duke Władysław, the Archbishop of Salzburg. In the research devoted to the Trzebnica chapel, the authors draw attention to certain evident direct or indirect links between its architecture, architectural sculpture, the original polychromy and even the shape of its “tomb”, with corresponding elements to be found in the church in Marburg, including the shape of the tomb in the Trzebnica chapel and in Marburg⁵⁰. What is more: in some scenes illustrating the merciful practices of Saint Hedwig, contained in the oldest known narrative cycle – *The Pictorial Legend of St Hedwig* of 1353 – scholars have been able to detect an influence of the Marburg stained glass cycle which had originated a hundred years earlier (!)⁵¹. It is highly improbable and contrary to the fact of the emergence of the cult, sanctioned by the act of canonisation of the saint, that one would have to wait over eighty years for the creation of a representative devotional image of the saint from Trzebnica as well as for her own narrative cycle⁵². Whereas it is highly probable that the “similarities” with Marburg were even more conspicuous and that – in spite of a lack of confirmation in the sources – one of the first realisations of the narrative cycle of St Hedwig of Silesia was a stained glass project in one of the tall windows (bipartite except for

⁵⁰ KUTZNER 1967; JARZEWICZ 1984. List of older sources: “Trzebnica. Kaplica pw. św. Jadwigi” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 245 (S. Skibiński, A. Włodarek). POKSIŃSKA 1995; KACZMAREK, WITKOWSKI 1986, footnote 17.

⁵¹ KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970, pp. 20–21, figs 4–5.

⁵² WĄSOWICZ 1967, pp. 8, 17–19 expressed a view that the narrative cycle had been formulated directly after the canonisation, and its copies are series of miniatures in the Lubin Codex of 1353 and in the Hornig Codex of 1451 (Wrocław, University Library, IV.P.192). The above view was rejected in subsequent source materials in favour of the notion of complete innovativeness of the 1353 cycle, see among others: KRASA, KRATZSCH 1972, pp. 22–24. On the subject of the iconography of St Hedwig of Silesia, see a more recent publication by: KACZMAREK 1996.

a single north-eastern one) of the Gothic Trzebnica chapels – no doubt also limited to an illustration of the main events from the life of the saint and the deeds of mercy committed by her. Such a hypothesis in no way undermines the notion of the “primacy” of the innovative and complex (in respect of its iconography) cycle in the Lubin manuscript, which is emphasised in the sources. The existence of another, earlier, though still thirteenth-century successive stained glass cycle, may be surmised in the case of one of the tripartite windows of the chapel dedicated to St Hedwig which was added after the year 1260 (around 1263–before 1265; the dedication confirmed in 1282) to the Wrocław church of the Poor Clare Sisters erected from the foundation of Duchess Ann, Duchess Hedwig’s daughter-in-law and widow of Henry II the Pious⁵³. The above chapel had become a mausoleum of the Wrocław Piasts and their families already during the first phase of its existence (the burial of Duchess Ann in 1265, the burial of her son Henry III the White in 1266, the burial of Henry V the Obese in 1296, and finally the burial of Henry V in 1335)⁵⁴. The Hedwig cycles could no doubt have already been found in the afore-mentioned fourteenth century chapels dedicated to the saint in the Lubin and Brzeg castles, both of which had been founded by the great propagator of the cult of St Hedwig – Duke of Brzeg Louis I, about whom the following had been written in connection with the wall images: “Quocumque pergo semper vestrarum habitacionum parietibus ymaginem beatae Hedwigis compictam invenio”⁵⁵. The suppositions concerning the iconographic programmes can be supported but to a very limited extent with an extremely modest inventory of themes which are known from sources. Thus thanks to a coincidence of a series of non-artistic circumstances, we know that in the year 1480, duke John II of Żagań had broken “eine schöne grosse Glasscheibe, darauf Christus am Kreuze hangend gemahled war”, in one of the chambers of his castle in Głogów; as it turned out, it was the local Jews who were accused of having broken the glass and this constituted the only proof, confirmed by the sources, that figural glazing may indeed have existed in Silesia in lay buildings⁵⁶.

⁵³ On the issue of the chapel see, among others, EYSYMONTT 1978, pp. 51–58; MAŁACHOWICZ 1994, pp. 30–54, 59; KĘBŁOWSKI 1998, pp. 13–15.

⁵⁴ MAŁACHOWICZ 1994, pp. 54–89. See also: JASIŃSKI 1989, pp. 182–185; KĘBŁOWSKI 1998, pp. 26–27.

⁵⁵ Quotation from a letter of Mikołaj of Poznań to Louis I, dating back to around 1369–1371, after: KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970, p. 173.

⁵⁶ *Jahrbücher der Stadt* [1815], p. 133: “Den 18. Mai vertrieb H. Hanns alle Juden aus Glogau, derer Synagog er im März zerstöret. Auf eine Zeit zerbrach er selber in seiner Stuben aus dem Fenster eine schöne grosse Glasscheibe, darauf Christus am Kreuze hangend gemahled

We also know that the windows in the cloisters of the monastery of the Wrocław Dominicans were glazed, among others, with *clenodiis vitreis* (1489), whereas from the later preserved records (1666), we are able to learn that in the windows of the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary “on the Sand” in Wrocław, there were glazed figural windows which had been executed in coloured glass after the ancient fashion: “fenestra ecclesiae juxta antiquum morem constarent ex figuris variorum vitri colorum” (N. B. which had been removed in the same year and substituted with *orbiculis lucidi vitri* by the Świdnica glazier Severin Ulrich)⁵⁷. This extremely brief list of subjects (Crucifixion, coats-of-arms, human figures, and no doubt of saints) is somewhat lengthened by the mention of various, chiefly inventory details in nineteenth- and twentieth-century publications. According to them, from 1890 for instance, in the above-mentioned parish church of Sts Peter and Paul in Legnica, in the window of a chapel founded in 1420 by an “honestum virum civem legnicensem” Franz Schobircz, over the southern church vestibule, one could find remnants of late-mediaeval panels with a Silesian eagle and keys to the town of Legnica⁵⁸, and in the year 1868 in one of the windows of the south aisle of the parish church dedicated to St Nicolas in Pelcznica, one could see a well-preserved image of Christ’s head with a nimbus made up of lilies, dating back to the fifteenth century⁵⁹ – possibly a *veraikon* of Christ the Savior. Up until the year 1987 (!), in the parish church of St Catherine in

war. Beschickt nachmals den Rath, beklaget sich, dass man ihm die schöne grosse Glasscheibe mit dem Krucifix zerbrochen und “weil ihr – spricht er – weise Herren seid, sollet ihr wissen, wer solchen Frevel geübet; “solltens ihm demnach anzeigen, oder gestraft werden. Der Rath begehret einen Abtritt, sich zu bedenken. Der Stadtschreiber giebet ihnen ein, die Juden damit zu beschuldigen. Als sie nun wieder vorgelassen sagen sie: “gnädiger Fürst und Herr, wir wissen anders nicht, denn dass es die Juden gethan: denn sie sind Feinde und Lästere des Herren Christi“. Der Herzog antwortet: “ja, das ist wahr, die habens gethan und sonst niemand“. Derhalben er die Juden in seinem Lande um etliche tausend Floren gestraft“.

⁵⁷ “Chronica abbatum Beatae Mariae Virginis in Arena” in *Scriptores Rerum*, vol. 2, 1839, p. 111; KNOBLICH 1870, pp. 107–108 is of the opinion that the author of the cartoons for the mediaeval stained glass, which were executed in all likelihood during the term of office of abbot Stanisław Brauer [Brasiatoris] (1464–1470), could have been one of the convent or else lay painters, who were then employed for the completion of the church’s paintings, c.f. also BURGEMEISTER 1930, p. 213. See also: DOMASŁOWSKI 1988, p. 52. In the church dedicated to St Mary Magdalene in Wrocław already in the year 1571, 664 new panels had been installed, whereas in 1593, as many as 825 panels had been repaired (re-leaded); most of them had no doubt been mediaeval figural panels (?), c.f. BURGEMEISTER, GRUNDMANN 1933, p. 8; ŻELBROMSKI 1997, p. 84.

⁵⁸ LUTSCH 1891, p. 224: “Bruchstücke spätmittelalterlicher Glasmalerei eingefügt, den schlesischen Adler und die Schlüssel des Wappens der Stadt Liegnitz“. On the subject of the chapel see: NIEMCZYK 1983, p. 36.

⁵⁹ LUTSCH 1889, p. 256: “ein Haupt Christi mit Liliennimbus aus dem 15. Jahrhundert“.

Bąków (in the former Grodków county), erected during the term of office of a Wrocław bishop Przeclaw of Pogorzela (1342–1376), in the eastern window of the southern part of the choir, there was to be found “partially preserved Gothic stained glass from the end of the fourteenth century, with the figures of St John the Baptist and Christ the Saviour (?), with a rosette and a decorative filling of the tracery”⁶⁰. N.B. the destruction of these unique examples of mediaeval stained glass windows which had been preserved *in situ* in Silesia, and which are known exclusively from the now hardly legible photographs taken before 1945, should be regarded both as a specific scandal and proof of the fact that human stupidity and ignorance are the best illustration of the concept of boundlessness⁶¹.

Ever since the seventies of the nineteenth century, three stained glass panels with the representations of The Crucifixion, and of Saints Catherine and Margaret, transferred from the parish church in Ozorowice, in the former Trzebnica county and gone missing towards the end of World War II, had been preserved in the Silesian Museum of Handicrafts and Antiquities in Wrocław. Luckily in this case we are in possession of both the nineteenth-century coloured lithographs, and of twentieth-century photographic documentation – although the latter is incomplete. This quasi-preservation allows one to incorporate the above panels into the scant inventory of mediaeval Silesian stained glass; as we shall find out in the subsequent part of the present analysis, it also allows one to formulate certain conclusions with regard to their style and dating.

The oldest preserved fragments of Silesian stained glass are no more than coloured shards, sporadically covered with contour lines; the latter were recovered during the excavation work which had been conducted on the territory of the city of Wrocław ever since the fifties of the twentieth century, among others, on Ostrów Tumski and in the following churches: the Dominican church of St Adalbert (the former from the second half of the thirteenth century, the choir rebuilt in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, the nave towards the end of the fifteenth century) and the Franciscan church of St James the Elder (the original church was erected here in the years 1234 to circa 1280, subsequently rebuilt in the

⁶⁰ KZSP, VII, 3, p. 2. Formerly the strongly damaged fragments had been mentioned by LUTSCH 1889, p. 305: “Bruchstücke [...] Johannes der Täufer, Christus mit der Weltkugel (?), ferner Ornamente in farbiger Ausführung und in Grisaille vorführend; sehr zerstört. Um 1400”, and after him by OIDTMANN 1898, p. 311.

⁶¹ See: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 41–42.

last quarter of the fourteenth century)⁶². Their dating, resulting chiefly from stratigraphy, and pointing respectively to the twelfth (?) and thirteenth (?) centuries, proves that the art of stained glass had already existed in Silesia at that time and that the clearly discernible ornaments, for example, pearls made by scratching out painted glass belonged to motifs in European stained glass popular from the twelfth until the fourteenth century. The latter had covered both the framework of the figural representations as well as the bands co-creating the purely ornamental panels. The above motifs do not “by themselves” give us any hints as to the more precise dating or the artistic provenance of the authors.

The oldest fragments preserved *in situ*, discovered in 1970 (and consisting of ruby-red, blue and yellow glass plates), make up a colourful section of a tracery rosette in the eastern window on the northern wall of the transept of the Cistercian church in Lubiąż, most probably from around 1330⁶³.

Due to the fact that the panel with the Crucifixion, currently preserved in the National Museum in Poznań, and recognized by Nikodem Pajzderski as a Silesian work from Brzeg dating back to the end of the fifteenth century (and hypothetically linked by Alicja Karłowska-Kamzowa to the above-mentioned Konrad of Legnica), has a confirmed provenance in Cracow (stylistic features point to the end of the thirteenth century)⁶⁴, the next “preserved” work to be discussed is the afore-mentioned Crucifixion from Ozorowice [Fig. 63]. A detailed description produced in 1869 by a monographer of the Ozorowice panels Franz Heinelt⁶⁵ as well as the colourful lithograph published by him on the basis of B. Mannfeld’s (?) watercolour, and moreover a black-and-white reproduction (reversed) of Tadeusz Dobrowolski’s work of 1936⁶⁶, show the panel in the shape of

⁶² With regard to the list of publications relating to the discovered fragments of stained glass, see: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, footnote 5 on p. 38. An analysis of the state of research on the Dominican church is to be found in: *Sztuka polska przedromańska* 1971, vol. 2: *Katalog i bibliografia zabytków*, ed. Maria Pietrusińska, pp. 784–785; “Wrocław. Kościół p.w. św. Wojciecha, dominikanów” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, p. 269 (A. Włodarek), and an analysis of the state of research on the Franciscan church is to be found in: “Wrocław. Kościół p.w. św. Jakuba St., franciszkanów”, in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 270 (A. Włodarek).

⁶³ PILCH 1973, pp. 37, 44, fig. 9 on p. 42. The three white crown glass pieces, preserved in the rosette of the tracery in the western window, are a fragment of a later, though no doubt still mediaeval glazing.

⁶⁴ PAJZDERSKI 1938, pp. 241–243, il. on p. 242; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1970, p. 86. More this topic can be found in: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 40–41 and footnotes 8–10.

⁶⁵ HEINELT 1870, pp. 201–207, table 26.

