

**Kristine Ogle**     **SAINTS OF CATHOLIC  
SPIRITUAL ORDERS  
IN THE ARTISTIC HERITAGE  
OF POLISH LIVONIA**  
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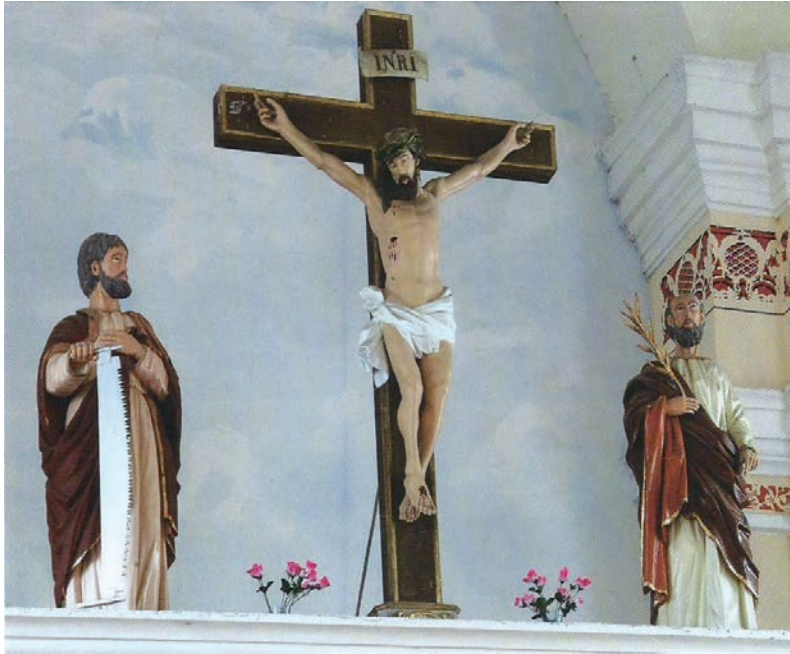
The heritage of religious art in Latvia is large and diverse. The research of this sphere can not be successful without comprehensive iconographical studies. A specific aspect of the whole Roman Catholic iconography is that of Catholic saints, a rich and work-consuming theme which still holds a lot of unanswered questions, thus revealing a wealth of new study material.

The first, i.e., pre-Reformation, period of Roman Catholic rule in Latvia is represented by rather few surviving artworks, mostly sculptures. So, the largest mass of the Catholic art heritage originated in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and it is a valuable part of Latvia's general art scene, especially in the Catholic Latgale (Inflanty Polska), where the Catholics came to dominate the region.

The term „Catholic saints” as it is used in the paper also refers to those Biblical persons which like St. Mary Magdalena, apostles and evangelists are worshiped by various confessions but in the Roman Catholic (as well as Russian Orthodox and Old Believers) Church appear with greatest distinction.

The church-art of the region generally reflects the situation which was familiar all over Europe. The most widespread figures as elsewhere in Europe were several New Testament saints – e.g., St. Joseph and the apostles (Fig 1) – or such “modern” saints as St. Antony of Padua (Fig 2). Many paintings were locally done from graphic reproductions of Western models – e.g., from Guido Reni's or Bartolome Esteban Murillo's famous compositions.

Among the popular saints were some, which enjoy particular appreciation and fame in Poland and other Central European countries: St. John Nepomuk



Il. 1. Unknown master. *Christ on the Cross, St. Jude and St. Simon*. First half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Prezma Catholic Church.



Il. 2. Unknown master. *St. Anthony*. Mid-20<sup>th</sup> c. Rēzekne Catholic Church.



Il. 3. Unknown master. *St. Jan of Nepomuk*.  
First half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Ciskādi Cath-  
olic Church.

(Fig 3), St. Casimir (Fig 4), St. Stanislaus Kostka, etc. Their worship testifies to Latvia's close historical and political links with those areas.

Latvian (and Latgalian) heritage also shows certain deviations from the established traditions of European religious art. For instance, the images of several extremely famous saints such as St. Francis of Assisi are very infrequent in this region.

Of great importance of creating this imagery were the activities of Roman Catholic orders. The iconography of sacred art in Latvia was strongly influenced by Dominican, Jesuit, Bernardine and Lazarene congregations. Every order had a clear artistic programme, a well-defined imagery as its own. It included the founders of the congregation, its particular saints as well as various legendary persons and events which were not historically linked to the order



Il. 4. Unknown master. *St. Casimir*. 19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> c. Bikava Catholic Church.

but by this or that reason could serve as epitomes of its ideas. As commissioners and collectors of artworks, members of these spiritual orders have enriched the Latgalian cultural space both artistically and ideologically; their contribution shows the way how reflection, prayer and spiritual experience is related to the image of the saint represented in artworks.

Certain specific accents in the choice of represented figures and events are linked with the iconography of the particular order. This association explains the depiction of several saint figures which are hardly familiar beyond their native Italian neighborhoods (e.g. St. Antonino at Gornejieši Catholic chapel or St. Francis Jerome at Puša Catholic church (Fig 5).

In Latvia's art, we can not find any serial representations of most important events in this or that saint's life, although such life stories were very popular in Western Europe. Nevertheless several works in our heritage have once belonged to narrative cycles.

The Jesuits, who performed their activities under the auspices of the province of Poland-Lithuania during 1582 to 1820, paid particular attention, a.o., to the representation of St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier.



Il. 5. Unknown master. *St. Francis Hieronimo*. Mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Puša Catholic Church.

In its time the working of the Society of Jesus covered the entire territory of Latvia. The Jesuits went to the farthest corners of the country, establishing missions and schools, evangelizing and providing spiritual care to the parishes. Compared to the few secular priests, the success of the order in the province was promoted by the ability of its members to be more sensitive and have a deeper grasp of the local peculiarities, as well as by their good Latvian language skills and self-denying ministry. However, in the towns, particularly in the Protestant Rīga, the attitude to this Counter-Reformation force was predominantly negative.

## Missions of the Society of Jesus

After the Swedes conquered Vidzeme and the residence in Cēsis was closed in 1625, some Jesuits came to Latgale. In 1626 the missionary Petrus Culesius settled in Daugavpils and in 1630, the residence in Daugavpils began work under his leadership. Regular Jesuit missions, financed by affluent local landowners, were dependent on the residence in Daugavpils. On 14 September 1761 General Lorenzo Ricci conferred the title of college on this residence.

