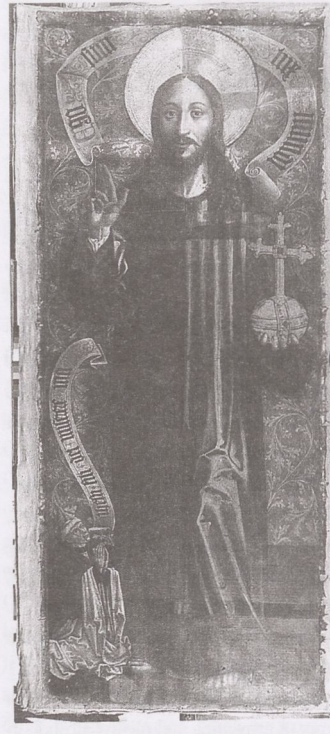
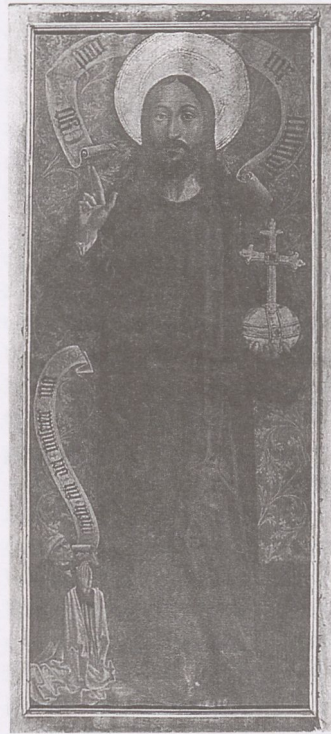


[in:] C. Villers (ed.), *The Fabric...* op.cit., p. VIII.
 40. D. Wolfthal, op.cit., p. 25.
 41. H. Dubois, L. Klaassen, *Fragile Devotion: Two Late Fifteenth – Century Italian Tüchlein Examined*, [in:] C. Villers (ed.), *The Fabric...*, op.cit., p. 72.
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Dragon: Technical Evidence Re-evaluated, „*National Gallery Bulletin*”, Vol. 19, 1988, pp. 26-30.
 43. Compare references 20, 21, 22.
 44. R. Suckale, op.cit., pp. 77-83.
 45. V. Frömlöv, op.cit., pos. 10.
 46. M. Bartlovà, op.cit., p. 80. □



The Salvator mundi

– Late Gothic Style
 Painting on Canvas from
 the Wawel Cathedral.
 Comments
 on Iconography and Style

BY HELENA MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA

TRANSLATION: ALICJA KUJAWSKA
 ZOFIA WAWRZYŃIAK

Whoever follows me, will not get lost in the darkness – says Lord. These are the words of Christ, in which He encourages us to imitate Him if we really want to live in light and be free from the blindness of heart

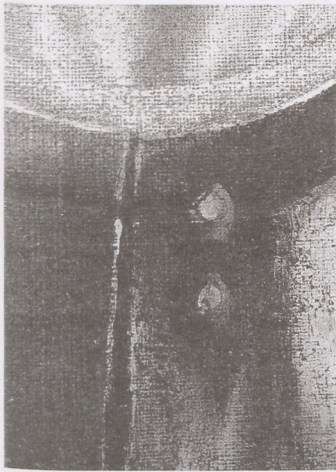
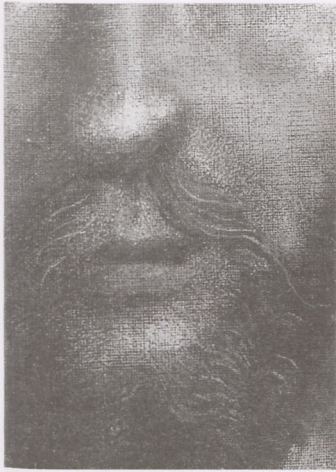
Tomasz à Kempis,
Of Imitating Christ, V 1, Ch. 1,1

The title page of *Plenarium*, whose printing was finished in Augsburg Günther Zainer's publishing house on 3rd of March 1473, had been adorned with a woodcut (27 x 17,1 cm) of Christ in a whole-figure, dressed in a long gown and overcoat bind with fibula, standing on a flowered meadow, with a curtain background in large pomegranates pattern. Christ, of precisely symmetrically presented head bordered with a great nimbus with a delicate floral cross, is blessing with His right hand

and with His left one is holding up an orb with a cross on top (ill. 42). The composition is framed with an inscription: „Dise bildung ist gemacht nach der menschheit Ihesu cristi / Als er auff ertreich gegengen ist Und also hat er ein har und ein bart und lieplich angesicht / gehabt Auch ein solichen rock und mantel Und barfuss / ist er gegangen Auch ist er des hauptes lenger gewesen dann all annder menschen uff erde”¹.

Augsburg woodcut, both in pictorial representation and word layout, is one of multitude of examples of medieval desire to know „human”, physical appearance of Christ. New Testament is silent on this subject, mentioning just general description of Christ Transformed: „And his countenance was shining as Sun, and his gown became

white as snow” (Mt 17,2; similari Lc 9,29). Old-Testament Messianistic verses present either inconspicuous shape of Servant of Yehova: „He had no beauty; and we saw him – there was nothing to watch but we wanted him – despised and the meanest of men, man of pain and knowing prostration, and his face seemed veiled and despised, so we had him for nothing” (Is 53,2-3), or beautiful shape of Son of Man: „More beautiful thee than sons of man, grace spills on thy lips, therefore God blessed thee forever. [...] in thy delightfulness and beauty come thee, proceed happily and reign for truth and silence and justice” (Psalm 44,3,5). This former tradition was followed by theologians from the early-Christian times², though on the West in late Middle Ages there was popular – thanks to quotations in *Meditationes vitae Christi* by Pseudo-



Bonaventure and in *Vita Christi* by Ludolf of Saxony – description of Christ's form from so called A Letter of Lentulus, legendary governor of Judea and predecessor of Pontius Pilate, de facto an apocryph copy-edited probably before 13th century: „He is [sc. Son of God] a man of slender and average shape and dignified. He has a noble face, and looking at him one can love him and fear him. Hair of his head have colour of unripe nut, and flow sleek down to His ears; from his ears they become more curly, and shining bluish, and strewed on his shoulders. In the middle of his head they are combed divided, like Nazareans do. His forehead is smooth and cheerful: with no wrinkle or imperfection; it is adorned by light pink. Nose and lips are perfect, beard is [juvenile] copious, same colour as hair, not long, on chin divided on two parts. His glance is honest and mature, his eyes are light blue, but of changeable colour. He is terrifying when he censures, but he is kind and pleasant when he rebukes. He is cheerful, though keeps gravity; sometimes he is crying but he is never laughing. His form is slim and straight; his hands and shoulders are pleasant to watch. In talk he is serious, restrained, modest, so one can justly use word of a Prophet: „He is beautiful among sons of a man”³.

At the same time medieval Christianity knew and worshiped many pictures of „real likeness” of Christ, originated „since his human existence”⁴, among them those „made by not a human hand” (*acheiropoietoi*)⁵, for instance impressed by Christ himself on canvas. In the East the most worshiped was so-called *Mandylion* (cloth) of Edessa, which origins had been united for 6th century with a legend of miraculous cure of king Abgar; brought to Konstantinopolis in 944 AC, was lost during 4th Crusade in 1204, and probably was identical with a relic stored since 1241 in the Saint Chapelle in Paris, and it has been known because of countless „copies” in Byzantine and Byzantine-Slavonic painting, in form of Christ's head adorned with a cross nimbus on white cloth⁶.

The Western counterpart of *Mandylion* was so-called *sancta facies*

or *vera icon* or *veronica* or *sudarium*⁷. Its origins were connected – according to many various and partly believing legends – with a character of the woman healed by Christ from a haemorrhage (Mt 9,20-22) named Berenice or Veronica, who – by Jacob de Voragine – had been saying about it in such words: „Because my Master traveled constantly, and I suffered from not seeing Him, I wanted to have a picture of Him drawn (...) While I was going to a painter, Master met me and asked where I was going; and when I told Him so, He asked me to give Him the cloth and gave it back with a reflect of His venerable face”⁸. After Christ's decease this woman came to Rome, and portrait of Saviour brought by her cured Tyberius Caesar. It was 14th century only when a moment of origin of this image was united with the road of Christ to Calvary, and a term „*sudarium*” used with reference to „the cloth”, acquired passion meaning, connected with wiping the bloody sweat. The oldest ever known, authorised by Jervis of Tilbury, description of Roman *sudarium* – kept in the Vatican Maria ad Praesepe chapel and for the 12th century wrapped in cult and connected with Veronica's character, is originated in basilica S. Petri⁹. Therefore it came into being when there had already been celebrated, introduced by pope Innocent III (1198-1216) an annual procession with *sudarium* – from the Vatican basilic to the Holy Trinity Hospital and back, and just shortly ahead of times of first indulgence (1216) which were joined with a prayer, composed by this pope, „*Signatum est super nos lumen*”, recited in front of the image of Christ¹⁰. In time the indulgences were growing: reciting – before Roman „*veronica*” or its copy – attributed to pope Innocent IV (1243-1254) a prayer „*Ave facies praeclara*” was giving 3 years and 40 days of indulgence, and attributed to pope John XXII (1316-1334) oratio „*Salve sancta facies*” – 10.000 days (according to some versions – they were years!)¹¹. For implementation of the cult of Roman *sudarium* increased the pilgrimages united

with a jubilees of years 1300 and 1350; the memory of the first one was monumental by Dante in his *Divine Comedy* (Heaven XXXI, 103-108): „As he who peradventure from Croatia / Cometh to gaze at our veronice / who through its ancient fame is never sated / But says in thought, the while it is displayed/ „My Lord, Christ Jesus, God of very God, / Now was your semblance made like unto this? [...]” (Transl. H.W. Longfellow)¹².

The result of indulgences and pilgrimages easily observed in 14th century was the growing number of copies of the Roman *veraicon*, both in painting and in pilgrim signs. It characterizes with variety of seizure only: always hieratic, frontal, framed with beard and smoothly combed hair the face of Christ is all alone or on the white cloth, as a revered face with nimbus, or passionate face with a crown of thorns¹³. What's more: up to the 15th century – in conflict with Jervis of Tilbury cited above – it was usually the sole face, very rarely fixed to any neck and shoulders. And so it is typical, that framed „short bust” of the Revered Face with cross nimbus was presented both on the oldest copies of the Roman *veraikon* – Mathew Paris's miniatures in the *Psalter* of about 1240 (London, The British Library, Arundel 157, fol. 2) and the *Chronica Mayora* dated before 1250 (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 16, fol. 49 v) and some more, probably inspired by the Vatican prototype of the 14th century¹⁴.

For the formula of the „true image” of Christ in bust form reached Johann van Eyck while painting two similar, differentiating only in details (the angle of light, decoration of tunic under the neck with jewellery, border or with an inscription) versions of *vera iconis*, probably dated to 1438 and 1440. They are lost however, and known only by mediation of seven (eight) copies (originated in the end of the 15th up to the 17th century) and many miniatures from Bruggeian manuscripts of the 15th century, very often decorated with abovementioned prayer „*Salve sancta facies*”¹⁵. These copies show – on the dark background bristled with a gold delicate cross nimbus, and letters A and Ω in the upper angles – precisely frontal and hieratic unmovable, but



likeness-type of presenting oblong face, with a short, bipartite beard and long hair, sloping in ringlets on shoulders and chest covered pinkish tunic (ill. 34). Just only the colour of brown eyes in steadfast gaze differs this portrait from the description of Lentulus, quoted here, but in return it is unanimous with Flamaend lyrics of those times, who are saying „Zyn schoon bruyn ogen” of Christ¹⁶.

Most likely that even before Johann van Eyck, soon after 1430 (dating according to dendrochronological examination of the stretcher indicates about year 1424) „his own” version of the „True Image” of Christ created the active in Tournai, so-called Master of Flémalle (generally identified with Robert Campin): it is small (27,5 x 45 cm), slightly cut off on top and on bottom picture, presenting two busts of Christs (both with brown eyes) put side by side, strictly frontal and Mary turned to him (them) with her hands in intercession gesture (Philadelphia Museum of Art)¹⁷. In the Master’s of Flémalle presentation, Christ is blessing with his right hand, whereas he lays his left hand placed close to the bottom edge of the painting, that eliminates a possibility that originally he had placed it on the globe¹⁸. But the evident appeal to this one version is a presentation of Christ in the centre of the middle part (with the original frames: 41 x 69 cm) of so-called „the Jehann Braque triptich”, Braque, who died in June 25, 1452 – it’s his probable epitaph, painted in the second part of that year or the next year by the apprentice of Master of Flémalle – Rogier van der Weyden, settled down in Brussel¹⁹. On the bright background of a far-reaching landscape, Christ, presented in hieratic bust, is dressed in a simple gown, blessing with his right hand, and left hand supporting jewellery royal orb crowned with a cross (above his head there is an inscription: „EGO SUM PANIS VIVUS Q[UI] DE C[O]ELO DESCENDIT”), is accompanied on both sides: by the Holy Virgin with intercession gesture (inscription: „MAGNIFICAT ANIMA MEA D[OMI]N[U]M ET EXULTAVIT SP[IRITU]S MEUS IN DEO SALU[TARI] MEO”) and St. John the Evangelist (inscription: „ET VERBU[M] CARO

FACTU[M] EST ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS”), however on the obverses of both wings of triptich they are properly: St. John the Baptist (inscription: „ECCE AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIS PECCATA MUNDI”) and St. Mary Magdalene (inscription: „MARIA ERGO ACCEPIT LIBRAM UNG[U]E[N]TI NARDI PISTICI P[RE]CIOSAE ET U[N]XIT PEDES JE[S]U”) ²⁰.

The likeness of Christ on „the Braque triptich”, joining „the truth” of the feature of his „human” face and poverty of his clothings, with a solemn gesture of blessing and evidence of reign over the world in an orb, simultaneously „comments” with the New Testament quotations concerning incarnation – the assuming of human nature, and the saving role – power to level all sins and to feed with Eucharist – it has been the classic example of using in arts the brand new, invented in the Netherlandic painting of the 15th cent. the iconographic type called: *Salvator mundi* – the *Saviour of the World*²¹ in bust form. Its name, that appears occasionally in later presentations, was scooped from the writings of St. John the Evangelist: „Scimus, quia hic est vere salvator mundi” (J 4,42); „Et nos vidimus, et testificamur, quoniam Pater misit Filium suum, Salvatorem mundi” (FL 4,14), and images of the Saviour are often accompanied by some other quotations from St. John’s: „Ego sum lux mundi” (J 8,12), „Ego sum via, veritas et vita” (J 4,6) or letters A and Ω (Ap 22, 13); their substantial feature is co-existence of portray presentation, blessing gesture and the orb crowned with a cross in his left hand²²: or goldsmith’s royal globe or crystal sphere, where occasionally appears Earth’s landscape and on its surface reflects a window. That very reflection of the two-part window with a cross-bar (then with the cross written in) Carla Gottlieb recognized as the most important identification factor of the *Salvatoris mundi* type: „As an opening, as a source of light, as holding a cross, the window is in fact a triple reference to redemption: A fenestra paradisi, lux mundi, and cross conjoined. It is an excellent identification for the Salvator and I believe it was meant as such”²³, though – among the other things for wider scope of such a

motive occurrences – came across a critic or conditional receive²⁴. In some presentations of full person (that will be mentioned below) the world sphere is placed at Christ’s feet, who keeps in his left hand an open book of Evangelias. Described here briefly the Netherlandic iconographic *Salvator mundi* type, who cojoins the traits of, worshiped both in the West and in the East, *acheiropoiti* (the „truth” of presentation) and Byzantine *Pantokrator* (blessing gesture, inscriptions in accordance with John’s 8,12; 14,6, Apocalypse 22,13, occasionally open book of Evangelia) and Latin *Maiestas Domini* (orb of the world crowned with cross) accentuates the human nature of Christ, but also extraterrestrial, spiritual dimension of His kingdom, where He is the true light, and path and life.

Bust presentation of Christ as the *Salvator* of the world, though subordinated to some transformations and supplements (crown added, and royal overcoat, etc.) became in the 2nd half of 15th century and in the first few decades of the succeeding one, quite often subject of the Netherlandic painting, both easel-type²⁵ and miniature. It is characteristic that since 1460 in Gent – Bruggean *A Book of Hours* the prayer *Salve Sancta Facies* have been decorated with no True Image anymore, but Saviour’s presentation, in the beginning – connected with an activity of Bruggean atelier of Wilhelm Wrelant – revealing some influences of originals by Johann van Eyck, Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden²⁶. Then such a presentation had „proved” its value as a „true image”, and watching it together with praying, offered a quarantine for, established years ago and still growing, indulgences.

