

TOMASZ ROLSKI

THE PAINTING OF THE LAST JUDGMENT IN THE CHAPEL OF THE HOLY CROSS, FOUNDED BY JANUSZ TYSZKIEWICZ: ICONOGRAPHIC MODELS

Abstract. Between 1654 and 1658, Tomasz Muszyński (died before 1680), a representative of Polish Baroque painting, worked for the Dominican Order in Lublin. In the Chapel of the Holy Cross, founded by Janusz Tyszkiewicz, he painted a fresco in the dome depicting the Last Judgment, i.e. Christ's judgment over humanity. This painting is part of an ideological programme related to the Passion of the Christ and the Redemption, created within the Dominican circle. The subject of the painting is also connected to the song for the deceased, a fragment of which is recorded in the open book held by angels. While creating the painting, the artist compiled various graphic models, simultaneously introducing his own interpretations. He drew on graphic sources including Giovanni Battista Fontana's *Last Judgment* (1587), Pieter de Jode I's 1617 copperplate, based on Jean Cousin the Younger's *Last Judgment* (1615), and prints from Jacobo Bosio's work.

Keywords: Dominican Chapel of the Holy Cross, Lublin; fresco of the Last Judgment; Tomasz Muszyński; Jacobo Bosio; Giovanni Battista Fontana; Jean Cousin the Younger; Pieter de Jode I

OBRAZ SĄDU OSTATECZNEGO W KAPLICY ŚWIĘTEGO KRZYŻA FUNDACJI JANUSZA TYSZKIEWICZA: WZORCE IKONOGRAFICZNE

Abstrakt. W latach 1654–1658 r. Tomasz Muszyński (zm. przed 1680), reprezentant polskiego malarstwa barokowego, pracował dla zakonu oo. Dominikanów w Lublinie. W kaplicy Świętego Krzyża ufundowanej przez Janusza Tyszkiewicza namalował w kopule fresk z przedstawieniem Sądu Ostatecznego, sądu Chrystusa nad ludzkością. Obraz będący jednym z elementów programu ideowego związanego z męką Chrystusa i Odkupieniem został stworzony w kręgu dominikanów. Tematyka obrazu wiąże się także z pieśnią za zmarłych, której fragment został zapisany w otwartej księdze trzymanej przez anioły. Wykonując obraz, malarz dokonał kompilacji różnych wzorów graficznych, jednocześnie wprowadzając swoje interpretacje. Muszyński korzystał z wzorników graficznych: dzie-

TOMASZ ROLSKI, MA graduate in Art History from the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin;
e-mail: tomekrolski@gmail.com; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0000-4716-3729>.

ła Giovanniego Battisty Fontany *Sąd ostateczny* (1587) i Pietera de Jode I z 1617 r., tj. miedziorytu wykonanego na podstawie obrazu Jeana Cousina mł., *Sąd ostateczny* (1615), oraz z grafik zawartych w dziele Jacobo Bosio.

Słowa kluczowe: Dominikanie; Lublin; kaplica Świętego Krzyża; Sąd Ostateczny; Tomasz Muszyński; Jacobo Bosio; Giovanni Battista Fontana; Jean Cousin mł.; Pieter de Jode I

In 1645, Janusz Tyszkiewicz (1590–1649), voivode of Kiev, received a privilege from King Władysław IV to build a chapel adjacent to the church of the Dominican Fathers in Lublin.¹ The chapel was intended to house the relics of the Tree of the Holy Cross, which had been brought to the Lublin monastery after the year 1400.² Thanks to the writings of the historian Jan Długosz from the 1470s devoted to the Lublin reliquary, the Dominican church in Lublin became a well-known sanctuary of the Tree of the Holy Cross.³ We note the greatest growth of veneration of the relic at the end of the 16th and in the 17th century. This was connected with the growth, in both Europe and Poland, of specialized literature devoted to the history of the relics of the Tree of the Holy Cross. European publications also included information about the Lublin relic, which led to the revival of its cult and an increase in the importance of the Lublin sanctuary.⁴ This was the direct reason for the expansion of the Dominican church and the addition of chapels to its main body.

The main architectural and devotional focal point of the sanctuary became the Chapel of the Holy Cross, founded by Janusz Tyszkiewicz. It was erected in the most prominent part of the church – behind the presbytery. The construction work on the chapel was entrusted to the Lublin builder Jan Cangierle and continued between 1645 and 1658. At the base of the structure, the architect utilized an existing quadrilateral tower, upon which he placed an octagonal form of the chapel, crowned with a flattened dome on a drum. Inside the chapel, the Italian stucco artist Giovanni Battista Falconi (ca. 1600–after 1658)

¹ The Dominican monastery in Lublin was founded after 1240, gaining prominence in the Polish province in the 15th and the 16th century. Cf. Jerzy Kłoczowski, “Klasztor dominikański w Lublinie w pierwszych wiekach swego istnienia w ramach prowincji polskiej (stulecia XIII–XIV),” in *Dominikanie w Lublinie. Studia z dziejów i kultury*, ed. Henryk Gapski (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2006), 25.

