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# THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY MASS
## IN POLISH ART (12th – 18th CENTURIES)

Content: I. The beginning: oldest renderings from the 12th and 13th centuries: 1. The liturgical renderings (*sensus litteralis*); 2. The symbolical and allegorical renderings (*sensus mysticus*); 3. The didactic renderings (*sensus moralis*); 4. The historical renderings; 5. The genre renderings; 6. The renderings with Saints (*Missæ Sanctorum*); II. The end: the last illustration.

The Holy Mass from past centuries, illustrated on miniatures, drawings and engravings, mural paintings, pictures and sculptures, opens for the contemporary spectator the heavenly world - the world both close and distant. Helping in the interpretation of the illustrations of medieval manuscripts and the engravings of old prints is the accompanying word: the scholarly word of the theologian taken from the Latin tracts on liturgy; the inspired word of the preacher once proclaimed from the pulpits and now saved in *postillas*, the vivid word of the hagiographer from legends and martyrologies; and the word of the poet sometimes living in sacred songs.

The subject of this paper is the analysis of representations of the Holy Mass in Polish art.[1] The time frame of this study is from the beginning of Christianity in Poland until the end of the 18th century: that is from its Baptism in 966 to the end of the First Republic in 1795. During this time the borders of the State changed extensively. Thus at times it included the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (with present day Byelorussia) and a great part of the Ukraine as well as Silesia and West Pomerania which were under the influence of German culture after the 14th century. I included pieces of Polish art preserved abroad as well as those destroyed or lost. Polish iconography assimilated Western patterns. Therefore numerous citations of foreign examples preserved in Polish collections are included, because they were mediating these patterns further East.

This paper is written from the perspective of art historian. Thus it is not so much an illustrated history of the Holy Mass in Poland as it is a history of illustrations of the Mass. It's an attempt to reconstruct the people's understanding and experience of the Holy Mass. It enters the area of interdisciplinary research and deals with the history of liturgy, sociology, dogmatics, Church history and hagiography. I tried to focus my attention on the theological and historical aspects.

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[1] The paper it is the summary of the author's book: M. JANOCHA, *Missa in arte polona. Ikonografia mszy świętej w średniowiecznej i nowożytnej sztuce polskiej*, Warszawa 1998. The inspiration for this book was P. SCZANIECKI, *Służba Boża w dawnej Polsce*, vol. I, Poznań 1962 and vol. II, Poznań 1966.

The basis of my investigation is formed by the illustrations of the liturgy of the Mass: namely the scenes representing a priest dressed in liturgical vestments celebrating the Mass at the altar. The key to the systematization and interpretation of the rich materials of illustrations uses the iconological method of Ervin Panofsky plus a structuralistic and semiotic analysis.

The renderings are divided into six groups. In the beginning the oldest renderings from the 12th and 13th centuries are described.

The first group of representations consists the liturgical representations, whose main subject is the Mass celebrated by the priest at the altar. The second group presents the liturgical scenes fit out with the visual symbolical and allegorical comment. With the help of Patristic exegesis which distinguishes in the Biblical text the literal, symbolical and moral meanings, we can apply *per analogiam* the term *sensus litteralis* to the liturgical representations and the term *sensus spiritualis* (*mysticus*) to the symbolical representations. In the third group are didactic representations that consist in *sensus moralis*. In the fourth group are situated the historical scenes. The fifth group is composed with the genre pieces. The last group is connected with Saints.

## I. The beginning: oldest renderings from the 12th and 13th centuries

Medieval art utilized the repertoire or conventional examples which were functioning in a common imagination. To the catalogue of such examples belongs the rendering of a priest in liturgical vestments standing by the altar represented in profile. This established pattern formed in the 9th – 10th century in western Europe appears for the first time in Poland in the oldest representations: on a panel of the bronze doors from Gniezno from about 1170 (phot. 1)[2]; on the seal of the dean Witosław from 1238[3]; on the seal of prince Leszek the Black after 1279[4] and on the capital of a column from the Cistercian monastery in Kołbacz in West Pomerania from the 3rd quarter of the 13th century (phot. 2)[5]. Three of the above-mentioned renderings show the liturgy celebrated by the priest turned face towards the faithful.[6] This testifies to the celebration

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[2] J. KARWASIŃSKA, *Drzwi gnieźnieńskie a rozwój legendy o św. Wojciechu*, in: *Drzwi Gnieźnieńskie*, praca zbiorowa, ed. M. Walicki, vol. I, Wrocław 1956, 20-41; L. KALINOWSKI, *Treści ideowe i estetyczne drzwi gnieźnieńskich*, in: *Speculum artis. Treści dzieła sztuki średniowiecza i renesansu*, Warszawa 1989, 26-28 with glosses 131-135 p. 353.

