

The collection of the National Museum in Kielce includes a pair of silk arcade wall-hangings, the origin of which should be linked with silk workshops in the Ottoman Empire. Once connected to each other, they were separated during conservation in 1984 so that each is now a separate entity.¹ The fabrics, 310 cm long and with bands 64 cm wide, were made with silk yarn and threads made of fine metal wire wrapped around a fibre core, in satin weave (the background) as well as twill and canvas weave (the pattern) with the use of pattern and brocaded weft techniques.

The main field of these two identical wall-hangings contains the motif of a mihrab supported by slender, twisted columns with floral capitals and bases. In the arcade, at the top there is a mosque lamp framed in a floral scroll with magnificent flowers in the meanders, while below there are alternating two eight-pointed stars each (the so-called Seals of Solomon) and two vases with elaborate bouquets of stylised flowers; at the bottom there are cypresses and tulips on long stems. The space on both sides of the columns and between the main motifs is tightly filled with dense floral arabesques. The composition is closed from above and below by a border of three bands, the widest of which – the central one – is decorated with bouquets of small stylised flowers (tulips?). At the top, in addition, a strip of tulips and cypresses was placed on short branches connected at the bottom, while at the bottom there are four vases with a carnation flower and tulips on both sides. The background of the fabric is raspberry red while the ornaments are woven with silk yarn in a sandy yellow shade, with accents of white, olive green, purple and dark brown and wire-wrapped thread.

These fabrics came to the National Museum in Kielce in 1971 as a deposit from the National Museum in Warsaw and were transferred to the former institution's permanent possession in 1979.² Previously, before 1945, they had been in the collection of the Potocki family.³ We know how the Potocki collection wended its way to the National Museum in

EASTERN ARCADE WALL-HANGINGS FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM IN KIELCE

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1 Conservation was carried out by Helena Dubiczyńska and Elżbieta Załuska-Dąbrowska, National Museum in Kielce Archive (hereinafter: AMNKi), documentation, p. 1 (mps).

2 The National Museum in Warsaw donated to MNKi two of the five identical wall-hangings from the Potocki collection. The other three, dated to the eighteenth century, with inventory numbers MNW SZT 1964 – MNW SZT 1966, are still part of the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. I would like to thank Ms Ewa Mianowska-Orlińska and Ms Monika Janisz from the Department of Decorative Art of the of the National Museum in Warsaw for providing me with access to the fabrics and the study sheets during my query.

3 A. Kwaśnik-Gliwińska, *Tkaniny. Katalog zbiorów, Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach* (Kielce, 1991), pp. 116–118, cat. no. 41–42; *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki zbiorów Potockich*,

Warsaw,⁴ but the earlier fortunes of the wall-hangings (Figs 1–2) are largely ignored.⁵

These fabrics were first described by Anna Kwaśnik-Gliwińska, who dated them to the eighteenth century and attributed them to Turkish workshops.⁶ In her catalogue of fabrics from the collection of the National Museum in Kielce, she also cited two analogous fabrics. The first is a wall-hanging from the collection of the National Museum in Cracow, reproduced in the 1934 catalogue;⁷ the other is in the collection of the National Museum in Wrocław.⁸ The fabric from Cracow (inv. no. MNK-XIX-5188), measuring 254 × 66 cm, was described in the catalogue as Persian and dated to the turn of the sixteenth century. Later, Maria Rychlewska changed its dating to the eighteenth century and described it as Turkish.⁹ This dating was changed to the seventeenth century by Beata Biedrońska-Słota.¹⁰ The fabric from Wrocław, probably trimmed on the sides, measuring 293 × 33 cm, has been dated to as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. A number of publications following the printed edition of the catalogue of the Kielce textile collection,¹¹ as well as the

zabezpieczonych przez władze bezpieczeństwa przed wywozem za granicę, November–December 1946 (Warszawa, 1946), p. 24.

- 4 *Pokaz obrazów i dzieł sztuki zbiorów Potockich*, passim; *Krótką historią kolekcji Potockich z Krzeszowic*, www.mnw.art.pl/download/gfx/muzeumnarodowe/pl/defaultak-tualnosci/111/38/1/krotka_historia_kolekcji_potockich_z_krzeszowic.pdf (accessed 15 June 2024).
- 5 It is not known how and when the fabrics found their way into the Potocki collection.
- 6 Kwaśnik-Gliwińska, *Tkaniny*, pp. 116–118, cat. no. 41–42; ead., ‘Tkaniny wschodnie ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Kielcach’, in: *Tkaniny orientalne w Polsce – gust czy tradycja*, ed. B. Biedrońska-Słota (Warszawa, 2011), pp. 67–68.
- 7 *Katalog wystawy kobierców mahometańskich, ceramiki azjatyckiej i europejskiej* (Kraków, 1934), p. 23, cat. no. 50.
- 8 *Tkanina turecka XVI–XIX w. ze zbiorów polskich*, exhibition catalogue (Warszawa, 1983), p. 40, cat. no. 54, Fig. 53.
- 9 Information on the wall-hanging obtained courtesy of Ms Joanna Regina Kowalska, curator of the textile collection at the National Museum in Cracow. Scientific card edited by Maria Rychlewska, 1968.
- 10 B. Biedrońska-Słota, *Distant Neighbour Close Memories – 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, ed. A. Anadol (Istanbul, 2014), cat. no. 36, p. 142. The researcher mentions the fabric from the MNK collection as analogous to the wall-hanging from the Czartoryski collection, to which the catalogue note is dedicated.
- 11 E.g. *Kobierce i tkaniny wschodnie z kolekcji Kulczyckich*, exhibition catalogue, ed. M. Piwocka (Kraków, 2006); *Jan III Sobieski. Polski król w Wiedniu*, exhibition catalogue, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Wien, Winterpalais, 7 July–1 November 2017, publ. P. Jaskanis, S. Rolling, eds M. Hohn, K. Pyzel (München, 2017); *Skarby Orientu w zbiorach Zamku Królewskiego na Wawelu*, ed. J. Ziętkiewicz-Kotz (Kraków, 2020); J. Żmudziński, *Wota Sobieskich. Makata typu arkadowego z klasztoru benedyktynek w Krzeszowie*, www.wilanow-palac.pl/wota_sobieskich_makata_typu_arkadowego_z_klasztoru_benedyktynek_w_krzeszowie.html (accessed 8 Feb. 2023); id., *Wota Sobieskich. Makata (I) z klasztoru paulinów na Jasnej Górze*, www.wilanow-palac.pl/wota_sobieskich_makata_i_z_klasztoru_paulinow_na_jasnej_gorze.html (accessed 8 Feb. 2023).



