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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH TOWARDS PALACE CHAPELS IN EARLY MODERN POLAND

Abstract. Palace Chapels which used to take part in representational program of the most of the aristocratic residences remain still rather unknown. In Poland researches on this issue are particularly difficult because of the tragic historical events that led to the situation in which there is no original, untouched 18th century palace as Mariusz Karpowicz has stated. The lack of information on palace chapels in Poland should be then completed in other way. The attitude of the Catholic Church in Poland towards private places of worship, which is a subject of this article, can be regarded as one of the ways to broaden our knowledge about them. The text shows some efforts of the Polish hierarchs since the 17th till end of the 18th centuries to limit creating and existing of the chapels which has been presented with the comparison to similar actions of the French bishops.

Key words: palace chapel; chapel; residence; 18th century; Poland.

The problem of palatial chapels, once indispensable element of a magnificent dwelling, remains still a relatively unknown issue and is rarely taken as a subject of separate analysis¹. The reason of this lies above all in an exclusive character of these places, generally inaccessible through the centuries for outsiders and (especially in the territories of the former Rzeczpospolita) sharing tragic stories of residences they used to be part of. Today there is not any 18th

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century residence in Poland which remains untouched as Mariusz Karpowicz wrote². This remark illustrates the best how difficult researches on the mentioned issue are. Because there is a very little research material of still existing private chapels that would allow us to get acquainted with this phenomenon more closely, one has to refer to a different type of sources, especially to those which show a reception of private chapels in the society. In this article I am going to trace a line of the Catholic Church – the institution that attitude towards private places of worship in early modern period presented rather an overall disapproval. There used to be two exceptions of this: chapels forming part of a clergy residence and those that served a sovereign. In the case of the royal chapels they were not only accepted, but even used to form an ideological and representational center of a dwelling complex – a clear symbol of the Divine investiture, as it can be seen in Versailles or Nancy and as it used to be in the Saxon Palace in Warsaw.

Since the early Middle Ages the royal practice has been imitated also in magnate residences which has met immediately very firm Church opposition. One of the first attempts to constrain spreading of private chapels or at least to regulate some aspects of their functioning were following synods of Châlons (813), Aachen (816) or Paris (829)³. In 877 Hincmar, the archbishop of Reims, urged the clergy in his diocese not to allow anyone to have a private chapel and to inform him about these which were created before his bishopric⁴. This was only a part of a broad action of Hincmar to bring every aspect of the liturgical life under the metropolitan control in the times of the political crisis⁵. It is particularly interesting that in the early regulations we can see constant repeats banning services in gardens which testifies this type of practices⁶. Although consequent, Church's endeavours to limit number of the domestic places of worship did not succeed. One of the reasons was undoubtedly the crisis of the civil authority in the 10th century Europe which followed the fall of the Carolingian Empire and led to a decentralization of the civil power.

² M. KARPOWICZ, *Sztuka polska XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1985, p. 5.

³ F. BABIN, *Conférences ecclésiastiques de la Diocèse d'Angers: Sur la Sacrifice de la Messe; tenues pendant l'Année 1716*, Avignon 1749, p. 134.

⁴ C. FLEURY, *Histoire ecclésiastique (depuis la naissance de Jesu-Christ jusqu'en 1414)*, vol. XI, Bruxelles 1714, p. 374. This issue is mentioned also in broader context of Hincmar's actions in: J. DEVISSE, *Hincmar. Archevêque de Reims 845-882*, vol. II, Genève 1976, p. 868.

⁵ J. NELSON, *Kingship, Law and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Reims*, "The English Historical Review" 92 (1977), p. 252.

⁶ F. BABIN, *Conférences ecclésiastiques*, p. 133; M. AUBRUN, *Moines, paroisses et paysans*, Clermont-Ferran 2000, p. 171.

As the effect of this tendency in some regions of today Germany chapels (or their remains) can be traced in more than a half of medieval dwellings⁷. As it has been stated in the introduction, the royal foundations were always tolerated as a symbol of the unity between the Divine investiture on the Earth through a figure of king. The best known example of a monarch's chapel is Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, founded in the first half of the 13th century by Louis IX and Blanche of Castile which almost immediately served as an inspiration for the archbishop's chapel at the Reims Cathedral⁸ and which is a continuation of a sophisticated line of royal chapels taking their roots in the Constantinian foundations in Constantinople through the famous Aachen palatine chapel of Charlemagne⁹.