² Irena Rolska-Boruch, “Dzieje Krzyża Chrystusowego i legenda rodowa Tyszkiewiczów,” in *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. 10, ed. Irena Rolska-Boruch (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2010), 104–5.

³ Leszek Wojciechowski, “Dominikańskie sanktuarium Krzyża św. w Lublinie do połowy XVII wieku,” in Gapski, *Dominikanie w Lublinie*, 140.

⁴ Wojciechowski, 111–19; Wojciechowski, *Drzewo przenaświętsze. Problematyka Drzewa Krzyża w chrześcijaństwie zachodnim (IV – połowa XVII wieku. Od legend do kontrowersji wyznaniowych i piśmiennictwa specjalistycznego)* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2006), 172–75.

introduced divisions in the form of an entablature and Corinthian pilasters set into parts of the walls, suggesting an articulation in the grand architectural order. The entablature and pilasters allowed for a visual, perspectival connection between the chapel and the interior of the church's presbytery. The stucco artist completed his work in the chapel in 1658.⁵

The construction of the Chapel of the Holy Cross, in its exceptional location at the termination of the presbytery, had a symbolic significance. Such a placement was associated with the symbolism of the Tomb of Christ.⁶ Its octagonal form can be interpreted as a symbol (among other interpretations) of the covenant between humankind and God through the sacrifice of Christ.⁷ The interior of the chapel was ideologically linked to the Passion of the Lord. The painted and stucco decoration of the chapel presents a coherent conceptual program, realized according to a carefully developed theological conception.

The theme of the chapel's interior decoration is related to the fundamental tenet of the Christian faith. In the lower part of the upper story of the chapel, within the monastic stalls, were placed figures of Dominican saints. Above them, on the shafts of the pilasters, appear the Arma Christi: the column of flagellation and the crown of thorns, as well as the cross supported by angels, a jug with vinegar, and a cock. On the front wall of the chapel, sculpted figures of Old Testament prophets announce the coming of the Messiah. The program is complemented by three paintings that symbolically refer to Golgotha: *The Crucifixion* painted by Tomasz Muszyński (d. before 1680), and *The Nailing to the Cross* and *The Descent from the Cross* by Albin Kucewicz.⁸ According to the Gospel of St. Matthew, Golgotha was the place where a judgment took place – both of Christ (Mt 27:45–50) and simultaneously of the entire world.

An additional component of the chapel's ideological program is the depiction of the Judgment over the World in the form of the fresco *The Last Judgment* painted on the dome. About seventy years ago, the first monographer of the fresco, Janina Eustachiewicz, based on archival sources, identified Tomasz Muszyński as the author of *The Last Judgment* in the Tyszkiewicz Chapel and indicated graphic models that served as inspiration for the painting. In 1965, Stanisław Michalski, also using archival sources, confirmed

⁵ Jerzy Kowalczyk, "Architektoniczno-rzeźbiarskie dzieło Falconiego w Lublinie (Kaplica św. Krzyża przy kościele dominikanów)," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 24 (1962): 27–43; Kowalczyk, "Elementy Świątyni Salomona w kościołach nowożytnych w Polsce," in *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej*, ed. Piotr Paszkiewicz and Tadeusz Zadrozny (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 1997), 396.

⁶ Rolska-Boruch, "Dzieje Krzyża Chrystusowego," 106.

⁷ *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, vol. 4, *Allgemeine Ikonographie, Nachträge*, ed. Engelbert Kirschbaum (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1968), 494–96.

⁸ Two paintings from the history of relics attributed to Tomasz Muszyński were placed in the chapel: *The Finding of the Holy Cross* and *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross*.

Muszyński's authorship, and his findings were accepted by later researchers.⁹ The purpose of this article is to supplement existing research on the graphic models used by Tomasz Muszyński in his painted depiction of the Last Judgment in the Chapel of the Holy Cross at the Church of the Dominican Fathers in Lublin. The conservation of the fresco has also made possible a new interpretation of certain fragments of the composition (figure 1).

Work on the completion of the Tyszkiewicz Chapel and the fresco began concurrently with the creation of the stuccowork in May 1654. Tomasz Muszyński was to receive a hefty remuneration, amounting to 1,400 florins, paid in installments, for painting the fresco. In August 1655, Giovanni Battista Falconi and Tomasz Muszyński received their final payments for the work completed in the chapel.