[3] F. PIEKOSIŃSKI, *Pieczęcie polskie wieków średnich doby piastowskiej. Uzupełnienie I*, in: *Rozprawy i materiały z dziedziny nauk dających poznać źródła historyczne polskie*, Kraków 1926, vol. 1, fasc. 1, 20.

[4] A. CHMIEL, *Pieczęć wójtowska krakowska z drugiej połowy XIII wieku*, "Rocznik Krakowski" nr 9, 1907, 219; IDEM, *Pieczęcie miasta Krakowa…*, "Rocznik Krakowski" nr 11, 1909, 86; Z. PIECH, *Pieczęć Leszka Czarnego z przedstawieniem św. Stanisława. Próba interpretacji*, ACr 15(1983), 331-343.

[5] G. CHMIELEWSKI, *Głowice z Kołbacza, Szadzka i Nowogardu*, in: *Materiały Zachodnio-Pomorskie*, vol. 3, Szczecin 1957, 215, phot. 10 and 14; M. JANOCHA, *'Czarcia głowica' z Kołbacza – propozycja interpretacji ikonograficznej,* in: *Kościół i sztuka Pobrzeża Bałtyku*, (*Studia Borussico-Baltica Toruniensia. Historiae artium* 3), ed. D. MURAWSKA, Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika 1998, 123-141.

[6] M. JANOCHA, *Rozumienie i przeżywanie mszy świętej w polskim średniowieczu w świetle świadectw ikonograficznych*, "Saeculum Christianum" 3(1996) nr 1, 65-84.

*versus populum* in Poland until the end of the 13th century, while in Western Europe at the turn of the 9th century the process of moving the altar towards eastern wall began and consequently the turning of the priest's back on the faithful. This is confirmed by Western iconography.[7]

## 1. The liturgical renderings (*sensus litteralis*)

The later evolution of the iconography of the Holy Mass one can observe in the miniatures of the bishop's pontificals.[8] The *Pontificale* of bishop Jan Rzeszowski from the end of the 13th century, imported from Italy (phot. 3)[9], presents still the traditional profile form, while the Cracovian codes from the 15th century use the new diagonal perspective (phot. 4)[10]. The imaginary point of view moves then obliquely towards the central nave in order to stop on the axis of the church and to identify with the point of view of the faithful, thus building a central symmetric composition like in the pontifical of Erazm Ciołek from about 1505-1515 (phot. 5)[11]. The prototype of the new perspective was created in Paris about 1420 by the Master of the Book or Hours of Marshal Boucicaut[12] and popularized in the Netherlands by Roger van der Weyden. The change of the point of view over the 14th and 15th centuries from the abstract-back to the central, more "personalistic" one, illustrates the change of Eucharistic devotion towards the deeper and more personal contact with Christ present on the altar. This expressed the spiritual movement of *devotio moderna*.

In the Middle Ages the Holy Mass was treated as an act of the priest. Therefore one can hardly find the presence of the faithful in ihe iconography of this time. The allegorical vision of the hierarchical Church concentrated at the Eucharist is represented in the miniatures of the *Decretalia Gregorii IX* from the end of the 13th and the middle of the 14th centuries (phot. 6)[13].

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[7] M. JANOCHA, *Na marginesie lektury książki Klausa Gambera*, "Christianitas" nr 3/4, 2000, 331-334. My article caused a polemics: Górska, M. Milcarek, *Mimo wszystko – versus Dominum*, "Christianitas" nr 5, 2000, 185-193.