In the late Middle Ages the Church constantly tried to moderate the phenomenon of the private chapels. In 1314 a decree was issued by Guillaume le Marle, the bishop of Angers, where he showed precise conditions under which this kind of place could exist. The first was of course the necessity of obtaining a permission that could be released only by a local bishop. Even after one has already received such a document, the possibility of celebrating the liturgy in a private dwelling was still strictly limited. The bishop could interfere in his indult, having always in his mind affairs of a parish where a private chapel was located¹⁰. One of the most important issues was thus a very clear conflict of interests between a clergy hierarchy of the local parish church and *de facto* new place of worship, dependent only on its owner. In effect services could not be celebrated there in the most important days: Resurrection Sunday, All Saints Day, Pentecost, Christmas Day, Assumption or, what is significant – the day of the parish church's patron¹¹. Sometimes obtaining a permission from a local bishop led to a new precedence, which was introducing private places of worship into an urban residence which often was a clear reference to a sovereign's dwelling. One of the earliest places of this type was the Scala Palace, founded by a Florentine politician Bartolomeo Scala in late 15th century where the chapel was placed right on the opposite side of the entrance

⁷ A. GRZYBKOWSKI, *Średniowieczne kaplice zamkowe Piastów Śląskich*, Warszawa 1982, p. 8.

⁸ M. COHEN, *An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris*, "Speculum" 83 (2008), p. 857.

⁹ Some scholars suggest formal references in the Sainte-Chapelle to the buildings of Solomon; D. WEISS, *Architectural Symbolism and the Decoration of the Ste.-Chapelle*, "The Art Bulletin" 77 (1995), pp. 308-320.

¹⁰ F. BABIN, *Conférences ecclésiastiques*, p. 141.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 143.

and its presence was undoubtedly inspired by the famous Medici Chapel in the Palazzo Medici¹².

The hierarchs of the Catholic Church in Poland also had to face some issues related to the problem of secular influences on the liturgical order of the institution. Although in the first centuries we cannot trace any signs of the problem of the palace chapels, some private initiatives were limited, as it was with a question of founding altars in churches without obtaining permission from a parson¹³. In the late 15th century some controversies on the private chapels were taken into consideration and noted¹⁴ but the policy towards this question was not generally disapproved since they were an important supplement of small number of liturgical places, especially in eastern borderlands of the country¹⁵. When analyzing the question of exclusive places of worship it seems important to note that there are some similarities in menaces of private chapels and the *ius patronatus* which developed within the feudal social system, which was question of many regulations in the Middle Ages¹⁶ and of which some elements can be traced in following centuries¹⁷, also in examples of churches that used to function as palatial chapels¹⁸.

In the Early Modern times the question of the private chapels was discussed during the Council of Trent. In the decree *De observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missae* held on the session 22nd of the Council in 1562 the bishops were instructed not to celebrate the liturgy in private residences of places that are not completely consecrated for the Divine service¹⁹. As a result of the Counterreformation line, the Church was showing its growing disapproval for this kind of places. In most of the cases having a private chapel

¹² L. PELLECCIA, *The Patron's Role in the Production of Architecture: Bartolomeo Scala and the Scala Palace*, "Renaissance Quarterly" 42 (1989), pp. 270-272.

¹³ I. SUBERA, *Synody prowincjonalne biskupów gnieźnieńskich*, Warszawa 1981, p. 55.

¹⁴ J. KRĘTOSZ, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego od XV wieku do 1772 roku*, Lublin 1986, p. 230.

¹⁵ Ibidem, pp. 228-229.

¹⁶ W. ABRAHAM, *Początki prawa patronatu w Polsce*, Lwów 1889, pp. 9-11.

¹⁷ These issues are broadly commented in: B. SZADY, *Prawo patronatu w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych*, Lublin 2003.

¹⁸ K. GOMBIN, *Eustachy Potocki I Ludwik Markiewicz. Rola kolatora i proboszcza przy budowie kościoła pałacowego pod wezwaniem św. Marii Magdaleny w Sernikach*, [in:] *Ziemiaństwo na Lubelszczyźnie. Materiały II sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Muzeum Zamoyckich w Kozłowie 22-24 maja 2002*, Kozłówka 2003, p. 250.

