

In 1683, Jan Reisner returned to the Commonwealth after about five years of artistic education in Rome in the fields of painting and architecture, sponsored by King John III.² He was twenty-eight years of age at the time. He worked in the Commonwealth for the next three decades. He died in 1713 as a man of high social standing, respected and valued, not least for his paintings. Unfortunately, the vast majority of those paintings are now impossible to identify (Fig. 1).

IN SEARCH OF JAN REISNER'S PAINTINGS¹

DOI: 10.5604/01.3001.0055.1372

Konrad Pyzel

Polish History Museum in Warsaw

Wilanów Studies

vol. XXXI, 2024, pp. 245–311

Yearbook, E-ISSN: 2720-0116

The hitherto known, not very abundant archival references indicate that Reisner and his assistants worked at the Wilanów Palace,³ and that after the death of King John III he worked on commissions for the voivode of Płock, Jan Bonawentura Krasiński; this is evidenced, for example, by the large quantities of canvas purchased for the artist's use.⁴ It is very likely that he also carried out commissions for the deputy chancellor of Lithuania, Stanisław Antoni Szczuka.⁵ It seems that he painted portraits quite often; they are mentioned in the 1694 inventory of the castle in Żółkiew (today: Zhovkva)⁶ or in a letter by Jadwiga Rafałowiczówna to Elżbieta Sieniawska, wife of the grand hetman of the Crown, dated 8 February 1714, in which she listed the works that remained in Reisner's studio after his death.⁷ Other sources, which will be discussed later on, contain information about paintings made for churches and monasteries.

1 In my research on Jan Reisner's work, I was given invaluable assistance by the Visitation Sisters from the Warsaw convent. Without their kindness, but above all their knowledge of the archival materials and the material heritage extant in the convent, it would have been impossible for me to write this article. For their time and for the knowledge they shared with me, I hereby offer them my warmest thanks.

2 On Jan Reisner and Jerzy Siemiginowski's education in Rome, recently M. Sobczyńska-Szczepańska, K. Pyzel, 'Jerzy Szymonowicz i Jan Reisner w Rzymie – obalenie mitów', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 85, 2023, no. 1, pp. 69–93.

3 M. Karpowicz, 'O Janie Reisnerze po raz wtóry', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 36, 1974, no. 3, p. 258.

4 Ossoliński National Institute (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, hereinafter: ZNiO), Ms., sign. 6247/II, National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa, hereinafter: BN), mf 28030, Inwentarz włości węgrowskiej i sokołowskiej (w ziemi drohickiej leżącej) weryfikowany przez Jana Bonawenturę Krasińskiego, wojewodę płockiego, 1701–1720, pp. 38, 155. These references state, respectively, that Reisner was issued 102 ells (i.e. nearly 60 metres) of canvas 'to paint the pieces', and that the canvas weavers in Starawieś produced four lengths of canvas for paintings of various sizes: from two to six ells wide and from a dozen to as much as 36 ells long (i.e. about 20 metres), which Reisner later 'took to his place'.

5 Karpowicz, 'O Janie Reisnerze', p. 254; M. Kałamajska-Saeed, 'Ołtarz główny w Szczuczynie', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 39, 1977, no. 2, pp. 192–193.

6 M. Gębarowicz, *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki XVI–XVIII w.* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1973), p. 144, notes 8–10 on p. 146.

7 J. Rafałowiczówna, *A z Warszawy nowiny te... Listy do Elżbiety Sieniawskiej z lat 1710–1720*, ed. and intr. B. Popiołek (Kraków, 2000), p. 51.

Fig. 1

Anonymous (Jan Reisner?),
Portrait of Jan Reisner,
 before 1713, church of the
 Assumption of the Virgin
 Mary in Węgrów



It can therefore be assumed that painting was Reisner's regular, or at least fairly regular, occupation. In addition to this, however, he carried out other tasks; for example, there exists an inventory of paintings at the Royal Castle in Warsaw signed in his hand.⁸ It is also known that he settled payments to artists and craftsmen working for Krasiński.⁹ As a trained architect, Reisner was probably employed in this area as well, although so far only three of his architectural drawings are known, made for a competition at the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome,¹⁰ and one plan bearing his signature.¹¹ He was also marshal at Krasiński's court, which

8 National Historic Archive of Belarus (Narodowe Historyczne Archiwum Białorusi, hereinafter: NIAB), Ms., fond 694, op. 1, no. 58, Spis obrazów w Zamku Warszawskim, 4 lipca 1691, fol. 96r.

9 ZNiO, Ms., sign. 6247/II, Inwentarz włości, pp. 259, 265.

10 It is known that originally the Academy of St Luke held four drawings by Reisner, of which three are extant today; see Sobczyńska-Szczepańska, Pyzel, 'Jerzy Szymonowicz i Jan Reisner w Rzymie', p. 76.

11 M. Karpowicz, 'Jan Reisner – zapomniany malarz i architekt', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 21, 1959, no. 1, p. 79, Fig. 8.



Fig. 2

Jan Reisner, *The Sermon of St John the Baptist*, 1689, Camaldolese church in Cracow

imposed on him a number of responsibilities related to the functioning of a complex environment that a magnate household certainly was.¹² On the basis of the above findings, it can be assumed that for three decades after his return to the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, Jan Reisner was more or less regularly engaged in artistic activities, despite his duties outside painting. A critical revision of the findings to date makes it possible to conclude that among extant paintings, only two can be unquestionably

12 Jan Reisner's holding the post of the marshal of the court is mentioned in his epitaph in the parish church in Węgrów (see Karpowicz, 'Jan Reisner – zapomniany malarz i architekt', p. 82). Recently on the operation of a court: B. Popiołek, *Rytuały codzienności. Świat szlacheckiego dworu w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa, 2022).

recognised as works by Reisner: *The Sermon of St John the Baptist* from the side altar of the Camaldolese church in Bielany (Cracow), signed and dated (1689) by Reisner,¹³ and *Lamentation*, located on the north wall of the presbytery in the church of the Visitation Sisters in Warsaw. The latter was given to the monastery in 1698 by the artist's wife Cecylia (née Kromlauf, *primo voto* Lauro),¹⁴ what is more, an inventory compiled in 1705, with later additions, identifies it as a gift from Reisner himself.¹⁵ It is highly unlikely that the Reisners would have donated a picture painted by another artist.

Other works have been attributed to Reisner on the basis of stylistic analysis.

This was sometimes aided by knowledge gleaned from source records or inscriptions on the reverses of canvases,¹⁶ but the ultimate criterion was nevertheless formal similarity.¹⁷ Without going into the details of these considerations, it must be emphasised that even if most of the attributions were to be accepted, and Reisner's involvement in the creation of at least some of the replicas of *The Sermon of St John the Baptist* (above all that from the church of the Visitation Sisters in Cracow) and *Lamentation* acknowledged, the total number of existing paintings associated with Reisner would not exceed a dozen or so. In contrast, two source records indicate that there may have been more. Rafałowiczówna, in a letter to Sieniawska, mentions four portraits of specific people among the works left after Reisner's death and adds that 'there are to be more various likenesses'.¹⁸ The chronicle of the Warsaw convent of the Visitation Sisters, in turn, contains the information that in his last will, Reisner 'gave to our church and convent several large and beautiful paintings of his own making'.¹⁹ It would be, therefore, difficult not to ask whether these paintings still exist today, and if so, how they can be found.

Jerzy Żmudziński attempted to identify some of paintings mentioned by Rafałowiczówna, that is, in effect, portraits of prominent personages of

13 J. Żmudziński, 'Nowe wiadomości o obrazach malarza Jana Reisnera', in: *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy XVI–XXI w.*, eds Z. Michalczyk, A. Pieńkos, M. Wardzyński (Warszawa, 2010), pp. 79–82; E. Modzelewska, K. Pyzel, 'Jan Reisner i jego *Kazanie Jana Chrzciciela* z kościoła wizytek w Krakowie', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 25, 2018, pp. 177–201.

14 Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw (Archiwum Klasztoru Sióstr Wizytek w Warszawie, hereinafter: AKSWW), Ms., Księga rachunków miesięcznych za lata 1654–1695, no pagination; AKSWW, Ms., Rachunki roczne 1654–1714, no pagination; see Karpowicz, 'O Janie Reisnerze', p. 255.

15 AKSWW, Ms., Inwentarz z 1705 roku z późniejszymi uzupełnieniami, p. 38.

16 This is the case with *Glorification of the Virtues of John III Sobieski* held by the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. MP 160) which, as it seems, can indeed be linked with Jan Reisner's oeuvre.

17 See K. Pyzel, 'W cieniu Siemiginowskiego – Jan Reisner i źródła jego twórczości', in: *Jan III Sobieski. Historia. Dziedzictwo. Pamięć*, eds B. Dybaś, A. Ziemlewska (Warszawa, 2021), pp. 85–112.

18 Rafałowiczówna, *A z Warszawy nowiny te*, p. 51.

19 AKSWW, Ms., *Livre du convent de ce monastere de La visitation, Ste Marie de Warsawie estably le 9 Aoust 1654*, p. 8; see Karpowicz, 'O Janie Reisnerze', pp. 255–256.



