



Unknown Frontispiece of the Visitation Document of the Lithuanian Province of the Dominicans from 1756

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Abstract. The aim of the paper is to present and analyse the unknown frontispiece of the visitation of the monasteries of the Lithuanian Dominican province of the Guardian Angel from 1756. This is a drawing attached to the visitation document prepared during the times of prior Reginald Lenartowicz, which is kept in the Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum in Rome. The frontispiece is important for the history of the Lithuanian Dominicans because it shows views of their most important churches and monasteries. In the case of scattered and mostly unpreserved archives and destroyed architecture, this is a primary source. The drawing frontispiece is analysed in a historical context through the prism of the graphics activity of various orders from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, utilising iconographic-comparative methods.

Keywords: *the Lithuanian Dominican province, Reginald Lenartowicz, the Guardian Angel, Dominican architecture, monastic maps.*

Anotacija. Straipsnio tikslas – pristatyti ir išanalizuoti nežinomą 1756 m. Lietuvos Šv. Angelo Sargo dominikonų provincijos vienuolynų vizitacijos antraštinį lapą. Tai prie prioro Reginaldo Lenartovičiaus laikais parengto vizitacijos dokumento pridėtas piešinys, kuris saugomas Romoje esančiame Dominikonų ordino archyve („Archivum Generale Ordinis

Praedicatorum“). Antraštinis lapas Lietuvos dominikonų istorijai svarbus dėl jame pavaizduotų svarbiausių jų bažnyčių ir vienuolynų vaizdų. Dėl neišlikusių šaltinių ir sugriautų vienuolynų pastatų jis tampa pirminiu šaltiniu. Antraštinio lapo piešinys analizuojamas istoriniame kontekste per įvairių Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės vienuolių ordinų grafinių darbų prizmę. Taikomas ir ikonografinis-lyginamasis metodas.

Esminiai žodžiai: *Lietuvos dominikonų provincija, Reginaldas Lenartovičius, Šv. Angelas Sargas, dominikonų architektūra, vienuolynų žemėlapiai.*

The most serious problem in the research on history and culture of monasteries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is the fact that archival sources are scattered and lost. This is the case with most congregations active in this area for almost 800 years,¹ and the Dominican order is no exception. While the Dominicans had been in Lithuania since the beginning of the country's statehood,² they did not establish a permanent seat until 1501 when – with the support of king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania Alexander Jagiellon – on “feria 2da proxima post festum Natalis S. Stanislai Mart.”³ – the friars were solemnly introduced to the Church of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius.⁴

Alexander's foundation was approved in 1507 by the Chapter in Sandomierz, which appointed a prior and established a Lithuanian *contrata*. A second monastery in Lithuania was founded in 1603 in Sejny by the landowner Jerzy Grodziński. The third establishment, in Merkinė, was initiated two years later by the town's mayor, Krzysztof Stefanowicz. In the following decades the foundations flourished, which seems to be linked to the formal separation of the Lithuanian province from the structure of the Polish province, effective since 1613. In 1644 a Lithuanian Guardian Angel congregation

¹ It is never enough to reiterate that first friars – the Franciscans and the Dominicans – were present in the circle of Mindaugas.

² In the 14th century the Dominicans were mostly engaged in their activities in Ruthenia. It is distinctive that the first monasteries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania the congregation founded in Volhynia – in Lutsk (end of the 14th c.) thanks to benevolence of Jogaila (Władysław Jagiełło) and Vytautas (Witold) and in Volodymyr (end of the 15th c.). Both monasteries belonged to the Polish province, from which in 1612 the Ruthenian province was formed. GLUCH, G. Dominikańscy spowiednicy i kaznodzieje Jagiellonów. *Dominikanie w środkowej Europie w XIII–XV wieku. Aktywność duszpasterska i kultura intelektualna*. Ed. J. Kłoczowski, J. A. Spież. Poznań: W Drodze, 2002, p. 238, 244, 247; BRZOZECKI, S. ‘Litewska prowincja dominikanów’, *Rocznik Augustowsko-Suwalski*, 2004, on-line <http://www.astn.pl/r2004.htm>.

³ Vilniaus universiteto biblioteka (further – VUB), RS f. 3, b. 644, p. 26.

