Magdalena Dębna

OUR LADY OF CZĘSTOCHOWA AS A MODEL: A STUDY OF "MIRACLE-WORKING" MARIAN ICONS AND IMAGES IN THE LATIN WEST UP TO THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2013

Our Lady of Częstochowa as a Model: A Study of "Miracle-Working" Icons and Images in the Latin West up to the Sixteenth Century

by

Magdalena Dębna

(Poland)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

Chair, Examination Committee

_____

Thesis Supervisor

_____

Examiner

_____

Examiner

Budapest
May 2013

Our Lady of Częstochowa as a Model: A Study of "Miracle-Working" Icons and Images in the Latin West up to the Sixteenth Century

by

Magdalena Dębna

(Poland)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with the specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

_____

External Reader

Budapest
May 2013

Our Lady of Częstochowa as a Model: A Study of "Miracle-Working" Icons and Images in the Latin West up to the Sixteenth Century

by

Magdalena Dębna

(Poland)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,

Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements

of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in

Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

_____

Supervisor

Budapest
May 2013

I, the undersigned, **Magdalena Dębna**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with the specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 12 May 2013

_____

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to give thanks to my supervisors Professor Gerhard Jaritz and Associate Professor Béla Zsolt Szakács for their extremely valuable comments and constant engagement in my research topic, without which this study would not have been complete. I am deeply grateful to Professor Judith Rasson for correcting my study and her patience. I also want to thank Professor Gábor Klaniczay for inspiring me and arranging a meeting with Szabolcs Serfőző. I acknowledge Doctor Cristian-Nicolae Gaşpar for helping me with Latin translations and for his kindness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

