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The Paintings by Thaddäus Kuntz (Kuntze) from Kock and Lutsk



Thaddäus Kuntz (Kuntze)¹ (1727–1793), considered the most brilliant painter active in Poland in the eighteenth century, was born in the Lower Silesian town of Grünberg (Pol. Zielona Góra), from where his Catholic family moved to Cracow, presumably after the Prussian army entered Silesia in 1740.² The talented young man drew the attention of Bishop Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Zaluski, thanks to whose generosity, in 1747, he went to study painting in Rome. There, for almost a decade, he had been improving his skills at the Académie de France, the Scuola del Nudo, and in private lessons with Ludovico Mazzanti, a disciple of Giovanni Battista Gaulli. According to Olgierd Zagórowski, he was in Paris from 1752 to 1754³, while in the opinion of Kamila Szparkowska, he travelled to Poland in 1752 to come back to Rome at the beginning of 1753.⁴ In 1756 or 1757, Kuntz, summoned by Zaluski, returned to Cracow, presumably via Paris.⁵ After his patron died on 16 December 1758, the painter had no prospects for lucrative commissions or a fixed income, which caused him to leave Poland in August 1759. The direct impulse for that decision was an invitation from the Spanish court, but most probably he never arrived there, given that his presence in Rome is attested by archival evidence in 1759 and subsequent years.⁶ Kuntz lived and worked in Lazio until his death on 8 May 1793.

Thaddäus Kuntz, during his first and second stay in Italy, was commissioned to paint several works to be sent to Poland.

These include the four altarpieces that are the subject of this article, so far insufficiently discussed in the literature: *The Assumption of the Virgin*, from the parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Kock, and three paintings, *The Holy Trinity*, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, and *The Seven Archangels*, from the Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul in Lutsk (now in Ukraine).

Time and circumstances in which Kuntz created the paintings from Kock and Lutsk

According to Jan Antoniewicz-Bołoz, the author of the catalogue of an art exhibition organised in Lviv in 1894, thirteen of Kuntz's gouaches displayed there had been left by the painter in his will to Princess Anna Jabłonowska.⁷ As reported by the same source, the aristocrat had previously commissioned several paintings from Kuntz for the church in Kock and, when he died, she gave 500 ducats to his family. Based on this information and some stylistic features, in the 1920s, Zygmunt Batowski ascribed *The Assumption of the Virgin* from the high altar of the mentioned church to Kuntz. In the most substantial biographical article about the painter, written by Zuzanna Prószyńska in 1986, the canvas in question was considered to be his definite work and dated before 1779.⁸ At this point, it should be noted that it was destroyed in 1939 in a church fire and has not been studied since then due to the lack of photographs of it. However, it turns out that a black-and-white photograph of the picture from Kock, showing it after partial conservation, was published in 1931.⁹ The analysis of the work's composition, carried out on the subsequent pages, leaves no doubt that it was painted by Kuntz. As far as the time of its execution is concerned, it should be postponed to around 1782. The painting was intended for the new parish church, constructed in 1778–1782 by Anna Jabłonowska's commission.¹⁰ The building's architect, Simon Gottlieb Zug, made two versions of the high altar design around 1779, both of which provided for the erection of a freestanding altar table within the architectural and sculptural setting.¹¹ In this regard, it was only in the last phase of construction that the concept of erecting an architectural structure with an altarpiece placed against the wall was born.

Jabłonowska probably established contact with Kuntz during her stay in Rome at the beginning of 1770.¹² The altarpiece in question, commissioned more than a decade later, was definitely executed in Italy, just like those from Lutsk (which will be discussed in what follows). It cannot be ruled out that, as reported by Jan Antoniewicz-Bołoz, the painter executed also other religious works for the churches in the princess's estate, but this has not yet been confirmed.

The altarpieces *The Holy Trinity*, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, and *The Seven Archangels* (known under the incorrect



1. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Assumption of the Virgin», c. 1782, oil on canvas (lost in 1939), Kock, parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Photo: after Rutkowski, 'Zasadnicze uwagi'

title *The Apotheosis of Saint Michael the Archangel*) from the Cathedral of Lutsk were considered the work of Marcello Bacciarelli¹³, a court painter to King Stanislaus II Augustus, until the beginning of the twentieth century, when inscriptions were found on them proving Kuntz's authorship.¹⁴ In 1924, the painting of *The Holy Trinity* was destroyed in a fire which consumed



2. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Assumption of the Virgin», 1786, oil on canvas, Lutsk, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul.
Photo: Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw



3. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Assumption of the Virgin», 1786, oil on canvas, Lutsk, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul.
Photo: Mirosława Sobczyńska-Szczepeńska

the high altar. After the Second World War, under the provisions of the Potsdam and Yalta treaties, the Polish territories east of the Bug River, including Volhynia with its chief town of Lutsk, were incorporated into the USSR. The Soviets first turned the Roman Catholic Cathedral into a warehouse and a mechanic workshop; then, in 1980, they established the History of Religion

and Atheism Museum there.¹⁵ When in 1991, after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence, the State returned the building to the Catholic Church, there were none of Kuntz's paintings in it. Zuzanna Prószyńska, having only their photographs at her disposal, listed them among the works attributed to Kuntz, created around 1758.¹⁶

In 1996, Fr Ludwik Kamilewski, the parish priest of the Cathedral of Lutsk, asked the board of the Association 'Wspólnota Polska' ('Polish Community') to carry out the conservation of two paintings rolled around a tube.¹⁷ The inspection revealed three canvases, among them the above-mentioned *Assumption of the Virgin* and *The Seven Archangels*.¹⁸ During their conservation in 1997–1999, a barely legible signature: *Kuntz 1786* was found only on the second one. However, it seems certain that *The Assumption* was also signed, but the inscription was not preserved given the large losses of both the paint layer (about 40%) and the canvas, especially around the edges.¹⁹ The paintings were returned to their original places in the transept altars.