⁶⁶ DOBROWOLSKI 1936, pp. 160, fig. 30 on p. 161.

a standing rectangle with the background covered by white foliage (in the same hue as the glass), tightly overgrown with leaves of clover and twisted “whiskers”, emerging from the thick opaque contour through its removal, that is by means of the so called negative technique; the entire background is surrounded by a white, negative frame. From the rocky earth maintained in two shades of green (Heinelt also saw here a light-blue hue) and yellow, there emerges a green cross nailed together from angular wooden beams, whose summit and lateral ends reach up to the sides of the panel. On the cross, one can see the pink body of the dead Christ, whose head, displaying youthful features, with eyes closed and hair scattered all over the shoulders, surrounded with a yellow cross halo, has declined onto the right shoulder; the corpus has slid down along the vertical beam, the hands with clenched palms have drooped and the right leg has buckled at the knee under the weight of the body. The Savior’s hips are covered with a broad, white loincloth reaching down nearly to the knees and fastened below the waist. From the hands and legs pierced by nails, there gush out streams of ruby-coloured blood, consisting of thick, heavy drops which nearly take on the form of grapes; the left leg is straight with the foot twisted to the right at nearly right angles whereas the right leg is slightly bent at the knee with the foot lowered down vertically and superimposed on the left foot. From Christ’s pierced side there flows an analogously shaped white stream – of water. On both sides of the cross, there stand: heraldically on the right – the Mother of God, and on the left – St John the Evangelist; both of them slightly raise their heads which are surrounded by halos (respectively: an amethyst and a pale-blue one) clenching their tightly folded palms with bent fingers; the palms of the Disciple almost reach up to his chin. Mary is wearing a ruby-coloured dress which reaches down to the ground as well as pointed leather boots with upturned ends in the same colour; she is also wearing a blue cloak which covers her head, shoulders and hands and droops below her waist; St John is clothed in a blue cloak which reveals his bare feet and a ruby-coloured overcoat which has slid down from his shoulders and tightly wraps his corpus, reaching down below his knees. Judging by the reproductions, the panel was well-preserved, both as regards the glass – with a minimum number of secondary fragments (a small piece of clear glass below the cross?) and secondary re-leadings on breakages (on the lower part of Mary’s cloak), and the fully legible contour of the drawing. Undoubtedly, flashed-ruby glass had been used; the drawings had been executed with contour paint (black or dark brown), and the massiveness

and real-life appearance of the folds had been achieved (as is well visible on the lithograph) by using abundant “goldsmith’s” crossing hatching technique. The whole composition, characterised by a very calm, balanced formal layout, is also equally calm and well-balanced as regards its colour scheme: a “crossing” of red and blue on Mary’s and John’s attire, the green “frame” of the cross and earth and patches of flesh-coloured hues against the white background.

In older sources relating to the subject, the above-mentioned Crucifixion was dated – similarly as the two successive Ozorowice panels which will be discussed further on – to the fifteenth century, and more precisely to around 1425, circa 1420–1430⁶⁷. Yet there is no doubt that the panels constitute remnants of two separate phases of church glazing which were quite distant in time⁶⁸, whereas the Crucifixion evidently betrays the stylistic features of the second half of the fourteenth century, which are discernible both in the proportions of the human figures, and in the way of presenting people’s attire, with thin, bulging folds that appear to “cave in” occasionally and almost adhere to the human flesh beneath. The iconographic shape of the “canonical” three-person arrangement of the Crucifixion is also in accord with such a dating. A more precise dating which allows one to establish the artistic provenance of the author of the panel is made possible by comparing the work with prominent examples of Bohemian painting, for example, with the Crucifixion miniature in the so called Missal of Parson Nicolas (Mikuláš, often identified with Mikuláš of Kroměříž, protonotary apostolic in the office of Charles IV and a close aide of bishop John of Šroda) of around 1355 (Brno, Městecký archiv, Svatojakubská knihovna 10/1)⁶⁹, as well as with the easel painting with the scene of Crucifixion from the Emmaus monastery in Prague (Prague, National Gallery) from circa 1365 [Fig. 64]⁷⁰ and with the Crucifixion in the stained glass

⁶⁷ HEINELT 1870, p. 107 – dates them to the middle of the fifteenth century; KALESSE 1888, p. 163 – to the fifteenth century; KOHLHAUSSEN 1935, pp. 45–46, fig. 36 (reproduction of the panel with St Margaret) – to around 1425; PAJZDERSKI 1938, p. 245 – to around 1420–1430. DOBROWOLSKI 1936, p. 160, fig. 30 on p. 161 justifies the dating to around 1420 by juxtaposing the Crucifixion with an analogous, sculpted group from the Dumlose Chapel in the church dedicated to St Elizabeth in Wrocław (circa 1410) and the double-sided painting (preserved at that time in the Museum of Handicrafts and Antiquities in Wrocław) with the image of Madonna and Child and the Crucifixion (tabl. XLIX), which he dates back to around 1420.

⁶⁸ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 43–44.

⁶⁹ KRASA 1970, cat. no 347 on pp. 264–265 (ibidem older sources), fig. 102; KRASA 1984, p. 410, fig. 289 on p. 411.

⁷⁰ PEŠINA 1970, cat. no 302 on pp. 218–219 (ibidem older sources), fig. 71; PEŠINA 1984, pp. 368, 370, fig. 49 on p. 369.

panel of the Parler church of St Bartholomew in Kolín (choir erected in the years 1360–1378; four preserved panels currently in the National Gallery in Prague) from the seventies of the fourteenth century⁷¹. The Ozorowice panel evidently dates later than the miniature illustrating the opening of the canon of the Mass; by nearly repeating its iconographic form⁷², it differs from it in that its figures are more stocky in their proportions; the above-mentioned proportions, the way of rendering the massiveness of human figures, as well as of iconographic details (thick streams of blood) seem to link it more with the painting from the Emmaus monastery, while the figure of Christ, arrangement of body, streams of blood – with the Kolín stained glass. Therefore the Ozorowice Crucifixion may be dated to around the year 1370; its author was in all likelihood associated with the Wrocław milieu and undoubtedly remained under the influence of contemporary Bohemian painting. Both the topic and the proposed dating seem to indicate that the panel is a remnant of the glazing of the eastern choir window of the original parish church in Ozorowice, mentioned in 1353, and restored (most probably constructed anew in the fifteenth century and subsequently extended in the sixteenth century)⁷³. In all probability, the two successive and previously mentioned panels, also known from Heideit's description, from coloured lithographs [Fig. 63] and a black and white reproduction (St Margaret), are a remnant of the original window glazing which has remained after the rebuilding of the choir. Both are in the shape of vertical rectangles whose dimensions are identical as those of the Crucifixion; they reveal single figures of two holy virgins standing under monomorphic white arcades in the shape of an ogee-arch which is densely covered with crocket-type decoration and supported by two pillars with yellow, profiled bases and capitals; judging by the

⁷¹ MATOUŠ 1975, pp. 44–49 (ibid. older sources relating to the topic), particularly p. 49, fig. 22; Catalogue to an exhibition, Köln 1975, p. 717 (E. Poche, *Marientod*) dates the four preserved Kolín panels to around 1380, whereas POCHÉ 1984, pp. 491–492, fig. 82 on p. 490 (*Coronation of Mary*) – to around 1360.

⁷² A different appearance of Mary's rigidly folded arms from the Ozorowice panel, compared to the gesture on the Czech miniature, often recurs in the Silesian sculpture of the second half of the fourteenth century, see, among others: the figure of Mary from the Crucifixion group in the church of St Barbara in Wrocław (currently in the National Museum in Warsaw) from around 1360–1370 – c.f. WISŁOCKI 1993, p. 11 (here older sources), fig. 7; in the church of St Francis in Strzelce Świdnickie, from the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century – c.f. ZIOMECKA 1990, cat. no 22 on p. 35, fig. 19; from Głogów (currently in the National Museum in Wrocław) from around 1400 – c.f. ZIOMECKA 1968, cat. no 14 on p. 52, fig. 19.

⁷³ On the church in Ozorowice see among others: LUTSCH 1889, p. 574; NEULING 1902, p. 303; PILCH 1978, p. 193; MANDZIUK 1982, p. 98.

lithographs, the areas above the arcades as well as the ground were pale pink in colour. St Catherine, portrayed here against a blue background densely overgrown with a feathery-leaved foliage, is depicted looking three quarters to the right; she is wearing an emerald-green (according to Heidelt *dunkelgrüne*) dress and an amethyst (according to Heidelt *rubinrot*) coat slung over her shoulders; in her right hand she is holding a light-coloured (white? pale-yellow?) sword whose end is resting on the ground; in her left hand, which is raised upwards, she is holding a light-yellow circle. Above her pink-hued face we can see a yellow crown with pinnacles in the shape of lilies as well as a halo of the same colour. St Margaret is portrayed against an amethyst (?) (according to Heidelt *veilchenfarbig*) background covered with an identical foliage; she is looking three quarters to the left and is wearing a ruby-red dress and a blue-coloured coat which covers the saint's silhouette almost entirely; in her right slightly raised hand, she is holding an olive-green (according to Heidelt *hellgrün*), winged dragon with a long tail.

Both panels were relatively well preserved (on the photograph with St Margaret we can see a large fill-in of the missing background on the right (?), of the arcade on the left (?) as well as of the ground) with a few secondary re-leadingings and a fully legible drawing, painted in contour of unknown colour, maybe with the application of a wash technique, and certainly with the use of silver stain (yellow streaks of hair on the pink glass of the saints' complexion are visible on the lithographs). The panels constitute a remnant of the glazing of one of the bipartite (?) windows of the choir (St Catherine was placed in the vertical position – in row “a”, whereas St Margaret – in row “b”), whose frames had been filled with pairs of saints facing each other and placed underneath identical arcades, but against an alternate background colour (vertically, horizontally and in a checker-board pattern). In all probability, representations of the remaining *virgines capitales* – Saint Barbara and Saint Dorothy as well as of other saints, had also formed a part of the complex. Stylistically, the Ozorowice saints belong to the style characteristic of “circa 1400”, which is best borne out by the canon of presenting human figures, the curving of the bodies in the shape of the letter “S”, the way of holding the coat tails with arms bent at the elbows, the melodiousness of the cascades, the softness of the transverse bowl-like folds and the presence – on the representation of St Margaret – of the characteristic huge fold in the shape of the letter “V” (German *Haarnadelfalte*) striking against the ground, known from the representations of Beautiful Madonnas; in this way, it seems that they can

be dated to the years 1410–1420, that is to a slightly earlier period than it had been done in older literature⁷⁴.

The four-leaved rosette (diameter: 37 cm), from the end of the fourteenth century (?), extracted in 1999 by Jarosław Szpakowicz from the tracery of one of the southern chancel windows of the church of St Stanislaus in Stare Bielsko, is composed of coloured glass (white, ruby-red, cobalt) without the glass paint, but with the preserved original leading. It is a minor remnant of the mediaeval, most probably figural glazing, which had been removed from the choir of this church prior to the year 1830⁷⁵. The mural paintings, dating back to the end of the fourteenth century, which adorn this interior, are evidently Silesian⁷⁶, which does not prejudice the provenance of the stained glass. For the proximity of the Lesser Poland stained glass centre, with its capital in Cracow (as opposed to the more distant Wrocław), could have decided about the ordering of the stained glass in the capital of the Kingdom of Poland⁷⁷. It seems that the preserved Crucifixion panel (dimensions: 36 × 25.5 cm), from the wooden church of St Clement in Miedźna in Upper Silesia (belonging since the middle of the fourteenth century to the Pszczyna deanery in the Cracow diocese), executed around 1440–1450, and currently preserved in the Silesian Museum in Katowice⁷⁸, constitutes a precedence that is later by about half a century. Taking into consideration the current iconographic formula, the almost stereotypical physiognomic features,

⁷⁴ C.f. Beautiful Madonnas discussed and reproduced by CLASEN 1974: figs 5–7: in Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn (circa 1390); figs 8, 14; previously in the church of St John in Toruń (after 1390); ill. 33–34: in the Castle Museum in Šternberk (end of the fourteenth century); figs 294–295: from Hallstadt, currently in the National Gallery in Prague (around 1410); fig. 296: in Bad Aussee (beginning of the fifteenth century).

⁷⁵ On the issue of the church, see: “Stare Bielsko. Kościół par. p.w. św. Stanisława” in *Architektura gotycka* 1995, vol. 2: *Katalog zabytków*, p. 211 (M. Machowski). On the issue of the fragments of stained glass: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 52 and footnote 36 (ibidem older sources). Contrary to the information possessed by the authors in 1995, remnants of stained glass have survived in a number of traceries in choir windows, see: *Katedra św. Mikołaja* 1998, fig. on pp. 89, 92, 93. The authors would like to thank Mr. Jarosław Szpakowicz for bringing the rosette to Cracow and showing it to the public at the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University.

⁷⁶ KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1965, pp. 32–34, cat. no 1 on pp. 62–63, tables XXIV–XXV – associates the paintings with the Nysa milieu. See also: KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1984, pp. 88, 89, 219, fig. 14 on p. 279, figs 83–84; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1979, pp. 32, 34, cat. no S. 13 on p. 119, fig. 132.

⁷⁷ The above issue and its relationship to panel painting is discussed by GADOMSKI 1995.

⁷⁸ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 35–38, fig. 1, footnotes 1–3; “Kwatera witrażowa z Ukrzyżowaniem z Miedźnej, ok. 1440–1450” in *Zbiory* 1995, p. 130, fig. on p. 26 (L. Kalinowski, H. Małkiewiczówna); “Kwatera witrażowa ze sceną Ukrzyżowania” in Kraków 2000, p. 92, fig. 466 (H. Małkiewiczówna).

the rather commonplace “feathery” pattern of the background and the relatively poor level of its execution, obliterating the clarity of the stylistic forms, the place of its origin should be associated with one of the secondary Cracow workshops. This conclusion appears to be confirmed by a comparison of the above work with an older Crucifixion panel (dating back to around 1430), which represents a much higher artistic level; the latter comes from the Dominican church in Cracow (National Museum in Cracow, inventory no ND 5526), and was in all likelihood executed in the workshop of the so called Master of the Christological cycle in the Corpus Christi Church in Kazimierz in Cracow.

If one excludes from the preserved “Silesian” collection the panel with the Holy Trinity in the *Sedes gratiae* type, dating back to around the middle of the fifteenth century (National Museum in Poznań), and regarded by Pajzderski – once again on the basis of the erroneous data concerning its provenance – as a Silesian (Brzeg) work, in fact one that originated from a Cracow church⁷⁹, as well as the panel with St Barbara from the church of the Order of St John in Tyniec-upon-Ślęza (Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław) [Fig. 65], executed around 1506 in the Nuremberg workshop of Veit Hirsvogel⁸⁰, then the repertoire of stained glass associated with Silesia melts down exclusively to a single fragment. This piece (dimensions: height: 7.5 cm, length of the upper edge: 6.5 cm, length of the lower edge: 9.8 cm) is made of double-sided, olive-green glass washed with black shading paint, and then carefully wiped off, scratched and removed, which ultimately produces a negative-image effect of a fragment of vegetation – a tuft of grass, some leaves and lilies of the valley (currently in the National Museum in Poznań). The above stained glass constitutes but a fragment of yet another larger panel which Pajzderski had also described and commented upon [Fig. 66]⁸¹. The latter bears signs of extensive fillings, carried out towards the end of the nineteenth century or in the course of the first three decades of the twentieth century (the dimensions given by the author: height 98.5, width 63 cm, are of little credibility, chiefly due to the fact that the reproduction reveals a surface in the shape of a lying rectangle), with the lower half of the figure of an angel (?) – shield bearer. The angel wearing a white alb

⁷⁹ PAJZDERSKI 1938, pp. 243–244, fig. 2. On the origin of the panel see: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, pp. 40–41.