¹⁹ "Ne patiantur privatis in domibus, atque omnino extra Ecclesiam & ad divinum tantum cultum dedicata Oratoria, ab eisdem Ordinariis designanda & visitanda, sanctum hoc sacrificium a saecularibus aut regularibus quibuscumque peragi". See *Sacrosancti et Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini Canones et Decreta*, Paris 1823, p. 182.

entrained keeping also a chaplain who would serve there. In Church's sensitized eyes this situation could lead to a potential menace of losing the control over the canons and the liturgy itself. The chaplain, serving his master, was more dependent on him than on a local bishop. In the 17th century Guillaume de Chartres wrote about the royal court in France: "D'ailleurs, c'est une grand erreur de dire que l'Eveque de Paris est le Curé pource que cela ne se peut soutenir par l'Antiquité, & que le Roy n'a ny Cure, ny Paroisse, que sa Chapelle, da laquelle Le Grand Aumonier de France est le Chef & l'Eveque de la Cour"²⁰, words which showed how important his function was. These words indeed have met reality – the French court functioned as a particular province of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On its top there was the Great Almoner of France²¹ - the post introduced in the 15th century. Within the time passing his position was constantly growing to the extent when it was recognized as the peak of the Church hierarchy in France²². One can state that the practice of some Polish noblemen who were able to – *toutes proportions gardées* – imitate royal courts, has affirmed worries of the Church. A decision of who will serve as a chaplain was in nobody's but a nobleman's hands. He could easily remove a priest or change him. The preferred convent where chaplains used to be often recruited were the Franciscan Observantists (known in Poland as Bernardines), perceived as good companions and portrayed rather coarsely by Jędrzej Kitowicz: "Bernardyni [...] nie wystrzegają się w kompaniach poufałych przesadzać świeckich w tęgości głowy na trunki [...]"²³. Bernardines were not only domestic chaplains – they used to be strongly represented in religious military services since the 16th century²⁴. The other convent causing the bishops much trouble were the Franciscans who "used to celebrate the liturgy in private chapels against the law and provided people with sacraments reserved for parish priests"²⁵.

The next field of doubts about the private chapels were the issues concerning forms of celebrating the liturgy, focusing mostly on how does a domestic chapel look like and where it is located. The Council of Trent has not issued any precise guidelines regulating any of these problems. A very im-

²⁰ G. DU PEYRAT (ABBE GUILLAUME), *Histoire ecclesiastique de la coeur ou les antiquitez et recherches de la Chapelle du Roy de France*, Paris 1645, p. 131.

²¹ W. MAGDZIARZ, *Uwodziciele władzy*, Warszawa 2013, p. 20.

²² *Encyklopedia kościelna*, vol. IX, Warszawa 1876, p. 511.

²³ J. KITOWICZ, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, Warszawa 1999, p. 85.

²⁴ C. MORYC, *Udział magnaterii w bernardyńskich bractwach religijnych*, [in:] *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. IX, Lublin 2008, pp. 13-14.

²⁵ J. ATAMAN, W. H. Sierakowski i jego rządy w diecezji przemyskiej, Warszawa 1936, p. 252.

portant outcome of the Council debates however, were the well-known *Instructiones fabricae ecclesiasticae*, published in 1577 by Carlo Borromeo²⁶. In his instructions Borromeo has not come up with any reflection on a palatine chapel, however, he devoted all chapter to a question of a chapel which he simply understood as a small church. According to Borromeo's theory, a "simple church" should be made on a rectangular design, have an oriented presbytery and be elevated by at least one step²⁷.

The important source of information for organization and existence of private chapels in the Early Modern times are above all synods' regulations of local clergy from the 17th and 18th centuries. One of the most comprehensive documents is a set of recommendations of the diocese of Angers from 1716 in 18 volumes which has become a highly esteemed work of the doctrinal thought²⁸. A lot of cases analyzed in the list are not limited to such questions as establishing or equipping a chapel. Their author, François Babin, a noted theologian, has presented sophisticated reflections seeking for its archetype in the Apostolic times. Babin has traced Biblical examples of using dwellings for the Divine cult stressing that the very special conditions of the Evangelical times required limiting the liturgy to private houses²⁹. In the meantime he calls famous words of Saint Paul from the first Letter to Corinthians "Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum & bibendum?" (1 Cor, 11, 22), demanding a special treatment for not only a place of a worship but also, as he presented it, its direct surroundings. According to Babin the palace chapel should be a clean interior, having both a pavement and a ceiling (or a vault) and should not be deprived of ornamentation – in other cases the liturgy must not be celebrated there. He cites the bishop of Grenoble, Etienne le Camus who wrote in 1671 about the most common lapses in establishing a private chapel:

Lorsque de notre consentement, on voudra bâtir des Oratoires ou Chapelles domestiques, on ne le pourra faire que dans une place éloignée des chambres, offices & appartements où les maîtres & serviteurs habitant pour l'ordinaire; on ne couchera ni dessus ni dessous; on ne les occupera d'aucuns meubles profanes; on n'y ferrera ni blé, ni vin, ni fruits; on ne mettera ni litiere, ni écurie, ni pigeonniers, ni caves, ni bucher, ni fruitiers, ni gardemeuble dessus ni dessous ni à coté. Elles ne seront pas jointes à des sales où l'on mange, où l'on danse, ni proche des cuisines & des degrés; on fermera les portes après la

²⁶ R. SÉNÉCAL, *Carlo Borromeo's Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae and Its Origins in the Rome of His Time*, "Papers of the British School at Rome" 68 (2000), p. 241.

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, vol. II, Paris 1923, p. 4.

²⁹ F. BABIN, *Conférences ecclésiastiques*, p. 132.

celebration, afin qu'elles ne servent, ni pour dormir ni pour s'entretenir. On n'y confessera point sans notre permission par écrit, on n'y donnera point la benediction aux femmes qui releveront de couche, & on n'admettra aucun Prêtre passant, même des Religieux à y dire la Messe sans en avoir parlé aux Curés & avoir eu leur consentement³⁰.

As it can be seen, the bishop has mentioned the menace of “unlicensed priests” in private chapels. It is important to note that the Church was particularly vigilant to this aspect of functioning of the chapel since, as it has been already mentioned, the bishop had no real control over a possible deviation in the doctrine or even a heresy:

L'on ne doit jamais permettre aux Prêtres vagabonds & inconnus, de célébrer la Messe soit dans les Eglises des Seculiers, soit dans celle des Reguliers, soit dans les Chapelles domestiques, s'ils ne representent une permission de célébrer, accordée par l'Evêque du Diocèse où ils demandent à dire la Messe. Cela a été plusieurs fois défendu [...] Les Curés doivent instruire des ces defenses, les Seigneurs qui ont dans leurs Châteaux des Chapelles domestiques, parce qu'ils pourroient y admettre des Prêtres suspens, interdits ou incapables de célébrer les saints Mysteres. Ce qui seroit fort scandaleux³¹.

The French hierarchs were not alone in their attempts to cope with stabilizing the important problem for the Church palace chapels used to be. The same issue the Polish bishops had to face. In the medieval Poland the synods have not stated against practices in castle chapels but there were a few actions to limit some private initiatives such as placing an altar in a church without permission from a local preacher³² or building a private chapel on the site of the previous church³³. It can be assumed that in the 16th century private places of worship were rather supported by bishops because of very limited number of churches, especially in the eastern dioceses of the country³⁴.

One of the first symptoms of the *tridentinum* reception in the Polish Church can be traced back to 1593 when the Kraków diocese synod, held by cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł took place and issued 19 articles, being an introduction to broader reforms of the religious organization³⁵. However, the first regulations concerning the right use of the consecrated spaces as well as their formal solutions appeared in 1601, as proves it Bernard Maciejowski's pastoral epistle to

³⁰ Ibidem, pp. 145-146.

³¹ Ibidem, pp. 146-147.

³² I. SUBERA, *Synody prowincjonalne*, p. 55.

³³ J. KRĘTOSZ, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej*, p. 230.

³⁴ Ibidem, pp. 228-229.