The date of 1786 on the canvas of *The Seven Archangels* implies – as Ryszard Brykowski rightly points out – that all three paintings by Kuntz were commissioned during the renovation of the interior of the former Jesuit church of Saints Peter and Paul in Lutsk (which suffered in a fire in 1780), elevated to the rank of Cathedral in 1787.²⁰ Hitherto, however, it was not known where and on whose initiative the artist had painted them. The answer to this question has been found in the episcopal visitation records for the Cathedral of Lutsk from 1796. A detailed description of the church's decoration and furnishings includes information that the paintings were executed in Rome and paid for by 'Laskaris, Patriarch of Jerusalem and Parish Priest and Protonotary Apostolic in Olyka'.²¹

Giorgio Maria Lascaris (1706–1795) was a Venetian nobleman, a descendant of the Byzantine Greek family that ruled the Empire of Nicaea from 1204 to 1261.²² At the age of 18, he entered the order of the Theatines in Rome. In 1738, he was appointed prefect of the Pontifical College of Theatines in Lviv, receiving from the Roman Curia the mission of supervising issues relating to the Greek Catholic Church. When leaving for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, he also undertook some tasks for James Francis Edward Stuart, claimant to the English and Scottish thrones²³, connected with the inheritance of his father-in-law, Prince Jakub Sobieski (who died on 19 December 1737).²⁴ The Italian friar won the trust and friendship of Prince Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, and thanks to his support, in 1741, he received the titles of the Parish Priest and Protonotary Apostolic in Olyka, the capital of the Radziwiłł family fee tail, as well as being appointed titular Bishop of Zenopolis in Lycia. In 1745, at the request of the Voivode of Lublin, Tomasz Zamoyski, Pope Benedict XIV delegated Lascaris to visit and reform the Zamoyski Academy (previously, the Italian had attempted to reform its subsidiary in Olyka).²⁵ Then, in 1748, he was named Abbot of Zhovkva and Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Lviv.²⁶ In the same year, he returned to Rome, where he soon became chief advisor to James Francis Edward Stuart, successfully mitigating conflicts between the Old Pretender and his son Henry Benedict, Duke of York.²⁷ The latter, who had been Cardinal-Priest since 1748, when appointed Archpriest of the Vatican Basilica

in 1751, selected Giorgio Maria Lascaris to be his vicar. In 1754, the Theatine was designated titular Archbishop of Theodosia and, in 1758, titular Patriarch of Jerusalem. He was an expert on Polish affairs at the Roman Curia.

In 1761, the Cardinal Duke of York was installed as Cardinal-Bishop of Frascati and ruled the diocese for over 50 years.²⁸ He restored an old, ruined fortress in the town centre, which became his favourite residence, and next to it, he founded a modern seminary with a rich library. In the period 1775–1777, Thaddäus Kuntz executed a painted decoration for these buildings.²⁹ Based on information in the exhibition catalogue from 1894 (see above) about relations between the painter and Anna Jabłonowska, Maciej Lorent concluded that the Princess had recommended him to Henry Benedict Stuart during her visit to Rome in January 1770.³⁰ However, it seems much more likely that the hierarch engaged the artist on the advice of Lascaris. The latter kept in touch with the Polish community in Rome and maintained correspondence with the acquaintances made during his ten-year stay in Poland. It is worth noting that in 1746, Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Zaluski, as Crown Chancellor, took the side of the Theatine in a dispute with the professors of the Zamoyski Academy who opposed its reform.³¹ Certainly, Lascaris, just after his return to Rome in 1748, met Kuntz, who had been sent there by Zaluski about one year earlier.

Giorgio Maria Lascaris was never associated with the Cathedral of Lutsk, for which he commissioned three paintings from Kuntz. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to establish the reason for his generosity. Remarkably, the Italian clergyman's biography in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary* contains the incorrect statement that in 1786 he donated paintings depicting the Holy Trinity, the Assumption of the Virgin, and Saint Michael the Archangel to the Cathedral of Lviv.³² According to this source, Marcello Bacciarelli, brought them from Rome.

The Assumption from Kock and The Assumption from Lutsk

Zygmunt Batowski and Zbigniew Michalczyk are the only researchers to have commented on the artistic forms of the canvases from Kock and Lutsk representing the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Batowski remarked that the former composition is a variant of the latter, shown in mirror image (especially as far as the lower part is concerned), but further enriched with the figure of Christ depicted next to his Mother.³³ These observations are accurate, with the reservation that the painting from Lutsk, executed in 1786, is in fact a variant of the one from Kock, which dates from about 1782. Michalczyk, in turn, noticed that *The Assumption of the Virgin* from Lutsk shows certain analogies with Maratta's representation of the same subject, painted around 1707.³⁴



4. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Assumption of the Virgin», c. 1764, fresco, Bracciano, former Augustinian church of Santa Maria Novella. Photo: Marek Szczepański

The Assumption from the high altar of the parish church in Kock, destroyed in 1939, is known only from a black-and-white photograph [Fig. 1]. We can see a vertical rectangular painting with an arched top, which has a two-part composition. In its upper part, against the background of clouds, there is a seated



5. Thaddäus Kuntz, «Saint Lucia Assists the Assumption of the Virgin», 1781, oil on canvas, Rome, church of Santa Lucia della Tinta. Photo: Marek Szczepański

Christ, spreading his hands in a gesture of welcome to the Virgin who, shown a little lower, on his left-hand side, has her arms wide apart and is supported by angels. Both figures were represented in *di sotto in su* perspective. On Christ's right is a putto looking down on the Apostles gathered around an empty stone



6. Sebastiano Conca, «The Assumption of the Virgin and Saint Sebastian», 1740, oil on canvas, Rome, church of Santi Luca e Martina. Photo: Mirosława Sobczyńska-Szczepańska

tomb which, as well as its two-step platform, is placed diagonally, increasing the impression of spatial depth. At the extreme left, Saint John the Evangelist leans over the coffin and holds an edge of the shroud on which lies a rose. Opposite to him is Saint Peter, who falls to his knees in awe at the miracle he is witnessing. The other men look at each other or into the tomb with amazement.



7. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Assumption of the Virgin», c. 1781, brown wash, lead white and pen on dark yellow paper, Madrid, Prado Museum, inv. D001347. Photo: Prado Museum

In *The Assumption* found on the east transept altar in the Cathedral of Lutsk, Kuntz repeated the composition described above, reversing it from left to right and introducing some modifications: namely, he omitted the figure of Christ, and changed the positions and gestures of the angels and apostles, except for Saint John [Figs 2–3]. Moreover, the sharp foreshortening in the depiction of Mary was given up, her face is portrayed in the



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8. Girolamo Frezza after Carlo Maratta, «The Assumption of the Virgin», 1728, copperplate. Photo: public domain

9. Augustin Mirys, «The Assumption of the Virgin», c. 1750–1752, oil on canvas, Białystok, church of the Assumption of the Virgin.
Photo: Marek Szczepański

three-quarter view instead of in profile, and in the background, on the left side, there are Roman ruins in the form of a three-column fragment of a temple portico. The painting is characterized by bright, contrasting colours, typical of Kuntz's work. The apostles' robes are yellow-blue or green-red, while Mary is dressed in a pink dress, blue coat, and yellow scarf. It can be assumed that *The Assumption* from Kock had a similar colour scheme.

When depicting the Mother of God in her Assumption scene, Thaddäus Kuntz followed the iconographic scheme elaborated by Annibale Carracci in the altarpiece of the Cerasi Chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome (which in turn was inspired by Titian's famous painting in the Venetian church of Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari), subsequently transformed by Peter Paul Rubens, Carlo Maratta, Sebastiano Conca, Corrado Giaquinto, and other masters. Besides his above-mentioned paintings for Polish churches, Kuntz had earlier painted two

more works on the same theme. The first of them is a fresco altarpiece, dated to around 1764, in the high altar of the Augustinian church of Santa Maria Novella in Bracciano [Fig. 4]³⁵, while the second one, painted in oil on canvas in 1781, is located in the middle of the nave ceiling of the church of Santa Lucia della Tinta in Rome [Fig. 5].³⁶ Both images portray Mary with her arms raised, looking up to Christ awaiting her, lifted by angels or putti over an empty tomb, placed diagonally. In the Bracciano fresco, on the edge of the sarcophagus, there is a putto on its knees, looking inside. The meeting between the Blessed Virgin and her Son is watched by two figures shown on the left side of the composition: a standing angel and another putto, sitting on the lid of the tomb with his back turned to the viewer. In the painting in the Roman church, Mary's Assumption is assisted by a kneeling Saint Lucia of Syracuse and an angel sitting between her and the sarcophagus, holding two eyes, the saint's



10. Corrado Giaquinto, «The Assumption of the Virgin», 1739, oil on canvas, Rocca di Papa, church of Santa Maria Assunta in Cielo.
Photo: Miroslawa Sobczyńska-Szczepańska

attribute. The artist showed the Virgin and her Son in *di sotto in su* perspective, taking into account the canvas's location above the viewer.³⁷ He painted them in precisely the same manner in the canvas from Kock, changing only the arrangement of Christ's right hand. It is worth noting that the works in Rome and Kock were painted almost at the same time, at the beginning of the 1780s. In the painting from Lutsk, which is about five years later, the Blessed Virgin has a similar pose as in the fresco in the Augustinian church in Bracciano, except that her legs are not placed together. In the latter work, Kuntz was probably directly

inspired by Sebastiano Conca's *The Assumption of the Virgin and Saint Sebastian*, painted in 1740 for the Roman church of Santi Luca e Martina³⁸, given the analogous pose of the Virgin and the very similar arrangement of her robes, as well as the fact that in both paintings she is flanked by supporting angels, one of whom, seated below, looks up at her, while the other gazes down at the empty sarcophagus [Figs 4 and 6].

The Prado Museum collection holds a sketch of the Assumption of the Virgin [Fig. 7], executed by Kuntz, which is beyond doubt a preparatory drawing for the painting in Kock.³⁹ This is evidenced by the similar form and position of the sarcophagus and, above all, the almost identical poses and robes of Christ, his Mother, the two angels supporting her, and Saint Peter, who is shown on the right side. When painting the other apostles, Kuntz changed the original concept presented in the sketch. On the left, opposite to Saint Peter, there is Saint John the Evangelist, who looks inside the sarcophagus and pulls out the shroud. The presence in the foreground of the Prince of the Apostles and Christ's youngest pupil proves the influence of Carlo Maratta's *Assumption of the Virgin* (mentioned above) for the Chapel of the Conception in the Cathedral of Urbino, which was widely known thanks to a copperplate engraving by Girolamo Frezza in 1728 [Fig. 8].⁴⁰ In the canvas from Kock, Saint John holds the extremity of the shroud with his right hand, while in the one from Lutsk, with both hands, exactly as in Maratta's work.

It is worth highlighting that the composition invented by Maratta was repeated in the painting executed between 1750 and 1752 for the high altar of the parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Białystok, a town belonging to Jan Klemens Branicki, uncle of Anna Jabłonowska [Fig. 9].⁴¹ The Princess regularly visited Białystok, which was about 100 km away from her estate.⁴² What is more, Augustin Mirys, the painter who executed the aforementioned canvas, had most likely been brought to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth by her husband, Prince Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski.⁴³ Therefore, the possibility cannot be excluded that when commissioning the painting for the church in Kock, she wanted it to refer to the work she already knew.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Maratta's composition was still in vogue in Italy, as evidenced by the altarpiece by Stefano Pozzi in the Chapel of the Uditori di Rota in the Quirinal Palace.⁴⁴ Remarkably, this work was executed around 1768, as was the fresco *The Pontifical Power between the Justice and the Prudence*, on the vault in the Seconda Sala della Bandiera, adjacent to the chapel, attributed to Kuntz by Ludovica Trezzani.⁴⁵

The composition of the canvases from Kock and Lutsk, characterised by a strong spatial depth caused by the diagonal position of the sarcophagus and a free arrangement of the figures along its four sides, is evocative of *The Assumption of the Virgin* from the church of Santa Maria Assunta in Cielo in Rocca di



11. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Holy Trinity», 1786, oil on canvas (lost in 1924), Lutsk, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. Photo: Archive of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw



12. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Holy Trinity», c. 1776, oil on canvas, Soriano nel Cimino, former Augustinian church of the Holy Trinity. Photo: Marek Szczepański



13. Corrado Giaquinto, «Immaculate Conception with Elias the Prophet», c. 1739–1740, oil on canvas, a *modello* for the altarpiece in the church of Madonna del Carmine in Turin, Montefortino, Pinacoteca Civica 'Fortunato Duranti'. Photo: public domain

Papa, painted in 1739 by Corrado Giaquinto [Fig. 10]⁴⁶, whose style – as has long been argued in the literature – had a strong influence on Kuntz's oeuvre.⁴⁷ It is worth noting that *The Assumption of the Virgin and Saint Sebastian* [Fig. 6] was painted by Sebastiano Conca, Giaquinto's teacher and collaborator, at almost the same time.