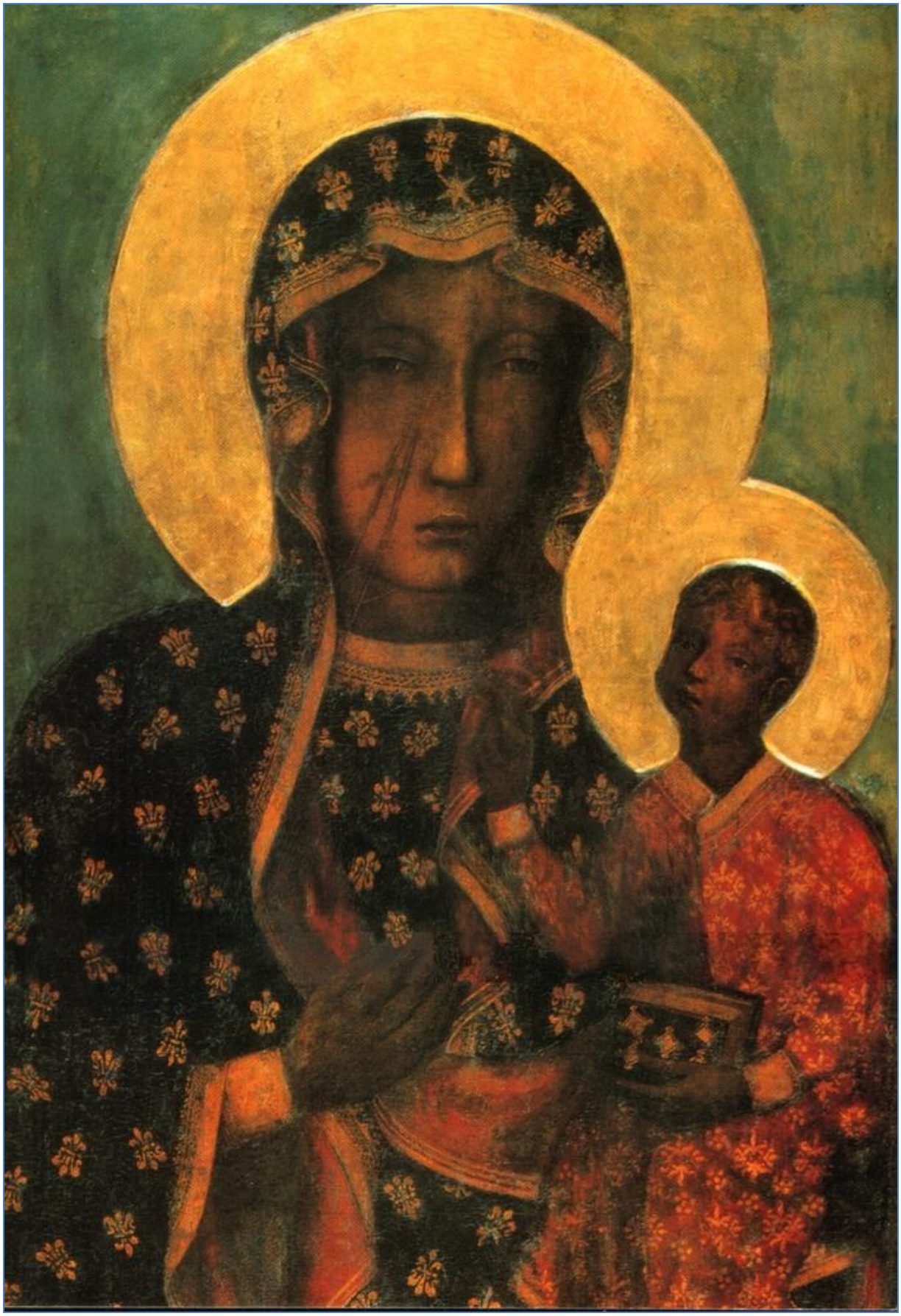


Fig. 1 *Our Lady of Częstochowa*

INTRODUCTION

The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* (fig. 1), the most venerable holy image in Poland, is owned by the Pauline Fathers who settled at Jasna Góra (Bright Mountain) (fig. 2) in 1382 and established a monastery there. Częstochowa lies in proximity to Cracow, which in those days was the capital of Poland (fig. 3). Although the origins of Our Lady of Częstochowa are mysterious and it is not known with certainty when it came to Poland; it became the focus of pilgrimage at least by the 1420s.[1]

The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* depicts the Virgin in the *Hodegetria* pose. She holds the Child Jesus on her left arm, and gestures towards him with her right hand. Jesus, the source of salvation, gives a blessing with his right hand, while in the left he holds a book of gospels. The Virgin has scars on her right cheek. Similar to other Marian icons and images from the Latin West, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was often re-painted, covered in different revetments and crowns, dressed in robes, and put into different frames. Its look was modified by the votive offerings hung on the image or nearby.

This issue raises the following question: Is *Our Lady of Częstochowa* an icon or an image? According to the prevalent scholarly opinions, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was made in the Latin West and it only imitates an Eastern artwork. In this area, many Marian images that looked like icons were actually the works of local painters. They are artistic productions which were not intended to be used like icons, cult objects or religious devices as in the Orthodox East. A specific veneration of these images was laid on the ancient tradition and on similar celebrations present in the East and in the West before the two Churches started to separate. Therefore I will call *Our Lady of Częstochowa* and other such artworks to which it

[1] Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century. The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 1-9.

will be compared "images."[2] Rare examples of panel paintings with Greek hierograms naming the holy person and intended to be used in the Orthodox rite will be called icons. The usage of hierograms was established as necessary during the Second Council of Nicaea (787), but in the Latin West it was not regarded as essential. The exception is made in the case of Italo-Cretian works produced in the late Middle Ages, to which this custom also did not apply. Many of these icons were exported to the Latin West. Although in the Latin West icons changed their context, they originated within the Orthodox rite where they were distinguished from other images.[3]

Soon after *Our Lady of Częstochowa* started to be venerated at Jasna Góra Monastery, it became known as an *acheiropoietos,* an image "not made by human hands." According to legends which started to emerge in the middle of the sixth century, *acheiropoietoi* were images of Christ and the Virgin that miraculously appeared on earth. According to the later Christian tradition, they were painted by St. Luke the Evangelist, an apostle who lived in the first century in the Holy Land. According to Robert Maniura, the tension between the Marian icons and images like Our Lady of Częstochowa was had to be overcome by associating them with the legend of St. Luke.[4]

Throughout the centuries, legends arose around the image and it became a point of encounter for many *topoi*. Several stories from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries assert that the image came from Constantinople. The legend relates that it was owned by Lev, prince of Ruthenia, who stored it the castle of Bełz. After the accession of Louis of Hungary to the Polish throne, the Polish Duke Władysław Opolczyk discovered the image. When Lithuanians and Tatars (or Scythians) tried to conquer Belz, the painting was injured by an

