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***Salvator Mundi*: a late-gothic canvas from Cracow after a lost Early-Netherlandish painting. A suggested new dating and possible identification of the donor¹**

The Netherlandish *Ars Nova* was one of the most important artistic innovations of the fifteenth century and, of course, it had many followers, including some artists active in Central Europe. In general it may be said that some specific Netherlandish iconographical motifs, as well as the stylistic features (e.g. angular folds, gentle chiaroscuro effects, attention to the details), became widely popular in the whole Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century. The Early-Netherlandish painting and its impact has been the subject of a significant number of research projects within past decades, and, of course, the examinations completed within the past 20 years resulted in new conclusions on various Early-Netherlandish artworks. Nevertheless, there are many famous Netherlandish masterpieces whose dating and attributions are still discussed (one of the best examples

1. I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of Helena Małkiewiczówna (1941–2016): an outstanding scholar, teacher and authority on medieval art in Poland. She always encouraged her students to take up research even on those works of art, which seemed to have been already properly examined before, as she believed there is always something new that could be discovered in any piece of art. I am sorry that I did not have a chance to present the results of my research on *Salvator Mundi* painting to her, before she passed away in 2016. I very much hope she would like this article. I thank Rev. David Brown for linguistic advice while preparing this publication.

would be the problem of the so called "Flémalle group"²). Consequently, the research on the Netherlandish influences on the local art of other European artistic centres should also be up-dated and therefore keep being a subject of exhibitions and conferences in various European countries.³ For example, a few years ago there was an exhibition at the Groeninge Museum in Bruges, entitled *Van Eyck to Dürer: The Influence of Early Netherlandish Painting on European Art, 1430–1530*.⁴ It examined the influence that the Flemish Primitives had on their eastern neighbours in Central Europe, and it included also some Polish examples of gothic panel painting inspired by the Netherlandish *Ars Nova*. The event was the largest exhibition of works from Polish medieval collections ever presented in Western Europe. Unfortunately the painting I would like to write about in this article was not present at that exhibition. In spite of that, it is one of the most interesting examples of the Netherlandish influence on Polish art at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

2. The group was described by H. von Tschudi, calling the author "Master of Flémalle" (in *Der Meister von Flémalle*, "Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen" XIX (1898), pp. 2–34 and 89–116). Later that unknown master was identified as Robert Campin (G. Hulin de Loo, *An Authentic Work by Jacques Daret, Painted in 1434*, "The Burlington Magazine" XV (1909), pp. 202–208). The identification, initially widely accepted, has lately been rejected; see J. Dijkstra, *Le Maître de Flémalle (Les peintres et leurs œuvres)*, in: B. de Patoul, R. van Schoute, *Les Primitifs Flamands*, Tournai 2000, pp. 311–329. The discussion has been continued for the last 20 years; see A. Châtelet, *Robert Campin. De Meester van Flémalle*, Antwerpen 1996; S. Kemperdick, *Der Meister von Flémalle. Die Werkstatt Robert Campins und Rogier van der Weyden*, Turnhout 1997, and the catalogue of the exhibition *The Master of Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden*, ed. by S. Kemperdick, J. Sander, Ostfildern 2009 (especially the article: J. Sander, *Reconstructing Artists and their Oeuvres*, pp. 75–93). The authors of the latter think that the oeuvre of so called Flémalle Group is too differentiated to have been created by one painter; it should be understood as a work of the workshop, and the elements of *Ars Nova* in some of those paintings are the result of the presence of Rogier van der Weyden in that workshop.
3. The examples of the publications focused on the Netherlandish influences in other countries might be: J. Sander "Ars Nova" and *European Painting in the Fifteenth Century*, in: *The Master of Flémalle...*, op. cit., pp. 31–37; P. Nuttal, *From Flanders to Florence. The Impact of Netherlandish Painting 1400–1500*, New Heaven–London 2004; *The Age of Van Eyck. The Mediterranean World and Early Netherlandish Painting 1430–1530*, Ghent–Amsterdam 2002.
4. *Van Eyck to Dürer. Early Netherlandish Painting & Central Europe 1430–1530* [Cat. exh. Groeningemuseum, Bruges, October 29, 2010–January 30, 2011.], ed. by T.-H. Borchert, A.-F. Kollermann, Tielt 2010.

The painting in question is a late gothic *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow Cathedral [fig. 1]. Over a decade ago, Helena Małkiewiczówna provided a very detailed analysis of the painting's iconography, as well as of its possible sources of inspiration, proving that they were of the Netherlandish origin.⁵ Nevertheless, it seems that this remarkable masterpiece still remains unknown to many scholars, especially outside Poland. Also, it seems that further research may result in precisising the painting's dating and perhaps identifying the donor, who so far remains unknown.

The painting depicts full-figure Christ as *Salvator Mundi*; its size is 232 by 93 cm and it was painted with tempera on canvas (!) without any chalk ground, only with bole ground and gold leaf in the area of Christ's halo. The painting comes from the Cracow Cathedral and is now kept in the Cathedral Museum in Cracow. It could have been a votive painting or an epitaph, as it includes a small figure of a kneeling donor: a canon with the Jasieńczyk coat of arms, with a banderole inscribed "O ihesu fili dei miserere mei". Christ holds a golden globe with a cross on its top in his left hand, and blesses with the right hand. He is dressed in a simple grey robe with long sleeves and he stands barefoot on the floor. There is a decorated cloth in the background and a banderole with an inscription "Ego sum lux mundi" around Christ's head. This extremely interesting painting has not been a subject of many publications. For a long time, it had been in a very bad condition and was not easily accessible for scholars, as, until 1979, it hung fairly aloft in



1. *Salvator Mundi*, Cathedral Museum in Cracow

5. H. Małkiewiczówna, *Salvator Mundi – późnogotycki obraz na płótnie z katedry na Wawelu. Uwagi o ikonografii i stylu*, "Biuletyn Informacyjny Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki" 17 (2006) nr 1–2, pp. 14–36. The article is translated into English in that same journal: *The Salvator Mundi – Late Gothic Style Painting on Canvas from the Wawel Cathedral. Comments on Iconography and Style*, pp. 120–139. In this paper I will refer to the translated text.

the Cracow Cathedral, and later on was locked up in the Cathedral treasury. The eldest known record of it dates back to 1680–1681 (*Liber fabricae ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis ab anno 1592 ad anno 1686*, Archives of Cracow Cathedral 4, fol. 214v, mentions new hooks provided for this painting).⁶ In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the painting was refreshed, framed into a baroque frame and moved to the south pillar in the Cathedral transept.⁷ Later, the picture was overpainted by Władysław Pochwalski in the process of renovation in 1904 and placed in the northern part of the Cathedral transept, again very high on the wall. The painting has been described in the Catalogue of the Monuments of Art in Poland in 1965, but the authors of the publication did not have a chance to reach it, so they just assumed it was a panel painting from the second half of the fifteenth century.⁸ Some time later, Jerzy Gadomski, in the course of his research on gothic panel painting in Lesser Poland, found out that the painting's support is canvas. As a result, he assumed that this painting is not a gothic original, but probably a modern copy after a lost fifteenth-century image, created in the eighteenth or in the nineteenth century.⁹ It was not until the end of the twentieth century, when the painting underwent the complex restoration, that Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowska finally established that it is, in fact, a picture dating back to the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in spite of the support it was painted on.¹⁰ Renovation of the painting brought it back as close as possible to its original state, as the later overpaintings have been removed. Also, the painting was examined and analysed very carefully and, finally, some extended articles have been published on it: one focusing on the subject and the style of the painting¹¹ and the other on