The Holy Trinity from Lutsk

The painting *The Holy Trinity*, destroyed in 1924 in a fire which engulfed the high altar of the Cathedral of Lutsk, is known only from a black-and-white photograph [Fig. 11]. The Father and the Son are depicted sitting on clouds, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above them, surrounded by putti and angels. The Father is represented frontally, wrapped in a coat, a part of which floats over him as if blown by the wind. His right hand is raised, and his left is resting on the globe. The figure of Christ is portrayed in three-quarter view, while his face is shown in profile, turned towards the Creator. The wounds on the Saviour's bare torso, on the open palm of his left, and on his feet, recall his Passion, as does a cross depicted above him, being carried by angels. On the right side of the composition there is an angel shown sideways, who seems to be bearing a cloud with the divine persons upwards.

The canvas in question has a nearly identical composition as Kuntz's altarpiece, dating from around 1776, in the high altar of the Augustinian church of the Holy Trinity in Soriano nel Cimino [Fig. 12].⁴⁸ The artist only changed the poses of the putti and dropped the scene of *Saint Augustine Encountering the Child on the Seashore*, pictured in the lower left corner of the original version. It should be pointed out that the angel bearing a cloud is a mirror image of one of the angelic figures from *The Assumption* by Corrado Giaquinto from Rocca di Papa [Fig. 10], faithfully reproducing not only its pose but also the arrangement of its robes. According to Kamila Szparkowska, Kuntz's canvas from Soriano nel Cimino also references Giaquinto's *Immaculate Conception with Elias the Prophet*, executed in 1740 for the church of Madonna del Carmine in Turin [Fig. 13].⁴⁹ Certain analogies between both paintings are evident in the general disposition of the groups consisting of God the Father and the Blessed Virgin Mary respectively and the angels surrounding them, as well as in the location, in the lower part of the composition, of a scene with Saint Augustine in the first case and Prophet Elias in the second one.

The Seven Archangels from Lutsk

The theme of Kuntz's painting from the west transept altar in the Cathedral of Lutsk has previously been identified by researchers as the apotheosis of Saint Michael the Archangel, but in fact, the artist presented the Seven Archangels [Figs 14–15]. Remarkably, according to the episcopal visitation records from 1796, the canvas depicts 'Michael and Raphael with other holy angels'.⁵⁰ The leader of all angels is shown in the upper part of the composition, on its axis. Slightly lower, on the left side, there is Saint Gabriel, while underneath, on the right, is Saint Raphael with a little boy. The other archangels are depicted kneeling in



14. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Seven Archangels», 1786, oil on canvas, Lutsk, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. Photo: Archive of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw

the background: one to Saint Michael's right and three to his left. There are also two putti, one between Saint Michael and Saint Raphael, the other between Saint Gabriel and the child. The angelic figures are situated on a huge cloud touching the ground on which Saint Raphael's little companion stands, terrified as he moves away from the snake depicted in the canvas's lower left corner. Above Saint Michael, against a background of



15. Thaddäus Kuntz, «The Seven Archangels», 1786, oil on canvas, Lutsk, Cathedral of Saints Peter and Paul. Photo: Marek Szczepański

glory, there is an equilateral triangle symbolising the Holy Trinity, surrounded by putti and angelic heads.

The painting by Kuntz, executed in 1786 for the Cathedral of Lutsk, is a manifestation of the cult of the angels, which developed significantly in the era of the Counter Reformation, after the 1516 discovery of the fresco representation of the Seven Princes of Heaven, probably by a late medieval Sicilian school,



16. Hieronymus (Jerome) Wierix, «The Seven Archangels», before 1619, copperplate, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951, acc. no. 51.501.6402. Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art

in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Palermo.⁵¹ The image (not preserved) is known from an engraving by Hieronymus Wierix, made before 1619 [Fig. 16]. In the lower part of the composition are the archangels, standing in a row, with their attributes and names written in halos: Saint Michael in the centre, piercing the dragon with a spear; on his right, Saint Raphael, Saint Uriel, and Saint Gabriel; and on his left, Saint Sealtiel, Saint Jehudiel, and Saint Barahiel. Above, the Holy Trinity, adored by the Virgin and the saints, is depicted. Devotion to the so-called Seven Angels from Palermo quickly gained great popularity in Sicily, from where the cult was transferred to Rome



17. Federico Zuccari (attr.), «The Seven Archangels», 1600, oil on panel, Rome, church of the Gesù. Photo: Mirosława Sobczyńska-Szczepańska

by Fr Antonio Lo Duca (1491–1564), who had discovered the fresco. As chaplain to Cardinal del Monte, the Sicilian priest wrote a liturgy for the Mass of the Seven Archangels, and in 1561, after several years of efforts, he managed to obtain papal approval for the construction of the church within the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian, a place indicated to him by the angels in a revelation he had experienced twenty years earlier. On the high altar of the church, which was dedicated to the Most Blessed Virgin Mary and all the Angels and Martyrs, there is a painting depicting the Mother of God as a Madonna of Milk surrounded by the Seven Archangels, a copy of a mosaic (not



18. Thaddäus Kuntz, «Saints Michael and Raphael, Archangels», 1758, oil on canvas, Cracow, Pauline church of Saint Michael the Archangel and Saint Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr. Photo: Mirosława Sobczyńska-Szczepańska

preserved) in the Basilica of San Marco in Venice, commissioned by Lo Duca in 1543.⁵²