Rogier’s Christ of the middle part of the Braque triptich in literature of a subject is treated as the oldest known example of *Salvatoris mundi* type with a globe²⁷, what is probably correct with reference to a half-person forms preserved until now, naturally all hieratic, presenting some evident, both in idea and in form – connexions with the True Image pictures. Especially interesting were a whole person type presentations, with the Saviour faced precisely frontal (ill. 33, 40, 42, 43), or in three-quarters,



his face obviously always „Christ” but of various extent of faithfulness to the „True Image”, they were not automatically lengthen out to feet, what’s more – they were a half century ahead. Anticipating some remarks mentioned below one should state, origins of whole form presentations of *Salvatoris mundi* had been probably of about 1400, in the North-Netherlandean (Dutch) miniature painting, and time and place of its origins and context of such appearances are not insignificant, of course. There emerges the question (the answer is beyond competencies of the Authoress) of eventual relationship between forming the *Salvatoris mundi* type and North-Netherlandean, Christ-centered movement of religious revival known as *devotio moderna*²⁸.

In 1987 Otto Pächt pointed out an extanting, for about 1400, in illuminated in North-Netherlands some copies of Bible, an „initial stadium” (Vorstufe) of *Saviour of the world* type in the Creator -Christ form, filling an initial „I” („In principio...”) at the beginning of *Genesis* book²⁹; de facto by the last decade of 14th century *the Creator* with Christ features, dressed in an ample tunic, assumed a shape of *Salvatoris mundi*, blessing with a right hand, and in left hand grasping an orb³⁰. In turn, at the beginning of Old-Testament volume of *Bible*, finished in 1410 by copyist and illuminator Nicolas of Delft, Cistercian monk in Ysselstein (Kopenhaga, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Thott 3, fol. 4) in before-mentioned initial, the Creator – Christ, keeping a globe and sceptre in hands, was turned in three-quarters left and placed in a narrow space of architectural structures, accompanied by banderole with „Ego sum alpha et o(mega)”³¹, whereas in two years older volume of New Testament (as above MS Thott 2, fol. 182) appears evident Christ – *Salvatoris mundi*, with a sphere topped with cross in left hand, „speaking” with written on banderole words: „Venite ad me om(ne)s q(ui) laboratis et onerati estis” (Mt 11,28) turned – as Christ’s right hand – to Cistercian monk kneeling on his left side³².

By 1968 James H. Marrow observed a whole-person presentation of *Salvatoris mundi* in illuminated North-



Netherlandic and Latin copy of *A Book of Hour* of years 1415-1420 (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 866), where in *A Holy Virgin Book of Hours* on fol. 42 appears – confronted with *Circumcision* scene (fol. 41v) – a small picture of Christ „sitting on his heels”, blessing with a right hand, with a cross topped globe (or orb) in left hand – then *the Saviour of the world*, the title given to him at his circumcision and naming him Jesus³³. In illuminated by the same Master, Dutch *A Book of Hours* dated to about 1420 (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 50.005), in fol. 150 v appears a miniature with an inscription „onse behouder” (our Saviour), presenting Christ standing on church’s apse background, blessing with his right hand, in his left keeping wide open book with a feign text³⁴. Apparition and dissemination in the North Netherlands *A Book of Hours* in national language was an effect of translational work of the initiator of *devoio moderna* Geert Groot (1340-1384)³⁵, who besides incorporated there composed by himself (based on *Horologium aeternae sapientiae* by Hugon Suso) so-called *A Book of Hours of Eternal Wisdom*, immensely distinctive for Dutch *A Book of Hours* (Getijdenboek) and limited to them only³⁶. The most frequent (though not the only one) decorative motif of *The Book of Hours of Eternal Wisdom*, observed for the end of first quarter of 14th century, was placed in initial „M”, beginning the text, a whole-person *Saviour of the world*, dressed usually in tunic only, keeping the orb topped with cross, blessing – right hand pulled aside, or placed on the background of trunk, turned in three-quarters left or standing frontal on marble floor, on a background of textile hanged in a niche or church³⁷. There are some known examples, when such a presentation had been full page miniature on page previous to the text of *A Book of Hours*, for instance in the copy made in Utrecht of 1460 (Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I., Ms. II 7619, fol. 97v), Christ appears *en face*, on a church interior background, dressed with tunic and overcoat, supporting a crystal globe, on both sides donors: Jan van Amerongen and his wife³⁸ are kneeling.

In the North-Netherlands and like in miniature painting circle of beginning of the 14th century, came into being one of the versions of *Salvatoris mundi* type, with a whole-person presentation of Christ, blessing with a right hand, in left hand keeping an open book with a text: „ego sum via, veritas et vita” (Jn 14,6)³⁹, and standing on a globe. The oldest (?) preserved example of this variant is (originated from *A Book of Hours* ?) currently detached miniature from the Robert Lehman Collection (New York, Metropolitan Museum), dated to years about 1400-1410 and assumed to be a work of art of active in Brugge Dutch miniaturist⁴⁰; among later realisations are miniatures: of also working in Brugge Willem Vrelant in written in 1462 manuscript (Valenciennes, Bibliotheque Municipale, ms 240), comprised of *Miroir d’humilité* by Jean Gerson and other devotional treatises, while it decorates (fol. 360) French translation of Thomas à Kempis, *Of imitating Christ*⁴¹, or face page content made by a miniature painter working in Delft in a Dutch translated copy of Ludolf of Saxony *Vita Christi* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, James MS 25, fol. 3 v), drawn up about 1480 for Beatrijs van Assendelft, Canoness of Zijl-Kloster in Haarlem⁴².

Beyond the Netherlands production of a whole-person presentations of *Salvatoris mundi*, in accordance to the knowledge of the Authoress, have been initiated by a sculpture in the Viennese cathedral (ill. 40) from the middle of 15th century, but we will return to this subject. On the other hand the cartoon (L. 124; 145 x 65 mm) of the Upper Rhenish, active in Strasburg (?) and under the evident influence of Flanders painting an anonymous Master E.S., entering a composition of series of the Twelve Apostles⁴³, made about 1460, presents Christ standing on the floor in perspective, turned on three-quarters right (and bordered with a cross nimbus head loses its hieratic and frontal look), dressed in a tunic flowing to bare feet and bordered with a galloon and an overcoat binded with fibula; Christ is blessing with a right hand, left hand supporting from the underneath a globe surmounted with a considerable, seen ascance cross with arms finished



of lilies (l. 41). Nearing to such an iconographic configuration and contemporary to the former, the cartoon of the Upper Netherlandic Master of Berlin Passion (L. 45; 78 x 59 mm) enriches a banderole with an inscription in accordance with St. John's 14,6: „Ego + sum + via + veritas + et + vita”⁴⁴. To time about 1460-1470 Nicole Reynaud dated an accomplishment of stained-glass windows of presbytery in St. Severin church in Paris, with a presentation of *the Saviour of the world* (dressed in a purple gown and blue overcoat), standing on a background of green, patterned textile between Virgin Mary with the Child and St. John the Evangelist, and connected the authorship of the cartoons to these stained-glass windows with so-called Master of Coëtiva, who had evidently paraphrased the composition of the middle part the Jehann Braque triptich⁴⁵. On succeeding example we come across in the middle painting of treefold (stiff and propably without leaves) retable dedicated to St. John the Baptist, maden up after 1460 (about 1470?) by the influenced by the Netherlandic arts the Westfalian painter Johann Koerboecke (Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum). Here, on the floor seen in perspective, with a stiff textile of gold-cloth pattern hanging up in a background, Christ is standing keeping in left hand a black globe with jewellery fittings and such a cross. Clothed in an ample, grey tunic he turns head left, towards St. John the Baptist, who is pointing the Saviour out with a right hand, „saying” words written on banderole: „Ecce agn(us) dei” (Jn 1,29)⁴⁶. Within created in 1470, and including also presentations of the Twelve Apostles painting decorations of St. Katherine chapell in town of Mitterarnsdorf (the Lower Austria), on the North-East wall presbytery, is visible large (170 cm height) shape of turned in three-quarters left the *Saviour of the world*, united with an inscription on banderole: „ego . sum . alpha . et . o(mega) . pri(n)cipium . et . finis” (Apoc. 1,8). Christ dressed in a loose, dark tunic (from the bottom edge there is visible a lighter bottom gown) is supporting in left hand a yellow orb, and blessing gesture he aims towards the kneeling on the North wall doner; in



Ewa Lanc's opinion this whole group represents an influence of the Netherlandic painting, which „letzlich auf Rogier van der Weyden zurückgeht”⁴⁷. In the same time a member of Strasburg studio of Nicolas of Leyda had made up, for the chapell which had been donated in 1466 by Johann Hardenrath at the Holy Virgin at Capitol in Koln, two sculptures in sandstone: Virgin Mary and turned towards her Christ – *the Saviour of the world* (142 cm height), clothed in tunic and thrown on overcoat; in Roland Recht's opinion, based on currently lost the Flamand prototype, used also by a master while drawing a cartoon metioned above⁴⁸. Solid sculpture presentation of *Salvatoris mundi* – or isolated, or cojoined with the Apostles Collegium, or St. John's the Baptist – return few times in appearing in the first decade of 16th century works of art of an active in Würzburg (Bavaria) German sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider and his studio⁴⁹.

Among preserved works of art of the Netherlandic easel painting with a whole-person presentations of *Salvatoris mundi* we notice not before the end of 15th century. On the obverse leaf of diptich donated by Chrétien de Hondt (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) – a piece of so-called Master of 1499, active in Brugge and Gent imitator of Johan van Eyck and Hugo van der Goes – Christ of precisely frontally taken head is standing in a semi-circular arcade, on a textile background; he is dressed in an ample tunic and blesses with right hand, in left hand he keeps an open book of Evangelias, he is leaning his right foot on a hudge globe; inscription placed on the bottom part of frame is saying: *Salvator mundi: Salva nos*⁵⁰. Such a hierathic character has also the *Saviour of the world* standing on a landscape background of symbolic significance, that time keeping in hand a large, crystal, decorated with a reach jewellery fittings globe crowned with a cross, on a painting of about 1530 (Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Art Collection), who is cojoined with so-called Master of St. Mary Magdalene from G.B. Mansi collection in Lucca, who had been working under the influence of Quentin

Massys⁵¹. Similiar in expression was the *Saviour of the world*, in a royal overcoat overthrown on his shoulders and placed on the architectural background at the painting of active in Antwerp painter Jacob of Amsterdam (died 1533; storing place of a painting unknown)⁵². Both realisations were ahead by evidently showing the Netherlandic influences picture of Lucas Cranach the Older of about 1515-1516 (Zeititz, St. Nicholas church), with Christ clothed in *pluviale* with wide, decorated trimming, overthrown on tunic, with a crystal orb in hand⁵³.

Of popularity of a whole-person presentations of the *Saviour of the world* in last decades of 15th century proves graphics, mostly Netherlandic and German, which often, though prototype for later realisations in sculpture or painting, imitated or duplicated some existing already work. In output of anonimous, such as Master M (active in Brugge about 1475-1500), Master „zwott IAM” (active in Gouda and Delft, died 1504), Master „WA” (active about 1465-1485, in Brugge probably) and – especially – the Lower Rhenish engraving maker and goldsmith Israhel van Meckenem (active and died in 1503 in Bocholt) repeatedly appear presentations of Christ of such types: clothed in tunic only or in an overcoat also; en face or in three-quarters take; on the neutral or ornamental background; in arcade or interior; with an orb holded in hand or placed at feet; or independent, or in series of the Twelve Apostles⁵⁴.

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The Wawel presentation of Christ – *Saviour of the world* (ill. 1), who was the main reason of formulating some remarks mentioned above – belongs to a wide and differenciated „European” family of *Salvatoris mundi* presentations and the considerably smaller but as much differentiated group of the late-Gothic „Salvators”, preserved on the current territory of Poland⁵⁵. Group of a whole-person presentations belonging to „north group” chronologically but conditionally also, initiates an easel painting from the parish church (nowadays it is cathedral) of St. St. John the Baptist and John the Evangelist in Toruń (343 x 133 cm; National Museum in



Warsaw), of visible influences of Cologne and Westphalian painting, dated to about 1420-1430 and as a theme described as Christ Salvatoris mundi (ill. 32)⁵⁶. Dressed in a tunic and overcoat, frontal but with a head (bordered with a nimbus with an inscription: „Ego + sum + alpha + et o(mega)” [Ap. Jn 21,6]) a bit moved aside, oratorical gesture he raises up right hand, and in left he keeps an open book with verses from St. John’s Evangelia (6,51; 8,12): „Ego su(m) + / panis viv // us q(ui) de celo / desce(n)di si quis / manducaverit / ex h(oc) pane / vivet i(n) // eternu(m) + Ego su(m) lux mu(n) / di q(ui) credit i(n) / me no(n) mori / etur in eter / num +[?]”; in the upper part there hover two angels with thuribles. There it is – deserving a monographic study – presentation of Christ Saviour of the world as a Teacher of the Truth or Eternal Wisdom, close to above-mentioned miniature with a caption „onse behouder” in the North-Netherlandean *A Book of Hours* of about 1420 (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 50.005, fol. 150 v)⁵⁷. On the other hand in explicit way the discussed type of Christ’s presentation (dressed in tunic, with a large, variety presented „world” in left hand) is represented by three works united with St. Mary’s church i Gdańsk: painting of 1478-1482 on tabernaculum’s door⁵⁸, illustration of the first commandment on the Ten Commandments of about 1480-1490 (where shape of Christ in accompanied by banderole with inscription: „Ego+su(m)+via et veritas et + vita”)⁵⁹, and almost full wooden sculpture made up in Master Paul’s studio of about 1520-1525 (on the bottom border of tunic there is inscription in relief: ein koninck der konighe ein here der hirschenden Apoc XIX ca)⁶⁰, besides also relief of 1510-1520 of so-called Master of Bas-reliefs of St. St. Peter and Paul’s Triptich in Szczecin (West Pomeranian Museum in Szczecin)⁶¹. To „the South” group of works belong: painting on easel (ill. 33) from the Krakow church of the Holy Trinity of Dominican friars (dimensions: 226,3 x 94,4 cm; National Museum in Wasaw, deposit of the Regional Museum in Toruń), of the last four decades of 14th century, with precisely frontal (on gold, stamped in tex-

tile ornament background) presented Christ of evidently „true image” features, clothed in tunic and overcoat, supporting in left hand a blue (intentionally crystal) globe embraced by jewellery fittings and topped with cross⁶²; a painting of 1494 on incomplete boards of ceiling of the wooden church of Haczów, with hieratic, placed under architectural finial, figure of Christ, blessing with right hand (height about 300 cm; absece of board with a left, probably keeping „the world” hand), dressed with banderole with partially preserved inscription: „O rex glorie veni cum pace” and originally flanked by angels(?), who are keeping fragmentary remained banderoles of unreadable captions(?)⁶³; drawn up in Krakow before 1490 a miniature, decorating an initial „I” from the beginning of *Genesis* in incunabulum edition (1486) of *Biblia Latina* (Jagellonian Library, Ink. 751, fol. a(5) r.), is presenting Creator in a shape of *Christ the Saviour of the world* clothed in ashen tunic, keeping gold, crowned with a large cross an orb (ill. 43) and near to her, the cracow minmiature about 1490 in the Włocławek cathedral Missal (ibidem, The Seminary Library, Ms. 15, fol. 56)⁶⁴; entering modern times a woodcut from edited in 1522 in Florian Ungler and Jan Sandecki publishing house *Żywocie Pana Jezu Krysta (Life of Lord Jesus Crist)* by Baltazar Opeć, with a frontally taken Christ dressed in tunic and overcoat, with an orb kept on the chest’s height and banderole with slogan: „EGO – SVM – LVX – MVNDI”⁶⁵; in the end maden up on canvas (dimensions: 238 x 122 cm) painting with no doubt originated from the Norbertean sisters church in Krakow, since 17th century in St. Norbert church of the same city, „renovated” in 1647, with indistinguished technologically and stylistic original layer, based on the woodcut of Lucas Cranach the Older of 1510-1515⁶⁶. On the other hand a paraphrase of Salvator presentation is a large (about 200 cm) figure of Christ on the wall painting of about 1500-1510, with a scene of *Miraculous multiplying of bread*, on the East wall of presbyter of the Holiest Saviour in Krakow⁶⁷. Dressed in an ample tunic, frontal, but with a head leaning left,

Christ is keeping both in right hand, reaching out for much smaller than his, figures of the Apostles, and in left hand – lifted up to chest, halves of round, ochre bread; presened on top two angels, framed with banderoles of unreadable inscriptions, are supporting above his head a large, gold shinig crown.