⁸⁰ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 38 and footnote 3 (ibidem older sources), fig. 2 on p. 36.

⁸¹ PAJZDERSKI 1938, p. 244–245, fig. 3; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995, p. 39, figs 4–5.

stood on a flowery ground (moreover, according to Pajzderski, the ground was also covered with sea-shells – or more likely pebbles), holding in both hands a shield with an Eagle which was etched white in flashed-ruby glass⁸² (the preserved lower half of the shield and Eagle is a conservator's filling). According to Pajzderski, who knew the original fragment, the image presented a “white Silesian eagle with a crescent across his chest”. Yet in view of its destruction, it is impossible to confirm whether indeed the crescent did exist. On the reproduction which is not very legible (taking into account the relatively poor state of preservation of the glass) in the upper part of the wings, one can distinguish an outline of a curved shadow, which could equally well have been a *band*⁸³ touched up by glass paint. It is not at all certain whether the Eagle's head was crowned with a crest, or maybe with a crown. In any case, due to the heraldic colours, a white Eagle presented against a red background could not have been regarded as a Silesian Eagle⁸⁴. According to the Museum provenance records, the panel – similarly as the above-mentioned Crucifixion and the Holy Trinity – was to have come from the “Brzeg castle, from the residence of the Piastowicze dukes in Silesia”, yet according to Pajzdowski's conjecture, it probably came from the castle chapel or else from another Brzeg church⁸⁵. It is difficult to determine whether the indicated provenance of the above-mentioned panel was indeed true; a non-Silesian Eagle does not rule out the fact that the panel could have been executed in Silesia. It rather indicates that the patron of the panel did not come from Silesia (?). It is indeed impossible to find an answer to this query, due to a lack of well-preserved stained glass comparative material – both Silesian and Cracovian. This way or another, the “Poznań fragment” did constitute a part of the image of an angel with the shield, which in turn

⁸² On the issue of wiping or etching flashed-ruby glass, see: KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1998.

⁸³ To find out more about this element, see: MROZOWSKI 1996, pp. 63–64 and footnote 9.

⁸⁴ The coat-of-arms of the Wrocław and Brzeg Piasts was “a black eagle with a silver band across its breast and wings, [of Świdnica Piasts] – a two-colored, divided red and black eagle placed against a silver background, of the Opole Piasts – a golden eagle against a blue background”, c.f. KAGANIEC 1992, pp. 16–47, 64. See also: KAGANIEC 1996, pp. 53–60.

⁸⁵ According to Pajzderski, the author of the captions placed on notes attached to the panels was Dr. Bolesław Erzepki, who in the years 1885–1917 had held the post of conservator of the collection belonging to the Association of Friends of Sciences in Poznań, c.f. “Erzepki Bolesław”, in PSB, vol. 6, 1948, pp. 294–295 (T. Ziółkowski). Dr. Erzepki obtained the above post a dozen or so years after the panels from the Rastawiecki collection (Crucifixion, Holy Trinity) had been transferred to this collection, hence the possibility of making a mistake in defining their place of origin. Whereas the time and circumstances of the transfer of above-mentioned panel to the above collection, remain unknown.

constituted a part of a larger composition with an unknown iconographic programmes⁸⁶. Pajzerski's dating of the work to "around 1500" seems to be on the whole justifiable, both due to the shape of the heraldic shield (and more precisely: its upper, original part with the bulging edge), the gentler shape of the folds, and the way of presenting the verdure, which is rather typical of the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century⁸⁷.

Due to a lack of preserved works, traces of mediaeval Silesian stained glass may be looked for in other forms of representational arts in Silesia; yet the above procedure is a somewhat risky process, as it is not subject to verification. For example: on the pedestrian seal of Wenceslaus I of Legnica (the elder brother of Louis I of Brzeg who died in 1364; the oldest currently known specimen of such a seal comes from the year 1351), the figure of the duke – evidently modeled on the characteristically Byzantine iconographic type of St Wenceslaus⁸⁸, which had been formulated in Bohemia (Prague) before the middle of the fourteenth century, is surrounded by a multi-arched frame characteristic of stained glass, unique to its Silesian sigillography⁸⁹. Therefore, it was a stained glass representa-

⁸⁶ For example: in a quadripartite north-eastern choir window of the Ulm cathedral, glazed around the year 1480/1481 from the foundation of the local stall-keepers' guild (the so called *Kramerfenster*), at the bottom of the great stained glass composition executed by the so called Strasbourg Workshop Community (German *die Strassburger Werkstatt-gemeinschaft*), which will be discussed further on, one can see two shield-bearing angels facing each other, in two extreme rows; between and above the angles, one can see the coats-of-arms of the stall-keepers' guild – The Tree of Jesse; above it, one can see some scenes from the cycle of Christ's Infancy, c.f. SCHOLZ 1994, pp. 92–96, 110–125, especially p. 110, colour tables XV, XVIII, tables 24, 25.

⁸⁷ On the shapes of the escutcheons see: MROZOWSKI 1993, particularly p. 87, table X/4. A special mastery in the way of presenting the verdure by means of wash painting, scratching and wiping techniques etc., whose best example is the – above mentioned – "Poznań fragment", characterised the works of the "Strasbourg stained glass community", set up for four years in 1477, by a group of five stained glass artists, headed by Peter Hemmel von Andlau. See: a large part of the reproduction in: *Bilder aus Licht* 1995, moreover – also in relation to other stained glass centres right up to the first decade of the sixteenth – *Deutsche Glasmalerei* 1995, figs on pp. 237, 238, 240, 243, 246–248.

⁸⁸ CHYTIL 1930; KLETZL 1931–1932. The prototype in the form of a panel painting which was used as a model by both the author of the university seal (1348), and by Master of the *Liber viaticus* of John of Středa (after 1355– cir. 1360) – had originated in all likelihood in the workshop of the Master of Vyšší Brod, c.f. PEŠINA 1982, p. 88.

⁸⁹ PIECH 1993, pp. 31–32 and footnote 45 on p. 162, point 59 on p. 231 (here older sources), fig. 54. In the stained glass painting to the east of the Rhein, six-arched framings occur in the period from the thirteenth century to the last decades of the fourteenth, see among others: the framings of some panels of the Old and New Testament cycles in St Mary's Church in Cracow (circa 1370–1380), c.f. KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1997, fig. 8 on p. 79, fig. 16b on p. 84, figs. 24b and 25b on pp. 92–93. Independently of the above authors and vice versa, it was FRODL-KRAFT 2002, who drew attention to the "stained glass" framing of the seal.

tion of St Wenceslaus in a window of one of the churches in Legnica or Wrocław⁹⁰, which served as inspiration for the author of the seal imprint.

Based on more realistic foundations is the tracing of the influence of the Silesian painting preserved in the stained glass complexes from the territory of the state of the Teutonic Order and the Kingdom of Poland, as the latter is based on comparative analysis and is supported by scant, yet nevertheless existing sources. And so in the years 1408 and 1409, the Toruń sources mention a glazier named Sigismund of Wrocław “Sege-mund [Sigemund] gleser von Bresslaw”⁹¹, and in the year 1427, borough rights were obtained in Cracow by “Jocob glezer de Wratislavia” (name of the trade or surname?)⁹².

Similarly as in other genres of painting – in the last three decades of the fourteenth and in the first decade of the fifteenth centuries, in the stained glass of both the northern (Toruń) and southern (Cracow) group – one can observe a strong presence of Bohemian art which evidently exerted a significant influence in this part of Europe⁹³. In view of the almost total destruction of both the Bohemia⁹⁴ and the Silesian stained glass, it is difficult to say whether these inspirations had flowed directly from Bohemia, or else whether they had arrived via Silesia, thanks to the Silesian stained glass artists who had settled in Toruń or Cracow. Yet in a few cases, the existence of direct Silesian inspirations seems almost certain. The following are a few selected examples: The stained glass works from the parish church dedicated to the Assumption of Virgin Mary in

⁹⁰ For example: OBERHAIDACHER-HERZIG 1997, figs 1–8 on pp. 433–436 – perceives the influence of stained glass composition in the bas relief covered frame of 1217–1235. The St Wenceslaus iconographic type, which is of interest to us here, is represented by the sculpture of this saint, to be found in the western portico of the Wrocław cathedral; the latter had originated either around 1350–1360, or in the modern era, on the basis of the Gothic model, c.f. KACZMAREK 1999, point VI on pp. 70–72, fig. 8.

⁹¹ HERBST 1933, p. 189, footnote 3; *Liber scabinorum* [1936], p. 121 – item 743, p. 138 – item 837; FRYCZ, KWIATKOWSKI 1977, p. 90; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a, pp. 148–149.

⁹² *Cracovia artificum 1300–1500* [1917] p. 12*, footnote 2.

⁹³ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a, pp. 169, 172, 174; KALINOWSKI 1997, pp. 62, 63; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1997, pp. 53–54; MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2000, pp. 13–14. On the topic of the Bohemian influence on other genres of painting in Silesia, Eastern Pomerania and Lesser Poland, see among others: KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1980; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1980a, pp. 160–164; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1981; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1982, pp. 39–54; KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1984, pp. 85–86; DOMASŁOWSKI 1984; DOMASŁOWSKI 1990; LABUDA 1990; KORNECKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1990, pp. 37–43, 45–47; MİODOŃSKA 1960; MİODOŃSKA 1993, pp. 121–138; GADOMSKI 1978, pp. 312–313; GADOMSKI 1981, pp. 100–104, 128–129.

⁹⁴ MATOUŠ 1975, *passim*. The preserved part of the original stock is currently to be found in the District Museum in Toruń.

Chełmno executed in Toruń around 1380–1390⁹⁵, consisted of scenes from the Christological cycle from the Annunciation to The Resurrection, with the dominant scene of the Coronation (Triumph) of Mary (originally placed “at the top”). The iconographic layer of this cycle, and moreover scenes presenting the Apostolic and Prophetic Credo, combined and paraphrased the programmes of wood-carved retables, which arose in the milieu of the Madonnas on Lions that were genetically Silesian and subsequently transplanted from Silesia to Easter Prussia⁹⁶. Without going into a detailed analysis of the Chełmno stained glass works displaying certain Bohemian stylistic features, which are slightly later than the ones observed in the case of the Ozorowice Crucifixion, it is worth drawing attention to the abundant use of the “goldsmith-type” cross hatch in both cases. The latter method was employed as a way of modelling the attire as well as the earth and certain architectural elements. It is worth noting that the above-mentioned method of hatching was not employed in the likewise characteristically Bohemian Old and New Testament cycles encountered in the church of St Mary in Cracow, which arose at a more or less similar time (around 1370–1380). Perhaps this type of hatching, otherwise popular in thirteenth-century monochromatic backgrounds of ornamental-plant stained glass⁹⁷, constituted a “Silesian” feature which had been transplanted to Toruń.

The two panels preserved in the Corpus Christi church in Kazimierz in Cracow, presenting the Mother of God and St John the Evangelist, (originally from the three-panel Crucifixion group), executed in all likelihood for the window of the Lady Chapel erected in the year 1410 [Fig. 26]⁹⁸, are stylistically comparable with the Ozorowice saints. This strikes one particularly when comparing the figures of St John and St Margaret, even when taking into consideration the current stylistic

⁹⁵ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a, pp. 155–156, 157, 162–163, 166, 169; KALINOWSKI 1997, pp. 51–63.

⁹⁶ This type of retables is analyzed by BIAŁOWICZ-KRYGIEROWA 1981.

⁹⁷ See among others: the ornamental-plant motif panels dating back to the last decades of the thirteenth century, preserved in Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt – BEEH-LUSTENBERGER 1967/1973, figs 50, 58, 59, 60, *Textteil*, cat. no 100 on p. 73, cat. no 92 on p. 66, cat. no 91 on p. 66, cat. no 95 on p. 67. The cross hatches on the robes occur but sporadically in the Cologne stained glass in the first half of the 14th c., c.f. *ibidem*, figs 70–73, cat. no 111–114 on pp. 83–85.

⁹⁸ The Chapel dedicated to the Assumption of Virgin Mary and the Three Magi was demolished around the year 1662 (in its place the present-day chapel was erected), c.f. KZSP, IV, 4, 1, p. 51.

conventions characteristic of the style “circa 1400”. Another element which, theoretically speaking, seems to confirm that the two Kazimierz panels could have been executed by a stained glass artist from Silesia who had subsequently operated in Cracow, is the characteristic gesture with which Our Lady is holding her coat tail with her hand⁹⁹. In turn, the figure of St John, and especially the shape of his hand (reversed) as well as his facial features seem to be reminiscent of the gestures and the physiognomy of St John from the sculptural Crucifixion group from the Dumlose Family Chapel in the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (currently in the National Museum in Warsaw), dating back to around 1410¹⁰⁰. Finally the whole group of panels, preserved in the above-mentioned Corpus Christi church, arose – a least in part – from the foundation of Canons Regular who moved here from Kłodzko after they had been invited to settle there in 1405; this fact seems to confirm the Silesian provenance of the above-mentioned panels. The representations of saints portrayed here against backgrounds which alternate in colour and are covered either exclusively with plant motifs, or else are enriched with canopy or aedicule motifs originally displayed in tripartite windows as single or multiple triads separated by ornamental panels, had been executed in the late “circa 1400” convention, most probably around 1430¹⁰¹. What is characteristic are especially the heads – both female ones (with strands of hair combed to the sides), and male ones, with large eyes, long noses and mouths protruding slightly forward; the same elements can be found in the Silesian art of illumination in the first three decades of the fifteenth century, particularly

⁹⁹ In all likelihood, it is a travesty of Our Lady’s gesture of holding up the veil which covers her face with her hand; this gesture occurs quite often in the Silesian sculpture of the first two decades of the fourteenth century, both in *Pieta* groups (*Pieta* from the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław dating back to around 1400 and its Silesian imitations), as well as in representations of Our Lady of Sorrows in the monumental Crucifixions, e.g. from the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (circa 1420) and from the Corpus Christi church in Wrocław (circa 1420), c.f. CLASEN 1974, figs 227, 229–231; ZIOMECKA 1968, cat. no. 17 on pp. 55–56, fig. 22; cat. no 28 on pp. 65–66, fig. 36; cat. no. 29 on pp. 66–67, fig. 40.

