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Jan Jerzyczek – a resident painter of the Calvary complex in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska

During Father Jan Kapistran Połaniecki's (1754–1757) first term of service as a guardian of the Bernardines in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, Józef Swaryczewski, a serf from nearby Brody, became the monastic painter.¹ He was the first self-taught painter recorded in the chronicle of the Kalwaria monastery, and also its first resident painter. As a provincial, Połaniecki (1737–1740) enlisted the assistance of benefactors from all around Poland, who financially supported the rudimentary restoration of selected structures in Kalwaria; the recruitment of a self-taught painter enabled Połaniecki to save money, which had to be used to renovate as many chapels as possible.² Józef's successor was his son Michał; also, a boy hired in 1806 to assist the latter received hands-on training. His name was Jan Jerzyczek (born 1788). Jerzyczek quickly learned carpentry and painting skills on a level which allowed him to replace Michał Swaryczewski after his death in 1811 as the monastery's resident painter.³ Up to the present day, Jan Jerzyczek's works are immensely important to the

1. He was one of twenty-three "two-day serfs" working for the Bernardine monastery in Kalwaria. He leased land called "Malarzówka" from the order, see the Archiwum Prowincji Bernardynów [=APB; Bernardine Province Archive], *Akta dotyczące pańszczyzny... 1786–1868*, ref. IV-h-2, p. 115.
2. *Słownik polskich pisarzy franciszkańskich*, wstęp J. K. Połaniecki, red. W. Murawiec, Warszawa 1981, pp. 395–396.
3. J. Białynicka-Birula, *Jerzyczek Jerzy*, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, t. 3, red. H. Bartnicka-Górska i in., Wrocław 1979, pp. 285–286.



1. Jan Jerzyczek, *Austrian Emperor Francis with his Wife Caroline in Kalwaria*, ca. 1829, a fragment. Photo M. Płonka

Calvary complex, since they provide the background to mystery plays around the themes of the Passion and Virgin Mary. Another reason why Jerzyczek's art is worth noticing is that after 1772 it proved impossible to continue practising certain traditions of Via Dolorosa, and his paintings filled the gap, evoking *compassio* (compassion, co-suffering) for Jesus and Mother of God in the pilgrim. In general, Jerzyczek would copy destroyed panel pictures from the times of Jan Zebrzydowski, although he also modelled his work on 16th-century engravings. In addition, he painted original works, inspired by his own participation in mystery plays.

References to Jerzyczek in the chronicle are very concise and sketchy.⁴ Where direct sources are scarce, available studies prove helpful, e.g. a publication on Kalwaria issued 8 years after Jan Jerzyczek's death by Józef Łepkowski, who obtained information on the self-taught artist from Jan's son Józef Jerzyczek.⁵ Apparently, Jan arrived from the vicinity of Cieszyn as a child.⁶ "Like another Konicz [author's note: Tadeusz Kuntze], he started his work from drawing various figures on the walls."⁷ Thanks to Łepkowski's words of praise, first reviews of Jerzyczek's work appeared in painters' biographies already in 1850 and 1863.⁸ However, Łepkowski's interview with Jerzyczek is a primary source, so all information concerning Jan from monograph *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice pod względem dziejowym i archeologicznym* must be carefully verified against data contained in available

4. The monastic chronicle already contained a gap (from 1793 to 1852), which was filled in the second half of the 19th century by Father Firmin Czepiel from Myślenice (deceased 1890). Since Czepiel was very well-acquainted with Jerzyczek's works painted for churches in Myślenice, he recorded them in the monastic chronicle, see H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. Historia klasztoru Bernardynów i kalwaryjskich drózek*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2006², pp. 189, 278–279, 308, 427; see also: J.W. Kutrzeba, *Notatki do historii miasta Myślenice*, Myślenice 1900. Most contemporary with Jerzyczek is the material gathered soon after his death in a collection of records on the lawsuit between Bernardines and the Jerzyczek family, APB, *Spory klasztoru Bernardynów w Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej z rodziną Jerzyczków 1811–1929*, ref. IV-i-3.
5. J. Łepkowski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice pod względem dziejowym i archeologicznym*, Kraków 1850.
6. Łepkowski wrote that he came from the Austrian part of Silesia, see J. Łepkowski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice*, pp. 54–55.
7. He also described him as a talented man with a flair for his job, see J. Łepkowski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice*, p. 54.
8. E. Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających*, t. 1, Warszawa 1850, pp. 212–213; C. Würzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Oesterresich*, Bd. 10, Vienna 1863, p. 339.

sources. A consequence of subsequent researchers' excessive trust in Łepkowski's work is the erroneous date of Jerzyczek's death quoted in biographical entries.⁹ Łepkowski made a mistake in his calculations and wrote that Jerzyczek was born in 1788 and died in 1845, at the age of 55 (sic!). In fact, Jan Jerzyczek died on 12 April 1842.¹⁰ Thus, we should question previous dating of some works attributed to Jerzyczek after 1842. In addition to scanty written sources, Jan's paintings play an important role, although they are unsigned, and ascertaining their year of origin proves even more difficult if we take into account that they were re-painted by Władysław Lisowski in the 1930s.

Background to the work of the Calvary's monastic painter

The themes of Jerzyczek's paintings were discussed by researchers only when describing the architecture or landscape and cultural aspects of the Calvary complex.¹¹ Monographers writing about Kalwaria barely mention the two Swaryczewskis and Jerzyczek, and when they do, they omit to supply the historical, economic or political background to the work of the 19th century resident monastic painter.¹² Consequently, they fail to notice that following Józef Czartoryski's death in 1750, the monastery lost an important donor and the Bernardines were left with the duty of supporting the large

9. J. Białynicka-Birula, *Jerzyczek Jerzy*, pp. 285–286; W. Iwanek, *Słownik artystów na Śląsku Cieszyńskim*, Bytom 1967 (Rocznik Muzeum Górnoląskiego w Bytomiu. Sztuka, z. 2); B. Miodońska, *Jan Jerzyczek*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 11, red. E. Rostworowski, Warszawa 1964–1965, pp. 190–191.
10. A list of inventory was drawn up after his death on 12 May 1842, APB, *Spory klasztoru Bernardynów*, pp. 5–8.
11. For summary information on Jerzyczek's paintings as the chapels' furnishings see: J. Szablowski, *Architektura Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej. 1600–1702*, "Rocznik Krakowski" 24 (1933), pp. 1–115. Studies by E. Bilska, A. Mitkowska or A. Zachariasz treat Kalwaria as a cultural and natural complex; the researchers do not discuss paintings in terms of style; instead, they collectively refer to all images in the chapels as theatrical scenery, see E. Bilska, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska jako wzór dla innych kalwarii na ziemiach polskich*, "Peregrinus Cracoviensis" 1995 nr 2, pp. 143–162; A. Mitkowska, *Kompozycja przestrzenna Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" 20 (1975) nr 2, p. 157–173; A. Zachariasz, *Krajobrazy pamięci wyrazem tożsamości miejsca*, in: *Niematerialne wartości krajobrazów kulturowych*, Sosnowiec 2011, pp. 310–326 (Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego PTG, 15). In 1974 and 1996, some Jerzyczek's paintings were subjected to heritage protection, see Archive of the Regional Heritage Protection Authority in Krakow, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, compiled by M. Krasnowolska, I. Konopka, J. Dziak.
12. H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, pp. 175–178; see also W. Murawiec, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. Informator-przewodnik po zabytkach architektury sakralnej*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1987³.