⁴ In the visitation document of general Ipolito Maria Bacaria from the years 1593–1594, the monastery in Vilnius was listed as one of the five largest centres of the Polish Dominican province, along with the one in Cracow (1222), Lviv (mid-13th century–1378), Poznań (1231–1244) and Gdańsk (1227). KACZMAREK, K. Konwent dominikanów poznańskich w średniowieczu. *Ecclesia. Studia z dziejów Wielkopolski*, 2003, 1, p. 35–54; SPIEŻ, J. A. Dominikanie w Poznaniu. *Kronika Miasta Poznania*, 2004, No. 3, p. 10–11.

with twelve monasteries was established. This was independent from the Polish province, with a *studium generale* in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Vilnius. In 1647, the congregation was appointed to the status of province, with about 155 friars. Included were monasteries in Vilnius (Church of the Holy Spirit, 1501; and Church of Sts. Jacob and Philip in Lukiškės (Łukiszki), 1642); Sejny (Church of St. George, 1603); Merkinė (Church of Saint Casimir, 1605); Dzyarechyn (Дзярэчын, Dereczyn, Church of the Assumption of Mary, 1618); Astravyets (Астравец, Ostrowiec, Church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, 1618); Aukštadvaris (Wysoki Dwór, Church of St. Dominic, 1629); Hrodna (Гродна, Grodno, Church of St. Mary of the Rosary, 1632); Kaunas (Church of Saint Casimir and Corpus Christi, 1641); Virbalis (Wierzbołów, Church of the Guardian Angel, 1648); and two bishop foundations in Raseiniai (Rosienie, Church of the Assumption, 1642) and in Gardai, which began to be called *Žemaičių Kalvarija* (Kalwaria Żmudzka, Church of the Holy Virgin Mary, 1642).⁵

The following decades brought more Dominican foundations: Paparčiai (Poporcie, Church of St. Stanislaus, 1649); Orsha (Орша, Orsza, Church of the Guarding Angel, 1650); Vasilishki (Васілішкі, Wasiliszki, Church of St. John the Baptist, 1652); Choroszcz (Church of Sts. John the Baptist and Stephen, 1654); Różanystok (Church of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1661); Ashmyany (Ашмяны, Oszmiana, Church of the Holy Trinity and St. Michael the Archangel, 1664); Jelna (Church of St. Mary of the Rosary, 1667); Polatsk (Полацк, Połock, Church of St. Dominic, 1671); Nyasvizh (Нясвіж, Nieśwież, Church of St. John the Baptist, 1672); Palėvenė (Poławień, Church of Sts. Dominic and Francisco, 1676); Slonim (Слонім, Słomim, Church of St. Michael the Archangel, 1680); Kniazhytsy (Княжыцы, Książyce, Church of St. Nicholas, 1681); Klimovičiai (Клімавічы, Klimówka, Church of the Holy Trinity, 1686); Trakai (Church of St. Michael the Archangel, 1688); Dunilavichy (Дунілавічы, Duniłowicze, Church of the Holy Trinity, 1688); Khalopyenichy (Халопенічы, Krzyżopolski/Chołopenicze, Church of St. Dominic, 1690); Pasiene (Posin, Church of St. Joseph the Betrothed, 1694); Hoshchava (Гошчав, Hoszczewo, Church of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1696); Šumskas (Szumsk, Church of St. Michael the Archangel, 1697); Druya (Друя, Church of the Visitation of Virgin Mary, 1697); Liškiava (Liszkowo, Church of the Holy Trinity, 1697); Glitiškės (Church of the Holy Trinity, 1700); Valyntsy (Валынцы,

⁵ Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, RS f. 49, b. 20920, p. 1; Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas, f. 694, ap. 1, b. 3671, p. 377; VUB, RS f. 3, b. 644, p. 14-15v; KAMIENSKI, P. *Antiquitas praedicatorum ordinis in Magno Ducatu Lithuaniae, eiusque a provincia Poloniae independentia...* Wilno: in officina patrum Basilianorum ad aedem SS. Trinitatis, 1642; BRZOZECKI, S; PIETRZKIEWICZ, I. Teksty historiograficzne w środowisku dominikanów Prowincji Litewskiej – wybrane przykłady. *Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis*, 2016, 14, p. 332–333, 336; WITKOWSKI, R. Rozwój życia zakonnego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od XV do XVIII w. *Lietuvių–lenkų santykiai amžių tėkmėje. Istorinė atmintis. Stosunki polsko-litewskie na przestrzeni wieków Pamięć historyczna*. Ed. R. Gaidis, J. Wołkonowski. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2009, p. 92–93.

