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## ***Prophet Elijah in the woods* in the high altar of the Church of Discalced Carmelites in Czerna**

One of the most attractive early modern paintings in the environs of Kraków (fig. 1) can be found in the high altar of the Church of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna, and it has not as yet been a subject of separate studies. Although there are no archival sources available to confirm its attribution, the work was attributed to Tommaso Dolabella for over five decades. This is how, falling back on a study from the 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> centuries, Father Waldemar Graczyk and Jolanta Marszalska discuss the painting in a publication from 2014.<sup>1</sup>

It was painted in oil on thickly woven linen canvas (260 × 172 cm), reapplied and coated in grey. As conservation documentation indicates, the original shape of the painting (a vertical rectangle closed at the top in a semicircular arch) was changed: a section of the painted canvas was cut off along the bottom edge. In this place, wax and resin mass was used to append a 21-centimetre-wide extension made of linen canvas. It is therefore highly probable that, being a work of a studio outside Czerna, the painting was only later adjusted to the size of the frame in the altar on the spot. The entire painting is covered in resin varnish and retouched with oil paint. The painted layer was intensively washed, especially in the thinly painted sections of shadows, which is probably connected with the first conservation of the painting early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> Let's add that these washings made a negative impact on the modelling of the play of light and shad-

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<sup>1</sup> W. Graczyk, J. M. Marszalska, *Klasztor karmelitów bosych w Czernej od pierwszej połowy XVII do końca XVIII wieku. Dzieje – kultura – ludzie*, Kraków 2014, p. 205, 211, 239, 449.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Program prac konserwatorskich do obrazu "Św. Eliaż" z kościoła oo. Karmelitów Bosych w Czernej*, Konserwacja Zabytków AC/Aleksander Piotrowski, Edward Kosakowski, red. E. Gliwa-Kawecka, Kraków 2000; Archiwum Wojewódzkiego Oddziału Służby Ochrony Zabytków w Krakowie, cat. no. 29.433. See also an earlier conservation documentation ed. by Barbara

ow, flattening the impression of three-dimensional space and forms, damaging at the same time the original clarity of the motifs presented.

This sizeable work presents *Prophet Elijah in the woods* (fig. 2). The most recent Polish and foreign language literature usually refers to the scene as *Elijah in the desert*,<sup>3</sup> which is a translation from Latin (*Helias in deserto*). Let us, however, retain here the location as “woods” as such a name has been historically applied to the monastery in Czerna, and this is how the scene is interpreted by Father Benignus Józef Wanat.<sup>4</sup>

The Czerna painting is a direct representation of an event from the life of the prophet that was described in chapter 19 of the First Book of Kings (1 Kings 19:1–8; see: 1 Kings 17:2–6). According to the biblical text, Elijah went into hiding from Queen Jezebel, who intended to kill him. A day’s journey from the city of Beer-Sheba in Judea, as we read, he “came and sat down under a juniper tree: and he requested for himself that he might die; and said, It is enough; now, O Lord, take away my life; for I am not better than my fathers. And as he lay and slept under a juniper tree, behold, then an angel touched him, and said unto him, Arise and eat. And he looked, and, behold, there was a cake baken on the coals, and a cruse of water at his head. And he did eat and drink, and laid him down again. And the angel of the Lord came again the second time, and touched him, and said, Arise and eat; because the journey is too great for thee. And he arose, and did eat and drink, and went in the strength of that meat forty

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Fischinger of 27.04.1962, cat. no. 50/77, which records an inscription on the reverse of the canvas (upper edge, on the left-hand side): “Renovated on 23 September 1913 by Maria Kosakowska”.

<sup>3</sup> J. Flavius, *Jüdische Altertümer. Übersetzt und mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. H. Clemenz*, Bd. 8, 13, Wiesbaden 2004, 2, 7; I. Rusina, M. Zervan, *Príbehy Starého zákona. Ikonografia*, Bratislava 2006, p. 364–368. Another known title is *Eliasz budzony i karmiony przez anioła* (literally: Elijah woken and fed by an angel), See: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, t. 4, red. R. Łukaszuk, L. Bieńkowski, F. Gryglewicz, Lublin 1985, col. 888 (red. M. Jacniacka).

<sup>4</sup> B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej*. Przewodnik, Kraków 1992, p. 93; See e.g. the phrase in *Inwentarz majątności i wszitkich prowentów do klasztoru Puszcze świętego Naszego Oycy Eliasza należących*, from 1643–1750, cat. no. 62, Archiwum Klasztoru w Czernej, *Inwentarz kościoła i klasztoru na Puszczy we wsi Czerna*, from 1834–1835. See: W. Graczyk, *Księgozbiór klasztoru-eremu karmelitów bosych w Czernej od XVII do końca XIX wieku. Studium z dziejów kultury intelektualnej i duchowej*, Kraków 2011, p. 25, 53, 208. In an earlier work, Father Wanat gave the painting a traditional title *Prorok Eliasz na pustyni karmiony przez anioła* (i.e. Prophet Elijah in the desert fed by an angel). See: B. J. Wanat, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce. Klasztery karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych 1605–1975*, Kraków 1979, p. 333. In the Bible translated by Wujek “puszcza” (literally primeval forest) stood for today’s desert, and this is how it was construed early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the analysed work was painted.

days and forty nights unto Horeb the mount of God.”<sup>5</sup> The canvas is a faithful illustration of the moment of the return of the angel who “knocks” the prophet with his left hand, putting it on his arm, while his right one points to the cruse (drinking vessel), cake, and semi-spherical bowl presented below. Following the post-Tridentine recommendations, the message of the scene is connected to that of the altar. The original Tabernacle, to quote Father Wanat, situated below the painting until 1693, was crowned with a figure of the resurrected Christ.<sup>6</sup> The presence of Elijah in the painting typologically heralds parousia: the triumphant return of Christ to the world. The mysterious departure of Elijah (2 Kings 2:11; Sir 48:9–10) and the promise of his return (Mal 3:1. 23–24) awarded the figure of the prophet with the features of a herald announcing eschatological times. The representation of Elijah in the painting is thus to be identified a predecessor of the Messiah.<sup>7</sup> The miraculous food brought by the angel is in turn a symbol of the power of the Eucharist that wakes from the slumber of “the dark night”. It should be remembered that the painting was actually solely addressed to the monks living in the hermit houses of the Hermitage in the Woods. They came to the mass to, as explained by Father Wanat,<sup>8</sup> receive the food of Eucharist,

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<sup>5</sup> Quoted from: *Biblia Tysiąclecia. Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu w przekładzie z języków oryginalnych*, tłum. P. Szpilewicz, red. A. Jankowski OSB, L. Stachowiak, K. Romaniuk, Poznań–Warszawa 1980, p. 333–334.