complex on their own, raising funds for maintenance through pilgrims' donations. In a dispute with the Bernardines over the land, Józef Czartoryski's son Stanisław resorted to litigation. Grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the last important sponsor of the complex, i.e. Magdalena Czartoryska née Konopacka: Stanisław, Józef Klemens and Kazimierz Czartoryski, were in conflict with the Bernardines e.g. over the Five Polish Brothers' Hermitage; Kazimierz went as far as to encourage Kalwaria's burghers to plunder monastic land.¹³ After Józef's death, former "(...) aristocratic donors and protectors of the monastery were replaced with poor Polish common folk (...) Generous donations by hard-working people brought to the Calvary saved 7 churches and 35 chapels from disrepair and destruction, and the monastic superiors naturally became stewards of the folk's generosity..."¹⁴ Several years after Józef Czartoryski's death, they made effort to preserve the complex for future generations out of their own initiative, as exemplified by first "conservation" work performed by Father Połaniecki as early as 1754. The job of a monastic painter was therefore meant to reduce costs and curb outlays, so that pilgrims' donations (mostly from pauperised gentry and farmers) would suffice to preserve the legacy of the Zebrzydowski family's foundation for future generations.

Also, the Swaryczewskis and Jerzyczek had to take into account the unique approach to the preservation of Zebrzydowski's legacy. First structures from the times of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, became unique sites of 'collective memory,' which were not to be disturbed or altered in any way. The Grave of Virgin Mary is one of the best examples of this approach, since the current church is a quasi-reliquary for the first grave designed by Paul Baudartha in 1611 – 1615.¹⁵ Therefore, what remained of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's foundation in Kalwaria was treated as a priority in terms of the preservation of substance and form. The Bernardines were less conservative about the

13. APB, *Historia Calvariae seu... descriptio situs, foundationis, privilegiorum... devotissimi conventus Zebrzydowicensis S. Marae Angelorum ad Calvariam, collecta Anno Domini 1613*, ref. IV-a-1, pp. 377, 428–435.

14. C. Bogdalski, *Święta Kalwaria Zebrzydowska. Na podstawie kronik i dokumentów klasztornych*, Kraków 1910, pp. 198, 262.

15. J. Szablowski, *Architektura Kalwarji Zebrzydowskiej. 1600–1702*, pp. 73–82; see also M. Świdrak, *Architektura kościoła Grobu Matki Bożej pod wezwaniem Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Brodach koło Kalwarji Zebrzydowskiej*, in: *Prolegomena. Materiały studentów i doktorantów historii sztuki*, red. A. Betlej, Kraków 2013, pp. 29–56.

modifications to the chapels founded by Jan Zebrzydowski, e.g. under Father Gaudenty Thynell (1793–1833) a cycle of old Marian chapels, which had not been renovated since the foundation, was dismantled and built anew. Thynell recommended that the original layout and design of the chapels be kept; it was also out of his initiative that they were enlarged. Thus, the value attached to space and individual chapels was an important criterion to be considered by any monastic painter. Moreover, most paintings were to be exposed in places unprotected against external conditions and risks such as humidity, frost or thieves. Only more valuable paintings were made for locked chapels (i.e. placed behind a door or bars), but they still did not offer protection against humidity or outdoor temperature.

From 1772, the Calvary complex in Kalwaria was situated on Austrian territory, so the monks had to adhere to Austrian legislation, which interfered with the functioning of ecclesiastical property. In 1811 the Austrian government requisitioned the monastery's silverware, for which the amount of 3519 florins and 23 kronen was reimbursed to the Bernardines. Jerzyczek was hired in 1806, and his duties included e.g. making wooden copies of the requisitioned candle holders. After funds for lost precious items were recovered, conservation work on the structures of the complex was intensified. Consequently, Jerzyczek simultaneously performed the jobs of an easel painter, polychromist, woodcarver and gilder.

After 1772 practising certain Via Dolorosa rituals was banned, since the Austrians introduced a new law restricting "dangerous" religious observances.¹⁶ In Austrian jurisdiction mystery plays staged on the paths of the Calvary were unacceptable for reasons of being incompatible with the solemnity of the liturgical ritual or provoking superstitious activities such as self-flagellation.¹⁷ Thus, Calvary's ceremonies of the Holy Week were impoverished and over time the number of pilgrims to Kalwaria dropped.¹⁸ Father Augustyn Chadam OFM, a mystery play reconstructionist and researcher, argued that

16. All of this was intended to steer the country's policy towards the rule of law and the Enlightenment, see M. Moras, *Reforma Józefa II (1780–1790) a rządy prawa*, "Studia z Dziejów Państwa i Prawa Polskiego" 16 (2013), pp. 131–149.

17. H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, p. 357–385.

18. Father Augustyn Chadam OFM mentions the impoverishment in terms of dramatization, but I was unable to access the sources on the basis of which he could have come to this conclusion, presented in *Krótką historią Kalwarii*, in: *Śpiewnik kalwaryjski*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1984, pp. 19–20; see also A. Chadam, *Misteria kalwaryjskie – powstanie i rozwój*, "Przegląd Kalwaryjski" 2002 nr 7, pp. 119–129.

the Calvary mystery plays after 1772 kept the following scenes from the 17th century repertoire: *Mandatum* (in which the superior of the Bernardines washed the feet of the actors who played the apostles), reading out Pilate's decree, Christ's Via Dolorosa (featuring a lay person as Christ) from Pilate's hall to the Church of Crucifixion, including the meeting with Mary and the scene in which Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus to carry the cross.¹⁹ Other paratheatrical parts of the mystery play were replaced with the monks' sermons.²⁰ Jerzyczek's art fitted the context of *theatrum Terrae Sanctae*, which in the 17th and 18th century Kalwaria had the form of a highly dramatized reenactment of the events in Jerusalem. After the Austrian reform, Jerzyczek's works replaced the scenes of the play which were banned by the legislator.

Jerzyczek made copies of the Calvary pictures painted by Father Franciszek Lekszycki presumably in the years 1814 – 1820 for the church in Batrov (Spiš).²¹ By gaining access to the works of "Polish Rubens," Jerzyczek acquainted himself with the painter's technique and drew conclusions which allowed him to paint better than Michał Swaryczewski. Based on his analysis of Lekszycki's works, Jan mastered geometrical perspective and foreshortening, but most importantly he learned solutions which he then applied to his own paintings.²² Moreover, Jan was also familiar with Marian paintings from ca. 1639, which even back then were badly damaged; they did not survive until today. Jerzyczek learned how to copy 17th century paintings from Michał

19. Simplifications concerned, among other things, the dramatization of the Holy Thursday, as no-one played Christ, and he was only symbolically represented by the cross from *Arma Passionis*, see A. Chdam, *Misteria kalwaryjskie*, s. 121.
20. As for the reason of the removal of the crucifixion scene, Hieronim Wyczawski cites the actors' immoral behaviour. An example of this was the argument between a barber from Kalwaria, who played the role of Christ, and a shoemaker during the mystery play. During the altercation, the barber on the cross said: "Wait, you swine, as soon as I get off I'll teach you a lesson" (H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska*, p. 362).
21. This is the first proposed timeline, from the first work commissioned outside Kalwaria to the date of paintings in Pilate's Hall, mentioned in the monastic chronicle and differing in terms of quality, artistic independence and invention from other paintings in the Passion cycle; J. Łepkowski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice*, p. 55.
22. Lekszycki was familiar with Flemish solutions and Jerzyczek himself was inspired by the monk/artist's freedom of rendering characters in the composition, arbitrariness in draperies (sometimes a shortcoming of Jerzyczek's paintings), exaggerated facial expressions of the torturers, which revealed their nature tainted by their crime, as well as the manner in which colours were applied, see J. Dzik, *Franciszek Lekszycki – malarz religijny baroku*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1998.