In 1718, under the aegis of Jan Dominik Borch, *Missio Livonica* was established in Vārkava. *Missio Borchiana* started its work around 1727 on the property of the Borchs in Varakļāni and Preiļi. In 1727 *Missio Hylzeniana* was founded and it existed until 1820. It was active in Kaunata, Dagda as well as Izvalta where the Jesuit college moved in 1819. During the Jesuit times churches were built at these mission locations. *Missio Plateriana* was founded in Krāslava in 1676. It was initiated by Georgius Ludingshausen-Wolff. In Krāslava Jesuits stayed until 1756 when the mission was moved to Indrica where it existed until 1780. *Missio Szadursciana* was founded in Puša in 1743. Jan Szadurski built a church on his property and gave it to the Jesuits. Initially, one Jesuit lived there but after 1750, there were two. The mission existed until 1820. In 1724 Joannes Ansgarius Czapski founded a mission in Laucesa but by 1752 it had already been taken over by secular priests. In 1747 Bishop Georg Hylzen established *Missio Smolenscensis*. It is known that there was also a mission in Rēzekne – *Missio Rositensis*.

In 1772, after the partition of Poland, Latgale became part of the Russian Empire. Due to the fact that Catherine II had prohibited the proclamation of the breve of Pope Clement XIV in the Russian Empire, here (this territory became a part of the province of Vitebsk) the activity of Jesuits was not

terminated. As in the entire territory of the Russian Empire, so in Latgale the Society of Jesus existed until 1820.

It is very clear that it was the Jesuits who, thanks to their activities throughout the entire territory of Latvia, united the regions that had hitherto pursued different cultural traditions. This is particularly true of representations of the saints, so popular in various Catholic regions of Europe. Through missionary activity, these images have brought some peculiar, even exotic traits to the culture of the regions.

The evidence of the activity of Societas Jesu in the architectural and art heritage of Latgale

After reviewing the contribution of the Society of Jesus to the heritage of architecture and art in Latgale, we may conclude that Jesuit developments strongly coincided with the predominantly Catholic character of the region, thus creating a language related to that of the Dominicans, Bernadines, Lazarines and the official Church.

The saints in the façade of Auleja Church, the images of Francis Xavier and Ignatius Loyola in Ambeļi Church, as well as the image of Mary Magdalene in Indrica Church testify that in this region too, Jesuits continued the popularisation of the personalities and themes important to the order<sup>1</sup>. As in Kurzeme, representations of less known saints came to the region with the help of the Society; for example, Francis Hieronimo and St. Helen (Fig 6), whose depiction in Latvian art is a rare or even unique phenomenon. Also, with the assistance of the order's artists, copies of famous artworks by Western European artists (for example, *Immaculate Conception* by Murillo at Auleja Church (Fig 7)) and less skilful localisations of famous themes (for example, the so called type of *Snow Virgin* in Indrica etc. (Fig 8)) came to Latgale churches. However, similarly to architecture, alongside derivations of well-known artworks, new and bold variations were also created within the scope of Jesuit activity. With their innovative character, they stood out against the artistic background of the wider region. A good illustration of this is the "Saint" of Ambeļi (Fig 9) Church with its peculiar, philosophically saturated subject.

The analysis of the visual art objects located in the territory of Latgale shows the ability of the Jesuits to adopt freely the language of various styles. As

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<sup>1</sup> It is peculiar that in renderings of the person mentioned in New Testament by the course of time there can be noticed a fusion of Mary of Egypt, who too is usually depicted in the moment of penance; and later the image with a crucifix and skull in the church inventory documentation of the region can be attributed as Mary Magdalene. This tendency can be seen, for instance, in the 19th century painting of Bērzpils Church, and elsewhere.



Il. 6. Unknown master. *St. Helen*. Turn of the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> c. Indrica Catholic Church.



Il. 7a. Unknown master. *Holy Virgin*. Early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Auleja Catholic Church.



Il. 7b. Bartolome Esteban Murillo. *Immaculate Conception with the Crescent*. 1660–1670.





Il. 8a. Unknown master. *Miraculous Mother of God*. Mid-18<sup>th</sup> c. Indrica Catholic Church.



Il. 8b. Unknown master. *Salus Populi Romani*. S. Maria Maggiore, Rome.



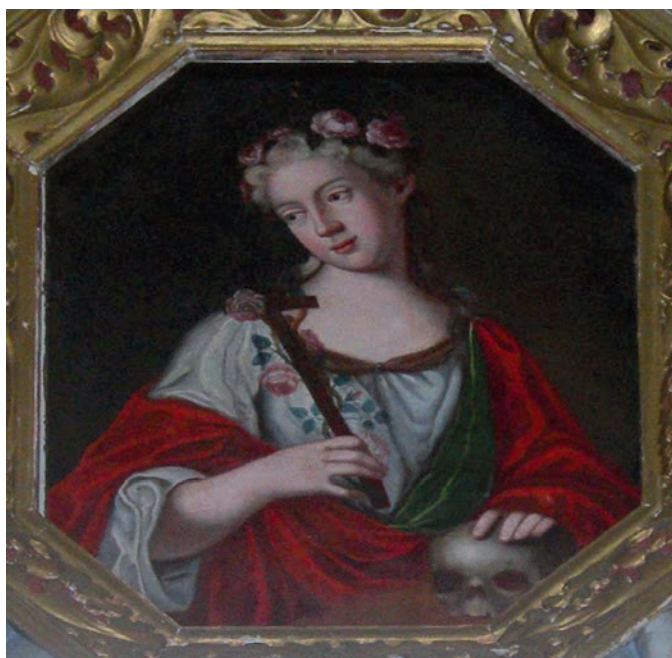
Il. 9. Unknown master. *Saint*. 18<sup>th</sup> c. Ambelji Catholic Church.

in architecture, so in the fine arts, the characteristics of various styles are present in the Jesuit heritage. Mature Baroque is mainly echoed in art as in architecture. Depending on the author's proficiency, the Latvian artworks meet the expectations of Baroque art in both form and content. First, we should mention the tendency of the age to create a distinctly rhetorical expression, which actively addresses its audience with a message, clear to everyone. These ideas were formulated in the writings of Jesuit aesthetes and convincingly expressed in the order's finest works. The art of Baroque in general and Jesuit solutions in particular are characterised by hero-worship. However, unlike the ideal hero of the Renaissance, the Baroque man finds fulfillment not in loneliness but in adapting himself to the system. (Besides, the idea of subordination, which is so important to the worldview of the man of this age, finds its expression in all kinds of Baroque art and their synthesis.) Even though the *Spiritual Exercises* constantly point to the necessity for the right choice and proper, active conduct for God's glory, in general, the hero of this age finds fervent, dynamic, deeply felt experience more important than outward activity, – like it is seen, for example, in painting *St. Francis Xavier* at Ambelī Church (Fig 10). Saints interpreted in this way can be found in Latvia's Jesuit churches: Ignatius Loyola in Ozolaine, Jan Nepomuk in Jelgava and others. Baroque art expresses noble emotions in their most dynamic, fervent and turbulent aspects. To express them, artists of this age usually avoided horizontals, verticals, symmetry and balance, arranging their compositions based on diagonals and asymmetry, impetuous rhythms of forms, and accents of colour and light. The Latvian monuments meet these expectations in highly professional artworks – the convincingly dynamic movement in the carved wooden images in the Skaistkalne and Jelgava churches, as well as the painting *St. Francis Xavier* at Ambelī Church. However, the dynamic is less expressive and representations become stiffer and obviously simplified in less skilful works: gathers are less fluttering, the space around the main character flattens or the face of a saint instead of being a vivid, touching experience, often shows contemplative melancholy (as in the image of St. Casimir in Kuldīga). The professionalism of the authors is related not just to the dynamic representations but also to the inclination for naturalistic representation fostered in Baroque art and especially in the theoretical tracts of the Jesuits.