<sup>6</sup> “Originally the Tabernacle founded by Agnieszka Firlejowa née Tęczyńska was all silver, in the form of a two-headed eagle with wings unfurled for a flight. The doors of the Tabernacle in his chest were flanked by architecture consisting of two pairs of Corinthian columns with angels on the cornices. Resting on the entablature was a small silver dome with engraved floral ornamentation. On its top, two gilded angels supported the crown on which the resurrected Christ stood among golden rays with the banner of victory.” Quoted from: B. J. Wanat OCD, *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 94; see: B. J. Wanat OCD, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 307. The present tabernacle was made of black and pink marble in the studio of Michał Poman and Jakub Bielawski in 1693–1694.

<sup>7</sup> A representation of the Crucified Christ, situated on the other side of the church’s high altar was in turn placed in the altar of the monks’ choir consecrated in 1657. The illusionist architectural perspective it offers, with unique artistic merits, focuses the attention of those praying on the Saviour on the cross, and – thanks to the small hole in its centre – to the tabernacle in the church’s high altar.

<sup>8</sup> B. J. Wanat OCD, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 310; B. J. Wanat OCD, *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 22–24. Symbolic meanings of the presentation in the Czerna painting is suggested by the authors of the guide book *Czerna. Sanktuarium Matki Bożej Szkaplerznej. Klasztor Karmelitów Bosych. Przewodnik pielgrzyma*, red. A. Hrabia OCD, J. Pleszyniak, Czerna–Katowice 2013, p. 35–36, and Paweł Porwit OCD in his recording of a series of retreat sermons *Historia Eliasza* from 4–6 March 2011 at the Dom Rekolekcyjny

having before their eyes the image of themselves persisting in prayer in their hermitages, and vulnerable to the danger of doubt. Just like the food brought by the angel to Elijah, the Eucharist was to stimulate them to new life.

Elijah is dressed in a costume whose colour recalls the habits of Discalced Carmelites: a dark brown tunic with a lighter robe by his left hand. The representation follows the iconographic tradition present from the 9<sup>th</sup> century (manuscript by Kosmas Indikopleustes in Vatican Library): an ascetic image of a man, usually in the garb of goatskin, with silver hair, drooping moustache, and beard. The touching and melancholic expression of the figure in the Czerna painting distinguishes it from the monumental and full of pathos representations of the prophet in many works, also of music, devoted to him.<sup>9</sup> European painting knows representations illustrating the subject by Dirk Bouts (Berlin's Gemäldegalerie), Moretto da Brescia (at S. Giovanni Evangelista Church in Brescia), Gillis van Coninxloo III (at the Musée des Beaux Arts in Brussels), Peter Paul Rubens (the Louvre), and Guercino (National Gallery in London). None of them, however, uses the same composition as the painting in Czerna. It should be emphasised that hardly ever were Old Testament prophets ever portrayed in the main scene altar retables in Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, it seems probable that in his eagerness to portray the figure of Elijah, the author of the Czerna paint-

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Sióstr Karmelitanek Dzieciątka Jezus w Czernej. See: B. Costacurta, *Eliasz*, tłum. B. Żurowska, Kraków 2010, p. 47–50.

<sup>9</sup> To mention the *Elijah* oratorio composed by Felix Mendelssohn for the British audience in 1846. See: W. Blunt, *Feliks Mendelssohn. Na skrzydłach pieśni*, tłum. H. Cieplińska, Warszawa 1979, p. 243–249. Having listened to a concert performed by the Church Music Society at Exeter Hall in 1855, Richard Wagner wrote “here I was able to conceive the true spirit of English music that is connected with the spirit of the English Protestantism. This explains the fact that for the audience an oratorio is far more attractive than an opera. Moreover, it has the advantage that the audience convinced that an evening spent on listening to an oratorio can be considered a particular religious service treat it nearly on a par with an evening spent in the church. Everyone in the hall held a piano reduction of Handel's oratorio as you hold a prayer book in the church.” Quoted from: W. Blunt, *Feliks Mendelssohn...*, op. cit., p. 244. See: D. Acock, *Stworzenie Eliasza*, [in:] *Mendelssohn, Elijah, 1846*, [in:] *Mendelssohn, Elijah, 1846*, Wrocław 2012. Paul McCreesh, Wrocław Philharmonic Choir, Gabrieli Young Singers Scheme, Gabrieli Consort & Players, eds. N. Parker, N. Hutchinson, P. McCreesh, producer of records: Wratislavia Cantans/Narodowe Forum Muzyki in cooperation with the Gabrieli Consort & Players, Wrocław 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly unique realisations include the side altar of Prophet Daniel from 1676, carved by the Spiss workshop for the church in Dúbrava. See: K. Chmelinová, *Miesto zázrakov. Premeny barokového oltára*, exhibition catalogue, 24.06.–28.08.2005, Slovenská národná galéria v Bratislave, Bratislava 2015, p. 25, 67–68, ill. 5, and the Altar of Prophet Elijah (with a scene of the vision of “a wagon on the wheels of fire”) from around 1750, made by the workshop of Straub in the

ing followed an engraving by Jan and Rafael Sadeler, presenting St Spyridon in a Hermitage (from the *Monumenta Anachoretorum* cycle, published in five parts from 1594 to 1600 and in 1612), copied also later, and used in Poland as the prototype for at least two paintings representing St Romuald: in the Camaldolese Hermitage in Rytwiany and in the sacristy of the church of the Pauline Monastery in Częstochowa (Jasna Góra).<sup>11</sup> Embarking on the planning of the entire Carmelite composition, the author probably reproduced the view from the peak of Mt Horeb, the three towers of Beer-Sheba, and also the shape of the juniper bush from the available examples, as the last is a different plant indeed: a conifer tree, perhaps a cedar (*Cedrus* sp.) or even a stylised pine (*Pinus* sp.).<sup>12</sup>

To put things in the simplest manner, the chosen episode in the life of Elijah shows his depression. The motif of supporting the head of the palm, resulting from the iconographic tradition, denoted tiredness, and illustrated the suffering of St John of the Cross and *anima tristis* of the Psalmist. The gesture brings to mind figures of melancholics, including the painting of *Saturn* attributed to Mocetto and a drawing of the same by Giulio Campagnoli.<sup>13</sup> The arrangement of Elijah's pose is rooted in the antique tradition of representing allegories of river deities.<sup>14</sup> In turn the motif of a figure looking over the shoulder towards the angel is what Erwin Panofsky draws from a classical formula which he names "the supernatural persuasion." It was applied in the Hellenistic representations of Polyphemus and Paris yielding to the encouragements of Eros, and "its impact on the art of Renaissance, albeit having Eros replaced by an angel, being visible in Michelangelo's *Isaiah*."<sup>15</sup>

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monastery church in Reisach. See: P. Volk, *Johann Baptist Straub 1704–1784*, München 1984, p. 22, 201–202, ill. 106.