Swaryczewski, who also taught him how to use Antwerpian engravings by the Wierix brothers, which will be discussed later on. As a self-taught man, Jan also learned how to adapt the size and style of his pictures to the retabula prepared by Brother Jan Nepomucen Tuliński (deceased 1825). We also know that Jerzyczek's style was perceived as superior to the Swaryczewskis already in his lifetime, as Father Thynell commissioned Jan to make copies of the pictures painted by his predecessor Michał and Józef in not-so-distant past.²³

From 1783 to 1826 Bernardine clerics from went to study at the University of Lviv, as the Austrian authorities closed down the study of moral theology in Kalwaria.²⁴ It was the Bernardines from Lviv that brought the very concept of "conservation" in Kalwaria. The order's provincial Gaudenty Thynell admired early 18th century paintings by Benedykt Mazurkiewicz and wood-carvings by Tomas Hütter; by analogy, the provincial commissioned similar works in Kalwaria. Thynell started by replacing altars and stalls, which were made by Brother Tuliński, redecorating walls and making painting for the chapels. The travels to Lviv had also an adverse effect on Kalwaria: despite the increased educational standards of the clerics, it caused a certain stagnation, which in Wyczawski's opinion was due to the young Bernardines' lack of attachment to the Kalwaria monastery and led to a deterioration in the prospective monks' spirituality.²⁵ The contract with Jerzyczek set forth that Jan "(...) proved not only a person of impeccable conduct but also praiseworthy in every respect...",²⁶ which allows us to conclude that he was a spiritualised person, had every making of a painter at the monastery, which at that time struggled with the secularisation of the manners of its clerics and strove to maintain monastic observance. Only in this context we may fully understand why Jerzyczek painted a picture of the Early Church Fathers with St. Bonaventure. Father Gaudenty Thynell, who wanted his monastery to attain spiritual perfection, sought inspiration in St. Bonaventure's writings, such as *The Six Wings of the Seraph*.²⁷ Jerzyczek's paintings may therefore be regarded as shaped according to the ideas followed by Father Gaudenty.

23. H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, p. 177.

24. A. Golichowski, *Przed nową epoką. Materiały do historii OO. Bernardynów*, Kraków 1899, p. 218.

25. H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, p. 277.

26. APB, *Historia Calvariae*, p. 300.

27. Thanks to Father Thynell's efforts, Kalwaria again became the intellectual centre of the Bernardine Order in West Galicia, as exemplified by the establishment of the Bernardine Fathers' Theological Institute in 1826.

From Józef Swarzyczewski onwards, each monastic painter also painted doors, benches and window frames, in addition to the so-called maintenance work, e.g. repairing joinery. Jan Jerzyczek learned carpentry and woodcarving from Brother Jan Tuliński OFM, whose altars, pulpits, figures, canopies etc. were painted and gilded by Jerzyczek.²⁸ Whitewashing walls was one of the painter's less artistic responsibilities. All of this work was performed by Jerzyczek himself to better or worse effect, depending on what he had learned during his 5 year's service as Michał Swarzyczewski's and Brother Tulski's errand boy. When discussing Jerzyczek's work, we should note that due to the guardian's and provincial Thynell's financial concerns, artistic value ceased to be as important as the protection of works and structures against further damage.

Jerzyczek's work in the Calvary

In 1811 Thynell concluded a contract with Jerzyczek, considering Jan's painting skills sufficient ("of sufficient ability in the art of painting"), and enabling the 23-year-old to perform the job of the "monastery's painter."²⁹ Upon signing the contract on 12 May 1811, Father Gaudenty as a representative of the monastery leased out a plot of land called "Malarzówka" to Jerzyczek. He did so in perpetuity, which was an unprecedented decision in comparison to Jan's predecessors.³⁰ The decision, however, was not a sign of appreciation; rather, it proved Father Thynell's ignorance of the principles of farming. Leasing the land out to Jerzyczek, the guardian unconsciously broke Austrian laws in the matter. In return for life leasehold, Jan undertook not to accept any other (external) orders for paintings during the performance of the work commissioned by the monastery, and in addition he had to pay 7 gulden and 30 kreuzer rent for the house and the plot of land, as well as pay charges to state authorities for Malarzówka. The monastery offered Jerzyczek materials for repairing the

28. APB, *Historia Calvariae*, pp. 300–304.

29. The contract was signed by Father Gaudenty Thynell and syndic Ignacy Bogoria Zakrzewski on 12/05/1811, APB, *Umowa z Jerzyczkiem, Spory klasztoru Bernardynów*, p. 1.

30. The plot was located near the Throne Placement chapel at number 13 (338 in a later numbering system), situated in the village of Brody on the section of the land which belonged to the Bernardines. Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie [The National Archives in Kraków], *Brody in Galizien Wadowizer Kreis Kalwarya Bezirk*, 29/280/0/24.1/3056.

dilapidated house, at the same time making a reservation that if Jerzyczek moved anywhere else, he would waive its title to Malarzówka.³¹

The sequence of works commissioned by Father Gaudenty Thynell may serve as a key on the basis of which Jan Jerzyczek's works could be approximately dated, albeit this cannot be done with absolute certainty without resorting to invasive tests.³² The criterion applied by Thynell in prioritising the work was one of the condition of a given chapel. The first comprehensive "conservation" of the Calvary complex began from the chapels of the Paths of Virgin Mary, which were at risk of collapsing.³³ At that time, chapels of the Funeral cycle (Angels, Adoration of Mary's Soul, Gathering of the Apostles) and the Virgin Mary's Triumph cycle (Rejoicing Patriarchs, Triumphant Apostles, Throne Placement) were dismantled and then built anew.³⁴ In addition, Jerzyczek made copies of panel paintings from the times of Jan Zebrzydowski; they were in such a poor condition that they were unsuitable for worship purposes.³⁵ Jan made paintings for the chapels in the Funeral cycle, as well as paintings for the retabulum in St. Raphael's Chapel (*St. Rapahel* and the *Coronation of Virgin Mary*). The assumption that Jerzyczek's paintings in the chapels of the Marian worship were copies is proved by a painting with the coronation of Virgin Mary in the cloisters of the Kalwaria monastery; the work is undoubtedly part of the furnishings of St. Raphael's chapel removed