[2] Robert Maniura, "The Icon is Dead, Long Live the Icon: The Holy Image in the Renaisance," in: *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.), ed. Antony Eastmond, Liz James, 87-89.
[3] Mirosław Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w kościołach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczpospolitej* [Icons-images in the Roman Catholic churches of the old Rzeczypospolita] (Cracow: Collegium Columbinum, 2011), 10-11; Belting,

arrow. Our Lady saved Opolczyk and the town and the duke transferred the image to its current location in Poland. In 1430, when the Hussites attacked Jasna Góra, one of the invaders "wounded" the cheek of Our Lady. To this day, people believe that the monastery was saved by the image and that the scars on the Virgin's face commemorate this event. The legends confirm the high status of the image. People come to see it in order to thank for the miracles happening by intercession of the Virgin.[5] Many legends similar to those of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* are assigned to other depictions in the Orthodox East and in the Latin West. As the image and the presence of the Virgin are regarded in an inseparable relationship, the border between the painted panel and the Virgin has practically been lost.

The vast literature on *Our Lady Of Częstochowa* shall be used to sketch the mysterious origins and history of the image. Numerous Polish scholars including Stanisław Rutkowski, Jan Turczyński,[6] Wojciech Kurpik,[7] Anna Różycka-Bryzek and, Jerzy Gadomski,[8] Ewa Smulikowska,[9] Janusz Zbudniewek,[10] Aleksandra Witkowska,[11] Teresa

Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art, tr. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1-16.

[4] Maniura, "The Icon is Dead," 87-89.

[5] *Najstarsze historie o częstochowskim obrazie Panny Maryi: XV i XVI wiek* [The oldest stories about the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*: fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz (Warsaw: Pax, 1983).

[6] Stanisław Turczyński, Jan Rutkowski, *Konserwacja cudownego obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej 1925-1926* [The restoration of the miracle-working image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* 1925-1926] (Częstochowa: nakł. OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze, 1927).

[7] Wojciech Kurpik, *Częstochowska Hodegetria* [*Hodegetria* of Częstochowa] (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki, 2008).

[8] Anna Różycka-Bryzek and Jerzy Gadomski, "Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w świetle badań historii sztuki" [The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the light of art historical studies], *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 27-52; Różycka-Bryzek, "Mikołaja Lanckorońskiego pobyt w Konstantynopolu w roku 1501 – nie tylko posłowanie" [The visit of Mikołaj Lanckoroński to Constantinople in 1501 – not only a diplomat], *Folia Historiae Artium*, n.s. 5-6 (1999-2000): 79-92.

[9] Ewa Smulikowska, "Ozdoby obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej jako zespół zabytkowy" [The decorations on the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa as historical treasure], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 10 (1974): 179-221.

[10] Janusz Zbudniewek, "Jasnogórski rękopis *Regestrum Confraternitatis Fratrum S. Pauli Primi Heremite* z lat 1517-1613" [The manuscript *Regestrum Confraternitatis Fratrum S. Pauli Primi Heremite' of Jasna Góra* from the years 1517-1613], *Studia Claromontana* 6 (1985): 240-374; Zbudniewek, "Kopiarze dokumentów zakonu Paulinów w Polce do końca XVIII w. [The copyists of the Pauline order in Poland active until the end of the eighteenth century], *Archiwa. Biblioteki i Muzea kościelne* 34-35 (1977): 293-344.

[11] Aleksandra Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski w formach pątniczych do połowy XVII wieku" [The pilgrimage to Jasna Góra until the middle of the seventeenth century], *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 148-167.

Mroczko, Barbara Dąb,[12] and Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot[13] have taken *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as the object of study in regard to its origin, stylistics, iconography, revetments, legends, pilgrimage, and historical context. Although some of their research is outdated nowadays, most of their studies are valid in some respect.