To the „south” group belong also quite a few presentations of busts of *Salvatoris mundi*, for instance a miniature in the „D” initial („Dominus secus Mare Galilee...”, starting of the Introitu to St. Andrew Apostle’s eve) in *Graduale* of king Jan Olbracht (2nd part, fol. 55; the Wawel Cathedral Chapter Archives, KP 44)⁶⁸; a miniature in the *Evangelister* of bishop Piotr Tomicki (fol. XCVI; as above, KP 19) made up in the Stanisław Samostrzelnik studio before 1534⁶⁹; one painting on canvas from the St. Nicolas church of Ligota Prószkowska (currently it is still there, presbytery) – replica of Joos van Cleve’s painting of about 1512-1515 (Paris, Louvre)⁷⁰; painting on canvas from the church of Sieklówka (currently it is still there, presbytery) of 1540⁷¹.

The Wawel *Salvator mundi*, composition originated obviously in the end of 15th century (below there is something about it), is currently a particular *unicum*, not just among above-mentioned works of painting on canvas of identical subject matter, but also in comparison with some preserved and recognized works of the medieval painting on canvas in Poland. It is distinguished by technique – to this matter there is an entirely devoted article by Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowskiej: it has been painted in distemper, on the thin coat of tawny ground colour. Studies in advance, especially for few last decades on the medieval painting on such a stretcher⁷² (one should recall and accentuate that as early as in 1900 there had been published an extensive article on this subject by Marian Sokołowski⁷³) and „emerged” from this certain publications, also identifications and conjectures concerning some compositions on cavas in the countries neighbours of Poland: in Czech – *Assunta* painting of Biala Gora (National Gallery in Prague) from 40ties of 15th century⁷⁴, in Slovakai – a



painting of *Martyrdom of ten thousands on Ararat Mountain* (The Szaryski district Museum in Bardiow) of about half 15th century⁷⁵ familiarized us with, obvious otherwise, possibility of connections between painting on canvas and „our” part of Europe. In reference to the Wawel painting, just some observations and results of surveys relevant to its conservation, which had been carried out in 1998, inclined its authoress – Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowska to convince it as a composition of 1500⁷⁶. It is worth noticing, that until the painting had been hanging high on the North arm of cathedral’s transept, it was recognized as a painting on board with a gold background and with no „question mark” dated on the second half of 15th century⁷⁷. After its removal from the wall (80ties of 20th century), it had been accepted as a made on canvas in 18th of 19th century, but copy of an older painting, of „after 1500” (?), and on formulating such an opinion had, doubtless – except some evident overpainting – the stretcher itself⁷⁸. Technological „uniqueness” of the Wawel *Salvator* is of course just imitative uniqueness. Just a cursory glance at published archives, related to work of Little Poland (Malopolska) painters in 15th century gives many proofs that they had made up their works on canvas, of many kinds⁷⁹. For example: in 1411 a parish church in Nowy Targ had have a curtain (propably the Lent one, assigned for the main altar) with a painted presentation of Passion of Christ (Crucifixion?): „cortinam de tella, [super qua] Passio Domini depicta”⁸⁰. Approximately that time, the abbot of canon monks abbey of Wrocław – Nicolaus Herdani (1395-1412) had donated for the Virgin Mary „on Sand” church an analogous, though with no doubt larger and more magnificent painted curtain: „velum quadragesimale pictum ante summum altare satis preciosum”⁸¹. And so 12th of May 1460 the Krakow canon monk Jan Długosz the Older had contracted with a painter Jacob of Sącz, that Jacob had a curtain to paint (on cloth delivered by Długosz and for four florentines salary) with Passion (or Crucifixion) of Christ and of Jerusalem, precisely according the prototype, which has been preserved in the Krakow cathedral, and

had been offered by a „French queen” curtain, which undoubtedly also was made up on textile: „Jacobus pictor de Sandecz cum venerabili viro domino Johanne seniore Długoss, canonico Cracovien., talem inter se de pingenda cortina confessi sunt fecisse contractum, quod ipse Jacobus pictor depingere debebit in huiusmodi cortina Passionem nostri Salvatoris cum Jerusalem operis et picture similis, sicut est depicta cortina per reginam Francie hic missa et subtilioris, pro quo labore ipse dominus Długoss dare debebit sibi 4 flor. et telam. Huiusmodi autem cortinam novam cum antiqua predictus Jacobus sub pena excommunicacionis hinc ad festum s. Michaelis proximum restituere se obligavit”⁸². Preserved in the Wawel Cathedral the French cortina, described as an ymago, que vocatur Jerusalem, had been copied once more, in 1486, by the Krakow painter Marcin Czarny for „magnifico domino Soltano cancellario Magni Ducatus Lithanie”⁸³; though description was not specific about techniques of copy, one should assume, that at that time a copy on canvas was the business. Some nearly undetermined „tres cortinas alias coldry” had been ordered in 1468 at Thomas of Krakow painter, by a presbyter of Szczepanowo⁸⁴; twenty years later painter Nicolas of Brześć (on the Bug River) committed by himself *cortinam pingere* for Stanisław Scopp⁸⁵, and in 1491 Krakow bachelor, Stanisław Piscatoris, had to give back to paintress Anna a *cortinam pictam*⁸⁶. That had been taken without her permission. Some Krakow pictores had painted also church flags, about what testify some remittances from the last decades of 15th century: Alexander (died 1492) – made two for John the Presbyter of Poreba, Stanisław the Old (died 1490) – for church in Mysłowice, Piotr Kosz (Basket), (died 1500) – for parish church in Dukla⁸⁷.

Essential for the practice of making any paintings on canvas in Cracow has been remittance relating to the painter John (by Rev. Bolesław Przybyszewski he was identical with John the Johnny of Lesna near Bodzentyn), strongly connected with the Cathedral and with the Cracow curia, which on 9th of January 1473 received from presbyter of

Zarnowiec church – Mathew of Kobylin and local councillors – the rest of dues for already finished works (*pro labore imaginum*), and besides „se idem Johannes obligat ad festum Purificacionis s. Marie proxime affuturum [which means: till 2nd of February, the Purification of the Holy Virgin] 3 ymagine trio Regum et Beate Marie Virginis of nooring-ropoes puero in tectura tele ad eundem laborem et pecuniam recipe disponere sumptibus propriis. Ita tamen, quod ipse dominus plebanus tantum pro tela et diaphragm seu tentorio sibi solucionem iuxta verum valorem facere debebit, se sub pena excommunicacionis obligavit”⁸⁸. In the end one should remind that in inventory „of goods” of a Cracow painter Stanisław Skorka (Skins), that had been listed at 17th of February 1495, there are mentioned among others: „tight” or stretched (on loom, stretcher?) painting pieces of canvas: „panniculum depictus tensus [...] panniculus antiquus tensus depictus”⁸⁹.

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The Wawel *Salvator mundi* (ill. 1), visible in a whole-figure on rust-coloured background – overgrown by yellow, writhing floral twig of fledged leaves (ill. 28-30) – as adored by a kneeling on right (in heraldic meaning) clergyman with Jasiona coat of arms (ill. 15, 17), has been standing on straighten left leg and his bare foot turned by side; bends frontal his right leg in (marked too low) knee, with a foot straight on parquet floor seen in oblique perspective. With palm of right hand, pulled from the body, he makes a motion of blessing (*benedictio latina*), and with left he holds up a great, jewellery orb, topped with cross, of three-leaves finished arms, with ruby in case on arms-crossing. Head (ill. 8) seen *en face* and fixed on the strong neck with marked tendons, shows a visage full of dignity, of high forehead, wide open eyes with brown-irises (ill. 22), elongated „strong” nose, oblong and lightly browned cheeks and carmine mouth, hidden a little bit under moustache united with short, dual beard. Combed in the centre of forehead brown, and a little wavy hair drop on both sides of face, on shoulders



to lie down in several stranded locks. There is no doubt, we have a „real” face of Christ before us, consistent (beside the colour of eyes) with quoted above a description by Lentulus and clearly related to mentioned „sacred visages”, painted in the 15th century by painters from the Netherlands, starting from Johan van Eyck and Master of Flémalle. It seems that this relation then, concerning the manner of fashioning the face and neck, strikes especially at comparison with heads of Christ painted by Rogier van der Weyden, first of all with an image of Salvatoris mundi from the central part of the Braque triptych⁹⁰, and (ill. 35) of almost identical face of Christ – the Judge (ill. 36) from the central part of triptych of the Last Judgement (between 1443 and 1451; Beaune, Musée de l’Hôtel-Dieu)⁹¹, but it would be difficult to acknowledge the Wavel head as a copy of the „Paris head”, whether more widely: Rogier’s *Salvator* as direct model for the Wavel copy⁹². The head of Parisian *Salvator* of golden-amber eyes radiates with a gold faint light, and on such a background is visible a cited above inscription written in capital letters, accordingly to John’s 6,51; head of the Wavel one is surrounded by a large gilt nimbus (with marked reddened delicate cross, very similar to the one, surrounding the *Visage of Christ* reflected on *sudarium* hold by St. Mary Magdalene on one leaf of Rogier’s triptych of *Crucifixion*, of about 1443-1445; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum⁹³), around which writhes a banderole of black minuscule (initiated with a red capital letter „E”) with an inscription: „Ego sum lux mundi” (Jn 8,12)⁹⁴ of words divided with red, arabesque dashes and letters carefully written between „auxiliary”, marked *rubra* (red), thin lines. Banderole causing an impression of low-cut from a stiff parchment, in central parts is hidden under an almost plastically „coming off” nimbus, lightly falters at beginning and rolls up in roll on end, and on left it bends in almost „naturalistic” manner (ill. 3). In very similar way the parchment crumple of pages of a book turned carelessly by the Child sitting on Virgin’s lap (ill. 38) on Rogier’s painting of about 1432-1435 (from the former Durán collection, cur-



rently in Prado, Madrid)⁹⁵. „Parisian” *Salvator mundi* his blessing, seen from the side, right-hand is lifting on the height and background of breast, and with left palm seizes a jewellery *regnum* (an orb), divided with thin small grooves traditionally on three parts (corresponding to three well-known then continents⁹⁶) and topped with small cross inlaid with pearls and rubies; on surface ball – in accordance with direction of light – there is a visible reflection of dual windows with cross-bar⁹⁷. The Wavel *Salvator*, blessing with a right-hand pulled from trunk shows interior of palm (similarly as Christ the Judge on mentioned already triptych in Beaune), and described already above, divided in four (!) parts⁹⁸ an orb, on surface of which – in accordance with direction of light – show two spherical, parallel, bright streaks (ill. 31), seizes otherwise, from underneath, however in both situations (and notoriously in Roger’s works) palms themselves have similar fleshiness and similarly long, bony fingers. Parisian *Salvator* – seized is in a half-figure, and his dark vestment, slightly low-cut under neck, is poorly readable as fold structure a blot with thick „wrinkles” on right sleeve. The Wavel *Salvator* is clothed in a thin white shirt, visible only under the neck and at the right palm of hand, and in very spacious and long, lying down the ground the bottom edge blue tunic of plastically fashioned colour – then lighted up almost to white, then strongly dimmed – folds. Vestment is uncommon in comparison with traditional, „timeless” tunics, which Christ „used to” wear in medieval representations (loose, extended downwards, draped in accordance with a style of epoch, in 15th century usually lying down at flat décolletage, with a single fold): under semi-circular neck, lightly notched and uptight with two textile (in colour of tunic’s material) buttons (ill. 8, 23), on breasts (shoulders are covered in locks of hair) and wide sleeves lying in perpendicular, parallel, thick and so convex, that almost circular in section, folds. These of the right side form, enough strongly darkened but readable in their arrangements, reach the ground; of the opposite side their rhythm disturbs a bented knee, that

causes several short and deep folds, transverse and sloping. A vestment similar in fashion to perpendicular convex folds, cut under the neck, and buttoned with two buttons Creator – Christ is wearing in initial „I” (*In principio*) of the beginning of *Genesis* book in the first volume of *Bible* copied by Thomas à Kempis in 1439 in Agnietenberg Abbey near Zwolle (Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 324, vol. I, fol. 8)⁹⁹. The „Wavel” tunic is however clearly more updated, in fashion derivative from the French, created about 1360, in fashion also (but not only) in the Netherlands court dress – so-called *houplande*, with some certain modifications (as a robe) worn till the end of 15th century: cut from segments of circle, and so bell-shaped and „automatically” lying in perpendicular folds of „organ pipes” shape (in French *les frills gironnés*), devoid of high collar and with standard, instead of extravagant, very strongly widening and long to the ground, sleeves¹⁰⁰. If to reach to Polish comparative materials this will prove, that dress similar in fashion: long, smoothly close-fitting to shoulders, and lower falling into folds, buttoned up under the neck with a single button, is wearing on his own tombstone in Rydzyna parish church, deceased in 1423 castellan of Międzyrzecze, Jan of Rydzyna¹⁰¹. On the other hand in perfectly identical tunic, well visible from shoulders to feet, with two buttons at under neck cut, clad is Christ *Salvator mundi* in St. Stephen cathedral (ill. 40) – mentioned formerly a sculpture placed (from main aisle’s side) at first from the east, Northern pillar of nave. This statue – essential, because unites her with the Wavel *Salvator* presentation not only a subject, whether fashion of vestment, but also attitude of Christ, with a bent left knee, marked too low, arrangement and motions of hands – it belongs to composition of seventy seven of heterogeneous in style, decorated in polychrome style sculptures or groups of them (height about 180 cm) adorning nave and aisle pillars, wall brackets and supporting western gallery, most of them done between 1446 and 1465, mostly thanks to donations of metropolitan patrician families, in several



occasions certified with their heraldic coats of arms¹⁰². Coat of arms placed at the Viennese *Salvator's* feet has not been identified yet, and dating this sculpture itself – which did not excited any special interests of Austrian scholars – wavers between half – fifties in 15th century¹⁰³ (what seems right) and decline of that century¹⁰⁴.

There is no reason to suppose that Viennese sculpture was a model for more rich in layout (see: banderole around head of Christ) and evidently exceeding in artistic level, the Wawel *Salvator*. Doubtless, both works originate from the common, but surely mediated otherwise prototype. Emboldened by formulated in literature of a subject some suppositions about existence of currently lost prototypes of representations of Christ *Salvator*, made in the circle of Johan van Eyck: both with reference to half-form representations, with a crystal globe in palm¹⁰⁵, and whole-figure representations¹⁰⁶, I assume existence of the Rogier's prototype, lost nowadays, in form of painting on board, made in Brussels in forties – or in the middle of the 15th century. It had been probably presenting, in my opinion, *the Saviour of the world* in his whole figure, clothed in, imitating *houpland*, tunic *plis gironnés*, buttoned with two buttons¹⁰⁷, with his head surrounded by gold, plate-like nimbus (with a cross or decorative motif of precious stones fixed in, compare ill. 36, or red filigrees) and topped with a „parchment”, „crumpled” banderole with an inscription had been known from the Wawel picture¹⁰⁸. He blest with a pulled aside right hand, and in left he held from „underneath” a jewellery, trice-divided royal orb, topped with large cross of lily endings of arms with ruby on their crossing (*nota bene* there are features specific for the Wawel image: shape of this object, a manner of his holding it with fingers of palm, with broaden below „an opening” of sleeve of tunic, exist about 1460 on recalled already (ill. 41) a woodcut of Master E. S. [L. 124]). The light falling from right (from the spectator's side) lighted up a left half of figure and shaped folds covering the tunics, on the opposite side dimmed – similarly as on performance of *the Holy Virgin feeding the Child* on

altar leaf by Master of Flémalle from about year 1430 (Frankfurt upon Mein, Städelches Institut)¹⁰⁹. It formed in the upper part of hemisphere of globe a shape of reflected, dual windows. It caused also, that figure of *Saviour*, His nimbus and banderole around head threw on background just a narrow strand of shadow – similarly as form of Christ and His perisonium on leaf of Rogier's diptych with *Crucifixion* from about 1463-1464 (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, The John G. Johnson Collection)¹¹⁰. This *Salvator* had been likely standing on the flowered meadow, on the background of patterned textile – similarly as St. Veronica (ill. 39) on another (and consisted to the same group as mentioned above) leaf of altar made by Master of Flémalle from about 1430 (151,5 x 61 cm; Frankfurt upon Mein, Städelches Kunstinstitut)¹¹¹. „Reconstructed” in such a way Roger's work of arts from Vienna could be known for instance through some drawing sketches¹¹². It happened in a different way in Cracow. I assume in turn, that according to a board prototype there had been painted on canvas at least one workshop retort or copy, made in Brussels – in this occasion it would be proper to remind, that in well-known sources result that Roger himself painted on canvas¹¹³, or in Brugge, which was – as it is known – the main centre in the Netherlands of painting on this type of stretcher, practised by so-called *cleederscrivers*, in large measure intended (for easy and „light” transport) for exportation¹¹⁴. Any possible changes introduced in „canvas version” could be a manner of fulfilment in nimbus of Christ and replacement of textile pattern of background by almost miniature in expression motif of *fleuronnées*, and the meadows – with parquet floor (?). In my mind „the canvas version”, through commercial or church contacts, whether generally speaking some cultural relationships, reached Cracow and became direct – also in range of techniques of realisation – indicated by the doner the model for a local painter, and proof of usage of such a practice in Cracow's circles is reviewed above contract of Jan Długosz with painter Jacob of Sącz in 1460. The Wawel *Saviour* of