6. As established by Krzysztof Czyżewski (see H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 139, footnote 145).
7. H. Małkiewiczówna, *Chrystus Salvator Mundi*, catalogue note I/37 in: *Wawel 1000–2000. Wystawa jubileuszowa*, t. I, *Katedra krakowska – biskupia, królewska, narodowa*, Kraków 2000, p. 75.
8. *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, t. IV (Kraków), cz. 1, *Wawel*, red. A. Bochnak, J. Samek, Warszawa 1965, p. 69, il. 370.
9. J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1460–1500*, Warszawa 1988, p. 15, footnote 15; J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500–1540*, Warszawa–Kraków 1995, p. 13.
10. M. Schuster-Gawłowska, *Dokumentacja konserwatorska obrazu sztalugowego "Salvator Mundi" z katedry na Wawelu*, Kraków 1999.
11. H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit.

the technical issues of its restoration.¹² The painting was also displayed at the exhibition *Wawel 1000–2000* in Cracow.¹³

As mentioned above, the iconography of the painting has been very well analysed by Helena Małkiewiczówna,¹⁴ whose analysis, therefore, here may be just summed up. So-called *Salvator Mundi* is the image of Christ in frontal view, blessing and holding a globe; it is usually a half-figure depiction, but sometimes it may also be a full-length composition. In rare cases, the globe is placed under Christ's feet and then he holds a book.¹⁵ He is dressed either in a simple robe or in a robe with a coat; if the figure is full-length, one may notice the bare feet of Christ. The banderoles in such depictions usually contain the citation of the Gospel of John: "Ego sum via veritas et vita" (John 14, 6) or "Ego sum lux mundi" (John 8, 12).¹⁶ It seems that the type called *Salvator Mundi* was created in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. Most of the scholars assume that the oldest extant example is Christ in the Braque Triptych by Rogier van der Weyden (ca. 1450, Paris, Louvre).¹⁷ On the other hand, the type certainly was based on earlier prototypes: for instance, there was a statue of the Blessing Christ holding a globe placed ca. 1230 in the northern part of Amiens Cathedral, and there is a fresco by Simone Martini (before 1341) in the tympanum of the Avignon cathedral, also showing the Blessing Christ holding a globe.¹⁸ Still, *Salvator Mundi* seems to have been popular especially in the Netherlandish artistic circle. The full-length depictions may have originated from the northern-Netherlandish manuscript illuminations, and the prototypes would be the

12. M. Schuster-Gawłowska, *Późnogotycki obraz na płótnie z katedry na Wawelu. Konserwacja i technologia*, "Biuletyn Informacyjny Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki" 17 (2006) nr 1–2, pp. 4–13. The article is translated into English in that journal, pp. 114–119.
13. H. Małkiewiczówna, *Chrystus Salvator Mundi*, op. cit., pp. 75–77.
14. H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., pp. 120–124.
15. See S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative. The Ride of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting*, Abo 1965, (Acta Academiae Abonensis, ser. A, XXXI, nr 2).
16. B. Miodońska, *Rex Regum i Rex Poloniae w dekoracji malarskiej Graduału Jana Olbrachta i Pontyfikatu Erazma Ciołka. Z zagadnień ikonografii władzy królewskiej w sztuce polskiej wieku XVI*, Kraków 1979, p. 91.
17. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Leyden 1967, vol. II, table 46, 47.
18. Both examples mentioned by H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 132, endnote 22.

images of Christ creating the world with a blessing in the I initials [*In Principio*] at the beginning of the Bibles illuminated ca. 1400.¹⁹

Salvator Mundi most likely derived from a fusion of two earlier types of depictions: *Maiestas Domini* (enthroned Christ blessing, usually in front view, holding a book) and the Holy Face (which emerged from the Veil of Veronica and the Image of Edessa).²⁰ The latter, understood as a "true portrait" of Christ, was very popular in the fifteenth century in Northern Europe. This type of image always depicted Christ in a frontal view and, of course, all the copies repeated similar facial features of the sitter.²¹ For example, Jan van Eyck created a very famous version, which, unfortunately, survived only in later copies. It actually seems that van Eyck's workshop produced several replicas of this image, which may be proved by the fact that the extant modern copies, however alike, bear inscriptions with different dates (either 1438 or 1440).²² That obviously popular depiction showed Christ in a frontal 'portrait' view, containing only a head and upper part of the shoulders; the composition did not include Christ's hands. Because of the close view and the fact that in those images Christ looks directly at the spectator, the pictures of the Holy Face were quite intimate and created a sense of connection and closeness between the Lord and the viewer.

Maiestas Domini, on the other hand, was a representative image of Christ as the Ruler of the World. Deriving from the ancient portraits of the Emperors, it was rather a formal representation: Christ was depicted as a Ruler and a Judge of the World.²³ The spectator was expected to feel

19. O. Pächt, *Der Salvator Mundi des Turiner Stundebuches* in: *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, Stockholm 1987, pp. 181–190; H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 123 gives the examples of the early *Salvator Mundi* types in the Netherlandish manuscripts: the Bible MS Thott 2 from 1412 in the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, fol. 182, and in the Book of Hours ca. 1415–1420, M. 866, Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, fol. 41 v (sitting Christ).
20. See *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman*, Florence 1996.
21. See S. Perkinson, *The Likeness of the King. A Prehistory of Portraiture in Late Medieval France*, Chicago–London 2009, pp. 75–83.
22. In the Groeningemuseum in Bruges, in the Alte Pinakothek in München, in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin and in the British private collection – see: *The Age of Van Eyck...*, op. cit., p. 239, cat. no. 37 – The Portrait of Christ, a copy after Jan van Eyck, ca. 1635, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.
23. See H. P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World*, Oslo 1953, (Instituttet for Sammenligende Kulturforskning XXIII); and also F. Rademacher, *Der thronende Christus der Chorschranken aus Gustorf. Eine*

intimidated by the image, so it was very much different in this aspect than the Holy Face. As a result, the images of *Salvator Mundi* were somewhere in-between: they depicted Christ blessing and holding a globe, but also Christ humble and barefoot in a more intimate version, especially in case of the half-length compositions. *Salvator Mundi* was supposed to have been a version of the 'true portrait' of Christ, as was the Holy Face, aimed to show a dualistic nature of Human-God, and its simple and calm composition actually stressed the aspects of the human nature of Christ more than his divinity. The popularity of such depictions may have been related to the fact that in the fourteenth century there was a wide discussion in Europe about the problems of secular and ecclesiastical power, and, at the same time, the nature of *regnum Christi* was being discussed. Focusing on Christ's humility and his resignation of the earthly splendours led to the division between the definitions of *regnum aeternum*, *regnum spirituale* and *regnum temporale*,²⁴ which was especially important during the Reformation.²⁵ As a result, Christ the spiritual ruler no longer had to be depicted as an unavailable emperor. On the other hand, the ideas of the Modern Devout movement (*Devotio Moderna*), popular especially in the Netherlands, created an image of the Kingdom of God in man's soul, and encouraged Christians to grow a personal bond with the Lord. *Salvator Mundi* image serves very well the purpose of contemplation of the Human-God.²⁶ Because of that, most of the *Salvator Mundi* depictions were half-length, closer to the Holy Face 'portraits'. Sometimes Christ was painted as standing behind the ledge running along the lower edge of the panel; the source of such images may have been close to the panel by Master of Flémalle (Christ and the Virgin

ikonographische Untersuchung, Köln—Graz 1964. The bibliography on the *Maestas Domini* type was collected by P. Skubiszewski, "*Maestas Domini*" *et liturgie*, in: *Cinquante années d'études médiévales: à la confluence de nos disciplines; actes du colloque organisé à l'occasion du Cinquantenaire du CЕСSM, Poitiers, 1er — 4 septembre 2003*, ed. C. Arrignon, M.-H. Debiès, Turnhout 2005, pp. 309—310.