Wołyńce-Zabiały, Church of St. George, 1716).⁶ The vicariates were also founded in Piaski (Пески, 1685), Krasnybór (1686), Valeuka (Валеўка, Walówka 1667), Aglona (1700), Kanyukhi (Канюхі, Koniuchy, 1739), Ushachy (Ушачы, Uszacz, 1675), Skapiškis (1752) and in Rušona (1766).⁷

Dominican monasteries in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were not only the most numerous but also the most dominant among the other orders. In 1690 the Vilnius diocese included 101 monasteries, of which 32 belonged to the Dominicans, 18 to the Jesuits, 10 to canons regular, 9 to the Franciscans and Bernardines, and 8 to the Calced Carmelites. The Discalced Carmelites and the Benedictines held three monasteries each. The Camaldolese Order, the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine and the Hospitaller Order of the Brothers of Saint John of God had two monasteries each, whereas the Carthusians, the Marians of the Immaculate Conception and the missionaries of Saint Vincentius a Paulo had one monastery each. There were no significant changes in this Dominican dominance up until 1772.⁸

The above quoted list of locations with the Dominican monasteries shows that the friars in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania broke away from the medieval rule of establishing monasteries in large urban centres. Taking into consideration demographic and urban circumstances, they focused on small towns, almost villages, and estates owned by the nobility.⁹ Not surprisingly, then, at least in the beginning, most of these compounds consisted of timber churches and monasteries. This changed in the second and third quarter of the 18th century when the Lithuanian province of the

⁶ List based on: Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum (further – AGOP), XIII 89620, p. 1–14, and SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M. WW. XX. Franciszkanów, 1755, p. 421–447; BRZOZECKI, S.; GWIAZDA, H. *Fundacje i fundatorzy klasztorów dominikańskich w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w latach 1648–1696. Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce. 1222–1972*. Ed. J. Kłoczowski. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 616.

⁷ List based on: AGOP, XIII 89620, p. 14v–18.

⁸ Moreover, in 1690 in the Vilnian diocese nine convents were recorded. In 1772, together with vicariates, there were 36 establishments in the Lithuanian Dominican province. At that time the Vilnius diocese counted 231 monasteries, the Smolensk diocese had 2, the Samogitian diocese had 19, and in the entire Lutsk diocese there were 118. WITKOWSKI, R. *Rozwój życia zakonnego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od XV do XVIII w. Lietuvių–lenkų santykiai amžių tėkmėje. Istorinė atmintis. Stosunki polsko-litewskie na przestrzeni wieków Pamięć historyczna*. Ed. R. Gaidis, J. Wołkonowski. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2009, p. 91; GWIAZDA, H. *Fundacje i fundatorzy klasztorów dominikańskich w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w latach 1648–1696. Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce. 1222–1972*. Ed. J. Kłoczowski. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 617–620.

⁹ In the 17th century, the pastoral activities still meant a basic Evangelisation of the population living in these lands. WITKOWSKI, R. *Rozwój życia zakonnego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim od XV do XVIII w. Lietuvių–lenkų santykiai amžių tėkmėje. Istorinė atmintis. Stosunki polsko-litewskie na przestrzeni wieków Pamięć historyczna*. Ed. R. Gaidis, J. Wołkonowski. Vilnius: Vilniaus universiteto leidykla, 2009, p. 92; GWIAZDA, H. *Fundacje i fundatorzy klasztorów dominikańskich w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w latach 1648–1696. Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce. 1222–1972*. Ed. J. Kłoczowski. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 621–622.

Dominicans underwent significant architectonic developments. Brick churches erected at that time – such as churches in Druya (1762-1763) and *Vosyliškės* (until 1769), and modernised old churches, constitute a style known today as “Vilnian Baroque”.¹⁰ What was unusual about the Lithuanian Dominican province was a circle of founders who were exclusively noblemen and magnates.¹¹

Through the centuries, the Dominican monasteries fell victim to natural disasters and wars waged in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Archives and material goods were especially devastated due to the dissolutions following the November Uprising. At that time, some churches were rebuilt as Orthodox churches, while others, like the two-towered church in Slonim, were demolished (1851).¹² It is certain that in the 1830s and 1840s, most of the documents from the dissolved Dominican monasteries were taken to Imperial Russia. This makes the collections in the Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum in Rome even more important. The documents from the Lithuanian Dominican province contain many research surprises.