Fig. 1-2

Arcade wall-hangings, Ottoman Empire, Chios, third tierce of the seventeenth – early eighteenth century, National Museum in Kielce

ever-increasing amount of information in the Worldwide Web,¹² make it possible to find many more parallels. A similar arcade wall-hanging from the Kulczycki Collection is held in the collection of the Wawel Royal Castle (inv. no. 4970); it is described in the 2006 catalogue as Turkish and dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.¹³ Its width – 65 cm – is similar to that of the Kielce fabric, but the upper part with the arcade is missing (only a small fragment of the overhanging mosque lamp is still visible), which is why the fabric is now only 175 cm long.

Another wall-hanging from the Wawel collection (inv. no. 4742) was once the property of Franciszek Ksawery Pusłowski. It is made up of as many as ten bands of fabric analogous to those of Kielce, sewn together to form a single unit measuring 294 by 571 cm. The fabric is attributed to a workshop on Chios and dated to the first half of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ A wall-hanging very similar to it, dated to the first half of the seventeenth century and described as Turkish, is held in the Pauline monastery at Jasna Góra.¹⁵ In discussing the wall-hanging from Wawel analogous to the one from Jasna Góra, Magdalena Piwocka cites two more related artefacts, held in the parish church at Kräklinge in Sweden.¹⁶ These are an antependium and a chasuble made of fabrics analogous to those presented here.¹⁷ They are also discussed by Zygmunt Łakociński, in whose opinion the paraments were bequeathed to the church by Maria Elisabet Falkenberg of Bålby (1690–1742) in 1743. Łakociński links both artefacts to the donor's brother, Colonel Melker F. Falkenberg (1677–1716), who had taken part in the war waged by Charles XII and had probably brought them from Poland.¹⁸ These are probably the fabrics mentioned by the authors of the monumental work on the Ottoman silks and velvets,¹⁹ who claim they were brought to Sweden by Henrik Georg Falkenberg (1637–1709).²⁰ From the description, it can be concluded that they

12 Particularly valuable in this respect are the museum's on-line collections, as well as the auction catalogues available on-line.

13 *Kobierce i tkaniny wschodnie*, p. 76, cat. no. 38.

14 *Skarby Orientu*, pp. 54–57.

15 *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683. Wystawa jubileuszowa w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu w trzechsetlecie bitwy* (Kraków, 1990), vol. 1, p. 320, cat. no. 609, vol. 2, Fig. 379 (M. Piwocka).

16 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 320.

17 Z. Łakociński, *Polonica Svecana artistica* (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk, 1979), p. 72, cat. no. 41–42, Figs 99–100, 203–204.

18 www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Falkenberg_af_B%C3%A5lby_nr_105#TAB_2 (accessed 9 June 2023).

19 N. Atasoy, W.B. Denny, L.W. Mackie, H. Tezcan, *İpek, The Crescent & the Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* (London, 2001), p. 174.

20 gw.geneanet.org/cvpolier?lang=en&n=falkenberg+af+balby&oc=0&p=henrik+georg (accessed 9 June 2023); www.genvagar.nu/show.asp?PersonId=627617 (accessed 9 June 2023).

were similar to the fabrics in question, which have arcades supported by columns, a lamp in each arch, six-pointed stars and bouquets in vases, and cypresses. Dated to the mid-seventeenth century, the fabrics were donated by the Falkenberg family to two different churches in Sweden.²¹ Łakociński's hypothesis is very plausible; there are some inaccuracies in it, however. Maria Elisabet Falkenberg was indeed Melker Falkenberg's sister (only one of her names is mentioned), but she died in 1742, so she must have donated the fabrics before that date and not in 1743.²²

Leaving aside this issue of through which of the Falkenbergs the fabrics found their way to Sweden and whether or not they came from the Polish loot, it is important to note that specialists in the field of textiles of the Ottoman Empire consider them to be the product of workshops on Chios and date them to the mid-seventeenth century.²³

Another wall-hanging of similar composition and repertoire of ornamental motifs comes from the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum (inv. no. MNK XIII-1563) and is mentioned in Zdzisław Żygulski's work on Turkish art, where the author dates it to the seventeenth century and considers it a Cairo product.²⁴ It was then described in the catalogue of the exhibition *Distant Neighbour Close Memories – 600 Years of Turkish-Polish Relations*, where Beata Biedrońska-Słota dates it to the seventeenth century and describes it as Ottoman. She cites the aforementioned fabrics from Jasna Góra, Wawel Castle and the National Museum in Cracow as analogous.²⁵ Dimensions of the fabric are 285 × 63 cm. Purchased, according to tradition, by Princess Anna Czartoryska née Sapieha, in Istanbul, the wall-hanging was later kept in the Gothic House in Puławy and can be identified with the artefact mentioned in *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach*, described as 'Turkish shawl carpet, lavishly embroidered with gold, on which the mother of Sultan Selim used to say her prayers'.²⁶

Very close to the Kielce artefacts are the fabrics from the Benedictine Sisters abbey in Krzeszów near Kamienna Góra, which were sewn into one wall-hanging; the width of individual bands of these fabrics varies

21 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek, The Crescent & the Rose*, pp. 174, 346. The authors do not give the names of the localities to which the fabrics went.

22 www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Falkenberg_af_B%C3%A51by_nr_105#TAB_2 (accessed 9 June 2023).

23 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek, The Crescent & the Rose*, p. 174. This dating is based on the following work cited in the footnotes: Agnes Geijer, *Oriental Textiles in Sweden* (Copenhagen, 1951), p. 51, 110, cat. no. 67.