24. B. Miodońska, *Rex Regum i Rex Poloniae...*, op. cit., p. 28.

25. See T. F. Torrance, *Kingdom and Church: A Study in the Theology of the Reformation*, Eugene, Oregon 1996.

26. About *Devotio Moderna* see J. Van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*, Philadelphia 2008. Also: J. H. Van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, Mahwah, NJ 1988. Recently (2013) Literary Licensing has printed a new release of original 1925 edition of a book *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the Devotio Moderna* by A. Hyma.



2. Master of Flémalle, *Christ and the Virgin*, ca. 1430, Philadelphia Museum of Art

ca. 1430, Philadelphia Museum of Art) [fig. 2].²⁷ The half-length images of *Salvator Mundi* were very popular in the second half of the fifteenth century, not only in panel painting, but most of all in illuminated prayer-books. For example, since ca. 1460 *Salvator Mundi* have replaced the depictions of the Holy Face in the Books of Hours decorated in the so-called Ghent-Bruges artistic

circle.²⁸ The full-length type was popularised on the other hand by the prints illustrating *Fasciculus temporum* by Werner Rolevinck (1425–1502). This was a bestseller released many times in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (over 35 printings between 1474 and 1500).²⁹

There are many depictions of *Salvator Mundi* dating back to the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, but in reference to the painting in Cracow only the full-length compositions are relevant. It should be stressed that they come in two slightly different versions, which may mean that, hypothetically, there could have been two different Netherlandish originals, now lost but possible to reconstruct. The main difference is Christ's

27. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, op. cit., table 81. The origins and the meaning of the half-length depiction of Christ was discussed by S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative...*, op. cit.

28. See M. Smeyers, *An Eyckian Vera Icon in a Bruges Book of Hours, ca. 1450* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 421) in: *Serta devota in memoriam Guillemi Lourdaux. Pars posterior: Cultura mediaevalis*, ed. W. Verbeke, M. Haverals, R. de Keyser, J. Goossens, Leuven 1995, pp. 215–217, footnotes 101–103. Specific examples of the miniatures of *Salvator Mundi* were collected by H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., pp. 122–124.

29. K. Biddick, *The Typological Imaginary: Circumcision, Technology*, Philadelphia 2011, p. 47.

clothing: in some images he wears only a robe (usually grey or other neutral colour) but in others he wears a robe and a coat (and the set is often of vivid colours, e.g. red and blue). The version with a coat was probably more popular, as there are quite a few fifteenth century examples following it, especially among prints (e.g. L 124 by Master E. S., ca. 146 [fig. 3];³⁰ L 45 by the Master of the Berlin Passion, ca. 1460;³¹ or the illustrations to the text *Fasciculus temporum* by Werner Rolevinck mentioned above). Also, there is a statue in the Chapel of Johann Hardenrath in the St. Mary's Capitol church in Cologne, created before 1466 in the workshop of Nikolaus Gerhaert van Leyden, which represents the same type.³² Central-European painted examples, dating back to the end of the fifteenth century, are for instance: a panel in Staatsgalerie im Hohen Schloss in Füssen (Unknown Master from Augsburg, 1494) [fig. 4],³³ and a painting from the Dominican monastery in Cracow (ca. 1500, kept in the National Museum in Toruń as a deposit from the National Museum in Warsaw).³⁴ *Salvator Mundi* in a coat was the most common type also in the half-length



3. Master E.S., *Salvator Mundi*, L124

30. J. Höfler, *Der Meister E.S. Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 2007, vol. II, no. 124.
31. *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700*, XII, Amsterdam 1983, p. 92.
32. R. Recht, *Nicolass de Leyde et la sculpture à Strasbourg (1460–1525)*, Strasbourg 1987, il. 38.
33. G. Goldberg, *Staatsgalerie Füssen*, München 1987, p. 37, cat. no. 1.
34. The painting kept in Toruń has been widely repainted and the condition of survived original fragments is not sufficient to draw any serious conclusions based on analysing them. Besides, that painting is sometimes confused with another painting depicting Christ in full length, which is actually not *Salvator Mundi*, but Christ the Teacher. That Christ Teacher depiction comes from SS. Johns Church in Toruń and is kept in the National Museum in Warsaw (ca. 1420–1430, see H. Turska, *Chrystus Zbawiciel Świata* in: *Ars Sacra. Dawna sztuka diecezji toruńskiej. Katalog wystawy 5 XI–31 XII 1993*, Toruń 1993, p. 44.). Both paintings are reproduced in H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., il. 32, 33.



4. Augsburger Master, *Salvator Mundi*, 1494, Staatsgalerie im Hohen Schloss in Füssen

versions, popular at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (e.g. by the workshops of Hans Memling, Gerard David, Quentin Massys, Joos van Cleve). It is possible that the source of inspiration for all those images was a lost painting by the workshop of Jan van Eyck, depicting Christ dressed in a coat, and maybe holding a crystal globe. A suggestion that there used to be an Eyckian prototype for the images of *Salvator Mundi* appeared in the literature some time ago.³⁵

However, the painting from Cracow represents the other type: that is Christ dressed only in a simple dark robe. One of the earliest examples of such a type would be the statue from the cathedral in Vienna (ca. 1450) [fig. 5].³⁶ Another piece is a panel from the Saint John the Baptist Altarpiece by Johann Koerbecke (after 1460 r., Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum).³⁷ A very interesting example is a fresco in the Saint Catherine's Chapel in Mitterarnsdorf (Austria, 1470) [fig. 6]:³⁸ it includes also a kneeling donor depicted in front of Christ, and both figures have the banderoles with inscriptions, just as in the painting from Cracow. Nevertheless, the Austrian *Salvator* is not dressed in a singular robe there,

35. O. Pächt, *Der Salvator Mundi des Turiner Stundebuches in: Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk octogenarii contextum*, Stockholm 1987, p. 184. About the crystal globe see C. Gottlieb, *The Mystical Window in Paintings of the Salvator Mundi*, "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" 56 (1960), p. 325; J. Białostocki, *The Eye and the Window*, in: *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Köln 1970, p. 159–176 and C. Gottlieb, *The Window in the Eye and Globe*, "The Art Bulletin" LVII (1975), pp. 559–560.
36. H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 27; il. 40. R. K. Donin, *Der Wiener Stephansdom und seine Geschichte*, Wien 1946, Abb. 54.
37. P. Pieper, *Die deutschen, niederländischen und italienischen Tafelbilder bis um 1530*, Münster 1986, p. 179, (Bestandskatalog des Westfälischen Landesmuseums für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster).
38. E. Lanc, *Die mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien in Wien und Niederösterreich*, Wien 1983, il. 293, (Corpus der mittelalterlichen Wandmalereien Österreichs, 1).