Essential for my interest in the current study is the book by David Freedberg entitled *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*, in which the author examines the up-to-date subject of the relations between artworks and their beholders. He points to the emotional reactions caused by depictions, significant not because of their high artistic value. People's response to the images include different kinds of emotions aimed towards the depictions, treated as if they were equal to humans. He claims that this "power" of images is not related to the time and culture in which they were created. It does not depend on any contextual boundaries. Freedberg notes the connection between the pilgrimage and accounts of miracles linked with objects of art and decided to analyze them against the prevailing art historical approach.[14]

Publications of Hans Belting, including *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art*, examine the contexts of the so-called miracle-working icons and images in regard to their appearance, legends, and cult, focusing mostly on their veneration in Italy. His studies, similar to Freedberg's, use a sociological approach in order to explore the reception of artwork among believers. In contrast to Freedberg, he states that each depiction depends on the system of beliefs linked with particular historical and cultural background. He argued that images were believed to share their powers with what they represented and

[12]Teresa Mroczko and Barbara Dąb, *Gotyckie Hodegetrie Polskie* [Gothic *Hodegetria*s of Poland] (Wrocław, 1966).
[13]Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Geneza, styl i historia obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej" [Origins, style, and history of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*], *Folia Historiae Artium* 9 (1973): 5-44; Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Andegaweńskie dary złotnicze z herbami polskimi w kaplicy węgierskiej w Akwizgranie [Golden artworks with Polish coats of arms being the gifts of the Anjou dynasty located in the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen], *Folia Historiae Artium* 11 (1975): 21-36.
[14]David Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 [1989]).

therefore they were able to be considered as miracle-working. After the Reformation images lost their power. Because of the superiority of the written word (heard and read), and a need for emancipation from the institution, all depictions started to be classified in the category of "art." They were to evoke an aesthetic experience, painted according to artistic rules. Depictions were divided from their previous function. According to Belting, the Middle Ages was the last period before "the era of art."[15]

Although both scholars received appreciation and critiques, they developed a new area of study, which was followed by Gerhard Wolf[16] and Michele Bacci,[17] who studied icons and images believed to be the works of St. Luke. This road of academic research has been neglected by Polish scholars, who even nowadays favor stylistic and iconographical analyses of particular artworks and their historical contexts.

Recently, Mirosław Kruk broke this circle and published a work following the modern art historical approach, entitled: *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Icons-images in the Roman Catholic churches of old Rzeczypospolita], putting a valuable perspective on icons and images in the modern era in Poland. He analyzed their reception into the Catholic Church in a wider aspect of other Marian depictions, and his study remains a major source of inspiration for me.[18]

Many of the modern studies on pilgrimage are due to the research of Edith and Victor Turner, who defined travel to a sacred place as the pilgrims' break in everyday structure. Although pilgrims carry their social structure and own history with them, for a short while they leave their everyday lives behind and have experiences in common with a group of

[15] Belting, *Likeness*, see note 3.
[16]Gerhard Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: Verlag Chemie, Acta humaniora, 1990).
[17]Michele Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista. Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca* (Gisem-Edizioni: ETS,1998).
[18]Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, see: note 3.

believers.[19] A new approach for studies on pilgrimage was described during the conference at the Roehampton Institute in London in 1988. The definition of pilgrimage started to embrace discourses implying varied understandings and practices of pilgrims coming to ritual spaces.[20] The Turners' model of pilgrimage was elaborated by John Eade and Michael J. Sallnow, who stated that pilgrimage is a dynamic realm which changes over time, is open to varied interpretations, and supports the idea of community.[21]

Local or regional pilgrimage has been much less documented, therefore it has not had the required scholarly attention. Although some research has been undertaken, this realm still needs more studies. According to Ronald C. Finucane, the knowledge on local pilgrimage is mostly from the preserved collections of miracles. These sources depend on the later stages of shrines' development and many sites lack them.[22]

Based on the previous studies on pilgrimage, Maniura analyzed the shrine of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in his book entitled: *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century. The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa*. He followed the path of Richard Trexler, who examined the veneration of Our Lady of Impruneta in Florence.[23] Both scholars agreed that the pilgrimage to holy images which focuses on visual experience is almost entirely overlooked. On the model of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, Maniura pointed out that although the image was at the center of pilgrimage, the vow to the Virgin made before journey and miracles taking place in response dismiss the notion of miracle-working images. The journey was undertaken as an act of gratitude. Maniura underlined that the believer was accustomed

[19] Edith and Victor Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 2-15.
[20]John Eade and Michael Sallnow, *Contesting the Sacred: The Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage* (London: Routledge, 1991), 1.
[21]Ibid., 4-15.
[22] Ronald C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).
[23]Richard C. Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image," *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 7-41.

to the whole "landscape of images" from a particular region. He demonstrates that pilgrims were seeking access to the holy through the medium of visual culture.[24]

Although Maniura left many questions unanswered, his study is a meaningful contribution in the realm of pilgrimage to holy images and relations between the pilgrims and sacred space. The question of why pilgrims choose to go and see a particular image is not yet resolved. It might depend on the characteristic features of an image, its authorization by St. Luke or the contemporary political situation. Maniura's book is the second major source of inspiration for my work and I believe it will serve other scholars developing research on pilgrimage.