<sup>11</sup> A. Zujkiewicz, *Zespół obrazów o tematyce pustelniczej w zakrystii bazyliki jasnogórskiej*, "Ikonotheka. Prace Instytutu Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego" 5 (1993), p. 103, 121, ill. 10–12.

<sup>12</sup> We are deeply grateful for assistance in identifying the plants presented on the Czerna painting to Professor Alicja Zemanek, Professor Bogdan Zemanek, and Dr Waclaw Bartoszek of the Institute of Botany of the Jagiellonian University.

<sup>13</sup> R. Klibansky, E. Panofsky, F. Saxl, *Saturn i melancholia. Studia z historii, filozofii, przyrody, medycyny, religii oraz sztuki*, tłum. A. Kryczyńska, Kraków 2009, p. 313, ill. 55–57.

<sup>14</sup> See e.g.: *Fürsten- und Gelehrtenlob im westfälischen Barock – Bilder und Dokumente*, exhibition catalogue, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster, 12–18 June 1996, Hrsg. B. Haller, Münster 1996, p. 43–46, cat. no. 28, ill. on p. 44.

<sup>15</sup> Quoted from: E. Panofsky, *Neoplatoński ruch we Florencji i w północnych Włoszech. Bandinelli i Tycjan*, [in:] *Studia z historii sztuki*, red. J. Białostocki, Warszawa 1971, p. 205, ill. 185.

The arrangement of the figure of the confidently striding angel in the Czerna painting, his right hand in a gesture pointing decidedly downwards, brings to mind the figure of St John the Baptist from a woodprint popular then among the painters of Małopolska, presenting the saint together with St Onuphrius (a work of Albrecht Dürer from around 1504, B. VII, 139, no. 112).<sup>16</sup> What matters from the point of view of the iconography is the slight albeit attention-drawing motif of Elijah's naked foot being placed on that of the angel, the messenger from God. Known well from mediaeval art, much as in the case of the imposition of the right foot on the left in the representations of the Crucified Christ, this gesture expresses the domination of good over evil, and loving commitment to the Supreme God.<sup>17</sup> Stepping on the foot of the angel, the prophet yearns to make him stay, and he asks for strength. This depiction may symbolise a type of spiritual struggle crowned with victory. Moreover, the gesture recalls the event and message of the night-time fight of Jacob with the angel (Gen 32:25–31) when the patriarch's resilience in a way forced God to give him a blessing. In the New Testament, Elijah was a paragon of tireless prayer: "the effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much" (James 5:16–18).<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the ailing St Teresa of Ávila, "unintentionally" mentioned the scene of the salvation of Elijah

<sup>16</sup> The woodprint was e.g. used for the composition of the epitaph for Jan Sacran. See: M. Walicki, *Epitafium polskiego ucznia Filelfa*, [in:] M. Walicki, *Złoty widnokrąg*, Warszawa 1965, p. 129–141, ill. 76.

<sup>17</sup> Zob. F. Möbius, H. Scieurie, *Symbolwerte mittelalterlicher Kunst*, Leipzig 1984, p. 74–75; A. J. Gurjewitsch, *Das Weltbild des mittelalterlichen Menschen*, Dresden 1983, s. 309, where the gesture of the clasped hands of man and wife is also mentioned. See: the motif of a nun stepping on the foot of the Resurrected Christ in the scene of the mystic union in *Pasjonale opatki Kunhuty* (Národní knihovna, Praga, XIV A 17, fol. 16v), and the same theme in a scene with St Joseph (fol. 17v), from around 1320–21, K. Stejskal, *Počátky gotického malířství*, [in:] *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění. Od počátků do konce středověku*, vol. 1/1, ed. R. Chadřaba, Praha 1984, ill. 28 on p. 294; G. Toussaint, *Das Passional der Kunigunde von Böhmen. Bildrethorik und Spiritualität*, Paderborn 2003. The motif of placing a foot on a foot, being an expression of the loving devotion, is also found in lay scenes contemporary to the painting in Czerna, for example, Love Couple by David Vinckboons from 1629 presenting the courtship by two peasants catching fish. The painting shown at an exhibition in Szczecin is discussed by D. Kacprzak, *Meklembursko-pomorskie spotkanie z Davidem Vinckboonsem / Mecklenburgisch-pommersche Begegnung mit David Vinckboons*, [in:] *Nie tylko tulipany. Państwowe Muzeum w Schwerinie gościnnie w Muzeum Narodowym w Szczecinie / Nicht nur Tulpen. Das Staatliche Museum Schwerin zu Gast im Nationalmuseum Stettin*, exhibition catalogue, Muzeum Narodowe w Szczecinie, 25.11.2015–10.04.2016, red. D. Kacprzak, G. Seelig, Szczecin 2015, p. 63–64, ill. on p. 62.

<sup>18</sup> *Biblia Tysiąclecia...*, op. cit., p. 51–52, 1168, 1375.

when asking God for support while travelling between the reformed convents she founded.<sup>19</sup>

To complete the considerations of iconographic sources of the composition, it is worth adding that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century the side walls of the chancel of the church in Czerna featured two paintings portraying *Christ in the desert* and *St John the Baptist in the woods*.<sup>20</sup> Their content and significance are connected to the painting of St Elijah in the high altar, especially venerated by the hermits inhabiting the caves of Mount Carmel in Palestine, called for that reason Carmelites, who considered him their patron and spiritual father. The image of the prophet in the high altar in Czerna refers to the reforms of St Teresa of Ávila, and St John of the Cross, harking back to the Elianic calling of ascetic life devoted to prayer. The Carmelite tradition knows representation of hermits immersed in contemplative prayer against a mountain landscape. Frescoes by Gaspard Dughet called Pussino (1615–1675) in the Carmelite Church of San Martino ai Monti, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, are quoted as the most famous at the same time heralding the issues of the so-called church landscape (*Kirchenlandschaften*).<sup>21</sup> The paintings in Czerna, including the depiction of the background behind Elijah described as “a romantic landscape” by Tadeusz Chrzanowski and Marian Kornecki, are among the first to signal the arrival of the aforementioned phenomenon of the church landscape in the art of Polish Baroque.