the world possesses clearly readable characteristic of insistent copying of certain work of art, what is visible for instance in consequent building – with light falling from right – a figure casting a shadow (ill. 1)¹¹⁵, in taking over a noticed but not understood and brought into two spherical bent bright streaks, motif of window reflected in globe (ill. 31, 35), in brown – „the Netherlandic” eyes of *Salvator*. These characteristics – in my opinion – exclude any possibility of using as a model any graphic prints whether drawing-sketches. Cracow painter had copied an image that had been made in not especially close to him stylish convention. Proves it mostly a manner of modelling folds and of fashioning them with colour. But however *plis gironnés* on tunic of Christ (which have comparative material eg in analogous frills of Mary's dresses in performance of *Saint Families* on Roger's so-called the *Miraflores* altar, from about 1442-1445; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie¹¹⁶) have been represented in convincing way, then folds formed on a right sleeve and these on the knee of Christ and declining to the ground strike with „artificiality” whether with „insincerity”. Fabric lighten up on narrow fold edge drops suddenly and dims in engrossment, making illogical ovals and zigzags, to lighten up again in geometrical shapes of another internal edges. Such a manner of expressing and modelling of folds has no directed comparative material in Cracow board painting of the second half of 15th century, while existence of general, conventional relations in frames of so-called „twisted style”¹¹⁷, however it seems to be very unskilful imitation of arrangement of drapery from Roger's painting, just to remind for example folds of outer garment of St. Catherine on picture from about 1430-1432 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), of overcoat of the Holy Virgin and St. Anna's in scene of *Visiting* (about 1435-1440; Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste), of sleeves of St. Mary Magdalene's dresses in central scene of triptych with *Crucifixion* (about 1438-1440; Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung), of clothes of figures sitting or kneeling on *the*



Seven Sacraments altar (about 1440-1445; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum vor Schone Kunsten) and so-called *Miraflores* (about 1442-45; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie), of dresses of St. Mary Magdalene and dectining on forearm an overcoat of St. Joseph on fragment of *the Sacra Conversazione* from about 1445, that is preserved in London's National Gallery (il. 37), whether an alba of an angel in *Baptism Of Christ* on triptych with scenes of life of St. John the Baptist (from about 1453-1455; Berlin, as above)¹¹⁸.

At the Wawel *Saviour of world* feet, on chess – board parquet floor seen in oblique perspective, is kneeling (on right in heraldic way) rather small figure of clergyman with both hands joined, dressed in a black cassock, very copious and strongly pleated white *superpelliceum* and brown, fur – *mucet* with hood, raising to Christ his grey-haired head with prominent tonsure (ill. 7). Below, in the foreground, there is visible late-Gothic in shape, heraldic shield – coat of arms: strongly concave and elongated, of straight upper edge, rounded on bottom, oblique in heraldic homage to Christ (ill. 17). „Artificial“ manner of crumpling fabrics of *superpelliceum*, its lighting up on narrow edges and dimmed in engrossment, well-known from folds of the bottom part of tunic of Christ (but miniaturised) induces to suppositions, that maybe even on alleged prototype of „Rogier's kind“ whether of „canvas version“ had been such a type of figure. If that so, invention of the Cracow painter should be limited to (unwillingly?) implementation of quaternary division of the orb and „updating“ the features of clergyman and „signing“ him up with a coat of arms; question had he introduced a parquet-floor seen in anachronic, oblique perspective or had he „inherited“ it after the model – remains unanswered¹¹⁹.

At foundation, that the Wawel picture imitates – by skills of a Cracow painter – the Netherlandic model *de facto* dated on the half of 15th century, closer dating the time of its creation is difficult assignment. Full of doubts I still hold up suggested earlier dating on time about 1480-1490¹²⁰, leaning on



frail bases: in my conviction abovementioned, created in Cracow done about 1490 miniatures with *Salvator mundi* in incunabulum Bible and the Włocławek Missal had been evidently propped on the Wawel picture (almost identical arrangement of both hands, shape and quaternary division of globe, manner of crumpling of folds of tunic) and this oneself marks *terminus ante quem* of its painting, and identical with described above a shape of heraldic shield steps out twice on architectural frames of *Annunciation* scene in lodging of triptych of the Holy Virgin the Painful in Cracow's cathedral dated to about 1485¹²¹.

Of matter of dating does not decide – at present state of researches – a figure of clergyman. His dress forces to see in him a canon; a picture's relationship with the Cracow cathedral can possibly prove, he had been a member of local cathedral curia, in times of Długosz including thirty six persons¹²², if not one of chapters connected with capital collegiate churches whether outright existing on area of contemporary Cracow diocese. At the accompanying him shield is visible in red field placed in column white-green key, with a lock turned up and left (ill. 17). It is then seldom appearing at decline of the Middle Ages the coat of arms of *Jasiona* (Jasieńczyk)¹²³, in well-known nowadays any written sources certifying its name and emblem: „Jassona (1406); familia Jasszyona, quae clavem defert pro insigni (70ties of the 15th century); Jassyenczik, clavem deferens“ (1508), existing only from beginning of the 15th century, firstly in Kujawy region, during 70ties of the same century – in Sandomierz district, and from beginning of the 16th century – on Mazovia¹²⁴. In heraldic books, giving also a heraldic colour, it appears not before last decades of the 16th century. In two copies of so-called Kamien manuscript (late – from about 1575 – and not excellent copy of *The Gems* by Jan Długosz, with continuations) text: „Clavis alias Jassenczik in campo rubeo“ had been accompanied by inserted, coloured by hand copperplate of Poznan goldsmith Erazm Kamien (Stone), with a white key turned the lock up, on red field¹²⁵; Bartłomiej

Paprocki both in *The Nest of Virtue*, published in 1578 as in *The Coats Of Arms of Polish Knighthood* from 1584 gives properly: „Jasieńczyk... has to be golden key in blue field; has to be Yellow Key in blue field“¹²⁶. Skipping the wide range of alleged reasons of differences (or changes) of heraldic colours to one should underline, that the Wawel *Jasiona* with a white key on red field is essential, because the oldest preserved example of colouring of this very coat of arms. Undertaken – not only just by the Authoress – an attempt of identification of the canon legitimizing with this coat of arms have not bring yet affirmative result. And he remains unknown, similarly as his relations of 15th century, whose donations are on area of Malopolska region commemorated with shields with *Jasiona* coat of arms: on the western top of facade of Dominican friars church in Cracow¹²⁷, on reliquary preserved in this very church's treasury¹²⁸, or at the keystone of St. Anne chapel at parish church in Stopnica¹²⁹.

Not decided stays the question about original function of the Wawel picture of *Salvatoris mundi*; then this question refers also to mentioned above images: the Toruń one (ill. 32) and Cracow – Dominican (ill. 33), where also Christ's feet kneel praying donors. Maybe that was a cult picture, that came into being on order of a canon of *Jasiona* coat of arms and connected with his private devotion. Or maybe that was his epitaph picture¹³⁰, then it is proper in righ now to remind about alleged – in case of Philadelphian picture of Master of Flémalle, and almost certain with reference to Rogier's the Braque triptych – of commemorative function of both of these works with an image of Christ¹³¹. In the Wawel picture's case this matter has been not forejudged univocally by content of a prayer (inherited after „Rogierian prototype“ or „canvas version“ (?) written out with minuscule on banderole soaring vertically „from the mouth“ of a canon to the *Saviour*: „O ihesu + fili + dei + miserere + mei.“ This is paraphrase of words, in which turned to passing Jesus a blind beggar sitting on the road to Jerycho: „Iesu fili David miserere mei“ (L.18, 38)¹³². Both evan-



gical quotation as its transformation appear – as invocations written out on banderole – in various contexts. For example (but the thing demands wider comparative analysis) with words: „Domine Jesu Christe fili dei miserere mei prays a kneeling at feet” of Christ man on the Toruń picture (ill. 32)¹³³; „Jesus + fili + david + miserere + mei – evidently” „like alive”, turned to *Salvator a doner* on wall – painting from 1470 in St. Catherine chapel in Mitterarnsdorf in the Lower Austria¹³⁴. On leafs from Czchowa (after 1440; Diocesan Museum in Tarnów) the Holy Virgin holds a banderole with inscription: „Ihu fili me miserere ei”, and St. John the Evangelist: „Ihu fili david miserere illi”, what seems to give evidence, that on not preserved central part of a triptych, with a scene of *Crucifixion*, there had been introduced also „alive” donors (councillors of Czchowa?)¹³⁵. Difficult to decide is votive or epitaph function of the painting from Domostawice (about 1480; lost) with *Misericordiae Domini* presentation and a kneeling knight of Leliwa coat of arms with inscription on banderole: „O fili dei miserere mei”¹³⁶ on board with *Ecce Homo* scene (about 1500, from the Ferbers chapel in Danzigs St Mary’s church, currently National Museum in Warsaw), on which Barbara Ferber – wife of deceased in 1501 mayor Jan Ferber holds a banderole with inscription: „Iesu fili david miserere mei”¹³⁷.

Doubtless since the moment of hanging the Wawel picture in cathedral its function had been obvious for the people of those times, and then because – I believe – of inscription placed on the original frame (current one – ill. 1 – made in 1998 according to project by Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowska, gives some representation quantity of place for such a text!) and possibly on additional, connected with a picture inscription board. That alleged inscription – if to accept the epitaph function of work – should contain name of a canon, date of his death, call to prayers, possible indication on a doner; if to accept a cult character – e.g. on date of realization of picture. However with no regard on function one should assume the presence of an inscription relating to pic-

ture of Christ himself. I will recall once again, that in the Flanders manuscript *A Book of Hours* an image of „the Real Visage”, and then the *Saviour of world* accompanied a long (in full version consist of twelve eight-verses stanzas) and with indulgences a prayer starting with words „Salve sancta facies / nostri redemptoris / in qua nitet species / divini splendoris [...]”¹³⁸. One of the easel copies of van Eyck’s prototype from 1438, made possibly in the beginning of the 16th century (formerly in Hans Wetzlar Collection in Amsterdam) has been seized with leafs, on which one wrote out the text of this prayer¹³⁹. What’s more – painting of Johan van Eycka from 1440 most likely had had a frame with inscription „taken out” from this very oration and placed on frame of the miniature copy in Bruggean *The Book of Hours* from about 1450 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 421, fol. 13 v): „SALVE DECVS SECVLI. SPECVLV(M) SA(NC) TO / RV(M). QVOD VIDE(RE) CVPIV(N) T. SP(E) C(VLVM) CELORVM. NOS AB O(M) NI MA / CVLA PVRGA VICIORVM. ATQ(VE) NOS / CONSORTIO. IVNGE B(EA) TORVM. SALVE N(OST) RA GLORIA + C [=etc.]” (ill. 34)¹⁴⁰. On frame of the copy made in first quarter of the 17th century (Brugge, Groeningemuseum) is seen an inscription (properly one according to John 14,6 and Psalm 44,3): „IHESVS VIA. IHESVS VERITAS. IHESVS VITA / SPECIOSVS FORMA PRAE FILIIS HOMINVM”¹⁴¹; on frame of a painting with a half-figure presentation of *Saviour of world* by brush of, surely, Bartholomew Bruyn (about 1530-1540; Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) inscription: „OPTIMI AC TER MAXIMI SALVATORIS IESV CHRISTI AD VERAM EX / ANTIQUISSIMO EOQUE AVREO ARCHETHYPO FORMAM / EXACTISSIME EFFICTA IMAGO”¹⁴²; on frame of the analogous painting from Bruyn studio (Koblenz, Stadtmuseum) appears both quoted above fragment of psalm as verse from *Book of prophet Baruch* (3,38): „IN TERRIS VISVS EST ET CVM HO / MINIBVS CVMVVERSATVS [sic, should be: *conversatus*] EST”¹⁴³; an inscription on frame of the woodcut in *Plenarium* of Zainer (ill. 42) had been cited in the beginning of this very

article. Slender shape of discussed painting predestined it to be hang on one of the nave pillars (in transept?) in crowded at decline of the Middle Ages with altars of Cracow cathedral. It is only a conjecture, not promoted by sources; however one should remind now mentioned earlier: equally slender (343 x 133 cm) painting of Toruń (ill. 32) at least from the last decades of 19th century hung in St. St. Johns’ church on one of the Northern pillars of nave, opposite side of pulpits¹⁴³, and Danzig sculpture by Master Paul (h. 224 cm) according to description from decline of 17th century they both were structurally connected with close to the main altar Northern pillar of presbytery (so-called *Salvators Pfeiler*), where had been centre of some larger iconographic manifesto¹⁴⁴. The oldest information about the Wawel painting, contained in *Liber fabricae ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis*, in register of expenses for years 1680-1681: „To joiner for making [...] Krotoszynkow ad Imaginem Salvatoris [...]”; for iron Hooks [...] to picture of Salvatoris”¹⁴⁵ proves changes of original location of the painting, which maybe in that time lost its own original frame. Such changes happened after making higher in 1679 (to the heights of presbytery) of the Northern arm of transept¹⁴⁶; it is rather probable, that our painting was transferred to this new part and hung (with incline?) on hooks, on the background of one of wide „pilasters” between chapel arcades, supporting from below on corbels (called *kroksztynki*). That or whether otherwise it is good to mark, that in 17th century one had not remove from interior this late-Gothic style work of art. (recently one of very few preserved *in situ*), in spite of changes „of taste” and of fact, that time cathedral had been adorned by two other, wall-, half-figure paintings of Christ – *Saviour of world*¹⁴⁷. Another written remittance relating our painting, contained in register of expenses connected with cathedral „factory” for time since 10th of October 1767 to 12th of October 1768: „For three long hooks to fastening the picture Salvatoris 2 flor”¹⁴⁸, and iconographic remittances evidencing view of interior of cathedral from fortieth to seventieth in 19th century (ill.



44)¹⁴⁹, inform about a date and effect of another transfers. In frames conceived on wider scale decorating of interior of cathedral from initiative Franciszek Potkański (deceased 1789, since 1753 Cracow suffragan bishop), both originated from the beginning of 17th century painting with St. Stanislas of Szczepanów (268 x 120 cm)¹⁵⁰, and *Salvator* picture framed in new, profiled and gilding frames enriched in full-figure, varnished white sculptures of little angels and putts. Both works of art hung on the same heights in the Southern arm of transept, properly: between the Western pillar and arcade leading to the Southern aisle, and the Eastern pillar and arcade leading the Southern arm of ambit, made – well visible to those entering cathedral through the South entrance – grand pendant flanking optically St. Stanislas's confession. Such a state lasted till the end of 19th century. Before 1900, together with renewing of the cathedral, both those paintings were taken from the walls and deprived of carved decorations¹⁵¹; in 1904 Władysław Jan Pochwalski restored them¹⁵². The painting of *Salvator*, newly framed, hung then on the Eastern wall of Northern arm of transept; taken off in 1979, during 1998-1999 had been submitted preservation by Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowska, and the results connected with it were reviewed in article published above. After showing on jubilee exhibition *Wawel 1000 – 2000. Artistic Culture of the Royal Court and Cathedrals on the Wawel royal castle*, from May to July 2000, it had been transferred to Cathedral Museum on Wawel and probably will there remain.

References

1. A. Schramm, *Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke*, 2: *Die Drucke von Günther Zainer in Augsburg*, Leipzig 1920, p. 11, ill. 299 figure 38. The same woodcut had been printed next year on the second edition of „*Plenarium*” at Zainer's and also on the first one in Augsburg Johann Bämmler's publishing house (there the next one was in 1476), compare Schramm, op.cit. 3: *Die Drucke von Johann Baemler in Augsburg*, Leipzig 1921, p. 5, 15, ill. 103 figure 20. Translation of this inscription in English: „Such (body) structure was presented according to

human nature of Jesus Christ, while he came to terrestrial kingdom. Then he had such hair, and such beard, and such a pleasant features. Also such a gown and overcoat and he came barefoot. And he had his head longer than any other man on earth”.