One notable surprise is a valuable and previously unknown document created in 1756, which kept the record of the visitation of Lithuanian monasteries.¹³ This document, from the Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum is stored in the *Provincia Lithuaniae* section (font 357); it is slightly smaller in size than A4, comprises 44 pages and has two parts. The first part includes the description of monasteries according to seniority (pp. 1–16) and a list of obligations towards patrons (18–27v), while the second part includes an alphabetical list of friars of the province (pp. 1–15). This list concerns 570 individuals, with information about their primary and current monastery, and their date of birth and date of profession of vows; an additional 60 people are listed as novices.¹⁴ The first page – unpaginated and a later addition – is a table of contents in alphabetical order, divided into monasteries and vicariates. There follows a frontispiece with a drawing executed in ink and pen, lightly coloured with brown

¹⁰ Without full knowledge about the Dominican architecture from this period, it is difficult to research this interesting art style in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It also concerns the Ruthenian province, on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, including for instance Dominican churches in: Chashniki (Чашнікі, Czaszniki/Czaśniki, church built in 1775–1786), Holovchin (Галоўчын, towerless church with an accentuated, bossage plinth, erected in 1778–1808), Klyetsk (Клецк, two-tower and single-nave church was built in 1745 or 1776), Astroyna (Астроўна, Ostrówno, 1622), Packoy (Пацкоў, Packów, 1685, brick church built up to 1699), and Smaliany (Смаляны, Smolany, the church constructed probably around 1770 to a design by Antonio Paracca). See: KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1–2.

¹¹ GWIAZDA, H. *Fundacje i fundatorzy klasztorów dominikańskich w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w latach 1648–1696. Studia nad historią dominikanów w Polsce. 1222–1972*. Ed. J. Kłoczowski. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Polskiej Prowincji Dominikanów, 1975, Vol. 1, p. 624–630.

¹² *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa nowogródzkiego*. Ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed. Kraków: MCK, 2013, Vol. 3, p. 149–152.

¹³ AGOP, XIII 89620.

¹⁴ There is a symbol of a dagger next to some names, which means that the list was updated with information about deaths of particular friars.

watercolour paint: this illustration is the subject of consideration, through historical and iconographic-comparative analysis, in this article.

Besides the information about each of the monasteries provided in the visitation document, the frontispiece is particularly interesting and extraordinary for the history of the Dominican province in Lithuania. It depicts the patron saint of the province – the Guardian Angel – his left hand holding the hand of a Dominican friar standing beside him, while his right hand points to the sky where lightning emerges from a bright cloud. The Guardian Angel stands in counterpoise, he wears an antiquizing cloak with a freely draping coat – an outfit resembling that of a Roman soldier. The Angel dominates the composition. The friar – whose figure is clearly smaller – turns slightly towards the Angel, his left hand placed on his heart. Around them, amid a sketched landscape of ponds and water birds, there are pictures of Dominican churches and monasteries. In the top part of the composition, on the left, there are dark clouds, and on the right there is a chevron of birds. In the bottom section is the title of the manuscript written in a rocaille cartouche with a volute and reading:

*PROVINCIA LITUANA/sub Regimine/ARP. S. T. M. REGINALDI. LENARTO=/
WICZ PRIORIS PROVINCIALIS/quo ad omnes et singulos CONVENTUS, ac
PROVENTUS/DELINEATA./1756 (illus. 1).*

The execution of the frontispiece might be attributed to one of the Vilnian friars, maybe even to prior Reginald Lenartowicz himself.¹⁵ The drawing has a naive quality, marked by an abundance of elements and an inaccurate portrayal of buildings according to the rules of linear perspective. It also lacks topographic accuracy. The drawing however shows ease in composition and a skill in emphasising certain elements (the Guardian Angel and the provincial head-monastery of the Holy Spirit). It charmingly depicts a friar with fluffy hair framing his tonsure, wearing a flowing scapular and a cape with a broad hood.