but has another layer underneath the outer cloth. There are some more examples of the paintings in the Central European art, dating back to the end of the fifteenth century, depicting *Salvator Mundi* without a coat: the wall painting in the wooden church in Haczów (close to Krośno, Poland, 1494), the initial B[enedicta] in Missal from Włocławek (the Seminary Library in Włocławek, Ms. 15, fol. 56, ca. 1490),³⁹ and also two interesting panel paintings. Actually, one of them is the back of the so-called Rauriser Altarpiece, which is the triptych from Salzburg dating back to the 1490s (Salzburg Museum) [fig. 7].⁴⁰ The back of the middle part of this retable is decorated with the full-length depiction of Christ in dark robe, blessing and holding a book, standing against a decorated cloth. The other panel is in the cathedral in Frankfurt am Main; it shows *Salvator Mundi* flanked by two female saints and it dates back to ca. 1500 [fig. 8].⁴¹ In this case, Christ holds both a book and a globe. It seems likely that it is actually the same type (although with an additional globe) as in the print H32 by Martin Schongauer (before 1482) [fig. 9],⁴² which, also, has been followed by the author of the painting from Cracow Cathedral. As Helena Małkiewiczówna proved, it may have been a type based on the lost prototype from the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, which most likely depicted full-length Christ in a frontal view, dressed in a dark robe and holding a golden globe (as in the Braque Triptych), standing in



39. The Seminary Library in Włocławek, Ms. 15, fol. 56, ca. 1490: H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 125.
40. See A. Rohrmoser, *Der spätgotische Kreuzaltar aus Rauris, Teil 1: Standortbestimmung Vergriffen*, Salzburg 1992, abb. 5 (Das Kunstwerk des Monats, 50 (April 1992)).
41. *Die Ausstattung des Frankfurter Domes*, Hrsg. E. de Weerth, Frankfurt am Main 1999, cat. no. H/7, pp. 171–172.
42. *The Illustrated Bartsch*; vol. 8, part 1, Commentary; 032, B. 62 (150), p. 217.

5. *Salvator Mundi*, St Stephen Cathedral in Vienna, ca. 1450



6. *Salvator Mundi and a Donor*, 1470, a fresco in the Saint Catherine's Chapel in Mitterarnsdorf

front of a decorated curtain (as the saints in the Flémalle Panels) [fig. 10].⁴³

It seems that there are no written sources that can help us establish any information about the provenance of the painting from the Cracow cathedral. So far, the donor has been described as unknown, and the painting has been dated only as a result of a stylistic analysis. Obviously, it looks like this painting was inspired by the Netherlandish art. Helena Małkiewiczówna proved that in this case Christ's head is based on the depictions from the circle Flémalle-van der Weyden.⁴⁴ Indeed, Christ's face is quite characteristically oval, with a long but not very narrow nose, round eyes and a broad but flat forehead. It is also significant that the hair part of his head seems to be very narrow comparing to the forehead, and the hair is split in the middle with the parting clearly marked. It is a head of Christ that one may juxtapose with the one in the paintings by Rogier van der Weyden: in the Braque Triptych [fig. 11] and in the right wing of the Crucifixion Altar (ca. 1440, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum;⁴⁵ on the Veil of Veronica), where, also, we can see a filigree cross behind Christ's head similar to the one in the painting from Cracow.⁴⁶ Of course, a similar image of Christ's head appears in the paintings from the so called Flémalle group: in the panel with Jesus and the Virgin kept in Philadelphia, and, also, in one of the Flémalle panels in Frankfurt (on the Veil of Veronica, ca. 1430, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main).⁴⁷ That could also lead to the oeuvre of Rogier van

43. H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 128.

44. H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., pp. 126–128.

45. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, op. cit., table 18–19.

46. H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 127.

47. M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, op. cit., table 88.

der Weyden, as according to latest research young van der Weyden may have co-worked on the Flémalle Panels,⁴⁸ and the panel from Philadelphia is probably based on them (not only the image of Christ, but mostly the image of the Virgin, which basically repeats the Flémalle Virgin).⁴⁹ Certainly, the face of Salvator from Cracow includes some details (like a delicate smile or rounded eyebrows) that could reflect the individual style of the Cracow artist. On the other hand, a gentle chiaroscuro modelling was not common in Polish painting of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries and also indicates that the artist from Cracow was, in this case, copying a Netherlandish masterpiece.

There is another aspect of the painting from Cracow that points to its Netherlandish sources: the fact that the image's support is canvas. It is important to stress that a combination of panel and canvas was used by the late-medieval painters as a support in two ways, which should not be confused. One way was to cover the wooden panel with canvas at the beginning. Such a support was then grounded and gilded, and covered with a thick layer of paint, which resulted in the smooth and shiny surface of the painting, not revealing the canvas' structure. Paintings produced in this way are considered as panel paintings and it seems that this technique was also rather common and popular in Lesser Poland. A very different situation was in the case of the actual canvas paintings: they were often painted with very little or no ground, and characterised with a very thin paint layer,



7. *Salvator Mundi*, back of the central part of a retable, Rauriser Altar, Salzburg Museum, 1490s

48. S. Kemperdick, *Robert Campin, Jacques Daret and Rogier van der Weyden: The Written Sources*, in: *The Master of Flémalle...*, op. cit., pp. 53–73.

49. The underdrawing of the Philadelphia panel includes a line that follows the lower edge of the wimple of Virgin from Flémalle panels, and that is not present in the final depiction in Philadelphia. J. Sender, *Christ and the Virgin*, cat. no. 7 in: *The Master of Flémalle...*, op. cit., p. 215.



8. *Salvator Mundi and Two Saints*,
ca. 1500, Cathedral in Frankfurt am
Main

exposing the structure of the canvas.⁵⁰ Such paintings, created entirely on canvas, may have either served as 'painted clothes' or as regular paintings. Often, the latter would have been nailed to the wooden support, but they could always be easily detached and rolled up for transportation. It is commonly assumed that canvas painting was the Netherlandish idea; we know that there were images on linen produced there as early as before 1400; Flanders was a leading cloth-trade centre in Europe already in the fourteenth century.⁵¹ It is well known that the most famous Netherlandish painters (including Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts, Hugo van der Goes, Joos van Ghent, or Gerard David) painted not only on panels, but also on canvases.⁵² Of course, painted clothes were also produced in Central Europe. For example, according to the written sources, there was a painted curtain produced for the Our Lady church in Wrocław at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and in the Museum Kirche zum Hl. Kreuz in Zittau, there is a painted cloth known as the *Zittauer Fastentuch*, dating back to

50. M. Schuster-Gawłowska, *Późnogotycki obraz na płótnie...*, op. cit., pp. 8–9.
51. A. J. Warden, *The Linen Trade*, London 1864, pp. 290, 319, 344. The development of linen painting was very well researched by D. Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting 1400–1530*, New York 1989. See also *The Fabric of Images: European Painting on Textile Supports in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. by C. Villers, London 2000.
52. D. Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting...*, op. cit., p. 18 and 34. Many Netherlandish canvases in Italy did not survive and we only know about them from the written sources: for example Bartolomeo Fazio noted in 1456 that Alfons the King of Naples had two linen paintings by Rogier van der Weyden; also, by the end of the fifteenth century the Medicis possessed 20 paintings from Flanders, painted on cloth. See M. Baxandal, *Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting*, "Journal of the Wartburg and Courtauld Institutes" 27 (1964), pp. 104–106, and P. Nuttal, *From Flanders to Florence...*, op. cit., pp. 105–117.