31. In 1847 the house and the plot called "Malarzówka" (no. 338) were reclaimed; after Jerzyczek's death (225 florins were granted to widow Wiktorina Jerzyczkova for a brick house in Kalwaria on plot 4) it was again property of the monastery. This Malarzówka became a bone of contention between the monastery and the Jerzyczek family, who made claims with respect to it, and the dispute lasted until 1929, see APB, *Spory klasztoru Bernardynów*, pp. 5–7.
32. Guardian of the Calvary monastery in the years 1793–1816, 1819–1822 and 1825–1833. During his service as the order's provincial (1816–1819 and 1822–1825), Thynell stayed in the monastery in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, and even despite the presence of guardians such as Klemens Tenscher, Pacyfik Myśliwiec and Bernard Czyżewski he continued the work he himself had initiated, see H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, p. 176.
33. APB, *Historia Calvariae*, pp. 300–304.
34. The chapels were only made larger. Also some Marian chapels, e.g. the Chapel of the Coronation of BVM, were renovated at that time, i.e. fitted with new altars. In 1933–1934, paintings from the Chapels of the Angels, the Gathering of the Apostles, the Triumphant Apostles, the Throne Placement and Chapel and St. Raphael's Chapel underwent rudimentary maintenance work or were slightly repainted, repaired by Władysław Lisowski (who was also self-taught), APB, *Księga pamiątkowa... klasztoru oo. Bernardynów... 1900–1939*, ref. IV-a-3a, pp. 38–62.
35. They were founded by Jan Zebrzydowski. There is a surviving record that they were made on a wooden support, APB, *Historia Calvariae*, p. 586.

in the early 19th century (it was stored in the monastery due to cracks in the support and damage to paint layers). Formally (oil on wood panel) and stylistically, the work may be dated to the 17th century.³⁶ Analogies in the shapes of facial features, composition, distribution of angelic figures allow us to assume that Jerzyczek painted the same coronation scene, but he did so in a larger size, adapting it to the retableum made by Brother Tuliński, as well as applying stylistic solutions he had seen in Myślenice. In 1814, during the renovation of the dilapidated St. James's chapel in Stradom,³⁷ Jerzyczek painted a copy of the image of the Immaculately Conceived, which was placed in the middle segment of the main altar.³⁸ The picture in Myślenice inspired Jerzyczek mostly in terms of the facial features of Virgin Mary, colours and selected details, which he later used in the *Coronation* at St. Raphael's chapel in the Calvary, making it different from the extant one in the cloisters.

Thynell subsequently ordered the renovation and securing the chapels on the Paths of Jesus (except for the Chapel of Taking Up the Cross). First and foremost, the most destructive factor, i.e. humidity, was removed from the interior: rotted foundations and old roof trusses were replaced.³⁹ Approximate dates of each painting may be determined solely on the basis of the information that

36. Since 1632 St. Raphael's Chapel since is also dedicated to the Crowning of Virgin Mary, APB, *Historia Calvariae*, pp. 82, 384.
37. The Stradom church was bought at an auction by Jan Traczowski, who in 1810 started its renovation instead of having it pulled down. It was presumably Traczowski who commissioned Jerzyczek to make a copy of the painting, see J. W. Kutrzeba, *Notatki do historii miasta Myślenice*, Myślenice 1900.
38. *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, t. 1: *Województwo krakowskie*, red. J. Szablowski, z. 9: *Powiat myślenicki*, oprac. K. Kutrzebianka, Warszawa 1951.
39. Relevant changes were made e.g. in the Chapels of Capture, Gethsemane or the church of Pilate's Hall and Herod's Palace, APB, *Historia Calvariae*, pp. 300–305, 345.



2. *Coronation of Virgin Mary*, ca. 1639, cloisters. Photo M. Płonka



3. Jan Jerzyczek, *Coronation of Virgin Mary*, after 1814, St. Raphael's Chapel. Photo M. Płonka

the scenes for Pilate's Hall were painted after 1820. The *Mockery* scene from the Dark Room Chapel (Caiaphas' House), based on engraving 115 *Adnotationes*, was the first one. Although the image has not to date been attributed to Jerzyczek, it contains details typical of his style and the period in which the picture might have come into being. The details include: chequered flooring (identical to the one in the painting in the Adoration of Mary's Soul), the iron bars of the balustrade (similar to the one in the Funeral scene in the Eastern Gate); moreover, the painting is not a faithful copy of the engraving, since the torturers are not half-naked. Consequently, *Mockery* must have been painted in the same period as the pictures from the Marian cycle. Later paintings include scenes from the Gethsemane Chapel (*Jesus Waking up the Disciples* and *Jesus Before Judas's Cohort*) and *The Capture* (*Judas's Betrayal* and *Soldiers Prostrate Before Christ in Gethsemane*), which already reveal attention to the figures' attire and various parts of engravings combined, e.g. *Judas's Betrayal* is made up of several scenes from various engravings: Judas's kiss comes from the chapter entitled *Drogi wtóre* in *Rozmyślania*,⁴⁰ Judas's cohort was copied from Engraving 110 and Peter's attack on Malchus from Engraving 109.⁴¹ Subsequent works were made for the Caiaphas' House, Annas' House and the Cenacle. In the latter structure, a porch and an altar were installed and the gallery was painted in 1811; Jerzyczek made polychromes on the walls and painted the following: *The Last Supper*, *Jesus Leaves the Cenacle with the Disciples* and the images of seated apostles on the porch, in wait for their feet to be washed.⁴² Around 1820, Jerzyczek made paintings for Herod's Palace, Pilate's Hall and the Eastern Gate. The paintings in the last three structures are large-sized canvases (the largest is 5 m high, 3.7 m wide; the smallest is 2.3 high, 1.15 m wide). They are not faithful copies of the engravings which served as models (Jerzyczek added some figures). Those paintings also prove Jerzyczek's progress, since the artist felt confident to include his own ideas.

40. *Rozmyślania Męki niewinnej Jezusa Chrystusa Pana naszego*, wyd. W. Laktański, Poznań 1681, source: <http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=214189&from=publication> (5.06.2019).

41. This is what the mystery play in the Chapel of Capture must have looked like prior to the reform: the actor playing Judas kissed Jesus, and Peter used his sword against Malchus, since Jerzyczek added those two elements to the model he based his work on.

42. All images of the apostles (40 cm high, 35 cm wide) form a kind of a narrative between consecutive canvases, engaging the audience standing inside the Cenacle church (e.g. St. Peter opposes to the washing of his feet – scene based on a fragment of engraving 101 in *Adnotationes*).

The painting in the Eastern Gate, showing a crowd dragging Jesus through city gates, constitutes a breakthrough in Jerzyczek's work: the painter did not copy the entire scene from an engraving (as there was no original work to rely on). Instead, he combined details from several engravings by the Wierix family, with which he had familiarised himself when working on his earlier paintings (e.g. he copied Pilate from the scene *Jesus' Trial*), adding his own components such as the watergate modelled after the Calvary's Eastern Gate.

In 1823, Jerzyczek decorated the walls of the church of the Grave of Virgin Mary with frescoes. Moreover, he made *fresco secco* murals in the so-called 'Little Grave' between stuccoes. Today, only fragments of the polychromes remain, presumably in the form of allegories of earthly love, heavenly love, wisdom and justice between painted wall divisions, as well as floral and geometrical decorations still visible in some places on the vault and lunettes. It would be difficult to reconstruct the exact sequence of the murals, since in 1871 Brother Dydak Baturyn applied polychrome in the lower section of the church, and in 1926 the polychrome was renewed in entirety by Karol Polityński, who introduced many changes, such as the angelic figures on the vault.⁴³ On the basis of surviving sections of the polychromes, we may notice that the murals painted by Jan were compatible with the iconography of paintings decorating the sections of the ledge of the organ gallery and the galleries adjoining the walls.⁴⁴ The sign "O Maria! Virgo prudentissima, mater clementissima, intercede ora pro nobis ad Dominum Jesum Christum" (a passage of a song entitled *Tota pulchra es*) on the frieze around the church may also be one of the remnants of Jerzyczek's polychrome. Furthermore, Jerzyczek painted pictures for the main retabulum (*The Adoration by Angels* and *The Adoration by the Magi*), in the gallery, as well as polychromes for the wooden figures (Mary in the coffin, Mary in the main altar) and decorations for the gallery (balustrades and vases).⁴⁵

43. APB, *Księga pamiątkowa... klasztoru oo. Bernardynów... 1900–1939*, p. 226.

44. J. Dzik, *Obrazy o treściach mariologicznych w kaplicy Grobu Matki Boskiej w zespole Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej*, "Folia Historica Cracoviensia" 14 (2008), pp. 49–74.