Fig. 3

Jan Reisner, *Lamentation*,
before 1698, church of the
Visitation Sisters in Warsaw

Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.²⁰ At this point, therefore, it is worthwhile to concentrate on the search for works donated to the Warsaw convent of the Visitation Sisters. The matter is simple in the case of *Lamentation*: this painting hangs to this day in the presbytery of the church.²¹ It is much more difficult to identify the works donated under the terms of Reisner's last will.

20 Żmudziński, 'Nowe wiadomości o obrazach malarza Jana Reisnera', pp. 82–85. Some addenda and revisions of previous findings: J. Żmudziński, 'Portret biskupa warmińskiego Jana Stanisława Zbąskiego w klasztorze Franciszkanów w Krakowie – nieznane dzieło Jerzego Eleutera Siemiginowskiego', in: *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich franciszkanów i klarysek*, eds M. Szyma, M. Walczak (Kraków, 2020), pp. 451–464.

21 On that painting and its fortunes, see K. Pyzel, 'Dzieje obrazu *Oplakiwanie z kościoła wizytek w Warszawie*' / 'The history of the painting *Lamentation* from the church of the Visitation Order in Warsaw', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 28, 2021, pp. 165–204.

The key problem is, of course, that on the basis of the abovementioned bequest ('several large and beautiful paintings') it is not possible to ascertain either what these paintings represented or how many of them there were.

It is also difficult to rely solely on comparative analysis. When Reisner's hypothetical oeuvre is limited to a dozen or so paintings, of which only two are recognised as definitely his works (and both of those are large compositions on religious themes, painted on canvas), a sufficiently strong point of reference is lacking. In addition, *The Sermon of St John the Baptist* and *Lamentation* differ considerably, which caused Karpowicz to say that Reisner's work is 'so complex that it is difficult to lock it all in a single drawer'.²² This makes it all the more risky to draw conclusions concerning works painted in a different technique or intended for non-religious interiors. The matter is further complicated by the varying condition of the paintings and, in addition, our perception is influenced by such elements as the materials used by the artist, for instance the pigments and the canvas. It would seem, therefore, that the surest approach, at least in the current state of knowledge, would be through archival research. Yet even that, as will be shown further on, often does not provide clear answers.

One source that is invaluable in the search for the paintings donated to the convent of the Visitation Sisters has not, as far as the author of this article is aware, been widely known to scholars. It is an inventory dating from 1705 with later additions,²³ the latter mostly concerning precisely Reisner's paintings, acquired by the convent on the basis of his last will, which came in effect with his death in 1713. These additions were either written in between the existing entries or as updates to the inventory, in which case they coincide with a deletion of the relevant passage.

The section *Regestr rzeczy do Chóru y Oltarza jego należących* [Register of things belonging to the Choir and its Altar] contains the following entry: '1 sheet-metal picture left by the late Mr Ryzner [Reisner], in it there is the H[oly] Virgin sitting under a tree, she propped herself up with one hand in meditation and holds a book in the other; the Lord Jesus is standing in front of her and pointing to the book'.²⁴ The description makes it possible to point with certainty to a composition known from, for instance, a painting held in the collection of the National Museum in Wrocław, attributed to Jerzy Siemiginowski (inv. no. VIII-126, oil, copper sheet, 28.6 × 22.5 cm).²⁵ The size seems to be, generally, correct (in the convent, the

22 M. Karpowicz, *Polsko-włoskie związki artystyczne* (Warszawa, 2012), p. 99.

23 AKSWW, Ms., Inwentarz z 1705 roku, pp. 1–101. Karpowicz does not refer to in his articles, even though the source was certainly not completely unknown; it seems to be the one referred to by, e.g., Bożena Steinborn in her monograph on the work of Daniel Schultz (B. Steinborn, *Malarz Daniel Schultz. Gdańszczanin w służbie królów polskich* (Warszawa, 2004), p. 148).

24 AKSWW, Ms., Inwentarz z 1705 roku, p. 33.

25 E. Houszka, P. Łukaszewicz, *Malarstwo polskie od baroku do modernizmu. Katalog zbiorów* (Wrocław, 2013), cat. no. 525, p. 272; T. Zaucha, 'Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski



painting in question was recorded as *obrazek*, ‘a small picture’), so does the material (sheet metal), and what is seen in the painting agrees exactly with the inventory entry. The question that immediately arises is whether this work could be, after all, by Jan Reisner. In order to consider this

Fig. 4

Anonymous, *Madonna with the Child Jesus*, second half of the seventeenth century, National Museum in Wrocław

Szymonowicz (ok. 1660 – ok. 1711). *Matka Boska z Dzieciątkiem*’, in: *Geniusz baroku. Szymon Czechowicz 1689–1775*, eds A. Betlej, T. Zaucha (Kraków, 2020), pp. 248–249, with earlier literature.

possibility at all, it must of course be assumed that the picture, which was owned by Reisner (for this is precisely what the inventory states), had also been painted by him. While this is very likely, it need not have been the case; let us, however, accept this as a provisional assumption.

In the documents held at the convent of the Visitation Sisters in Warsaw, with which I am familiar, Reisner's composition is mentioned, apart from the inventory in question, only on a loose page of *Regestr rzeczy do Chóru y Ołtarza jego należących*, where the entry referring to it has been crossed out.²⁶ The Wrocław painting used to be in the collection owned by Zofia Tustanowska, which she deposited at the Lubomirski Museum in Lwów (today: Lviv) after 1 February 1940.²⁷ An inscription, engraved on its reverse at an unspecified time, reads: 'painted / Jerzy Eleuter / Siemiginowski / 1670'.²⁸ However, in 1670 Jerzy Szymonowicz (Siemiginowski) was probably about twenty years old²⁹ and had not yet begun his education in Rome. The authors of the catalogue of paintings from the collection of the National Museum in Wrocław therefore attributed the work to Siemiginowski, shifting the dating to 'before 1684' and linking it to the period of his Roman studies.³⁰

It should be noted, however, that this type of composition appears in several more extant works. It is repeated in a rather poor quality painting from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. MP 5558 MNW, oil, sheet metal, 31.5 × 21 cm), donated to it in 1977 by the General Prosecutor's Office from the seized collection of Father Leon Dygas.³¹ This clergyman had been one of the key members of the 'Golden Heads Gang', which was behind the illegal export abroad and sale of numerous works of art from Polish collections. Dygas obtained works of art from churches or churchgoers, usually for symbolic sums, by far inadequate to the quality of the acquired artefacts.³² How this small painting found its way into his 'collection' is not known, but in view of the above findings it could have come from anywhere in Poland.

26 AKSWW, Ms., *Regestr rzeczy do Chóru i Ołtarza jego należących*, undated.

27 Houszka, Łukaszewicz, *Malarstwo polskie*, cat. no. 525, p. 272; B. Długajczyk, L. Machnik, *Muzeum Lubomirskich 1823–1940. Zbiór malarstwa* (Wrocław, 2019), note 37 on p. 557.

28 Houszka, Łukaszewicz, *Malarstwo polskie*, cat. no. 525, p. 272.

29 Dr Mirosława Sobczyńska-Szczepańska's most recent findings indicate that Jerzy Szymonowicz (Siemiginowski) was born before 1655; see her article 'Podróż Jerzego Szymonowicza i Jana Reisnera do Italii w świetle korespondencji kardynała Carla Barberiniego' / 'The journey of Jerzy Szymonowicz and Jan Reisner to Italy in the light of the correspondence of Cardinal Carlo Barberini' in the current volume of *Studia Wilanowskie*.

30 Houszka, Łukaszewicz, *Malarstwo polskie*, cat. no. 525, p. 272.

31 I am grateful to Ms Monika Ochnio for this information.

32 'Z procesu Witolda Mętlewicza', *Dziennik Polski*, 13 May 1976, p. 2; H. Kowalik, 'Złoty gang marszandów', *Wprost*, published 29 March 2015, amended 26 Aug. 2015, [reportaze-sadowe.wprost.pl/500524/zloty-gang-marszandow.html](https://tazew-sadowe.wprost.pl/500524/zloty-gang-marszandow.html) (accessed 16 Jan. 2020).



Fig. 5

Anonymous, *Madonna with the Child Jesus*, late seventeenth century (?), National Museum in Warsaw

Another repetition of the composition is an oil painting on canvas from an Orthodox church in Pasynki near Bielsk Podlaski, dated to around the middle of the eighteenth century and attributed to Augustyn Mirys.³³ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* supports this attribution and it can be tentatively accepted.³⁴ Particularly the characteristic manner of painting

³³ G. Sosna, D. Fionik, *Pasynki i okolice* (Bielsk Podlaski–Ryboły–Białystok, 2001), p. 173.

³⁴ *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce, Województwo podlaskie*, part. 4: *Powiat bielski*, eds Z. Michalczyk, D. Piramidowicz, K. Uchowicz, M. Zgliński, Seria Nowa, vol. 12 (Warszawa, 2019), p. 179.



Fig. 6

Augustyn Mirys (attributed),
*Madonna with the Child
Jesus*, mid-eighteenth century,
Orthodox church of the
Nativity of St John the Baptist
in Pasyński

draperies as slightly angular is reminiscent of Mirys's oeuvre, which is to a large extent well researched.³⁵ Another painting was located on the Italian antiquarian market.³⁶ It was attributed to Lucio Massari, a pupil

³⁵ See recently: Z. Michalczyk, 'Domniemane modello Augustyna Mirysa do obrazu *Podniesienie krzyża w kościele w Bielsku Podlaskim*', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 80, 2018, no. 1, pp. 5–22.