The revival of the devotion to angels, regarded as intermediaries between humans and God, was vigorously promoted by the Society of Jesus.⁵³ The angelic beings were chosen as patrons of one of the chapels of the Gesù in Rome, the mother church of the Order, where, before 1593, an altarpiece by Scipione Pulzone depicting the Seven Archangels had been placed.⁵⁴ It is noteworthy that in 1599, the Oratorian Cardinal Cesare Baronio commissioned a painting for his titular church of Santi Nereo e Achilleo, showing the Madonna being adored by seven angels without attributes or names.⁵⁵ That same year, he published the eighth volume of his *'Annales Ecclesiastici'*, in which he reported on the prohibition, imposed by Pope Zachariah in 745, against using the names of angels not named in the Bible, which meant that only Saint Michael, Saint Raphael, and Saint Gabriel could be mentioned by name. It can therefore be inferred that the prominent Oratorian advocated this traditional position in the theological debate that was going on at the time. As Alessandro Zuccari rightly pointed out, the possibility cannot be excluded that Baronio influenced the iconography of the painting *The Seven Archangels in Adoration of the Holy Trinity* [Fig. 17], which, in the Jubilee Year of 1600, replaced the work by Pulzone in the Angels' Chapel of the church of the Gesù.⁵⁶ In the new altarpiece, kneeling angelic figures are not presented equally: three of them, including Saint Michael in the centre (the only figure provided with his attributes), are shown in the foreground, partially obscuring the other four behind them. In contrast with the Palermo fresco, its engraved copy, and the painting in the Roman church of Santa Maria degli Angeli e Martiri, there are no inscriptions with angels' names, just as in the picture in the church of Santi Nereo e Achilleo.

In Kuntz's painting of *The Seven Archangels*, a privileged place is occupied by Saint Michael, Saint Raphael, and Saint Gabriel, whose cults have been officially recognized by the Catholic Church. According to tradition, Saint Michael, depicted as a knight-warrior, wears an elaborate cuirass, a Roman military coat, sandals, and a helmet with a plume.⁵⁷ The Prince of Angels holds a raised sword in his right hand and a pair of scales of justice in his left. Next to him sits a putto supporting an oval shield with the Latin inscription: *'Quis ut Deus'*. Kuntz thus did not follow the compositional model immensely popular in the Baroque era, devised by Guido Reni in his painting of 1630, in which Saint Michael defeats Satan, depicted as human, by piercing him with a spear. In the canvas from Lutsk, the Devil, shown in the form of a snake in the painting's lower left corner, is a complement to the group of Saint Raphael and Tobias. The latter was portrayed not as a youth but as a little boy due to the fact that in the Counter-Reformation era, the archangel considered God's healer began to be seen as the preeminent example of a guardian angel⁵⁸; such figures were usually depicted with

a child whom they protect from harm. Indeed, in Kuntz's painterly vision, the boy moves away from the snake in terror, while Saint Raphael holds his hand, pointing to Saint Michael and the symbol of the Holy Trinity, the source of salvation. Saint Gabriel, the third archangel mentioned in the Bible, is shown with a white lily, his most common attribute, symbolising the Virgin's purity. The other four archangels, whose names come from uncanonical apocryphal texts, are in the background in the act of contemplating God. The one between Saint Gabriel and Saint Michael holds a sceptre, an item which appears in Byzantine art as an attribute of archangels, who were usually depicted in the same manner as emperors.⁵⁹

At this point, it is worth mentioning the canvas representing Saint Michael and Saint Raphael as a guardian angel, painted by Kuntz in 1758 for the high altar of the Pauline church of Saint Michael the Archangel and Saint Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr in Kazimierz (now a district of Cracow) [Fig. 18].⁶⁰ Saint Michael, portrayed in the centre, in armour with a laurel wreath on his helmet and a sword in his hand, hovers above the ground, gazing up at the Tetragrammaton, while Saint Raphael, shown on the right, indicates it with his raised hand, looking at the boy standing next to him. The main figures are assisted by putti, two of which hold a shield bearing the inscription *'Quis ut Deus'*.

In his *Seven Archangels* for the Cathedral of Lutsk, Kuntz did not refer to his above-mentioned youthful work, executed almost 30 years earlier. It seems that when representing Saint Michael, Saint Raphael, and Saint Gabriel, he alluded to *The Three Archangels* in the church of Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli in Rome [Fig. 19]. That work, installed on the altar of the Archangels' Chapel, was executed at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Giuseppe Passeri (1654–1714), a Roman artist first trained under his uncle Giovanni Battista Passeri, and then in the studio of Carlo Maratta.⁶¹ He depicted the archangels against a background of clouds, forming a compact group, as a result of which Saint Michael, represented in the centre, is partially obscured by his companions. Saint Gabriel, shown in profile, looks at Saint Michael, who stares at a pair of scales he holds, while Saint Raphael turns his head towards a naked child. About half a century later, Passeri's composition was reproduced quite faithfully by an anonymous artist from the circle of Corrado Giacquinto [Fig. 20]⁶², to which Kuntz also belonged.⁶³ Compared to the original, the colour scheme is warmer, lighter, and more contrasting, and the archangels' robes are arranged in larger folds. Further, Saint Michael's face is depicted from the front; above him, there is an equilateral triangle instead of three angels' heads, and the child is shown in scanty clothing. These changes can also be noted in *The Seven Archangels* from the Cathedral of Lutsk. However, when painting the large-format altarpiece, Kuntz dispersed the figures taken from the prototype, partly modifying their poses, gestures, and the arrangement of their robes.



19. Giuseppe Passeri, «The Three Archangels», c. 1710, oil on canvas, Rome, church of Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli. Photo: Miroslawa Sobczyńska-Szczepańska



20. Circle of Corrado Giaquinto, «The Three Archangels», 18th c., oil on canvas, private collection. Photo: public domain

The four altarpieces painted by Thaddäus Kuntz for the Kock and Lutsk churches are characterized by their compositional panache, dynamic poses, and bright colour palette with contrasting combinations of pink and blue. As in other religious works from his second Roman period, the late Baroque classicism of Carlo Maratta and his followers intertwines with the Roman Rococo of Sebastiano Conca and Corrado Giaquinto.⁶⁴ Echoes of Neoclassicism (the influence of which Kuntz remained while painting works depicting secular subjects), manifested in a more static composition, can only be observed in the painting of *The Seven Archangels*. Regarding the approach to the theme, the latter canvas – in which Kuntz,

following the Catholic Church's official doctrine, emphasised the figures of Saints Michael, Raphael, and Gabriel – is highly original. Meanwhile, in representing the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity, he creatively adapted pictorial models commonly applied in post-Tridentine art. The compositions of the paintings in question were of Kuntz's invention, which, as Zbigniew Michalczyk rightly pointed out, was typical of his whole oeuvre.⁶⁵ Inspired by the works of other masters, the artist reinterpreted them creatively. When painting the Assumption of the Virgin, he referred to the depictions of this subject by Carlo Maratta, Sebastiano Conca, and Corrado Giaquinto; in the canvas of *The Seven Archangels*, he alluded

to *The Three Archangels* by Giuseppe Passeri, while the compositional arrangement of his representation of the Holy Trinity is a distant reminiscence of *The Immaculate Conception with Elias the Prophet*, with a repetition – as a ‘quotation’ – of an angelical figure from *The Assumption*, both canvases by Giaquinto.