45. It is to Jerzyczek that Łepkowski attributes "beautiful sculptures and alfrescoes", "The Visitation of Mary" left of the altar and the symmetrically placed "Presentation of Jesus" — and by this he in fact means scenes of the adoration of Baby Jesus inspired by the engravings from *Vita deiparae Virginis Mariae* and perhaps the painting *The Adoration of the Magi* by Michał Czechowicz, see J. Łepkowski, *Kalwarya Zebrzydowska i jej okolice*, pp. 73–74.

In 1824 a new bridge with a stone chapel was built on Cedron. Again, Jerzyczek is undoubtedly the author of the painting inside the church, as the scene in which Jesus was pushed from the bridge into Cedron was modelled after an engraving in *Adnotationes*, and the architectural features are reminiscent of the local, back then newly-built bridge over Skawinka. During subsequent years of Jan Jerzyczek's work for the monastery in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska he was commissioned with gilding and painting pulpits, altars and organ galleries, as well as painting polychromes and whitewashing walls, e.g. in the Church of the Grave of Virgin Mary, the Chapel of Gethsemane, in 1841, at the expense of Andrzej and Szymon Szweiger, in the Church of the Third Fall, back then still under construction, in which he also painted the organ gallery, figures and gilded the canopy above the figure representing the third fall.⁴⁶

In addition, Jerzyczek painted portraits, e.g. copies of the portraits of Pope Paul V and Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the originals of which were exhibited in the monastery's library. Made in ca. 1838, the copies were intended to be displayed outdoors and from the beginning they were placed on the façade of the Church of Christ's Grave.⁴⁷ Certain portraits from the gallery of the superiors of Kalwaria's Bernardine Monastery are also dated to the years 1830 – 1838. These, for instance, include portraits of Father Eukarpiusz Weigl (deceased 1806), Izydor Chmura (deceased 1831) or Father Gaudenty Thynell (deceased 1833), who ordered Jerzyczek's works. Especially Thynell's portrait is very likely to have been painted by Jan, since the physical appearance of the Bernardines' superior in the portrait corresponds to the facial features and hairstyle of Father Gaudenty in the painting entitled *Austrian Emperor Francis and his wife Caroline's Visit to Kalwaria*, in which Thynell as the superior is celebrating the Mass in front of the main altar. The depiction of the Austrian Emperor's visit is one of two historically-themed paintings (another one being *Prince Władysław Waza's Pilgrimage to Kalwaria*) among Jan Jerzyczek's works in Kalwaria, which at the same time are his most recognizable ones.⁴⁸

46. APB, *Historia Calvariae*, pp. 300, 317–318.

47. C. Bogdalski, *Święta Kalwaria*, p. 190.

48. Other works which could be attributed to Jerzyczek include the scene of *The Visitation of St. Elisabeth* in the side altar of the monastic church dedicated to St. Joseph. The stylistic qualities of the painting and the fact that St. Joseph's altar was moved in Jerzyczek's lifetime (due to the presence of the scene of Prince Władysław's

As previously mentioned, from 1814 onwards Jerzyczek would accept orders from outside Kalwaria. In Myślenice he painted pictures in the church in Stradom and for the Church of the Nativity of Virgin Mary (the scene of *The Coronation of Virgin Mary* in the main altar, ca. 1829). In addition, he painted scenes for St. Catherine's Church in Nowy Targ (*St. Valentine, The Transfiguration of Jesus, The Last Supper*, ca. 1830) and *The Crucifixion* ordered by the Bishop of Tarnów for the Tarnów Cathedral; the latter was Jerzyczek's last work (ca. 1842).⁴⁹ This information allows us to identify periods when Jan did not make paintings for Kalwaria, as the contract with the Bernardines stipulated that their orders took priority over work commissioned by others. Although it is likely that Jerzyczek did not always follow this principle of priority, we may hypothesize on the dating of his works for the Calvary. In this way, from 1811 to 1814 Jerzyczek made the paintings in the Marian cycle (mostly in the Funeral cycle), and later on, from 1814 to 1823, the paintings for St. Raphael's Chapel and Passion scenes. In 1823 he started work on the Little Grave, which lasted until ca. 1828; from 1829 to 1841 he painted portraits and both historical scenes.

Characteristics of the artist's works

Jerzyczek drew his inspiration mostly from 17th century panel paintings, work performed for principals outside Kalwaria and engravings in books which had been kept in the monastery's library since the times of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski.⁵⁰ Jerzyczek used mostly engravings *made* by the family of *Johannes*,

thanksgiving pilgrimage) to another location suggest that in order to complete the upper level of the retabulum Jerzyczek painted a picture adequate to the depiction of St. Joseph's death by A. Małecki placed in the upper matrix. However, this hypothesis requires in-depth verification.

49. Authors of relevant biographical dictionaries claim that the painting entitled *Crucifixion* was made in 1843, which is impossible, since at that point Jerzyczek had already died. The painting was presumably commissioned by Bishop Franciszek Zachariasiewicz after his visitation of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska; Zachariasiewicz wanted a copy of Franciszek Lekszycki's *The Crucifixion* in the cathedral. Accordingly, based on the information supplied by J. Łepkowski, who writes that Jerzyczek "died when finishing work on *The Crucifixion* for the Bishop of Tarnów," we should date the work to 1842. The picture must have been painted by Jerzyczek, since in his study F. Herzig mentions that *The Crucifixion* was a work made by the artist from Kalwaria, see F. Herzig, *Katedra niegdyś kolegiata w Tarnowie*, Tarnów 1900, p. 152.
50. A. W. Pabin, *Inwentarz biblioteki bernardynów w Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej z 1617 roku*, "Przegląd Kalwaryjski" 2002 nr 7, pp. 205–231.

Hieronymus and Anton Wierix, and most frequently their engravings for the Antwerpian issue of a book by Jesuit Gerónimo Nadal entitled *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*.⁵¹ In the Marian cycle, the basic iconographic model for Jerzyczek's paintings was supplied in the form of two engravings depicting Mary's funeral from *Adnotationes* (no. 150 and 151), as well as engravings by Hieronymus Wierix from *Vita deiparae Virginis Mariae*.⁵² It was from Michał Swaryczewski that Jerzyczek learned how to model his work after the engravings by the Wierix brothers. The painting *Healing of the Blind Man* in the cloisters of the monastery in Kalwaria is an example that the two Swaryczewskis used engravings by the Wierix brothers. The work in the cloisters is an oil on canvas painting (glued onto wooden support), a faithful representation of the scene from engraving 26 in *Adnotationes*.⁵³ Thanks to the list of Jerzyczek's inventory (drawn up *post mortem*) we know that he died before he managed to complete the painting for the Bethsaida Chapel (Jerzyczek's canvas was meant to replace a previous panel painting).⁵⁴ Accordingly, Jerzyczek could not have been the author of the surviving *Healing*. The first Bethsaida Chapel was built in the years 1774 – 1781. Therefore it seems that the picture was painted after 1781, and one of the Swaryczewskis was its author. We may conclude that Jan became acquainted with the Antwerpian engravings through Michał, and the latter probably from his father Józef. Apart from the engravings by the Wierix brothers, Jerzyczek also knew (either from the paintings he copied or from Johann David's book) engravings by Theodor Galle and engravings showing scenes of the Passion of Christ from the Polish book *Rozmyślenia Męki Niewinney Jezusa Chrystusa Pana Naszego*, published in 1681 in Poznań.⁵⁵