24 Z. Żygulski jun., *Sztuka turecka* (Warszawa, 1988), p. 227, photo 239.

25 Biedrońska-Słota, *Distant Neighbour; Close Memories*, cat. no. 36, p. 142.

26 I. Czartoryska, *Poczet Pamiątek Zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach* (Warszawa, 1828), p. 104, no. 1270. I received the information on the wall-hanging from the Princes Czartoryski Museum – Branch of the National Museum from Ms Elżbieta Musiałik, whom I also thank for recommending this publication to me.

between 64 and 67 cm. The fabrics date to around the mid-seventeenth century and, like the Jasna Góra ones, are identified as Turkish.²⁷ Interestingly, none of the authors of the catalogue notes prepared for the above-mentioned fabrics cite the almost similar fabrics from the collection of the National Museum in Kielce, despite the fact that they were introduced into the literature on the subject more than 30 years ago and have long been on permanent display in the former Palace of the Cracow Bishops – the main seat of the National Museum in Kielce. Yet the Polish museum and monastery resources do not exhaust the list of analogues. Another related object is held by the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris. The Paris fabric, which unlike the Polish ones is green, is described as Turkish and dated to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Its dimensions – 291 × 65 cm – are also similar to those of the fabrics in the Kielce collection. In addition, the author of the catalogue note cites the fabric from the Czartoryski Collection mentioned in Żygulski's work as analogous to it.²⁸ Two silk panels very similar to the Kielce ones were put up for sale by the Skinner auction house in Boston in 2014. The fabrics, unfortunately rather damaged, were identified as two silk panels from Chios and dated to the late seventeenth century.²⁹

Thus, fabrics analogous to the Kielce wall-hangings were attributed to workshops in Turkey – with the island of Chios, then part of the Ottoman Empire, mentioned in two such attributions – as well as those in Persia and even in Egypt. The fabrics were dated, based on the most recent findings, to the period between the first half of the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. Dating some of the artefacts to the first half of the seventeenth century allowed researchers to consider them as trophies from the relief of Vienna or, as in the case of the wall-hangings from Krzeszów, from the Battle of Lesienice in 1675.³⁰

The arcade wall-hanging from Wawel, purchased from Franciszek Ksawery Pusłowski, according to family tradition may have been captured at Vienna by Franciszek Ksawery's ancestor, colonel and regimental officer of the Crown army Kazimierz Pusłowski, who had fought in that battle.³¹ According to the monastery's tradition, the Jasna Góra wall-hanging comes from Sobieski's trophies from Vienna and came there with a group of votive offerings sent by the king after his return from the

27 *Jan III Sobieski. Polski król w Wiedniu*, pp. 230–231 (J. Żmudziński).

28 *Arabesques et jardins de paradis. Collections françaises d'art islamique*, exhibition catalogue (Paris, 1989), p. 85, cat. no. 59 (Th. Bittar); Z. Żygulski jun., *Sztuka turecka*, p. 227, photo 239.

29 www.lotsearch.net/lot/two-silk-greek-island-panelstwo-silk-greek-island-panels-26759727?perPage=50&page=2 (accessed 6 Feb. 2023).

30 *Jan III Sobieski. Polski król w Wiedniu*, p. 230.

31 *Skarby Orientu*, p. 54 (M. Ozga).

campaign to Warsaw in 1683. The artefact can be linked to an entry in the Jasna Góra treasury inventory of 1731.³² The fabric from the Benedictine Sisters monastery in Krzeszów is traditionally believed to have been a gift from the king from trophies won during the battle against the Turks fought in 1675 near the village of Lesienice³³ near Lvov. It was the property of the Lvov convent of the Latin Benedictine Sisters, where King John's aunt, Dorota Daniłłowiczówna, had been a nun since 1640. Jerzy Żmudziński claims that the wall-hangings should rather be associated with the Battle of Vienna, given their similarity to other fabrics considered to be trophies from the battle, and the fact that the abbess of the Lvov monastery was the king's aunt.³⁴

If we count these alleged Viennese trophies – the Wawel, Jasna Góra and Krzeszów fabrics – we get thirty-one bands of fabrics each almost three metres long, representing an excellent artistic quality, made of silk and with gold and silver wire-wrapped threads.

The Turkish camp at Vienna was referred to in contemporary sources as 'a city of tents' and the strength of the Turkish army besieging the city is estimated to have been close to 100,000 soldiers.³⁵ Naturally, the richest in the camp were the tents of the Grand Vizier, about which Sobieski wrote that they were as 'spacious as Warsaw or Lvov within the city walls'.³⁶ All of them, along with the most valuable treasures, fell into Polish hands. Very soon, however, still on the battlefield, the king divided up the spoils and from his share gave numerous gifts to the commanders of the allied armies.³⁷ Muslim sources say that a certain amount of the Grand Vizier's gold and valuables were looted at the last moment by the Turks themselves. Kara Mustafa did, however, manage to carry away some gold and jewels or recover those saved by his faithful servants.³⁸ The inventory of the Grand Vizier's property, compiled after his execution in Belgrade on 25 December 1683, contains as many as 55 items relating to textiles. These include prayer rugs, curtains, cushions and low sofas. Even if the cushions and sofas (*vasdik* and *makad*) mentioned in the inventory mean just the upholstery, fabrics, shawls and other textiles are still too numerous to have been carried away from the camp at Vienna in the turmoil of battle. This leads to the conclusion that

32 *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683*, p. 320.

33 *Jan III Sobieski. Polski król w Wiedniu*, p. 230.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

35 Z. Żygulski jun., 'Trofea wiedeńskie', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 3–4, 1978, p. 105.

36 *Listy Jana III do królowej Marii Kazimiery w ciągu wyprawy pod Wiedeń*, ed. E. Raczyński (Lwów, 1883), p. 49.

37 Żygulski jun., 'Trofea wiedeńskie', p. 106.

38 *Kara Mustafa pod Wiedniem. Źródła muzułmańskie do dziejów wyprawy wiedeńskiej 1683 roku*, trans. and ed. Z. Abrahamowicz (Kraków, 1973), p. 375.

these fabrics were not seized at Vienna at all, but had been left in another camp, most likely in Belgrade. The most commonly mentioned textiles in the Grand Vizier's inventory are atlas and satin – fine silks used for the robes of dignitaries.³⁹ That is why, even though, as Zdzisław Żygulski noted, 'in the modern history of wars, Viennese booty is incomparable in terms of quantity and quality of objects, and especially their artistic value',⁴⁰ not all seventeenth-century Turkish artefacts preserved in Polish collections can be linked to Vienna and Kara Mustafa. With regard to the Viennese trophies, according to Żygulski, 'myths spread just after the campaign, and even during the campaign, still persist, as do legends popularised during the Romantic period'.⁴¹ As one of the most glaring examples, Żygulski cited the myth of the banner, called *Sancak-ı Şerif*, having been captured at Vienna, although it did not actually end up in the hands of the Christians, since the Turks managed to rescue it during the battle, along with other relics of the Prophet.⁴² A similar opinion was expressed by Tadeusz Mańkowski, who wrote that 'embroidered tents with eastern ornamental patterns [...] that have survived to our times all too often have legendary origins linked with the Vienna trophies, or with other glorious wartime deeds, attributed to them'.⁴³ A case in point is the story of the Turkish tent donated to the Wawel collection in 1994, which had previously belonged to the Lanckoroński family collection and was part of the legacy of the Rzewuski family, and which was traditionally regarded as a Vienna trophy. Deciphering the Turkish stamp preserved on the edge of the canvas and revealed during conservation enforced a verification of earlier findings, for the fabric had been stamped in Amid in eastern Anatolia in 1695.⁴⁴