[8] M. JANOCHA, *Ewolucja liturgii mszalnej w XIV i XV wieku w Polsce w świetle świadectw ikonograficznych*, in: *Sztuka około 1400*, t. 2, ed. T. Hrankowska, Warszawa 1996, 297-317

[9] Z. OBERTYŃSKI, *Pontificale arcybiskupa lwowskiego Jana Rzeszowskiego w Bibliotece Kapitulnej w Gnieźnie*, Lwów 1930, 215.

[10] B. MIODOŃSKA, *Iluminacje krakowskich rękopisów z pierwszej połowy XV wieku w Archiwum Kapituły Metropolitalnej na Wawelu*, Kraków 1967, 40; EADEM, *Małopolskie malarstwo książkowe 1320-1540*, Warszawa 1993, 75. 136-138.

[11] B. MIODOŃSKA, *Rex Regum i Rex Poloniae w dekoracji malarskiej Graduału Jana Olbrachta i Pontyfikału Erazma Ciołka. Z zagadnień ikonografii władzy królewskiej w sztuce polskiej wieku XVI*, Kraków 1980.

[12] M. MEISS, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master*, Londyn 1968, 13, phot. 294.

[13] A. KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA, *Drogi przenikania iluminowanych kodeksów do Polski w XIII, XIV i XV w.*, in: *Symbolae Historiae Artium*, Warszawa 1986, 312; I. BŁASZCZYK, *Iluminacje średniowiecznych rękopisów ze zbiorów pomorskich*, in: "Gdańskie Studia Muzealne", vol. 3, Gdańsk 1980, 114; A. MELINKES, *The Corpus of the Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, in: "Studia Gratiana" nr 16, 1975.

The dynamism of the liturgical action can be expressed in a static picture in one of two ways: through the modus of "persistence", which expresses the Mass as the Mass; or through the modus of "while", that shows the precise instant of the Mass. The most often illustrated moment of the Mass was the Elevation of the Host and the Holy Communion.[14] The Elevation of the Host was introduced first in 1210 by a synod in Paris and it spread over the 13th and 14th centuries all over Europe.[15] It became the climax of the liturgy, being identified with Christ's death on the cross. In the iconography the Elevation became the summary of the Mass, and expressed the adorational and passionist current of devotion. Numerous representations in Poland allow us to follow the reception of foreign models as well as the development of the gesture of Elevation itself: the introduction of high consecration-candles, bells and incense (phot. 7)[16]. The subject of Elevation will be continued in the iconography in the following centuries even until today. The gesture of Elevation of the Chalice was introduced later and it didn't cause a great repercussion in iconography (phot. 8).

Looking at the elevated Host became in the Middle Ages the main purpose of the Holy Mass. It substituted for Holy Communion, which was received with a deep feeling of *mysterium tremendum* usually only once a year. No wonder that the representations of Holy Communion in the Middle Ages are very rare.[17] The distribution of the Holy Communion often took place outside the Mass, as a separate act of cult, and became fixed after the Council of Trent, and consequently appears in the iconography of that time.[18] In Polish iconography the scenes of Holy Communion appear not before the Husitism in the 15th century and the Reformation in the 16th century (phot. 9)[19]. The scenes of Holy Communion (of course only *sub specie panis*), more frequently in the 17th and the 18th centuries, reflect the practice of its more frequently reception.

The themes of the Elevation of the Host and Holy Communion, dominating in the liturgical iconography, symbolise two aspects of the Holy Mass: sacrifice and feast, *sacrificium et convivium*. The rest of the rites is shown much more rarely (phot. 10).

Protestant theology rejected the sacrificial and sacramental character of the Holy Mass, and emphasized the somewhat forgotten tradition of *fractio panis*, a fraternal banquet and a holy meal of bread and wine. An important example for Evangelical representations of the Supper of the Lord was the Byzantine-Ruthenian theme of *Koinonia*, Communion of the Apostles.

One of the ways of expressing the dynamism of the Mass, is through narrative cycles, which show on following pictures, succeeding acts of the priest at the altar, like in

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[14] M. Janocha, *Ryt podniesienia hostii i kielicha w polskiej ikonografii*, "Saeculum Christianum" 5(1998) nr 1, 103-130.