¹⁰⁰ The Wrocław group is often linked to an anonymous Prague sculptor who is known as the Master of Týn Crucifixion, c.f. among others KUTAL 1962, pp. 110–113, figs 184–199; *Dějiny* 1984, pp. 276–279, and its influence is clearly visible in the Silesian sculpture of the second decade of the fifteenth century, c.f. ZIOMECKA 1990, cat. no 16–18 on pp. 54–57. The type of facial features that St John of the Dumlose Chapel has can be detected in the physiognomies of St Johns in the groups of Crucifixions from the churches of: St Mary Magdalene (circa 1410–1420), St Elizabeth (circa 1420) and Corpus Christi (circa 1420) in Wrocław, c.f. WIESE 1923, tables XXXII, LI, LIII, LV; ZIOMECKA 1990, figs 37, 43.

¹⁰¹ MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 2000, pp. 13–14, 18, 20.

in the works of the so called Master of the Głogów Missal IF 369¹⁰², in the works of John of Żytawa¹⁰³ as well as of his Wrocław pupil – referred to at one time as the Master of Jewish Characters, and at present the Master of the Book of Chess Figures¹⁰⁴.

The above described directions of research and analyses may at least partially contribute to the broadening of our extremely scant knowledge of mediaeval Silesian stained glass. Its material destruction not only constitutes a loss of works of art, but also the loss of an important link which at one time had joined art in Cracow with the art of the West. For the undoubted role of an intermediary in this sphere was the outcome of the geographical situation of, on the one hand, Silesia with Wrocław, and on the other, of Lesser Poland and Cracow, which lay along the West–East axis, and determined the fundamental developmental processes in the sphere of Gothic architecture, sculpture and painting. It was along this route that experiences associated with new materials and technologies as well as with stylistic values and iconographic programmes were being

¹⁰² Such an appellation of the anonymous, in all likelihood Wrocław Master, with whose authorship the decoration of Missal M 1116 was also being associated (Wrocław, University Library), was introduced by KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1979, p. 38, cat. no R 29 and 30 on pp. 113–114, figs 58–61, dating both manuscripts to around 1400–1420, second decade of the fifteenth century. See: KLOSS 1942, pp. 99–100, 196, 212–213, figs 144–146. It seems that in the Kazimierz panels, one can detect references to the heads of prophets in the Głogów Missal.

¹⁰³ The preserved *oeuvre* of John of Żytawa, grouped around two signed and dated manuscripts from the years 1420 and 1421 were presented by KLOSS 1942, pp. 108–130, 192, 202, 206, 221–223, 225, 228, tables III, IV, figs 161–198. See also: KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1979, pp. 49–53, cat. no R 36–40 on p. 115, tables V, VI, figs 71–79, who dates all manuscripts associated with John of Żytawa to around 1420–1421. The ample, soft and widespread folds of material as well as types of female heads with combed out strands of hair, characteristic of the Kazimierz panels, find numerous references particularly in Missal R 165 (missing), which is dated by Kloss to around 1415 and in the Hymn Book of the Wrocław Poor Clares (Wrocław, University Library, IF 430), dated by Kloss to around 1415–1420, whereas the architectural backgrounds of the human figures – in the Breviary R 166 (Wrocław, University Library), which is dated by Kloss to around 1420.

¹⁰⁴ KLOSS 1942, pp. 133–135, 186, 187, 189, 223–224, figs 199, 201, 205, 206–208, the term used to refer to an anonymous pupil of John of Żytawa, who was active in Wrocław in the third decade of the fifteenth century; he associated with him the decoration of the Żagań Bible of 1422 r. (Wrocław, University Library, IF 22), of Antiphony of 1426 (ibidem, R 505) as well as two undated Missals from the church of St Elizabeth in Wrocław (ibidem, no 7573, 8375). KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1977, p. 111, fig. without numbering and KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA 1979, pp. 53–55, cat. no R. 41–45 on pp. 115–116, figs 80–81 who incorporated into the Master's *oeuvre* the painter's decoration of the *Chess Book*, unknown to Kloss (*Liber super ludum scacorum*; Wrocław, University Library, IV.F.64), published by HECK 1964, thus creating a new appellation of the Master. The type of both female and male heads, characterised by big eyes with swollen eyelids as well as long noses, known from the Master's earlier works, comes back in his Kazimierz panels.

transferred. Undoubtedly this also concerned the sphere of stained glass painting, whose realisations had reached the eastern borders of the Kingdom of Poland as the ultimate boundaries¹⁰⁵.

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¹⁰⁵ KALINOWSKI 1994.

MEDIAEVAL STAINED GLASS
IN THE EASTERN LANDS FORMERLY
AND PRESENTLY BELONGING TO POLAND

Ever since its origin in the second half of the first millennium, stained glass has constituted the most fragile type of mediaeval painting and art in general. Only remnants have survived from the period of the full bloom of Romanesque architecture in Poland; these are made up of tiny shards of stained glass and lead discovered in Greater Poland, Kujawy, Silesia and the Lesser Poland provinces; the latter have been obtained almost entirely thanks to the excavation work conducted in these regions after the end of the Second World War in connection with the celebrations associated with the Millennium of the Polish State.

All of the mediaeval stained glass collections which have been preserved on Polish territories until contemporary times represent Gothic art from the end of the thirteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, and are associated with two major centres of their production: Cracow in the south, and Toruń in the north.

In the southern centre these are stained glass windows in and from Cracow: from the Dominican church and monastery (dating back to the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century), from St Mary's Church (1360–1390), and from the Corpus Christi Church (dating back to the first half of the fifteenth century)¹. Apart from these collections, among the stained glass from Lesser Poland, one finds: a small panel with an ornamental geometrical-floral decoration (dating back to before the middle of the fourteenth century), in all

¹ The Dominican Church: PIEŃKOWSKA 1950; KALINOWSKI 1989; St. Mary's Church: BRZUSKI 1926; KALINOWSKI 1991; Corpus Christi Church: PIEŃKOWSKA 1949b.

likelihood from the Church of St Andrew in Cracow (Diocesan Museum in Tarnów); an ornamental glazing from the third quarter of the fourteenth century in the lower section of a bipartite window in the southern wall of the choir of the parish church of St Andrew in Olkusz²; two window panels with busts of prophets (dating back to the third quarter of the fourteenth century) in one of the presbytery windows in the parish church of the Blessed Virgin and Ten Thousand Martyrs in Niepołomice³; a fourteenth-century panel with the standing figure of St Stanislaus, from the parish church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Szaniec (the collection of the Diocesan Seminary in Kielce)⁴; two panels with the scene of Annunciation, from the end of the fourteenth century, of unknown Cracow origin (National Museum in Cracow)⁵; a panel with Virgin and Child, of the *Mulier amicta sole* type, around 1420, from the cemetery chapel of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin of Iwkowa (Diocesan Museum in Tarnów)⁶; a window panel with the Strykoń coat-of-arms belonging to the Szafraniec family (1420), in the chapel of St Stephen in the Cracow cathedral⁷; finally, the window panel with the seated figure of St Gregory the Great, from the first half of the fifteenth century, from the parish church of St Gregory in Ruszcza⁸.

Moreover, two panels preserved in the National Museum in Poznań and until now erroneously associated with Silesia, namely: the Crucifixion from the end of the thirteenth century, and the Throne of Grace from around the middle of the fifteenth century⁹, also come from Cracovian production. Another example of an artefact from Cracow is a panel with the scene of the Crucifixion from the second quarter of the fifteenth cen-

² Recently discovered by associate professor in the Academy of Fine Arts in Cracow, Magdalena Kalicińska M.A., who has kindly allowed us to use her materials.

³ BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1938, p. 40; CHRZANOWSKI, KORNECKI 1982, p. 168, fig. 95 to the text pp. 169–170.

⁴ *Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki*, 8, 1907, p. 102; BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1938; KZSP, III, 1, p. 68, fig. 83.

⁵ FISCHER 1937, pp. 77–78, tabl. 27 and 28 (from the Cracow cathedral); BUCZKOWSKI 1958, p. 22 and footnote 27 (previously in the Dominican Church in Cracow).

⁶ KZSP, I, 3, p. 8, fig. 30; OLSZEWSKI 1978, p. 297, fig. 21; CHRZANOWSKI, KORNECKI 1982, p. 169, fig. 96 to the text p. 170.

⁷ BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1936, p. 216 with an illustration; KZSP, IV, 1, p. 81, fig. 350.

⁸ TOMKOWICZ 1906, p. 245; BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1938, p. 40.

⁹ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1992, p. 155, footnote 1; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995.

tury, from a wooden parish church of St Clement in Miedźna in Upper Silesia (now in the Silesian Museum in Katowice)¹⁰.

Whereas the “coloured stained glass window measuring around 0.45 metres in height and 0.35 metres in width, presenting a full-length figure of Our Lady clothed in a bright red cloak, with a crown on her head and holding Baby Jesus in her arms”, which was mentioned by Stanisław Tomkowicz as recently as at the beginning of the twentieth century, is no longer to be found in the parish church of the Birth of the Blessed Virgin in Zielonki; nor can one find a trace of the “remains of the stained glass in the windows” of the parish church of St Margaret in Raciborowice, whose existence had earlier been confirmed in 1847 by Józef Łepkowski¹¹.

Nor is there a trace of the eight panels from the parish church of St Elizabeth in Stary Sącz, mentioned in the visitation reports of Janusz Januszowski, the Dean of Stary Sącz in 1608; the above glazing included the colourful pictorial representations on the eastern and southern side as well as two smaller ones on the northern side of the church.

The northern centre comprises the stained glass from three Toruń churches: St John the Baptist and St John Evangelist (from around the year 1330), St Nicolas (1340), the Blessed Virgin Mary (from the years 1370–1390), as well as stained glass in the cathedral dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Włocławek (1350) and the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Chełmno (from the years 1380–1390). The latter are currently found together with the Toruń stained glass panels in the District Museum in Toruń¹².

A separate group is made up of five panels from the churches of Eastern Pomerania and executed, in all likelihood, either in Elbląg or Toruń, namely: The Virgin with Child, 1480, in Nowe near Świecie; the head of Christ with the Crown of Thorns, the last quarter of the fifteenth century, in the post-Cistercian monastery in Pelplin; Saints Barbara and Catherine, 1490–1500, in Klonówka, and St Nicolas in Lisewo, 1500–1510¹³.

No local stained glass has been preserved in Greater Poland, Upper and Lower Silesia as well as in Western Pomerania. The only specimen which has survived – albeit in a vestigial state – is a panel with the Sile-

¹⁰ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995; *Zbiory* 1995, p. 130 (L. Kalinowski, H. Małkiewiczówna, *Kwatera witrażowa z Ukrzyżowaniem z Miedźnej*).

¹¹ Zielonki: TOMKOWICZ 1906, pp. 271–273; Raciborowice: TOMKOWICZ 1906, p. 230; ŁEPKOWSKI 1863 [the “effect” of the trip of 1847], p. 39: “While digging in the cemetery I come across numerous specimens of stained glass, all of which were apparently once colourful”.

¹² KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995a.

¹³ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1992, pp. 155–160.

sian coat of arms, executed around the year 1500 in Wrocław or Brzeg¹⁴, whereas the panel with the figure of St. Barbara, 1506, from the parish church in Tyniec-upon-Ślęza, belonging today to the Archdiocesan Museum in Wrocław, is a work which had been executed in Nuremberg¹⁵. The stained glass from Chojna in Western Pomerania went missing in 1945¹⁶.

Finally, for the last territory of the eastern borderlands there is a group of stained glass panels which have not as yet been presented in a separate analysis; they consist of works which had been discovered on the eastern territories of Poland where one could also find the easternmost boundary-line of Gothic art in Europe: some, though very few of these panels have luckily been well-preserved, others – are known exclusively from iconographic sources (drawings), and still others, are only mentioned in written sources.

As regards the preserved works, which have not so far been mentioned in academic publications, one should first and foremost mention the relatively well-preserved panel with St Peter the Martyr, a Dominican friar [Fig. 21] which comes from the Pawlikowski family collection in Medyka and since 12 January, 1952, has been kept in the National Art Collection at Wawel Castle as a deposit of the Wrocław branch of Ossolineum Publishing House (inventory no Dep.115)¹⁷. It has not been established how this panel had been transported from Lviv directly to Cracow.

The stained glass, whose dimensions, including the frame are 97.5 by 41.5 centimetres, consists of two parts which have been joined together, though in fact they constitute two separate panels. In the bigger rectangular lower field, which is 61.5 centimetres high, one finds the image of St Peter of Verona who is looking slightly to the right (left of the viewer); he is wearing a white cassock and scapular as well as a violet coat with the hood that has slid down onto the arms; in his left palm he is holding a closed book with metal clasps and in his right hand, he is holding a palm with three crowns symbolising from the bottom up: the white one – virginity, the ruby one – martyrdom, and the yellow one – learning¹⁸.

¹⁴ KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995.

¹⁵ SCHOLZ 1991, p. 213, fig. 306 to the text on p. 212; KALINOWSKI, MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA 1995.

¹⁶ WENTZEL 1954, pp. 55, 98 and fig. 177. The author is of the opinion that the stained glass collection from Chojna had been destroyed in 1945.

¹⁷ Until 1849 the Pawlikowski family collection was to be found in Medyka and subsequently, until 1895 in the Dominican Church in Lviv; in 1921 the collection was transferred as a perpetual deposit to the National Ossoliński Institute in Lviv. See: GROŃSKA, OCHOŃSKA 1976, pp. 5–11.

¹⁸ HALL, UHR 1985.

The martyr's chest is pierced by a sword with a long handle; his head is surrounded by a spherical golden nimbus. The ruby-coloured background is adorned with a loosely placed plant twig.

The upper area, in the shape of a Gothic equilateral triangle, is filled with a sexafoil rosette with a ruby-coloured centre and sharp-edged leaves which are alternately ruby-coloured, green or violet; the rosette is placed against the background of six petals with an undulating upper edge.

The panel, which has been cut off at the bottom, must have presented a full-length silhouette of St Peter portrayed here as St Augustine and St Stanislaus were originally depicted on the stained glass panels from the Dominican Church in Cracow dating back to around 1280; the latter panels are currently to be found in the National Museum in Cracow. The above silhouette is also reminiscent of the figure of St Thomas Aquinas [Fig. 20] on the Dominican panel from the second quarter of the fifteenth century (currently in the National Museum in Cracow), though the latter contains an erroneous nineteenth-century inscription on glass which says: "Saint Hyacinth"; the above inscription was mistakenly copied during when the panel was conserved in 1959 in Toruń¹⁹.

The panel with St Thomas plays a special role in the process of dating the Wawel panel with St Peter as well as in defining its origins, as it constitutes its closest comparative material. This refers both to the posture of the two saints on the respective panels as well as to the way of mounting their heads and the type of the floral background which had been used. Taking into account the Dominican character of both panels, one may come to the conclusion that the Wawel panel may have been created not only at the same time as the Cracow one, but also in the same workshop, unless it was executed by a Cracow glazier working in Lviv or Przemyśl for the local Dominicans. Mieczysław Radojewski suggests that the stained glass with St Peter may come from the church of the Cracow Dominicans which had burnt down in 1850 and that it may have found its way to Gwalbert Pawlikowski's collection through Teofil Żebrawski²⁰.