The Last Judgment in the dome of the chapel was executed *al fresco* between 1654 and 1655. Above the chapel's interior opens an oval dome, immediately drawing attention to the figure of the returning Christ – the Judge on the Day of the Last Judgment – according to the description in the Gospel of St. Matthew:

Then will appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven. And then all the peoples of the earth will mourn, and they will see the Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. And he will send his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect from the four winds, from one end of the heavens to the other. (Mt 24:30–31)¹⁰

Christ the Judge is the Resurrected Christ – His muscular body still bears the marks of His wounds and crucifixion (figure 2).

His hips are covered with a white perizoma, while a red robe is draped over His shoulders and lower body. The figure of the Savior appears against a background of a golden, radiant, sun-like glory. Christ sits upon a rainbow, symbolizing the covenant with God, and beneath His feet rests the blue sphere of the earth. His right hand holds a sickle, as we read in the Book of Revelation: “Then I looked, and there before me was a white cloud, and seated on the cloud was one like a son of man, with a crown of

⁹ Janina Eustachiewicz, “Fresk w kaplicy św. Krzyża przy kościele OO. Dominikanów w Lublinie,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 6, no. 4 (1957): 227–44. Tomasz Muszyński and his work were discussed by, among others, Stanisław Michalczuk, “Sąd Ostateczny Tomasza Muszyńskiego w kościele dominikanów w Lublinie,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 13, no. 4 (1965): 15–51; Michalczuk, “Muszyński Tomasz,” in *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 rokiem). Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. 5, *Le–M*, ed. Janusz Derwojed (1993), 678–79; Michalczuk, “Muszyński Tomasz,” in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 22, ed. Emanuel Rostworowski (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977); Kowalczyk, “Architektoniczno-rzeźbiarskie dzieło Falconiego,” 27–43; Michał Walicki, Stanisław Tomkiewicz, and Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, *Malarstwo polskie. Barok, manieryzm* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1971), 19, 39.

¹⁰ The New International Version of the Bible, available at <https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Matthew%2024%3A30-&version=NIV>.

gold on his head and a sharp sickle in his hand” (Rev 14:14). The exposed torso of Christ and the display of His wounds, in accordance with the teaching of the Church, testify that the Savior fulfilled His mission of Redemption.¹¹ Around Him, as described in the Gospel of St. Matthew, winged angels circle in motion. The depiction of Christ corresponds to a 1617 engraving by Pieter de Jode I (figures 3–4), based on a painting by Jean Cousin the Younger (ca. 1522–ca. 1595), active in Paris, titled *The Last Judgment* (1585) (figure 5). At Christ’s feet, two small angels hold an open book with a citation from the Mass for the Dead, *Dies irae* (*Day of Wrath*):¹² LIBER SCRIPTUS PROFERATUR | IN QUO TOTUM CONTINETUR | UNDE MUNDUS IUDICETUR.¹³ The authorship of the Mass is attributed, among others, to the lector of the Dominican studium at Santa Sabina, Latino Malabranca Orsini (d. 1294).¹⁴ The words of the hymn inscribed on the fresco may suggest that its text – similarly to many European painters – was used as a conceptual framework for the depiction of the Last Judgment in the Dominican chapel.¹⁵

In the upper circle of the fresco, upon the clouds, kneels Mary on Christ’s right side (figure 6). Mary is dressed in a red courtly gown with a low neckline, a blue mantle, and a white veil covering her head and loose hair. The veil falls over her shoulder and chest. Her left hand is placed upon her breast, while her right arm is lowered. Mary gazes toward Christ, as if interceding for the souls of the dead. Behind the Mother of God sits St. Peter, shown in shortened perspective – an elderly, bearded man wearing a blue and rose tunic and a brown mantle. His head is lowered, looking down on the resurrected, his right hand pointing at Christ, while in his right hand he holds two keys, in accordance with the words of Jesus: “And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven” (Mt 16:19).

¹¹ Michalczuk, “Sąd Ostateczny,” 37.

¹² A 13th-century Latin hymn describing the day of judgment and used for centuries in the Roman liturgy as a sequence for the Requiem Mass. “Dies irae,” Wikipedia, accessed June 1, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dies_irae.

¹³ “The written book shall be brought forth, in which all is contained, by which the world shall be judged.”

¹⁴ “Latino Malabranca Orsini,” Wikipedia, accessed June 1, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latino_Malabranca_Orsini.

¹⁵ Stanisław Michalczuk related this quote to the text from the Book of Daniel (Dn 7:10): “Fluvius igneus rapidusque egrediebatur a facie ejus. Millia millium ministrabant ei, et decies millies centena millia assistebant ei: iudicium sedit, et libri aperti sunt.” He also referenced a line from the Apocalypse (Rev 20:12): “Et vidi mortuos, magnos et pusillos, stantes in conspectu throni, et libri aperti sunt: et alius liber apertus est, qui est vitæ: et iudicati sunt mortui ex his, quæ scripta erant in libris, secundum opera ipsorum.” Michalczuk, “Sąd ostateczny,” 37. Both quotations concern the Last Judgment, but they are not quoted on the book in the fresco (both Latin versions are available at <https://www.wilbourhall.org/pdfs/vulgate.pdf>).