Although echoes of late Baroque are most characteristic of the region, other stylistic nuances, namely rococo, can also be traced. For example, the painting *Mary Magdalene* at Indrica Church (Fig 11) with its pink-grey colouring



Il. 10. Unknown master. *St. Francis Xavier*. Second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. Ambelji Catholic Church.



Il. 11. Unknown painter. *St. Maria Magdalene*. Mid-18<sup>th</sup> c. Indrica Catholic Church.

as well as her coquettish, courtly appearance meets the expectations of this age of gallantry. Besides this, the painting at Indrica Church shows the ability of the clients within the range of the order to freely operate with various stylistic elements and treat the representation of even the saints who were particularly important to the order with considerable liberty. Even if the author was not a Jesuit artist and the work had not been commissioned by a person belonging to the order, the very fact of its existence in a Jesuit church says much. The painting *Mary Magdalene* at Indrica Church as well as *The Holy Trinity* (with the figures of Church Fathers and saints included) (Fig 12) at Puša is evidence that very skilful and gifted masters were involved in Jesuit activities. These artists were well able to cope with the psychological description of characters, human anatomy, including specific movements, the required colouring and other tasks, which can be mastered only by an experienced painter trained in the arts.

Alongside the outstanding artworks, some examples of lesser artistic skill can also be found. They speak their own, affectionate and at times naïve and direct language, and their presence is an integral part of the general picture of



Il. 12a. Unknown painter. *The Holy Trinity*. Mid-18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Puša Church.



Il. 12b. Albrecht Dürer. *The Holy Trinity*. 1511.



Il. 13. Unknown painter. *Saint*. 18<sup>th</sup> c. From Dagda Catholic Church. Now in Krustpils Catholic Church.

the region's art. They vary from totally amateur works to quite skilful solutions such as Dagda's *Saint* (Fig 13) and Indrica's *St. Helen*.

Unlike Kurzeme, in this region it is possible to talk more about architectural objects and paintings while there are fewer sculptures. This does not mean that Jesuit interest in creating them in Latgale had decreased. The causes of this are related to changes introduced in later times. For example, with the change of owners, the sandstone sculptures of the saints were removed from the Church of Daugavpils. Over time, the furnishings of several churches, including wood-carved altars, were modified or even destroyed. However, regardless of losses, there are still surviving examples in Latgale, which permit learning about the contribution of Jesuits to sculpture.

In conclusion it can be stated that the presence of the Society of Jesus in the territory of Latgale brought diverse and interesting developments thus



Il. 14. Unknown painter. *St. Ignatius Loyola*.  
First half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Rogaiži chapel.

considerably enriching and, to a great extent, determining the cultural landscape of this Catholic region.

As their influence spread in the area of present Latvia, the Jesuits have brought ideas that synchronized with European spiritual life after the Council of Trent.

So far representations of five Jesuit saints in different kinds of art (painting, sculpture and graphics) are known in Latgale. These are: Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Francis Jerome, Stanislaus Kostka and Aloysius Gonzaga.

It is important to note that Jesuits saints are current long after the society has quitted its activities (for example, Ignatius Loyola's image painted in Rogaiži Chapel (Fig 14), sculptures of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in Indrica Church (Fig 15)<sup>2</sup>). This shows that Jesuit ideas had taken roots in the local milieu and acquired actual power transcending that one of the narrow

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<sup>2</sup> There has been passed a supposition that the images seen in the altar of Indrica might be related to the work of Ladwik Voin, who performed the renovation of the Church interior objects during 1823; see, the Inventory of Indrica Church, Latvian State Inspection for Heritage Protection, Documentation Centre (LSIHP DC). Still so far this version has not gained an convincing attestation, therefore for now it is just a hypothetical version.



Il. 15. Ladwik Voin (?). *St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier*. 1823. Figures of the retable of the central altar. Indrica Catholic Church.

aims and needs of a particular organisation. Still this phenomenon (chronological shifts in the dating of work depicting Jesuit saints) causes additional problems for researchers.

A peculiar difference from the implementation of the artistic programme of the order in other places is that until now, no scenes of the glorification of Jesus' name and themed figural compositions have been found at all in Latvia (except the *Holy Trinity* painting at Puša Church). Unlike other places, scenes



of the glorification of Jesus' name, representations of martyrs and a dialogue between notions of Christian culture and the ideas of the antiquity in the art language of the Jesuits have not been discovered within the range of the order's activity in Latvia. But in some cases in Latvia's art, Jesuits speak in the language of allegory, giving additional ideological weight to anthropomorphic images (for example, the images of Faith and Love in the second level of the retable at Skaistkalne Church), as well as the widespread use of emblems, an integral part of Baroque culture. Thus the members of the Society of Jesus in their own particular way participated in helping the Latvian public to learn to perceive and interpret figurative language.

The heritage of the Society of Jesus in art is a specific and important part of the general picture of Latvia's art history, which has produced some exceptional and unique features as well as provided examples, which were later frequently imitated.

During the research process, such new discoveries as, for example, the painting *Saint* at Dagda Church and the painting of an angel in the chapel of Rīga's Church of St. James brought great excitement. It is possible that further research of the theme will bring more surprises.

Next to the Jesuits, in Latgale since 1694 till the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were working also the Dominicans. Initially they concentrated their forces around Pasiene, where the monastery as well as the Church were built (1761–1770), and in wider surroundings – several chapels which later were transformed to be substantive parish churches or filiations of them. Particularly bright testimony of contribution the Dominicans in the cultural field of Latgale is the building of Aglona Church together with the organizing of monastery (1768–1780, 1800). The attribution of the artworks left by this religious formation causes far less problems that there is in case of the Jesuits. Nevertheless the relations of the depicted images and the wider religious context suggest inspiring insights for the art historian.