1472.⁵³ Two other remaining medieval canvas paintings from the Central Europe are: *Assumpta* from the White Mountain (ca. 1450, National Gallery in Prague)⁵⁴ and the *Martyrdom of St Acacius and Ten Thousand Martyrs at Mount Ararat* from St Egidius church in Bardějov (first half of the fifteenth century, Šarišské Muzeum in Bardějov).⁵⁵ *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow cathedral is the only example of a late-medieval canvas preserved in Lesser Poland. Nevertheless, such objects have been mentioned in the written sources there throughout the whole fifteenth century.⁵⁶ Perhaps *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow Cathedral was painted on canvas because that was the support used for the lost original Netherlandish image that Cracow painter copied. Also, cloth as a support fits well to the depiction of *Salvator Mundi* as it refers to the tradition of the Holy Face placed on the Veil of Veronica. Or, maybe, the painting from Cracow Cathedral was originally intended to be transported somewhere, so the canvas support seemed more suitable than a panel. That,



9. Martin Schongauer, *Salvator Mundi*, print ca. 1468–82, H32

53. U. Schießl, S. Wülfert, R. Kühnen, *Technical Observations on the so-called "Großes Zittauer Fastentuch": a Lenten Veil Dating from 1472*, in: *The Fabric of Images*, ed. by C. Villers, London 2000, pp. 99–108.
54. M. Bartlovà, *Assumpta from the White Mountain. Gothic Painting on Canvas*, "Bulletin of the National Gallery in Prague" XII–XIII (2002–2003), pp. 77–83.
55. R. Suckale, *Ein Tüchleinbild der Achatiusmarter aus der Nachfolge des Meisters von St. Lambrecht* in: *Ročenka Slovenskej Národnej Galérie w Bratislave*, Bratislava 2001, pp. 77–83.
56. All the texts collected by H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 26, after *Cracovia artificum 1300–1500*, ed. J. Ptaśnik, Kraków 1917. They refer to the Passion Cloth from the church in Nowy Targ (1411), the copy of the painted curtain with Crucifixion donated by the French Queen Isabella (the copy was commissioned by Jan Długosz in 1460 and completed by the painter Jakób), the three linen paintings for the church in Żarnowiec (1473), the painted curtains of Anna the Paintress (1491) and some painted pieces of cloth in the possession of Cracow painter Stanisław Skórka (1495).



10. Comparison of one of Flémalle panels (*St Veronica*, ca. 1430, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main) and *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow

in fact, seems to be the most probable explanation in this case.

Apart from the Netherlandish influences which are clearly visible in the *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow Cathedral, there are some individual stylistic elements traceable in this painting that seem to occur also in the other Cracow painting, which is called *Annunciation* of Cięcina (ca. 1490–1495, National Museum in Cracow) [fig. 12].⁵⁷ Unfortunately, we don't know much about that painting either: it has been dated on stylistic grounds to the 1490s. The main reason for that is the form of draperies in this *Annunciation*: they seem to follow the style of Veit Stoss, who completed the high altar in Our Lady church in Cracow in 1489. Anyway, both the artist and the donor of the *Annunciation* of Cięcina remain unknown. Interestingly, there are some characteristic stylistic details that both paintings (*Annunciation* and *Salvator Mundi*) have in common: faces with round eyes and thick eyelids, long but not very thin noses, and especially gentle smiles, hard to find in any other Cracow painting of that time. In both cases, we can also spot some problems with keeping accurate proportions of the figures: the bent knees of Christ Salvator and of Mary in *Annunciation* are not placed properly; also, there are some issues with space and perspective in both paintings (however, this was rather common in Lesser Poland gothic painting). On the other hand, it must be noted that folds of draperies and chiaroscuro modelling are not at all alike in *Salvator Mundi* painting and in the *Annunciation* of Cięcina. On the other hand, this may have been caused by the fact that, in the case of *Salvator Mundi*, the painter may have followed the forms of the Netherlandish original he copied. Also, in both paintings, the donor has been painted by different artist than the rest of the image, which

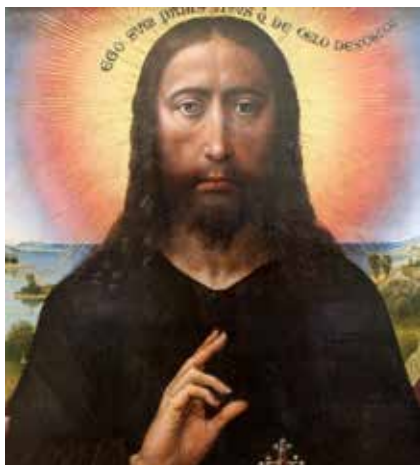
57. J. Gadowski, *Jan Wielki. Krakowski malarz z drugiej połowy wieku XV*, Kraków 2005, il. 40.

was a common practice in the artistic workshops. Still, the resemblance of the facial expression between *Salvator Mundi* and the main figures of the *Annunciation* of Cięcina, noticeable, even in spite of the technical differences between both artworks, is worth pointing out. It may not be enough to propose a common authorship for these two paintings, but, in my opinion, it shows a relation that may derive from a shared professional experience of their authors.

In fact, assuming that *Salvator Mundi* in Cracow is a copy after a lost Netherlandish original, the stylistic analysis of the figure of Christ and the folds of his robe is not reliable in terms of establishing the dating. These folds of Christ's robe are very much reduced, but it is probably the result of following the simplicity of the Netherlandish original. It should be stressed that almost the same arrangement of the robe occurs in case of the *Salvator Mundi* statue in Vienna (ca. 1450) [fig. 05], which is an early example, and probably close to the lost prototype. As a result, previous dating of the Cracow painting to the 1480s,⁵⁸ may now be reconsidered, and the new proposal should be based rather on the analysis of the figure of the donor [fig. 13]. It seems that the figure of the donor in the painting *Salvator Mundi* was created by a different artist than the one who completed the figure of Christ and neither the donor's face nor the folds of his clothes show any resemblance to the relevant elements in the *Annunciation* of Cięcina. The donor is a canon, rather old, as his hair is grey; on the other hand he is not so old to be completely bald, so he seems to be in his fifties or sixties. His face is thin, with sunken cheeks, his nose is thick and his lips have no smile — in fact



58. Helena Małkiewiczówna dated the painting to 1480s (H. Małkiewiczówna, *Chrystus Salvator Mundi*, op. cit., p. 77; H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 129), so did Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowska (*Późnogołycki obraz na płótnie...*, op. cit., p. 4).



11. Comparison of the details of the the *Braque Triptych* by Rogier van der Weyden (ca. 1450, Paris, Louvre) and *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow Cathedral

their corners go down a bit. His eyebrows are straight and his eyes are rather small. The most significant element, though, is the form of the strangely angular folds of his clothes: they are narrow and wrinkled, they seem crushed in a nervous way, and they are actually flat and not dynamic; they don't follow the patterns popularised by Veit Stoss and rooted in the style of Rogier van der Weyden. Actually, these folds of the donor's clothes don't resemble any forms present in various Lesser Poland paintings of the end of the fifteenth century. On the other hand, the latest examinations of the painting confirmed that the donor was an integral part of the original composition.