51. In turn, the Wierix family was inspired by the paintings by Italian Bernardino Passeri; J. Nadal SJ, *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia quae in sacrosancto Missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur*, Antverpiae 1595.
52. British Museum, *Vita deiparae Virginis Mariae, Hieronymus Wierix invenit, incidit et excaudit*, ref. 1859,0709.2962, source: https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=600871001&objectId=1666721&partId=1 (5.06.2019).
53. Kept in the damp chapel, the painting must have undergone physical and chemical alterations, and had to be glued to a plank to ensure its preservation.
54. He had to refund an advance payment of 25 florins. The Bethsaida Chapel was renovated from 1836, APB, *Spory klasztoru Bernardynów*, p. 5.
55. J. David, *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae in quo Messis...*, apud Balthasarem et Ioan-nem Moretos fratres, Antverpiae 1618; *Rozmyślenia Męki niewinney*.

Unfortunately, it is unclear whether those engravings served as a model for the 17th century painter or for Jerzyczek, who painted on canvas to replace previous panel pictures. It is assumed that Jerzyczek re-painted the pictures dated from 1632 to 1641 at the instruction of the monastery's superior, thereby supporting the tradition of the relevant chapel; Father Gaudenty introduced novelties, yet maintaining respect for the original and the tradition of the place. Jerzyczek's paintings were a type of a travesty of 17th century paintings, since Jerzyczek introduced elements typical of his works (e.g. his choice of colours) and adjusted the scene to the conditions of a given chapel, e.g. the scene of Mary falling asleep lacked room for the cloud in the upper section of the painting, so Jerzyczek added Jesus by her bed (concealing her face) and St. Michel the Archangel descending on a pillar of cloud to take the Holiest Soul clad in a gown. Engraving 151 provided the basis for paintings in the Chapel of the Adoration of Mary's Soul and the Eastern Gate. Jerzyczek placed the foreground scene (Mary on a bier) first inside the house (the Chapel of the Adoration of the Soul contained inside a hut), then at the watergate (the Eastern Gate Chapel), through which the apostles carried Mary's body.

Placing biblical scenes and *Transiti Mariae* in specific locations of the Calvary complex was a distinctive feature of Jerzyczek's art. He would put specific mystery play scenes in relevant locations early on in his career. An example would be a scene from the Funeral of Virgin Mary from the Chapel of the Gathering of the Apostles, completely inconsistent with other paintings – the facial features of the apostles are very sharp, and their gestures are formulaic; the only component shared with scenes in the Chapel of the Adoration of Mary's Soul, the Chapel of Angels or the Chapel of the Eastern Gate is Mary in an aureole, lying on a bier, accompanied by angels, which was copied from engraving 151. The image is so strikingly different from the other ones as if it had been



4. The scene with a deaf mute man healed, <https://archive.org/details/adnotationesetmeoonada/mode/2up> (19.05.2021)



5. Engraving 26, <https://archive.org/details/adnotationesetmeoonada/mode/2up> (19.05.2021)



6. The Funeral of Virgin Mary, the Chapel of the Adoration of Mary's Soul. Photo M. Płonka

painted by another person or two persons, one of whom painted the architecture and Mary in the aureole, and the other painted the mourners and servants.⁵⁶ On account of the lack of written sources and the fact that the paintings are unsigned, as well as due to the tradition according to which works in specific chapels were attributed to Jerzyczek, we may hypothesize that the painting in the Chapel of the Gathering of the Apostles was also made by Jerzyczek, and its dissimilarity is caused by the absence of the scene of the disciples gathering at Mary's death in *Adnotationes*, so the figures and other components which were copied are easily distinguishable from original ideas in Jerzyczek's painting. The apostles in Jerzyczek's work wear sandals and canes typical of the actors in Kalwaria, and such paraphernalia are missing from the iconography of the apostles in Antwerpian engravings. This localisation stemmed from Kalwaria's perception as the Polish Jerusalem, which from the time of its inception for three centuries rose to the rank of the genuine Holy Land (thanks to indulgences and dramatization). Therefore, certain biblical scenes in Jerzyczek's paintings take place in Kalwaria.

Jerzyczek's work in the Passion cycle did not involve merely copying already existing items. In addition to being inspired by the engravings from *Adnotationes*, the paintings in the cycle, are modelled on the mystery plays of the Holy Week in which Jerzyczek had taken part since his childhood. The August celebrations (the Procession of the Dormition and the Triumph of Virgin Mary) are not as elaborate or dramatized as the mystery plays of the Holy Week, hence the noticeable dissimilarity

56. It also needs to be taken into account that due to its quick deterioration, the chapel was dismantled in 1844 and reconstructed in the same form and the same location. The painting may have suffered damage along with the chapel; as a result, either an older painting was used or a self-taught artist repainted the damaged one.

of Jerzyczek's Marian paintings from his works in the Passion cycle. For example, the painting *Jesus' Trial before Pilate* is based on engraving 123 (with the washing of hands scene from engraving 124), but Jerzyczek also made a number of additions absent from the Antwerpian engravings, e.g. next to Pilate he painted a man reading out a decree (a crucial moment in the mystery of Holy Friday), Jesus is not flagellated (the flagellation was not accentuated in the mystery play), the act of washing hands is made prominent (as in the mystery play, on the balcony of Pilate's Hall), the crowd in the praetorium is larger (about 30 thousand people watched the mystery play), Pilate and his soldiers are clad in different attire than in the engraving. Thus, Jerzyczek's works in the Passion cycle are definitely more abundant in action, more dramatic, and certain figures are styled after the actors from the mystery plays. In this respect, Jerzyczek can be called a 'documentalist' of the aura of the Holy Week's mystery plays from the first third of the 19th century, but also a painter whose work preserved the iconography of the original scenery of the Calvary from the 1st half of the 17th century. Moreover, Jerzyczek used deictic gestures absent from the engravings, making characters in his paintings stare or extend their arms in a specific direction to engage the audience in the scene, e.g. the characters in the *Trial before Pilate* are looking at the viewer and pointing to the washing of hands. His paintings were meant to arouse religious feelings, compassion (*compassio* in Latin) and serve ministerial purposes.