³⁶ The painting was available at www.anticoantico.com/scheda_articolo_main.asp?ID=166598&index=20&last=185&cat=IB (accessed 3 April 2024), currently its offer

of the Carracci school in Bologna, but this attribution is impossible to verify on the basis of a small photograph and should therefore be treated with great caution.³⁷ Three further paintings have been offered for sale on websites.³⁸ They are all small in size (according to the information provided by the sellers: 27 × 22 cm, 25 × 20 cm and 29.3 × 22.8 cm), one painted on sheet metal and two on board, in both oil and tempera.

Although at a cursory glance the above works appear compositionally identical, they differ with regard to the compositional framing and to some details, such as the presence (or absence) of a band around the hips of the Child Jesus. In some of them, letters are visible on the pages of the open book, while in others the pages are blank. Furthermore, it seems that while in the paintings from the National Museum in Warsaw and the Orthodox church in Pasyński the set of letters is similar (I and B or L and B, respectively), in the painting from Italy the book bears a longer text. In addition, inscriptions in the halos above the figures in one of the paintings offered on websites point to its origins in the cultural circle of the Eastern Church.

The fact that we are dealing with at least several works, made in different periods (probably from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century), places and cultural circles, prompts the assumption that there must exist a prototype, most likely reproduced in prints. The small format of the vast majority of the paintings, in turn, permits us to assume that they were originally intended for private devotion. The reproduction of the composition in prints, in turn, caused this intimate scene to be used in the creation of a work of a larger format, as in the case of the painting by Mirys (who, incidentally, is known to have frequently used prints as models for his works).³⁹ The differences noted here raise the possibility that the original model was later modified and that subsequent artists not necessarily used exactly the same version of it or introduced their own changes to its composition.

An interesting context to the current search is the entry in the 1740 inventory of the castle at Żółkiew, published by Mieczysław Gębarowicz.

for sale is located at mercanteinfiera.com/en/antiques-en/old-master-paintings/16th-century-en-3/religious-en-4/madonna-and-child-oil-on-copper/ (accessed 3 April 2024).

37 On the oeuvre of Lucio Massari, see e.g. M. Cellini, 'Lucio Massari', in: *La scuola dei Carracci. I seguaci di Annibale e Agostino*, eds E. Negro, M. Pirondini (Modena, 1995), pp. 217–250.

38 artinfo.pl/wyniki-aukcji/115-aukcja-malarstwa-i-rzemiosla-artystycznego?dzialo=46_madonna_z_dzieciatkiem_pol_xviii_w_slaski_malarz&page=1 (accessed 3 April 2024); antikon.pl/obrazy-olejne/657-obraz-olejny-w-zloconej-ramie-madonna-z-ksiazka-swi-etny-.html (accessed 3 April 2024); sprzedajemy.pl/ikona-matka-boza-z-dzieciatkiem-jezus-unikatowe-0129-warszawa-4-7897fb-nr-63201955 (accessed 3 April 2024).

39 Z. Michalczyk, *W lustrzanym odbiciu. Grafika europejska a malarstwo Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem późnego baroku* (Warszawa, 2016), pp. 214–224.

The following was noted there as located in a room identified as the 'second study': 'A 2-quarter painting, on copper, in black frame, behind glass, with a depiction of the Blessed Virgin [Mary] seated over a book, leaning her head on her hand, by whom the Lord Jesus stands, [by] Caroli Marati'.⁴⁰ This painting was, as can be inferred from another inventory, this time dating from 1746, intended to be moved to Nieśwież (today: Nesvizh), the residence of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, who had inherited the Żółkiew estate.⁴¹ However, it cannot be identified among the nearly 1,000 paintings listed in the 1778 inventory of the Nieśwież treasury.⁴² The 1740 inventory indicates Carlo Maratti as its author, but it has proved impossible to find any work matching the description among the works associated with this Roman artist. His painting *The Holy Family* (ca. 1700–1705, inv. no. 1967.141) held at the Toledo Museum of Art, USA, may be considered the closest to it in terms of composition, although it lacks the characteristic gesture of the Madonna supporting her head.⁴³

To summarise the findings to date: according to the source records, in the convent of the Visitation Sisters in Warsaw there was a painting from the collection of Jan Reisner, whose composition was undoubtedly related, and possibly even identical, to the painting recorded at the castle in Żółkiew, which was identified as a work by Carlo Maratti. At present, neither of these two paintings can be identified, but several are known whose compositions correspond to the descriptions in the inventories. Based on stylistic analysis, it can be assumed that two of these paintings, namely, those in the National Museum in Wrocław and the National Museum in Warsaw, were created not earlier than the second half of the seventeenth century and not later than the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of them, the painting from Wrocław, has been attributed to Jerzy Siemiginowski. The main foundation for this attribution was probably the inscription on its reverse, which was made at a later date; other factors may have been the painting's Lwów origin (and Siemiginowski's strong connection with this city is well attested to) and its style, which, in short, situates it in the circle of classicising, academic Italian art of the second

40 Gębarowicz, *Materiały źródłowe*, p. 187. I am grateful to Dr Marta Gołąbek for pointing this entry to me. The original text of the entry is as follows: 'Obraz dwu czw. na miedzi w czarn: ram: za szkłem z expr: Naysw: Panny siedzący nad Xięgą wspartej ręką głowę, przy której Pan Jezus stoi, Caroli Marati' (AGAD, Aleksander Czołowski Collection, sign. 394, *Regestr Obrazów znajdujących się na Zamku Żółkiewskim*, 1740, p. 165).

41 Gębarowicz, *Materiały źródłowe*, note on p. 195.

42 AGAD, The Radziwiłł Archive, section XXVI, sign. 946, 1778 Szczegółowy inwentarz skarbcza nieświeskiego [Detailed inventory of the Nieśwież treasury]. The text of the inventory was published by Marija Matuškaitė: M. Matuškaitė, 'Tapybos darbai Radvilų rinkiniuose', *Menotyra*, vol. 7, 1977, pp. 134–174.

43 *The Toledo Museum of Art. European Paintings*, ed. O. Wittmann (Toledo, 1976), p. 102.

half of the seventeenth century. Siemiginowski, educated in Rome, can undoubtedly be included in such a broadly defined artistic trend.

Nevertheless, the question of whether the painting from the National Museum in Wrocław is a work by Siemiginowski, or by Reisner, who was also educated in Rome,⁴⁴ or perhaps by one of the Italian or Italian-educated artists of the seventeenth century, possibly one associated with the circle of Carlo Maratti, remains open. Nor is there sufficient basis for the conclusion that the painting now in Wrocław is the one mentioned in the inventory of the Visitation convent or the Żółkiew castle, considering that those works are, in essence, recorded only in the first half of the eighteenth century and they could not be identified in later inventories of the convent property or in the aforementioned inventory of the Nieśwież castle, to which the Żółkiew painting was supposed to have been transferred. The history of the painting now in the National Museum in Wrocław as it is known today begins only in 1940.⁴⁵ These two hundred years of absence from the sources are far too long a period for any hypotheses to be formulated. The painting in the National Museum in Warsaw, in turn, seems to be of too poor an artistic quality to be associated with either of the two painters from the court of King John III or with an artist from the circle of Carlo Maratti.

44 As an aside, it should be noted that this is not the first time that a difficulty separating Siemiginowski's and Reisner's oeuvre has arisen. One example is the painting *The Vision of Saint Francis de Sales* in the main altar of the church of the Visitation Sisters in Cracow, attributed sometimes to one, sometimes to the other artist. Its association with Reisner was suggested by Jerzy Żmudziński (Żmudziński, 'Nowe wiadomości o obrazach malarza Jana Reisnera', pp. 81–82); subsequently, Mariusz Karpowicz stated that the work was 'most probably not by Reisner, but by Siemiginowski' (Karpowicz, *Polsko-włoskie związki*, p. 168). This attribution was upheld by Janina Dzik (J. Dzik, 'Obraz „Wizji św. Franciszka Salezego” w kościele wizytek w Krakowie. W kręgu recepcji rycin Carla Maratty', *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, vol. 59, 2014, pp. 318–319); Katarzyna Kolendo-Korczak, in turn, questioned this view, but without stating the reasons for her dissent (see K. Kolendo-Korczak, 'Siemiginowski Szymonowicz Jerzy (Georgio, Georgius) Eleuter', in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.)*, vol. 10, ed. U. Makowska [Warszawa, 2016], p. 472) and essentially without agreeing with the attribution of the painting to Reisner.

45 Trying to identify Zofia Tustanowska, who donated her collection to the Lubomirski Museum in Lwów (today: Lviv), is not a simple task. A Zofia Tustanowska is recorded in the city's address book for 1935/1936 (*Księga adresowa Małopolski. Lwów, Stanisławów, Tarnopol z informatorem Warszawy; woj. krakowski, pomorskiego, poznańskiego i śląskiego. Rocznik 1935/1936* [Kraków, 1936], p. 337). Perhaps she should be identified with Zofia Brandys, née Tustanowska, married to Jan Brandys. The known details of her biography, however, indicate that she and her husband were primarily associated with the region of Lesser Poland; both are buried in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska (A. Bogunia-Paczyński, 'Jan Brandys automobilier z Wielkich Dróg', *Małopolska. Regiony, Regionalizmy, Male Ojczyzny*, vol. 15, 2013, pp. 233–240). All in all, it proved possible to trace at least a few women with the name and surname Zofia Tustanowska who were alive in 1940. I would like to thank Dr Krystyna Tustanowska for her assistance in the search.