2. E. Hempel, *Christustypus* [In:] *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte* [cited below as: RDK], III, Stuttgart 1954, column 732 and following, 735 and following; L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 2: *Iconographie de la Bible*, II: *Nouveau Testament*, Paris 1957, pp. 36-38; J. Kollwitz, *Christus*, *Christusbild I* [w:] *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* [quoted below as LCI] 1, Rom – Freiburg – Basel – Wien 1968, column 356 and following; J.J. Kopec, *Męka Pańska w religijnej kulturze polskiego średniowiecza. Studium nad pasyjnymi motywami i tekstami liturgicznymi*, Warszawa 1975 (*Textus et Studia III*), pp. 360 and following. Compare R. Cormack, *Malowanie duszy. Ikony, maski pośmiertne i całuny*, Kraków 1999, pp. 145 and following.

3. Quotations from *Apokryfy Nowego Testamentu +++ Listy i Apokalipsy chrześcijańskie*. Pod red. M. Starowieyskiego, Kraków 2001, pp. 113 and following. This apocryph is usually dated „not earlier than 13th century”, compare J.O. Hand, *Salve sancta facies: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the Head of Christ by Petrus Christus*, „*Metropolitan Museum Journal*” 27, 1992, pp. 10 and footnote 7. Maurits Smeyers basing on accessible studies noticed, mentioned already, Ansel of Canterbury (died 1109), compare M. Smeyers, *An Eyckian Vera Icon in a Bruges Book of Hours*, ca. 1450 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 421) [In:] *Serta devota in memoriam Guillelmi Lourdaux. Pars posterior: Cultura mediaevalis*. Ed. W. Verbeke, M. Haverals, R. De Keyser, J. Goossens, Leuven 1995, p. 207. For making this article accessible to me I pay sincere thanks to Ms Katarzyna Pionka Bahus, PhD.

4. For instance so-called Pilgrim of Piacenza (about 570 AC) saw in Jerusalem, in Pilatus's Pretorium, the portrait of Christ: „All his shape, beautiful features, curly hair, regular palm of a hand, long fingers prove that the picture was taken during His life and put in Pretorium then”, compare *Do Ziemi Świętej. Najstarsze opisy pielgrzymek do Ziemi Świętej* (IV – VIII w.). Selection, introduction and critical study P. Iwaszkiewicz. Preface Rev. M. Starowieyski, Kraków 1996 (*Ojcowie*

żywi XIII), pp. 254 and following (transl P. Iwaszkiewicz); compare also Cormack, op.cit., p. 109.

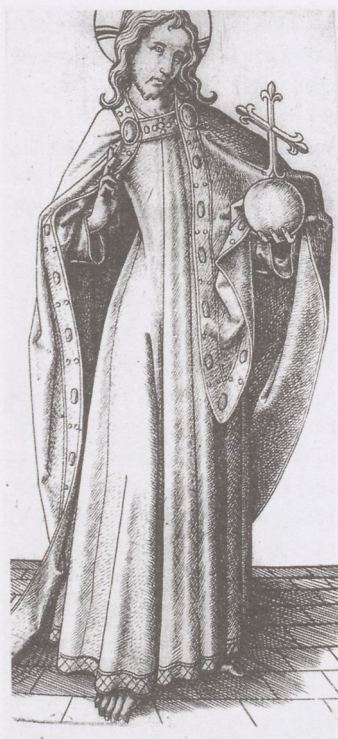
5. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig 1899, I, pp. 37-39.

6. Dobschütz, op.cit., I, pp. 102-196; A. Katzenellenbogen, *Antlitz, heiligen* [In:] RDK I, 1937, column 733 and following; K. Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons*, Cambridge Mass. 1978, pp. 89-91; Smeyers, op.cit., pp. 197n, footnote 9 (the older literature); Cormack, op.cit., pp. 124 and following, ill. 40, 53; A. Różycka Bryzek, *Mandylion* [In:] *Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej*. Pod red. O. Jurewicz, Warszawa 2002, pp. 324 and following. The story about king Abgar was known in the West thanks to „*A Golden Legend*” by Jacob de Voragine, who – referring to St. John Damascus – quoted it in the legend for the day of St. St. Simon and Juda Apostles, writing: „Abgar [...] send to him [sc. to Christ] a painter, to make a picture of Master [...] But when a painter came to Lord Jesus, from the Masters face radiated such a light, that he could not look at it [...] Seeing this the Lord took a linen gown of a painter, put it to his face and printed a picture of his face, and send it to king Abgar, who wanted it so. And how Master looked we can read in this ancient story, quoted by St. John Damascus. So he had beautiful eyes and beautiful eyebrows, his face oval and he was lightly bending, what is a symptom of maturity”. Compare Jacob de Voragine, *Gold Legend*. Selection and translation J. Pleziowa, Warszawa 1955, p. 610.

7. Dobschütz, op.cit., I, pp. 197-262; Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., columns 734-740; Gould, op.cit., pp. 82-89; Smeyers, op.cit., pp. 198-209; compare also Kopec, op.cit., pp. 361-369; Hand, op. cit., pp. 7-16. To the *acheiropoiatoi* group belongs also the worshiped in Lateran chappell *Sancta Sanctorum* a whole – person image of Christ (142 x 58,5 cm), dated currently on 6th century, since pope Innocent III's (1198-1216) covered – except the face of Saviour – with a silver poultice; according to the legend it was started by St. Lucas, but finished by God using the hand of an angel, compare Cormack, op.cit., pp. 114-116, ill. 30.

8. Jacob de Voragine, op.cit., p. 184 (in a legend of Passion Day).

9. Compare Dobschütz, op.cit., I, position 32 p. 292*; Gould, op.cit., p. 86; Smeyers, op.cit., p. 203.



10. Dobschütz, op.cit., I, position 34 p. 294*, position 39 a p. 297.

11. U. s. I, position 40 p. 298*; N. Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter*, Paderborn 1923, III, pp. 295 and following; Hand, op.cit., p. 14.

12. Dobschütz, op.cit., position 59 p. 305*. In Polish version quotation in translation of Z. Porębowicz is cited by Kopeć, op.cit., pp. 364 and following. In English version translation by H.W. Longfellow.

13. Katzenellenbogen, op.cit., columns. 735-740.

14. S. Lewis, *The Art of Matthew Paris in the Chronica Majora*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 126-131, pl. IV, V; Hand, op.cit., pp. 10, 12. M. Meiss cites some Italian examples of Trecento's, first of all a picture from about 1380 by an anonymous painter of Pistoia (New York, Jack Linsky's collection), Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death. *The Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century*, New York – Evanston – London 19, pp. 35-37, footnotes. 94, 96, fig. 42. Compare also Smeyers, op. cit., pp. 203-208. *Veraicon* in short bust form appears also on the wall painting dated on the close 14th century from the presbytery St. Bartolomew's parish church in Niedzica. One of the oldest preserved presentations of the Roman *veraicon*, in Psalter and Canonical Hours of Joanne de Soissons made in Amiens about 1275-1285 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 729, fol. 15) shows Christ's head only with a nimbus, which in Karen Gould's opinion had been an effect of mingle Roman picture and *Mandyion* worshiped on icon (12th-13th century) kept in Laon cathedral; compare Gould, op.cit., pp. 81-94, ill. 7, 64 and following.

15. Compare M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, I: The van Eycks, Petrus Christus, Leyden – Brussels 1967*, pp. 68 and following, Pl. 63 a-d; H. Belting, Ch. Kruse, *Die Erfindung des Gemäldes. Das erste Jahrhundert der niederländischen Malerei*, München 1994, pp. 53, 56, ill. 26 and following; Smeyers, op.cit., pp. 195-197, 209-217 (footnote 97 p. 214 – set of Bruggheian manuscripts), fig. 1-6. In Smeyers' opinion the closest to van Eycks' prototype from 1440 is a miniature in Bruggheian *Canonica Hours* dated on about 1450 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 421, fol. 13v, see also same Author *L'Art de la Miniature flamande du VIIIe*

au XVIe siècle, Leuven 1998, ill. 43 p. 263. Created in Bruggia van Eyck's prototypes were imitated and paraphrased in artist of following generations: Petrus Christus, the Bouts, Hugon van der Goes, Hans Memling or Gerard David.

16. Compare Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), een Vlaams primitief te Leuven. *Tentoonstellingscatalogus*. Ed. M. Smeyers, K. Smeyers, Leuven 1998, pp. 400; H. Mund, N. Goetghebeur, *Anonymous Master, Salvator Mundi* [In catalogue:] H. Mund, C. Stroo, N. Goetghebeur with collaboration of H. Nieuworp, *The Mayer van den Bergh Museum Antwerp, Brussels 2003* (Corpus of Fifteenth-Century Painting in the Southern Netherlands and the Principality of Liege, 20), p. 376.

17. Belting, Kruse, op.cit., p.164 (older literature), boards 66 and following; S. Kemperdick, *Der Meister von Flémalle. Die Werkstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weyden*, Brepols 1997, pp. 42- 44, ill. 53 and following.

18. Such a conjecture expressed C. Gottlieb, *The Mystical Window in Paintings of the Salvator Mundi*, „*Gazette des Beaux-Arts*” LVI, VI séries, 1960, p. 314, but excluded Kemperdick, op.cit., p. 42.

19. Belting, Kruse, op.cit., p. 187 n, boards. 74-75; D. De Vos, Rogier van der Weyden. *Das Gesamtwerk*, München 1999, pp. 268-273, ill. on p. 269 and 270; P. Lorentz, *Triptyque de la famille Braque* [catalogue entry:] P. Lorentz, M. Comblen – Sonkes, *Musée du Louvre Paris*. III, Bruxelles 2001 (Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux et de la principauté de Liege au quinzieme siècle, 19). Texte, No 193 p. 133-184 (contents on pp. 167-175 Bibliography), Illustration, pl. XCI – CXXXI. In Lorentz's opinion (p. 163) the triptych had been painted before Jehann Braque's death, between 1450/1451 and June 25, 1452.

20. On reverses of leaf: skull and shield with the Braque coat of arms and „stone” cross with an inscription (according to Lib. Eccl. 41,1) and shield with the Braque and the Brabant (Jehann's wife – Katharine of Brabant) coats of arms.

21. The Netherlandean 15th century version of *Salvatoris mundi* motif has no sufficient monographic study, and remarks mentioned below have been formulated mostly on summaries of previous studies and considerations of Barbara Miodońska, compare A. Jameson, *The History of Our Lord in Art*, London 1892, v. II, pp 374 and following; Gottlieb, op.cit., pp. 313-332; L. H. Heydenreich,

Leonardo's *Salvator Mundi*, „*Raccolta Vinciana*” XX, 1964, pp. 83-109; S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, Åbo 1965 (Acta Academiae Aonensis, ser. A, XXXI, nr 2), pp. 69-71, 171-173; B. Miodońska, *Rex Regum i Rex Poloniae w dekoracji malarzkiej Graduału Jana Olbrachta i Pontyfikału Erazma Ciołka. Z zagadnień ikonografii władzy królewskiej w sztuce polskiej wieku XVI*, Kraków 1979 (Supplement to „*Rozprawy i Sprawozdania Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie*” XII), pp. 90-101, ill. 16, 68-74. See also H. Feldbusch, *Christus als König* [In:] RDK, III, 1954, column 701; A. Legner, *Christus, Christusbild*. IV. *Das Christusbild der gotischen Kunst*. B. 15. Jahrhundert, column 423 and following; G. Schiller, *Iconographie der christlichen Kunst*, 3: *Die Auferstehung und Erhöhung Christi*, Gütersloh 1971, pp. 248 and following.

22. It is worth to remind here that before 1341 Simone Martini painted, in a triangular gable above portal in the West portico of Avinion cathedral, a fresco (which synopies displayed during conservatory present succeeding changes of iconographic concepts, among them version with an open book with an original inscription: „*EGO / SUM // LUX MUNDI*” – according to Jn 8,12) showing precisely frontal seizure of Christ to hips, blessing with a right hand, in left hand supporting the globe, compare A. Martindale, *Simone Martini. Complete Edition*, Oxford 1988, pp. 47 and following, 181 and following, ill. 97-100. However close to interdoor pillar of the Last Judgment portal in the North arm of transept in Reims by 1230 there was placed a whole-form statue of blessing Christ, supporting a globe in left hand. W. Sauerländer, *La Sculpture gothique en France 1140-1270*, Paris 1972, p. 161, ill. 236 f.

23. Gottlieb, op.cit., pp. 315, 321.

24. Compare J. H. Marrow, *Dutch Manuscript Illumination before the Mater of Catherine of Cleve*, „*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*” 19, 1968, p. 66; J. Białostocki, *The Eye and the Window. Realism and Symbolism of Light – Reflections in the Art of Albrecht Dürer and His Predecessors* [in:] *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Köln 1970, pp. 159-176; Same Author, *Okno i oko. Realizm i symbolika refleksów światła w sztuce Dürera i jego poprzedników* [in:] Same Author, *Symbolie i obrazy w świecie*



sztuki, Warszawa 1982, v. 1, pp. 68-85, ill. 8-34; Miodońska, op.cit., pp. 92 and following, footnote 23.

25. In works of art. of an active in Brugge: Hans Memling (died 1494) and so-called Master of Feminine Half-persons (about 1530) or in Antwerp: Quentin Messys (died 1530) or Joos van Cleve, compare Friedländer, op.cit., VIa: Hans Memlinc and Gerard David, Leyden – Brussels 1971, pos. 22 p. 49, pos. 38 p. 51, Pl. 64 and following, 90; Sme Author, op.cit., XII: Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst, Leyden – Brussels 1975, pos. 53 on p. 96, Pl. 32; Same Author, op.cit., VII: Quentin Messys, Leyden – Brussels 1971, pos. 5 a on p. 60, pos. 65 on p. 67, Pl. 12, 61; Same Author, op.cit., IX/1: Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier, Leyden – Brussels 1972, pos. 34 on p. 32, Pl. 53. Copare also anonymous painting of the end of 15th century (imitators of Gerard Davida ?) in the Mayer van den Bergh Museum in Antwerp – compare Mund, Goetghebeur, op.cit., pp. 366-376, ill. on p. 366. There are cited (p. 374) some other examples.

26. Both the early examples of years 1460-1470 and later to the end of 15th century compares Smeyers, An Eyckian..., pp. 215 and following, footnotes 101-103; B. Bousmanne, „Item a Guillaume Wyclant aussi enlumineur”. Willem Vrelant – Un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux sous le mécénat des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire, Brepols 1997, pp. 98, 100, ill. 61-64; O. Pächt, U. Jenni, D. Thoss, Flämische Schule, I, Wien 1983 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 160 Band. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, Reihe I: Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Bd 3), Textband, manuscript 1987 on pp. 86-92, especially pp. 91 and following, Fig.101, Tafelband, board IXb, ill. 157. See also P.M. de Winter, A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Catolica, „The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art”, LXVII/10, 1981, pp. 386 and following, fig. 19 and following, colour illustration III; M. Smeyers, L'Art de la Miniature flamande du VIIIe au XVIe siecle, Leuven 1998, il. 14 p. 429; Mund, Goetghebeur, op.cit., p. 374. Compare also connected with Gerard David miniature (from „A Book of Hours” ?) about 1485-90 from the Robert Lehman Collection in Metropo-

litan Museum of Art in New York, see: The Robert Lehman Collection. IV: Illuminations. Selected S. Hindman, M. Levi D'Ancona, P. Palladino, M.F. Saffiotti, New York – Princeton 1997, Cat. 11 p. 84-92, il. p. 85, compare fig. 11.4, 11.8, 11.9.

27. Gottlieb, op.cit., p.316; Heidenreich, op.cit., p. 88; Ringbom, op.cit., p.172; Miodońska, op.cit., p. 91; Lorentz, op.cit., p. 140.

28. U. Borkowska, M. Daniluk, Devotio moderna [in:] Encyklopedia Katolicka. Ed. R. Łukaszyka, L. Bieńkowskiego, F. Gryglewicza [cited below as: EK], III, Lublin 1979, column. 1220-1222 (there also older literature); W. Bielak, Devotio moderna w polskich traktatach duszpasterskich powstałych do połowy XV wieku, Lublin 2002, pp. 46-54. In reference to arts compare C. Harbison, Visions and meditations in the early Flemish painting, „Simiolus” 15/2, 1985, pp. 87-118; B. Ridderbos, Die „Geburt Christi” des Hugo van der Goes. Form, Inhalt, Funktion, „Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen”, N.F. 32, 1990, pp. 137-152.