Most important are, of course, the depictions of the 17 monasteries, whose shapes were individualised and thoughtfully arranged on the frontispiece (illus. 1). In 1756, excluding vicariates, the Lithuanian Dominican province had 33 monasteries; by presenting half of them, priority was certainly given to the age of selected establishments and their more distinguished architectural form – built in brick. Nevertheless, the frontispiece primarily served an illustrative function, aiming to captivate the reader's imagination. Readers in head monastery in Rome understood that the drawings of churches and monasteries were meant to enhance their reading experience, rather than provide detailed information on the buildings' appearance. Still, in most cases the buildings received some details that would distinguish them in the architecture of the Lithuanian Dominican province.

¹⁵ In the list of friars his surname was emphasised with bigger letters. He was born on 20.12.1704 and made his vows in the monastery in Paparčiai on 7.02.1724. AGOP, XIII 89620, p. 7.



Illus. 1. The frontispiece from visitation document of the Dominican province in Lithuania, 1756. AGOP XIII 89620

The details allow for easy identification of two Vilnius churches located on the right side of the frontispiece (illus. 2). We can see the Church of the Holy Spirit (1679–1688). Up to 1748 its dome had been rebuilt, after the devastating 1737 fire of Vilnius, by Johann Christoph Glaubitz.¹⁶ In the picture, the church is obscured by the imposing form of a monastery, unlike its actual state. Further to the back, there is a Dominican church in Lukiškės, erected in stages from 1690 (the third and the fourth floors of the towers were built in the years 1727–1737). In the drawing we can recognise the church's compact body with an outstandingly prominent shape, which was intended to be a highlight in the Vilnius landscape. The monasteries are about 1500 metres apart, and not aligned in a straight line.¹⁷

¹⁶ VUB, f. 4(A3871)36471, p. 412v, 425; f. 4(A349)19102, p. 12v.

¹⁷ SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M. WW. XX. Franciszkanow, 1755, p. 427.



Illus. 2 The Church of the Holy Spirit and the Church of Sts. Jacob and Philip in Vilnius, below the Church of the Holy Trinity in Liškiava

Below the Vilnius group there is a church and a monastery in Liškiava, erected in 1704–1741, whose original shape must have been a pride of the province (illus. 2). Situated on a high hill, the church was constructed in the shape of an octagon, with two additional chapels, a narthex, and an elongated presbytery, resulting in a Greek cross floor plan. Importantly, the central section of the church is topped with a dome. This was the second, and last, such topping in the Lithuanian Dominican province. The church was modelled on the church of the Sisters of the Sacrament in Warsaw designed by Tielman van Gameren. But the church in Liškiava – with its central plan – should be seen through the prism of the Camaldolese church in Pažaislis and two churches in Vilnius: the Trinitarian Church in Antakalnis and the Church of the Visitation Sisters.¹⁸

To the left of the Guardian Angel there is the captivating form of a monastery in Sejny, flanked with towers (built in 1619, illus. 3). Behind it stands a church with a bell tower dating back to before its reconstruction between 1760 and 1770. During this renovation, the church was expanded by two spans, reoriented with a new two-tower façade facing east, and the original bell tower was demolished.¹⁹ Above the monastery in Sejny there is a single-nave church difficult to attribute to a specific location. It is

¹⁸ Lietuvos architektūros istorija. Vol. 2: *Nuo XVII a. pradžios iki XIX a. vidurio*. Ed. K. Čerbulėnas, A. Jankevičienė. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1994, p. 91–94.

¹⁹ SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M. WW. XX. Franciszkanów, 1755, p. 421–22; BARANOWSKI, A. J. *Miedzy Rzymem a Wilnem. Magnackie fundacje sakralne w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w czasach kontrreformacji na tle polityki dynastycznej w Europie Środkowej*. Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2006, p. 226–228.

probably a modest rendition of one of the timber Dominican churches. Further, on a few hills there are undoubtedly chapels of the *Žemaičių Kalvarija* (illus. 3).