The issue is also worth looking at from a slightly different point of view: the specific objects referred to in the two inventories could not be identified, but the descriptions provided a sufficient basis for finding a number of extant contemporaneous objects to which the descriptions of the image in the paintings correspond and thus to distinguish a certain category of composition.⁴⁶ Conclusions concerning the work mentioned in the inventory are subsequently formed primarily on the basis of extant contemporaneous objects rather than the inventory description. It can therefore be concluded that we are now dealing with a present-day textualisation made on the basis of a visualisation based on a textualisation of real objects existing at the time (but impossible to indicate today). It is clear, then, that the current textualisation is different from those made in the first half of the eighteenth century – its aims (or the aims of the textualiser) are different and its author's conditions are different, e.g. related to his knowledge or to the psychology of perception.

Let us first consider the earlier textualisation, for here we are dealing with a situation that is significant for art history (especially the history of early modern art). If it is assumed that 'the language of inventories must be [...] regarded as pure referentiality',⁴⁷ i.e. the process of defining the essential features of an object in a way that allows it to be identified among other objects, it seems that the extended description in the inventory of the Visitation convent served to identify a specific, individual representation of the Virgin and Child among the many representations of the Virgin and Child kept in the convent as the one associated with Jan Reisner. This may indicate that, in the early eighteenth century, Reisner's donations and objects associated with him were particularly valuable to the Visitation Sisters and were meticulously recorded.

The record in the Żółkiew inventory: 'A 2-quarter painting, on copper, in black frame, behind glass, with a depiction of the Blessed Virgin [Mary] seated over a book, leaning her head on her hand, by whom the Lord Jesus stands, [by] Caroli Marati'⁴⁸ should be interpreted in the same way. The complex description of the composition (although less complex than in the case of the inventory from the convent of the Visitation Sisters) and the fact of stating the salient physical features of the object (its size: two quarters, that is about thirty centimetres; its material: copper, its setting: in a black frame and behind glass) certainly served to single out a specific work among other works showing the Virgin and Child. It is also not impossible that this is an indication of a certain difficulty in making a clear identification of the work's subject. Pointing to an

46 See D. L. Medin, M. Schaffer, 'Context Theory of Classification Learning', *Psychological Review*, vol. 85, 1978, pp. 207–238.

47 K. Morawski, 'Czy może istnieć świat rzeczy bez rzeczy? Problem badania inwentarzy dóbr w historii sztuki', *Artium Quaestiones*, vol. 29, 2018, p. 197.

48 M. Gębarowicz, *Materiały źródłowe*, p. 187.

eminent painter as its creator was certainly intended to highlight that this particular work was especially valuable, also (or perhaps: mainly) considering the person of its creator. Both in this inventory and in sources of this type in general, attributions of the author to the object under scrutiny were rarely made.⁴⁹ As a rule, the name of author would be given when he was known and considered famous. The question remains as to whether the attribution to Carlo Maratti can be trusted, even though it concerns an artist who died in 1713, i.e. relatively soon before the inventory was compiled. It is known that Maratti was an artist held in high esteem by King John III, who sought to bring him to Poland and later valued his opinion on the king's portraits painted by Siemiginowski and sent to Rome.⁵⁰ This suggests that the work recorded in the 1740 inventory arrived in Żółkiew still in the seventeenth century, on Sobieski's initiative. However, even if it is assumed that the compilers of the inventory indicated Maratti as the author of the painting (which they would have done on the basis of knowledge dating back to the time of John III rooted in the direct contacts of the royal court with the Roman master), the painting could just as well have been executed by one of the artists from his circle. Giovanni Pietro Bellori mentions that Maratti would sometimes make so many corrections on the works of his pupils that they were eventually able to sell them as having been executed by the master himself. In Maratti's own perception, the fundamental issue was who had been responsible for the intellectual conception of the work, not who had been holding the brush.⁵¹

What, in turn, might our textualisation be like, on the basis of the above works of art? It seems that the search for the origins of this composition should begin with the groundbreaking work of Raphael.⁵² Among his numerous representations of the Madonna, particularly interesting

49 For example, in other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories of the castle and baths in Żółkiew, held in the Aleksander Czołowski Collection at the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, such a precise description does not occur, although, for example, the 1728 inventory records a work in the bathroom of 'the first study' that could be identical with the one in the 1740 inventory: 'A picture not much larger [than the previous one, the size of which was described in the inventory as 'in octavo'] in black frame on a metal sheet, of the Blessed Virgin with the Lord Jesus' (AGAD, Aleksander Czołowski Collection, sign. 394, *Inwentarz Łazienki w Ogrodzie Włoskim i Galanterii w niej znajdujących się spisanych 4ta Decembris 1728 A[nno]*, p. 124).

50 M. Rzepińska, 'Polonica w „Niewydanych życiorysach” G. P. Belloriego', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 27, 1965, no. 4, pp. 334–335; *Polonia e Curia Romana. Corrispondenza del Lucchese Tommaso Talenti, segretario intimo del Re di Polonia con Carlo Barberini protettore del regno (1681–1693)*, ed. G. Platania (Viterbo, 2004), pp. 310, 324.

51 F. S. Croce, 'Hic est Raphael? Carlo Maratti and the Figure of the Artist in the Seventeenth Century', *Annales de Historia del Arte*, vol. 33, 2023, p. 65.

52 See E.-B. Krems, 'The Ambition of a Young Painter. Raphael's *Madonna and Child with Book* in the Context of His Early Work', in: *Raphael and the Madonna*, ed. S. Koja (Dresden, 2020), pp. 32–51.

are the *Madonna of the Goldfinch* (*Madonna del cardellino*, ca. 1505–1506, Uffizi, Inv. 11890, no. 1447) and (perhaps especially) the surviving drawings for it, held at the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (e.g. inv. nos WA1846.159, WA1846.160), as well as drawings produced in close association with the work of the Urbino master (e.g. inv. nos WA1846.267 or WA1999.56, also in the Ashmolean Museum); among the latter, particularly noteworthy is an extremely interesting work attributed to Timoteo Viti, believed to be a copy of a lost drawing by Raphael (Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth House, inv. no. 722).⁵³ These works present diverse variations of a composition combining a Madonna holding a book with the Child Jesus standing in front of her. Raphael's explorations could certainly have influenced Maratti's work, as he was generally greatly influenced by the Renaissance master, not only in terms of drawing inspiration from his compositions: he had the opportunity to work directly on Raphael's works (during the restoration of frescoes at the Vatican loggia and the Villa Farnesina) and even model his biography on that of his illustrious predecessor.⁵⁴ Moreover, from the mid-1640s onwards Maratti's oeuvre includes numerous Madonnas with facial features strongly inspired by Raphael's work; he produced them so frequently that he actually earned the sobriquet *Carluccio delle Madonne*.⁵⁵ Thus, although it has so far not been possible to locate the composition described in the Żółkiew inventory in Maratti's oeuvre, it is not impossible that it may indeed have been painted in his own studio or the studio of one of his many pupils. It is to be hoped that the *catalogue raisonné* of Maratti's works that is currently being prepared proves helpful in this respect.⁵⁶

Other possibilities should not be discarded, of course; representations of the Madonna and Child are one of the most common motifs in Christian art. The oeuvre of Guido Reni may be important in the context of this composition. It is possible that this is the source of the characteristic motif of the Madonna supporting her head, also frequent in the works of his pupil and collaborator Simone Cantarini (see, for example, an engraving *The Holy Family* attributed to him, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main, inv. no. 4021). Guido Reni is important here insofar as his works were a strong inspiration for Maratti, who was to seek 'heavenly sanctity and beauty' in them as much as in those by Raphael.⁵⁷ It is worth adding that Siemiginowski and Reisner had access to Reni's works from

53 albert.rct.uk/holy-familiesmadonna-and-child/a-study-for-a-virgin-and-child (accessed 3 April 2024).

54 Croce, 'Hic est Raphael?', pp. 61–73.

55 S. Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, 'Carlo Maratti 1640–1650: apertura sulla sua attività grafica giovanile', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, vol. 42, 2015/2016, p. 250.

56 Croce, 'Hic est Raphael?', note 2 on p. 62.

57 S. Ebert-Schifferer, 'Raffaello e le sue reincarnazioni', *Accademia Raffaello. Atti e Studi Ser. NS*, vol. 1, 2006, p. 11.

the Barberini collection in Rome. It can be assumed that the reference in Tommaso Talenti's letter to Cardinal Carlo Barberini that a copy of the painting *Saint Mary Magdalene* made by one of them gained the approval of King John III refers precisely to the original by Reni.⁵⁸

This overlapping of two textualisations, the inventory description and the conclusions now being formulated, engenders many questions and doubts. Let it be noted that the description in the inventory from the convent of the Visitation Sisters points primarily to the positioning, poses and gestures of the figures (sometimes interpreting them, e.g. saying that Mary propped herself up 'in meditation' and not, for example, out of fatigue or sleepiness; this is a transgression of that 'pure referentiality' of inventories) and to the attributes and background: Mary is sitting under a tree and holding a book to which Jesus is pointing. However, nothing is said about what the Child Jesus is holding in his hand or what is in the book. The description in the inventory of the Żółkiew castle is more modest, saying only that Mary is seated over a book, leaning her head on her hand, and that Jesus is standing beside her. It is therefore worth asking at least whether the fact that the inventory description from the Visitation convent does not mention that the Child Jesus is holding something in his hand or that there are some letters (text) in the book means that this information was not considered important by the inventory writer from the point of view of the need for referentiality (in other words, that the details of composition already given were considered sufficient to identify the work), or whether it was simply that the Child Jesus was not holding anything in his hand and there were no letters in the book. The reference of the description to the indicated category of objects is not at all conclusive here. For while in all the objects in this category the Child is holding something in his hand (presumably an apple, although it may be a pomegranate), the open book yields no less than four different variants of its content: the letters I and B, the letters L and B, a longer text or blank pages. So what exactly did the work donated by Jan Reisner to the Visitation Sisters of Warsaw look like?