29. O. Pächt, Der Salvator Mundi des Turiner Stundebuches [in:] Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum, Stockholm 1987, s. 181-190. For mentionig me this article I am obliged Ms Katarzyna Plonca – Bałus, PhD.

30. In writen and illuminated in Hague manuscripts: copy of Rimbijbel by Jacob van Maerlant from the beginning of 90ties 14th century (Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, KA XVIII, fol. 13), compare The Robert Lehman ..., p. 57, fig. 7.9 on p. 59, and Nuttelijc Boec den Kerstenen Menschen dated on 1396 (?) (Kopenhaga, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 70, fol. 2), compare. The Robert Lehman..., p. 57; J.H. Marrow, As Horas de Margarida de Cleves – The Hours of Margaret of Cleve, Lisboa 1995, fig. 4 on p. 109. In Latin Bible of 1430 (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1199) in the beginning of Genesis book (fol. 5) there is six times presented standing Christ – Creator is holding up gold globe crowned with a cross in his left hand; compare Pächt, op.cit., p. 181, il. 3 on p. 183; O. Pächt, U. Jenni, Holländische Schule, Wien 1975 (Österreichische..., 124 Bd. Veröffentlichungen..., Reihe I: Die illuminierte Handschriften..., Bd.3), Textband, p. 20, Tafelband, Farbtafel I.

31. Pächt, op.cit., p. 181, il. 2 on p. 183. About this two-volume Bible compare A.W. Byvanck, La Miniature dans les PaysBas Septentrionaux, Paris 1937, p. 24.

32. He turns to Christ with such words: „O d(omi)ne misere(re). Q(ua) si vis potes me mundar(e)”, while a monk kneeling on the other side: „O pater celi et t(er)re respice in nos”, compare Pächt, Jenni, op.cit, Textband, p. 13, fig. 2. Quoted above excerpt from St. Mathew's Evangelia initiates the forth book of De imitatione Christi, authorship one of the main representatives of devotiois modernae in the Netherlands – Thomas a Kempis (1380-1471), devoted to the Sacrament of Altar; compare Tomasz a Kempis, O naśladowaniu Chrystusa. Transl Anna Kamieńska, Warszawa 1989, p. 198.

33. Marrow, Dutch..., pp. 66-69, fig. 9 on p. 68; about the same manuscript compare also Die goldene Zeit der holländischen Buchmalerei. Einführung J.H. Marrow, Katalogbeiträge: H.L.M. Defoer, A.S. Korteweg, W.C.M. Wüstefeld, Stuttgart – Zürich 1990, Kat. 12 pp. 59-60.

34. Pächt, op.cit., pp. 181, 184, il. 4 on p. 183. About this manuscript compare Die goldene Zeit..., Kat. 14 pp. 63 and following.

35. J. Warmiński, Groote Geert [In:] EK, t. VI, Lublin 1993, column. 187 f.

36. Die goldene Zeit..., p. 9.

37. Compare presentations of Christ in „A Book of Hours” of 1425 preserved in Deventer, Bibliotheek van het Athenaeum (no sign., fol. 99), compare G.J. Hoogewerff, Enkele verlichte getijdenboeken tussen 1375 en 1425 in de Nederlanden ontstaan, „Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen”, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. XXVI, N. 1963, pp. 94, 97, il. 10; about the same manuscript see also Die goldene Zeit..., Cat. 10, pp. 42 and following. Some later translations (about 1435-1450) cojointed J.H. Marrow, A Book of Hours from the Circle of the Master of the Berlin Passion : Notes on the Relationship between Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination and Printmaking in the Rhenish Lowlands, „The Art Bulletin” LX/4, 1978, p. 590, footnote 3. Compare also: representations of Christ in Dutch „A Book of Hours” preserved in the Austrian National Library in Vienna. Code. 2734, fol. 48 (1487) and S.n. 13 236, fol. 71 (80ties of 15th century), compare Pächt, Jenni, op.cit., Textband, s. 102, 106, Tafelband, ill. 288, 299. See also Pächt, op.cit., p. 189, ill. 11.

38. Die goldene Zeit..., Cat. 62 on pp. 204-206, ill. 108 p. 205. Full page presentation is present also in Utrecht „The Book of Hours” dated 1465-1470 (Cambridge,



Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. Mc Clean 94), but this time it is on card preceding Penitential Psalms, compare *Dies goldene Zeit...*, Cat. 69, s. 215, tabl. 69.

39. In Book III (Of Inner Consolation), Chapter LVI („Of that we should forget about ourselves and to imitate Christ in raising of cross”) Tomasz à Kempis comments this quotation in following manner: „Follow me – for I am the way, truth and life. Without way does not have moving forward, without truth does not have of distinguishing, without life does not have life. I am the way unmoved, which to follow you should, the truth, of which you have to believe, the life, to which you have to trust. I am the rigid way, undefiled truth, life – eternity of infinite. I am the straightest path, highest truth, happy life, real life, dear proper life. If you follow my way, you will recognize truth, and truth will release you and will permit to reach eternal life”, Compare Thomas a Kempis, *op.cit.*, pp. 185.

40. Pächt, *op.cit.*, p. 185, ill. 6; The Robert Lehman..., Chapter. 7 on pp. 53-60, ill. on p. 54. In miniature one represented St. Michael Archangel piercing dragon and a kneeling man turned to *Salvator* with banderole: „Miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam(m)”.

41. Christ is accompanied by adoring him representatives of laic and church authorities, Compare Pächt, *op.cit.*, p. 185, ill. 7; Bousmanne, *op.cit.*, p. 101, ill. 70, about manuscript, Chapter 17 on pp. 206, 302.

42. M. R James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 1895*, Chapter 25 on pp. 60-65, especially p. 61; Pächt, *op.cit.*, pp. 187, ill. 8. On theme Beatrijs see *Dies goldene Zeit...*, pp. 196, 273. Representation of *Salvatoris mundi* standing on ball of world is present also in the first volume of *Sanctilogium* by Johannes Gielemans, listed and illuminated in seventeenth years of 15th century, in connection with *devotio moderna* of Rooklooster near Brussels (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, S. n. 12811, fol. 22), Compare Pächt, D. Thoss, *Flämische Schule, II, Wien 1990* (Österreichische..., 212. Bands. Veröffentlichungen, Reihe And: *Dies illuminierte Handschriften...*, Bd 7), Textband, pp. 110, 111, Tafelband, ill. 212. At the same place, Textband, pp. 111, fig. 117-119 list of quoted above examples, see also The Robert Lehman..., pp. 58 and footnote 23.

43. Compare: Meister E.S. Ein ober-rheinischer Kupferstecher der Spätgotik. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München, 10. Dezember 1986 – 15. Februar 1987, Cat. 53-60 on pp. 56, ill. 53-60 (Christ the Saviour: Cat. 53, ill. 53).

44. F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings Engraving and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700, XII: Masters and Monogrammists of the 15th Century, Amsterdam b.d.*, ill. on p. 92. This figure had been direct model for the miniature in „*The Book of Hours*” (London, British Library, Harley MS 1662, fol. 89 v) made in the Lower Rhineland during or 1463-1468 or 1463-1476, Compare Marrow, *A Book of Hours...*, p. 595, fig. 2,7.

45. N. Reynaud, *Les vitreaux du choeur de Saint-Séverin*, „Bulletin monumental” 143/1, 1985, s. 25-40, especially pp. 28-31, fig. 3, 6; Lorentz, *op.cit.*, p. 154. About Master of Coëtiva compare footnote 106.

46. P. Pieper, *Die deutschen, niederländischen und italienischen Tafelbilder bis um 1530, Münster 1986* (Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster. Bestandskataloge. Hrsg v. K. Bussmann), pp. 177, ill. on p. 179.

47. E. Lanc, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien und Niederösterreich, Wien 1983* (Corpus der mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Österreichs, 1), pp. 174-176, ill. 293.

48. R. Recht, *Nicolass de Leyde et la sculpture a Strasbourg (1460-1525), Strasbourg 1987*, pp. 148, 345, ill. 38.

49. There are figures very homogeneous in shape, all clothed in overcoat on tunic: stone sculpture from facade of the Holy Virgin chapel of Würzburg (Würzburg, The Cathedral, Kunstsammlung der Diözese Würzburg), studio work dated on app. 1500-1506, originally placed over the Riemenschneiderian figure of Adam on south portal and put side by side with St. John the Baptist (placed above Eve) and the Twelve Apostles figures put in niches; a sculpture from the middle part of the altar with the Twelve Apostles from St. Kilian parish church in Windsheim (Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum), studio work of 1509; sculpture from the upper part of not preserved altar retabulum of Würzburg cathedral (Biebelried, St. John the Baptist parish church), work of Tilmana from 1509-1510, compare I. Kalden – Rosenfeld, *Tilman Riemenschneider und seine Werkstatt. Mit einem Katalog der allgemein als Arbeiten Riemenschneiders und seiner Werkstatt akzeptierten Werke, Königstein i.T. 2001*,

pp. 96, 100-102, pos. 41 on pp. 135 and 138, pos. 63 on p. 145, pos. 64 on p. 146, ill. 115, 124-126, 205; Tilman Riemenschneider. Werke seiner Blütezeit. Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Mainfränkischen Museum Würzburg 24. März bis 13. Juni 2004. Hrsg. v. C. Lichte, Regensburg 2004, pp. 72-75, ill. 30 following, pp. 316-319 (about the cycle from the Holy Virgin chapel); Tilman Riemenschneider. Werke seiner Glaubenswelt. Katalog..., Hrsg. v. J. Lenssen, Regensburg 2004, pos. 35 on pp. 254 n, ill. 171.

50. Gottlieb, *op.cit.*, p. 318 and footnote 20 on p. 331, fig. 8 on p. 322; Friedländer, *op.cit.*, IV: Hugo van der Goes, Leyden – Brussels 1969, p. 43, pos. 37 on p. 75, Pl. 44, ill. 37. About eventual prototype of this presentation, authorship by Johann van Eyck compare Pächt, *op.cit.*, pp. 184, ill. 5; Pächt, Thoss, o.c., Textband, pp. 111, fig. 121; Bousmanne, *op.cit.*, p. 101

51. Gottlieb, *op.cit.*, pp. 318, fig. 9 on o. 323; Friedländer, *op.cit.*, VII: Quentin Massys, Leyden – Brussels 1971, p. 45, pos. 93 on p. 71, Pl. 78, ill. 93.

52. Friedländer, *op.cit.*, XII: Jan van Scorel and Pieter Coeck van Aelst, Leyden – Brussels 1975, pos. 274 on p. 117, Pl. 148, ill. 274.

53. Compare M.J. Friedländer, J. Rosenberg, *Die Gemälde von Lucas Cranach, Stuttgart 1989*, p. 85, ill. 78.

54. Compare Hollstein, *op.cit.*, ill. on pp. 150, 152; ill. on p. 263; ill. on p. 204; Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts 1400-1700, XXIV A: Israhel van Meckenem. Plates, Compiled by F. Koreny, Blaricum 1986, ill. on pp. 62, 63, 104, 113. Woodcut with whole-person representations of *Salvatoris mundi*, surrounded by profuse set of evangelical quotations, returns many times in edited repeatedly since 1473 to 1474 chronicle by Werner Rolewinc *Fasciculus temporum*, compare Miodońska, *op.cit.*, pp. 91, 95, ill. 74.

55. Most of these examples are mentioned by Miodońska, *op.cit.*, p. 97, footnote 3.

56. H. Turska, *Chrystus Zbawiciel Świata*, [entry in:] *Ars sacra. Dawna sztuka diecezji toruńskiej. Katalog wystawy 5 XI-31 XII 1993 r.*, Toruń 1993, s. 44, ill. 21 (before renovation); J. Domasłowski, *Wypożyczenie wnętrza [In:] Bazylika katedralna świętych Janów w Toruniu*. Edited by M. Biskupa. Study by J. Domasłowski, L. Krantz-Domasłowska, K. Mikulski, W. Rozynkowski, K. Wajda, Toruń 2003 (*Zabytki Polski północnej*, nr 12), s. 127-129, ill. 65 (after renovation).



57. See above: footnote 34. The Torun image one should compare with a miniature dated on forties of 15th century, from the burnt in 1904 so-called „The Milan-Turin Book of Hours” (formerly Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, fol. 44v), illustrating the beginning of prayers connected with a mass – consecration; united nowadays with so-called Master of Llangattock Book of Hours, probably made according to sketch or model of Johan van Eyck authorship, and representing Christ holding in left hand an open book of gospel with an inscription: „Ego sum via veritas et vita”, compare Pächt, op.cit., p. 181, ill. 1; Pächt, Thoss, op.cit., Textband, p. 111, figs. 120; F. Boespflug, E. König, Les „Tres Belles Heures“ de Jean de France, duc de Berry. Un chef-d’oeuvre au sortir du Moyen Age, Paris 1998, ill. on p. 117. Presentation of Christ with an open book (adored by two angels, which one of them is moving an eenser) steps out in illuminated by Willem Vrelant „Book of Hours” from collection of Rev. Arenberg (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig IX 8, fol. 34), at beginning of Passio prayers, compare Bousmanne, op.cit., p. 101 and ill. 68, about manuscript: pp. 272-274. The North Netherlandean copy of A *Book of Hours* dated on 1480-1485 (private collection in Holland) presentation of Christ blessing, with an open book in left hand, steps out at the beginning of text of „The Book of Hours of Eternal Wisdom”, Compare Die goldene Zeit..., Cat. 104 on p. 295n, fig. 104.

58. A.S. Labuda, Malarstwo tablicowe w Gdańsku w 2 poł. XV w., Warszawa 1979, pp. 151, 209 n, ill. 167.

59. As above, pp. 134, 206, ill. III, 145

60. J. Kruszelnicka, J. Flik, Zbiory gotyckiej rzeźby i malarstwa Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu, Toruń 1968, pp. 33-36, fig. 6; S. Bogdanowicz, Dzieła sztuki sakralnej bazyliki Mariackiej w Gdańsku, Gdańsk 1990, pp. 198-200, ill. 88.

61. Z. Krzymuska-Fafius, Plastyka gotycka na Pomorzu Zachodnim, Szczecin 1962, p. 92, pos. 80, ill. 49.

62. M. Nałęcz-Dobrowolski, Mało znane zabytki Krakowa, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany”, Nr 10, 4 Marca 1922, ogólnego zbioru nr 3, 251, wydawnictwa rok 63, p. 152, ill.; L. Lepszy, S. Tomkowicz, Kraków. Kościół i klasztor OO. Dominikanów, Kraków 1924 (Zabytki sztuki w Polsce, I), p. 95; L. Lepszy, Studja nad kulturą i sztuką kościoła oo. dominikanów w Krakowie, „Rocznik Krakowski” XX, 1926, p. 105. Obraz w nierozpozna-

nych dotąd okolicznościach dostał się do Warszawy i wszedł w posiadanie tutejszego Muzeum Narodowego jako dzieło z kościoła śś. Janów w Toruniu, zob. m.in. Kruszelnicka-Flik, op.cit., p. 33-35, ill.6 J. Flik, Zagadnienia technologiczno-konserwatorskie obrazu gotyckiego ze zbiorów Muzeum Okręgowego w Toruniu, „Rocznik Muzeum w Toruniu” IV, 1969, p. 189-200, ill. 121-131; T. Dobrzeński, Malarstwo tablicowe. Katalog zbiorów, Warszawa 1972 (Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Galeria Sztuki Średniowiecznej, I), p. 123 n, poz. 36, ill. 36. See. też Domasłowski, op.cit., p. 128. Cechy stylowe obrazu są obecnie w dużej mierze zatarte na skutek współlistnienia różnych chronologicznie warstw malarskich, por. Flik, l. c.

63. See: W. Kurpiak, Chronologia kościoła w Haczowie na podstawie wyników konserwacji i badań malowideł ściennych, „Ochrona Zabytków” XXIX/4, 1976, p. 315, ill. 3n; Same Author, Odkrycie malowideł późnogotyckich na deskach pierwotnego stropu kościoła w Haczowie, „Teki Konserwatorskie. Polska południowo-wschodnia”, 1, 1982, ill. 1a on p. 182 and 3 non p. 185; M. Kornecki, H. Małkiewiczówna, Małopolska [In:] J. Domasłowski, A. Karłowska-Kamzowa, M. Kornecki, H. Małkiewiczówna, Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce, Poznań 1984 (Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. History of Arts Cycle p 56, ill 47; J. Gadamski, Pozostałości późnogotyckich malowideł na deskach stropu drewnianego kościoła w Haczowie i zagadnienie ich kompozycji, „Rzeszowska Teki Konserwatorska”, III-IV, 2002, pp. 243, 245, ill. 69-70; S. Stepień, B. Czajkowska-Palusińska, Konserwacja polichromowanych desek stropowych z kościoła w Haczowie oraz aranżacja stropu nawy z włączeniem zachowanych gotyckich desek, „Biuletyn Informacyjny Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki”, 14, 2003, nr 3-4, p. 80, ill.3-5, on ill. 5 reconstruction of Salvator whole person.