Next to St. Peter sits another bearded holy man, dressed in a yellow mantle. Behind Mary, the holy man and St. Peter stand the redeemed, among whom we can see a nun in a white habit – possibly St. Rose of Lima – and a friar in a brown habit. To the side kneels St. Francis, wearing a brown habit with a rosary at his waist. Above this group, upon the clouds, sit holy virgins clothed in white garments, under the patronage of St. Catherine of Alexandria, who is depicted in a blue dress and a red mantle. With one hand she holds her attribute – the wheel upon which her bones were broken.

On the left side of the Saviour sits John the Baptist (?) or perhaps Daniel (?), who kneels on one knee with his hands clasped in prayer. The saint is dressed in a light tunic and a red-brown cloak. Behind him are the elders – the prophets who foretold the coming of Christ in the Old Testament (figure 7). Moses, wearing a green robe, holds the tablets of the Decalogue, and behind him stands King David with a lute and a crown on his head. In the foreground sit two more prophets, without clearly visible attributes. One, dressed in a blue robe and a red cloak (Isaiah?), points with his hand toward Hell. The other prophet, shown in a foreshortened perspective, is seated with his back turned. He wears a blue robe and a red cloak. Next to him stands St. Ignatius of Loyola, dressed in the characteristic black cassock of the Jesuits, holding an open book – presumably the *Spiritual Exercises*. To the side, with arms outstretched yet holding a book, stands St. Dominic, and behind him another Dominican, perhaps St. Hyacinth. Beside him, behind the prophets, appears a group of saintly men with individualized facial features. Above them, seated on a cloud and engaged in discussion over an open book, are the Doctors of the Church: St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory the Great, dressed in white albs and golden copes, wearing mitres on their heads. Among them sits a clergyman in cardinal's vestments and a cardinal's hat, holding on his lap the Bible translated by himself. Next to the Doctors of the Church are probably seated the Fathers of the Church.

On the side of the presbytery, directly opposite Christ, a cross painted within a golden glory is depicted. It is no longer an instrument of torment, but a symbol of Redemption (figure 8). The juxtaposition of Christ and the cross in glory, facing one another, according to Stanisław Michalczyk, was connected with the conceptual program devised by Father Paweł Ruszel.¹⁶ Jerzy Kowalczyk¹⁷ pointed out that the cross in glory in the fresco resembles an engraving from Jacobo Bosio's work *Crux triumphans et gloria* (1617) (figure 9).¹⁸ The design for the illustration in Paweł Ruszel's book *O skarbie nigdy*

¹⁶ Michalczyk, "Sąd Ostateczny," 39.

¹⁷ Kowalczyk, "Architektoniczno-rzeźbiarskie dzieło Falconiego," 37, notes 22 and 23.

¹⁸ *Crux Triumphans et Gloriosa, a Jacobo Bosio descripta libris sex; ad sacrae et profanae historiae [...]* Antuerpiae, ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Balthasarem et Joannem Moretos, 1617.

nieprzebrany [...] *Krzyżu Pańskim* [...] (On the treasure untold [...] of the Lord's Cross [...]), published in 1655 (figure 10), was most likely borrowed from this source.¹⁹

At the base, the cross rests upon three angelic heads, while two winged angels dressed in red robes and blue cloaks support the cross. Two other angels hold the precious relic – the Cross of Christ – through a white veil. One of them is clothed in a red robe girded with a blue sash, the other wears a golden garment, also tied with a blue sash. Above the cross, on a scroll, appears the inscription *HOC SIGNUM CRUCIS ERIT IN CAELO*, announcing the Last Judgment.²⁰

To the right of the cross is seated a praying pope, dressed in a golden cope and wearing a tiara, beside him cardinals in red vestments and hats, and a group of men – monks and the redeemed – clad in white robes. Heraldically, on the left side of the cross, seated upon clouds, are emperors, kings, and princes absorbed in prayer (figure 11). They are dressed in ceremonial gold and red copes: closed crowns on the emperors' heads, open crowns on the kings, and caps are worn by the princes. Behind them stand members of the nobility, their faces rendered with individualized features. Further back, the redeemed appear, dressed in white garments.

Above the arms of the cross, on either side, groups are placed within the clouds: to the left, some youths are visible dressed in colourful garments; on the right, we see virgins in white robes. Between the clouds, three angels are depicted in dynamic poses and shortened perspective. They blow great trumpets, with small angelic heads hovering nearby.