The interpretation of this interesting composition could be the subject of separate and extensive deliberations. The very fact of the presence (or absence) of letters in the open book can turn our perception of the depicted scene in different directions. The letter L probably refers to the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew ('Liber generationis'), while the letter I would refer to the first words of the Gospel of Mark ('Initium Evangelii') or Gospel of John ('In principio'). The letter B, in turn, may refer to the Saviour's birthplace: 'Bethlehem'. This interpretation is all

58 M. Domin, 'Jerzy Szymonowicz (Siemiginowski) i Jan Reisner (Riesner) – stypendyści Jana III Sobieskiego w Rzymie', in: *Amicissima. Studia Magdalenae Piwocka oblata* (Kraków, 2010), p. 334. On Reni's painting in the Barberini collection, see: S. Pierguidi, *Guido Reni, i Barberini e i Corsini* (Milano, 2018), pp. 28–30.

the more legitimate because the naked Child, personifying the mystery of the Incarnation, would thus point to the text of the Gospel informing of the coming of the Messiah to free mankind from sins. Let it be that while usually the text in the book held by the Virgin is invisible or illegible, in Sandro Botticelli's painting held in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan (1480–1481, inv. no. 0443), for example, it is evident that this text is the Old Testament prophecy of Isaiah concerning the birth of the Saviour from the Virgin Mother.⁵⁹ The prophecy of Isaiah is, moreover, referred to by Mark the Evangelist in the second sentence of his Gospel; perhaps, then, the letter I would be a reference to the Old Testament book of Isaiah. The apple (or pomegranate) held by Jesus, as well as the figure of Mary lost in meditation – let it be recalled that in the inventory of the Visitation convent, too, the Virgin's gesture was thus interpreted – indicate a foreshadowing of the Saviour's future Passion.

Let us, however, return to the 1705 inventory in order to examine a slightly different case. On page 37 begins *Inwentarz wszystkich rzeczy do Kościoła y Zakrystey należących* [Inventory of all things belonging to the Church and Sacristy], where one of the entries reads: 'The great image of S[aint] Michael left by the late Mr Ryzner [Reisner] of blessed memory'.⁶⁰ The painting of St Michael was still present in the monastery or church at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century;⁶¹ later inventories no longer mentioned it explicitly, but often recorded 'large paintings: 2' without specifying what they represented.⁶² A true revelation, however, comes from information on a loose sheet of paper held in the convent's archives: 'I hereby confirm that the large oil painting depicting St Michael currently located above the altar in the church of the Heart of Jesus in Szmulowizna (Praga) is the property of the Congregation of the Virgins of the Visitation and will be returned to it at any request of the Reverend Mother Superior'. Below, there is the signature of Maria Radziwiłł and the date 23 November 1916, while on the reverse of the

59 Krems, 'The Ambition of a Young Painter', p. 45.

60 AKSWW, *Inwentarz z 1705 roku*, p. 37.

61 AKSWW, Ms., *Odpis wyjątków z protokołu wizyty kanonicznej – przez X. bp. Młodziejowskiego odbytej w r. 1779, dn. 19 X. Dostarczony nam przez W. P. Bohdziewicz profesora Kulu – z archiwum Zarządu Miejskiego m.st. Warszawy – gdzie znajdował się w zbiorach po historyku Kobylińskim – który dla celów naukowych odpisał go z oryginału znajdującego się w Archiwum Kurii Metropolitarnej Warszawskiej*, p. 5; AKSWW, Ms., *Odpowiedzi na zapytania P.P. Wizytom Klasztoru Warszawskiego w czasie Wizyty w miesiącu czerwcu 1825 roku uczynione*, no pagination; also information in: J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym* (Warszawa, 1855), p. 257 ('Ryzner the merchant was mindful of the interior adornment as well and donated two beautiful paintings showing the deposition from the cross and St Michael').

62 AKSWW, Ms., *Inwentarz ruchomości kościoła i klasztoru Sióstr Wizytek Warszawskich sporządzony ro: 1879*, fol. 122r. On the title page, a note in pencil: 'poprawiony 1887 r.' [corrected in 1887].



Fig. 7

Jan Reisner (attributed),
St Michael the Archangel,
 seventeenth/eighteenth
 century, basilica of the Sacred
 Heart of Jesus in Warsaw

sheet there is a note: ‘During Mother Maria Joanna Duchorowska’s term as Superior, in 1923, this painting was donated to the basilica of the Heart of Jesus – With the permission of His Excellency Cardinal Al[eksander] Kakowski – Archbishop of Warsaw’.⁶³

The basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus celebrated its consecration 1923, on the twentieth anniversary of the death of Maria’s husband, Michał Radziwiłł, and Maria had been its main founder. It is therefore not surprising that a painting with Archangel Michael, his patron saint, was chosen for the occasion. In 1916, Szmulowizna had a wooden chapel, and it is likely that the painting from the convent of the Visitation Sisters had been placed there before being moved to the new brick church.⁶⁴

63 AKSWW, Ms., Zaświadczenie o własności obrazu św. Michała Archanioła, 1916–1923.

64 J. Nowiński, ‘W kształcie bazyliki starochrześcijańskiej rzymskiej – Bazylika Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego, budowa, wystrój i wyposażenie’, in: *Stulecie parafii Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Warszawie-Pradze 1919–2019. Bazylika – Parafia – Działalność salezjanów*, ed. J. Pietrzykowski (Warszawa, 2020), pp. 35–90.

This painting currently hangs on the north wall of the presbytery. In 2013–2014, it underwent restoration works conducted by Maciej Stępiński and Julita Paluszkiewicz. The photographs and information made available to me by Maciej Stępiński indicate that the procedures involved removing the old varnish and cleaning the painting. The old repaintings were not removed, however, nor were conservation examinations carried out; it is thus difficult to say what were the original paint layers and what were the later (nineteenth-century?) alterations. The painting has undoubtedly suffered significant damage in the past, as indicated by a mended cut in the canvas and the fact that the entire right-hand side of the frame had to be redone during conservation. Information in the parish website reads: ‘From then [1923] until now, only once were they [i.e. the paintings *St Michael the Archangel* and *St Raphael the Archangel*] taken down and dusted in 1952, when, on the orders of Rector Alojzy Malewski, the passage from the presbytery to the small sacristy was being made, but at that time they did not undergo conservation because there was no time for that’.⁶⁵

The restorers dated the painting to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, but not having found a signature, they did not indicate its creator. It seems that this may have been Jan Reisner. The archival records do not, however, provide a definitive answer: the nuns may have donated some other painting of the Archangel Michael, not necessarily the one given to them by the artist; it is possible that there may have been more large works with this theme in the convent.

An analysis of the formal aspect of the work is helpful here. Its composition is reminiscent of Raphael’s painting dating from 1518 (Louvre, inv. no. 610, oil painting transferred from wood to canvas, from the collection of King Francis I), often repeated in graphic techniques, for instance by Gilles Rousselet (e.g. print of ca. 1670–1676, Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, no. inv. 769.44) or Nicolas de Larmessin II (e.g. engraving in *Recueil d’estampes d’après les plus beaux tableaux et d’après les plus beaux desseins qui sont en France*, i.e. the so-called *Recueil Crozat*, ca. 1729–1740, British Museum, no. inv. V.5.102), to give just examples of works made at the turn of the seventeenth century. Yet there is one fundamental difference between Raphael’s original and the work here attributed to Reisner: in the lower part of the painting, the figure of the anthropomorphic devil has been replaced by a serpent. Janusz Nowiński attempted to explain this change by suggesting that the painting was intended for a female cloistered order, and therefore the depiction of a male figure of the devil could cause unnecessary scandal among the nuns.⁶⁶ Behind this hypothesis, however, there is the tacit assumption

65 *Skarby Bazyliki Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego*, published 11 April 2014, www.bazylika.salezjanie.pl/aktualnosci/?mon=4&year=2014 (accessed 3 April 2024).

66 Nowiński, ‘W kształcie bazyliki starochrześcijańskiej’, p. 61.



Fig. 8

Gilles Rousselet after Raphael Santi, *St Michael Vainquishing a Demon*, ca. 1670–1676, Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil

that the painting was not so much donated as intentionally painted for the convent of the Visitation Sisters, which is by no means certain. Of course, it is also possible that this part of the composition was repainted by the artist at a later date, precisely because the work was to be donated to the convent, or that this repainting was done later (possibly for the reasons suggested by Nowiński).