Dominicans worshipped the images of St. Dominic, St. Vincent Ferrer and the Rosary Madonna.

Around 1753 in Viļāni, invited by the local landlords Ryks, in their turn, there settled the members of Bernadine order, and stayed there until 1832. During the 70ies of the 18<sup>th</sup> century thy built Viļāni Church, and into the circle of their attention there went also the parishes of the nearby surroundings. Just like the Jesuits and Dominicans, also the Bernardines enriched the cultural landscape of the day with artworks depicting the saints of their own order.

The region of Latgale cherishes memories about one more religious movement – the action of the Lazarists or the Congregation of the Mission. In the midst of the 18<sup>th</sup> century they arrived in Krāslava, and the local landlords Platērs committed them the building and organizing of the new church (1755–1767). Members of the Congregation of the Mission took over the work (previously guided by the Jesuits) in the seminary and continued their activities until 1842. Also the Lazarists used to visualize their religious concerns by depicting the most celebrated saints of the order – among which the most prominent is the Patron and the founder of the organisation Vincent de Paul.

Because of the reason that these religious orders coexisted in comparatively small territory, naturally, among them there arose kind of a tension, which could serve as a stimulus for the implementing of various artistic and architectural projects. Nevertheless, despite the mood of competition, the formal qualities of these performances (not only in case of the Jesuits) in general could be very diverse.

The mentioned Catholic spiritual orders performed their mission work, using the art as an important media for popularizing their ideas, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when their activities were radically limited, and the liquidation of the monasteries promoted the squandering of their art collections.

## **Problems of attribution**

The artistic level of these examples is very unbalanced. The artists' professional skill and ability to navigate European artistic samples, and the more – the difficult and complex history of region's churches and their inventories largely influence the later problems of attributing artworks. If the depicted image is hard to identify, answers often can be found in archive materials. Ancient manuscripts (church inventories, reports, letters etc.) contain information not just about the bygone art collections and their value but sometimes also hint towards the depicted persons' names.

## **Inscriptions**

As the most trustful standby for the identifying Catholic saints there serve the inscriptions in cases when they supplement the composition. Still, in the exposure of the region's such artworks are rather few. For example, to the image of Stanislaus Kostka on the procession flag at Brunava Church is added

the name of this saint.<sup>3</sup> Also the painting in Rogaiži chapel there can be seen such an informative indication: in the lower part of the composition there can be seen calligraphic inscription: *S Ignacy Lojola*. Usually such additions are met for the artworks which belong to wider cycles of artworks, still it is hardly believable that the small Rogaiži chapel ever had such (and, as mentioned before, the painting might be brought there later, after the times of activities of the Jesuits). The explanation – *Ignatius Lojolo, Soc. Jesu fundator* – is added to the 18<sup>th</sup> century print by Georg Schön in Gornejeiši chapel. The half-size figure of Ignatius Loyola with unmistakably rendered typical traits is depicted on a neutral background. His gaze is directed upwards, where the *IHS* monogram can be seen in stream of light. Saint is dressed in soutane and holding upon the chest in the piously crossed hands a rosary and a small icon. Unlike the examples of Rogaiži and Gornejeiši, for the sculpture of Pustiņi Catholic Church, the inscription is the only tangible proof that this man in cassock and rosary attached to the belt and a book in his hands, indeed is supposed to be Ignatius Loyola.

## Features

Studying the traditions of representation of various Catholic saints, important help is the fact that several of these humans had been portrayed during their lives (for example Aloysius Gonzaga) or soon after passing (like Ignatius Loyola). Still it turns out that in their later depictions those original artworks are not always consulted obediently.<sup>4</sup>

Moreover, due to the physical similarities of several saints, they can be easily confused not only in Latgale's examples, but also in the foreign ones. For instance, Francis Xavier, which is usually showed as a missionary of the age of 30–40 with curly hair<sup>5</sup>, apart from the context can be taken for John

<sup>3</sup> In the lower part of the flag there is an inscription „S. STANISLAUS S.I. KOSTKA”.

<sup>4</sup> Also to other saints, which cult was popularized by the Jesuits but who did not belong to the order – like St. John of Nepomuk – there can be seen variations of renderings. For instance, in the painting of Rubeni Catholic Church (First half of the 19th century, oil on canvas, 110×81 cm) the saint is depicted in the moment of prayer of meditation, looking upon the crucifix. Unlike the majority of the pictures dedicated to this saint, this one shows him as an older and sad man with reddish hair and beard. The choice of the compositions indicated the closeness of the similar picture “St. John of Nepomuk” in St. Catherine’s Church of Krakow. As an elderly man Jan Nepomuk is also seen in sculptural version of the main altar of Jelgava Catholic Church (now lost, information from the Museum of Latvia’s History, image collection, No 23903, 23886).

<sup>5</sup> In such a way St. Stanislaus Kostka is shown, for instance, in the works of P.P. Rubens. Also copperplate by A. Glowa, which belongs to *Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu* and was created,

Francis Regis, whose look is similar. As a distinctive trait could serve the often upwardly turned gaze of Francis Xavier and the gesture of pressing hand at his heart. Still such a manner is not used for his depictions absolutely persistently, and the more – in such a pathetic emotional experience of faith can be seen also other saints.

Despite fixating the image of Ignatius Loyola in commemorative portraits, the Southern origin and similarities of traits often can be the reason of misinterpreting this saint with Francisco de Borgia<sup>6</sup>. Both leaders of the Jesuit order were very much Spanish-looking men with dark hair and beard. The more – both of them can be shown in town wear (black cassocks) or as priests celebrating the Mass. So far there are not found any representations of Francisco de Borgia in the art of Latgale, still also for the identification of supposed images of Ignatius Loyola the clear information about his look is not always helpful. Doubtlessly, there are enough cases, when the artworks show close following to the more ancient examples, respecting the traditions of his iconography. Previously mentioned image of Ignatius Loyola in Gornejieši and Rogaiži chapels – even apart from the inscriptions – indicate this saint rather clearly, and suggest that as a prototype for these artworks have served the paintings by Alonso Sánchez Coello and, Jacopo del Conte or some later graphic or painting version of it. Comparing these images with the originals, one can see a true portraiture likeness, even if some details differ. Also in the Jesuit artistic heritage of the neighbouring region of Courland (for instance, Ozolaine and Skaistkalne churches), there can be met the depictions which testify such respecting of the former information about the look this saint. Certain similarity with the example of Sanchez-Koello one can perceive also in the image of St Ignatius in the Catholic Church of Ambelī. Still here the painter's artistic heaviness has influenced the handling of his traits.