In general, in Cracow art of the late-fifteenth century angular folds were either lumpy or sharp, and usually rather big. After Veit Stoss came to the city, other artists (painters as well as sculptors) started to imitate his dynamic forms, a very good example of which is the *Annunciation* of Cięcina. But the donor in *Salvator Mundi* is dressed in a crushed fabric, crumpled into dense and a bit unnatural folds, rather hard to juxtapose with other paintings of that time, even if we look beyond the Cracow artistic circle. The folds in question seem to be in-between the late gothic angular draperies popular in the fifteenth century Central-European painting and the early-Renaissance softer forms introduced here in the first decades of the sixteenth century. A good example of the latter may be seen in the *Holy Kinship* panel from Dubravica (today Slovakia) in the Hungarian National Gallery in Budapest, dating to 1510–1520 [fig. 14].⁵⁹ The folds of the draperies in the *Holy Kinship* panel are less angular than the ones in the clothes of a donor in *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow, but they are equally dense and nervously crushed. Also, it seems that close forms

59. *Ungarische Nationalgalerie Budapest. Alte Sammlung*, Hrsg. M. Mojzer, Budapest 1984, cat. no 105.

may be traced in the Central European sculptures created after 1500. One of the examples could be the statue of the Virgin with the Child that used to be a part of a retable dated to ca. 1506; the figure is now in the church of Saint Catherine in Banská Štiavnica (Slovakia) [fig. 15].⁶⁰ Not identical, but a somehow similar approach to the folds may be observed in the Triptych of Jan Olbracht, created in Cracow ca. 1503 (the Cracow Cathedral, The Chapel of Czartoryski).⁶¹ Another example could be a figure of the Virgin with the Child in the parish church in Krosno (ca. 1512?).⁶² As a result, it seems that in general such dense and crushed folds may rather point to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Sadly, it is difficult to find other similar examples in the Cracow painting. The closest forms would be represented, but only in certain details, in some paintings created in the first decade of the sixteenth century, in the circle of a Cracow painter Marcin Czarny, who died in 1509.⁶³ For instance, nervously crushed folds may be spotted in the upper part of the central panel of the *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* Triptych in parish church in Bodzentyn, painted by Marcin Czarny (ca. 1508) [fig. 16].⁶⁴ Another example would be a coat of the Virgin in the *Crucifixion* from Uniejów (in parish church in Uniejów). That painting was created probably ca. 1510 in the workshop of Mikołaj



12. *Annunciation* from Cięcina, ca. 1490–1495, National Museum in Cracow

60. Š. Pisoň, *Hrady, zamky a kaštiele na Slovensku*, Martin 1977, p. 30; J. Lichner, L. Borodač, *Die Kunstdenkmäler in der Tschechoslowakei. Slowakei*, Leipzig 1979, p. 357; K. Severová, *Sochy sv. Barbory a sv. Kataríny zo zbierok Slovenského banského múzea v Banskej Štiavnici*, "Pamiatky a múzeá. Revue pre kultúrne dedičstvo" 1 (1995), pp. 17–19.
61. W. Walański, *Późnogotycka rzeźba drewniana w Małopolsce 1490–1540*, Kraków 2006, pp. 137–142.
62. W. Walański, *Późnogotycka rzeźba drewniana...*, op. cit., pp. 219–221.
63. J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500–1540*, op. cit., pp. 59–65.
64. J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500–1540*, op. cit., pp. 59–61.



13. Donor — detail of *Salvator Mundi* from the Cracow Cathedral

Czarny, son of Marcin.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, one must be very careful in analysing this *Crucifixion*, as it was much repainted in the process of renovation in the first half of the twentieth century (although the restoration in the 1990s was supposed to remove the over-painting).

In any case, it seems that the dating of the *Salvator Mundi* from the Cracow Cathedral may be moved to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Even the simple form of coat of arms in that painting does not have to point to the fifteenth century, as, also, it may be compared to the early-sixteenth century examples: the coat of arms in the middle part of the triptych from Bejsce (ca. 1520–1530, National Museum in Cracow), or a detail from the *Annunciation* panel of the triptych from Saint Michael church on Wawel Hill (Master George, 1517, Czartoryski Collection, National Museum in Cracow).⁶⁶

65. J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500–1540*, op. cit., pp. 62.

66. Helena Małkiewiczówna dated *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow Cathedral to ca. 1485–1490, comparing the form of the coat of arms in it to the coat of arms in the Our Lady of Sorrows Triptych from the Cracow Cathedral, as she assumed that the latter dates back to 1485. Now it is assumed that the triptych of Our Lady of Sorrows dates back to ca. 1470 (see M. Łanuszka, *Skrzydła tryptyku Matki Boskiej Bolesnej w kaplicy Świętokrzyskiej na Wawelu – niderlandyzujące dzieło fundacji Jagiellonów*, in: *Patronat artystyczny Jagiellonów*, red. M. Walczak, P. Węcowski, Kraków 2016, pp. 360–362), and besides that, there are other examples of similar simple coats of arms in the Lesser Poland painting even after 1500; see J. Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe Małopolski 1500–1540*, op. cit. Helena Małkiewiczówna also assumed that two miniatures from Cracow manuscripts dated before 1490 are copies after the *Salvator Mundi* painting (Incunabulum edition of *Biblia Latina* in Jagiellonian Library in Cracow, Ink. 751, fol. 5 r, 1486 and the initial in Włocławek Cathedral Missal, The Seminary Library in Włocławek, Ms. 15, fol. 56, ca. 1490). I have accepted that early dating of the painting from the Cracow Cathedral myself in the relevant chapter of my PhD thesis (*Netherlandish Influence on Gothic Panel Painting in Lesser Poland*, Diss., Jagiellonian University in Cracow, 2010). However, now I think that both miniatures may have simply followed the

Another problem is the identification of a donor depicted in the *Salvator Mundi* painting. As it has been mentioned earlier, the donor is obviously a canon, possibly in his fifties or sixties, and his coat of arms seems to be Jasieńczyk. It actually should be a key on a blue (not red) field, but the medieval coat of arms may differ from their widely accepted modern versions. There is, in fact, one heraldic description of the Jasieńczyk coat of arms which describes it as a silver key on a red field: it is the sixteenth century edition of Jan Długosz's *Stemmata Polonica* by Erazm Kamyn.⁶⁷ So the coat of arms of the donor from the painting in Cracow should be understood as some variation of Jasieńczyk (with a small cross added by the key), and it is quite a big problem to find any Cracow canon living ca. 1500 that would use it. Of course, that could be just a person that is not mentioned in any extant written sources of the Cracow Cathedral; the catalogue of the Bishops, the Prelates and the Canons of the Cracow Cathedral does not mention any person living ca. 1500 who would use that coat of arms or who, at least, would come from any of the families wearing the Jasieńczyk coat of arms.⁶⁸ However, the identification seems possible to establish once we assume that this canon did not have necessarily to be linked to the Cathedral in Cracow. In that case, a very good candidate would be Jakub Karczewski (coat of arms Jasieńczyk), the son of Marcin and the grandson of Wit, born probably ca. 1450, who died after 1521.⁶⁹ He studied in Cracow



14. *The Holy Kinship* from Dubravica, ca. 1510–20, the Hungarian National Gallery in Budapest

same original, which was a source of inspiration for the author of the painting from the cathedral. See H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 125.