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*Prophet Elijah in the woods* differs greatly from the remaining paintings preserved in the church to this day, also from the painting in the top section of the high altar with the vision of prophet Elisha.<sup>22</sup> Subjecting the previous attribution

<sup>19</sup> See: St Teresa of Ávila, *Dzieła*, t. 2: *Księga fundacji*, tłum. H. P. Kossowski, red. S. Ruszczycki OCD, Kraków 1987, p. 654–655.

<sup>20</sup> B. J. Wanat OCD, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 308; W. Graczyk, *Księgozbiór klasztoru-eremu karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>21</sup> J. Woźniakowski, *Góry niewzruszone. O różnych wyobrażeniach przyrody w dziejach nowożytnej kultury europejskiej*, Kraków 2011, p. 147–149 (Pisma Wybrane, t. 2), quoting the following publications: K. Wörmann, *Kirchenlandschaften*, “Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft” 1890; M. R. Waddingham, *The Dughet Problem*, “Paragone” 1963, p. 161. See: A. Zuccari, *Le arti nella Roma di papa Pamphilj. Il giubileo della Colomba*, [in:] *La Storia dei Giubilei. Volume Terzo: 1600–1775*, a cura di A. Zuccari, Roma 1999, p. 224–237, ill. 36–44.

<sup>22</sup> Father Wanat believes the painting (90 × 88 cm) in the top section of the altar to present a vision of prophet Elisha [“wagon on the wheels of fire” (Sir 48:10)], B. J. Wanat OCD, *Z dziejów*

of the work in question to critical analysis, one must account for its high artistic merit. Attention is drawn both to the general expression of the composition: the majestic piece, and the lively, local character, with a gravitas that is close to the art from the realm of Caravaggio, and to a sense for observation of detail that in no way reduces the monumental effect of the work. The brightly lit (*lume particolare*) chromatic parts, including the yellowish drapery wrapped around Elijah's arm, and even more so the cake and the water bowl, perfectly visible from the church interior, are saturated with intensive and powerful light. It streams from above, parallel to the figure of the angel. Thanks to the light, the shadow of the prophet's head is clearly visible on the rock behind. The bread is lit in a similarly "supernatural" manner. The specific nature of this form was emphasised by the painter with a shadow "unnaturally" emerging along the bottom edge. Despite its visionary character, the biblical scene is painted clearly and to the point, quite differently to the effective works of Tommaso Dolabella, luminous in their expression. The painting lacks the bold *alla prima* strokes characteristic of the Venetian painter, and the nearly sketched figures with elongated proportions. The heavy mass of the figure of Elijah connected with the colour range of the rocky cliff around him, bringing solutions used in compositions by Leonardo da Vinci to mind, emphasises the effect of peace and sombreness of the composition. The shape of the dark rocks behind the prophet repeats his figure, reinforcing the expression of the painted representation of the spiritual encounter. The persistent uniformity of lighting from the right-hand side is akin to the solutions found among Caravaggionists. This is accompanied by a painting technique brimming with nuances, with delicate scumbling in the face, and a varied, rich colour range in the angel's wings bringing to mind the hand of Venanzio da Subiaco (aka Venanzio l'Eremita, Polish: Wenanty of Subiaco).<sup>23</sup> In 1624–1632 the hermit

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*zakonnego budownictwa barokowego w Małopolsce. Studium ikonograficzno-historyczne*, Kraków 2006, p. 79. Authors of the guide book *Czerna. Sanktuarium Matki Bożej Szkaplerznej...*, op. cit., p. 34 have a different understanding of the iconography.

<sup>23</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup>-century *Annales Camaldulenses* by Giovanni Battista Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadoni provide an insight into the painter's biography: Venanzio da Subiaco (l'Eremita) was born in 1579, and hailed from Subiaco (Latium), in 1618 he took the monastic vows in Monta Corona hermitage near Umbértide (Umbria). He died in 1659 at the age of 80. See: G.B. Mittarelli, A. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses Sancti Benedicti*, 8, Venetiis 1764, p. 261, 278, and 371 (on Wenanty's life); L. Conigliello, *Nuovi dipinti e un lungo soggiorno polacco per Venanzio l'Eremita*, [in:] *Il Seicento in Casentino. Dalla Controriforma al Tardo Barocco*, Firenze 2001, p. 127 and footnote 23. Falling back on Italian archival sources, the author followed the path of life of the Camaldolese painter, attributed to him more than 40 works in Italy, and analysed his achievements in the Commonwealth of Poland–Lithuania using the documents of the General Chapter, in whose ses-



painter stayed alternately in Camaldolese monasteries in Bielany near Kraków and in Rytwiany near Sandomierz. The Polish and Italian paintings discussed by the artist's monographer, Lucilla Conigliello, provide interesting analogies to the Carmelite painting.<sup>24</sup>

The situation of figures in the Czerna painting recalls a scene painted by Venanzio representing an angel approaching St Romuald (fig. 3) in the main altar of the church in Tuscolano near Frascati, probably from around 1637.<sup>25</sup> The monumental Italian painting, illustrating *The slumber of Saint Romuald* contains a range of other similarities. One could mention here the flora portrayed on the first plane, faithfully rendering in detail the same plants (bells, wild strawberries) that are present in the Czerna painting. Other elements of the "still life" hardly ever present in the religious scenes painted by the hermit were also coherently developed. The characteristic manner of scumbling to bring out the light on the bowl,<sup>26</sup> which we see at the bottom of the Czerna piece, are also found in the crockery on the *Noli me tangere painting* from Rytwiany from around 1627–1632,

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sions Wenanty participated Conigliello reconstructs the path of the hermit painter: *Monte Corona* (1618–1622), where he was anointed priest, *Monte Rua* (1622–1624), *Monte Argentino* (Kraków's Bielany, 1624–1628), *Selva Aurea* (Rytwiany; 1628–1629, as prior), return to Bielany (1629–1630), return to Rytwiany (1630–1632, as prior), later the chapter made him the visitor of hermitages in Poland and Austria (1632–1633), after which he returned to Italy.