It is worth noting that the household documents of the Węgrów estate belonging to Jan Bonawentura Krasieński record a 'new and old painting of St Michael over the fireplace in Master's room'⁶⁷ as present at his residence in Starawieś (Krasny Dwór). Perhaps this 'new painting' was by Reisner and after his death it (or a replica of it) was donated to the Visitation Sisters? It is interesting that in her letter, Jadwiga Rafałowiczówna lists only portraits among the paintings in the estate of the late Reisner;⁶⁸ it is not impossible that religious works, being a gift to the nuns, were no longer for sale and hence were not recorded by her.

In this case a stylistic analysis of the work, with all the caveats mentioned above, may bring us a little closer to resolving the question whether the basilica of the Sacred Heart truly holds a painting by Jan Reisner. Firstly, the characteristic physiognomic type is notable: large eyelids, slightly almond-shaped eyes, a certain melancholy in the gaze. The palette in *St Michael the Archangel* is also close to Reisner's, as evident from a comparison with the *Lamentation* in the church of the Visitation Sisters, although it must be clearly emphasised that the condition of the latter work is so poor that any pronouncements on its original palette are risky. It seems that Reisner's treatment of the landscape is also distinctive: concise and conventional, but not without painterly sensitivity, as in *The Sermon of St John the Baptist* or *Glorification of the Virtues of John III Sobieski* held by the National Museum in Warsaw (inv. no. MP 160; this painting can probably be counted into Reisner's oeuvre⁶⁹). The overall conciseness and economy of the composition (borrowed from Raphael; the choice of model is also significant here, considering the context of the above considerations), in which there are no background figures, no decorative elements, and the figure of the archangel dominates the canvas, also seems to correspond to the paintings known to be by Reisner, above all *Lamentation*, where the action takes place in a frame that is close to the viewer and the complex content is conveyed by the four essential figures; apart from them, there is a sketchily painted flight of steps, a simple cross and the sky, nothing else. The spare landscape, as well as the replacement of the humanoid devil with a serpent in the canvas in the basilica of the Sacred Heart (if, let it be stressed, this is indeed Reisner's idea and not the result of a later repainting) undoubtedly serve to emphasise the figure of the archangel Michael and make it more monumental. He thus dominates the composition, while in Raphael's work he is to some extent balanced by the naked, winged demon. Despite the margin of doubt – resulting, among others, from unavailability of precise data relating to the preservation of the original

67 ZNiO, Inwentarz włości węgrowskiej i sokołowskiej, p. 37.

68 Rafałowiczówna, *A z Warszawy nowiny te*, p. 51.

69 See Pyzel, *W cieniu Siemiginowskiego*, pp. 104–105.

painting substance – it can be concluded that the Praga district of Warsaw most likely contains a painting by Jan Reisner that has not hitherto been associated with his oeuvre. Accepting this thesis significantly increases the probability that also the picture of the Virgin and Child mentioned in the same inventory was painted by him, as both works were described in the same way, as ‘left by the late Ryzner’.

Another clue in the search for Jan Reisner’s paintings is provided by the book of ‘aggregated persons’, i.e. those recognised as special benefactors, which is held at the Visitation convent in Warsaw.⁷⁰ This document was created in 1952 and is the third such index, the two previous ones having been lost or destroyed, respectively, one during the partitions of Poland, the other at the end of 1944. Archival documents kept at the convent were used to reconstruct the information on persons aggregated in previous centuries. Jan Reisner features prominently in this index, with mention of the paintings he donated to the Visitation Sisters: ‘His gift is a beautiful painting in the church, the *Descent from the Cross* in the presbytery, and two large paintings in the convent: the *Lord Jesus Hoisted to the Cross* and the *Entombment*’.⁷¹ The present tense form (‘is’) clearly suggests that in 1952 the paintings in question were in the church and the convent. Today, two large canvases are easily identified on the walls of the convent’s corridors: *The Raising of the Cross* (approx. 298 × 245 cm) and the *Entombment* (approx. 302 × 228 cm). Both are in a poor condition, with numerous losses of the paint layer, which makes their analysis considerably more difficult. In both cases, however, the artistic model on which they were based cannot be doubted. *The Raising of the Cross* essentially repeats Gerard Seghers’s work in the main altar of the church of St Charles Borromeo in Antwerp, while the *Entombment* is based on a painting by Camillo Procaccini, currently in the church of St Dionysius in Hiltensweiler.

On the basis of paintings known to be by Reisner and the above findings, his authorship with regard to the first work can be ruled out. This conclusion is dictated by the dynamic composition involving several personages, the facial features of the personages, and the stylistics close to the works of Peter Paul Rubens, who certainly exerted influence on Seghers. However, such unequivocal conclusions cannot be drawn in the case of the *Entombment*. The monumental character of the composition, its static quality, as well as certain formal features of the painting (e.g. the ‘statuesque’ figures with suppressed expression and characteristic almond-shaped, ‘heavy’ eyelids), permit us to at least hypothetically assume Reisner’s authorship. If this were indeed the case, the choice of model seems surprising. After all, in the seventeenth century

70 AKSWW, Ms., *Spis osób agregowanych*, 1952, no pagination.

71 Ibid.



Fig. 9

Anonymous after Camillo Procaccini (Jan Reisner?), *Entombment*, second half of the seventeenth century – early eighteenth century, Convent of the Visitation Sisters in Warsaw

the *Entombment* by Camillo Procaccini – an artist born in Bologna but active primarily in Milan at the turn of the sixteenth century, working in a style that could be described as Mannerist – was located in the Pauline church in Langnau (towards the end of the eighteenth century it was moved to the parish church in Hiltensweiler and it is still there today).⁷² The original work therefore remained outside the artistic centres of the era, and it can be assumed that familiarity was limited to the local circle,

⁷² E. L. Kuhn, S. Neyer, 'Ein großer Schatz der Kirche. Das Gemälde eines Mailänder Malers in der Dorfkirche von Hiltensweiler', *Ulm und Oberschwaben: Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur*, vol. 61, 2019, p. 226.



Fig. 10

Camillo Procaccini,
Entombment, sixteenth/
seventeenth century, church of
St Dionysius in Hiltensweiler

as indicated by, for example, its repetition in the epitaph of Valentin Heider (d. 1664) in the Protestant church of St Stephen in Lindau.⁷³ There are no known or recorded authorial or studio reproductions of this work, nor does it appear to have been reproduced in prints.⁷⁴ It is doubtful whether Reisner ever visited Langnau or Lindau, although it is possible that during his return journey to the Commonwealth, undertaken in the company of Jerzy Szymonowicz (Siemiginowski) after several

⁷³ Ibid., p. 225, Fig. 7.

⁷⁴ Kuhn and Neyer mention no such prints (ibid., pp. 212–227). A painting entitled *Entombment* is not mentioned anywhere by, for instance, a student of the Procaccini brothers' oeuvre, Angelo Lo Conte, cf. id., *The Procaccini and the Business of Painting in Early Modern Milan* (New York and London, 2021). The sole work it proved possible to find is a drawing attributed to Camillo Procaccini, now in the Prado, which can be considered a variant (preparatory study?) of the composition in question (inv. no. D001627; see www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/entombment-of-christ/4bd5a5d1-7cc2-45c5-9415-413104359de5?searchid=5155eb59-bd75-1232-d8de-812a792c6767 (accessed 26 April 2024).

years of artistic education in Rome, he visited Milan,⁷⁵ where the painting studio of the brothers Camillo, Carlo Antonio and Giulio Cesare Procaccini had operated at the turn of the sixteenth century. It is, however, difficult to show how Reisner could have become acquainted with the *Entombment* by Camillo. In view of the original being, as it seems, little known and its printed reproductions nonexistent (?), the circumstances under which a repetition of this work appeared in the Warsaw convent of the Visitation Sisters remain a mystery, regardless of whether Reisner's authorship of it is accepted or not. The clarification of this matter would require deeper research, related to the activity of the Procaccini studio, the dissemination of prints created on the basis of Camillo's paintings, and the contacts of the convent of the Visitation Sisters with artists or patrons who may have had access to the original or some replica, copy or reproduction of it.

The painting located in the convent of the Visitation Sisters has an almost identical composition to Procaccini's one, with a noticeable crowding of the figures in the scene or the contrast between the classical pose of Mary Magdalene and the *figura serpentinata* provided by the body of the dead Christ. It also has a colour palette close to the model, although the Mannerist brightness and luminosity of hue have been replaced by subdued colours typical of painting in the second half of the seventeenth century. The compositional differences concern mainly the figure of Mary Magdalene. In Procaccini's painting, her pose and facial expression indicate her agitation and involvement in the events she is witnessing, while in the work in the convent of the Visitation Sisters she is a statuesque figure whose emotions remain obscure.⁷⁶ For these reasons, the Warsaw painting can be considered closely related to Reisner's oeuvre.

It is very unlikely that the 1952 inventory mentioned other large paintings that would be absent from the convent today. Among the works of art – the 'great paintings' – held by the Visitation Sisters, the inventory of 1890 mentions 'the painting of the Raising of Lord Jesus on the Cross' located in the corridor from the chancel anteroom to the garden, and 'the Deposition of Lord Jesus into the Tomb' in the corridor from the congregation chamber to the refectory.⁷⁷ These are probably the same paintings that can be seen in the convent today. However, the inventories from the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century cited in this text fail to mention such canvases. Particularly significant seems to be the absence

75 Domin, 'Jerzy Szymonowicz (Siemiginowski) i Jan Reisner (Riesner)', p. 334.

76 The application to carry out conservation works on this painting gained funding from the state budgetary funds at the disposal of the Provincial Conservator of Monuments for Mazovia in 2024 (bip.mwzk.pl/dokument/43, accessed 26 April 2024). Perhaps these works will help to clarify at least some of the issues discussed in this text.