***

Marian icons and images imitating them represented one of the most popular forms of piety in the Latin West. They are important examples of the connections of the Eastern and Western Church in the late Middle Ages. The aim of this study is to leave national contexts and find out patterns on the model of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* about how these images used to function in the Latin West in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. How were they and their space created and treated, away from the Orthodox East? What were the specific features of their adjustment and accommodation in the Catholic cult? Having in mind different historical circumstances, I want to analyze the similarities of their veneration.

In the center of my approach there is the famous image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. It will be compared in relevant aspects with other examples of icons and images imitating them in the Latin West.[25] The examples of icons imported from Byzantium will serve as especially interesting objects of study due to their extensive biography. Occasionally, I will also mention Marian statues which I believe can contribute to the analysis. In order to find out about the role of these artworks in the Latin West I will use a critical and comparative

[24]Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, see: note 1.

approach in regard to their look and its modifications, origins and the history of Byzantine imports, legends and *topoi* as well as the pilgrimage to them influenced by popular religiosity. Although especially the latter area of studies is not developed enough, I will also try there to put some new light into the old framework.

All aspects linked with the veneration of holy images are based on the Greco-Roman tradition. The continuity of this tradition in the Middle Ages proves the evolution in the concept of art and in the people's response. These artworks took part in the process of forming social identity of the believers on the private and official levels. An analysis of the Marian icons and images shaping both agency and audience can only be done in regard to the above realms.

This study is intended to lead to the stories and discourses about the images, the function and influence of them, interrelations within the "landscape of images," the communication with them, and at the end, the power of the images over their beholders. Although the icons and images were objects of prestige, all social classes were involved in their veneration. My study intends to contribute to the research into these aspects and will try to analyze their relevant contexts.

[25] I was especially interested in incorporating examples outside of Italy, about which not many studies have been written.

CHAPTER I: THE IMAGE: *OUR LADY OF CZĘSTOCHOWA*

Description of the image

The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* is the Byzantine type known as *Hodegetria*. The Virgin is depicted in a half-length bust. She holds the Child Jesus on her left arm, and gestures towards him with her right hand. Jesus, the source of salvation, gives a blessing with his right hand, while in the left he holds a book of gospels.[26] The image can be classified as belonging to the group of Black Madonnas, popular in the Latin West during the Middle Ages.[27]

The symmetrical face of the Holy Virgin is in the center of composition. Small locks of hair stick out of her robe and fall down on her left check. The most striking are the three lines on the Virgin's right check. According to the legends which arose around the image and are still current among Poles, these marks are scars. The legends tell that they were made during the alleged Hussite attack on the monastery of Jasna Góra in 1430.[28]

The Virgin is dressed in a dark blue mantle decorated with golden fleurs-de-lis. The Child Jesus wears a red robe with long sleeves and golden rosettes. The garments of the Virgin and the Child Jesus have piping that looks like a golden fabric. Although the Virgin is shown almost frontally, her face and body turn a bit left to the Christ Child. Both of the figures are painted upright and linear. They have overlapping golden halos depicted in a frontal position. The skin of the Virgin and Child Jesus is dark brown. The tonal contrasts between the colors are minimal, mostly visible on the faces of both figures and on the right

[26] This type is described by Nikodim P. Kondakov [Никодим Павлович Кондаков], *Иконография Богоматери II* [The iconography of the Mother of God, vol. 2] (Saint Petersburg: Tipografija imperatorskoi akademii nauk, 1914-1915), 152-249.