³⁵ B. KUMOR, *Dzieje diecezji krakowskiej do roku 1795*, vol. II, Kraków 1999, p. 147.

priests. In the letter he pointed out some tips for relics, images of saints, pavements, altars or pulpits³⁶ which have announced beginnings of the growing interest of the liturgical forms. In the meantime bishops initiated first attempts to control the eucharistic worship in residences as Jan Zamoyski³⁷ or Marcin Szyszkowski who demanded special permissions from chaplains on the famous Kraków diocese synod held in 1621³⁸. It was much of a coincidence that first such regulations limiting private chapels have been introduced right in the moment of a growing number of these places. We can assess that since the mid 17th and most of the 18th centuries private chapels were founded in palaces throughout Rzeczpospolita. Not able to cope with the problem, the bishops decided to seek a support at the Pope Benedict XIV whom they have asked for issuing an adequate document. In 1751 the Pope has announced the bull in which he reserved the right to issue permissions for chapels and described in details the conditions that the organization of the liturgical life had to meet. The other important issue was the precise description of functioning of these places. The first, concerning the location of a chapel in a residence, stated that it should be established in a certain distance from the rest of the palace³⁹. The following focused on the liturgical aspects – it was allowed to have in a chapel only silent masses (without music). The previous interdictions have been repeated, such as a ban for performing there the service on Christmas, Resurrection Sunday, Green Week etc. It was forbidden to serve any sacraments in chapels. The most interesting regulation however was that the masses should be celebrated only in assistance of those only who have obtained the privilege for it⁴⁰. The very clear reference to that was placed in a pastoral epistle of Michał Jerzy Poniatowski from 1775 where the bishop made the point of placing the written indult in a chapel “w celu poinformowania, komu [kaplica] ma służyć”⁴¹.

The synod of the Płock diocese, called in 1733 by the bishop Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, was the first meeting of the Polish hierarchs when the question of the private chapels has been discussed in such a broad way. The standard was of course underlying the necessity of the bishop’s permission for a chapel while a new issue broached during the synod were monks who celebrated there pastoral service. In the chapter *On the monks* one of the recom-

³⁶ I. SUBERA, *Synody prowincjonalne*, p. 121.

³⁷ J. KRĘTOSZ, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej*, p. 229.

³⁸ J. LITAK, *Parafie Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVII wieku*, Lublin 2004, p. 53.

³⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 54.

mentations stated that each chaplain should be send for a permission to a local bishop⁴². The regulations in overall were quite severe and show very strong will of bishops to limit all problems they used to have with the phenomenon of private chapels: the popular custom of giving the paten to kiss was now forbidden for those who were not senators or prelates⁴³. Old tradition of serving the chaplain at the liturgy by noblemen (and even women) was now strictly banned⁴⁴. The other custom of baptizing children in a chapel was fought in the Vilnius diocese in the same time⁴⁵. Załuski who was the person responsible for all the changes (and a decisive enemy of the private chapels) wrote:

A ponieważ zakradło się do naszej diecezji wiele nadużyć, ponieważ, jak zauważyliśmy, magnaci i świeccy panowie mając w bliskiej okolicy wiele kościołów, urządzają sobie prywatne kaplice w swoich mieszkaniach i miejscach nieodpowiednich i usilnie zabiegają o indulty”⁴⁶.

The interesting fact is that Załuski was not an opponent of exclusive places of worship but only these over which he could not have control personally. Later, when he has taken the Kraków diocese, he found a new chapel at the Lipowiec castle which used to be a propriety of the bishops and was used as a special detention center for priests⁴⁷. Załuski's attitude to the problem of private places of worship was highly complex since he used to serve at the ex king of Poland Stanisław Leszczyński's court in Nancy. At the court he had a title of the Great Almoner of the king which meant he himself was a chaplain⁴⁸.

Wacław Hieronim Sierakowski, the bishop of Przemyśl and then the archbishop of Lwów, had far more radical views on the private chapels that he presented both in his writings and public speeches⁴⁹. According to Julian Ataman the chapels seemed for Sierakowski “a calamity of a parish they occur in”⁵⁰.

⁴² W. SURMACZ, *Ostatni synod płocki w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, „Studia Płockie” 4 (1976), p. 170.

⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 171.

⁴⁵ T. KASABUŁA, *Ignacy Massalski, biskup wileński*, Lublin 1998, p. 402.

⁴⁶ W. SURMACZ, *Ostatni synod płocki*, p. 178.

⁴⁷ O. ZAGÓROWSKI, *Lipowiec. Zamek biskupi i dom poprawy dla księży*, „Nasza Przeszłość” 12 (1960), pp. 192-193.

⁴⁸ S. GABER, *Polacy na dworze Stanisława Leszczyńskiego w Lunéville w latach 1737-1766*, Częstochowa 1998, p. 121.

⁴⁹ M. DZIEDUSZYCKI, *Żywot Wacława Hieronima Sierakowskiego arcybiskupa lwowskiego*, Kraków 1868, p. 13.