The Holy Trinity from Lutsk, an almost exact copy of the painting from Soriano nel Cimino, and *The Assumption* from Lutsk, a mirror image of a partially altered composition from Kock, evidenced that Kuntz did not shy away from reproducing his own works.⁶⁶

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¹ In this article, the artist's forename and surname are written as they appear in the baptismal register of the church of Saint Hedwig of Silesia in Grünberg: Thaddäus Kuntz, see M. Wnuk, ‘W sprawie daty urodzenia Tadeusza Kuntzego’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 62, 3–4, 2000, p. 636. In signing his name, the painter also used the Latin and Italian variants of his baptismal name, Thaddaeus (or Taddaeus) and Taddeo respectively, as well as alternative forms of his surname, such as Kuntze, Chuntze or Cuntz. In Polish literature the form ‘Kuntze’ is used.

² For highlights of Kuntz's life and oeuvre, see F. Noack, ‘Kuntz Thaddäus’, in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. by U. Thieme, F. Becker, vol. XXII, Leipzig, 1928, p. 117; M. Loret, *Gli artisti polacchi a Roma nel Settecento*, Milan and Rome, 1929, pp. 22–23, 25–30; M. Loret, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku*, Rome, 1930, pp. 283–285, 287–294; M. Karpowicz, ‘Tak zwane “autoportrety” Tadeusza Kuntze-Konicza’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 28, 1, 1966, pp. 45–51; E. Schleier, ‘L'ultimo pittore del rococo a Roma. Opere sconosciute di Thaddäus Kuntz’, *Arte Illustrata*, 3, 27–29, 1970, pp. 92–109; M. Karpowicz, ‘Polonica w Akademii św. Łukasza’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 33, 4, 1971, p. 390; O. Zagórowski, ‘Kuntze Tadeusz’, in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XVI, 1971, pp. 205–207; A. Ryszkiewicz, ‘Tadeusz Kuntze’, in M. Walicki, W. Tomkiewicz, A. Ryszkiewicz, *Malarstwo polskie. Manierizm, barok*, Warsaw, 1971, pp. 417–419; E. Schleier, ‘Taddeo Kuntz decoratore del palazzo Rinuccini a Roma’, *Antichità viva*, 20, 5, 1981, pp. 23–29; E. Schleier, ‘Inediti di Taddeo Kuntz’, in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Federico Zeri*, vol. II, ed. by M. Natale, Milan, 1984, pp. 859–879; Z. Prószyńska, ‘Kuntze Tadeusz’, in *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. IV, ed. by J. Maurin-Białostocka, J. Derwojed, Wrocław, 1986, pp. 366–374; D. Dolański, *Tadeusz Kuntze – malarz rodem z Zielonej Góry (1733–1793)*, Zielona Góra, 1993; M. Banacka, *Biskup Andrzej Stanisław Kostka Żalusi i jego inicjatywy artystyczne*, Warsaw, 2001, pp. 38–41; K. Szparkowska, *Tadeusz Kuntze, il Taddeo Polacco, el gran pintor europeo del siglo XVIII y sus conexiones con España*, Madrid, 2017, PhD diss. Complutense University of Madrid, <<http://eprints.ucm.es/42445/1/T38745.pdf>> (accessed on 24 Sept. 2021).

³ Zagórowski, ‘Kuntze Tadeusz’, p. 205.

⁴ Szparkowska, *Tadeusz Kuntze*, pp. 59–60.

⁵ Karpowicz, ‘Tak zwane “autoportrety” Tadeusza Kuntze-Konicza’, pp. 45–51. Karpowicz's hypothesis that Kuntze visited Paris in 1756 has been accepted by other researchers; see Schleier, ‘L'ultimo pittore’, p. 92; Zagórowski, ‘Kuntze Tadeusz’, p. 205; Ryszkiewicz, ‘Tadeusz Kuntze’, p. 417; Schleier, ‘Inediti’, p. 859; Prószyńska, ‘Kuntze Tadeusz’, p. 368; Dolański, *Tadeusz Kuntze*, pp. 34–35; Szparkowska, *Tadeusz Kuntze*, p. 59.

⁶ Kuntz was awarded the third prize in the Scuola del Nudo competition in November 1759; see Karpowicz, ‘Polonica’, p. 390. From 1760 until his death in 1793 he was listed in the census record-lists called ‘stati d'anime’, first of the parish of San Marco and then, from 1770, of the parish of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte, with the reservation that the registries from 1762 and 1764 have not survived, see M. Wnuk, ‘Drugi okres rzymski Tadeusza Kuntzego w świetle materiałów z Archivio Storico del Vicariato al Laterano’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 57, 1–2, 1995, pp. 113–115.

⁷ J. Antoniewicz-Bołoz, *Katalog ilustrowany wystawy sztuki polskiej od roku 1764–1886*, Lviv, 1894, p. 2. Princess Anna Jabłonowska, one of the most eminent women in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century, was a great economic reformer and collector, as well as promoter of culture and art, see J. Bergerówna, *Księżna pani na Kocku i Siemiatyczach. (Działalność gospodarcza i społeczna Anny z Sapiechów Jabłonowskiej)*, Lviv, 1936.

⁸ Prószyńska, ‘Kuntze Tadeusz’, p. 370.

⁹ The photograph was published in J. Rutkowski, ‘Zasadnicze uwagi o konserwacji malowideł’, *Ochrona Zabytków Sztuki. Czasopismo poświęcone opiece nad zabytkami, inwentaryzacji i geografii zabytków*, 1930/1931, 1–4, p. 393, fig. 335.

¹⁰ M. Kwiatkowski, *Szymon Bogumił Zug*, Warsaw, 1971, p. 178.