The Madonna and St. Peter point toward the lower section of the dome, where, on the left side of the painting, stretching from the book held by the angels to the cross, unfolds the sphere depicting the resurrected and the redeemed (figure 12). The dead rise from their graves, their naked and half-naked bodies alongside their burial shrouds. Even skeletons and bones emerge from the tombs. They raise their hands upward – some filled with joy, others with fear at the prospect of facing God, like the crouching woman in a white robe. The resurrected ascend toward heaven, joining the procession of the redeemed among the clouds. Overseeing the entire scene stands an angel elevated on a platform, holding a sickle in his hand: “And another angel came out of the temple which is in heaven, he also having a sharp sickle” (Rev. 14:17). At the centre of the scene, a young woman leans against the knee of an angel who rests his hand upon her shoulder. The woman is dressed in a white robe and wears a small crown upon her head. On both sides of this scene, landscapes are visible: on the side of the cross, flames rise above

¹⁹ Paweł Ruszel, *Skarb nigdy nieprzebrany Kościoła świętego katolickiego, Krzyż Pański: o którym tu są trzy księgi z doktorów świętych y historyków poważnych napisane* (Lublin, 1655–1656).

²⁰ The entire verse of the song is: “Hoc signum crucis erit in caelo cum dominus ad iudicandum” (It will be the sign of the cross in heaven when the Lord comes to judge).

a green expanse, while on the opposite side the outlines of a city and a landscape with a mountain can be seen.

On the opposite side of Christ and the cross unfolds the depiction of Hell (figure 13). A devil pushes a cart in the form of a skeleton, inside which sits a couple – a man holding a chalice embraces a woman. The demonic coachman, wearing a triangular hat and a cloak, drives two fantastic beasts with a whip. On the beasts' backs sit winged devils, one playing a trumpet, the other perhaps a flute. In the background, winged lizards fly among clouds of fire. A powerful devil plays a guitar, while beside him a serpent bites a man who holds a deck of cards in one hand and overturns a wine barrel with the other. Behind him, another devil or a damned soul emerges from the abyss. A drunkard and a gambler are pulled by a thick rope tightened around their necks by a massive devil with animal legs and hooves. A group of the damned attempts to escape from Hell, but they are guarded by fire-breathing serpents. The reptiles also coil around the naked body of a woman. Below them, a group of heretics burn in the flames of Hell. They are dressed in foreign garments: one wears a white ruff, a yellow cloak, and a triangular hat; another is dressed in a black cassock with buttons and a white collar. Standing before him is a man holding an open book, wearing a light violet robe with a white collar. Similarly attired is the man at the back of the group, whose flat cap is trimmed with a white band. He tears a sheet inscribed "Arius infelix", referring to the Arians. On the faces of the heretics, scorched by fire, terror and screams are visible. Nearby, the heretical books burn. Protestants were often portrayed as drunkards and greedy for money – an idea reflected here in the figure of a man drinking from a jug and the moneybag beside him. Near this group of men stands a terrified woman with a bare breast, and beside her another woman, in a white cap, presses her hands to her cheeks. Behind them kneels a naked woman with a skull-like face, raising her hands upward; her waist is entwined by a fire-breathing serpent. The group of the damned is driven by devils through a gate into the abyss of Hell, where, behind the bars of the infernal gate, sinners burn. A naked woman is chained to the grate. A massive devil half-embraces a captured man, forcing him into Hell. In the background rise the walls of Hell and the flames. The image of Hell depicted here finds numerous analogies in the theological works of the period.²¹

Tomasz Muszyński drew upon an engraving by Pieter de Jode I, yet introduced his own interpretation of the Last Judgment scene. The painter selected two principal motifs from the composition – the figure of Christ and the cross borne by angels. However, he altered certain elements and added new ones; for example, he changed the placement of the Madonna and St. John the Baptist, who originally accompanied Christ. In both the

²¹ Tomasz Młodzianowski, *Kazania i homilije na niebie doroczne, także święta uroczyste* [...] (Poznań, 1681), 2:396; Michalczuk, "Sąd Ostateczny," 39.

painting and the engraving, the Saviour points with his right hand to the wound in his side, whereas in the Lublin fresco his hand is lowered. The artist adopted the compositional arrangement of the upper sphere of the scene and, following the prototype, positioned upon the clouds – on either side of Christ – groups of prophets, saints, rulers, and the redeemed. Muszyński selected some of the figures directly from the print, including the group with the pope and the clergy. He combined the figures of rulers from the engraving with those of prophets, who, in both the painting and the print, are seated above the monarchs. Clear similarities are visible in the arrangement of the bodies and draperies of certain figures, as well as in their anatomical depiction.²²

In the lower section of the fresco, only selected episodes from the painting and the engraving are depicted. These include the angel with a sickle, the seated angel accompanied by a young woman, and the devil pulling a condemned soul by a rope wound around the sinner's neck. There is also the motif of a naked woman bound with a rope, a woman clenching her fists, and terrifying demonic masks.