64. Z. Ameisenowa, Rękopisy i pierwodruki iluminowane Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej, Wrocław – Kraków 1958, poz. 178 on pp. 147, fig. 209.

65. Polonia typographica saeculi sedecimi, V: Druga drukarnia Floriana Unglera 1521-1536, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1964, tabl. 186.

66. H. Małkiewiczówna, Chrystus Salvator Mundi [catalogue entry in:] Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa Jubileuszowa: Skarby Archidiecezji Krakowskiej. Muzeum Archidiecezjalne w Krakowie, maj-wrzesień

2000. Katalog II, Kraków 2000, poz. II/23 on p. 64 n, III: Ilustracje, Kraków 2000, ill. 432.

67. Kornecki, Małkiewiczówna, op.cit., pp. 60 n, ill. 54.

68. Miodońska, op.cit., p. 90, ill. 16.

69. As above, p. 95, ill. 72.

70. A.S. Labuda, Salvator Mundi w Ligocie Prószkowskiej – dziełem warsztatu Joosa van Cleve, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” XXXIX, 1977, pp. 247-252.

71. P. Łopatkiewicz, Zabytki plastyki gotyckiej województwa krośnieńskiego. Rzeźba drewniana – Malarstwo tablicowe, Krosno 1996, pp. 119, pos. 91, ill. 91.

72. Compare: L. Masschelein Kleiner, N. Goetghébeur, L. Kockaert, J. Vynckier, R. Ghys, Examen et traitement d’une détrempe sur toile attribuée à Thierry Bouts. La Crucifixion de Bruxelles, „Bulletin de l’Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique Bruxelles” 17, 1978-1979, p. 5-21; E.D. Bosshard, Tüchleinmalerei – eine billige Ersatztechnik?, „Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte” 45, vol. 1, 1982, pp. 31-42; D. Bomford, A. Roy, A. Smith, The Technique of Dieric Bouts: Two Paintings Contrasted, „National Gallery Technical Bulletin” 10, pp. 39-57; M. Leonard, F. Preusser, A. Rothe, M. Schilling, Dieric Bouts’s Annunciation, Materials and Techniques: A Summary, „Burlington Magazine”, 130, 1988, nr 1024, pp. 517-522; A. Roy, The Technique of a „Tüchlein” by Quinten Massys, National Gallery Technical Bulletin” 12, 1988, pp. 12-43; D. Wolfthal, The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400 – 1530, Cambridge – New York – New Rochelle – Melbourne – Sydney 1989; compare reviews of this fundamental work of the Middle Ages painting on canvas in: „Renaissance Quarterly” 43, 1990, nr 2, pp. 413-415 (H.J. van Miegroet); „Revue Belge d’Archéologie et d’Histoire de l’Art” 59, 1990, p. 134 (G. Delmarcel); „Burlington Magazine” 133, 1991, nr 1057, pp. 258 (C. Villers). Compare also: C. Villers, Painting on Canvas in Fourteenth Century Italy, „Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte” 58, 1995, pp. 338-358; The Fabric of Images: European Painting on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. Ed. by C. Villers, London 2000.

73. Text without a title, published in „Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce” VI, 1900, pp. CVIII-CXII, delivered a lecture during Commission for History of Arts Research in Poland session at March 24, 1898 as

- a „supplement and rectification” of an article: M. Sokołowski, *Z dziejów kultury i sztuki. Dwa nieznanne dokumenty – Jakub z Sienna, arcybiskup gnieźnieński – Miasta pruskie i podkarpackie – Stale krakowskie w XV w. – Jakub i Bartłomiej z Sącza „j.w.”* VI, pp. 93, devoted to analyse of source related to the subject of copying the Wawel cortina, gift of a French queen, by Cracow painting, Jakub of Sacz.
74. M. Bartlová, *Assumpta from the White Mountain, Gothic painting on canvas, “Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague” XII-XIII, 2002-2003*, pp. 76-84.
75. R. Suckale, *Ein Tüchleinbild der Achatiusmarter aus der Nachfolge des Meisters von St. Lambrecht, „Roeenka slovenskej galérie v Bratislave“* 2001, pp. 77-83.
76. M. Schuster-Gawłowska, *Salvator Mundi. Obraz sztalugowy w Katedrze na Wawelu. Dokumentacja konserwatorska, Kraków 1999 (manuscripts in Metropolitan Chapter at Wawel Archives). H. Małkiewiczówna, *Chrystus Salvator Mundi [catalogue entry in:] Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa Jubileuszowa: Kultura artystyczna dworu królewskiego i Katedry. Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, maj-lipiec 2000. Katedra krakowska-biskupia, królewska, narodowa. Muzeum Katedralne na Wawelu, maj – wrzesień 2000. Katalog I, Kraków 2000, pp. 75-77, pos. 1/37, III: Illustrations, ill. 50 [below cited as Małkiewiczówna, *Chrystus... 1/37*].**
77. *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, IV: Miasto Kraków, I: Wawel. Ed. J. Szablowski. Tekst, Warszawa 1965, p. 69, Illustrations, fig. 370.; Miodońska, op.cit., p. 97, footnote 2.*
78. J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1460-1500, Warszawa 1988, p. 15, footnote 5; Same Author, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500-1540, Warszawa – Kraków 1995, p. 13 and footnote 13.**
79. The sources were compared in short versions by Małkiewiczówna, *Chrystus... 1/37, p. 76.*
80. *Cracovia artificum. Supplementa. Teksty źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki z najdawniejszych oficjalistów krakowskich, lata 1410-1412 oraz 1421-1424. Chosen and explained by B. Przybyszewski, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1985, pos. 32 on p. 30.*
81. *Scriptores rerum Silesiacarum oder Sammlung Schlesischer Geschichtschreiber, namens der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Cultur* hrsg. v. Dr. G.A. Stenzel, II, Breslau 1839, p. 211
82. Sokołowski, *Z dziejów kultury...*, pp. 93. The Author proposes – accepted in literature – identification of the „French queen” with Isabel of Bavaria, wife of king of France, Chales VI Mad (died 1422); *Cracovia artificum 1300-1500. Wydał J. Ptaśnik, Kraków 1917 (ródła do historii sztuki i cywilizacji w Polsce, 4)[cited above as: Ptaśnik, CA], pos. 523 on p. 167; Cracovia artificum. Supplementa. Krakowskie środowisko artystyczne czasów Wita Stwosza. Selected by B. Przybyszewski, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1990 [cited above as: Przybyszewski, Krakowskie...], p. 39*
83. Ptaśnik, CA, poz. 938 na s. ; B. Przybyszewski, *Marcin Czarny – późnogotycki malarz krakowski, „Studia renesansowe”* III, 1963, p. 254 n i footnote 31. About donors see: H. Lulewicz, *Sołtan Aleksandrowicz [In:] Polski Słownik Biograficzny, XL/3, vol. 166, Warszawa – Kraków 2001, pp. 341-343.*
84. Przybyszewski, *Krakowskie...*, p. 53.
85. Ptaśnik, CA, pos. 996 on p. 298; Przybyszewski, *Krakowskie...*, p. 65.
86. Ptaśnik, CA, pos. 1078 on p. 329; Przybyszewski, *Krakowskie...*, pp. 72f.
87. Przybyszewski, *Krakowskie...*, pp. 55 f, 46, 52.
88. Ptaśnik, CA, pos. 610 on pp. 196 f; Przybyszewski, *Krakowskie...*, pp. 40 f.
89. Ptaśnik, CA, pos. 1181 on p. 362; T. Dobrowolski, *Życie, twórczość i znaczenie społeczne artystów polskich i w Polsce pracujących w okresie późnego gotyku (1440-1520). Z pogranicza historii, teorii i socjologii, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1965, s. 130 he assumes incorrectly, that some stretched and grounded canvas are probably those „as to cover sometimes painting board”.*
90. De Vos, op.cit., ill. p. 118; Lorentz, op.cit., cartoon XCIV.
91. Compare De Vos, op.cit., ill. 148 on p. 107, cartoon 4. on p. 255, compare also Belting, *Kruse, op.cit., pp. 187 f; Lorentz, op.cit., pp. 154, 163.*
92. It is worth to say in passing, that Rogier himself created – on base of *Salvator* from the Braque triptych – currently lost painting with *The Blessing Christ* (without an orb), known from variety both Hetherlandean, German and Italian (like painting by Antonello da Messina in London National Gallery) copies and repeatings, compare J. Białostocki, *Fifteenth – Century Pictures of the Blessing Christ, Based on Rogier van der*
- Weyden, „*Gesta*” 15, 1976, pp. 313-320. Compare also De Vos, op.cit., p. 391.
93. Compare De Vos, op.cit., ill.on p. 235.
94. Motto of the present article (compare Thomas à Kempis, op.cit., p. 21) is continuation of quotation from St. John’s *Evangelia* 8,12.
95. Compare. De Vos, op.cit., ill. 116 on p. 94, ill. on p. 190.
96. Lorentz, op.cit., p.140.
97. According to Gottlieb, *The Mystical...*, pp. 315, fig. 1-3 this motif (of triple, reviewed above symbolical meaning) had been transferred by Roger from the „Philadelphian” painting of Master of Flémalle, where window is reflecting in a crystal brouche which is adorning a vestment of Christ; in De Vos’ opinion (op.cit., s. 272) visible on metal ball of world reflection of window of apartment (Zimmerfenster) can be connected with „a household” destination of triptych; according to Lorentz’ (op.cit., p. 140, pl. XCVIII) this motif can have symbolical role – if to accept Carli Gottlieb’s interpretation – or just painter’s explanation: „celui de créer l’illusion de la brillance du globe métallique que tient le Christ”.
98. Four-parts dived *regnum*, or an orb, hold by *Salvator* is present on, mentioned above, cartoons in following editions „*Fasciculus temporum*” by Rovelinc, compare Miodońska, op.cit., ill. 74, on miniature from about 1490 in Latin Bible preseed in Jagellonian Library (il. 43) and on Sieklówka picture, compare Łopatkiewicz, op.cit., ill. 91.
99. Compare: *Die goldene Zeit...*, Cat. 22 on pp. 80-82, ill. 32 on p. 79. Spacious, but gathered in a different way into folds tunic with two buttons under neck wears also Christ appearing six times in each following day of creation in mentioned first volume of the North Netherlandean *Bible* from about 1430. (Vien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1199, fol. 5), compare Pächt, Jenni, op.cit., Tafelband, Farbtafel I; *Die goldene Zeit...*, tabl. 33.
100. Compare M. Gutkowska-Rychlewska, *Historia ubiorów, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1968, pp. 175-210; F. Boucher, Histoire du costume en Occident de l’Antiquité à nos jours, Paris 1969, pp. 194 f, 201, ill. on p. 207.; K. Turska, *Ubiór dworski w Polsce w dobie pierwszych Jagiellonów, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź 1987, pp. 108-118.**
101. Compare: *Turska, Ubiór...*, p. 109, ill. 60 on p. 111; P. Mrozowski, *Polskie nagrobki gotyckie, Warszawa 1994, pos. 1.107 p. 225, ill. 107.*

102. About 15th century re-building of the trunk see: M. Zykanová, Ke stavebním dějinám a uměleckohistorickému významu Svatoštipánského domu ve Vídni. Chram sv. Štěpána, gotický dom – jeho vznik a osud [w:] Vídeňská gotika. Sochy, sklomalby a architektonická plastika z domu Sv. Štěpána ve Vídni, Vídeň [1991], pp. 40 f; G. Brucher, Wien I., Dom- und Metropolitankirche St. Stephan. Neubau des Langhauses [entry in:] Geschichte der Kunst in Österreich, 3: Spätmittelalter und Renaissance. Hrsg. v. A. Rosenauer, München – Berlin – London – New York 2003, pp. 222-224. Alle the sculptures in nave were enumerated and dated accordingly to certain groups, and most of them reproduced by H. Tietze, Geschichte und Beschreibung des St. Stephansdomes in Wien, Wien 1931 (Österreichische Kunsttopographie, XXIII), pp. 394-417, ill. 445-496. See also M.B. Rasperger, Ikonographie und stilistische Untersuchung des Skulpturenzyklus an den Langhauspfeilern in St. Stephan, Wien 1961 (manuscript); R. Perger, Zur Datierung einiger Bildwerke im Langhaus des Wiener Stephansdomes, „Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege“ XLII, 3-4, 1988, pp. 109-112; L. Schultes, Plastik v chrámu sv. Štěpána. Od Rudolfa IV. k Maximiliánu I. [w:] Vídeňská gotika..., p. 83. About dating of sculptures had been written A. Saliger, 850 Jahre St. Stephan: Symbol und Mitte in Wien 1147-1997. Sonderausstellung Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, 24 April-31 August 1997, Wien 1997, pp. 129-137 – in unknown to my review.
103. Tietze, op.cit., p. 399, pos. 19, p. 414, ill. 466.
104. Rasperger, op.cit., p. 56.
105. Mund, Goetghebeur, op.cit., p. 376.
106. See above, footnote 50.
107. So how it gathers into folds a buttoned under neck with two buttons a vestment of „Tymotheos“ on portrait of Johan van Eycka's authorship from 1433 (London, National Gallery) and red, with undergrown fur *cappa magna* of cardinal Niccolo Albergati on portrait of the same authorships (1438; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), Compare Belting, Kruse, op.cit., tabl. 35-36. Otherwise gathered into folds, but buttoned under neck on two buttons tunic wears Christ on picture with a scene of „The Ressurrection of Lazar“ (about 1455-1460; Paris, Louvre) – work of so-called. Master of Coëtiva, identified recently hypothetically with a working in France in second half of 15th century Nicolas of Ypres (Amiens), whose father – painter Andrew of Ypres since 1428 (their common stay in Tournai) to death in 1450 had been in relationship with Rogier van der Weyden, compare, por. P. Lorentz, France, „Terre d'Accueil“ for Flemish Painters [w:] The Age of Van Eyck 1430-1530. The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting. Red. Till-Holger Borchert, Gent – Amsterdam 2002, s. 67-71, fig. 91.
108. Motif of banderole over *Salvator's* head, with an inscription: „Ego sum Via Veritas Et Vita“, that time just partly covering nimbus, steps out on a front page of so-called Master of *Virgo inter virgines's* authorship in work of Ludolfa of Saxony about life of Christ, given in Dutch in Antwerp, 1487. Compare Pächt, op.cit., ill. 9; Pächt, Jenni, op.cit., Textband, p. 102, fig. 92.
109. Compare Belting, Kruse, op.cit., p. 170, cartoon. 74; Kemperdick, op.cit., cartoon 1.
110. See: De Vos, op.cit., ill. on p. 337. A shadow casted by „alive“ figures (and not by just painted *en grisaille* imitations of sculptures) had been existed in early (dated on about 1425-1430 or 1433) painting by Rogier with a presentation of „The Holy Virgin with the Child“ sitting in a stone niche (Madryt, Museo Thyssen Bornemisza), interpreted as a presentation of the Church, whose „presence“ and „reality“ is by this shadow emphasized, compare K.M. Birkmeyer, Notes on the Two Earliest Paintings by Rogier van der Weyden, „The Art Bulletin“ XLIV/4, 1962, s. 330, il.1; A. Umland, T.M. Abatemarco, Rogier van der Weyden – Madonna Enthroned [entry in:] C. Eisler, The Thyssen – Bornemisza Collection. Early Netherlandish painting, London 1989, p. 70, ill. on p. 63, 64, 73. See also V.I. Stoichita, Krótka historia cieny, Kraków 1997 (translations P. Nowakowski), pp. 72, 81, ill. 21. A shadow accompanied also originally also sitting in a stone niche (currently repainted) „The Holy Virgin with the Child“ (ill. 38) from Durán Collection (Madryt, Prado), what's proved by a copy of this painting made by a Spanish painter in the beginning of 16th century, compare De Vos, op.cit., p. 189, ill. 5 a on p. 190.
111. Dimensions: 151,5 x 61 cm; Frankfurt nad Menem, Städelsches Institut; compare. Belting, Kruse, op.cit., p. 170, tabl. 74; Kemperdick, op.cit., tabl. 2, pp. 12-28, ill. 11 – review of this ansamble and reconstruction of the altar.
112. It's good to remind, that Viennese, cathedral – rainbow-hued crucifix (about 1430-1440) is attended as for work of the Netherlandean artist, or just trained there, made on base of prototype by Hubert van Eycka, and made a little later, preserved in Berlin but originated from the Viennese cathedral relief with St. Cristopher – as importation from Utrecht, that had been made basing on Eyck's drawing – sketches, compare. Schultes, op.cit., p. 82.
113. Some descriptions dated on 1456 and 1524 prove an existance in king of Neapol Alfons I' collection three painted by Rogera on canvas paintings of Passion matter, compare Wolfthal, op.cit., p. 15; De Vos, op.cit., pp. 61, 397f; P. Nuttall, „Panni Dipinti di Fiandra“: Netherlandish Painted Cloths in Fifteenth-Century Florence [w:] The Fabric of Images..., p. 111. However some doubts evokes originated from 1604 information mediated by Carel van Mander – who incorrectly merged Roger's activity with a famous of its paintings on canvas, Brugge – because of his speciality in painting large figures on canvas, compare. De Vos, op.cit., s. 69. 114 Wolfthal, op.cit., s. 6-12, 19; C. Reynolds, The Function and Display of Netherlandish Cloth Paintings [w:] The Fabric of Images..., s. 91; Nuttall, op.cit., s. 109-117. Majority of gathered by Diane Wolfthal (op.cit., Cat. 8, 9 pp. 44 f, fig. 68 f, Cat. 11, 12 pp. 45-47, fig. 70 f, Cat. 17, 18 pp. 49 f, fig. 77 f, Cat. 21 pp. 50 f, fig. 80, Cat. 26-29 pp. 53-56, fig. 86-89, Cat. 31 – 36 pp. 56-59, fig. 91-101, Cat. 39 pp. 59 f, fig. 104, Cat. 43 pp. 61 f, fig. 106, Cat. 45 pp. 62 f, fig. 53, Cat. 47 pp. 63 f, fig. 108 f, Cat. 50, 51 p. 65, fig. 113, 28, Cat. 55 p. 68, fig. 50, Cat. 66 p. 74, fig. 16f, Cat. 68 pp 74 f, fig. 14, Cat. 70 -72 pp. 75-77, fig. 129-131, Cat. 78-85 pp. 80-83, fig. 136-145, Cat. 108 p. 88, fig. 158) of the Netherlandean paintings on canvas have also preserved or supposed prototypes on board.
115. In the Malopolska region board – painting a shadow casted by some objects or figures's feet came into being in the beginning of 16th century, for instance on some quarters of St. John the Almoner poliptych (Kraków, National Museum), compare Gadomski, Gotyckie malarstwo... 1500-1540, ill. 3-4, 8-9, in miniature painting in majority of scenes of the Baltazar Behem Codex (1505-1512; Kraków, Jagellonian Library, manuscript 16), ccompare Z. Ameisenowa, Kodeks Baltazara Behema, Warszawa 1961, ill. 1-