Trophies from the Vienna campaign are perhaps the best-known group of Turkish artefacts in Poland, and at the same time the group that made the strongest impression on the awareness of the Polish society. Their transport, in a caravan of eighty carts, arrived safely in Cracow on 2 November 1683. At the queen's request, the Grand Vizier's tents were pitched in the Łobzów field and put on public display, then transported to Żółkiew (today: Zhovkva), where they were often set up during

39 After H. Reindl-Kiel, 'The Empire of Fabrics: The Range of Fabrics in the Gift Traffic of the Ottomans', in: *Inventories of Textiles – Textiles in Inventories. Studies on Late Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture*, eda T. Ertl, B. Karl (Wien, 2017), p. 155.

40 Żygulski jun., 'Trofea wiedeńskie', p. 101.

41 Ibid., p. 100.

42 Ibid., p. 107.

43 T. Mańkowski, *islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Kraków, 1935), p. 102.

44 M. Piwocka, 'Namiot z kolekcji Lanckorońskich w Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu', *Studia Waweliana*, vol. 5, 1996, p. 72; J. Żmudziński, *Wota Sobieskich. Makata (I) z klasztoru karmelitanek bosych w Krakowie*, www.wilanow-palac.pl/wota_sobieskich_makata_i_z_klasztoru_karmelitanek_bosych_w_krakowie.html (accessed 21 Feb. 2023).

court ceremonies, the reception of envoys and diplomatic councils.⁴⁵ In 1707, the Żółkiew castle was pillaged by the Russians stationed here during the Third Northern War in 1706–1707. By order of Tsar Peter I and Marshal Alexander Menshikov, some of the castle equipment was taken away, including Turkish objects stored there. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, only a few tents were still in Żółkiew.⁴⁶ The last heiress of the Sobieski family, Prince Jakub's daughter Maria Karolina de Bouillon, sold the Żółkiew estate to Michał 'Rybeńko' Radziwiłł.⁴⁷ At the end of the eighteenth century, the Radziwiłł family transported the remaining souvenirs from Żółkiew to Nieśwież (today: Nyasvizh), where in 1783, on the initiative of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, they were presented in the Corpus Christi Church as a 'throne of mementoes'.⁴⁸

In 1812, the Nieśwież treasury was seized by the Russians and most of the objects, including Sobieski's insignia, were placed at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. After the Treaty of Riga, they were returned to Poland in 1924 and placed at the Wawel Castle.⁴⁹ Most of the Wawel *Sobieszciana* come from Żółkiew, but only a few have been identified on the basis of inventories.⁵⁰ A valuable set of objects, traditionally considered to be trophies from Vienna, is kept in the Princes Czartoryski Collection of the National Museum in Cracow.⁵¹ One of the most important depositories of booty from Vienna was the Jasna Góra Treasury in Częstochowa, where most of the votive offerings come from the king himself or from Prince Jakub.⁵² Thus, if some of the silk fabrics with an arcade

45 Z. Żygulski jun., 'Zbrojownie Jana III Sobieskiego', in: *Tron Pamiątek ku czci „Najjaśniejszego, Niezwyciężonego Jana III Sobieskiego Króla Polskiego” w trzechsetlecie śmierci 1696–1996 / "Throne of relics" in honour of "His Royal Highness the Invincible Jan III Sobieski, King of Poland"*, exhibition catalogue, ed. J. Mieleczko (Warszawa, 1996), p. 83.

46 S. Jagodzinski, *W namiotach wezyrskich. Komemoracja wojen tureckich w kulturze szlacheckiej* (Warszawa, 2020), pp. 189–190.

47 Ibid., p. 146.

48 Ibid., pp. 355–356.

49 Z. Żygulski jun., 'Miecz i kapelusz poświęcony króla Jana III Sobieskiego', *Studia do dziejów Wawelu*, vol. 4, 1978, p. 334.

50 S. Jagodzinski, *W namiotach wezyrskich*, p. 138. The author analysed the inventories of treasuries and the castle in Żółkiew from the years 1673, 1684, 1696, 1726 and 1738.

51 They would come from part of the booty that went to Field Hetman Mikołaj Hieronim Sieniawski. These objects, then inherited by the Czartoryski family, were included in the collections of the Temple of the Sibyl. Thanks to old inventories, they can now be identified with the objects in the Czartoryski Collection of the National Museum in Krakow, after: Z. Żygulski jun., *Trofea wiedeńskie...*, p. 113.

52 Z. Żygulski jun., *Trofea wiedeńskie...*, pp. 112–113. The set of memorabilia of King John III was donated by Prince Jakub Sobieski in 1722, after: J. Żmudziński, *Wota Sobieskich. Dwa łuki z klasztoru paulinów na Jasnej Górze*, https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/wota_sobieskich_dwa_luki_z_klasztoru_paulinow_na_jasnej_gorze.html (accessed 6 Jan. 2024).

composition could be associated with the Relief of Vienna, it is those from Wawel and Jasna Góra.