[15] A. Franz, *Die Messe in deutschen Mittelalter*, Freiburg i. Br. 1902, 104; P. Browe, *Kommunionriten früherer Zeiten*, "Theologie und Glaube" nr 24 (1932), 592-607; Idem, *Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten*, „Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft" nr 15, 1941, 23-66; E. Dumoutet, *Le dèsir de voir l'Hostie*, Paris 1926; Idem, *Histoire du rite d'élévation. Eucharistie*, Paris 1947.

[16] Z. Ameisenowa, *Rękopisy i pierwodruki iluminowane Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, Kraków 1958, nr 22, 28.

[17] M. Janocha, *Komunia święta w polskiej ikonografii*, „Saeculum Christianum" 6 (1999) nr 1, 87-103.

[18] W. Schenk, *Udział ludu w ofierze Mszy Świętej. Zarys historyczny*, Lublin 1960.

[19] L. Bernacki, *Pierwsza książka polska,* Lwów 1918, 47 and 124.

the frames of a film, for example twelve miniature initials from *Graduale Barnardinensis* from Ostrzeszów made in 1744.[20] This tradition goes back to Carolinian times.

A separate group among the liturgical representations takes the theme of a Funeral Mass - an interesting testimony to customs accompanying the departure from this world (phot. 11).[21]

Ecclesiastical iconography rarely confined itself to the simple illustration of visible signs of the liturgy. Symbolical religious sensibility as well as the nature of the Mass itself demanded the representation of the essence of the matter.

## 2. The symbolical and allegorical renderings (*sensus mysticus*)

The copy of a miniature taken from an unknown French code made in the first half of the 13th century (phot. 12) introduces us to the heart of the Paschal Mystery performed on the altar. The initial "T"(*et igitur*) from the code made in the Rhine school about 1300 joins the Elevation of the Host with the Elevation of the bronze serpent in the desert - the Old-Testament figure or Christ.[22] The wall painting from St. Nicolas church in Brzeg combines a bishop with a chalice and the *Arbor Mortis* with dying martyrs from Mount Ararat - an allusion to the knights killed in war with the Hussites (phot. 13)[23]. A recapitulation of Polish medieval Eucharist iconography can be found in the fresco of Christ in a "Mystic Press" in the Franciscan monastery in Cracow painted about 1440 (phot. 14)[24]. The Cracovian mural painting accentuates the theological ideas that the Hussites were fighting against: the passional and trinitarian character of the altar sacrifice; the mediation of the Catholic Church; the intercession of the Mother of God and the angels; and finally the salvation of souls as the result of Christ's death performed on the altar. The vertical, soteriological dimension of this painting is complementary to the horizontal and historical dimension that shows the Mass between two scenes of the Passion of the Lord. It can be seen as a remote echo of the experience or the Mass as *Passio Christi* current in the Middle Ages since Amalarius from Metz.

The allegorical-commemorative method of experiencing the Holy Mass called colloquially "the mystic school" consists in connecting obscure gestures of the priest at the altar with symbolic events taken from Biblical history. This idea had a remote repercussion in the woodcuts of German prayer-book from 1495 (see phot. 8). Aleksander Tarasewicz in the series of 39 copperplates in the prayer-book *Skarb żywota...*,

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[20] Preserved in the Library of the Diocesian Seminary in Płock, sign. IV,3,6.

[21] A. LABUDA, *Liturgia pogrzebu w Polsce do wydania rytuału piotrkowskiego (1631)*, Warszawa 1983, 101-103.

[22] The initial is in *Calendarium et Lectionarium* in Czartoryski Collection, Cracow, Kat. Czart. nr 1552, fol. 66r.

[23] A. KARŁOWSKA-KAMZOWA, *Śląsk*, in: *Gotyckie malarstwo ścienne w Polsce*, ed. J. Domasłowski, Poznań 1984, 92 and 214.