The upper panel, which has no direct connection to the lower one, constitutes a typical tracery filling which is a characteristic element of Gothic windows²¹.

¹⁹ ŻELECHOWSKA 1980.

²⁰ I would like to express my gratitude to Mieczysław Radojewski M.A., the Head of the Graphics Department in the Library of the National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław for this information which he kindly shared with me.

²¹ OIDTMANN 1912, pp. 153–155: *Masswerkfüllungen*.

Chronologically speaking, the next panel is the square-like piece from the parish church in Równe near Dukla; the panel contains the Strzegonia or Kościeszka coat of arms belonging to Piotr of Chrzastów, the Przemyśl bishop (1435–1452), and it belongs to the collection of the National Museum in Cracow. The panel had been described in several joint publications by Kazimierz Buczkowski and Witold Skórczewski before the Second World War, and after the war by Buczkowski himself; its description and analysis in the catalogue to the exhibition devoted to the art of the Jagiellons, organized in Schallaburg in 1986 by the National Museum in Cracow, had finally met the guidelines and requirements established by the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*. In the above analysis, Helena Małkiewiczówna had identified the panel as a Cracow artefact dating back to the middle of the fifteenth century²². Yet, in light of the documentary sources concerning stained glass and glaziers in Lviv and Przemyśl, one may assume that the panel could equally well have been executed in Lviv or Przemyśl; the latter theory will be discussed further in the subsequent part of the article.

Another item which ought to be mentioned in this context is a fragment of Gothic stained glass with the Larysza coat of arms (“according to tradition, the stained glass presents a ploughshare which reportedly had been used for digging up the treasure, the proceeds from which were to have been used for the construction of the church”); provided that the catalogue interpretation is correct, the stained glass was embedded in the facade of the parish church of St Nicolas in Połomia, near Rzeszów²³.

Finally, one also ought to mention here a small circular stained glass panel from Biecz “with the personification of the sun”, currently in the Czartoryski Museum in Cracow [Fig. 34]²⁴. Against the background of a pentamerous ten-petalled blue rosette displaying features of late Gothic and often encountered in heraldic representations, one can see a five-pointed yellow star outlined with a double contour, whose centre is taken up by a face enclosed in a circle and surrounded with radiating beams. This relatively well-preserved artefact, with but a small defect within the rosette, could have arisen in the first half of the sixteenth century. The note preserved in *Consul. Biec.* I, recorded between 27 August and 5 Sep-

²² BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1936, il. On p. 219 to the text on p. 216; BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1938, p. 21, fig. Before p. 7; W. Budka’s review in “Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”, 18, 1929, no 2, p. 45; BUCZKOWSKI 1958, p. 44, fig. on p. 34; FRYCZ, BRYGIER 1972, p. 377; SCHALLABURG 1986, cat. no. 82, pp. 263 and 267–268 (H. Małkiewiczówna), fig. on p. 267.

²³ KZSP, III, 1 (SN), pp. 62–63 (without an illustration).

²⁴ BUCZKOWSKI, SKÓRCZEWSKI 1938, p. 25.

tember, 1544, declares that on 23 August, 1544, Sigismund Augustus endowed Erazm, the parish priest in Biecz, with the entire property which had remained after the death of Jakub Słowik, the glaziers, who died heirless; after the artist's death his entire property was taken over by the Crown treasury *iure caduco*²⁵. One may only suppose that the little stained glass panel from Biecz may have been the work of the above-mentioned Słowik.

From iconographic representations, we know only of two panels which were once to be found in the right (southern?) side nave of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in Przeworsk, namely: *Mulier amicta sole* [Fig. 35], dimensions 36 by 18 centimetres, according to Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, and the Leliwa coat of arms placed within a circular space; both had first been reconstructed in the form of drawings and watercolours and subsequently incorporated into an album entitled *Szkła kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich, zebrał i odmalował L. Łepkowski w 1864 i 1865 roku* (Coloured Glass in the Cracow churches, collected and painted by L. Łepkowski in 1864 and 1865) which is currently found in the library collection of the Institute of Art History of the Jagiellonian University; the above works were subsequently described in detail in the report from a field trip which was organised in the summer of 1891 by Łuszczkiewicz²⁶. Due to the fact that the originals are missing, it is difficult to establish precisely when these works were created. *Mulier amicta sole* is undoubtedly a work which originated in the fifteenth century; in all likelihood, it was executed around the middle of the century.

A separate group consists of documentary sources relating to mediaeval stained glass and glaziers on the eastern territories of the former Polish Commonwealth during the times of the Piast and Jagiellon dynasties.

According to an entry in the register of a Cracow governor acting on behalf of king Ladislas Jagiello and queen Hedwig, on 27 May, 1418, a glaziers whose name remains unknown, accompanied by his wife, the king's valet Klemens and an organist had been sent to Lithuania in a carriage guarded by four armed flunkeys in order to execute some stained glass windows there. The expenses associated with this journey consisted of the following items: "for two large carts able to hold all things neces-

²⁵ BUJAK 1914, p. 60, item 196.

²⁶ *Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki*, 5, 1896, fig. 12 on p. 179 to the text on p. 180. Op. cit.: ŁEPKOWSKI 1865: "has two coloured glass panes from the fifteenth century"; KOPERA 1925, pp. 239–240; WYROBISZ 1968, p. 109; PAULI [1987], p. 180: "In one of the church windows there is a glass pane with the painted Leliwa coat of arms and some other picture".

sary – six grzywnas and 12 skojeces, for cart wheels and ropes as well as the lubricant for the wheels and the cover for the above-mentioned carts: one grzywna, for the glass to be used for the windows in Lithuania: eight grzywnas and twelve skojeces, for the iron rods for the windows [wind-chests?] eight grzywnas, for the dyes to be used for painting – one grzywna and seven skojeces, for the expenses of the artist and his wife – five grzywnas, for the equipages for the four servants, whose arms together with the above-mentioned items had been dispatched to Lithuania – twenty eight grzywnas”²⁷.

In turn, on 14 January, 1449, Maciej, a painter from the city of Przemyśl, accepted an order from a Jewish woman named Muncha, the wife of David, a lessee of the Przemyśl customs house, to execute two stained glass windows (in Przemyśl) and another one in their home in Lviv. Therefore, one may conclude that the stained glass windows had not been used exclusively in churches²⁸.

Finally in the court register of the archbishop of Lviv of the Latin rite of 1489, one comes across a record which mentions the name of Stanisław Lutek, a Lviv painter who was to have executed five stained glass membranes to the church of Virgin Mary in Busko and receive two oxen worth one and a half grzywnas for the completion of the above task²⁹. H. Małkiewiczówna accurately identifies Lutek, the Lviv painter with the Cracow painter of the same name, who appears in the written sources for the first time in 1469³⁰.

²⁷ *Rachunki dworu* [1896], p. 521 (Register kept by Wątróbka the Governor of Cracow): “Item sequuntur distributa pro expedicione Clementis cubicularii domini Regis cum vitreatore et organista et armis versus Lithuaniam, feria sexta in octava Corporis Christi (27/5). Item primo pro duobus curribus magnis, in quibus ducta sunt necessaria, sex mar. XII sc. item pro rodīs et cordis alias postronky et unctura rotarum et tectura dictorum curruum I mar. item pro vitro ibidem Lithuaniam ad parandum fenestras octo mar. XII sc. item pro liris fereis ad easdem fenestras octo mar. item pro coloribus ad depingendum I mar. VII sc, item pro expensis vitreatori et uxori eiusdem quinque mar. item pro quatuor indumentis armorum ad quatuor viros, que arma cum eisdem rebus transmissa sunt, XXVIII mar.”

²⁸ *Pomniki Dziejowe Przemyśla* [1936], no 502: “Mathias pictor receptis duabus marcis a Muncha ludea obligavit se duas fenestras in stuba seu membranas vitreas et tertiam in caminata in civitate Leopoldensi eidem facere, sed firmitatem eis debet eadem Muncha dare mediam marcam ipsi Mathie et posuit solidum; finire debet idem Mathias super restitutione pecuniarum”; BUDZYŃSKI 1987, p. 168; also: H. Węgrzynek, *Stosunki w rodzinie żydowskiej w piętnastowiecznym Przemyślu*, paper delivered at an international conference “Historia i kultura Żydów polskich”, Jerusalem 1988, according to KRALL 1989, p. 41.

²⁹ ABRAHAM 1907, col. LXIII and CCCIII.

³⁰ Stanisław Lutek, son of Wojciech Plebanek (Pleban) and Urszula, sister of a Cracow painter Stanisław, since that time referred to as old (Antiquus), began his career as a painter in Cracow. See: PRZYBYŠZEWSKI 1965, p. 92 and 93; *Cracovia Artificum. Supplementa*, vol. 3, 1990, p. 44, footnote 86: *Officialia crac.* 3, p. 174.

The relative lack as well as the qualitative austerity of the above-discussed stained glass, as well as the scarcity of both the older and more recent documentary sources relating to the art of stained glass in general, does not allow one to make any binding generalisations, but merely to carry out a provisional analysis.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, two new, adjoining though independent of each other, church dioceses of the Latin rite were created on the eastern borderlands of Poland: in the south the Ruthenian, and in the north the Vilnius one.

In the year 1367, during the rule of Casimir the Great, a Ruthenian archbishopric with its seat in Halicz was established; the latter had been approved by the Holy See in 1377. The archbishopric had three bishoprics under its jurisdiction, namely that of: Przemyśl, Chełm and Włodzimierz. In 1414 the seat of the metropolis was transferred to Lviv³¹.

The foundations of the cathedral church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Lviv, whose origins go back to the year 1356, had been laid down from the foundation of Casimir the Great already before the year 1370³². In 1404 as a consequence of the efforts of the provisional bishop Piotr Stecher, a presbytery had been erected whose vaults had been executed by a Silesian (?) master builder Nicolas Gensecke, also referred to as “Gonzaga natione Germanus”³³. In 1481, two other Silesians: Joachim Grom and Ambrosius Rabisch³⁴ had been working on the construction of the nave and its vaults. The erected three-bayed hall had been completed on its western end only in 1492 by yet another visitor from Silesia – namely master Hans Blecher³⁵. It was then, as Łoziński states on the basis of the sources available to him that “the church became decorated with painted stained glass (*vitrea multicolora*)”³⁶. The reconstruction of the cathedral, carried out by architect Wacław Sierakowski in the eighteenth century had obliterated all traces of the Gothic style.

In Przemyśl – apart from the titular bishopric dating back to around 1240 – Ladislaus Jagiello endowed bishop Maciej Janina with one of the castle churches to be converted into a Latin rite cathedral³⁷; in 1460

³¹ ABRAHAM 1909, pp. 10–15 and 37–48; KUMOR 1969, pp. 314–326 and 326–332.

³² ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1924; KUMOR 1969, pp. 326–332.

³³ ZIMOROWICZ [1835], p. 127; ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1924, p. 47.

³⁴ ZIMOROWICZ [1835], p. 156; ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1924, pp. 50–51.

³⁵ ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1924, pp. 51–52.

³⁶ ŁOZIŃSKI 1901, p. 9; ABRAHAM 1909, p. 27; ZAJĄCZKOWSKI 1924, p. 51.

³⁷ *Premislia Sacra* [1869], p. 54; KUMOR 1970.

bishop Mikołaj Błażejowski transferred it to the city³⁸. Only a presbytery and, as one might suppose, a vestry had been erected during the latter's lifetime. The church which had been destroyed by fire in 1494 was subsequently reconstructed by bishop Maciej of Drzewica (1505–1513)³⁹. In 1510 mason Jakub of Miechów had signed a contract for the construction of the vaults above both choirs; in the same year, windows had been purchased for the church. The construction of the cathedral had ultimately been completed by bishop Jan Dziaduski⁴⁰: in 1549 he installed a vault, in 1558 he erected the dome above the main choir and in 1559, the dome above the smaller choir.

The fact that in the fifteenth-century stained glass windows had been produced in Przemyśl is best corroborated by the above-quoted note which relates that in 1449, Maciej, a glazier from Przemyśl, was commissioned by a Jewess by the name of Muncha to execute stained glass in Przemyśl and Lviv. And if the stained glass with the image of St Peter the Martyr from the collection of the Pawlikowski family was originally destined not for a Cracow or Lviv church but for the Dominican church of St Peter of Verona, this stained glass window and the entire decoration of the temple including the other, unpreserved stained glass works, may also be linked to Przemyśl⁴¹. Undoubtedly the stained glass with the Kościeszka coat-of-arms, founded by Piotr Chrzęstowski for the church in Równe near Dukla, had been executed in the bishop's seat, which was Przemyśl. It is difficult to decide on the basis of a single small panel whether Jakub Słowik, a glazier whose workshop was located in Biecz, may also have been associated with Przemyśl. It may be assumed that at that time the circle of Biecz glaziers enjoyed a considerable degree of independence.

The Chełm bishopric was created in 1349, and its first mention in the sources which confirms its existence appears in 1359; the canonical erection took place in 1375⁴².

With the agreement of king Casimir IV the Jagiellon in 1475, the seat of the bishopric was transferred to Hrubieszów and in 1490 to Krasnystaw, after the last partition of Poland to Lublin.

³⁸ *Premislia Sacra* [1869], p. 76; SARNA 1903, p. 32.

³⁹ SARNA 1903, pp. 51–52.

⁴⁰ *Premislia Sacra* [1869], p. 155; SARNA 1903, pp. 76–77, 162.

⁴¹ SARNA 1903, p. 29. In 1388 in a canonical trial between the Przemyśl bishop Eryk and the Dominicans, the court of arbitration established that “the Dominican church will be dedicated to St Peter the Martyr”.

⁴² KŁOCZOWSKI 1958, pp. 202–203; KUMOR 1969, pp. 336–340.

In Chełm, whose history ever since the year 1387 is closely linked with the history of Poland, king Ladislaus Jagiello had founded a cathedral church dedicated to the Sending Out of the Apostles in 1417; in all likelihood the latter had been situated next to the existing parish church dedicated to the Birth or Assumption of the Virgin Mary; it was a wooden structure which burnt down in 1578⁴³.