This is not the only print that served as a model for the Last Judgment fresco in the Tyszkiewicz Chapel. In 1587, the Italian painter and engraver Giovanni Battista Fontana (1524–1587) produced an etching depicting the Last Judgment (figure 14). Noticeable are the similarities in the figure of the Virgin Mary as well as in the group with St. John the Baptist. It is possible that Tomasz Muszyński also drew upon this source when painting the scenes of Hell. Muszyński's work is distinguished by the artist's great imaginative freedom in the depiction of Hell, but he may also have used other graphic models for his painting, such as another print by Giovanni Battista Fontana, *The Vision of Ezekiel* (1579) (figure 15).

In accordance with religious and social expectations, Muszyński's fresco includes a condemned group of heretics. This was particularly significant in the context of Lublin, where a religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics persisted. The fresco also features apostles, saints, and representatives of religious orders important to the Counter-Reformation, including St. Ignatius of Loyola, who do not appear in the prototypes. The update in the fresco also involved the inclusion of typical Sarmatian figures within the Last Judgment scenes painted by Tomasz Muszyński.

In 1658, Father Paweł Ruszel (1593–1658) passed away in the monastery; he had briefly served there as prior in 1640. The Dominican was primarily involved in the activities of the studium generale. Father Ruszel became a major promoter of the cult of the Holy Cross. In his work *Skarb nigdy nieprzebrany Kościoła świętego katolickiego, Krzyż Pański* (Lublin, 1655–1656), which was based on the work of Jacob Boiss and

²² Jean Cousin the Younger was fascinated by the works of Michelangelo and his figures were modelled on the works of the Italian master; Michalczuk, "Sąd Ostateczny," 35.

Jacob Gretser, *De sancta Cruce* (I–III, Ingolstadt, 1600–1605), he described the stages and instruments of the Passion of Christ and wrote about the Cross in the history of salvation, its significance in devotional practice, and the history of the Lublin relic.²³ Paweł Ruszel is most likely the author of the ideological program for the Holy Cross Chapel, including the Last Judgment fresco. The Dominican died in 1658, his demise coinciding with the completion of the chapel, which is probably why there is no direct documentation of his involvement in the preparation of the chapel's conceptual program or the fresco itself. However, on the stucco of the chapel, the date "A. 1658" appears alongside the initials of the prior of the Dominicans in Lublin from 1656–1659, Walerian Świdorski: "FVST" (Fater Valerianus Swiderski Theologus).

A carefully conceived ideological program was introduced into the Tyszkiewicz Chapel as a sanctuary of the Holy Cross. Identifying the author of this program is quite difficult, as at that time, in addition to Ruszel, many outstanding theologians resided in the Lublin monastery. At the Dominican convent in Lublin, there existed, after Kraków, the second formal studium, and between 1644 and 1686, a studium generale, where many distinguished theologians served as professors, having acquired their knowledge, among other places, in Rome and Paris. The Lublin monastery housed a vast library containing prints and publications from across Europe.²⁴ Those educated in Rome and Paris would have had the opportunity to become familiar with painted and graphic representations of the Last Judgment.

During the period of the construction and decoration of the chapel's interior, between 1650 and 1652, the prior of the monastery was Father Jan Chryzostom Polewicz (d. 1652), a scholar educated in Paris, a professor, polemicist, and expert in Holy Scripture, as well as the founder of the studium generale. After his death, Jan Czesław Bajer (d. 1670) was elected prior in the years 1652–1655; like Polewicz, he had likely studied abroad, probably in Paris. In the Lublin studium, he taught philosophical and theological subjects.²⁵ Jan Ambroży Wadowski wrote of him: "He rendered great services in the restoration and enlargement of the monastery."²⁶ By virtue of their offices of prior, each of them were able to actively participate in the execution of the Holy Cross Chapel.

The Last Judgment fresco by Tomasz Muszyński is narrative in character, with a composition arranged as a story undoubtedly conveyed to the painter by Dominican

²³ Anna Nowicka-Struska, "Ruszel Paweł OP," in *Encyklopedia katolicka* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2012), vol. 17, coll. 618–19.

²⁴ In the first half of the 18th century, after the destruction during the war with Sweden (1702), the Dominican library contained over 12,000 books; Jan A. Wadowski, *Kościół lubelskie na podstawie źródeł archiwalnych* (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1907), 293–96.

²⁵ Robert Świętochowski, "Bajer Jan Czesław OP," in *Encyklopedia katolicka* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1985), col. 1265.

²⁶ Wadowski, *Kościół lubelskie*, 317–18.

theologians. In his work, the artist drew on fragments of prints and paintings with thematically similar representations popular in European art to illustrate the Last Judgment. He referred to the graphic works of the Italian Giovanni Battista Fontana (*Last Judgment*, 1554–1579), the painting by the French artist Jean Cousin the Younger (*Last Judgment*, 1615), and the engraving by the Flemish Pieter de Jode I (*Last Judgment*, 1617) based on this painting, as well as a print from Jacobo Bosio's *Crux triumphans et Gloria* (1617), yet he subjected them to his own interpretation. As early as 1936, Juliusz Starzyński and Michał Walicki noted that the fresco in the Holy Cross Chapel of the Dominican Church in Lublin “has a particularly significant value for the history of art in Poland, as it is one of the earliest examples of monumental decoration in the spirit of full Baroque in the country, based on excellent Italian models,”²⁷ and therefore it is worth continuing to study it and emphasizing its importance in the history of Polish monumental painting.