[27] Among multiple Black Virgins in Europe one can find the most famous examples of medieval statues from Chartres, Le Puy, and Rocamadour in France, Einsiedeln in Switzerland, Our Lady of the Pillar from Saragossa, and Our Lady of Altötting in Germany. On more about the possible explanations for the black color of the Virgin see: Stephen Benko, *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 206-216. See also: Thierry Wirth, *Les Vierges noires. Symboles et Réalités* (Paris: Oxus, 2009); Roland Bermann, *Réalités et mystères des vierges noires*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Dervy, 2000); Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet and Jean-Pierre Cassagnes, *Vierges noires* (Rodez: Editions du Rouergue, 2000); Daniel Castille, *Le mystère des vierges noires* (Agnieres: Grandsire, 2001).

hand of the Holy Virgin. The cold greenish background emphasizes the ochre, golden, and blue in the composition.

The image proper is 121.8 cm high and 81.3 cm wide without the frame. During the centuries the linden-wood panel has been cut and the original size is presumed to have been 128 cm high and 87.5 wide.[29] Wojciech Kurpik, the main restorer of the image for over 30 years, states that the proportions of the image are identical to the images prepared for the iconostasis. The image is painted on canvas primed for the technique of icon painting. This was the preparation of the wooden surface (chiseled background and figures) with the relevant thickness (originally 3.5 cm) and reinforcement (with lateral wood strips), painting in the medium of egg tempera, and a limited color palette.[30]

Alterations to the image in the late Middle Ages

The present look of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* is the effect of a thorough process of restoration which was started in the years 1925-1926 by Jan Rutkowski and Stanisław Turczyński. Before their restoration, the image looked different (fig. 4). The faces of the figures were not visible at all. Instead of fleurs-de-lis, brass stars were seen on the Virgin's robe. The haloes and background were covered in metal revetments. After Rutkowski and Turczyński took off the metal plaques, the painted golden haloes and the greenish background with gold stars were revealed. Metal pins, probably used as hangers for votive offerings, were also removed. After cleaning the painting's surface it appeared that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was an oil painting except for the egg tempera used for the faces of both figures and the Christ Child's hands. Scholars argued that the parts done with oil were due to later repainting and decided to remove them. Their reasoning was correct; the layers beneath were made in egg tempera as well. Fleurs-de-lis were discovered as the previous pattern on

[28] *Najstarsze historie.* ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz (Warsaw: Pax, 1983).
[29] Kurpik, *Częstochowska Hodegetria*, 25.
[30] Ibid., 49-52.

the Virgin's robe. The restorers realized that the right hand of the Virgin was totally wiped off, therefore nowadays is almost completely reconstructed.[31]

Re-painting images was quite a popular practice in the Middle Ages, needed to keep the venerated image in good condition. However, during these medieval restorations the contemporary artist did not often care either about saving the original look of the image or continuing the work in the previous technique. He often changed the image according to the spirit of the time. The most important for him was to leave the iconography and arrangement intact because the believers associated the power and value of the image with them.[32] In regard to the re-paintings of the images, one finds a close parallel to *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the icon depicting the *Hodegetria* from the treasury of Saint Paul's Cathedral in Liège (fig. 5), imported to the Latin West from Byzantium. André Grabar dates it to the fourteenth century.[33] In the fifteenth century the icon was completely repainted by an artist from the Netherlands, but it still preserved the status of an icon and its Lucan legend.[34] It is worth mentioning the famous Lucan icon of the Virgin with the Christ Child from the church of Santa Maria Nuova (fig. 6), originally housed in Santa Maria Antiqua. During the restoration, encaustic fragments of the heads were discovered under the thirteenth-century *Hodegetria*.[35] Another example is the icon of the Virgin from the cathedral in Freising (fig. 7). X-ray examination proved that its first layer was made around 1100, but the icon was

[31] Turczyński, Rutkowski, *Konserwacja*, 6-25.
[32] Anna Różycka-Bryzek, "Pojęcie oryginału i kopii w malarstwie bizantyńskim" [The original and copy in the Byzantine painting] in *Oryginał, replika, kopia. Materiały III seminarium metodologicznego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki. Radziejowice 1968* [Original, replica, and copy. Materials of the third methodological seminar organized by the Association of Art Historians. Radziejowice 1968], ed. Andrzej Ryszkiewicz (Warsaw: Desa - Akrady, 1971), 99-101.
[33] André Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icones byzantines du Moyen Age* (Venice: Institut hellénique d'etudes byzantines et post-byzantines, 1975), catalogue item 36, 65.
[34] Pierre Colman, *Le trésor de la cathédrale Saint-Paul à Liège* (Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1968), 35-37.
[35] Gerhard Wolf "Icons and Sites. Cult Images of the Virgin in Mediaeval Rome," in *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*, ed. Maria Vassilaki (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 27. On Byzantine influence on Northern Renaissance art, see: Maryan W. Ainsworth "'À la Façon Grèce:' the Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, ed. Helen C. Evans (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 545-555.