There is no information in the sources as to whether there were any stained glass windows in the Chełm cathedral of the Latin rite, yet the likelihood of their existence is confirmed by the stained glass window which at one time was stored in the Dominican monastery in Cracow and which unfortunately is missing today. The above stained glass is known to us from the watercolour sketch executed in the years 1864–1865 by Ludwik Łepkowski. This sketch presents the provincial of the Polish Dominicans Jan Biskupiec (Jan of Opatów, Biskupek, also known as Johannes Episcopellus, 1376–1452), who was the bishop of Chełm since the year 1417⁴⁴. This “ardent supporter of Polishness and of the unity of the Polish Dominican province”, “known for his efforts to raise the cultural level of the eastern borderlands of the Polish Commonwealth” is likely to have marked his activity as bishop of Chełm by commissioning a set of stained glass windows for the Chełm cathedral, especially that in the years 1417–1432 (?) he decorated his own chapel in the church of the Cracow Dominicans⁴⁵ with stained glass. This is all the more likely as according to the Halycz-Volhynia Codex, followed by the so-called Hypatian Chronicle, in the years 1233–1237 prince Daniel Romanowicz erected a church dedicated to John Chrysostom (the “golden-mouthed”) in Chełm and its “construction was as follows: four barrel vaulted ceilings, in every corner arches supported by four human heads, carved by a master carver; three windows [probably in apses] decorated with Roman glass. At the entrance to the altar, there were two pillars executed in the same stone, and on top of them an arcade [triumphal arch] with a [tapering?] cupola decorated with golden stars placed on a blue background. Inside there was a floor made from pure copper and lead which shone like a mirror”⁴⁶. In all likelihood,

⁴³ ABRAHAM 1918; KŁOCZOWSKI 1958, pp. 208 and 211, footnote 65.

⁴⁴ PSB, vol. 2, 1936, pp. 110–111 (K. Piotrowicz, *Biskupiec Jan*).

⁴⁵ On the chapel of Jan Biskupiec, the bishop of Chełm, in the Dominican church in Cracow, see: *Kodeks Dyplomatyczny Miasta Krakowa* [1882], point DXX 4. mensis Iunii.

⁴⁶ *Ipat'evskaja letopis'* [1908] reprint: Moscow 1962; *Pamiatniki literatury* [1981], pp. 344–345, text and translation into Russian; see also: PEŁENSKI 1914, p. 146, from whose text I am quoting.

the above-mentioned “Roman glass” refers to the late-Romanesque or early-Gothic stained glass which may have appealed to bishop Biskupiec’ artistic imagination, having survived the fire which destroyed the Orthodox church in 1262.

In the year 1387, the Vilnius diocese was created in the north; it became a part of the Gniezno archdiocese and it was Andrzej Jastrzębiec⁴⁷ who became its first bishop. It was to this diocese and to the cathedral in honour of the Holy Trinity, dedicated to St Stanislaus which was being erected there that king Jagiello had sent a glaziers from Cracow in 1418.

Thus in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the impact exerted by Cracow radiated to all four administrative districts of the Latin Church on the eastern territories of Poland, though it did so in different ways. In the case of the Vilnius diocese, one deals with the import of the glazier from the capital. In the case of the Przemyśl diocese, by accepting Przemyśl as the centre of stained glass, but at the same time taking into consideration the stylistic elements of the heraldic stained glass from Równe and leaving aside the origin of the panel with St Peter the Dominican, one should observe clear links to the stained glass centre in Cracow. In the case of the Lviv diocese, though the Silesian origin of the successive builders of the cathedral would rather suggest participation of the Wrocław artists in its glazing, the influence of Cracow can be observed both indirectly and directly. Indirectly it is marked by the activity of the Przemyśl glazier Maciej on the territory of Lviv, who realized the orders of a Jewess named Muncha, and directly by the execution of five stained glass panels (*membranes*) to the church in Busko by an artist known as Stanisław Lutek. The latter may be quite justifiably identified with a Cracow painter whose name appears in the sources twenty years earlier. Finally in the case of the Chełm diocese, the Cracow connection is clearly visible in the stained glass decoration of its cathedral; it would indeed be difficult to imagine a Gothic building of this rank not to have had stained glass decorations, and it ought to be added that it was a church dignitary who arrived here from the Cracow Dominicans who acted as an intermediary in the process of selecting the artists responsible for the church’s decoration.

⁴⁷ DEUGOSZ, *Annales*, pp. 162–163; *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry* [1932–1948], pp. 20–21; KUMOR 1969, pp. 292–295. On Vilnius glaziers: WOJCZACKA 1933, pp. 52–61.

So much can be said today about mediaeval stained glass on the territories lying within the eastern boundary-line of the Gothic in former Poland, and even about the Gothic in Europe as this was also one of its farthest boundary-lines⁴⁸.

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⁴⁸ SOSNOWSKI 1934/1935, map "Zasięg budownictwa gotyckiego na Wschodzie Europy" (ed. E. Dutkiewicz, S. Herbst, S. Lorentz, K. Piwocki, O. Sosnowski, N. Walicki), p. 165–168; ŚWIECHOWSKI 1965, p. 130, fig. 1.

LOUIS GRODECKI 1910–1982

“Nam corpus quasi vas est aut aliquod animi receptaculi”

Cicero, *Disp. Tusc.*, 1

The annals of art history include both the extraordinary accomplishments of research as well as the creative personalities of the researchers themselves. Therefore, these annals are, on the one hand, a result of the publishing dates of the scholarly works, and, on the other, the dates of their authors' passing. One should wait until the sun sets and night falls, before passing full judgment on the day gone by.

On 28 March, 1982, a distinguished specialist on mediaeval art, Louis Grodecki, Professor Emeritus of the Paris University IV Sorbonne, died in Paris. André Chastel and Willibald Sauerländer in the *Revue de L'Art*, (no 55, 1982), Jean Taralon in the *Bulletin monumental* (vol. 140-III, 1982, pp. 177–181) and Eva Frodl-Kraft in *Corpus Vitrearum, Histoire et Etat actuel de L'entreprise internationale*, Vienna 1982, pp. 9–13, were already the first to characterise the works and accomplishments of Grod, as he was called by his friends and students. In the present Polish periodical, *Bulletin of Art History*, Grodecki's passing evokes a particularly poignant reflection. Even though in 1935 he became naturalized in France, from then on published only in French and is rightly recognised as a French scholar, he was still bound to Poland by his heritage, youth and schooling and ultimately by his relationship with his homeland and Polish friends of different generations.

Grodecki was born on 18 August, 1910, in Warsaw, where he received a secondary education at a French high school on 46A Piękna Street. Fascinated by the Max Reinhardt theatre, he left Poland for Berlin

in 1928, only later, on the recommendation of Karol Sterling, his senior by ten years, to move to Paris, where he lived for the rest of his life. In Paris he began attending the École du Louvre and École Pratique des Hautes Études, dreaming of becoming a stage director; later, however, he began attending lectures at the Institut d'Art et d'Archéologie given by Henri Focillon (1881–1943). He then became an art historian and published his first paper on art history in Polish.

In 1931, Grodecki's article on the Immaculate Conception Triptych in the Warsaw National Museum appeared in the *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, (no 8, text p. 150, footnote p. 159), in which, on the basis of a woodcut in the *Livre d'Heures*, printed in 1506 by Theilman Kerve, he was able to determine the *post quem* date of origin of the Netherlandish work, acquired in 1862 from the J. Weyer collection in Cologne. This short text presents *in nuce* a series of traits characteristic of Grodecki's scholarly craft and from the beginning his lively interest in iconography, which he expressed with candid emotion: "the Immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin Mary! One of the most miraculous and oldest of beliefs, as old as the love of the faithful to the Mother of God". And after an erudite exposé, it is only in the final footnote that he adds: "If I may have my say here as to the authorship of the painting, I would add, that in my opinion, the central part was done by one of the imitators of Quentin Matsys, perhaps in Bruges; the wings – Jan Provoost or his studio. Anyway, as to the case of authorship, I intend to return to it at another time". Did he return to it?

However, in his first work written in French there were two chapters earmarked for a university textbook, *Histoire de L'art*, published by Pierre Lavendan in the *Clio* series in 1944; *L'art roman* (pp. 74–154) and *La formation de L'art contemporain* (pp. 496–551), throwing a light on the extent of the young researcher's interests. The reader of the book's Polish translation, done in 1954 (pp. 42–92 and pp. 306–343), with the foreword provided by Hanna Morawska and Stefan Kozakiewicz, does not even realise that the text is Grod's, since there was no mention of his authorship.

The deciding factor in Grodecki's scholarly development was his meeting with Focillon. From the outset, Grodecki remained under his great charm and tried to follow the advice of his master. When in 1943, Focillon was at the height of his popularity in American academic circles, he passed away in New Haven as a professor at the École Libre des Hautes Études; it soon became apparent, that Grodecki was his most exceptional student, paving his way to the United States. In 1948, as a Fellow of the Focillon Fund, he ended up at Yale University, where Focillon

had lectured since 1939 and where after the outstanding scholar's death, a society arose in his memory. In the academic year 1950/51 Grodecki became a member of The Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, where he met Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968), who, after Focillon, became his second teacher and master. However, while Focillon was a researcher of form, to which at the time he dedicated a resounding study, *Vie des formes*, and as a critic had such predecessors as Fromentin, Baudelaire and Courajod, Panofsky represented the iconological method, as well as the traditional approach of Aby Warburg, Ernst Cassirer and Wilhelm Vöge. What is significant, is that he was able, in his own way, to be faithful to both Focillon and Panofsky.

Grodecki was gifted with an unusually active and receptive mind. Motivated by a thorough knowledge of international research in his field and the instinct of a true scholar, he read everything that was important; feeling an internal need, or simply a dictate to share his readings and accompanying reflections with others, he published a countless number of reviews and commentaries. In this way he absorbed the contemporary as well as past French learning, the accomplishments of German and American art historians, at times little known in France.

However, as an independent researcher, he wrote revealingly about Ottonian (1958) and Gothic architecture (1976), on eleventh-century architectural sculpture (1950, 1958), which he at times referred to as “la première sculpture romane”, on ivory sculpture over the centuries (1947); but he remained unequaled in his study on stained-glass. In this field, Focillon's student met in him with Panofsky's pupil with mutual esteem and dignity. In 1936, within the framework of his seminar, Focillon had already outlined the groundwork and main direction on researching French stained-glass windows. For future studies, however, the key moment was the removal in 1939 of the stained-glass panels from the churches' windows and storing them in crates for the duration of the war. After the war ended, Jean Verrier, the presiding general inspector of historic monuments, commissioned Grodecki to organise them and inspect their present state of preservation, as well as to examine from a technical, an iconographic and formal point of view, an outright innumerable amount of stained-glass panels. For a French archeologist, this presented an exceptional opportunity to become acquainted with stained-glass painting; it was a situation mirrored by that in Germany, where Hans Wentzel (1915–1975) was the only one to give such an order to secure the stained-glass panels. As a result of his work, Grodecki was able to or-

ganise the first large-scale exhibitions in this field: in 1952 in Rotterdam and in Paris in 1953. Before long, his mature knowledge brought him the honour of becoming a member of the French Committee, and from 1975 the chairman of the international committee of *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* (CVMA), which he held for the rest of his life.

In 1947 Grodecki undertook the bold intention, the meaning of which at the time he was not fully aware of – to write a book on Romanesque stained-glass. And so he began his “life’s work”, as he later on referred to it in English. *Le vitrail roman*, saw the light of day only in 1977, after thirty years of research and investigation. How the original scope of the book changed, is indicated by the fact that the analysis of Suger’s stained-glass windows in Saint-Denis would constitute one of the chapters, but after several changes in the text, due to the discovery of new panels in both European and American collections, it turned into a separate work. The first volume, counting 250 printed pages, dedicated to the history of Suger’s stained-glass windows and their reconstruction, appeared in 1976, while the second volume, on their iconography and style, was never finished. To what extent this study embraced a wider horizon of research was explained in the foreword to the first volume, where the author states that the subject pertains to essential problems of French stained-glass history, or more generally to mediaeval iconography and the beginning of Gothic art. It was not an accident that Grodecki dedicated *Les Vitraux de Saint-Denis* to both his masters: Focillon and Panofsky. Ever since Panofsky, who immediately after the war published his book, *Abbot Suger on Saint-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, encouraged Grodecki at Princeton to take an interest in the iconography of Suger’s stained-glass windows. The first result of his suggestion was Grod’s article, *Les vitraux allegoriques de Saint-Denis*, published in *Arts de France* (1, 1961). Under the influence of Panofsky, Grodecki linked the idea of mediaeval stained-glass with the aesthetics of light, as well as with the idea of Neo-Platonism and its meaning in mediaeval art. In a concise, but profoundly thought-out manner, he expressed his opinion first in the introduction of an exhibition catalogue in 1953, later in a collective publication on French stained-glass in 1958 and finally in *Le vitrail roman*. In describing the various functions of stained-glass, Grodecki emphasises the role of light (*lumière*), the ability of glass to transmit light (*translucidité*) and fine workmanship (*preciosité*), equaling at times the crafting of precious stones. With time, his commentaries took on the power of simple and objective conclusionsakin to an absolute. If in 1949 he could, in the style

of Focillon, title his article in *Médecine de France* (no 7) *Poétique des vitraux de Bourges*, then in 1953 everything that he wrote about stained-glass and their spiritual function, was like unveiling the truths of faith. Stained-glass express a certain theme – in a version of the text published in *Le Monuments Historiques*, (no 1, 1977), he substituted the term theme with ideal – or rather a set of ideals, which only some of us will be able to comprehend with difficulty. From the time of Neo-Platonism, from the time of St Augustine, light had been in Christian thought a fundamental and integral element of beauty, it is in itself absolute beauty, just as order is absolute beauty: *lux et ordo*. It is the most direct manifestation of God in the material world in which we live. It is symbolically God, as St Ambrose writes in *De Spiritu sancto*: the Father is light, and the Son is light, and the Holy Spirit is light. Or: The building of a wall capable of transmitting light is the ideal for sacred architecture... The passing of light through glass in mediaeval times is an almost unfathomable mystery, because light is matter and glass is also matter. In what way one matter can penetrate another matter without damaging it? When glass loses its ability to let light through, it loses its sense of being. It is not glass anymore but just dead material, unable to signify the mysteries of reality and faith. What is more: The power to fascinate, the ability to stimulate admiration and arouse the idea of holiness, is no doubt the most important function of the mediaeval stained-glass window.