<sup>24</sup> Adam Małkiewicz elucidated the works studied by the Italian scholar to Polish readers, A. Małkiewicz, *Twórczość malarza-kameduły o. Wenantego z Subiaco w świetle najnowszych badań*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 11 (2005), p. 117–132. The author had written on the works of Father Wenanty already earlier, see: A. Małkiewicz, *Wenanty da Subiaco – Andrea Spezza – Walenty von Säbisch. Z problematyki historycznej kościoła na Bielanych pod Krakowem*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 33 (1971), p. 202–204; A. Małkiewicz, *Z historycznej i artystycznej problematyki kościoła kamedułów na Bielanych pod Krakowem*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace z Historii Sztuki" 10 (1972), p. 95–98; A. Małkiewicz, *Włoskie odkrycie malarstwa kameduły o. Wenantego z Subiaco*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" 40 (1998), p. 213–222 [review of exhibition catalogue *Da Antiveduto della Gramatica a Venanzio l'eremita*, a cura di L. Conigliello, Firenze 1995]. The works published in the catalogue of exhibition in Poppi (1995) are especially interesting in the context of our considerations. It covers 14 paintings from the Camaldolese hermitage (Sacro Eremito) and monastery (Arcicenobio) attributed to Father Venanzio and dated to 1640. The large canvases (ca. 175 × 122 cm) from the Hermitage refectory portray pairs of saints standing against dark, neutral background.

<sup>25</sup> The questions of attribution are discussed by A. Małkiewicz, *Włoskie odkrycie malarstwa kameduły o. Wenantego...*, op. cit., p. 217–218, 220.

<sup>26</sup> The author of the Czerna work painted the object from "live" observation and did not have to fall back on visual representations. The bowl painted at the foot of Elijah features decoration in the shape of cobalt rhomboids. Perhaps in future it will be possible to ascertain in what region such decoration was used, and where the painter could see such an object.

and on the aforementioned painting in Tuscolano (fig. 4). In turn, the wrinkled face of Elijah is painted in a manner similar to that of the images of St Benedict and St Romuald in a painting designed for the altar in the monks' choir of the church in Rytwiany, possibly made while still in Bielany in 1624–1625 (fig. 5),<sup>27</sup> and also the faces of Benedictine and Camaldolese saints in the altar of the Chapel of St Romuald in Rytwiany, signed and dated 1627.<sup>28</sup> What seizes the attention in the Czerna canvas is the costume of the angel. His lower robe, reminiscent of an alb, is decorated with a complex floral ornament consisting of repeated stems with two pink, two blue, a single green, and a single red flower (ending in a carnation) and strewn blue six-petaled flowers.<sup>29</sup> His crimson tunic with blue lining is girded with a belt and has a circular collar of elastic tape. The belt and the collar are meticulously decorated with round sequins. The clasp of the collar in the shape of an oval brooch filled up with malachite stone and decorated with a pearl pendant at the bottom is of special interest. The artist introduced a similar costume with characteristically decorated collar and nearly identical brooch in a number of other known figurative representations (fig. 6). We can see a decorative brooch with a pearl on the chest of an angel in the *Annunciation* scene from the small altar in the chapel by the vestry of the church in Bielany attributed to Venanzio and dated to 1624–1630,<sup>30</sup> and to the figure of St Agnes from 1640 in the church of the hermitage in Camaldoli (fig. 7).<sup>31</sup> Yet the similarities are not limited to the repetitions of the same motifs, but also to the manner of painting. Modelled with subtle scumbling, the fabric of the tunic, and especially the tightly tucked sleeves of the angel from Czerna were made identically with the figure of St Michael the Archangel in Camaldoli.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Such dating was proposed by A. Małkiewicz, *Wenanty da Subiaco...*, op. cit., p. 202–204; A. Małkiewicz, *Z historycznej i artystycznej problematyki kościoła kamedułów na Bielanych...*, op. cit., p. 95–98.

<sup>28</sup> See: *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, t. 3: *Województwo kieleckie*, z. 11: *Powiat sandomierski*, red. J. Z. Łoziński, T. Przykowski, Warszawa 1962, p. 46.

<sup>29</sup> Literature still uses a definition of the angel's costume in the spirit of Young Poland, namely a folk costume "of the Kraków region." See: W. Graczyk, J. M. Marszałska, *Klasztor karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 211 (following a work of E. Kučka – Father Romuald of St Elijah from 1914).

<sup>30</sup> W. Kret, *Problematyka artystyczna kościoła oo. kamedułów na Bielanych pod Krakowem*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" 12 (1967) z. 2–3, footnote 12 on p. 24; A. Małkiewicz, *Włoskie odkrycie malarstwa kameduły o. Wenantego...*, op. cit., s. 22–223, footnote 18, ill. 9; M. M. Florukowscy, *Kameduli*, Kraków 2005.

<sup>31</sup> *Da Antiveduto della Gramatica a Venanzio Ieremita...*, op. cit., p. 34, ill. II.

<sup>32</sup> *Da Antiveduto della Gramatica a Venanzio Ieremita...*, op. cit., p. 37, ill. V.

So far literature has dated the Carmelite painting to before 1640, or more precisely before 21 September 1640, when the altar and church were consecrated by bishop Piotr Gembicki.<sup>33</sup> We also know that the foundation document for the hermit monastery in Czerna was issued on 10 May 1631, and the cornerstone was laid on the Festivity of St Joseph in 1629. It was then, as Father Wanat believes, that the construction of the monastic complex began.<sup>34</sup> The comparisons of the Czerna painting with the works of Venanzio da Subiaco made above are condensed due to limited space. Should we assume they are convincing, we can claim that the composition of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* must have been painted in 1630–1632, when Venanzio was the prior of the *Selva Aurea* Hermitage in Rytwiany. The painting might have been paid for by Agnieszka Firlejowa née Tęczyńska, as, as in the foundation document for the whole complex she assured that “the church and the monastery will have a proper rendition in masonry and buildings, which I shall certainly save at my discretion and own cost, as long as God will keep me in good health.”<sup>35</sup> It is not impossible that the founder, who was known for her religious disposition, commissioned the painting with the Order’s painter in the Camaldolese monastery in Rytwiany, which by the way was founded by her brother, Jan Tęczyński.<sup>36</sup> At that time, on 7 March 1630, Mikołaj Wolski, who was