[24] H. MAŁKIEWICZÓWNA, *Interpretacja treści piętnastowiecznego malowidła ściennego z Chrystusem w tłoczni mistycznej w krużgankach franciszkańskich w Krakowie*, „Folia Historiae Artium" nr 8, 1972.

edited in Vilnius in 1682 gave this idea a new form interesting from an artistic and theological point of view.[25] Engravings form the narrative liturgical and allegorical cycle, where the following elements of the action of the Mass accompain the Gospel events connected with them and are presented both in the main altar picture and beside their Old-Testament figures shown in the background. Moreover in every picture there are representatives of particular classes of Polish society and monastic orders of the Church. The work of Tarasewicz is incomparably deeper and theologically more compact than later West European cycles of this kind from the 18th century.[26]

The Holy Mass appears also as the symbol or the Sacrament of the Eucharist in the iconography of the Seven Sacraments. All the medieval representations are imported and rare (phot. 15)[27]. This subject is of more frequent occurrence after the Council of Trent. The sacramental scenes are united often by the symbols of the passion; *Fons Vitæ*, the Cross, many a time in the version *Arbor Vitæ*. The Western patterns assimilated into Poland (phot. 16)[28] reached eastern borderlands like Lvov and Kiev, where they influenced the iconography of the Eastern Catholic Church[29].

The Council of Trent assigned sacral art a didactic function: *erudire et confirmare populum*. Afier that the expansion of new iconographical patterns became more intensive. For the first phase of *tridentimum* reform great intellectual allegories composed like theological rebuses are characteristic. One such *puzzle* was inspired by cardinal Stanislaw Hozjusz, the eminent theologian of this period. It's a picture called *Typus Ecclesiæ* painted for the church in Skolity in 1557 popularized later by some copperplates and replicas (phot. 17)[30]. The Holy Mass is shown here like one of the little pinions in a mysterious mechanism of the machine of grace all powered by the Blood of Christ.

However, Polish Baroque sensibility aimed at less intellectual and more emotional scenes. It founded its expression in the picture *Alegoria Ecclesiæ* in Buczek Wielki painted by Herman Han about 1619-23 (phot. 18)[31]. The Holy Mass (hardly visible in the interior of a gothic church) becomes the bond between Earth, represented by lay and ecclesiastical dignitaries (well known from the contemporary political stage), and Heaven, represented by the Saints. The celebration of the Holy Mass in the presence of papal and royal courts (one element of Han's composition), forms a popular Baroque theme *Missæ idealis*. It shows - in spite of realty - the idea of unity of Christian

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[25] M. JANOCHA, *Aleksandro Tarasevičiaus 1682 m. Vilniaus graviūrų ciklas 'Sacrificium Missae' liturginių-alegorinių „Vitae Christi' ciklų kontekste*, in: *Paveikslas ir knyga. LDK dailės tyrimai ir šaltiniai*, in series: "Acta Academiae Artium" Vilnensis nr 25, Vilniaus 2002, 81-105.

[26] For example *Tableaux da la Sainte-Messe avec des prières choisies*, Manheim 1738 containing 33 copperplates made by Philipp Andreas Kilian in Augsburg according to drawings of Johann Philipp Schlichten.

[27] Z. AMEISENOWA, *Rękopisy…*, *op. cit*., 22, phot. 25.

[28] A. TREIDEROWA, *Ze studiów nad ilustracją wydawnictw krakowskich w XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Biblioteki PAN" nr 15, 1968, 31.

[29] І. ЗАРАСКО, І. ІСАЄВИЧ, *Каталог стародрукив виданих на Україні*, vol. I, Львів 1981, nr 354 and vol. II.1, Львів 1984, nr 1279.

[30] T. CHRZANOWSKI, *Typus Ecclesiae – Hozjańska alegoria Kościoła*, in: *Sztuka pobrzeża Bałtyku*, Warszawa 1978, 275-308.

[31] J. St. PASIERB, *Malarz gdański Herman Han,* Warszawa 1974, 131-134.

Europe assembled to adore Christ present in the Eucharist. The medieval motive of passion is now replaced by the Baroque joyful glory of Heaven, that more and more descends to Earth and changes the Holy Mass into a real *Theatrum Dei* (phot. 19)[32]. The theology of the Eucharist deepened at Trent and including now sacramentology and ecclesiology found its expression in Baroque iconography, which was coming to Poland by way of Dutch, Flemish or French engravings. Eucharistic iconography involved in polemics with Protestants reaches the Early-Christian tradition and even the Old-Testament typology.