The narrative concerning the Krzeszów fabrics seems to be fairly plausible as well.⁵³ However, the recurring phrases ‘according to family tradition’, ‘according to the monastery’s tradition’, ‘traditionally’ or ‘presumably’ cannot convince us to accept this provenance unguardedly. Even the fact that the Jasna Góra wall-hanging can be linked to an inventory entry from 1731 does not yet prove that it came to Częstochowa after the relief of Vienna.⁵⁴ Also, there remains the question of other analogous fabrics dated to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. This is the case with the wall-hangings from the Potocki collection (eighteenth century),⁵⁵ the Wawel fabric from the Kulczycki collection (seventeenth/eighteenth century),⁵⁶ the fabric in the Musée des arts décoratifs in Paris (seventeenth/eighteenth century)⁵⁷ and the panels from the Boston auction (late seventeenth century).⁵⁸ The striking similarity of all the above-mentioned wall-hangings with an arcade composition, including the Kielce fabrics, may indicate that they were made at around the same time. Was it, however, the middle of the seventeenth century, as Polish scholars mostly believe, or, following the Western scholarship, should their creation be shifted to the turn of the centuries or even the eighteenth century? Magdalena Piwocka notes that fabrics dating from the eighteenth century are characterised by a less fine draughtsmanship and technique,⁵⁹ which is not the case with the fabrics mentioned above, which are all high-quality textiles with rich, condensed ornamentation and with the same decorative motifs, such as bouquets of fantastic flowers in vases, eight-pointed stars, cypresses, and tulips and carnations, repeated in all cases. The arrangement of many of the motifs used here may exemplify the assimilation of Italian Renaissance design by the Ottoman art, which in turn makes it possible to look for the place of production of these fabrics outside the main silk centres of the Ottoman Empire, in a centre more influenced by Europe. The island of Chios in the Aegean Sea was precisely such a place.

53 The wall-hangings of the Benedictine monastery in Lvov were not recorded in the inventory of 1785, see M. Kurzej, ‘Kościół pw. Wszystkich Świętych i klasztor PP. Benedyktynów we Lwowie’, in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na Ziemiach Wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 19 (Kraków, 2011), pp. 144–151. Obviously, some textiles may have been omitted during the inventory.

54 *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683*, p. 320.

55 Kwaśnik-Gliwińska, *Tkaniny*, p. 116.

56 *Kobierce i tkaniny wschodnie*, inv. no. 4970, cat. no. 38, p. 75.

57 *Arabesques et jardins*, p. 85, cat. no. 59.

58 www.lotsearch.net/lot/two-silk-greek-island-panelstwo-silk-greek-island-panels-26759727?perPage=50&page=2 (accessed 6 Feb. 2023).

59 *Odsiecz wiedeńska 1683*, p. 321.

At the height of its power, the Ottoman Empire covered most of the Middle East, North Africa and south-eastern Europe. Ottoman silk weaving and trade developed most rapidly in centres along the caravan routes to Iran, that is, in the cities of Erzincan in the east, Amasya and Tokat in the centre, and Bursa in the west. The southern Anatolian caravan route, with centres at Mardin and Maraş, led from Iran to the international market at Aleppo in northern Syria. Among these cities, the most important centre for the Ottoman silk industry was Bursa, where silk fabric production was developing from the late fourteenth century onwards as a natural consequence of the city's role as a trans-shipment centre for raw silk.⁶⁰ Bursa workshops are credited with, among others, the luxurious, fine velvets called *çatma*. Another type of Turkish silks, also valued and sought after in Europe, were brocade fabrics, referred to as *kemha* in the Turkish terminology. These were fabrics with two or more warps and several wefts, woven in satin and twill weave, where the former appears in the background and the latter in the patterned parts, or vice versa. Designs were made with additional pattern wefts of coloured silks and threads wrapped in gold or silver wire. The dominant colour was that of the background; usually red, green or blue.⁶¹ These are mainly textiles intended for rich ceremonial robes. The new Ottoman code of guild laws, published in 1640, indicates that the largest number of weaving workshops was located in the capital and in Bursa, but also listed manufactories in Aleppo and Damascus and on Chios.⁶² The *narh* lists⁶³ from 1624 mention silks from Chios alongside fabrics from Bursa, Venice, Baghdad or Egypt.⁶⁴

The output of silk workshops on Chios has not been the subject of a separate scholarly study. To date, it received only one book publication;⁶⁵ more detailed information was given in the already mentioned study on the Ottoman silks and velvets, as well as in the studies by Amanda

60 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, p. 155.

61 J. Chruszczyńska, introduction, in: *Tkanina turecka*, p. 11.

62 Żygulski jun., *Sztuka turecka*, p. 138.

63 The *narh* system fixed the prices of goods and services, and as the monetary reform was carried out four times in the first half of the seventeenth century, each time the so-called *narh* letters or books were printed. Both smaller and larger lists were promulgated on an as-needed basis, sometimes because of inflation or because of shortages of essential goods; after A. Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries: Art and Objects in Ottoman Constantinople, 1600–1800 (Connecting Art Histories in the Museum)* (Dortmund, 2016), pp. 39–40.

64 Kütükoğlu M.S., '1624 Sikke Tashininin Ardından Hazırlanan Narh Defterleri', *Tarih Dergisi*, no. 34, 1984, pp. 123–82, 145–152.

65 A. Ballian, 'From Genoa to Constantinople: The Silk Industry of Chios', in: *The Mercantile Effect: Art and Exchange in the Islamic World During the 17th and 18th Centuries*, eds S. Babaie, M. Gibson (Chicago, 2018), pp. 87–101.

Phillips.⁶⁶ Until the book *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets* was released in 2001, textiles from Chios had been known from travellers' accounts and consular reports rather than actual artefacts.⁶⁷ Since then, Polish specialist literature too has increasingly begun to attribute the silks preserved in our collections to Chios workshops. Located on the Aegean Sea to the west of Izmir, a few kilometres off the coast, the island was a strategic point on the trade route linking Egypt with Constantinople and the Black Sea, and it retained its key status from the Middle Ages until at least the eighteenth century.⁶⁸ Until 1329 it was under the rule of the Byzantine emperor; from 1346 it was controlled by the Genoese and administered by a corporation of shareholders known as the Maona (later Giustiniani), founded in 1362.⁶⁹ The Genoese, who had been paying tribute to the sultan of Turkey since 1415, held Chios until 1566; from then on, the island formally became part of the Ottoman Empire. The main focus of its production and trade was mastic, a soft, aromatic natural resin with a variety of uses. The mastic trade was so important and lucrative that the island's name in Ottoman Turkish, *Sakız Adası*, means 'the mastic island'.⁷⁰ Chios produced its own raw silk and most fabrics were woven on local looms. Commercial silk production was documented since the late fifteenth century and was most likely initiated by the Genoese. The 1476 payroll lists 25 silk weavers and one dyer.⁷¹

Fabrics from Chios were known and valued by the Ottomans even before the conquest of the island in 1566. The situation changed little with the Turkish takeover of the island except for the establishment of stronger ties with Bursa and the wider Ottoman markets, including Rhodes, Izmir, Cairo, Crimea and Thessaloniki. In the late sixteenth and the seventeenth century, textile merchants from Chios paid customs duties in Bursa. Their goods were given stamps indicating origin and proving that they had been inspected and taxed.⁷² Sources show the wealth of silk and other textiles being made on Chios. The *narh* lists issued for Constantinople, dated to the years 1600, 1624 and 1640,⁷³ mention

66 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, pp. 173–175; A. Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*; ead., *Sea Change. Ottoman Textiles between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean* (Oakland, Ca, 2021).