<sup>33</sup> R. Kućka (Father Romuald of St Elijah), *Monografia klasztoru oo. Karmelitów Bosych w Czernej*, Czerna 1914, p. 28; B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 308, 333; T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka Ziemi Krakowskiej...*, op. cit., p. 424–425; B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 16, 93–94; M. Kornecki, *Sztuka sakralna*, Kraków 1993, p. 47, 75 (*Natura i Kultura w Krajobrazie Jury*, t. 1); B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Z dziejów zakonnego budownictwa barokowego w Małopolsce...*, op. cit., p. 79; W. Graczyk, *Księgozbiór klasztoru-eremu karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 31; *Czerna. Sanktuarium Matki Bożej Szkaplerznej...*, op. cit., p. 34–35; W. Graczyk, J. M. Marszałska, *Klasztor karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 205, 211, 239, 449.

<sup>34</sup> B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 303; B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 15. It is worth noting that to start the hermit life, the former prior of the Varazze hermitage near Genoa, Father Gerard of St Luke (Lucas Braccelli) was brought here.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted from: W. Graczyk, *Księgozbiór klasztoru-eremu karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 26 making reference to the publication by R. Kućka (Father Romuald of St Elijah), *Monografia klasztoru oo. Karmelitów Bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>36</sup> For Agnieszka Firlejowa née Tęczyńska see: K. Lepszy, *Firlejowa Agnieszka*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 7, Warszawa–Wrocław–Kraków 1948–1958, p. 17–18; B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 301–304; W. Urban, *Daty życia niektórych osób z XVI wieku związanych z Krakowem. Przyczynki źródłoznawczo-biograficzne*, “Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej” 41 (1991), p. 93; B. J. Wanat O.C.D., *Maryjne sanktuarium karmelitów bosych w Czernej...*, op. cit., p. 18–22; J. Kurtyka, *Latyfundium tęczyńskie. Dobra i właściciele (XIV–XVII wiek)*,

involved in the foundation of the Camaldolese monastery in Bielany, addressed Jan Tęczyński and “asked His Honour the Voivode that he returns the *Patrem Venantium* Father Painter without further ado to the church in Bielany. As such, delay originated due to *solicitudine sua*. And so that he saw to the promise of finishing any Ornament in that Monastery that the Father should make, and supervised it so that this were taken care of.”<sup>37</sup> Thus, at that time the Tęczyńskis must have found Venanzio highly useful, and he possibly worked not only for his Order.

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The fact that an entirely new attribution of the most important painting executed for the Hermitage in Czerna at the time of its foundation is possible seems symptomatic for the changes in our perception of the Kraków painting of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. So far, independent of the tradition of the local guild painting, all larger-format religious paintings from that time preserved in Małopolska and manifesting what is broadly construed as Italian influence were automatically considered works of Tommaso Dolabella, and more often of his workshop, and – if they were artistically poor – of his circle. The researchers proposing such attributions did not take pains to compare these works with other similarly described paintings.<sup>38</sup> Should they have done so, they would have considered not only common authorship but even a shared artistic origin out of the question. Currently, in the works of Kraków painting of that period, we begin to perceive something more than just conventional values typical of Italianate early modern painting: the final breakaway from mediaeval traditions (expressed best through the rejection of the golden background), the freedom of composition, usually stemming from the skilful use of graphic models, simplified realism, correctly applied play of light and shadow, skilful use of scumbling emphasising the spa-

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Kraków 1999, p. 208–209; H. Piątkowski, *Portrety Agnieszki z Tęczyńskich Firlejowej*, master degree dissertation under the supervision of K. Kuczman, Wydział Historii i Dziedzictwa Kulturowego Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II, Kraków 2015, p. 7–24.

<sup>37</sup> Excerpt from the last will, Quoted from: A. Małkiewicz, *Zespół architektoniczny na Bielanach pod Krakowem (1605–1630)*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace z Historii Sztuki” 1 (1962), p. 177.

<sup>38</sup> See: J. Żmudziński, *O potrzebie badań nad twórczością Tomasza Dolabelli. Ze studiów nad obrazami w kościele Mariackim i kościele Kamedułów na Bielanach w Krakowie*, “Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa” 12 (2009), p. 123–144.

tial character of the painting, and specifically orchestrated colour range, usually making reference to the works of the great Venetians of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These were the general features of run-of-the-mill European painting remaining under the Italian influence from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. Yet it is high time to see more individualised features of such works.

Various currents reached Kraków, beginning from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in line with the education received by the artists arriving in the city being representative for the highly varied milieux: the Netherlands (Mertens of Antwerp), imperial court and Prague (Kober),<sup>39</sup> southern Germany (Troschel),<sup>40</sup> Rome (Ingermann),<sup>41</sup> northern Italy (Vagiola), and many others who have yet to have been the focus of research. Against this background, Dolabella was the most eminent yet not the only artist, and to a certain moment – midway through the second decade of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – his work, only limited to commissions for the royal court, did not have too extensive an impact. Dolabella hailed from the Mannerist traditions of Venetian painting of the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the period of the domination of the great studios of Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, with our painter owing most to the last. The knowledge of these productions gave him primarily a specific technique that resulted in a particular artistic effect: dark priming for large formats, quick development of the composition leaving the lights denoted in high key with a white colour, the sketchy manner making use

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<sup>39</sup> See: J. Żmudziński, *Daleko od Pragi – o malarstwie krakowskim około 1600 roku*, [in:] *Między Wrocławiem a Lwowem. Sztuka na Śląsku, w Małopolsce i na Rusi Koronnej w czasach nowożytnych*, red. A. Betlej, K. Brzezina-Scheuerer, P. Oszczanowski, Wrocław 2011, p. 113–127 (Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis, no. 3291, Historia Sztuki, 31).

<sup>40</sup> See: K. J. Czyżewski, *Barokizacja czy modernizacja? Przemiany katedry krakowskiej po Soborze Trydenckim*, [in:] *Barok i barokizacja. Materiały sesji Oddziału Krakowskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki Kraków 3–4 XII 2004*, red. K. Brzezina, J. Wolańska, Kraków 2007, p. 39–74 (Ars Vetus et Nova, t. 28, red. W. Bałus).