Illus. 3 *The Church of St. George Holy Trinity in Sejny, above the Church of the Holy Virgin Mary and chapels in Žemaičių Kalvarija, at the bottom the Church of Sts. John the Baptist and Stephen in Choroszcz*

Around 1750, on the initiative of bishop Antoni Tyszkiewicz, some chapels were erected in brick, whereas others, originally timber, were renovated.²⁰ Below the representation of the monastery in Sejny there is a single-tower church in Choroszcz (illus. 3, 5), built in 1754–1758 to the design of Jan Henryk Klemm, a court architect of Jan Klemens Branicki. Next to it there is a three-winged monastery, which was constructed in brick between 1763 and 1770, therefore after the creation of the frontispiece.²¹ The enormous monastic-church complex next to the monastery in Sejny almost certainly represents the compound in Raseiniai (illus. 4). However, it should be noted that the monastery is actually situated to the left and not to the right side of the church (after 1663, rebuilt in the mid-18th century). The construction was finished by 1682 as a two-storey building. It was consumed by fire in 1729 and was rebuilt.²²

²⁰ Ibid., 496.

²¹ KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 257.

²² SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M.



Illus. 4. *The Church of the Assumption in Raseiniai, above the Church of St. Mary of the Rosary in Jelna and on the top the Church of Sts. Dominic and Francisco in Palėvenė*

Next to Žemaičių Kalvarija (illus. 3) there is a roughly sketched church with two towers that does not clearly resemble any specific Dominican location. It may represent a church in Aglona.²³ The neighbouring building is most likely to represent a rendition of a single-tower church in Palėvenė, built in 1676 (illus. 4). Later, it received additional chapels and a tower.²⁴ Underneath we can see a building with a cupola – this may be a timber church in Jelna (1668). In 1680, the burial chapel of Stanisław Karol and Marianna Abramowicz was added to the church. It did not have a cupola; however, it is possible that its roof was topped with a turret.²⁵ Next to the hypothetical church

WW. XX. Franciszkanow, 1755, p. 425–426; Lietuvos architektūros istorija, Vol. 2: *Nuo XVII a. pradžios iki XIX a. vidurio*. Ed. K. Čerbulėnas, A. Jankevičienė. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1994, p. 113–114; *Lietuvos vienuolynai vadovas*. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1998, p. 210.

²³ Brick church in Aglona was completed in 1780.

²⁴ SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M. WW. XX. Franciszkanow, 1755, p. 434–435; Lietuvos architektūros istorija, Vol. 2: *Nuo XVII a. pradžios iki XIX a. vidurio*. Ed. K. Čerbulėnas, A. Jankevičienė. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1994, p. 118–120.

²⁵ SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M. WW. XX. Franciszkanow, 1755, p. 431; *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa wileńskiego*. Ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed. Cracow: MCK, 2008, Vol. 2, p. 59–66; KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 423–425.

in Jelna, behind the hills there is a single-tower church which cannot be linked to any specific Dominican church in Lithuania.

It is almost certain that adjacent to the building in Choroszcz there is a church, built in Kniazhytsy after 1750, with its distinguishing roof topped with a turret (illus. 5). In its direct neighbourhood there was a timber monastery, drawn as a massive architectural form.²⁶ Further, there is probably an outline of a towerless church in Dzyarechyn, erected in 1690. Next to it stood a bell tower and a grand, three-winged double-storey monastery finished in 1756 (no longer present), when the frontispiece was prepared.²⁷



Illus. 5 *The Church in Choroszcz and to the right the church of St. Nicholas in Kniazhytsy*

In the bottom section, almost in the corner of the frontispiece, we can see a church in Nyasvitzh with two protruding cubic towers, with a monastery to its left (illus. 6).²⁸ Above it are two Dominican buildings. It is difficult to decide whether they represent the church and the monastery in Hrodna or in Kaunas, as both have frontage.²⁹ Because Hrodna, like Vilnius, Raseiniai and Orsha, was one of the four centres of Lithuanian

²⁶ KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 483–425.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 303–330.

²⁸ See the photograph of Kruklik's drawing in National Museum in Cracow (MNK, XX-f-3085).