Several other artworks of the region testify that their authors have not known or followed the traditions nor iconographic examples. Such is, for instance, the image of the main facade of Auleja Catholic church – dressed in albe, chasuble and biretta, pressing his right hand to the chest and reached out the left one (which probably held some now lost attribute), which is commonly believed to be Ignatius Loyola although he is a rather young beardless man

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guiding from the portrait of Francis Xavier (the way it was sent from Goa), saint is depicted as a bearded man with dark hair and bushy, wavy hair.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco de Borgia (Francisco de Borja y Aragón) was the third general of the Society of Jesus (1565–1572).

with roundish cheeks. Just like the sculpture of Auleja, also the painting of Dagda show a completely different image: again supposed *St. Ignatius Loyola* is shown with big, round cheeks, impressive ears and – the most importantly – without the so characteristic beard.

The fact that in those renderings there is not regarded any consequence (when creating free interpretations of the subject matter), very much complicates the research.<sup>7</sup>

## Clothing, attributes

Upon the vast background of renderings of Catholic saints, those which belonged of the various spiritual orders, particularly the Jesuits, just increase confusion in the attempts to identify them. Neither clothing nor the attributes can have the decisive role there. Mostly those are liturgical or casual attires of the priests or monks, whereas the range of attributes (presence of some objects, alive beings, plants or some other phenomena which are supposed to indicate the most important aspects of the hagiography of the saint) also is not too wide (predominantly it is a book, crucifix or lily), and the actual artistic heritage shows applying of use of the same additional motives to the images of various saints.

So, for example, in a “showing” manner in the left hand there holds a crucifix *St. John of Nepomuk*. Mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. Dricāni Catholic Church (Fig. 16), Unknown master. *St. Casimir*. 18<sup>th</sup> c. Feimaņi Catholic Church (Fig. 17), as well as *Francis Xavier* in *Ambelī* painting. In European art, crucifix can be seen also in the hands of *Aloysius Gonzaga*. Moreover, *Aloysius Gonzaga* can be shown also holding a book (which, in its turn, is a characteristic attribute of *Ignatius Loyola*) or *Child Jesus* (which is often met in the renderings of *Stanislaus Kostka*, or *St. Anthony*, – like it can be seen in the painting by *Stanisław Zaleski*. *St. Anthony*. 1876. Rikava Roman Catholic Church (Fig. 18). In *Brunava Catholic Church*, with *Child Jesus* is *Stanislaus Kostka*. He is kneeling before the *Holy Mother*, who is standing upon the cloud. *St. Stanislaus* is holding *Child Jesus*, and nearby on the ground there can be seen a book and lily. Regarding the composition, a very close painting there is in *Catholic Church of Tilža*

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<sup>7</sup> Similar unconformity with the commonly widespread information about the personality of the saint can be seen also in other artworks dedicated to the non-Jesuit saints. For instance, it can be said about the rendering of the *St. Casimir*. For instance, in the main altar of *Jelgava Catholic Church*, he is shown as an elderly man, although it is known that he passed away in his young days.



Il. 16. Unknown master. *St. Jan of Nepomuk*.  
Mid-19<sup>th</sup> c. Dricāni Catholic Church.



Il. 17. Unknown master. *St. Casimir*. 18<sup>th</sup> c.  
Feimaņi Catholic Church.

(19<sup>th</sup> century). Different are just details: beyond the feet of the Virgin, there is a crescent, yet the book and lily have disappeared, – instead of that can be seen two angels. One of them is holding a rosary and a penance whip. And exactly this last attribute introduces quandary, for that is a usual attribute of another saint – Aloysius Gonzaga. Still, regardless the details, it is clear that the depicted scene: appearing of the Holy Mother and Child Christ to the saint (which in general is not characteristic for the iconography of Aloysius and thus let us to exclude this version). Moreover, it is clearly seen that both authors of Brunava and Tiža compositions have been inspired by the same original example. And, basing on the above mentioned clarifying inscription of Brunava example, in the current state of investigation, it can be assumed that both compositions render the same saint – Stanislaus Kostka.



Il. 18. Stanisław Zaleski. *St. Anthony*. 1876. Rikava Roman Catholic Church.

## IHS sign

When analyzing the iconography of catholic saints, one has to consider the frequent use in artworks of the *IHS* sign, which at times can suggest some answers or give helpful indications. This combination of letters originally stands for the monogram of Christ, still in the usage of Jesuits can acquire additional semantic meaning *Jesum habemus socium*. And, although this sign is not the monopoly of this religious order, in the artistic heritage of Jesuits heritage. In the artistic solutions of this order, the letters can be supplied with cross (like it

can be seen in the print by Georg Schön in Gornejieši chapel) above the spoke of letter H and three nails beneath, as well as sunrays embracing the whole composition.

Most frequently this sign appears in the renderings of Ignatius Loyola (for example, in the print of Gornejieši chapel), therefore in several cases, when the attribution of the image is fairly unclear, these letters can help as a hint to this saint. It is so, for example, with the 18<sup>th</sup> century painting of Ambēļi Church, which bears a rather common title *Saint*. The identification of the persons depicted there as well as the interpretation of the content is difficult. It is painted rather unskillfully, using bright colours upon the homogeneous dark background. In the upper part of the composition there is depicted the saint – a monk in a black vesture, carried by two angels. His face is roundish with “spiritual” trait. His glance is turned upwards, upon the Christ’s monogram, which is inscribed in the rays of light. In the lower part there is shown a man in king’s attire: crown and red wrapper with a ermine finish. With his right hand he is upholding an open book which is placed upon a small table and, whereas the forefinger of the left hand is put at his temple. Next to this image can be seen an open coffin where a human is laying with a cross in his hand and dressed in bishop’s clothes. When trying to find out the idea of this complicated composition, first of all one has to consider the saint who can be regarded as a member of the Jesuit order because of the clothing and also because of the Christ’s monogram. As usually this sign is depicted on the chest of Ignatius Loyola or – like in this case – upon his hand in the rays of light, art historian Dace Babre has suggested to attribute the image as exactly this saint<sup>8</sup>. However the king with an open book still remains obscure. It is not saint (because of the lack of the nimbus), nor can be interpreted as any governor mentioned in Old Testament. Such an image does not appear in other artworks concerning Ignatius Loyola, still at times as one of his attributes there can be met a crowned skull used as a symbol of decay of temporal power. It allows to presume that the goal of the Ambēļi image is to tell about the relations of spiritual and temporal power and wisdom. In any case, judging from the unskillful treatment, it is clear that for inspiration of the artwork has not served any particular Western example, and seemingly it was created according to the genuine ideas of the artist or the customer of the artwork.