67 Ballian, 'From Genoa to Constantinople' p. 87.

68 Ibid., p. 88.

69 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, p. 173.

70 Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*, p. 94.

71 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, p. 173.

72 Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*, p. 94.

73 These documents were edited by Mübahat S. Küttükoğlu, '1009 (1600) Tarihli Narh Defterine Göre İstanbul'da Çeşitli Eşya ve Hizmet Fiyatları', *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*,

kemha-type fabrics from Chios in crimson, green, blue, purple and other colours. The surviving silks document only a part of the extensive production; simpler fabrics from Chios either did not survive or were not identified. Probably not all of them were also stamped with the ‘Sakız’ inscription and dated, which would allow scholars to attribute them to workshops on the island.⁷⁴ A wall-hanging marked with such a stamp is preserved in the convent of the Discalced Carmelite Nuns in Cracow. The inscription, transcribed as ‘be-makâm-i Sakız’, in translation and with the date converted would give ‘made on Chios in 1688’. According to the monastery’s tradition, the fabric was donated to the Carmelite nuns by Queen Maria Casimire.⁷⁵ A wall-hanging with an arcade composition, which features a mihrab motif with three arcades supported by twisting columns, has analogues in Polish and international collections. Compared to the discussed textiles from the collection of the National Museum in Kielce, the drawing of the ornamental motifs on the Carmelite wall-hanging (especially those in the main field) is somewhat simplified. Particularly specific to it are the clear contours of the individual elements and the absence of the predilection to fill every fragment of free space with ornament.

A similar fabric is held in the collection of Berlin’s Museum für Islamische Kunst. Amanda Phillips describes it as the product of Chios workshops and dates it to the eighteenth century.⁷⁶ A comparable strong contour is used to emphasise the shapes of the various motifs on an eighteenth-century wall-hanging from the Benaki Museum in Athens.⁷⁷ Anna Ballian writes about a new style of fabric from Chios in the eighteenth century, when carnations and tulips were increasingly replaced by roses and the palette became lighter, as if faded, pink and crimson with olive-green details. Pierre Augustin Guys, a merchant from Marseilles, wrote in 1748 that many weaving workshops on Chios turned out fabrics that perfectly imitated those of India and Persia.⁷⁸

Although the fabrics from Chios look very ‘oriental’, they deviate from the style of Ottoman silks of the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Ottoman fabric compositions were usually based on one of several main

vol. 9, 1978, pp. 1–87; id., *Osmanlılarda Narh Müessesesi ve 1640 Tarihli Narh Defteri* (Istanbul, 1983); id., ‘1624 Sikke Tashininin’, pp. 123–182.

74 Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*, p. 95.

75 Biedrońska-Słota, *Distant Neighbour, Close Memories*, p. 141, Fig. 35 (B. Biedrońska-Słota); Żmudziński, *Wota Sobieskich. Makata (I) z klasztoru karmelitanek bosych*.

76 Collections of the Staatliche Museum zu Berlin online, recherche.smb.museum/detail/1939300/behang---abdeckung-ausstattungstextilie?language=de&question=Ident.Nr.+I.+4635&limit=15&controls=none&objIdx=1, Inv.-Nr. I. 4635 (accessed 21 Feb. 2023); A. Phillips, *Everyday Luxuries*, p. 96, Fig. 3.5.

77 Ballian, ‘From Genoa to Constantinople’, p. 94, Fig. 7–8.

78 After *ibid.*, p. 94.

arrangements. These included a wavy scroll, an arrangement with alternating motifs in rows, with motifs in horizontal and vertical (candelabra-type) grid arrangements, and with motifs in striped horizontal arrangements alternating in rows or arranged symmetrically one above the other. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, large-repeat fabrics with motifs of carnations with fan-shaped petals, tulips, artichokes, *saz* leaves and crescents as well as *chintamani* continued to prevail. A very common motif was that of pointed ovals, which were either placed on smooth backgrounds or created by dividing the area with broad ribbons or scrolls.⁷⁹ In contrast, the composition of Chios fabrics often has an architectural arcade layout, as in the case of the wall-hangings in question or fabrics with a multiplied arcade motif. Examples of these are known from both Polish and Western collections, dated to the eighteenth century (more rarely to the end of the seventeenth century); they have less dense ornamental motifs and red, green or beige backgrounds, but a mosque lamp, a mihrab supported on twisted columns, and bouquets in vases are always present.⁸⁰

On the basis of objects that can certainly be attributed to the silk centre on Chios, researchers established a compositional scheme for textiles from the second half of the seventeenth century, a typical example of which will be the arcade wall-hanging from the Carmelite convent in Cracow. Monika Stachurska, who devoted her article to a Jasna Góra wall-hanging with a different, striped composition, attributes it to Chios workshops and dates it to the middle or the last third of the seventeenth century. She concludes that this wall-hanging may be an example of a decorative scheme for Chios textiles from before the arcade period.⁸¹ Thus, from around the middle of the seventeenth century onwards products from Chios would include fabrics with a striped composition⁸², and later those with an arcade composition with a condensed, rich ornamentation (as

79 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, passim; *Tkanina turecka XVI–XIX w.*, pp. 73–84, cat. no. 89–93.

80 Fabrics of this kind can be found, inter alia, in the collection of the National Museum in Cracow (inv. nos MNK XIX-4526 and MNK XIX-4542), at the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Applied Arts in Poznań (inv. no. MNP R w 1443), in the Benaki Museum in Athens, islamicart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;EPM;gr;Mus21;6;en (accessed 12 June 2023); in the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., see *The Sultan's Garden: The Blossoming of Ottoman Art*, eds W.B. Denny, S. Belger Krody (Washington, 2012), cat. no. 49, p. 158.

81 M. Stachurska, 'Perska czy turecka? – problem określenia proveniencji makaty ze zbiorów skarbcza jasnogórskiego', in: *Tkaniny orientalne w Polsce – gust czy tradycja*, ed. B. Biedrońska-Słota (Warszawa, 2011), p. 106.