<sup>41</sup> As Father Wanat states, quoting Jerzy Mycielski, the Church of Discalced Carmelites in Nowy Wiśnicz, being a foundation of Stanisław Lubomirski, housed e.g. paintings from 1639 painted by Mateusz Ingerman from Antwerp. See: B. J. Wanat, *Zakon Karmelitów Bosych w Polsce...*, op. cit., p. 355, footnote 24. A monumental canvas presenting *Beheading of St John the Baptist*, preserved in the chancel of the parish church in Nowy Wiśnicz is connected to Ingerman. It directly repeats Gerrit van Honthorst's composition at Santa Maria della Scala from 1617–1619. See: np. *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 1: *Materiali e problemi*, part 3: *Lesperienza dell'antico, dell'Europa, della religiosità*, a cura di G. Previtali, F. Zeri, Torino 1979, ill. 390. As the painting in Nowy Wiśnicz is painted far more impressionistically than the one in Czerna, Ingerman cannot be considered the painter of the Czerna piece.

of restless zigzagging touches of quickly laid paint (fig. 8).<sup>42</sup> The technique enabled the quick production of large paintings, comprehensible from afar and impressing onlookers not only with the skilfully compiled lively compositions, but also effective elements of the painting: draperies, gestures, still lifes imposed on the format described above and complemented with the typically Venetian colour range and as often as not a particular artificial lighting (fig. 9, 10).<sup>43</sup> Such painting perfectly rose to the challenge on the walls of post-Tridentine churches visited by crowds of the faithful, as scenes from the gospel and lives of saints produced in this convention with lavish throngs of figures and props worked especially well. This was art that made a strong impression, appealing to the senses, and in its content layer referring to the teaching that followed the Council of Trent.

What we don't know is how aware of the choice of the means applied in paintings, individualised for works with various intentions, were the founders of paintings in Poland, and the painters themselves, in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Usually, falling back primarily on the written testimonies of Polish travellers visiting Italy at that time, it is believed that sensitivity to the painted form among Polish recipients was low. Yet it is intriguing that Dolabella was not invited to decorate the hermitage churches of the Camaldolese Order in Bielany and Rytwiany, and of the Carmelite Order in Czerna. Perhaps this was caused by practical considerations: the significant involvement of the Venetian artist in the works on the decoration of the Dominican Church and Monastery in Kraków (he would not have arrived at Bielany until 1636, and then perhaps only as willed by King Ladislaus [Władysław] IV).<sup>44</sup> It is also possible, however, that the sensual style of Venetian painting was considered improper for the most important paintings in the churches that were hardly accessible for the general congregation as on principle they were earmarked for the monks living very austere lives in their hermitages.

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<sup>42</sup> See: J. Żmudziński, *Jak malował Tomasz Dolabella i co nowego wniósł do sztuki polskiej pierwszej połowy XVII wieku?*, [in:] *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, t. 11: *Tradycja i innowacja w sztuce nowożytnej*, red. I. Rolska, K. Gombin, Lublin 2012, p. 493–524 (Prace Wydziału Historyczno-Filologicznego Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, no. 173).

<sup>43</sup> J. Żmudziński, "Opus vitae" Tomasza Dolabelli w krakowskim kościele i klasztorze Dominikanów, [in:] *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich Dominikanów*, red. A. Markiewicz, M. Szyma, M. Walczak, Kraków 2013, p. 691–702.

<sup>44</sup> See: J. Żmudziński, *Wystrój malarski kaplic kościoła Kamedułów na Bielanych i jego znaczenie dla sztuki Krakowa 1. połowy XVII w. (kaplice Królewska i Delpacowska)*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 17 (2011), p. 79–100.

The works of Venanzio da Subiaco lie within the broad current of the Italian Caravaggisti (a number of his works were earlier connected to Antiveduto della Gramatica). We know nothing of the artistic education and earlier works of the Camaldolese painter, we don't even know under what lay first and last name he went before he joined the order at the age of nearly 40 in 1618. What he took over from the works of Caravaggio and his followers were primarily realism and the ability to shape a distinct reality, very strongly, nearly sculptural, imposing itself on the spectator and at times even monumental. The play of light and shadows has a lesser role in these paintings. This type of peaceful, solid, serious and realistic approach, devoid of pathos and theatrical dramatism must have been better suited to the hermits gathering for services in the monastic churches of Bielany and Czerna than the expressive style of Dolabella.

It is naturally a speculation based on the observation of only the works and the knowledge of monastic spirituality (also the slightly exalted founders who yielded to its influence) in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Venanzio's authorship of the painting in Czerna at least lies within the limits of probability defined by the basic facts: the style of the painting, connections between the founders of Czerna and Rytwiany (Agnieszka Tęczyńska was after all sister of Jan Tęczyński), issues of chronology (the possibility that the painting for the high altar of the small church in Czerna was created relatively soon after its construction started in 1629), and finally the custom of the order's painters making commissions for selected lay founders being quite widespread in modern times and known for example from Jasna Góra and the Pauline workshop in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. What is most important yet is that the painting in the high altar in Czerna lies well within the many currents of the realm of the Kraków painting milieu of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, where "Italian influence" did not automatically have to mean Venetian. Let's hope that we are now in for a period of re-attributing numerous paintings from the Kraków area, and that the number of paintings considered to be works of "the Dolabella workshop" will diminish in parallel to the expansion of the list of works by Kraków painters known from sources, with highly differentiated origins of their individual styles.

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## Abstract

One of the most interesting early modern paintings in the vicinity of Krakow, located at the main altar of the Discalced Carmelite church in Czerna has not, to date, been the subject of a dedicated study. Although we are not in possession of archive sources which would confirm the attribution, for over a century the canvas has been held to be a work of Tommaso Dolabella. The first section of the article discusses the content of the image, which is ideologically linked to the altar. It also attempts to interpret the significance of Elijah, identified as Messiah's predecessor, as well as the role of miraculous sustenance brought to the prophet by an angel. This part of the article focuses also on a rather inconspicuous theme of Elijah's bare foot resting on the foot of God's intermediary, which could symbolize a kind of successful spiritual struggle. Further in the text, the Czerna painting is subjected to a detailed stylistic analysis. By way of comparisons to works by father Venante da Subiaco, a new attribution and dating of the work presenting *Prophet Elijah in the wilderness* are suggested. The composition was painted in the years 1630–1632, when Venante was prior at the *Selva Aurea* hermitage in Rytwiany. Venante's authorship of the Czerna painting is at least probable, as determined by three basic facts: the style of the painting, relations between Czerna's and Rytwian's founders (Agnieszka Firlej, née Tęczyński, was Jan Tęczyński's sister), chronological data (the likelihood of the completion of the painting for the main altar in a small church in Czerna relatively soon after its construction had been commenced in 1629), last but not least, a fairly common tradition of monastic painters painting pictures commissioned by selected lay founders.