77 AKSWW, Ms., *Inwentarz ruchomości kościoła i klasztoru Sióstr Wizytek Warszawskich sporządzony roku 1879, Poprawiony roku 1887, Pisany roku 1890*, fols 101r.–102r.

of any record of them in the inventory of 1705, which lists many of Reisner's gifts to the convent; apart from the paintings, these included a chalice, two chasubles (complete with stoles, maniples and chalice linens: palls, burses and veils), four tin candlesticks and two carpets.⁷⁸

The entry in the book of aggregated persons therefore raises some doubts.

If we assume that *The Raising of the Cross* found in the convent today was in 1952 erroneously named Reisner's work, there is no certainty that a similar mistake was not made with reference to the *Entombment*. Let it be recalled that the previous inventory had been lost towards the end of 1944, during or after the Warsaw Uprising, during the nuns' forced evacuation from the convent. The document written down eight years later was thus primarily intended to reconstruct the collective memory of the convent's benefactors and their merits, based on surviving archival documents or objects still extant in the church and the convent. Documents from the convent's archive clearly indicated that Reisner had donated 'several large and beautiful paintings' to it. It is therefore possible that the two large paintings, undoubtedly created in the seventeenth or at most the early eighteenth century, which had survived the war and were hanging on the walls of the convent's corridors since at least the end of the nineteenth century (and thus, in the 'personal' memory of the mid-twentieth-century nuns, 'since time immemorial') were recognised as gifts of Jan Reisner and, in the newly written list of merits of the aggregated persons, joined the *Lamentation* hanging in the chancel.

The decision regarding the inclusion – or non-inclusion – of the *Entombment* into Jan Reisner's oeuvre may push further conclusions about his oeuvre in different directions. If it is considered to be by Reisner, it will be proper to emphasise that his works are difficult to categorise. Despite the noticeable similarities between the 'great paintings' under discussion, his wide range of inspiration is evident – from the classical work of Raphael, through the Mannerism of Camillo Procaccini, to his contemporaries (*The Sermon of St John the Baptist* is clearly based on a work by Luigi Garzi). This would mean that Reisner can be seen as an eclectic who sought inspiration in different eras, artistic environments or trends, but ultimately, regardless of the expression of the model, gave his works his own distinctive air.

Secondly, if the proposed attributions are consistently accepted, it must also be noted that Reisner's earlier works, *The Sermon of St John the Baptist* (1689) and *Lamentation* (before 1698), testify to a greater creative independence (an obvious model for the latter has still not been discovered, which allows for the possibility that it is based on Reisner's original idea). *St Michael the Archangel* and *Entombment*, in turn, probably bequeathed to the Visitation convent and thus probably created

⁷⁸ AKSWW, Ms., *Inwentarz z 1705 roku*, pp. 39, 58, 60, 63, 64.

closer to the year of the artist's death (1713), are essentially faithful reproductions of specific works. This observation allows the hypothesis to be formulated that, over the years, Reisner's emphasis on original compositions, instilled during his education at the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome, became less and less evident in his work, and that copying of other artists' models (with minor modifications) became more frequent. In view of this, is it possible to find an analogy here with the work of Szymon Czechowicz – active several decades later – who, despite his education in the circle of the academic painting of Rome, during his stay in the Commonwealth often faithfully copied well-known works, not trying to find original solutions?⁷⁹ It may even be worthwhile to consider this case a basis for posing questions about the position of painting, and the needs of its patrons, in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania in the eighteenth century.⁸⁰

The above considerations amply reveal the challenges all too frequently posed by research on early modern art. In view of the fragmentarily preserved source materials, the dispersion of the collections and the numerous losses (mainly wartime ones) in the historic substance, a researcher is forced to formulate conjectures and hypotheses, denoted, also in this article, by such phrases as 'it seems', 'it is most likely' or 'it is not impossible'. It is therefore extremely important to carefully examine the methods applied in the research and the basis for the conclusions drawn in the process. This kind of reflection may not only prevent us from hastily adopting hypotheses which intuitively seem to be correct, but may also broaden our knowledge of the various contexts of artistic production in the early modern era and its contemporaneous interpretation, which should be taken into account when reconstructing the oeuvre of artists of that time.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival materials / manuscripts:

Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Aleksander Czołowski Collection, sign. 394, *Inwentarz Łazienki w Ogrodzie Włoskim i Galanterii w niej znajdujących się spisanych 4ta Decembris 1728 A[nno]*, pp. 114–124.

Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Aleksander Czołowski Collection, sign. 394, *Regestr Obrazów znajdujących się na Zamku Żółkiewskim*, 1740, pp. 155–166.

Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł Archive, section XXVI, sign. 946, 1778 Szczegółowy inwentarz skarbcza nieświeskiego.

National Historic Archive of Belarus, Ms., fond 694, op. 1, no. 58, Spis obrazów w Zamku Warszawskim, 4 lipca 1691, fol. 96r.

79 Z. Michalczyk, *W lustrzanym odbiciu*, pp. 224–245 (chapter *Przypadek trzeci: Szymon Czechowicz, rzymski akademik na peryferiach*).

80 Ibid., pp. 135–136.

- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Inwentarz ruchomości kościoła i klasztoru Sióstr Wizek Warszawskich sporządzony ro. 1879*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Inwentarz ruchomości kościoła i klasztoru Sióstr Wizek Warszawskich sporządzony roku 1879, Poprawiony roku 1887, Pisany roku 1890*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Inwentarz z 1705 roku z późniejszymi uzupełnieniami*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Księga rachunków miesięcznych za lata 1654–1695*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Livre du convent de ce monastere de La visitation, Ste Marie de Warsawie estably le 9 Aoust 1654*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Odpis wyjątków z protokołu wizyty kanonicznej – przez X. bp. Młodziejewskiego odbytej w r. 1779, dn. 19 X. Dostarczony nam przez W. P. Bohdziewicz profesora Kulu – z archiwum Zarządu Miejskiego m.st. Warszawy – gdzie znajdował się w zbiorach po historyku Kobylińskim – który dla celów naukowych odpisał go z oryginału znajdującego się w Archiwum Kurii Metropolitarnej Warszawskiej*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Odpowiedzi na zapytania P.P. Wizekom Klasztoru Warszawskiego w czasie Wizyty w miesiącu czerwcu 1825 roku uczynione*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Rachunki roczne 1654–1714*.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Regestr rzeczy do Choru i Ołtarza iego należących*, undated.
- Order of the Visitation Convent Archive in Warsaw, Ms., *Zaświadczenie o własności obrazu św. Michała Archaniola, 1916–1923*.
- Ossoliński National Institute, Ms., sign. 6247/II, *Inwentarz włości węgrowskiej i sokołowskiej (w ziemi drohickiej leżącej) weryfikowany przez Jana Bonawenturę Krasińskiego, wojewodę płockiego, 1701–1720*.

Studies:

- Bartoszewicz J., *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym* (Warszawa, 1855).
- Bogunia-Paczyński A., 'Jan Brandys automobil z Wielkich Dróg', *Małopolska. Regiony, Regionalizmy, Małe Ojczyzny*, vol. 15, 2013, pp. 233–240.
- Cellini M., 'Lucio Massari', in: *La scuola dei Carracci. I seguaci di Annibale e Agostino*, eds E. Negro, M. Pirondini (Modena, 1995), pp. 217–250.
- Croce F. S., 'Hic est Raphael? Carlo Maratti and the Figure of the Artist in the Seventeenth Century', *Annales de Historia del Arte*, vol. 33, 2023, pp. 61–73.
- Długajczyk B., Machnik L., *Muzeum Lubomirskich 1823–1940. Zbiór malarstwa* (Wrocław, 2019).
- Domin M., 'Jerzy Szymonowicz (Siemiginowski) i Jan Reisner (Riesner) – stypendyści Jana III Sobieskiego w Rzymie', in: *Amicissima. Studia Magdalenae Piwocka oblata* (Kraków, 2010), pp. 331–336.