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²⁷ Juliusz Starzyński and Michał Walicki, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej* (Warszawa: M. Arct, 1936), 107.

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FIGURES



Figure 1. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment*, 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel (photo by Author)



Figure 2. Tyszkiewicz Chapel, Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655
(photo by Author)



Figure 3. Pieter de Jode I, copperplate engraving based on Jean Cousin the Younger's painting *The Last Judgment*, 1617, Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University, <https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2017/10/17/the-last-judgment-in-twelve-plates>

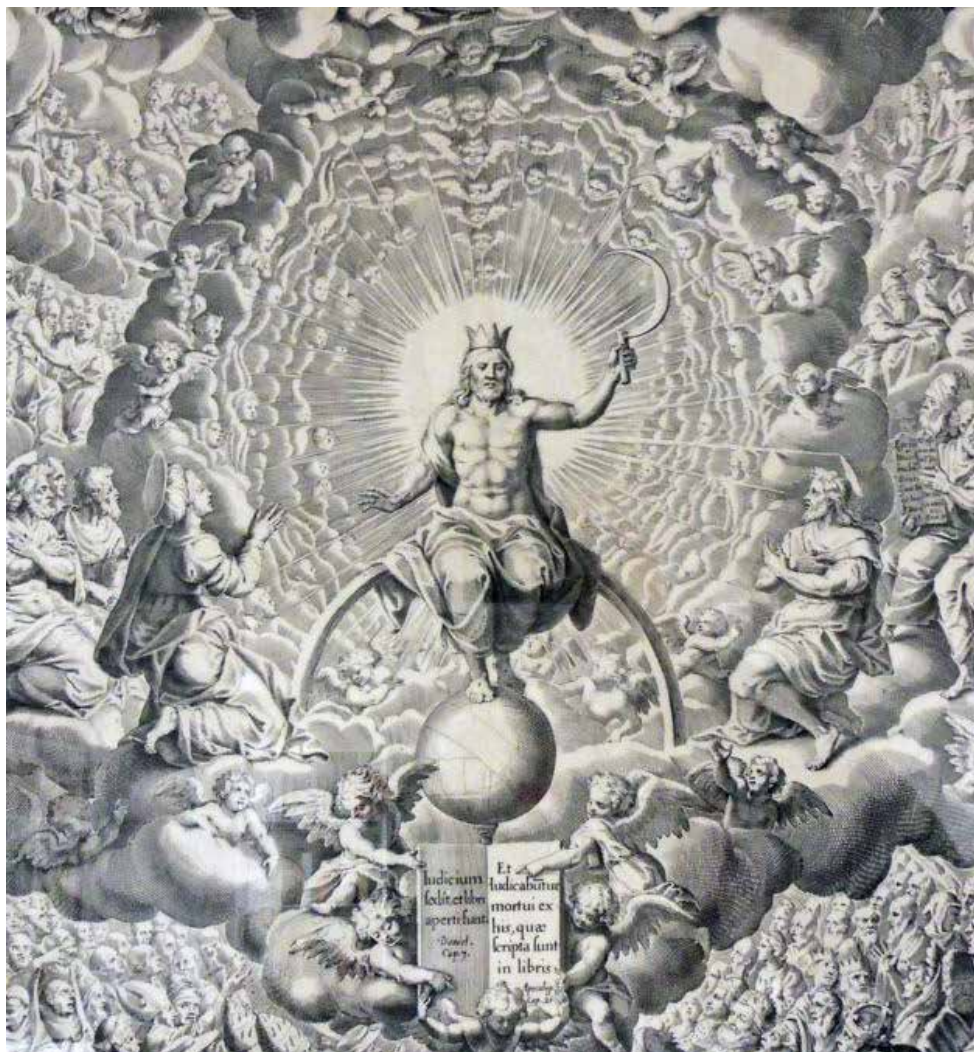


Figure 4. Pieter de Jode I, copperplate engraving based on Jean Cousin the Younger's painting *The Last Judgment*, 1617 (detail), Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University, <https://graphicarts.princeton.edu/2017/10/17/the-last-judgment-in-twelve-plates>



Figure 5. Jean Cousin the Younger, *The Last Judgment*, 1615, Wikipedia, https://pl.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plik:The_Last_Judgement._Jean_Cousin



Figure 6. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel
(photo by Author)



Figure 7. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel
(photo by Author)



Figure 8. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel
(photo by Author)