²⁹ SZYMAK, G. *Prerogatywa Zakonu Kaznodziejskiego z faworów, łask i dobrodziejstw osobliwszych, sobie od swej Matki i Opiekunki Nieba i ziemi Królowej SS. Maryi Panny [...] zebrana...* Wilno: w Drukarni J. K. M. WW. XX. Franciszkanow, 1755, p. 424–425; *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa trockiego*. Ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed. Cracow: MCK, 2016, Vol. 3, p. 79–131; BURŽINSKAS, Ž.; LEVANDAIUSKAS, V. Transformation of Dominican Architectural Heritage in the Years of Tsarist Russian Occupation. *Art History & Criticism / Meno istorija ir kritika*, 2020, 16, No. 1, p. 24–26; KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 378–338.

contratas, it is more likely to be Hrodna.³⁰ A two-tower church next to this complex represents a church in Aukštadvaris, finished in 1675 and restored in 1738–1741. Apparently, soon afterwards, a single-wing, two-storey monastery was added to the building.³¹



Illus. 6 *The Church of St. John the Baptist in Nyasvizh, below probably the Dominican Church in Hrodna and at the bottom the Church of St. Dominic in Aukštadvaris*

While it is unlikely we will ever identify all the Dominican churches and monasteries depicted on the frontispiece (illus. 1), it should be emphasised that their representation in the 1756 visitation document was deliberate, not accidental. Despite being inexact, it was the first attempt to address the topic of images of churches and monasteries of the Lithuanian Dominican province, and above all, it was a competition with the activity of various congregations operating in the territory of Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth. Around 1748 the Trinitarians published a map of the Saint Joachim province

³⁰ Unfortunately we do not know what the Dominican church in Orsha looked like. The monastery was founded by Hieronim Drucki Sokoliński and his wife Katarzyna Gryzelda née Stankiewicz in 1650. Up to c. 1800 the church was wooden, then was brick under the patronage of St. Joseph. The monastery in Orsha was one of Lithuanian *contrata* so it has to be in the frontispiece, but we cannot say which of the unrecognised temples it could be. Maybe it is a single-tower church next to the temple in Jelna (4 illus.). AGOP, XIII 89620, p. 9v; *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa wileńskiego*. Ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed. Cracow: MCK, 2008, Vol. 2, p. 686, 688.

³¹ BURŽINSKAS, Ž.; LEVANDAUSKAS, V. Transformation of Dominican Architectural Heritage in the Years of Tsarist Russian Occupation. *Art History & Criticism / Meno istorija ir kritika*, 2020, 16, No. 1, p. 21–24; *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa wileńskiego*. Ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed. Cracow: MCK, 2008, Vol. 2, p. 1098–1102.

with pictures of monasteries (illus. 7).³² In 1753 the Bernardines published a map with renditions of monasteries in the Ruthenian province,³³ and in about 1779–1781, of those in the Lithuanian province.³⁴ It is also worth mentioning a map of the Polish province of the Capuchins (1713)³⁵ – older than those previously mentioned – and a map of the Franciscan monasteries in Poland (ca. 1753).³⁶



Illus. 7 Johann Jacob Lidl based on a drawing by Rafał od Aniołów (Gorazdowski), Map of Trinitarian Saint Joachim province, c. 1748. The National Library in Warsaw

³² Engraving executed in Vienna by Johann Jacob Lidl based on a drawing by a Trinitarian Rafał od Aniołów (Gorazdowski). KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 11.

³³ Ibid., p. 8.

³⁴ Drawing executed by a Bernardine Dawid Żyrkiewicz, engraved by Hirsz Lejbowicz. KAŁAMAJSKA-SAEED, M. *Rosyjskie pomiary klasztorów skasowanych w roku 1832*. Warszawa: Instytut „Polonika”, 2021, Vol. 1, p. 11; JANONIENĖ, R. Lietuvos bernardinų provincija: istorija ir paveldo likimas. *Pranciškonai Lietuvoje*. Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2017, p. 10.

³⁵ Copperplate print published in Turin, based on a drawing by Giovanni Battista de Cassini, a friar. *Imago Poloniae. Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasza Niewodniczańskiego*. Warszawa: Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza Arkadiusz Grzegorzczuk, 2002, Vol. 2, p. 160.

³⁶ Copperplate engraving by Tobias Conrad Lotter printed by Matthäus Seutter. There is also a consecutive version engraved and printed by Lotter in about 1753. *Imago Poloniae*, p. 160–161.

The map of towns showing relationships between the branches of the Reformed Franciscans is of a different nature (1720). The following maps should also be noted: maps of the Discalced Carmelites province in Lithuania and maps of their province in Poland (1659);³⁷ maps of Polish and Lithuanian province of the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine (ca. 1730);³⁸ and a map showing monasteries and convents of the Benedictines in Central Europe (1732).³⁹ Undoubtedly, being in possession of such an etched map, which was therefore printable and ready for distribution, emphasised the importance of the congregation. In my opinion the discussed frontispiece was a beginning of non-executed print of the Dominican province in Lithuania in the decades of brick investment.