⁵⁰ „Plagę parafii w której się znajdowały” (J. ATAMAN, *W. H. Sierakowski i jego rządy*, p. 165).

During a sermon he delivered on the occasion of the consecration of the Przemyśl cathedral in 1744 Sierakowski showed himself as a strong opponent of establishing palatial places of worship that served only their founders⁵¹. The bishop, using rather catchy words, said: “Pan Bóg zdaje się być rugowany z pałaców sobie właściwych i zmuszony jest niejako prywatne wycierać kąty”⁵². This was entirely new attitude towards private places of worship since in Sierakowski’s eyes they were not more only an obstacle in effective administration of the diocese but also a real problem in veneration the God and one of the reasons the Catholic Church was losing supporters as one can read from the documents of a visitation of the parish in Żołynia: “populis hic devotus, quia capellae privatae et parochiae r. gr. non sunt”⁵³. In letters to the Papal administration written five years later he complained that the gentry are not respecting the canon law in this case⁵⁴. However, the most important document issued by Sierakowski was the regulation from June 17th 1764 where he regulated all the questions relating to establishing new oratories and chapels and maintaining those already existing⁵⁵. It is a very interesting document since it presents the historical and actual practice of the Church in this matter. The author has referred to the Old Testament and preaching of the Church Fathers. The particularly curious fact is that it was for the first time in Sierakowski’s regulations we can read some arguments supporting the idea of founding new palace chapels but under very strict conditions. These conditions had to, according to the bishop, open the place of worship for a local community and remould it into a sort of a patronal church⁵⁶. Sierakowski was then the first who tried to solve the problem of the chapels by bounding them with those who did not form part of a residence but lived in its surroundings. There can be traced some effects of the bishop’s new line in the example of the Jabłonowski Palace in Zawałów. The way the palace chapel was used by the local people was presented by M. Kurzej⁵⁷. In 1755 the chapel has obtained

⁵¹ S. TYMOSZ, *Recepcja reformy trydenckiej w działalności kanoniczno-pastoralnej arcybiskupa Wacława Hieronima Sierakowskiego w latach 1740-1780*, Lublin 2002, p. 414.

⁵² J. ATAMAN, *W. H. Sierakowski i jego rządy*, p. 165.

⁵³ *Ibidem*, p. 166.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ J. KRĘTOSZ, *Organizacja archidiecezji lwowskiej*, p. 230; S. TYMOSZ, *Synod archidiecezji lwowskiej*, Lublin 1998, pp. 120-122.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁷ M. KURZEJ, *Kościół parafialny p.w. Matki Boskiej Szkaplerznej (Matki Boskiej z Góry Karmel) w Zawałowie*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J.K. Ostrowski, part 1: *Kościóły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, 15, Kraków 2007, p. 448.

from Sierakowski a privilege for the indulgence on Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Day⁵⁸. Since the 1760s the chapel has been used as a public church which was based on the liturgy delivered both by the castle chaplain and the Basilian monks. The service was enabled by Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski who assigned to the Basilians money, obliging them to celebrate the Holy Mass every Sunday for his court and during his absence for inhabitants of Zawałów⁵⁹.

Sometimes it was an owner of a palace who wanted to open his chapel for the public as it happened in Jerzy Dzieduszycki's residential complex in Cucułowce. There used to be four different chapels including one with relics of Saint Benedict which Dzieduszycki has received from the Pope Innocent XII⁶⁰. The magnate had strong will to boast with his own sanctuary among local society which can be traced in his efforts in creating an iconography of this unknown to anybody early Christian martyr. Dzieduszycki's endeavours succeeded in 1714 when he obtained a privilege from Jan Skarbek, the archbishop of Lwów, allowing the public cult of relics in Cucułowce⁶¹. The palace chapel became than a widely available place of worship and veneration of Saint Benedict the martyr. During the plague of 1716 the remains of the saint were shown publicly⁶² and in the same year the Pope Innocent XIII issued the indulgence for those visiting the chapel on the first Sunday after July 16th⁶³.