82 Stripe compositions in Chios were also used in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the fabric from the Nea Moni Museum. A dedicatory inscription has been preserved on it, which states that it was made in 1742 by Antonios Pynos at the expense of the monastery, when Neophytos was the abbot; after A. Ballian, *From Genoa to Constantinople*, p. 95, Fig. 9. This proves the long duration of certain forms, which prove misleading in dating extant objects.

on the Kielce wall-hangings), which in the eighteenth century gradually became less strict and was formed by more freely arranged motifs with bouquets in vases and with flowered branches.

Silk workshops on the island of Chios were established during the time of the Genoese colony. Specialists were brought here from Italy to bring the skill of weaving and dyeing to the highest level. In 1483, the guild of silk merchants in Genoa complained that seven of its members, including two dyers, two weavers and one spinner, had left the city and settled on Chios. Another complaint comes from 1498, when a certain Gaspar Bora moved to Chios and installed special equipment on the island to produce fabrics according to a manufacturing technique he had developed on his own, which did not escape the attention of the Genoese guild.⁸³ The similarity of some of the decorative motifs to the ornamentation of Italian fabrics is therefore not surprising. The motif of floral scroll with large flowers in the meanders, including a five-petalled rose, surrounding the lamp as if it were seen from above, is known from sixteenth-century printed Italian pattern books used by embroiderers and craftsmen of other specialities.⁸⁴ A similar floral scroll fills the mihrab field on another wall-hanging from the Kielce collection, which can now also be attributed to the Chios workshop, and was once described as Persian,⁸⁵ confirming Guys' above-cited statement about the Persian character of the Chios textiles. Naturally, the floral scroll motif appears quite frequently in Turkish art, including Ottoman textile design, but the one on the wall-hangings in question is decidedly of European character. A decorative motif of this type, popularised in the seventeenth century, very often appears in embroideries decorating liturgical paraments. In Polish historical embroidery from around the middle of the seventeenth century, it is an almost obligatory decorative element for the sides of chasubles.⁸⁶ Bouquets of stylised flowers in vases are well known from Italian garment fabrics dated to around 1600⁸⁷ and from the aforementioned pattern books.⁸⁸

83 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, p. 173.

84 E.g. G. Salviati, *La Vera Perfezione del Disegno di varie sorti di recami*, publ. G. Ostaus (Venetia, 1567), Plate XXIX, www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/354909 (accessed 21 Feb 2023). In the case of the fabrics in question, the motif of tendrils is definitely maintained in seventeenth-century version.

85 MNKi/R/2357, Kwaśnik-Gliwińska, *Tkaniny*, pp. 118–120, cat. no. 43.

86 T. Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI–XVIII w.* (Wrocław, 1954), p. 22, Fig. 26.

87 B. Markowsky, *Europäische Seidengewebe des 13.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Köln, 1976), pp. 180, Figs 168–170.

88 E.g. G.A. Vavassore, *Esempario di Lauori...* (Venetia, 1532), Plate. AVII, www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/358317 (accessed 22 Feb. 2023). This motif appears not only in sixteenth-century Italian models, but also in the early seventeenth-century German ones, see A. Breitschneider, *New Modelbüch* (Leipzig, 1615), www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/346638 (accessed 22 Feb. 2023).

Although shaped by the Italians, silk workshops on the island of Chios could not remain completely outside the influence of the surrounding Ottoman, as well as Persian centres. The position of Chios as a hub for transporting goods to the four corners of the world may have influenced local industry and local tastes. Hence the unique and rather eclectic style of these fabrics, in which the Oriental – Persian and Turkish details coexist with European ones, while the traditions of Ottoman and Safavid art merge with Italian and even Byzantine styles. Many of the silk fabrics attributed to Chios workshops have precisely an arcade layout, where the niche of the mihrab is supported by rather frail columns on spiral shafts, with floral capitals alluding to Corinthian ones. The niche is always delineated by several arches, and the pear-shaped lamp suspended beneath it has schematically marked repoussé decoration. The alternating rhythm of the decorative motifs in the niche is also characteristic. On almost all of them, rows of cypresses appear in the lower part, on some, there are vases with carnations and tulips. Silk fabrics from Chios are an example of Ottoman-era textiles of supra-local importance and appeal. Western travellers and diplomatic envoys marvelled at the variety of silks produced here and, in particular, at the fact that the local weavers were as adept at imitating material from Italy or Lyon as they were in the case of textiles from Persia or India.⁸⁹

If we assume, therefore, that the fabrics in question were made on the island of Chios, the question remains as to why none of the silk panels so abundantly preserved in the Polish collection bears a stamp confirming its origin and introduction to the Turkish market. Either this principle was not applied consistently enough, or the fabrics were destined from the outset for other markets, such as Europe. It is possible that they came to Poland not via Constantinople or Bursa, but through Greek merchants. It was already Władysław Łoziński's research from the beginning of the twentieth century⁹⁰ that allowed such a scenario to be considered, and Ihor Lylo's analyses seem to confirm it.⁹¹

Orientalism was present in the Polish culture long before the seventeenth century. Its shape and aesthetic tastes were influenced by the state's centre of gravity shifting to the east. Tadeusz Mańkowski pointed out that the influence of Eastern culture and art was felt in Poland much earlier than had been generally assumed, and that its predominance lay in peaceful and commercial relations rather than in wartime conquests, the

89 Ballian, 'From Genoa to Constantinople', p. 87.

90 W. Łoziński, *Patrycjat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII wieku* (Lwów, 1902), pp. 313–319.

91 I. Lylo, 'Grecy we Lwowie: zapomniani obywatele', *Orientalia Christiana Cracoviensia*, vol. 4, 2012, pp. 49–58; id., 'Miejsce Greków w kulturze materialnej Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku', *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych*, year 15, no. 1, 2016, pp. 189–211.