67. J. Szymański, *Herbarz Rycerstwa Polskiego z XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2001, footnote 4, p. 106. See H. Małkiewiczówna, *The Salvator Mundi...*, op. cit., p. 129.
68. J. Łętowski, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich*, Kraków 1852.
69. In 1519 he is mentioned as participating in the division of the inheritance with his nephews after his brother died (A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, t. IX, Warszawa 1906, p. 241) and



15. *The Virgin with the Child*, ca. 1506, church of Saint Catherine in Banská Štiavnica

between 1469 and 1473, and later he became a canon of Warsaw Chapter in 1493, a canon of Płock Chapter in 1497, and finally the canon custos of Warsaw Chapter again in 1509.⁷⁰ His family estate was Karczew near Warsaw. At that time, Cracow was the main artistic centre in Poland and Jakub, surely, would have some contacts there, at least from the time of his studies. It is also very important to note that from 1504 the Bishop of Płock was Erazm Ciołek from Cracow. In spite of being settled in the Cathedral in Płock, Erazm had his palace in Cracow and he ordered many pieces of art from Cracow artists.⁷¹ In this situation, it seems quite probable that Jakub Karczewski ordered the painting from the workshop in Cracow when he was a canon in Płock and could have benefited from the influence and contacts of Bishop Erazm Ciołek. In 1504–1505 Erazm Ciołek was in Rome, but he was back in Płock in 1506. Jakub Karczewski, on the other hand, was a canon of Płock Chapter from 1497 to 1509 and later moved to Warsaw. Thus it seems probable that the painting may have been created before 1509; in fact, maybe the picture was painted on canvas only to facilitate its

in April 1521 he was a member of the commission in Warsaw that was investigating a charge of mismanagement of which Zygmunt Rostkowski was accused of (L. Królik, *Kapituła Kolegiacka w Warszawie do końca XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1990, p. 93). It is usually assumed that Jakub Karczewski died soon after that. The place of his burial remains unknown; most likely it was either Warsaw, or Karczew, where the parish was founded at the end of the 15th century or at the beginning of the 16th century. Unfortunately, the first church in Karczew burned down ca. 1602. I would like to thank Mr Jacek Ducki for helping me to establish the details about the life of Jakub Karczewski.

70. A. Boniecki, *Herbarz polski*, op. cit., p. 240.
 71. Erazm Ciołek (1474–1522) was a diplomat and writer, bishop of Płock from 1504, and a patron of the artists. He donated many pieces of art to Płock Cathedral, and one of the most famous is his Missal, decorated in Cracow 1513–1518. See H. Kowalska, *Erazm Ciołek in: Contemporaries of Erasmus / A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, Toronto–Buffalo–London 1985–1987, vol. 1, pp. 304–305.

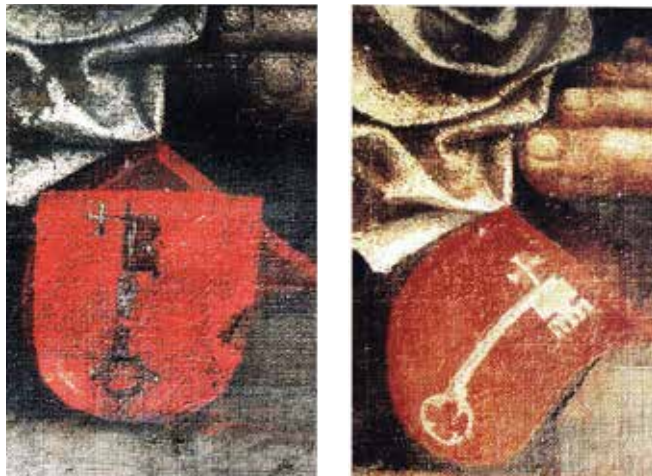
transport to Płock or Karczew. So far I have not managed to find out any sources that mention the painting outside Cracow, but, maybe, it was not donated to any church, but just kept as a private piece of art in the family estate or chapel. As it has been mentioned, *Salvator Mundi* is recorded for the first time in the Cathedral in Cracow in the 1680s: the note refers to the expenses on the new hooks to hang the painting. Probably, at that time, the painting was not only hung in the Cathedral, but also a bit over-painted: the Christ's halo was gilded and the coat of arms was altered, most likely to be more distinctive and less archaic in shape [fig. 17].⁷² Helena Małkiewiczówna assumed that the painting has always been kept in the Cracow Cathedral, and that the information from the late seventeenth century only proves that at that time it was moved and hung on the new hooks. Nevertheless, it is strange that no information refers to this painting in any of the earlier written sources, including the protocols of visitation that describe the altars and furniture in the Cracow Cathedral.⁷³ Rather, it seems as if the painting could have been actually brought there in the second half of the seventeenth century for the first time: hung on the new hooks and repainted on this occasion. Interestingly, from that time precisely, we have the only information about the presence of the members of Karczewski family at Wawel castle in Cracow! Stanisław Karczewski Jasińczyk, warden of the Cracow castle, had his two sons baptised at the Cracow Cathedral. The mother of both boys was Łucja Hrehorowiczówna; the



16. Detail of *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* Triptych by Marcin Czarny, ca. 1508, parish church in Bodzentyn

72. M. Schuster-Gawłowska, *Późnogotycki obraz na płótnie...*, op. cit., p. 114.
73. See *Acta visitationis illustrissimi ac reverendissimi domini Bernardi cardinalis Maczeiowski nuncupati episcopi Cracoviensis ducis Severiensis, ecclesiae cathedralis Cracoviensis (Akta wizytacji Katedry Wawelskiej oraz kościołów diecezji krakowskiej 1602–1604)*, red. E. Bularz, Kraków 2014, (Źródła do Dziejów Wawelu, 20), and *Inwentarze katedry krakowskiej z lat 1586, 1620, 1692*, red. A. Perzanowska, Kraków 2014.

17. Detail of *Salvator Mundi* from Cracow Cathedral: coat of arms over-painted ca. 1680 (left) and the original form revealed in the restoration in 1999 (right)



elder son Stanisław was baptised on 9th September 1660, and the younger son Gabriel on 26th March 1663.⁷⁴ Then Stanisław Karczewski Jasińczyk married Anna Pilecka (in Cracow Cathedral on 9th February 1670, most likely after his first wife had died).⁷⁵ Perhaps he was the one who donated the old *Salvator Mundi* painting to the Cathedral in Cracow, after inheriting it from his ancestors. That would also correspond with the fact that the coat of arms in the painting had been refreshed at that time: the new donor would probably want his coat of arms to be clearly visible in the old painting.

To sum up: *Salvator Mundi* from the Cracow Cathedral is a mysterious but very interesting painting. Painted on canvas, it is probably a copy after the lost Netherlandish image, most likely from the circle of Rogier van der Weyden, as has been proved by Helena Małkiewiczówna. The painting from Cracow seems to

74. J. Stygański, *Metryki chrztu katedry na Wawelu w Krakowie 1598–1699, cz. I*, "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny. Organ Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie" 5 (1912) nr 1–2, p. 39.
75. J. Stygański, *Metryki ślubów katedry na Wawelu w Krakowie 1598–1699, cz. II*, "Miesięcznik Heraldyczny. Organ Towarzystwa Heraldycznego we Lwowie" 5 (1912) nr 5–6, p. 103.

have been created by two artists: one of them, who could have had some connections with the workshop that produced *Annunciation* from Cięcina, created the image of Christ, and the other depicted a donor. The painting *Salvator Mundi* from the Cracow Cathedral most likely dates back to ca. 1500–1510. Its donor is a canon wearing the Jasińczyk coat of arms; it may be Jakub Karczewski (Jasińczyk), canon of Płock and Warsaw, who was born ca. 1450 and died after 1521. If that was indeed the case, the painting could have been commissioned in Cracow, probably before 1509, and subsequently transported to Płock or later to Warsaw, perhaps ending up in the family estate in Karczew. Finally, it may have been donated to the Cracow Cathedral by Stanisław Karczewski Jasińczyk, a warden of the Cracow castle, in the second half of the seventeenth century. At this point, no written sources can definitively support this hypothesis. However, this seems probable and, perhaps, it may be confirmed as a result of the subsequent research.