The works in the Passion cycle were also a commentary to the service and helped the faithful to contemplate the Passion of Christ. Engravings by the Wierix family in *Adnotationes* served as comments to those passages from the Gospels on which Jesuit Nadal concentrated. Those of Jerzyczek's paintings which present specific scenes for the pilgrim to contemplate, e.g. Judas's cohort bowing before Jesus as he utters the words "I am," are of similar character. Jerzyczek's paintings in the Passion



7. Pilate's Hall in the Calvary. Photo M. Płonka



8. Engraving 123, <https://archive.org/details/adnotationesetmeoonada/mode/2up>



9. Engraving 116, <https://archive.org/details/adnotationesetme00nada/mode/2up>



10. Engraving 114, <https://archive.org/details/adnotationesetme00nada/mode/2up>

cycle serve both as a commentary addressed to illiterate common village folk and a more sophisticated audience: an example of which is the wise man looking through a magnifying glass in the *Trial Before Pilate*. The presence of the sage wishing to study faith through science and reason suggests that the painting is an evidence of the dispute with the Classicist thinkers, all the more because the wise man does not appear in any of the Antwerpian engravings. Moreover, the paintings were placed in altars chronologically and according to specific narrative criteria, e.g. the main matrix in the Chapel of Gethsemane contains the scene of the *Awakening of the Apostles*, with a sign reading "Simon dormis" above, and the upper image matrix a scene in which the cohort arrives in Gethsemane; in the next chapel (Capture) we turn our eyes first towards the picture on the upper level (*Soldiers Prostrate Before Christ in Gethsemane*), and then towards the main matrix with the scene of the capture and Judas's betrayal. We notice that the paintings were clearly arranged in a sequence, which appeared to the pilgrim as a scenery with illustrated commentary to the routes and a signpost, since the arrangement of the figures and complete visual compositions followed the pilgrim's direction of movement.

Jan also took care of such details as the time of day in which the depicted scenes took place. His knowledge of the time of the trial before Annas of Caiaphas was derived not so much from reading the Bible as from experience and participation in the mystery plays of Holy Thursday and Great Friday. Jerzyczek could not illuminate scenes (e.g. the flame of the torch does not cast light), hence the false lighting and light without a justified source. At the same time, we should add that Jerzyczek's works in the Passion cycle seem much stronger in terms of composition and style than the ones on the Marian cycle. Being a self-taught painter, Jerzyczek demonstrated inventiveness and skill, as he painted pictures of large and irregular size, and frequently in non-standard positions, e.g. the altar in the (triangular) chapel

of the House of Annas was placed in a corner and the painting is concave, since it had to fit in the corner. Jerzyczek used a similar solution in the side altars of the Herod's Palace, in which he too included concave scenes of *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist* and *The Release of St. Peter from Prison*, using correct foreshortening technique and taking the potential viewer into account.

Historical paintings *Austrian Emperor Francis and his wife Caroline's Visit to Kalwaria* and *Prince Władysław's Pilgrimage* were painted by Jerzyczek to emphasise good Polish-Austrian relations, both during Władysław IV Waza's reign, and in Jerzyczek's times.⁵⁷ The Bernardines prepared space in the chancel, so that both pictures could be displayed next to one another. This juxtaposition is intentional, for the two works represent the dual nature of Jerzyczek's art. The first image comes from an event which had taken place in the past and Jerzyczek did not have too many sources to copy or imagine the scene depicting Prince Władysław's visit. He painted the prince's entourage quite faithfully as regards the period costumes (without undue anachronisms). However, he had his eyes on the simultaneous scenes from engravings *Paradisus Sponsi et Sponsae* and *Adnotationes*, as demonstrated by at least two images forming background to the event in the foreground.⁵⁸ These are *Battle*



11. Altar paintings in the Chapel of the House of Caiaphas. Photo M. Płonka

57. The authors of *Sztuka ziemi krakowskiej* found that both paintings, rather than outstanding works or art, are valuable documents of tradition and history, as they can be considered a sign that the Bernardines moved with the times and saw the Habsburg as the monastery's new benefactor, see T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, *Sztuka ziemi krakowskiej*, Kraków 1982, p. 552.
58. This is indicated, too, by the inscriptions on the ribbons next to both scenes and the sign in front of the main scene, informing the viewer on the nature of the event – these solutions are similar to the arrangement of the engravings from David's work. While mentioning Jerzyczek's work, some authors speculate that he may have copied some earlier picture of Khotyn. However, there are no sources to support this claim, see *Sztuka ziemi krakowskiej*, s. 552.



12. Altar paintings in the Chapel of the House of Caiaphas. Photo M. Płonka

of Khotyn and the wedding ceremony of Władysław and Cecilia Renata of Austria, which are presented in paintings adorning the walls of the monastic church, at the same time commenting on the prince's visit to Kalwaria. The wedding scene, in addition to being based on the same arrangement of characters as the layout of the Holy Trinity in earlier scenes (mainly *The Coronation of Virgin Mary*⁵⁹), was marked with a Latin inscription accentuating good relations between Władysław IV (who later became king) and the Habsburgs ("the family pact") and Austria itself; Władysław married Cecilia Renata in 1637, hence 14 years after the event depicted in the painting's eponymous scene. Thus, Jerzyczek's painting is a proof that the Bernardines treated the Habsburgs as potential benefactors of Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, and the canvas was as propaganda.

The second method of depicting scenes noticeable in Jerzyczek's art is his specific manner of relating events which he had taken part personally. In the *Austrian Emperor's Visit*, which he had witnessed directly, he presented people who became embedded in his memory. In addition, he took care of such minute details as the marble balusters or chandeliers in the chancel, which were still absent in 1626; he therefore must have been aware of the transformations of the interior of the monastic church.⁶⁰ The way in which certain participants in that event were portrayed resembles a portrait, with the characters standing out due to their attire or an item of clothing which

59. The way in which the betrothed are laid out in the picture, with the Holy Ghost rising above their intertwined arms, is reminiscent of the arrangement of the Holy Trinity in the scene of *The Coronation of Virgin Mary* from St. Raphael's Chapel discussed above.

60. The painting also allows us to conclude that Jerzyczek knew that during Władysław's visit there were no stalls or St. Joseph's altar in the chancel, and the main altar differed from the present; therefore, Jerzyczek perfectly knew the history of the place where he worked.

the painter remembered, e.g. the stir among the monks, the empress' hat, an officers' spectacles. The scene of the emperor's visit also contains the first group portrait of the Bernardines from Kalwaria. An analysis of the behaviour of the faithful during the liturgy as depicted in the painting allows us to look at Francis visit to Kalwaria as a reaction to the congregation to the feat of a man who mounted a plinth to see the emperor (a young man is climbing the plinth in the background). Jerzyczek decided to show this specific moment: it is possible that he himself was the young man. This assumption is likely, since Jerzyczek was 29 at the time the emperor visited Kalwaria, and the man in the painting has the features of a 30-year-old. Moreover, if we look at the scene from the perspective of the man on the plinth, the indignation of some of the onlookers towards the viewer seems justified.

"A man who could be made a real artist if trained by a master"

After Jerzyczek's death the chronicle makes no mention of any painter permanently linked to the monastery in Kalwaria. The only person who would be referred to as such was Brother Dydak Baturyn (deceased 1879); however, he was a monk and served not only in Kalwaria. Jan's son, Józef Jerzyczek (born 1818, deceased 1897) learned the art of painting and carpentry from his father, but his main speciality in craft was making devotional figures, which he sold during Calvary feasts. Tadeusz Seweryn, author of a study on Polish folk art allegedly saw three of Jerzyczek's paintings in the houses of Józef's children (Ignacy and Rozalia): *Francis Joseph I Enters Kalwaria*, *Adoration of the Magi*, *The Tribut Money*, which proved Józef's talent.⁶¹

Jan Jerzyczek was undoubtedly a folk artist,⁶² yet his works, although within the bounds of provincial art, were more professional than the works by Swaryczewski, and he displayed a painting style which was among the better ones at the time when the Bernardines took over the complex.⁶³ Jerzyczek's paintings meet the criteria of folk art: they were intended for the common folk and intrinsically linked to the oral tradition (at least in terms

61. T. Seweryn, *Polskie malarstwo ludowe*, Kraków 1937, p. 25–26.

62. He was referred to as a "folk artist" in a monograph by H. Wyczawski, see H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, p. 178.