<sup>8</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu baznīcas svētie Latvijas mākslā: Leksikons. Diploma Paper at the Art Academy of Latvia*, Rīga 1999, p. 66 (Manuscript at AAL).



## Rendered situations

One must admit that not only in the case of the features, clothing and attributes, but the more – also the depicting of the various episodes of the saint's life can be rather misleading.

For example, it appears to be quite a difficulty that most of the saints of the Jesuit order used to be priests, and in artworks can be rendered when celebrating the holy Mass, like Ignatius Loyola and Francisco Borgia – what next to the similar traits and liturgical attire can only increase vagueness.

In the sacral art of Latgale there can be found a painting dedicated to saint Aloysius Gonzaga in Viļaka Catholic Church (19th century). The saint is situated in the right side of the composition dressed in the dark priest's attire. He is kneeling twisted his arms in a gesture of prayer and with a pious expression of face. His gaze is turned towards an angel who, leaning from the cloud is about to reach the Holy Communion to him. One must admit that such a subject in the general iconography of the saint is a rarity. Mostly in artworks the saint can be seen together with an angel (usually archangel Gabriel), who is pointing the way to the heaven<sup>9</sup>. In its turn, during the receiving the Holy Communion, the saint is usually depicted together with the famous priest – who passed the first Communion to Aloysius – Carlo Borromeo<sup>10</sup>. In its turn, angel during the Communion in artworks usually can be seen in the iconography of another saint of the Jesuit Order – Stanislaus Kostka<sup>11</sup>. Legends tell about the episode when Stanislaus Kostka had received the Holy Communion from the Heaven by the ministrations of an angel<sup>12</sup>.

When comparing the composition of Viļaka with other similar renderings, there enter doubts if the character depicted in this particular artwork indeed is meant to be Aloysius Gonzaga, – or maybe rather the saint, famous in Polish sacred art Stanislaus Kostka? In this stage of research it can be concluded that, possibly, the iconography of Stanislaus Kostka has affected the rendering of rather little-known saint Aloysius Gonzaga in this case<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> For example, the altar painting by Giovanni Batista Piazzetta at St. Vitale in Venice.

<sup>10</sup> For example, altar painting by Francesco Cairo at the Jesuit Church in Milan.

<sup>11</sup> Such a subject is seen, in the copperplate by Anton Wierix „The Miraculous Communion of St. Stanislaus Kostka” (before 1615), the event drawn from the hagiography of the saint. J.B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, ed. B. de Graaf, Leiden 1974, vol. I–II, p. 146–147.

<sup>12</sup> Still, alike the situation rendered in Viļaka Church, in the image by Anton Wierix there can be seen several angels descending from heaven, one of whom is passing the host upon the patena to the saint, other is holding a vessel of vine, while others are gathering around the centre as the witnesses of the event and the panegyrist of the saint's virtues.

<sup>13</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu baznīcas...*, p. 11.

Strange ideas can be seen in the rendering of the famous missionary Francis Xavier, which similarly to the features, also can indicate to the deficient knowledge of the painter, or his freedom of the interpretation. In the case of Francis Xavier mostly it can be said about the images of the baptized pagans by him. Meaning, among the “savages” there can be often seen the Indians of America<sup>14</sup> (for example, among the audience of Francis in Ambelī painting) or black people which look more alike to the native inhabitants of Africa (which can be seen in Līvberze painting). Moreover, not only the people and surroundings, but also the saint’s pose – turning to the audience in this wide gesture of preaching and at the same time (by the help of the glance as well as arm pressed to the chest) stressing the idea of the divine source of inspiration – in several cases can be misleading.

For instance, such is the image of a preacher in Krāslava Church. In several sources there has been expressed an opinion that this pose of the saint’s turning to the nation in wide gesture (who in this case are the actual participants of the Mass) – serves as the most trustful proof to his identification with the St. Francis Xavier<sup>15</sup>. In the current phase of research there is not enough reason neither to approve nor neglect this idea. Connections of the Jesuit Order with Krāslava Church cannot be denied, however during the building of the current Church the Jesuits were resettled to Indrica, while the attendance of Krāslava Church was in hands of Lazarists or Congregation of Missioners whose saints, as said above, in some cases can be similar to those of the Jesuits (in terms of attires, attributes, “Southern” traits etc.).

Even more: The attributes, gestures as well as rendered situations can be misleading in many cases. For example, angel serving the Holy Communion to St. Aloysius Gonzaga, while commonly in European art in such a way is depicted Stanislaus Kostka (and as for Gonzaga, he is showed in this situation together with Carlo Borromeo). Misleading is also the whip of penance seen at the depiction of Stanislaus Kostka in Brunava Church, whereas this attribute is common for Gonzaga.

Also the renderings of Francis Xavier – which largely correspond to the general solutions, and then again some peculiarities. For example, the peoples being baptised by him: in the Courlandian version of Līvberze they resemble the inhabitants of Africa, whereas those in Ambelī<sup>16</sup> painting recall people of

<sup>14</sup> For example, the altar painting by Carlo Maratta at the chapel of Chiesa del Gesù; in Rome.

<sup>15</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu baznīcas...*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> According to the information of the church inventory, the Catholic Church of Ambelī in 1782 was served by the dean of Aglona (initially the parish of Ambelī was in the attendance of the Aglona Dominicans). There have not found any documentary witnesses testifying that in this

New World, still it is known that Francis Xavier performed his mission work exclusively in the regions of Asia. And his gesture of preacher as if wanting to bespoken a large audience, has suggested to presume that the sculpture in Krāslava church also depicts the very saint – although by the time of building and decorating the church, the Jesuits had left the place for the nearby Indrica.

## Similarities with European artworks

Helping hand to the studies of Latvian artworks there is reached by the examples of European art which often offer close similarities with the renderings met in the current region. Thus, for example, identical solution of the composition of Ignatius Loyola in Ozolaine Catholic Church is the artwork by Pieter Paulus Rubens of the same title<sup>17</sup>. Study of those examples can help for attributing other, still unknown examples of art of Latgale. Such, for example, is the painting on wooden surface discovered in 2004 in Dagda Catholic Church. There was expressed opinion that the image depicted in painting would be attributed to the Jesuit Michael Roth who self-denyingly worked for many years during the activity of the Jesuits in this church. Studying the specific nuances of the Jesuit iconography, one must come to conclusion that – despite the fact that in the heritage of the order there can be met examples when there were rendered famous Jesuits – who had gained the overall acknowledge and respect before their canonization – still in most cases glance of the customers was turned to the celebrating the oldest and most experienced members of the order. So far, leaving the version of the portraiture of the well-known Jesuit of Latgale, noteworthy seems to be the compositional scheme which calls up the already seen examples of Ignatius Loyola. In the vertical format, occupying the biggest part of the surface, on the two step-base, next to the altar there is rendered a priest with an upward turned glance and hands risen upwards to the breast. The gesture of the priest and especially the glance is not too much exalted and does not testify about any too theatrically or affected manifestations (which are often incriminated to the Jesuit images), still far much more it is motivated by the inner experience, restricted and the same time lightful and spiritual. According to the language of Baroque, the suggested artist's answer

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church would be performing their missionary work also the Jesuits, still here appears several paintings (created in the other half of the 18th century by several anonymous professionals) closely connected to the iconography of the order.