The individual group of allegorical representations is composed of the pictures of the Holy Mass with a vision of Purgatory.[33] The dogma of Purgatory, negated by the Reformation and reconfirmed by the Council of Trent, finds in art a suggestive interpretation. The Holy Mass, with a vision of souls in Purgatory, visualizes the result of Lord's Passion and Death performed on the altar. This subject is to be found in connection with the Crucifixion or with a miraculous vision (a lot of them are described in contemporary hagiography and chronicles). Eventually it is a component of a three-zonal composition expressing three dimensions of the Church: *Ecclesia penitens* in the Purgatory, *Ecclesia militans* on Earth (the Holy Mass) and *Ecclesia triumphans* in Heaven (phot. 20). The Holy Mass appears as sometimes connected with the subject of a Good Death in the context of *viaticum* or as a moralizing example (phot. 21). The last quoted renderings are both dogmatic and didactic.

### 3. The didactic renderings (*sensus moralis*)

Didactic pictures show the Holy Mass in its essence whereas dogmatic pictures shows how to experience it. Good examples of dogmatic-didactic rendering is the copperplate of Tomasz Treter *Sacrosanctum Missæ Sacrificium* in his book consecrated to cardinal Hozjusz mentioned above and two pictures made about 1650 by Krzysztof Fokelski in Jasna Góra[34], where the Holy Mass is shown as a medium of help for the souls in Purgatory and rescue for those who are alive as well as the result of conversion. In the last case the prototypes are to be found in French graphic art. Another picture from Jasna Góra that shows the Mass as the instrument for spiritual purification of a temple from demons, requires particular research. It could be inspired by German medieval engravings.

The above-mentioned examples use the image of Holy Mass in order to moralize the people and to intensify their faith as well, whereas the votive pictures are just the result of this faith. This particular group of renderings typical for Baroque devotion has the character of thanksgiving or humble request.[35] They are strictly connected with the sanctuary where they had been offered. The Holy Mass is sometimes presented there in

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[32] T. CHRZANOWSKI, T. MACIEJEWSKI, *Graduał karmelitański z 1644 roku*, Warszawa 1976, 25.

[33] K. MOISAN-JABŁOŃSKA, *Obraz czyśćca w sztuce polskiego baroku. Studium ikonograficzno-ikonologiczne*, Warszawa 1995.

[34] J. GOLONKA, *Nieznane obrazy Krzysztofa Fokelskiego na Jasnej Górze*, "Tygodnik Powszechny" nr 12, 1979.

[35] M. JANOCHA, *Msza święta na obrazkach wotywnych*, "Saeculum Christianum" 5(1998) nr 2, 103-115.

the conventional liturgical form with the founders on their knees. The inscription can explain the circumstances and the time of the offering. Each of those popular pictures is the individual expression of faith, sometimes well documented, like the picture from the sanctuary in Lewiczyn (phot. 22)[36]. Some renderings were inspired by the clergy in order to popularize the cult in a sanctuary. The Mass represented there, usually connected with a certain miracle, becomes the place of a particular theophany.

## 4. The historical renderings

The Holy Mass is accompanied also by some historical renderings, especially popular in Baroque. It can be an illustration of local events, like the reception of the king Kazimierz Jagiełło to the Jasna Góra Paulist Confraternity[37] or universal events, like the Mass celebrated by pope Pius V before the battle of Lepanto painted by Tomasz Dolabella[38]. In both cases the artists employed the actualisation of the past event, giving the participants of the Mass contemporary traits. There are two other pictures connected with a military victory important for all Europe: the thanksgiving Mass of the king Vladislas Jagiełło after the battle of Grunwald against the Teutonic Knights (phot. 23); and the imploring Mass of the king John Sobieski before the rescue of Vienna[39]. The priest with an elevated Host in his hands reveals the decisive cause of the victory.

## 5. The genre renderings

The smallest part of representations of the Holy Mass shows the Eucharist reduced to an accessory or an insignificant, accidental part, like in the Flemish and Dutch interiors of churches painted in the 17th century, for example by Peeter Neefs the Older.[40] These pictures served as an example for Polish genre pieces in the 19th century.[41] The pictures quoted above are no longer the expression of faith, but the result of a post-Cartesian critical and investigative attitude towards reality.