¹¹ The Print Room of the Warsaw University Library, Inv. G.R. 2407, 2408.

¹² Loret, *Życie polskie*, p. 288.

¹³ J. Stecki, *Łuck starożytny i dzisiejszy*, Cracow, 1876, p. 191.

¹⁴ A. Wojnicz, *Łuck na Wołyniu. Opis historyczno-fizjograficzny*, Lutsk, 1922, p. 22. The paintings were taken out of the retabes to inspect the inscriptions on them by order of Bishop Karol Niedziałkowski.

- 15 R. Brykowski, 'Konserwacja trzech obrazów z pojezuickiego kościoła w Łucku', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 50, 4, 2002, p. 545.
- 16 Prószyńska, 'Kuntze Tadeusz', p. 368.
- 17 Brykowski, 'Konserwacja trzech obrazów', pp. 545–551. Conservation works were carried out thanks to the efforts of the Centre for Polish Cultural Heritage Abroad at the Association 'Wspólnota Polska', headed by Professor Ryszard Brykowski, and they were financed by the Senate of the Republic of Poland and the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for Polish Cultural Heritage Abroad at the Ministry of Culture and Art.
- 18 The third painting was *Saint Francis of Sales* by an unknown painter.
- 19 The losses to the painting *The Seven Archangels* reached 10% of the overall surface.
- 20 The former Cathedral of the Holy Trinity was destroyed by fire in 1781, see Stecki, *Łuck starożytny*, p. 186.
- 21 Archive of the Cracow Cathedral Chapter, A. Vis. Dec. Luceor. I, *Wizyta kościoła głównego wraz parafialnego łuckiego z rozporządzenia JWImc Xiędza Kaspra Kazimierza Kolumny Cieciszowskiego [...] przez WJM Xiędza Józefa Umińskiego kanonika katedralnego łuckiego [...] odprawiona [1796], fols 7^a–8^a*.
- 22 F. A. Aubert de La Chesnaye-Desbois, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse*, vol. XI, Paris, 1867, cols 538–611; G. B. di Crollanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili e notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti*, vol. II, Pisa, 1888, p. 11; F. Stopniak, 'Laskarys (Lascaris) Jerzy Hieronim Maria', in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XVI, 1971, pp. 520–521.
- 23 Known as the 'Old Pretender', he claimed the throne as James III of England and James VIII of Scotland.
- 24 E. Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy 1719–1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile*, New York, 2011, pp. 340–341.
- 25 The Zamoyski Academy, founded in 1594 by Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, was the first private institution of higher education in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.
- 26 S. Barącz, *Pamiętki miasta Żółkwi*, Lviv, 1852, pp. 76–77; the abbey at the collegiate church in Zhovkva was established in 1742 by Prince Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł.
- 27 A. Shield, *Henry Stuart: Cardinal of York and his Times*, London, 1908, pp. 147–150; Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy*, p. 340. Polish researchers mistakenly state that Lascaris returned to Italy only in 1757. See Loret, *Życie polskie*, p. 113; Stopniak, 'Laskarys', p. 520.
- 28 Shield, *Henry Stuart*, p. 174.
- 29 Maciej Loret states that Kuntz began work in Frascati as early as 1771, but according to information in the *Diario opere pastorali Card. Duca di York Vesc. Tusc. 1761–1803* (held in the Archive of the Cathedral of Frascati), discussed in detail by Paola Ferraris, the frescoes in the library and the chapel of the seminary were completed on 30 November 1775, while the pictorial decorations in the bishop's palace and the chapel Refugium Peccatorum in the church of the Gesù in Frascati were executed in 1777. See Loret, *Gli artisti polacchi*, pp. 26–27; Loret, *Życie polskie*, pp. 289–290; P. Ferraris, 'Il Cardinale Duca di York e Frascati', in *Arte per i papi e per i principi nella campagna romana. Grande pittura del '600 e del '700*, vol. II: *Saggi*, Rome, 1990, pp. 326–331.
- 30 Loret, *Życie polskie*, pp. 288–289.
- 31 E. Brańska, 'Andrzej Stanisław Żalusi a reforma Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i innych wyższych uczelni w Polsce Wettinów', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 28, 1, 1983, pp. 194–195.
- 32 Stopniak, 'Laskarys', p. 520.
- 33 Archive of the Polish Academy of Sciences, III-2: *Materiały Zygmunta i Natalii Batowskich*, 37: *Malarstwo polskie w XVIII w., Czechowicz, Konicz (Kuntz), uczniowie Czechowicza i Kuntzego, 1922–1932*, p. 272.
- 34 Z. Michalczyk, 'Malarstwo w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Szymona Czechowicza – problemy, środowiska. Ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem malarstwa sztalugowego'/Painting in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Time of Szymon Czechowicz: Main Problems and Artistic Centres, with Particular Emphasis on Easel Painting', in *Geniusz baroku. Szymon Czechowicz (1689–1775)/Genius of the Baroque. Szymon Czechowicz (1689–1775)*, exh. cat. National Museum in Cracow, ed. by A. Betlej, T. Zaucha, Cracow, 2020, pp. 101, 134.
- 35 The Bracciano church high altar fresco was the first of numerous works commissioned from Kuntz by the Augustinians. His paintings are found in other churches of the Order in Lazio: in Soriano nel Cimino, Cave di Palestrina, and Genazzano; see Schleier, 'L'ultimo pittore', pp. 96–101.
- 36 Prószyńska, 'Kuntze Tadeusz', p. 370; E. Schleier, 'Una decorazione poco nota di Taddeo Kuntz in una chiesa romana', *Arte Cristiana*, 76, 727 (luglio–agosto), 1988, p. 304; Z. Prószyńska, 'Malowidła Tadeusza Kuntzego w rzymskim kościele S. Lucia della Tinta (na marginesie artykułu E. Schleiera)', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 52, 1–2, 1990, pp. 114–115.
- 37 According to Erich Schleier, in the painting *Saint Lucia Assists the Assumption of the Virgin* in the church of Santa Lucia della Tinta in Rome, Mary's pose recalls that of the Faith in Kuntz's fresco in the Holy Trinity church in Soriano nel Cimino, painted in 1776 or shortly before that date. This observation is accurate, however, only with regard to the upper bodies of the two figures. Schleier, 'Una decorazione', p. 305.
- 38 G. Scavizzi, 'Conca, Sebastiano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 27, 1982 (<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sebastiano-conca_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/> [accessed on 24 Sept. 2021]).
- 39 The Prado Museum, cat. no. D001347, Thaddäus Kuntz, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, brown wash, lead white, pen on dark yellow paper, 427 × 258 mm (not exhibited). Kamila Szparkowska, not knowing the Kock *Assumption*, considered that sketch as a preparatory drawing for the painting *Saint Lucia Assists the Assumption of the Virgin*, see Szparkowska, *Tadeusz Kuntze*, pp. 112–113.
- 40 F. Negroni, *Il Duomo di Urbino*, Urbino, 1993, p. 114.
- 41 Z. Michalczyk, 'Wyposażenie i wystrój kościoła parafialnego. Wartości artystyczne obiektów z czasów Jana Klemensa Branickiego', in Z. Michalczyk, A. Oleńska, P. Jamski, *Tyczyn miastem Jana Klemensa Branickiego. Dzieje i znaczenie fundacji artystycznych*, Rzeszów and Tyczyn, 2009, p. 118; A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki. "Sarmata nowoczesny". Kreowanie wizerunku poprzez sztukę*, Warsaw, 2011, p. 83.
- 42 Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 184.
- 43 K. Niemira, 'Augustyn Mirys: nowe ustalenia i hipotezy/Augustyn Mirys: new findings and hypotheses', *Modus. Prace z historii sztuki*, 19, 2019, pp. 145–146, 155–156.
- 44 *Il patrimonio artistico del Quirinale. Pittura antica*, ed. by L. Laureati, L. Trezzani, vol. II: *La pittura murale*, Rome, 1993, p. 226.
- 45 *Ibidem*, p. 228.