<sup>17</sup> Peter Paul Rubens. "Saint Ignatius Loyola". C. 1621. Oil on canvas, 225 × 131 cm. Brukenthal Museum, Sibiu. Inv. Nr. 0995.

to this pious glance is seen in the rays of light, which have descended next to the priest above the altar. Similar manner holds the saint derived from the Roben's composition in Ozolaine Church – where one can see Christ's monogram in the rays of light above the saint (it is very possible that also in the version of Dagda there were such additional elements, still not visible due to the current state and preservation of the artwork). Unlike the Ozolaine image, who holds with one hand the open book on the altar, the saint of Dagda has risen both, while the book seems to be closed and put vertically upon the altar and abet to the candlestick. However the main difference is seen in the traits of both saints. If the Ignatius of Ozolaine is similar to the images of Gorneješi Chapel, Skaistkalne Church and Rogaiži Chapel, indeed resembling the famous, dark-haired saint with the bold head, moustache and small bread around his cheeks and chin, then the human in Dagada painting differs from the popular type greatly. Although not very young, having long and curly hair and even, roundish face, huge eyes, – the saint depicted no way recalls the overall image of Saint Ignatius. Still, for this version speaks the iconographical language – priest, which is shown when celebrating the Holy Mass, book and altar, rays of light where his glance is turned to – as well as the examples of European and Latvian local art tend to approve the version about St. Ignatius. Dagda's painting, although stiffer, compared to the painting of Ignatius of Ozolaine, still in the overall color solution of Ozolaine as well as details shows appropriate mastery. Apart from the problems of attribution, the painting found in Dagda, undeniably is a very precious finding and serves to get its position in the overall picture of the art history of Latvia.

## **Pair depictions of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier**

Another – in a way helpful, and again at times confusing feature – is the placing of pair sculptures on the high altars. In most cases these are apostles with their traditional attributes, which do not evoke any questions. But again, in cases if these are other Catholic saints, there can come out many misunderstandings. In the working areas of the Jesuits, it is commonly believed that the figures on the second floor of the retable (and the pair figures as such as it is in the church façade in Auleja, these would be St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Francis Xavier. For instance, church visitation texts recently assured about this presumption in case of Jelgava catholic church, which so far, when touching the

matter in various publications, remained anonymous. Still, the wish to apply the same names at the examples in Subate, was recently denied by the suggestions that these could be St. Francis Xavier and St. Aloysius Gonzaga.

As a kind of answer can serve the situations where the famous saints are depicted both. So, for example, the sculptural images of Skaistkalne and Indrica high altars (whose attribution in sources is fixed and well-known) aspire to believe that the similar images in other cases (the priests in the second storey of the altar, depicted in pathetic gestures) depict the same saints. At times this connection is lucky to be proved. That is, for example, in Jelgava Church, where the approve to the hypothetic idea was given by the documents of the Lithuanian State Archive. In the church-visitation texts there was explained that the images (still anonymous in the published articles) indeed can be identified as Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier<sup>18</sup>.

On the other hand, the decor of the central altar of Kuldīga Church this assumption still remains just in status of guessing<sup>19</sup>. Also the figures of saints in Auleja Church, still just hypothetically can be retaliated with the persons of Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier<sup>20</sup>, because, as mentioned before, neither in the terms of features, nor accessories there is not guaranteed the approve for such a similarity, and also the priests garment is not a sufficient helping for the answer.

In some cases, like it is with the solution of the high altar of Subate Church, the identification of sculptural images can change. Two saints visible in the second hand of the retable (both dressed in cassocks and holding lilies as well as crucifix) initially were attributed as Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier<sup>21</sup>, still, in course of time changed in favor to Aloysius Gonzaga instead in Ignatius Loyola<sup>22</sup>.

Despite the help of many additional sources, verbal tradition of the local inhabitants, still in some cases the image remains obscure and enigmatic, inviting to continue the work of research.

<sup>18</sup> ...a nad obrazom śś. Ignacego i Franciszka Xaverego... – LVIA, f. 668, ap. 2, b. 285, l. 51 – Inventory of Jelgava Church in 1850; *In alteri contignatione SS Nomen Jesus, et in suprema Providentia divna in carbas transparenter aelineata indusque per duas ex utramque parte oclumnas violeceas et extra columnas, per statuas albas Sti Ignati iet St Francisci Xaveri* – Inventory of Jelgava Church in 1820, – LVIA, f. 669, ap. 2, b. 222, l. 531.

<sup>19</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu garīgo ordeņu ikonogrāfija Latvijas baznīcu glezniecībā*, [w:] *Paper at the Art Academy of Latvia*, Rīga 1995, p. 43 (Manuscript at AAL).

<sup>20</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu baznīcas...*, p. 55.

<sup>21</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu garīgo...*, p. 47.

<sup>22</sup> D. Babre, *Katoļu baznīcas...*, p. 55.

## Streszczenie

### Święci zakonów katolickich w artystycznym dziedzictwie polskich Inflantów

Oryginalność Łatgalii (dawnej: Polskie Inflanty) w dużym stopniu kształtowała się pod wpływem procesów historycznych i politycznych. W roku 1561 teren ten dostał się pod władanie Polski. Również po wojnie polsko-szwedzkiej, region ten pozostawał pod władzą Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. W 1677 Łatgalia otrzymała nazwę niezależnej jednostki administracyjnej, Wielkiego Księstwa Inflantów. Nazwa ta została zachowana do momentu włączenia tego obszaru do Imperium Rosyjskiego w 1772 roku. Jednak istnienie Łatgalii w przygranicznej strefie wpływów dwóch różnych tradycji kulturowych, chrześcijańskiego kościoła obrządku Zachodniego i Wschodniego, zaznaczyło się nawet bardziej niż zmiany w jej statusie administracyjnym. Na tym obszarze kontakty ze Wschodem rozwijały się poprzez członków wyznań chrześcijańskich: prawosławnego, staroobrzędowego oraz unickiego. Równie silna była także orientacja w kierunku Zachodu, do której utrzymania przyczynili się katolicy z Łatgalii, którzy zdominowali ten region.