In what way was Grod able to simultaneously be a student of Focillon and a student of Panofsky? As an archeologist, valuing above everything hard facts – archeologist as defined by French science – by definition he did not occupy himself with the theory of art, nor the question of method: an exception to this was the review of *Berenson, Wölfflin et la critique de L'art moderne* (*Critique*, 10, no 85, 1954). He examined a work of art for itself, because of its beauty, the reality of its matter, its form, its poetic quality. Therefore, he ended the last chapter in *Le vitrail roman* with the words: “It seems as though today’s art historian should consider the coexistence of various fields, sometimes seemingly incongruous fields, but in this way respecting the irregular rhythms of stylistic development in art, dependent on geography and technique. But these are truths, which Focillon had already uncovered and established, as one of the pertinent truths in the life of forms in the annals of time”. In the same spirit he resolved the dilemma of polarity: *Romanesque Art – Gothic Art*, on the basis of the coexistence of different trends, such as the first Gothic Art, a style around the year 1200, Late Romanesque, as well as,

the first Anti-Romanesque. However, when it came for him to address the reader directly in the article, *Esthétique ancienne et moderne du vitrail roman* (in *Les Monuments Historiques*, n° 1, 1977) he defined the history of art in the simplest of terms as a student of Panofsky: “I would like to present here only the point of view of an art historian, which naturally means, a historian of ideas”. That is also why, in the second period, he was close to Max Dvořák.

Officially, Grodecki’s career, after an very long episode in the position as keeper at the Musée des Plans Reliefs (1953–1961), he was tied to the university in Strasbourg from 1961–1969; but from 1969 – he received his Ph.D. degree in 1970 – until his retirement in 1978, he spent his time at Paris IV Sorbonne. The bibliography of Grodecki’s works up to 1979, collected by Claudine Lautier and Catherine Brisac, appeared in *Études d’art mediaeval offertes à Louis Grodecki* (1981). Despite advancing age, and his ever increasing shortsightedness, limiting his access to the world of visual beauty, he stayed active to the very end. In September of 1979 he participated in a meeting of CVMA members, organised on the occasion of the International Congress of Art History in Bologna. In the Spring of 1981, he traveled to New York, to attend a seminar dedicated to Suger. In addition, along with Catherine Brisac, he prepared a book on French stained glass of the thirteenth century. It was to this end, that in August he made a trip to Troyes and Auxerre, on which, thanks to his invitation, I was able to accompany Grodecki, his wife, and Catherine Brisac. On the way we stopped in Saint-Loup-de Nauc and Pontigny. It was the last summer of his life. In October, he was still able to travel to Bourges, and in winter he finished three chapters of his book on stained-glass of the thirteenth century. Some of the fruits of his last years of work have already appeared, as the article, *Viollet le Duc et sa conception de l’architecture gothique*, printed in *Actes du Colloque International Viollet le Duc Paris 1980* (1982), or the *Introduction do Corpus Vitrearum* (1982); others will soon be in print, such as *Un signum Tau mosan à Saint-Denis*, in *Mélanges Jacques Stiennon*. This is how the picture of his creativity fills up.

For many of his colleagues in Poland, who did not know Grodecki personally, he was like a constellation of stars, shining high on the horizon of mediaeval art history. Those that knew him closer, discovered in him a faithful friend. He was a Parisian, preserving his deeply hidden memories of his youth in Warsaw. During a short stay in Cracow in 1970, to the great surprise of his listeners, he recited from memory long excerpts from the epic poem *Pan Tadeusz*. Until the end he admired Wyspiański, on

whose stained-glass he desired to write a separate article; for this purpose he collected photographs of Wyspiański's Wawel cartoons and sketches for their preparation. There was some kind of a Romantic streak in him, which his friends in France described as a liking for everything that was not Classical: from *Le siècle de L'An Mil* (1973) to Goya and Klimt. As to the attributes of his craft, naturally hypothetical, he himself wrote, that he was influenced to a great degree by intuition rather than by reason.

When the news of his death came, Fr. Prof. Bolesław Przybyszewski, on the Feast of Pentecost, celebrated a Mass in the intention of the deceased at the Holy Cross Church in Cracow. On 14 October, after almost a year's break, the Commission on the Theory and History of Art at the Cracow chapter of the Polish Academy of Sciences held a scientific session devoted to his memory, where a paper, *Virgo versatur*, dedicated to him by the author of these words was presented. Furthermore, a commentary on the iconography of Romanesque stained-glass from Arnstein on the Lahn River, was put to print in the *Revue de L'Art*.

Years earlier, in 1925, the Polish Academy of Learning accepted a foreign member, Emil Mâle (1862–1954), one of his predecessors at the Faculty of Art History at the Sorbonne. Today, in paying tribute to Louis Grodecki, it is difficult not to feel regret that the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw did not find a place among its members for an outstanding scholar, with Polish heritage, who has been permanently written into the annals of European Art History.

Translated by Zbigniew Suszczyński

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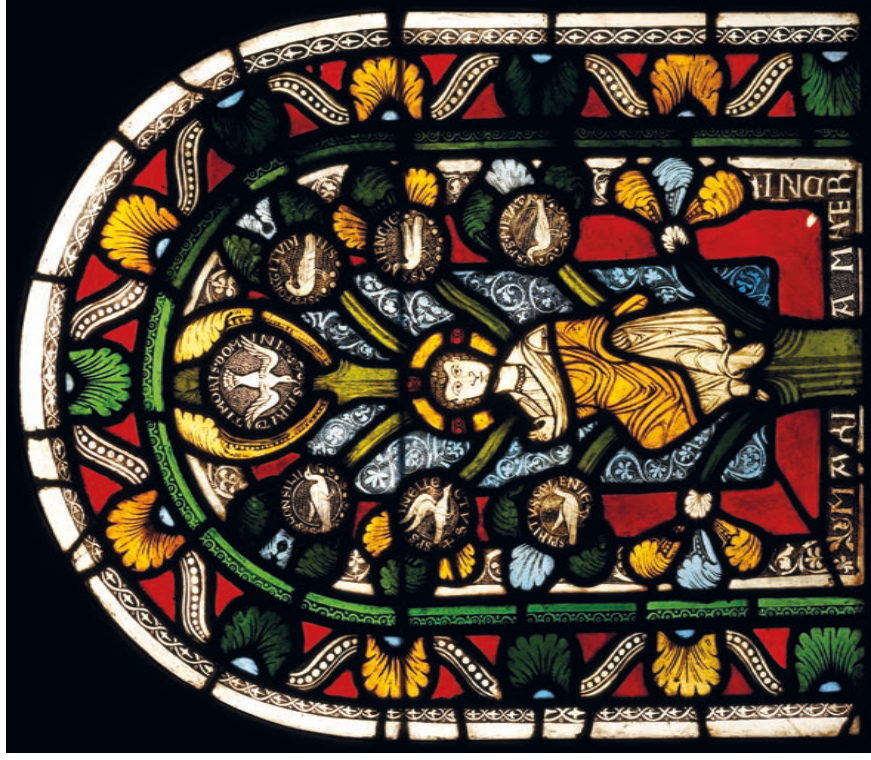
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2. *King David* from the *Tree of Jesse*, stained glass panel from Premonstratensian Abbey in Arnstein an der Lahn, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster. Photo: Andrea Gössel/Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg im Breisgau.



3. *Christ* from the *Tree of Jesse*, stained glass panel from Premonstratensian Abbey in Arnstein an der Lahn, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster. Photo: Andrea Gössel/Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg im Breisgau.



4. *Moses and the burning bush*, stained glass panel from Premonstratensian Abbey in Arnstein an der Lahn, Westfälisches Landesmuseum, Münster. Photo: Andrea Gössel/Corpus Vitrearum Deutschland, Freiburg im Breisgau.



5. *Moses and the burning bush*, miniature from Averboede Gospels (Ms. 363), Bibliothèque de l'Université, Liège. Photo: Bibliothèque de l'Université, Liège.



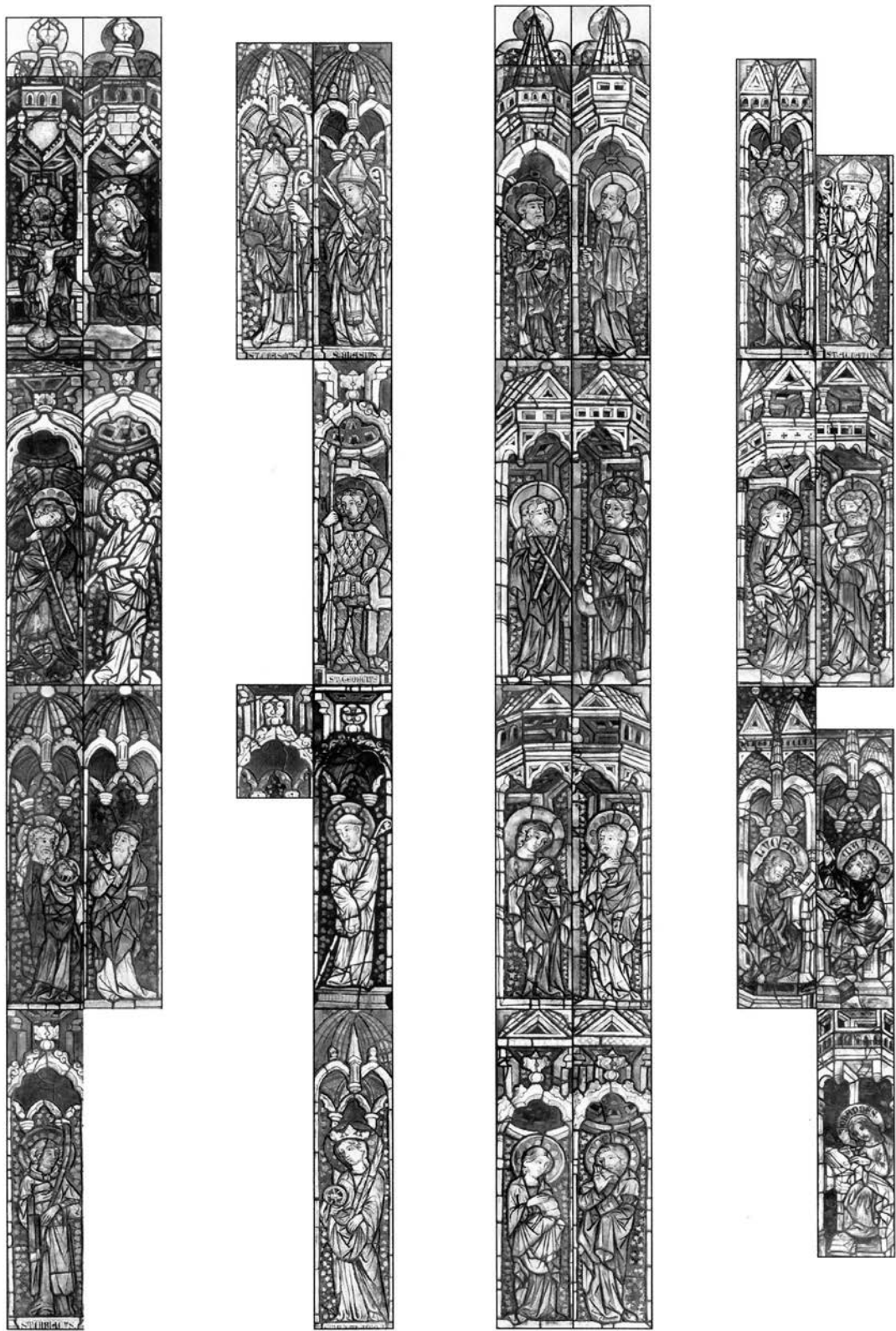
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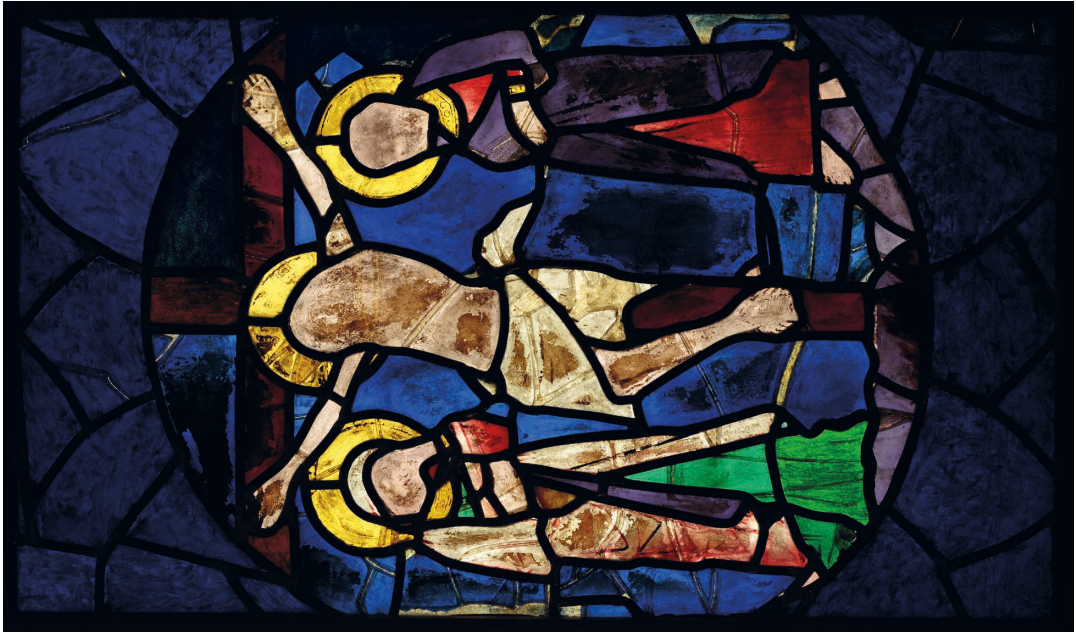
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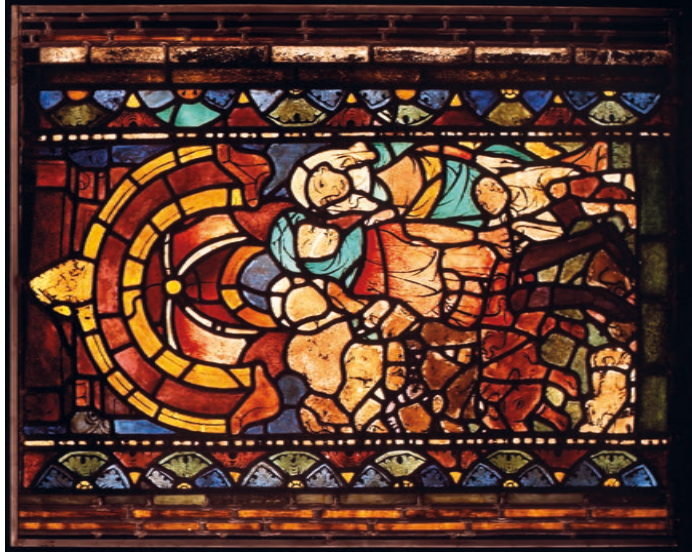




12. *Crucifixion*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



13. *The Virgin and Child*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



14. From the left: *David's return after Saul's death*, *Return of the Holy Family from Egypt*, *Jacob's return* stained glass panels, Saint Mary's Church, Cracow. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



15. From the left: *Ruben seeking Joseph*, *Mary Magdalene by Christ's tomb*, *Bride seeking Bridegroom*, stained glass panels, Saint Mary's Church, Cracow. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



16. *Expulsion from Paradise*, stained glass panel, Saint Mary's Church, Cracow.
Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



17. *Healing of a Woman with a Bent Back*, stained glass panel, Saint Mary's Church, Cracow. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



18. *Wise and Foolish Virgin*, stained glass panel, Saint Mary's Church, Cracow.
Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.