The other example of opening the private place for common worship is the chapel in Dzików where there used to be kept the Holy Image of the Saint Family described by Sadok Barącz⁶⁴. The miracles around the images made the bishop of Kraków Andrzej Trzebicki send a special commission for examining the increasing cult and the image itself. The effect was announcing it miraculous: „Imaginem gloriosissimae Virginis Mariae Martis Dei in capella Dzikoviana in majori altari insertam, Miraculosam declaramus, et sententiamus, huius modique declarationem sicut coram populo ad divina audientia

⁵⁸ A. BETLEJ, *Sibi, Deo, Posteritati. Jabłonowscy a sztuka w XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2010, p. 202.

⁵⁹ Ibidem.

⁶⁰ In the Lwów Jesuit church there is still a plaque showing Dzieduszycki receiving relics from the Pope. See A. BETLEJ, *Kościół p.w. ŚŚ. Piotra i Pawła oraz dawne kolegium ks. Jezuitów*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J.K. Ostrowski, part 1: *Kościóły i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, 20, Kraków 2012, fig. 458.

⁶¹ R. MACZYŃSKI, *Nowożytnie konfesje polskie. Artystyczne formy gloryfikacji grobów świętych i błogostawionych w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Toruń 2003, p. 473.

⁶² M. DZIEDUSZYCKI, *Kronika domowa Dzieduszyckich*, Lwów 1865, p. 189.

⁶³ Ibidem.

⁶⁴ S. BARĄCZ, *Cudowne obrazy Matki Najświętszej w Polsce*, Lwów 1891, pp. 66-67.

congregatio publicari mandamus [...] Acta haec in palatio nostro episcopali Kielcensi die 11. novembris 1675”⁶⁵. In effect the chapel has become the sanctuary for a moment until the image was transferred to a newly built church.

In the mentioned above document issued by Sierakowski we can find a lot of normative rules concerning establishing of a new palace chapel. Among them the interesting was a requirement of a place located far from the rest of a residence and having a separate entrance for the public. A chapel should be built with stone or brick and have all utensils for the liturgy. Before consecration it was necessary to check if a parish church would not take any damages from that. A chapel had to be constructed within a year since the date of obtaining permission for it. In case of a delay, the permission could be cancelled⁶⁶. The mass could be held in a chapel only once a day with an exception of the most important feasts when the liturgy was forbidden. A baptism could be performed in a chapel but the local priest should be informed about this fact. In his document Sierakowski stresses out that it was out of law for chaplains to announce and give marriages, exorcize etc. For not obeying these rules there were several punishments, including expulsion from the post of a chaplain⁶⁷. Once more the priority of the parish church has been pointed out.

It is hard to say that Sierakowski was unambiguous opponent of the palace chapels. The archbishop himself consecrated at least one private chapel I know that used to be part of an estate in Krysowice. The residence was built by Adam Józef Mniszech before 1780 when the consecration took place⁶⁸. The analysis of the chapel with a comparison with the mentioned above pastoral document of Sierakowski issued 16 years before reveals great impact it has on new practice of founding private places of worship. The chapel in Krysowice palace is located in a former gate to an old castle that was then adapted for a new function. As it was clearly stated by the bishop, it had a principal entrance from outside⁶⁹, separated from the other doorway, leading from the palace directly to a balcony reserved surely for Mniszech family⁷⁰.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, p. 67.

⁶⁶ S. TYMOŚZ, *Recepcja reformy trydenckiej*, p. 415.

⁶⁷ Ibidem, p. 417.

⁶⁸ R. AFTANAZY, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. I: *Województwo mińskie, mściławskie, połockie, witebskie*, Wrocław 1991, p. 94.

⁶⁹ Betlej writes about a doorway on one of axis of the chapel, previously accessible through a ramp with stairs. See A. BETLEJ, *Kaplica zamkowa pałacu w Krysowicach*, [in:] *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. J.K. Ostrowski, part 1: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, 7, Kraków 1999, p. 120.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

Sierakowski was of course conscious that he could not declare a total war to magnates on the field of their private chapels. From time to time he would agree for a compromise, especially for those whose position was of particular importance. When Jerzy Lubomirski wished the chaplain of his newly constructed hunting chapel of Saint Hubertus in Miłocin to be the chaplain of Lubomirski's own main residence in Rzeszów, the bishop allowed for that, even though this solution was against the canon law according to which the liturgical service should be delivered there by priests from the Staromieście parish (on which grounds the chapel stood)⁷¹. The Lubomirski's chapel at his castle in Rzeszów (consecrated in 1740⁷²) had a special status alone. Its owner obtained from Sierakowski a special privilege making the castle a separate parish⁷³. This solution seems to be the most direct reference of a Polish nobleman to the examples of the royal courts throughout Europe and especially that of France.