significance of which was sometimes overestimated in Poland.⁹² Poles who interacted daily with the products of Eastern crafts displayed a high degree of expertise, a sense of value and an unparalleled taste in their selection.⁹³ The gateway through which the influence of Islamic countries reached Poland was its south-eastern provinces with Lvov playing a key role.⁹⁴ The city was the area of activity of numerous oriental merchants, including Turks, Greeks, Jews and, as the most numerous group, Armenians. Polish legislation particularly privileged the Armenians of Lvov; their trade privileges were confirmed several times in the seventeenth century. Among the goods they were allowed to trade, eastern textiles were usually mentioned at the first place. Among the merchants recorded in Lvov, Turks themselves are relatively few in number, a much larger group being Greeks from areas under the Turkish rule. Among them are also craftsmen settled in Lvov.⁹⁵ The area of activity of Greek and Armenian merchants included also smaller towns, such as Brody and Kamieniec Podolski (today: Kamianets-Podilskyi). Although the Armenian colony was the most numerous one in Brody, as evidenced by their names in court records, the Greeks, employed by Stanisław Koniecpolski in his weaving manufactory, had a significant impact on the town's development. The Greeks were involved in weaving both in Constantinople itself and in other centres in the European part of the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁶ In the first half of the seventeenth century, luxury fabrics imported from the East displace Italian silks on the market: velvets from Venice, Lucca and Genoa, Florentine satins and Neapolitan uncut velvets. The collapse of the great Italian fabric store in Lvov, owned by Filippo Ducci, in 1649 is a *signum temporis*.⁹⁷

Costly works of Eastern art and craft also came to Poland as diplomatic gifts. The Ottoman court sent them to other monarchs, but they were also exchanged between Ottoman and Polish dignitaries, such as hetmans, who had the privilege of running their own diplomatic chancelleries.⁹⁸ It was customary for textiles to be a part of a diplomatic gift. They also accounted for an important share of the property registered after the aristocrat's death. Hedda Reindl-Kiel noted that Ottoman gifts sent to other rulers did not reflect the fashion prevailing at the sultan's court; the Ottoman head of protocol did not automatically

92 Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu*, (Kraków, 1935), pp. 6–7.

93 Żygulski jun., *Sztuka turecka*, p. 175.

94 Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu*, p. 1.

95 *Ibid.*, pp. 8–12.

96 *Ibid.*, pp. 34–40.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

98 Żygulski jun., *Sztuka turecka*, p. 176.

follow national fashions, but focused on the (presumed) wishes of the recipients.⁹⁹

Another question that arises for the fabrics under analysis is their original purpose. This is perhaps the aspect that poses the most difficulties for researchers from a different cultural background. Decorating walls with decorative fabrics, known in Polish as *makata*, was a common custom in our country in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The circumstances under which the word *makad*, derived from Turkish, was accepted into the Polish language are unclear.¹⁰⁰ In Arabic, *makad* means both the place and the material upon which a person would sit,¹⁰¹ so in the East the term was used to describe the fabrics used to cover mattresses and cushions on sofas and other furniture intended as seating.¹⁰² Only in Poland is the fabric intended for wall decoration called *makata*, as if without a clear grasp of what those *makad* fabrics used to be used for in the East. The verticality that emanates from the entire decoration, with a lamp hanging inside a niche, is reminiscent of a large Ottoman mihrab. The lamp is, incidentally, a direct reference to the Qur'an.¹⁰³ Mihrab, that is a niche in a prayer hall of a mosque that points towards Mecca, was a common motif for prayer carpets laid out on the ground during prayer. Given the fineness of the silk fabric and the use of gold and silver wire-wrapped threads in the objects in question, as well as their architectural composition, this type of fabric seems to have been intended to hang on the wall rather than lie on the ground. It may have adorned the mihrab or performed its function itself.¹⁰⁴ Ottoman looms had a standard width, usually less than one metre, so sometimes individual fabric bands were stitched together and hung on walls in homes, where they served a private devotional purpose. Wall-hangings sewn together from several identical bands with a mihrab are reminiscent of prayer carpets, the so-called collective carpets, referred to as *saf* (*saph*), designed for several people praying simultaneously.¹⁰⁵ Some scholars are of the opinion that such

99 H. Reindl-Kiel, *The Empire of Fabrics*, p. 160.

100 T. Majda, 'Ancestral ideals: Turkish silk hangings in Poland', *Hali*, vol. 121, 2002, p. 108.

101 Ibid.

102 M. Michałowska, *Leksykon włókiennictwa* (Warszawa, 2006), p. 228; Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*, vol. 3 (Warszawa, 1902), p. 180; Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu*, p. 121.

103 God is the light of heaven and earth:
the similitude of his light is as a niche in a wall,
wherein a lamp is placed, and the lamp enclosed in a case of glass;
the glass appears as it were a shining star
Qur'an, surah 24, 'Light', v. 35, transl. George Sale.

104 *Arabesques et jardins de paradis*, p. 85.

105 I would like to thank Mr Peter Wesolowski for bringing this similarity to my attention.

wall-hangings, sewn together from bands, were hung on walls in houses or tents, and were sometimes used to cover cenotaphs.¹⁰⁶

This article does not fully exhaust the issues related to arcade wall-hangings from the Ottoman Empire. Many question marks and doubts still remain, which only an extensive search in Poland and abroad could dispel. Detailed research into the materials used and the weave structure of all surviving textiles of this type could yield results; this, however, is no longer a task for an art historian but for a textile conservator, since it is possible that conservation work might lead to discovering seals, as on the fabric from the Carmelite convent in Cracow. The current state of research allows the fabrics in question to be classified as high-quality silks from the Ottoman Empire with an indication of the weaving environment as being the island of Chios. Their origins can be narrowed down to the period between the last third of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century, since earlier than that a different compositional scheme seems to have prevailed,¹⁰⁷ whereas around the middle of the eighteenth century we see less dense ornamentation, with the appearance of larger patches of empty space in the backgrounds and the typically Ottoman floral motifs such as carnations or tulips being increasingly replaced by European flowers such as roses.¹⁰⁸ However, it is difficult to trace changes in the ornamentation of Chios fabrics, as no reliable artefact from the sixteenth century, let alone the fifteenth century, is available for research.¹⁰⁹ It is also difficult to determine unequivocally by what route and in what quantity these fabrics entered Poland. The conjectures that they originated from the spoils of war and that they may have been the subject of organised trade or even diplomatic gifts are both plausible.

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106 *Arabesques et jardins de paradis*, s. 85.

107 See the findings of Monika Stachurska, *Perska czy turecka?*, p. 105.

108 A. Ballian, 'From Genoa to Constantinople', p. 94.

109 Atasoy, Denny, Mackie, Tezcan, *İpek. The Crescent & the Rose*, p. 174.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- p. 81 Arcade wall-hangings, Ottoman Empire, Chios, third tierce of the seventeenth – early eighteenth century, National Museum in Kielce, inv. no. MNKi/R/2358, MNKi/R/2359, photo by Paweł Suchanek

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