## Keywords

Elijah, Carmelite mysticism, Czerna hermitage, Tommaso Dolabella, Father Venante da Subiaco, Agnieszka Firlej née Tęczyński

## Abstrakt

### “Prorok Eliasz na puszczy” w ołtarzu głównym kościoła karmelitów bosych w Czernej

Jeden z najciekawszych nowożytnych obrazów w okolicach Krakowa, znajdujący się w ołtarzu głównym kościoła karmelitów bosych w Czernej, nie był dotychczas przedmiotem osobnych studiów. Pomimo iż nie dysponujemy źródłami archiwalnymi potwierdzającymi jego atrybucję, od ponad wieku płótno przypisywane jest Tomaszowi Dolabelli. W pierwszej części artykułu omówiono treść przedstawienia, łączącego się ideowo z ołtarzem. Zinterpretowano znaczenie postaci Eliasza, identyfikowanej jako poprzednik Mesjasza, a także rolę cudownego pożywienia, które przynosi prorokowi anioł. Osobno zwrócono uwagę na drobny motyw położenia nagiej stopy Eliasza na stopie pośrednika Boga, który symbolizować może typ walki duchowej uwieńczonej zwycięstwem. W dalszej części tekstu obraz czernieński poddany został drobiazgowej analizie stylowej. Na podstawie porównań z dziełami o. Wenantego z Subiaco zasugerowano nową atrybucję i datę powstania obrazu przedstawiającego *Proroka Eliasza na puszczy*. Kompozycja została namalowana w latach 1630–1632, kiedy Wenanty był przeorem w eremie *Selva Aurea* w Rytwianach. Autorstwo Wenantego odnośnie do obrazu w Czernej mieści się co najmniej w granicach prawdopodobieństwa, wyznaczonego przez podstawowe fakty: styl obrazu, związki fundatorów Czernej i Rytwian (Agnieszka z Tęczyńskich Firlejowa była siostrą Jana Tęczyńskiego), kwestie chronologiczne (możliwość powstania obrazu do ołtarza głównego niewielkiej świątyni w Czernej stosunkowo niedługo po rozpoczęciu jej budowy w 1629 roku), wreszcie dość powszechny w czasach nowożytnych obyczaj wykonywania przez malarzy zakonnych zamówień dla wybranych osób z grona świeckich fundatorów.

## Słowa kluczowe

Eliasz, mistyka karmelitańska, erem w Czernej, Tomasz Dolabella, o. Wenanty z Subiaco, Agnieszka z Tęczyńskich Firlejowa



1. Father Venanzio da Subiaco, *Prophet Elijah in the woods*, ca. 1630–1632, painting in the high altar of the Church of Discalced Carmelites in Czerna.

Phot. J. Kozina



2. Father Venanzio da Subiaco, *Prophet Elijah in the woods*,  
view of the painting without the tabernacle.

Realized with a photo by J. Kozina



3. Father Venanzio da Subiaco, *Slumber of St Romuald*, ca. 1637,  
Eremo Tuscolano near Frascati, Camaldolese church, reproduced from:  
*Da Antiveduto della Gramatica a Venanzio l'eremita. Nuovi dipinti caravaggeschi  
a Camaldoli*, ed. L. Conigliello, Firenze 1995, p. 64, il. 17



4. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. A. Organisty;  
b) Fragment of *Noli me tangere* by Father Venanzio da Subiaco, ca. 1627–1632,  
former Selva Aurea hermitage in Rytwiany. Phot. A. Organisty; fragment of *Slumber  
of St Romuald* by Father Venanzio da Subiaco, ca. 1637, Eremo Tuscolano  
near Frascati, Camaldolese church. Reproduced from: *Da Antiveduto della  
Gramatica a Venanzio l'eremita. Nuovi dipinti caravaggeschi a Camaldoli*, a cura  
di L. Conigliello, Firenze 1995, p. 64, il. 17





5. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. A. Organisty;  
b) Fragment of *Madonna with St Benedict and St Romuald* by Father Venanzio da Subiaco, ca. 1624–1625, former Selva Aurea hermitage in Rytwiiany.  
Phot. J. Kozina



6. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. A. Organisty;  
b) Fragment of *St Agnes and St Ursula* by Father Venanzio da Subiaco, 1640, Camaldoli, the church in the hermitage. Reproduced from: *Da Antiveduto della Gramatica a Venanzio l'eremita. Nuovi dipinti caravaggeschi a Camaldoli*, a cura di L. Conigliello, Firenze 1995, p. 34, il. 11; c) Fragment of *Annunciation* by Father Venanzio da Subiaco, ca. 1624–1630, chapel by the vestry of the Calmaldolese Church in Bielany near Kraków. Reproduced from: A. Małkiewicz, *Włoskie odkrycie malarstwa kameduły o. Wenantego z Subiaco*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 40 (1998), p. 221, il. 9



7. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. A. Organisty;  
b) Fragment of *St Agnes and St Ursula* by Father Venanzio da Subiaco, 1640,  
Camaldoli, the church in the hermitage. Reproduced from: *Da Antiveduto della  
Gramatica a Venanzio l'eremita. Nuovi dipinti caravaggeschi a Camaldoli*, a cura  
di L. Conigliello, Firenze 1995, p. 34, il. 11



8. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. A. Organisty; b) Fragment of *Last supper* by Tommaso Dolabella, before 1620, Dominican Church in Kraków. Phot. J. Kozina



9. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. J. Kozina; b) Fragment of *Last supper* Tommaso Dolabella, before 1620, Dominican Church in Kraków. Phot. J. Kozina





10. a) Fragment of *Prophet Elijah in the woods* in Czerna. Phot. A. Organisty;  
b–c) Fragment of *Last supper* by Tommaso Dolabella, before 1620, Dominican  
Church in Kraków. Phot. J. Kozina