Wśród zakonów najbardziej godni uwagi byli jezuita, którzy prowadzili swoją działalność pod patronatem województwa polsko-litewskiego od roku 1582 do 1820. Członkowie tej organizacji pozostawili znaczące dziedzictwo prezentujące łotewską sztukę wizualną.

W miarę jak wpływy jezuitów rozprzestrzeniały się na obszarze dzisiejszej Łotwy, zaczęli oni przedstawiać swoje idee, które zbiegły się w czasie z europejskim życiem duchowym po Soborze Trydenckim.

Namiestnicy i kolekcjonerzy dzieł sztuki, członkowie *Towarzystwa Jezusowego* wzbogacili łotewską kulturę zarówno artystycznie, jak i ideologicznie; ich wkład pokazuje w jaki sposób refleksja, modlitwa i przeżycia duchowe związane są z wizerunkami świętych przedstawianych w dziełach sztuki.

Dotychczas znane są w Łatgalii podobizny pięciu świętych jezuickich w różnych rodzajach sztuki (malarstwo, rzeźba i grafika). Są to: Ignacy Loyola, Franciszek Ksawery, Franciszek Hieronim, Stanisław Kostka i Alojzy Gonzaga.

Należy zauważyć, że pomimo kasaty zakonu wizerunki jezuickich świętych są nadal obecne (np. obraz przedstawiający Ignacego Loyolę, znajdujący się w kaplicy w Rogaiži, rzeźby prezentujące Ignacego Loyolę i Franciszka Ksawerego w kościele w Indrica). Wynika z tego, że idee jezuickie miały swoje korzenie w środowisku lokalnym oraz że nabyły wyjątkowej mocy, przekraczającej wąsko określone cele i potrzeby tej szczególnej organizacji. Pomimo tego, zjawisko to (odnośnie chronologicznego przesunięcia w datowaniu prac przedstawiających świętych jezuitów) przysparza badaczom dodatkowych problemów.

Poziom artystyczny tych przykładów jest bardzo nierówny. Szczególne umiejętności artystów oraz zdolność wkomponowania się w europejską sztukę artystyczną w dużej mierze wpłynęły na późniejsze problemy z przypisaniem prac ich autorom.

Z pewnością najbardziej pomocne okazały się umieszczone na samych dziełach sztuki inskrypcje, wyjaśniające, co przedstawiają. Inskrypcje można znaleźć, na przykład, na wizerunku przedstawiającym Stanisława Kostkę na fladze używanej do procesji w kościele katolickim w mieście Brunava, Ignacego Loyolę przedstawionego w kaplicy w Rogaiži, Ignacego Loyolę autorstwa Georga Schöna w kaplicy w Gornejješi, i w innych miejscach.

Jeżeli przedstawiony obraz jest trudny do zidentyfikowania, odpowiedzi często można znaleźć w materiałach archiwalnych. Starożytne rękopisy (inventarze kościelne, raporty, listy itp.) zawierają informacje nie tylko o dawnych zbiorach sztuki i ich wartości, ale czasami także są wskazówką przy ustalaniu nazwisk ich autorów.

Oprócz materiałów archiwalnych, informacje można znaleźć w katalogach ikonograficznych, książkach na temat wzornictwa sztuki europejskiej, jak również w innych tematycznie podobnych dziełach sztuki.

Jednak, pomimo tych źródeł, w niektórych przypadkach obraz pozostaje niepoznany i zagadkowy, skłaniając do kontynuowania prac badawczych.

Poza jezuitami, w Łatgalii od 1694 do końca XIX wieku działali również dominikanie. Początkowo koncentrowali swoje siły wokół Posina, gdzie wybudowano klasztor oraz kościół (1761–1770), oraz dalszych obszarach kilku kaplic, które później przekształcono w kościoły parafialne lub ich filie. Szczególnie widocznym świadectwem wkładu dominikanów w dziedzinę kultury Łatgalii jest budowa kościoła oraz organizacja klasztoru we wsi Agļona (1768–1780, 1800). Przypisanie autorstwa dziełom pozostawionym przez tę formację religijną przysparza znacznie mniej problemów niż w przypadku jezuitów. Niemniej jednak powiązania namalowanych obrazów z szerszym kontekstem religijnym skłaniają historyka sztuki do inspirujących spostrzeżeń.

Około roku 1753 w Viļāni osiedlili się członkowie zakonu Bernardynów, zaproszeni przez lokalnych właścicieli ziemskich, Ryksów, i pozostali tam aż do roku 1832. W latach siedemdziesiątych XVIII wieku wybudowali w Viļāni kościół, a w centrum ich uwagi znalazły się również okoliczne parafie. Podobnie jak jezuita i dominikanie, również Bernardyni wzbogacili ówczesną kulturę o dzieła sztuki przedstawiające świętych ich zakonu.

Region Łatgalii pielęgnuje wspomnienia o jeszcze jednym ruchu religijnym – o działalności Lazarystów lub Zgromadzenia Misji. W XVIII wieku dotarli oni do Krasławia a miejscowi właściciele ziemscy, z rodu Platerów, powierzyli im budowę i organizację nowego kościoła (1755–1767). Członkowie Zgromadzenia Misji przejęli prace w seminarium (wcześniej prowadzone przez jezuitów) i kontynuowali swoją działalność aż do roku 1842. Lazażyści

także prezentowali swoje zaangażowanie w religię za pomocą malowideł przedstawiających najbardziej znanych świętych ich zakonu, wśród których najważniejszy to patron i założyciel organizacji Wincenty à Paulo.

Ponieważ zakony te współistniały na stosunkowo niewielkim obszarze, rzeczą naturalną jest, że powstało między nimi pewnego rodzaju napięcie, które mogło być bodźcem do realizacji różnorodnych projektów artystycznych i architektonicznych. Niemniej jednak, pomimo panującego nastroju konkurencji, formalne cechy tych reprezentacji (nie tylko w przypadku jezuitów) mogą być bardzo zróżnicowane.

Wspomniane zakony katolickie wykonywały swoje działania misyjne, wykorzystując sztukę jako istotny środek do popularyzowania swoich idei. Działo się tak aż do XIX wieku, kiedy ich działania zostały radykalnie ograniczone, a likwidacja klasztorów przerodziła się w unicestwienie ich kolekcji sztuki.

*Tłumaczenie Monika Birula-Białynicka*