In the second half of the 18th century the popularity of the palace chapels started going down. On one hand the political crisis of the last years of the century in Poland did not encourage founding new residences. On the other the noblemen alone begun to localize chapels in more distance from their dwellings which related with more and more common practice of introducing there a sepulchral function. One of the first examples of a sepulchral chapel in a park was Stanisław August Poniatowski's conception presented to Marcello Bacciarelli in a letter in 1784:

Myślę, że im będę starszy, tym miłszą i potrzebniejszą będzie mi mała kaplica zupełnie blisko pawilonu łażeniowskiego [...] Trzeba, żeby miała te same rozmiary co obecnie mały teatr, ale żeby był to klejnot zarówno konstrukcji, jak i dekoracji, tak samo wewnętrznej, jak zewnętrznej [...] Trzeba dla tej kaplicy postarać się o nowy pomysł, aby dawała wrażenie czegoś prostego, skromnego, nawet odludnego (i dlatego najkorzystniej byłoby umieścić ją w kępie drzew), a zarazem wrażenie wielkiego piękna⁷⁴.

The issue of private chapels in secular residences was a serious problem the Catholic Church, even more because from this kind of spaces historians took the beginnings of Christian communities and followers of Christ who

⁷¹ J. ATAMAN, *W. H. Sierakowski i jego rządy*, pp. 204-205.

⁷² S. ZYCH, *Kaplica zamkowa w Rzeszowie*, [in:] *Encyklopedia Rzeszowa*, ed. J. Draus, G. Zamojski, Rzeszów 2011, p. 262.

⁷³ S. ZYCH, *Przyczynek do dziejów parafii zamkowej w Rzeszowie w latach 1740/43-1772*, „Małopolskie Wędrówki” 5 (1997), p. 23.

⁷⁴ W. TATARKIEWICZ, *Łazienki warszawskie*, Warszawa 1968, p. 114.

used to gather in private houses in the first centuries of the Catholicism. On the other hand they were an obvious lapse in the institutional, hierarchized organization, depriving bishops control over some parts of the liturgical life of his diocese. In the article the general line of the Church towards the existence of private chapels has been presented. This line, analyzed on the example of the Early Modern Poland, has been drawn on the background revealing the same problem in other places, above all France. The growing ambitions of the Polish noblemen were shown off in references to royal courts which visible example used to be a private chapel. One of the most interesting conflict of interests on this field can be seen on the example of Wacław Sierakowski's episcopal activity, whose attitude towards this issue was unambiguously negative but who had to tolerate the important position of the nobility. The question of Sierakowski's ideas to include domestic chapels into the life of a diocese require further studies, as well as reasons of the fall of the popularity of private places of worship.

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KOŚCIÓŁ KATOLICKI
WOBEC ZJAWISKA KAPLIC PAŁACOWYCH
W NOWOŻYTNEJ POLSCE

Streszczenie

Kaplice pałacowe, występujące dawniej w większości rezydencji europejskich, pozostają wciąż zagadnieniem na ogół mało znanym i rzadko stanowią temat odrębnej analizy naukowej. W odniesieniu do polskiej sztuki nowożytnej badanie owych specyficznych przestrzeni, stojących na styku *sacrum* i *profanum*, jest szczególnie utrudnione z uwagi na niewielką ilość materiału za-bytkowego, jaki dotrwał do naszych czasów. Jak pisał Mariusz Karpowicz, nie posiadamy dziś ani jednej w pełni zachowanej XVIII-wiecznej rezydencji. Brak wiedzy o tym ważnym elemencie programu nowożytnego pałacu, jakim była kaplica, musi być uzupełniany w inny sposób. Jedną z metod badawczych, pozwalających na naświetlenie zjawiska kaplic pałacowych, jest analiza stanowiska Kościoła katolickiego, na ogół niechętnego funkcjonowaniu i tworzeniu zamkniętych miejsc kultu w świeckich rezydencjach. W artykule przedstawiono zarówno recepcję ustaleń *Tri-dentinum* w kwestii prywatnych kaplic, jak i ograniczenia tej kwestii, nakładane z inicjatywy polskich hierarchów kościelnych.

Słowa kluczowe: kaplica pałacowa; kaplica; rezydencja; pałac; XVIII wiek; Polska.