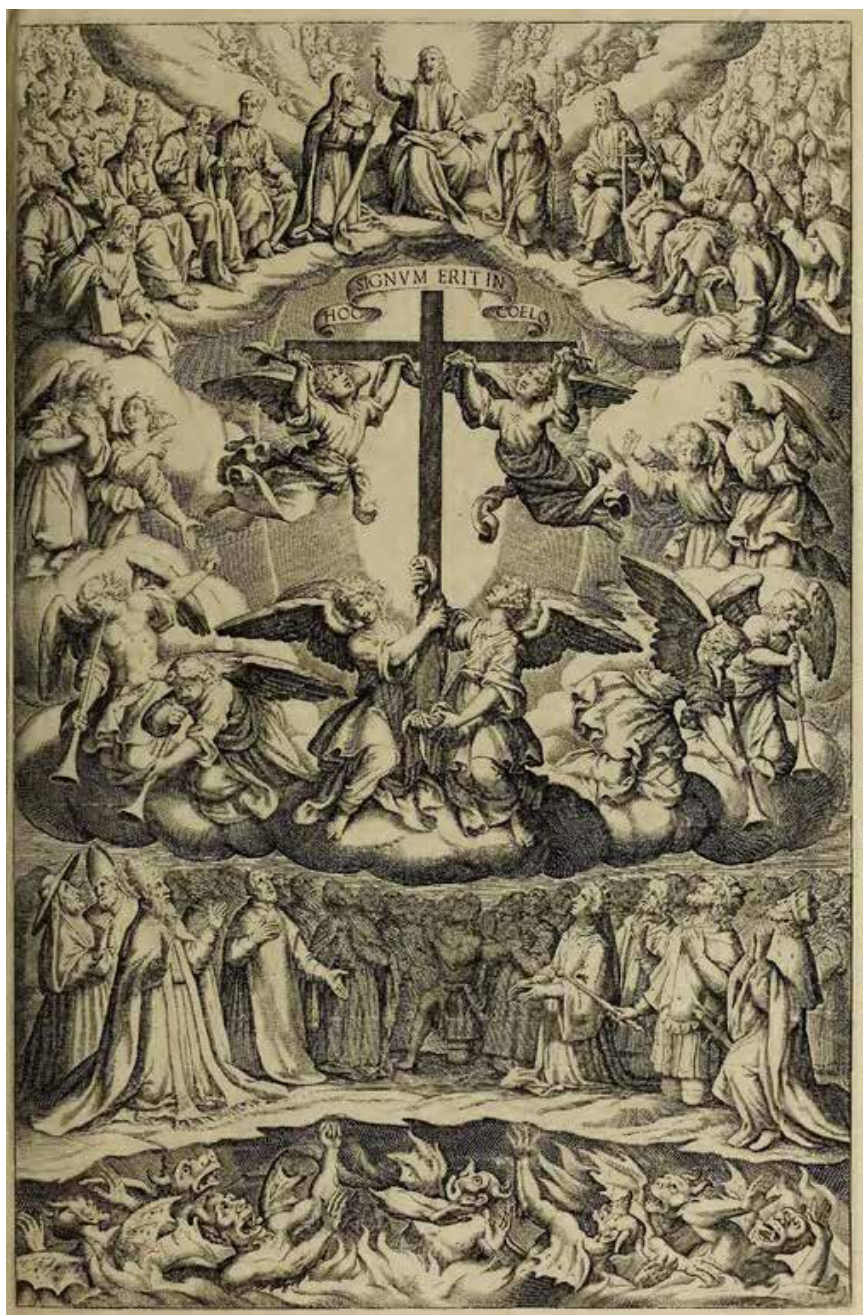


Figure 9. Jacobo Bosio, *Crux triumphans et Gloria* [...], 1617, p. 19, Internet Archive, <https://archive.org/details/cruxtriumphanset00bosio/page/n17/mode/2up>



Figure 10. Paweł Ruszel, *O skarbie nigdy nieprzebranym* [...], 1655–1656, Polona, <https://polona2.pl/item/o-skarbie-nigdy-nieprzebranym-kosciola-swietego-katholickiego-ks-2-to-iest-o-drzewie,MTQwOTY2MjM0/2/#info:metadata>



Figure 11. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel
(photo by Author)



Figure 12. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel
(photo by Author)



Figure 13. Tomasz Muszyński, *The Last Judgment* (detail), 1654–1655, Tyszkiewicz Chapel
(photo by Author)



Figure 14. Giovanni Battista Fontana, *The Last Judgment*, before 1587, etching on paper, 564 × 425 mm, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, <https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/18141>



Figure 15. Giovanni Battista Fontana, *The Vision of Ezechiel*, 1579, engraving, <https://www.meisterdrucke.pl/wydruki-artystyczne/Giovanni-Battista-Fontana/1167142/Wizja-Ezechiela>