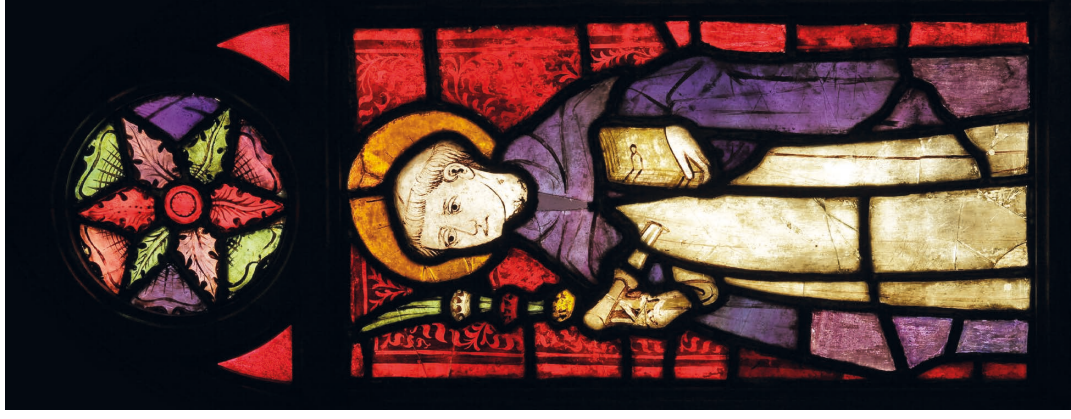


19. *Saint Margaret*, stained glass panel from the Dominican church in Cracow,
National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



20. *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, stained glass panel from the Dominican church in Cracow, National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.

21. *Saint Peter of Verona*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow (?), Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow. Photo: Wawel Royal Castle, Cracow.





22. *The Virgin and Child*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



23. *Adoration of the Magi* (left panel), stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



24. *Adoration of the Magi* (right panel), stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, National Museum, Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



25. *Man of Sorrows*, stained glass panel, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



26. *Saint John the Evangelist*, stained glass panel, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



27. *Mary's Dormition*, stained glass panels, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



28. *The Assumption (Levatio animae)*, stained glass panel, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



29. *Saint Augustine*, stained glass panel, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



30. *The Virgin and Child with Donor, his Wife and Children*, stained glass panels, Corpus Christi Church in Cracow. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



31. *Two Prophets*, stained glass panel, Church of Ten Thousand Martyrs in Niepołomice. Photo: Grzegorz Eliasiewicz/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



32. *Saint Stanislaus* (?), stained glass panel from the Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Szaniec, Diocesan Seminary, Kielce. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



33. *The Virgin and Child*, stained glass panel, Church of Mary's Nativity, Iwkowa. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



34. Ludwik Lepkowski, *Sun disc*, stained glass panel from Biecz, watercolour in Szyby kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich zebrał i odmalował L. Lepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r., Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



35. Ludwik Lepkowski, *The Virgin and Child*, stained glass panel from Order of the Holy Sepulchre Church in Przeworsk, watercolour in Szyby kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich zebrał i odmalował L. Lepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r., Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



36. *Architectural elements*, stained glass panel, cathedral of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, Toruń. Photo: Andrzej Skowroński.



37. *King Solomon*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



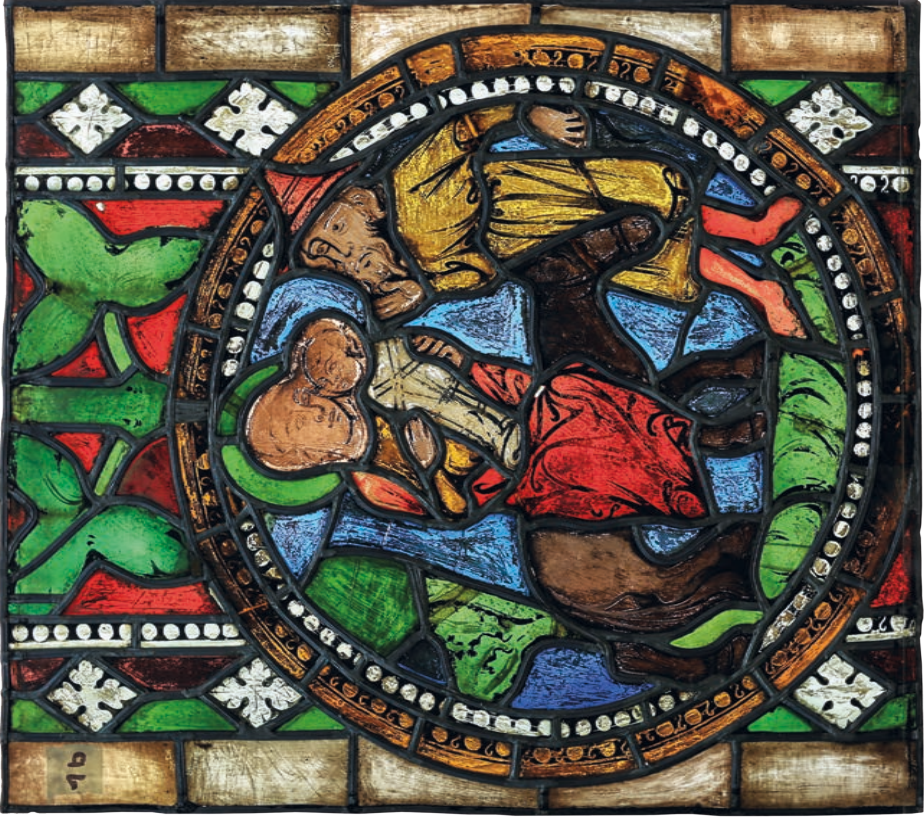
38. *Baptism of Christ*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



39. *Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



40. *Saint John the Baptist*, stained glass panel, Saint Mary's Assumption Cathedral, Włocławek. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



41. *Flight into Egypt*, stained glass panel, Saint Mary's Assumption Cathedral, Włocławek. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



42. *David and Solomon*, stained glass panel, Saint Mary's Assumption Cathedral, Wloclawek. Photo: Daniel Podosek/ Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



43. *Our Lady of Sorrows*, stained glass panel from the Franciscan Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



44. *Architectural elements*, stained glass panel from the Franciscan Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



45. *Coronation of Mary* (left panel), stained glass panel from Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Chelmo, destroyed in 1945. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



46. *Coronation of Mary* (right panel) *Coronation of Mary* (left panel), stained glass panel from Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Chelmo, destroyed in 1945. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



47. *Saint John the Evangelist*, stained glass panel from the Franciscan Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



48. *Annunciation*, stained glass panel from Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Chelmno, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



49. *Visitation*, stained glass panel from Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Chełmno, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



50. *Presentation of Jesus at the Temple*, stained glass panel from Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Chełmno, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



51. *Saint Peter*, stained glass panel from Saint Mary's Assumption Church in Chełmno, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



52. *Saint Paul*, stained glass panel from the Franciscan Church in Toruń, District Museum, Toruń. Photo: Krzysztof Deczyński.



53. Ludwik Łepkowski, *Saint Augustine*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, watercolour in Szyby kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich zebrał i odmalował L. Łepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r., Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



54. Ludwik Łepkowski, *Saint Stanislaus*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, watercolour in Szyby kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich zebrał i odmalował L. Łepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r., Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.

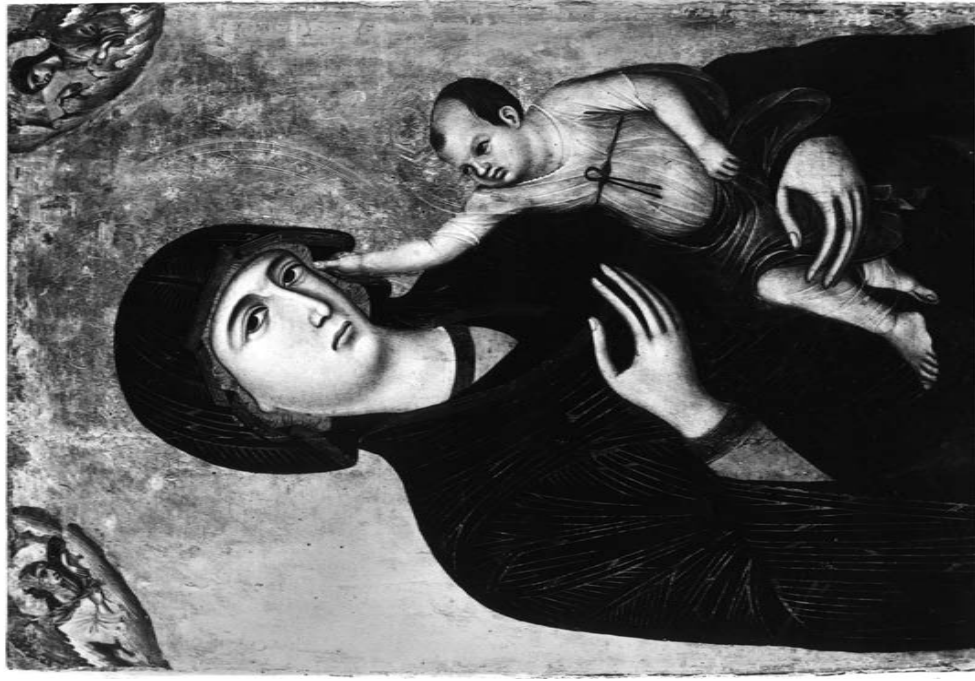


55. *Wise Virgin*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Friesach. Photo: Archive of the Corpus Vitrearum Poland.

56. Ludwik Łepkowski, *The Virgin and Child*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, watercolour in *Szpty kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich zebrał i odmalował L. Łepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r.*, Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



57. *The Virgin with Child*, panel painting from Badia a Isola, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Photo: from J. H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and His School*, vol. II, Princeton 1979, Pl. 189.



58. *The Virgin with Child*, panel painting from Crevole, Opera del Duomo, Siena. Photo: from J. H. Stubblebine, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and His School*, vol. II, Princeton 1979, Pl. 298.



59. Ludwik Łepkowski, *Crucifixion, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Cracow, watercolour in Szchy kolorowe w kościołach krakowskich zebrali i odmalował L. Łepkowski w 1864 i 1865 r.*, Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University, Cracow.



60. Portable altar from Kasina Wielka, Diocesan Museum, Tarnów. Photo: ks. Stanisław Bukowski.



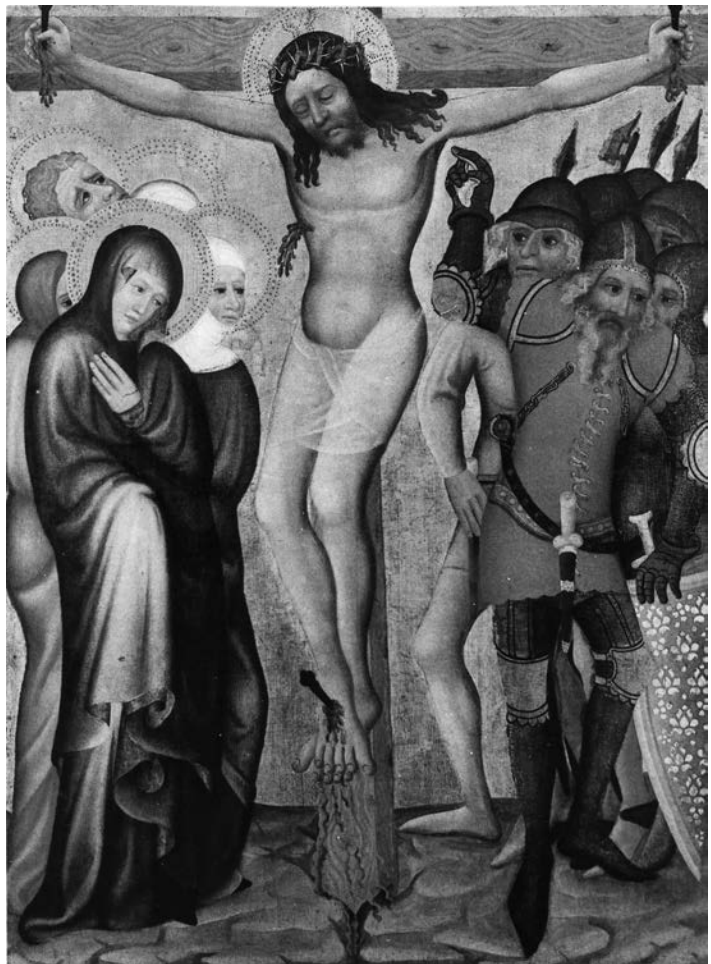
61. *Crucifixion*, stained glass panel from the Dominican Church in Erfurt, destroyed in 1945. Photo: Thüringisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologie, reproduction: Fuchs 1930.



62. Giotto, *Nativity*, fresco in the Capella dell'Arena, Padua. Photo: from B. Cole, *Giotto. The Scrovegni Chapel, Padua*, New York 1993, fig. on p. 69.



63. B. Mannfeld, *Crucifixion, Saint Catherine, Saint Margaret*, stained glass panels from Saint John the Baptist's Church in Ozorowice, figure in Franz Heinelt, „Glasmalereien aus der Kirche zu Sponsberg. 15 Jahrh.“, *Schlesiens Vorzeit in Bild und Schrift*, 1, 1870.



64. *Crucifixion*, panel painting from Emmaus Monastery in Prague, National Gallery, Prague. Photo: from *Dějiny Českého vytravného umění*, vol. 1.1, Praha 1984, fig. 49 on p. 369.



65. *St Barbara*, stained glass panel from Tyniec upon Śląża, Archidiocesan Museum, Wrocław. Photo: Daniel Podosek/Corpus Vitrearum Poland.



66. *Angel carrying eagle coat of arms*, stained glass panel, National Museum, Poznań. Photo: from N. Pajzderski, "Śląskie witraże średniowieczne w zbiorach poznańskich (Przyczynek do historii malarstwa cechowego w Polsce)", *Dawna Sztuka*, vol. 1, 1938.