-23, I-III (on miniature „The Dressmaker's workshop [chart 250, ill. I] a shadow casted on a wall wraps up a figure of standing cutter of clothes), in wall painting it accompanied figures of Church's Fathers (about 1505-1515) in one of the chambers at 16 Kanonicza Street 16 in Cracow (unpublished painting).

116. Compare De Vos, op.cit., ill. on pp. 170, 227.

117. Compare illustrations in: Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo...1460-1500*, il. pas-sim.

118. Compare De Vos, op.cit., in turn illustrations on pages. 181, 209, 211, 218-219, 227-229, 239, 289.

119. On engraving by Israhel van Meckenem (L. 159) *Salvator mundi* is standing analogically – but right-oblique parquetry floor, compare Hollstein's German..., XXIV A, ill. on p. 62. A parquetry floor of chess-board pattern, in convergent perspective, is popular motif in the Cracow painting of the second half of 15th century and first few decades of the following. Oblique perspective appears occasionally on altar's leafs, with various effects anyway: composition of pairs of quarters and left- or right-oblique parquetry-floor had given an impression of convergent perspective, just like on connected with St. John the Great obverse and reverse of leafs of triptych in Zborówek from about 1480, obverses of the inner leafs of polyptych in Szydłowiec from about 1507-1510 or at obverses of leafs of Zborówek from about 1530, compare . Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo...1460-1500*, pp.147f, ill. 110 f; Same Author, *Gotyckie malarstwo... 1500-1540*, pp. 82f, ill. 107, 109 f; p. 98, ill. 171. On the pairs of quarters of obverses and reverses of leafs of altar from Dominican church in Cracow from 60ties of 15th century (Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe) and on originated from the left leaf quarter in Zalasie from about 1500 a parquetry-floor is right-oblique only, on obverses and reverses of Wola Rafałowska triptych from about 1510-1520 (Archidiecezjalne Muzeum in Przemyśl) – left-oblique only, compare Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo...1460-1500*, p. 171, ill. 238 f; pp. 17, 65, ill. 217; Same Author: *Gotyckie malarstwo...1500-1540*, p. 85, ill. 133 f. On the centre painting or sole painting, an oblique-perspective parquetry-floor appears vary exceptionally, just in the scene of The Holy Virgin Falling Asleep on triptych from about 1460-1470 that had been originated from unknown town in

Kujawy diocese (National Museum in Warsaw) and also some younger painting of analogous subject in Naramice near Wieluń, compare Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo... 1460-1500*, pp. 130 f, ill. 32, 230.

120. *Małkiewiczówna, Chrystus... I/37*, pp. 76 f.

121. Compare: Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo... 1460-1500*, p. 155, ill. 123.

122. Compare B. Przybyszewski, *Kapituła krakowska za kanonikatu Jana Długosza (1436-1480) [w:] Długossiana. Studia historyczne w pięćsetlecie śmierci Jana Długosza*, Warszawa 1980 (*Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, DLXI: *Prace historyczne*, 65), p. 26.

123. Compare: F. Piekosiński, *Heraldyka polska wieków średnich*, Kraków 1899, pos. 32 on pp. 62f, fig. 84; J. Szymański, *Herbarz średniowiecznego rycerstwa polskiego*, Warszawa 1993, p. 137 and ill.; Same Author, *Herbarz rycerstwa polskiego z XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2001, pp. 105 f, ill. on p. 119.

124. The oldest known record, contained in parish files of Brześć Kujawski, originates from 1406 and refers to family from Krajewice (de Crayewice), Compare S. Kozierowski, *Nieznane zapiski heraldyczne*, cz. II, „*Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie*” VI – 1921-1923, Kraków 1923, p. 3, pos. 4. In *Liber beneficiorum* by Jan Długosz just very few Jasieńczycy appear in the Sandomierz archidiaconate: Mikołaj Gol co-owner of Przybysławice, Mikołaj Chustka co-owner of Krzeczkwice, Jan Gaba (Gamba) co-owner of Krzeczkwice and Obrazowa and Rynarczyce, compare: Joannis Długosz Senioris Canonici Cracoviensis *Opera Omnia*, VIII: *Liber beneficiorum dioecesis cracoviensis II: Ecclesiae parochiales*, Cracoviae 1864, pp. 334, 335, 351, 353. See also: A. Wolff, *Mazowieckie zapiski herbowe z XV i XVI wieku*, Kraków 1937, pos. 850 on p. 188 (1506), pos. 994 on p. 229 (1524), pos. 1002 on p. 231 (1525), pos. 1031 on p. 239 (1533).

125. *Klejnoty Długoszewe*. With critical review and edited dr M. Friedberg, „*Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego*” X – 1930, Kraków 1931, pp. 10-17, 21f, 90 – pos. 167 and 106 – pos. 162. The Lvov manuscript is preserved currently Iwan Franko University Library in Lvov, Warsaw – from the Zamoyscy Estate Library in Warsaw – burned in 1944.

126. B. Paprocki, *Gniazdo cnoty, Zkąd Herby Rycerstwa sławnego Królestwa Polskiego, Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego, Ruskiego, Pruskiego, Mazowieckiego,*

Zmudzkiego y inszych Państw do tego Królestwa należących Książąt y Panow początek swoy mają, w Krakowie, z Drukarni Andrzej Piotrkowczyka, Roku 1578, p. 95 – here are enumerated nobles: on Masovia the Karczewscy, Płock Province the Przeradscy and the Krajewscy, w Rawa District the Boscy, Sieradz – the Lichnowscy, Sandomierz – Stanisław Janowski; Same Author, *Herby rycerstwa polskiego*. Na pięcioro Xiąg rozdzielone, w Krakowie, u Drukarni Macieja Garwolczyka Roku Pańskiego 1584, p. 270f – here are mentioned also, among the others the Mijkowsky, the Radońscy, the Bielscy, the Zbroszkowie.

127. This top, according to T. Węclawowicz, *Gotyckie bazyliki Krakowa*, Kraków 1993, p. 36 and footnote 214 – had been erected in the very beginning of 15th century. Problem of dating (3 quarter of 15th century?) and its connecting of shields that adorn it with coats of arms with certain people, reconstructed in a changed arrangement and incomplete selection 1850 (compare H. Świątek, *Tajemnice herbów, „Renowacje” II/2*, 1999, reproduction of drawing by A. Płonczyński on p. 12) remains open.

128. This article can be probably West European, from the half of 15th century, or second half of 14th century and half of 15th century; on the bottom of foot there is engraved the *Jasiona* coat of arms, on both sides letters: „f – l (or i)”, compare. J. Żmudziński, *Relikwiarz – ostensorium tzw. Krwi Chrystusa* [catalogue entry in:] *Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa Jubileuszowa. Skarby archidiecezji...*, II, pos.II/104 on p. 139; III, il. 515.

129. The chapel build to the main nave from the South, probably in the decline of 15th century, or breakthrough of 15th and 16th century, covered with a double-span cross- and rib- shaped vault, on keys – coats of arms: *Pobóg* and *Jasiona*, compare A. Szyszko-Bohusz i M. Sokołowski, *Kościół polskie dwunawowe, „Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki” VIII*, 1912, col. 94f, Tabl. V, nr 17. *Nota bene* an emblem of Stopnica town, appears since 1571: a gold key in red field – probably origins from the *Jasiona* coat of arms, compare. A. Salomon, *Rys historyczny dziejów Stopnicy*, Kielce 1999, pp. 5-7; *Heraldyka miast regionu Sandomiersko – Kieleckiego XIII-XX w.* Ed. K. Głowackiego, Kielce 2001, pp. 194-196.

130. To express such suppositions authorizes similar in dimensions (234 x 86 cm) an epitaph painting of Friedrich von

- Hirschlach, Cystercian abbot in Heilsbronn (deceased 1350), with full-form presentation of Christ the Sorrowful, compare P. Strieder, Tafelmalerei in Nürnberg, Königstein i.T. 1993, ill. 7, cat nr 2 on p. 166.
131. Compare. Belting, Kruse, op.cit., pp. 164, 187; De Vos, op.cit., p. 271.
132. In the Evangelia according to St. Mark 10, 47 Bartymeus beggarm son of Tymeus, says: „Fili David Iesu miserere mei”.
133. Turska, Chrystus..., l.c.
134. Lanz, op.cit., pp. 174-176, ill. 293.
135. M. Walicki, Malarstwo polskie. Gotyk – renesans – wczesny manieryzm, Warszawa 1968, cat. 12 on p. 296, il. 12; J. Gadomski, Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1420-1470, Warszawa 1981, pp. 33, 81, 111, 126, ill. 20.
136. T. Dobrzeński, Średniowieczny portret w sakralnej sztuce polskiej, „Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie” XIII/1, 1969, pos. 36 on p. 43; Gadomski, Gotyckie malarstwo...1420-1470, pp. 31, 40 f, 48, 122, ill. 93.
137. Compare. Dobrzeński, Malarstwo..., cat. 46 on pp. 147 f, ill. 46; Labuda, Malarstwo..., p. 166, cat. 21 on p. 216, ill. 201.
138. Full text is cited, among the others, by Dobschütz, op.cit., I, pos. 60 on p. 307*.
139. Look also: I. Kovács, Az eycki szent arc ábrázolások ikonográfiai eredete, „Ars Hungarica” XXV, 1-2, 1997, ill.2 on p. 102.
140. Compare. Smeyers, An Eyckian..., p. 196 – here is full reading of an inscription, where in place of speculum sanctorum it ought to be spiritus sanctorum, fig. 1; Same Author, L'Art..., ill. 43 on p. 263.
141. Compare. Smeyers, An Eyckian..., p. 211.
142. W.Kermer, Studien zum Diptychon in der sakralen Malerei, von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Mit einem Katalog, Düsseldorf 1967, pos. 127 on pp. 120f, ill. 163 and pos. 128 on p. 121, ill. 164; in both situations there are leafs of diptyches.
143. Domastowski, op.cit., p. 129.
144. „Vornen an demselben [sc. Pfeiler] stehet Salvator Mundi in eines Mannes vollkommener Grösse und hält eine Hand in die Höhe (gleichsam als wenn Er ein Juramentum praestirte), in der andern aber die Weltkugel. Über seinem Kopff sihet man Gott den Vater, und eine Krohne auff Seinem Häupte, und in der Hand ein Zepter, und umb Ihn vier Engel. Der erste zur Rechten hält in der rechten Hand einen Ablassbrief. Der andere zur Lincken in seiner lincken Hand ein Mandatsbrief. Wider, der unterste zur Rechten hält in seinen Händen ein Wejrauchgefäss, der andere aber, Bande und Stricke. Über der Decke, welche gleichsam aussihet als ein Türmchen, flieget ein geharnischter Engel, compare Gregorius Frisch, Der Sankt Marien Pfarrkirchen in Dantzig inwendige Abriss. Edited, introduced and commented K. Cieślak, Gdańsk 1999 (Bibliotheca Historica Gedanensis I), p. 34; compare Kruzelnicka, Flik, op.cit., p. 64.
145. Cracow Metropolitan Chapter Archives at Wawel (below: AKK), temp. sign. II.3. a-3, k. 214. This record, like another one, had been found by Krzysztof Czyżewski, MA. Look also: Małkiewiczówna, Chrystus...I/37, p. 75. Probably that time a armorial shield at the foot of clergyman had been repainted to up to date its shape, but with no change in coat of arms. Possible initiator of such „renewance” had been on of the cathedral canons of the Jasiona coat of arms?
146. Compare M. Rożek, Katedra Wawelska w XVII wieku, Kraków 1980 (Cracow Library, 121), pp. 50 f.
147. On one of the quarters of the Holy Virgin chapel vault (king Stephan batory, in polychromy made in 1594, and connected by authorship with Kasper Kurcz, compare A. Fischinger, Kasper Kurcz – renesansowy malarz krakowski, „Studia Renesansowe” II, 1957, pp. 224 f, ill. 6; in nave, first from the East side, the North window niche, a painting from 1616-1617, arranged vis-a-vis with half-figure presentation of the Holy Virgin, compare Rożek, op.cit., p. 113.
148. Fabrica Ecclesiae Cracoviensis. Materiały źródłowe do dziejów katedry krakowskiej w XVIII wieku z archiwów kapitulnych i kurialnych krakowskich. Edited E. Przybyszewski, Kraków 1993 (Sources to history of 11th century Wawel), pos. 329 on p. 154.
149. J. Banach, Ikonografia Wawelu, Kraków 1977, vol. 2, pp. 30-32, 38 f, 78 f ill. 168-171, 176 f, 216 f; A. Janczyk, Widok na kaplicę Zygmuntofską [catalogue entry in:] Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa Jubileuszowa. Kultura artystyczna... I, pos. I/264on p. 269 f; III, ill. 336.
150. D. Nowacki, Św. Stanisław [catalogue entry in w:] Wawel 1000-2000. Wystawa Jubileuszowa. Kultura artystyczna... I, pos. I/185; on p. 211; III, ils. 246.
151. Inwentarz zabytków i różnych przedmiotów dotyczących restauracji katedry na Wawelu (AKK, rkps bez sygn., s. 22) podaje w pozycji 311: „2 anioły z drzewa z utraconemi skrzydłami i złoceniemi przepaskami zresztą całe malowane na biało, 90 cm wys. Podtrzymywały dawniej obraz Chrystusa w południowej nawie krzyżowej”, por. J. Żmudziński, Zespół nieznanych późnobarokowych rzeźb drewnianych z katedry wawelskiej w zbiorach muzealnych Krakowa [w:] Katedra krakowska w czasach nowożytnych (XVI-XVIII w.), Kraków 1999, p. 142. In Archydiecesan Museum in Cracow there has been preserved one(?) figure of angels, originated from of St. Stanislas, compare as above, p. 137 and ill. 4; Nowacki, op.cit., p. 211.
152. Księga zaliczek I (AKK, sign. II. 3c-1), p. 122: POCHWAŁSKI [...] „an offer from 16.II.1904 started a renovation of cities, paintings 1). Christ from cross-nave. 100 [...] 3) St. Stanislas”. □