- 46 P. Amato, *Corrado Giaquinto "noto per il suo valore nella pittura" (Molfetta 1703 – Napoli 1766)*. *Catalogo ragionato dei dipinti molfettesi*, Molfetta, 2002, p. 23.
- 47 Loret, *Gli artisti polacchi*, p. 27; C. Maltese, *Arte nel Frusinate dal secolo XII al XIX. Mostra di opere d'arte restaurate a cura della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie del Lazio*, Frosinone, 1961, pp. 53–54, nos 78–79; Schleier, 'L'ultimo pittore', pp. 94–97; Prószyńska, 'Kuntze Tadeusz', p. 369.
- 48 Schleier, 'L'ultimo pittore', pp. 97, 99.
- 49 Szparkowska, *Tadeusz Kuntze*, pp. 293–295.
- 50 Cf. note 21.
- 51 É. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du XVI^e siècle, du XVII^e siècle et du XVIII^e siècle, étude sur l'iconographie après le Concile de Trente. Italie, France, Espagne, Flandres*, Paris, 1932, pp. 297–299; C. Bernardi Salvetti, *S. Maria degli Angeli alle Terme e Antonio Lo Duca*, Città di Castello, 1965, pp. 165–171.
- 52 Bernardi Salvetti, *S. Maria degli Angeli*, pp. 115–119.
- 53 A. Zuccari, 'Bellarmino e la prima iconografia gesuitica. La Cappella degli Angeli al Gesù', in *Bellarmino e la Controriforma*, ed. by R. De Maio et al., Sora, 1990, pp. 611–612, 616.
- 54 J. Marciari, 'Girolamo Muziano, Scipione Pulzone, and the First Generation of Jesuit Art', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 6, 2019, pp. 207–210.
- 55 Zuccari, 'Bellarmino', p. 617.
- 56 *Ibidem*, p. 618. The panel *The Seven Archangels in Adoration of the Holy Trinity* from the Angels' Chapel of the church of the Gesù was traditionally associated with Federico Zuccari (c. 1540–1609). However, this attribution was questioned by Alessandro Zuccari, who pointed out the author's initials, F.D.Z, with the information that he had done this work at the age of 21, discovered on the painting during its restoration.
- 57 F. G. Holweck, 'Michael the Archangel', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia. An international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church*, ed. by Ch. G. Herbermann et al., vol. X, New York, 1911, p. 277.
- 58 J. Von Henneberg, 'Saint Francesca Romana and Guardian Angels in Baroque Art', *Religion and the Arts*, 2, 4, 1998, p. 467. The cult of the guardian angels was proclaimed by Pope Paul V in 1608.
- 59 H. Maguire, 'Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art', *Gesta*, 28, 2, 1989, pp. 222–223.
- 60 Zagórowski, 'Kuntze Tadeusz', p. 206; Prószyńska, 'Kuntze Tadeusz', p. 368.
- 61 S. Romano, 'Contributi a Giuseppe Passeri', *Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 6, 1977, pp. 159–174; C. Giometti, 'Passeri, Giuseppe', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 81, 2014 (<[https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-passeri_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giuseppe-passeri_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>) [accessed on 24 Sept. 2021]); M. Bevilacqua, *Santa Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli. Arte e storia di una comunità religiosa romana nell'età della Controriforma*, Rome, 2009, pp. 69, 83.
- 62 <<https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/old-master-paintings-n09161/lot.109.html>> (accessed on 24 Sept. 2021). The canvas (134.8 x 98 cm) was sold at Sotheby's in 2014 under the wrong title, *The Archangel with Saints*.
- 63 Schleier, 'L'ultimo pittore', pp. 94–97.
- 64 Cf. Loret, *Gli artisti polacchi*, p. 27; Maltese, *Arte nel Frusinate*, pp. 53–54, nos 78–79; Schleier, 'L'ultimo pittore', pp. 94–97; Prószyńska, 'Kuntze Tadeusz', p. 369.
- 65 Michalczyk, 'Malarstwo w Rzeczypospolitej/Painting in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth', pp. 101, 134.
- 66 Kuntz also painted variants of such works of his as *The Murder of Saint Adalbert*, *The Miracle of Saint John Cantius*, *The Miracle of the Church*, and *Christ before Pilate*. See Ryszkiewicz, 'Tadeusz Kuntze', pp. 418–419; Z. Prószyńska, 'Wokół wawelskiego obrazu Tadeusza Kuntzego Chrystus przed Piłatem', *Studia Waweliana*, 2, 1993, pp. 87–94.