## 6. The renderings with Saints (*Missæ Sanctorum*)

The great number of renderings of the Holy Mass is connected with Saints. It is inspired by the hagiography, therefore we can call it *Missae Sanctorum*, the term taken

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[36] I. GALICKA, H. SYGIETYŃSKA, *Erazm Wąsoski – nieznany malarz XVII wieku i jego dzieło w Lewiczynie*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 1( 1970) 69-81, phot. 9.

[37] Z. ROZANOW, E. SMULIKOWSKA, *Obraz „Komunia Jagiellonów" – domniemane dzieło Tomasza Dolabelli*, "Panorama Polska" 1972, nr 6/191, 18.

[38] W. TOMKIEWICZ, *Obrazy Dolabelli w Kraśniku*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 23(1961) 143.

[39] The fresco in the chapel of Radzik Family (so called Royal Chapel) in the parish church in Kazimierz Dolny, painted probably about 1765-1785.

[40] Several replics of the picture „The interior of cathedral in Antwerp" by P. Neefs the Older are in Musée Royale des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, in Picture Galery in Lvov and in National Museum in Warsaw.

[41] Marcin Zaleski painted abort 1846 several versions of the interior of cathedral in Vilnius with the Holy Mass celebrated by the St. Casimir's altar (National Museum in Warsaw, National Museum in Cracow).

from the liturgy. Often during the celebration of the Holy Mass miracles, visions or martyrdoms took place. This group contains both popular European subjects, like St. Gregory's Mass or St. Bernard's Mass, and specifically Polish ones like The Martyrdom of St. Stanislas.[42] I miss the elaboration of this group in my paper. It is the subject for a separate study.

## II. The end: the last illustration

The present survey of the iconography of the Holy Mass was opened by the scene from the Gniezno Door from the 12th century related to the martyrdom of St. Adalbert at the dawn of Christianity and statehood in Poland. It closes with drawing of Jan Piotr Norblin from 1785 (phot. 24)[43] with the quarrelling, vulgar and drunken noblemen taking part in a Parliament session inside a church. Perhaps it is the last illustration of the Mass that the First Polish Republic left as an inheritance ten years before its decease. *Iconographia magistra vitæ...*

This research work attempts to outline the understanding and experience of the Holy Mass in Poland throughout the ages. It can help to show that which is regional and that which is universal, that which is temporal and that which is transcendent.

IKONOGRAFIA MSZY ŚWIĘTEJ W SZTUCE POLSKIEJ (XII-XVIII W.)

*Streszczenie*

Niniejszy artykuł jest prezentacją kilku aspektów szerokiego problemu, który został szczegółowo omówiony w monografii autora pt. *Missa in arte polona. Ikonografia mszy świętej w średniowiecznej i nowożytnej sztuce polskiej* (Warszawa, Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka, 1998). Przedmiotem zainteresowania są wybrane przedstawienia mszy świętej sprawowanej przy ołtarzu przez kapłana, poddane analizie ikonograficznej w kontekście przemian liturgicznych, koncepcji teologicznych, na tle przemian religijnych, artystycznych, kulturalnych i społeczno-politycznych w Polsce i Europie.

Najstarsze zachowane przedstawienia w Polsce z XII-XIII w. na kwaterze Drzwi Gnieźnieńskich (fot. 1), na pieczęci Leszka Czarnego i na kapitelu cysterskim z Kołbacza (fot. 2) ukazują kapłana celebrującego *versus populum*. Są to jedyne świadectwa mszy św. odprawianej twarzą do wiernych, bowiem po XIII wieku ikonografia odnotowuje istotną zmianę w liturgii i odwrócenie celebransa (fot. 3). Analiza miniatur liturgicznych w pontyfikałach biskupich ukazuje dokonujący się w ikonografii znamienny proces zmiany perspektywy. Punkt ujęcia sceny liturgicznej przesuwa się z przedstawienia profilowego, dominującego do XIV wieku (fot. 1-4, 6), poprzez ujęcie „ukośne", diagonalne, w wieku XV (fot. 5), aż po ujęcie centralne od XVI wieku,

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[42] M. JANOCHA, *Msza św. Grzegorza i Zabójstwo św. Stanisława. Dwa aspekty eucharystii i władzy*, in: *Sztuka i Władza. Materiały konferencji zorganizowanej przez Instytut Historii Sztuki PAN w dniach 30.XI – 2.XII.1998 w Warszawie*, ed. D. Konstantynowicz, R. Pasieczny, P. Paszkiewicz, Warszawa 2001, 15-31.