The frontispiece from 1756 also conveys specific ideological content. Most importantly, it depicts the patron saint of the Dominican province, the Guardian Angel, as a powerful protector. With a steady hand, the angel guides the friar who represents all members of the Lithuanian Dominican congregation. This highlights not only the individual care given to each friar, but also the care given to each monastery in the province. Hence, the Guardian Angel is dressed as a Roman soldier, prepared for battle. It is no coincidence that the Guardian Angel is pointing to the overcast sky, illuminated by lightning, where God appears to people as light. The Angel's gesture reminds us of the ultimate goal of our earthly journey. The friar, pointing to his heart, has already made the right choice. Now, guided by his heavenly companion, he walks towards eternity, serving God and people in the Dominican churches of Lithuania.⁴⁰

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³⁸ Copperplate print most probably published in Augsburg by Angelus Höggmayr. *Imago Poloniae*, p. 160.

³⁹ Map published in Nuremberg by the Johann Baptist Homann Heirs. RICHTER, P. E. *Bibliotheca geographica Germaniae Litteratur der Landes- und Volkskunde des Deutschen Reichs*. Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1896, Vol. 1, p. 75.

⁴⁰ The small figure of a Dominican is a repetition of the composition where the Guardian Angel leads the child by the hand. On iconography of the Guardian Angel see: JABŁOŃSKA-MOISAN, K. *Obrazowanie walki dobra ze złem*. Cracow: Universitas, 2002, p. 113–165.

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Nežinomas 1756 m. Lietuvos dominikonų provincijos vienuolynų vizitacijos dokumento antraštinis lapas

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Santrauka

Straipsnio tikslas – pasitelkus istorinį kontekstą ir ikonografinį-lyginamąjį metodą pristatyti ir išanalizuoti nežinomą 1756 m. Lietuvos Šv. Angelo Sargo dominikonų provincijos vienuolynų vizitacijos dokumento antraštinį lapą. Tai prie prioro Reginaldo Lenartovičiaus laikais parengto vizitacijos dokumento pridėtas piešinys, kuris saugomas Romoje esančiame Dominikonų ordino archyve („Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum“). Antraštinis lapas Lietuvos dominikonų istorijai svarbus dėl jame pavaizduotų svarbiausių jų bažnyčių ir vienuolynų vaizdų. Jų formos buvo individualizuotos ir apgalvotai išdėstytos aplink provincijos globėją Angelą Sargą, kuris kairiąją ranką laiko šalia stovinčio dominikonų vienuolio ranką, o dešiniąją rodo į dangų ir iš ryškaus debesies pasirodantį žaibą (1 pav.).

1756 m., neskaitant vikariatų, Lietuvos dominikonų provincijoje buvo 33 vienuolynai, tačiau tik 17 iš jų buvo pavaizduoti frontone. Iš jų identifikuota 12, tarp jų – Vilniaus, Seinų, Choroščiaus, Liškiavos, Žemaičių Kalvarijos, Raseinių, Kniažycų, Dziarečyno, Nesvyžiaus,

Palėvenės, Agluonos ir Gardino vienuolynai. Pabrėžtina, kad jų atvaizdavimas 1756 m. vizitacijos dokumente nebuvo atsitiktinis. Aptariamas antraštinis lapas buvo neišleisto Lietuvos dominikonų provincijos spaudinio pradžia.

Antraštinis lapas taip pat perteikia specifinį ideologinį turinį. Pirmiausia jis išryškina dominikonų provincijos globėjo Angelo Sargo svarbą. Jis tvirta ranka veda vienuolį, atstovaujantį visiems Lietuvos dominikonų kongregacijos nariams. Pabrėžiama ne tik kiekvieno vienuolio individuali globa, bet ir rūpinimasis visais provincijos vienuolynais. Dėl šios priežasties Angelas Sargas dėvi pasirengimą kovai išreiškiančius romėnų kario drabužius. Angelas Sargas taip pat pirštu rodo į dangų, kad primintų apie galutinį žemiškosios kelionės tikslą.

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