63. A painting entitled *Mary Magdalene in Penance* by professional painter Jan Majer from Zamość, dating to the late 18th/early 19th century. In addition, we should mention other works painted in Jerzyczek's lifetime: *St. Francis's Family Tree* of 1819 by Jan Zamojski, *Death of St. Joseph* and *The Ascension* by Małecki, an artist known only by his surname.

of those parts of mystery plays which were removed but recorded by Jerzyczek); Jerzyczek was trained by a self-taught painter (and then he himself transferred his competences to his son) and had strong connections to the cultural and social background of the community in which Jerzyczek worked and in which he had been raised.⁶⁴ The promotion of Jerzyczek's art was mostly helped by the circumstances and events such as the visit of Austrian emperor Francis I and his wife Caroline, who came to Kalwaria in 1817, as well as visitations of bishops: Grzegorz Ziegler (1823), Franciszek Pisztek (1832) and Franciszek Zachariasiewicz (1837), thanks to whom Jan was recognised as the painter of the Calvary complex.⁶⁵ Józef Łepkowski noted that Jerzyczek deserves a special place among self-taught painters, since "there are no visible anachronisms in his paintings, the arrangement is accurate and natural, and practical knowledge of perspective: all of this reveals that the man had a feel for and understanding of his profession; it was a man who could be made a real artist if trained by a master."⁶⁶ Jerzyczek is known first and foremost as a copyist, but an analysis of engravings and extant paintings suggests that he was a very skilful one. Thanks to his effort, we may determine the works which served as models for 17th century Marian chapels, expanding our contemporary knowledge on the reception of Western engravings in the provincial Bernardine monastery on lands owned by the Zebrzydowski family. Jerzyczek's paintings would also facilitate an analysis of 19th century mystery plays in Kalwaria. We must therefore agree with Łepkowski that Jerzyczek's paintings reveal his talent and piety, but at the same time they constitute a kind of commentary, contemplation and interpretation of engravings, mainly from *Adnotationes*, and mostly an important part of the Calvary complex. In this context, Jerzyczek's art seems paradoxical.

Jerzyczek's works, although copied and reproduced from works of professional painters, are well-suited to the character of Calvary paintings, which reveal unconventional desire for finding a means for expressing simple yet intense feelings experienced by the pilgrim during the service. Jerzyczek's art was adapted and subordinate to the complex scenery of the Polish Holy Land,

64. K. Piwocki, *O historycznej genezie polskiej sztuki ludowej*, Wrocław 1953.

65. Other events which contributed to promoting Jerzyczek's work included the consecration of the Church of the Third Fall (1823) and Bernardine chapters convened in Kalwaria (1825 and 1831), see H. E. Wyczawski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*, pp. 116–150, 268.

66. J. Łepkowski, *Kalwaria Zebrzydowska i jej okolice*, p. 54.

which was made up of material (architecture, paintings, sculptures, paraments, etc.), immaterial (services on Calvary paths) and natural elements. One cannot discuss Jerzyczek's pictures only from the perspective of the material elements, since from the beginning they served the main purpose, i.e. to evoke the *compassio* for the Passion and Death of Christ, and the Funeral and Triumph of Mary. Due to the fact that the pilgrims were mostly peasants, the paintings by a serf of the Kalwaria monastery resonated with simple common folk. Over time, his works were treated by pilgrims as a replacement for the dramatizations of the Passion of Christ which had been removed under the Austrian law. We should also note that Jerzyczek's paintings were meant to be placed almost 'outdoors,' in chapels which for the most part did not offer protection against temperature or humidity. Only in this context does his art rise to the status of a unique phenomenon, which should be analysed separately in churches outside Kalwaria and with regard to paintings which were attributed to him following iconographic and stylistic analysis, as well as investigated in terms of stratigraphy and areas which were painted over.

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Abstract

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*Jan Jerzyczek – a resident painter
of the Calvary complex in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska*

The art of resident monastic painter Jan Jerzyczek (1788 – 1842) is paradoxical, as his technical skills and painting technique were categories as folk art even though the artist himself copied 17th century work and his paintings are based on 16th century Antwerpian engravings as well as his own experience of the Calvary' mystery plays. Authors of monographs on the Calvary complex barely mention Jerzyczek, yet even without providing a historical, economic, and political context of the job of a resident monastic painter in the early 19th century, due to which they fail to notice the phenomenon of Jan's paintings in the course the changes that were in progress at that time. The aim of this article is to organise knowledge on Jerzyczek's activity and work in the Calvary, which would serve as the basis for determining the iconography of original Calvary scenery and images which were removed in the course of the first comprehensive 'maintenance' of the Polish Jerusalem under the supervision of Gaudenty Thynell OFM. At the same time, a closer look at Jerzyczek's paintings allows us to perceive the visual arts (mainly painting) in the Calvary in the first half of the 19th century as a replacement for the mystery play scenes removed after 1772, the observance of which (according to Austrian authorities) was incompatible with the solemnity of the service. Jerzyczek's art is also paradoxical in that he was much better at painting pictures inspired by his own participation in Calvary mystery plays when personal experience prevailed over his printed influences.

Keywords:

Kalwaria
Zebrzydowska, Jan
Jerzyczek, Calvary
paths, Calvary
complex

Abstrakt

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Jan Jerzyczek – stały malarz

kompleksu kalwaryjnego w Kalwarii Zebrzydowskiej

Słowa kluczowe:

Kalwaria
Zebrzydowska, Jan
Jerzyczek, dróżki
kalwaryjskie,
kompleks
kalwaryjny

Twórczość stałego malarza klasztorowego Jana Jerzyczka (1788 – 1842) jest paradoksalna, bo jego umiejętności warsztatowe i praktyka malarska zostały zaliczone do kręgu sztuki ludowej, mimo że sam artysta kopiował obrazy XVII-wieczne i malował na podstawie XVI-wiecznych grafik antwerpskich oraz własnego doświadczenia misterii kalwaryjskich. Monografiści kompleksu w Kalwarii zaledwie wspomnieli o Jerzyczku, ale bez podawania kontekstu historycznego, gospodarczego i politycznego pracy stałego malarza klasztorowego na początku XIX wieku, przez co nie dostrzegli fenomenu malarstwa Jana w czasie występujących wówczas zmian. Celem artykułu jest uporządkowanie wiedzy na temat działalności Jerzyczka w Kalwarii i jego twórczości, dzięki czemu można ustalić ikonografię pierwotnych kalwaryjskich obrazów-scenografii, usuniętych w ramach pierwszej kompleksowej „konserwacji” polskiej Jerozolimy za o. Gaudentego Thynella OFM. Jednocześnie dostrzeżenie malarstwa Jerzyczka pozwala zwrócić uwagę na pojmowanie sztuk plastycznych (gł. malarstwa) w Kalwarii w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku jako zamiennika wycofanych po 1772 roku scen misterium. Paradoksalność twórczości Jerzyczka polegała również na tym, że znacznie lepiej malował obrazy inspirowane własnym uczestnictwem w misteriach kalwaryjskich; górę nad grafikami brało wówczas bowiem osobiste doświadczenie.