[43] A. KĘPIŃSKA, *Sejmiki w rysunkach Piotra Norblina*, Warszawa 1958.

tożsame z punktem widzenia wiernych stojących w nawie (fot. 6, 8). Owa ewolucja formalna odzwierciedla szerszy proces ewolucji przeżywania i rozumienia mszy świętej, nie bez wpływów *devotio moderna*, zmierzający w kierunku coraz bardziej osobistego doświadczenia. Proces ten zbiegł się w czasie z rozwojem renesansu i odkrywaniem perspektywy geometrycznej.

Na początku XIII wieku we Francji zostaje wprowadzone podniesienie hostii, które rychło zostaje uznane za kulminacyjny moment mszy świętej, co znajduje odzwierciedlenie w ikonografii (fot. 6). Towarzyszy mu stopniowe wprowadzenie wysokich świec oraz dzwonków (fot. 7). W końcu XIII wieku pojawia się także podniesienie kielicha, rozpowszechnione w następnych stuleciach (fot. 8). Oglądanie podniesionej hostii stanowiło substytut Komunii świętej, której ikonografia jest w średniowieczu równie rzadka, jak praktyka jej przyjmowania (fot. 9). Podniesienie hostii stanowi najczęstszy ilustrowany moment mszy świętej. Pozostałe gesty i ryty przedstawiane są znacznie rzadziej (fot. 10, 11).

W drugiej części artykułu omówione zostały przedstawienia symboliczno-alegoryczne, które liturgiczną ilustrację opatrują teologicznym komentarzem. Późne średniowiecze akcentuje aspekt pasyjny (fot. 12-13), niekiedy rozbudowany i wielowątkowy (fot. 14). Msza święta może występować jako ilustracja sakramentu Eucharystii w ikonografii Siedmiu Sakramentów (fot. 15-16), przybierającej w epoce potrydenckiej postać swoistego obrazowego katechizmu (fot. 17). W dobie baroku upowszechnia się także wizja triumfalna, w której motyw mszy świętej stanowi element większej kompozycji wyrażającej chwałę Królestwa Niebieskiego (fot. 18-19), a także symbol *Ecclesia peregrinans (pugnans)* pomiędzy wizją Czyśćca (*Ecclesia poenitens*) i Nieba (*Ecclesia triumphans*) (fot. 20).

Trzecią grupę ilustracji stanowią przedstawienia dydaktyczne, w których msza święta tworzy element kompozycji o charakterze moralizatorskim, na przykład sceny Dobrej Śmierci (fot. 21). Specyficzną podgrupę stanowią przedstawienia mszy świętej na tabliczkach wotywnych zawieszanych w sanktuariach, zwykle w związku z doznanym cudem (fot. 22).

W czwartej grupie znalazły się przedstawienia historyczne, w których msza święta towarzyszy ważnemu, historycznemu wydarzeniu, bądź stanowi jego zwieńczenie (fot. 23).

Zakres artykułu nie obejmuje licznej grupy przedstawień o charakterze hagiograficznym, które ilustrują ważny epizod z życia świętego, na przykład cudowną wizję (Msza św. Grzegorza), czy męczeńską śmierć (Zabójstwo św. Stanisława). Stanowią one ponad połowę zachowanych przedstawień mszy świętej. Parafrazując termin liturgiczny można je określić mianem *Missae sanctorum*.

Ostatnia Msza św. Wojciecha z Drzwi Gnieźnieńskich jest pierwszym zachowanym wizerunkiem liturgii eucharystycznej u progu chrześcijaństwa w Polsce. Przegląd ilustracji kończy rysunek Piotra Norblina z 1785 roku (fot. 24), przedstawiający sejmik w kościele. Sprawowana liturgia jest tu prawie niezauważonym epizodem w świątyni wypełnionej rozdyskutowaną, skłóconą i podpitą szlachtą. Jest to chyba ostatnie przedstawienie mszy świętej, jakie zostawiła w spadku sztuka Rzeczpospolitej na dziesięć lat przez swoim zgonem. *Ikonographia magistra vitae…*

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