- Dzik J., 'Obraz „Wizji św. Franciszka Salezego” w kościele wizytek w Krakowie. W kręgu recepcji rycin Carla Maratty', *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, vol. 59, 2014, pp. 313–322.
- Ebert-Schifferer S., 'Raffaello e le sue reincarnazioni', *Accademia Raffaello. Atti e Studi Ser. NS*, vol. 1, 2006, pp. 5–30.
- Gębarowicz M., *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki XVI–XVIII w.* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1973).
- Houszka E., Łukaszewicz P., *Malarstwo polskie od baroku do modernizmu. Katalog zbiorów* (Wrocław, 2013).
- Kałamajska-Saeed M., 'Ołtarz główny w Szczuczynie', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 39, 1977, no. 2, pp. 192–204.
- Karpowicz M., 'Jan Reisner – zapomniany malarz i architekt', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 21, 1959, no. 1, pp. 70–83.
- Karpowicz M., 'O Janie Reisnerze po raz wtóry', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 36, 1974, no. 3, pp. 253–268.
- Karpowicz M., *Polsko-włoskie związki artystyczne* (Warszawa, 2012).
- Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce, Województwo podlaskie*, part. 4: Powiat bielski, eds Z. Michalczyk, D. Piramidowicz, K. Uchowicz, M. Zgliński, Seria Nowa series, vol. 12 (Warszawa, 2019).
- Kolendo-Korczak K., 'Siemiginowski Szymonowicz Jerzy (Georgio, Georgius Eleuter)', in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.)*, vol. 10, ed. U. Makowska (Warszawa, 2016), pp. 466–475.
- Kowalik H., 'Złoty gang marszandów', *Wprost*, published 29 March 2015, amended 26 Aug. 2015, reportaze-sadowe.wprost.pl/500524/zloty-gang-marszandow.html (accessed 29 Jan. 2024).
- Krems E.-B., 'The Ambition of a Young Painter. Raphael's *Madonna and Child with Book* in the Context of His Early Work', in: *Raphael and the Madonna*, ed. S. Koja (Dresden, 2020), pp. 32–51.
- Księga adresowa Małopolski. Lwów, Stanisławów, Tarnopol z informatorem Warszawy, woj. krakowsk., łódzkiego, pomorskiego, poznańskiego i śląskiego. Rocznik 1935/1936* (Kraków, 1936).
- Kuhn E. L., Neyer S., 'Ein großer Schatz der Kirche. Das Gemälde eines Mailänder Malers in der Dorfkirche von Hiltensweiler', *Ulm und Oberschwaben: Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur*, vol. 61, 2019, pp. 212–227.
- Lo Conte A., *The Procaccini and the Business of Painting in Early Modern Milan* (New York and London, 2021).
- Matušakaitė M., 'Tapybos darbai Radvilų rinkiniuose', *Menotyra*, vol. 7, 1977, pp. 134–174.
- Medin D. L., Schaffer M., 'Context Theory of Classification Learning', *Psychological Review*, vol. 85, 1978, pp. 207–238.
- Michalczyk Z., 'Domniemane modello Augustyna Mirysa do obrazu *Podniesienie krzyża* w kościele w Bielsku Podlaskim', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 80, 2018, no. 1, pp. 5–22.
- Michalczyk Z., *W lustrzanym odbiciu. Grafika europejska a malarstwo Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem późnego baroku* (Warszawa, 2016).

- Modzelewska E., Pyzel K., 'Jan Reisner i jego *Kazanie Jana Chrzciciela* z kościoła wizytek w Krakowie', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 25, 2018, pp. 177–201.
- Morawski K., 'Czy może istnieć świat rzeczy bez rzeczy? Problem badania inwentarzy dóbr w historii sztuki', *Artium Quaestiones*, vol. 29, 2018, pp. 187–208.
- Nowiński J., 'W kształcie bazyliki starochrześcijańskiej rzymskiej – Bazylika Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego, budowa, wystrój i wyposażenie', in: *Stulecie parafii Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego w Warszawie-Pradze 1919–2019. Bazylika – Parafia – Działalność salezjanów*, ed. J. Pietrzykowski (Warszawa, 2020), pp. 35–90.
- Pierguidi S., *Guido Reni, i Barberini e i Corsini* (Milano, 2018).
- Polonia e Curia Romana. Corrispondenza del lucchese Tommaso Talenti, segretario intimo del Re di Polonia con Carlo Barberini protettore del regno (1681–1693)*, ed. G. Platania (Viterbo, 2004).
- Popiołek B., *Rytuały codzienności. Świat szlacheckiego dworu w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej* (Warszawa, 2022).
- Prosperi Valenti Rodinò S., 'Carlo Maratti 1640–1650: apertura sulla sua attività grafica giovanile', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, vol. 42, 2015/2016, pp. 244–276.
- Pyzel K., 'Dzieje obrazu *Oplakiwanie* z kościoła wizytek w Warszawie' / 'The history of the painting *Lamentation* from the church of the Visitation Order in Warsaw', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 28, 2021, pp. 165–204.
- Pyzel K., 'W cieniu Siemiginowskiego – Jan Reisner i źródła jego twórczości', in: *Jan III Sobieski. Historia. Dziedzictwo. Pamięć*, eds B. Dybaś, A. Ziemlewska (Warszawa, 2021), pp. 85–112.
- Rafałowiczówna J., *A z Warszawy nowiny te... Listy do Elżbiety Sieniawskiej z lat 1710–1720*, ed. and intr. B. Popiołek (Kraków, 2000).
- Rzepińska M., 'Polonica w „Niewydanych życiorysach” G. P. Belloriego', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 27, 1965, no. 4, pp. 333–336.
- Skarby Bazyliki Najświętszego Serca Jezusowego*, published: 11 April 2014, www.bazylika.salezjanie.pl/aktualnosci/?mon=4&year=2014 (accessed 29 Jan. 2024).
- Sobczyńska-Szczepańska M., Pyzel K., 'Jerzy Szymonowicz i Jan Reisner w Rzymie – obalenie mitów', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 85, 2023, no. 1, pp. 69–93.
- Sosna G., Fionik D., *Pasynki i okolice* (Bielsk Podlaski–Ryboły–Białystok, 2001).
- Steinborn B., *Malarz Daniel Schultz: gdańszczanin w służbie królów polskich* (Warszawa, 2004).
- The Toledo Museum of Art. European Paintings*, ed. O. Wittmann (Toledo, 1976).
- Zaucha T., 'Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski Szymonowicz (ok. 1660 – ok. 1711). Matka Boska z Dzieciątkiem', in: *Geniusz baroku. Szymon Czechowicz 1689–1775*, eds A. Betlej, T. Zaucha (Kraków, 2020), pp. 248–249.
- 'Z procesu Witolda Mętlewicz', *Dziennik Polski*, 13 May 1976, p. 2.

Żmudziński J., 'Nowe wiadomości o obrazach malarza Jana Reisnera', in: *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy XVII–XXI w.*, eds Z. Michalczyk, A. Pieńkos, M. Wardzyński (Warszawa, 2010), pp. 75–85.

Żmudziński J., 'Portret biskupa warmińskiego Jana Stanisława Zbąskiego w klasztorze Franciszkanów w Krakowie – nieznanie dzieło Jerzego Eleutera Siemiginowskiego', in: *Sztuka w kręgu krakowskich franciszkanów i klarysek*, eds M. Szyma, M. Walczak (Kraków, 2020), pp. 451–464.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- p. 280 Anonymous (Jan Reisner?), *Portrait of Jan Reisner*, before 1713, oil on sheet metal, 46 × 37 cm, church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Węgrów, photo by Wojciech Holnicki, Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, 2018
- p. 281 Jan Reisner, *The Sermon of St John the Baptist*, 1689, oil on canvas, 229 × 136.5 cm, Camaldolese church in Cracow, photo by Wojciech Holnicki, Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, 2017
- p. 283 Jan Reisner, *Lamentation*, before 1698, oil on canvas, 254 × 163.5 cm, Visitation Sisters church in Warsaw, property of the Convent of the Visitation Sisters in Warsaw, photo by Wojciech Holnicki, Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów, 2018
- p. 285 Anonymous, *Madonna with the Child Jesus*, second half of the seventeenth century, oil on copper sheet, 28.6 × 22.5 cm, National Museum in Wrocław, inv. no. MNWr VIII-126, photo by Arkadiusz Podstawka, 2008
- p. 287 Anonymous, *Madonna with the Child Jesus*, late seventeenth century (?), oil on sheet metal, 31.5 × 21 cm, National Museum in Warsaw, inv. no. MP 5558 MNW, photo by Krzysztof Wilczyński, 2012
- p. 288 Augustyn Mirys (attributed), *Madonna with the Child Jesus*, mid-eighteenth century, oil on canvas, Orthodox church of the Nativity of St John the Baptist in Pasynki, photo by Piotr Jamski, 2017
- p. 297 Jan Reisner (attributed), *St Michael the Archangel*, seventeenth/eighteenth century, oil on canvas, basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Warsaw, photo by Wojciech Holnicki, 2019
- p. 299 Gilles Rousselet after Raphael Santi, *St Michael Vanquishing a Demon*, ca. 1670–1676, print: 42.9 × 25 cm, sheet: 46.5 × 25.5 cm, Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil, inv. no. 769.44, photo: objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_iconografia/icon1314452/icon1314452.html
- p. 302 Anonymous after Camillo Procaccini (Jan Reisner?), *Entombment*, second half of the seventeenth century – early eighteenth century, ca. 302 × 228 cm, oil on canvas, Convent of the Visitation Sisters in Warsaw, photo by Piotr Jamski, 2023
- p. 303 Camillo Procaccini, *Entombment*, sixteenth/seventeenth century, church of St Dionysius in Hiltensweiler, photo by Rolf Hausser, 2009, Wikimedia Commons

A graduate of the History of Art and Sociology departments at the University of Warsaw, from 2008 to 2021 an employee of the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów; currently an employee of the Polish History Museum in Warsaw. He has been the curator for temporary exhibitions and co-curator of the exhibitions devoted to King John III: *Primus Inter Pares*, 2013, Wilanów Palace; *Jan III Sobieski. Polski król w Wiedniu*, 2017, Das Winterpalais-Belvedere Museum in Vienna. His research interests focus on the art at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, chiefly the oeuvres of painters associated with the court of King John III.

Contact: konrad.pyzel@muzhp.pl

The study was carried out within the framework of the author's individual work.