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Abstrakt

Magdalena Łanuszka

Salvator Mundi: późnogotyckie płótno z Krakowa, wzorowane na niezachowanym obrazie niderlandzkim. Propozycja nowego datowania oraz identyfikacji fundatora

Obraz przedstawiający Chrystusa jako *Salvatora Mundi* został namalowany temperą na płótnie, bez zaprawy; pochodzi z katedry na Wawelu, a przechowywany jest w krakowskim Muzeum Katedralnym. Obraz ten przez długi czas był uważany za nowożytny; dopiero konserwacja i badania przed wystawą *Wawel 1000–2000* pozwoliły na ostateczne stwierdzenie, że jest to dzieło późnogotyckie i zarazem jedyny zachowany małopolski średniowieczny obraz na płótnie. Wyniki badań konserwatorskich zostały opublikowane przez Małgorzatę Schuster-Gawłowską, a analiza stylu i ikonografii – przez Helenę Małkiewiczównę, która ustaliła, że krakowski obraz powstał najprawdopodobniej na podstawie niderlandzkiego pierwowzoru. Wydaje się, że popularne w całej Europie w drugiej połowie XV w. przedstawienia Chrystusa *Salvatora Mundi*, występujące w różnych wariantach, mogą wywodzić się z niezachowanych do dziś pierwowzorów z warsztatów Jana van Eycka i Rogiera van der Weydena – zapewne właśnie na podstawie tego ostatniego skomponowany został obraz z Krakowa. Dotychczas datowano go na lata ok. 1480–90, wydaje się jednak, że datowanie to jest nieco za wczesne. Datowanie postaci i szat Chrystusa, jako wzorowanych na starszym pierwowzorze, nie wydaje się miarodajne (choć warto zauważyć, że sposób kształtowania rysów twarzy Chrystusa wykazuje podobieństwo do twarzy postaci z innego małopolskiego obrazu, tzn. ze *Zwiastowania* z Cięciny w Muzeum Narodowym w Krakowie), natomiast analiza stylistyczna postaci fundatora wskazuje raczej na początki XVI stulecia. Niemożliwy do zidentyfikowania wśród krakowskich duchownych fundator, kanonik herbu Jasińczyk w wieku ok. 50–60 lat, mógł po prostu pochodzić z innego ośrodka – namalowanie obrazu na płótnie z dużym prawdopodobieństwem wskazuje na to, że dzieło od początku było przeznaczone do transportu. Niewykluczone zatem, że fundatora można zidentyfikować jako Jakuba Karczewskiego (h. Jasińczyk), kanonika płockiego

Słowa kluczowe:

malarstwo gotyckie, malarstwo tablicowe, malarstwo małopolskie, *Salvator Mundi*, Katedra na Wawelu.

i od 1509 kustosza w Warszawie, który urodził się około 1450 roku, studiował w Krakowie i zmarł po 1521 roku. Obraz mógł zostać przez niego zamówiony w Krakowie dzięki kontaktom biskupa płockiego Erazma Ciołka, a zatem przed wyjazdem Karczewskiego do Warszawy; datowanie ok. 1509 r. wydaje się zresztą uzasadnione analizą stylistyczną obrazu. Nie wiadomo, co działo się z obrazem aż do drugiej połowy XVII wieku, gdy został prze-malowany (poprawienie herbu) i powieszony na nowych hakach – jest on bowiem w tym kontekście po raz pierwszy wzmiankowany w katedrze na Wawelu w latach 1680–1681. Być może zatem, wbrew dotychczasowym założeniom, dopiero w drugiej połowie XVII wieku obraz ten trafił po raz pierwszy do krakowskiej katedry – to właśnie w tym czasie klucznikiem na zamku był Stanisław Karczewski Jasieńczyk, który mógł podarować odziedziczony po przodkach obraz. Metryki katedry na Wawelu notują chrzty dwóch synów Stanisława Karczewskiego (w 1660 i w 1663) oraz jego drugie (?) małżeństwo (w 1670) – uczytelnienie herbu, które w tym czasie wykonano, z dużym prawdopodobieństwem mogło wiązać się właśnie z przekazaniem obrazu do katedry przez Karczewskiego Jasieńczyka.

Abstract

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Salvator Mundi: a late-gothic canvas from Cracow after a lost Early-Netherlandish painting. A suggested new dating and possible identification of the donor

The image of Christ as *Salvator Mundi* was painted with tempera on canvas without ground; it comes from the Cracow Cathedral and is currently kept in the Cracow Cathedral Museum. The painting had long been regarded as modern; it was only restoration and research prior the *Wawel 1000–2000* exhibition which led to the conclusion that it is a late Gothic work and, at the same time, the only surviving medieval canvas painting from Lesser Poland. The findings of conservation studies were published by Małgorzata Schuster-Gawłowska, and the analysis of style and iconography by Helena Małkiewiczówna, who reported that the painting was probably inspired by the Netherlandish original. It seems that the image of Christ as *Salvator Mundi*, popular all over late 15th century Europe, in different variants, may originate from non-extant originals from the workshops of Jan van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden – and it is on the basis of the latter one that the Cracow work had probably been painted. So far it has been dated back to around 1480–1490. It seems, however, that such dating is slightly too early. The dating of Christ's figure and robes as modelled after the older original does not seem to be reliable (still, it is worth noting that Christ's facial features are akin to the face of a figure in another Lesser Poland image, i.e. the *Annunciation* from Cięcina from the National Museum in Cracow), whilst stylistic analysis of the figure of the donor suggests early 16th century. Unidentifiable amongst Cracow clergymen, the founder, a 50 to 60 year old canon of the Jasiończyk coat of arms, could simply have come from another centre – the fact that the picture was painted on canvas suggests, with high probability, that it had been earmarked for transport. Presumably, the donor could be identified as Jakub Karczewski of the Jasiończyk coat of arms, a Płock canon and, since 1509, a canon custos of Warsaw Chapter, born ca. 1450, who studied in Cracow and who died after 1521. The painting might have been commissioned in Cracow with the aid of Erazm Ciołek,

Keywords:

Gothic painting, panel painting, Lesser Poland painting, *Salvator Mundi*, Wawel Cathedral.

Bishop of Płock, that is before Karczewski left for Warsaw; the year 1509 seems justified anyway by the stylistic analysis of the picture. The whereabouts of the work until the second half of the 17th century are unknown; at that point the work was repainted (the coat of arms was corrected) and hung on new hooks – for it is in this context that it was mentioned for the first time in the Cracow Cathedral in the years 1680–1681. Perhaps, in contrary to what was previously assumed, the painting was brought to the Cracow Cathedral for the first time as late as in the second half of the 17th century – it was then that Stanisław Karczewski Jasieńczyk was the warden of the castle, and he could have donated the painting inherited from his ancestors. Baptismal certificates registers of Cracow Cathedral contain records of the baptisms of Stanisław Karczewski's two sons (in 1660 and 1663) and his second (?) marriage (in 1670) – it is very likely that the touch-ups to the coat of arms performed at that time could be connected to Karczewski's donation of the painting to the cathedral.

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