repainted in the early fourteenth century.[36] The icon of the *Hodegetri*a with the Crucifixion (fig. 8) originally from Sozopol, Bulgaria, dated to the fourteenth century was repainted in 1541.[37] An icon of the Virgin with the Christ Child from the church of St. Simeon in Zadar (fig. 9) dated to the thirteenth century was completely overpainted. Basing on its upper paint layer it looks like a seventeenth-century Creto-Venetian work.[38]

During their restoration, Rutkowski and Turczyński took off the metal silver-gilt plaques which were engraved and fixed to the image around the figures. The five plaques depict: the Adoration of the Christ Child by the Virgin, the Mocking of Christ, the Annunciation, the Scourging of Christ, and St. Barbara (fig. 10). Because of the stylistic similarity of the first four panels to Polish manuscripts from the early fifteenth century, the plaques with narrative scenes are dated to that time. They might have been commissioned by King Władysław Jagiełło and are attributed to the workshop of the goldsmith Jan Polak vel Polski from Cracow, influenced by Russian and Bohemian art. The plaques could have been incorporated into *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the late Middle Ages as a part of the typical practice of honoring an image, prevalent around the year 1000. The panel with St. Barbara was added later. It is dated to the late fifteenth century.[39] Judging by the marks left by the nails on the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, Kurpik noticed that probably there were also some silver plaques on the back of the image.[40] Similar plaques, but made of brass, were

[36] Belting, *Likeness,* 333.
[37] *Sztuka starobułgarska* [Old Bulgarian art.] (Warsaw: Muzeum Narodove w Warszawie, 1969), cat. no. 5.
[38] Ivo Petricioli, *Permanent Exhibition of Religious Art in Zadar* (Zadar: Turiskomerc, 1980), catalogue item 20, see also catalogue item 21.
[39] Adam Bochnak and Julian Pagaczewski, *Polskie rzemiosło artystyczne wieków średnich* [Polish craftwork in the Middle Ages] (Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1959), 95-97; Bolesław Przybyszewski, *Złoty dom Królestwa. Studium z dziejów krakowskiego cechu złotniczego od jego powstania (ok. 1370) do połowy wieku XV* [Golden house of the Kingdom. A case study of the history of goldsmith's guild of Cracow from its creation (around 1370) until the middle of the fifteenth century] (Warsaw: Akademia Teologi Katolickiej, 1968), 106-115; Andrzej M. Olszewski, *Pierwowzory graficzne późnogotyckiej sztuki małopolskiej* [Graphic prototypes of the late Gothic art in Little Poland] (Warsaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975), 11-17.
[40] Wojciech Kurpik, "Podłoże obrazu Matki Bożej Jasnogórskiej jako niepisane źródło do dziejów wizerunku" [The wooden panel of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as the unwritten source of its history] in *Jasnogórski obraz Królowej Polski. Studium teologiczno-historyczne oraz dokumentacja obiektów zabytkowych i prac*

on the back of the fourteenth- or fifteenth-century, Marian icon, the Virgin of Smolensk from the Dominican church in Lviv (fig. 11),[41] presumably a work of the Russian or Italo-Cretan school.[42]

The practice of honoring the image can be seen on the *Hodegetria* icon from Liège, which was decorated with gold-plated silver plaques with the name on written in Greek.[43] The icon from Freising (fig. 7) got a metal mounting given by the prelate Manuel Dishypatos on which the Virgin is titled in Greek as the "Hope of the Hopeless." [44] The tradition of covering the icon with silver revetments was well known in the Orthodox circles as, for instance, on the processional icons from the church of St. Clement in Ohrid (today Macedonia), the Virgin *Hodegetria* painted in the second half of the thirteenth century (fig. 12), and the Virgin *Psychosostria* (fig. 13) dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century.[45]

This custom emerged in the ninth century but flourished during the Palaiologan dynasty in Byzantium and soon embraced all of the Orthodox lands.[46] It is also confirmed by the *Liber Pontificalis*, in which one can find information on images in Rome, covered with silver plaques, pearls, precious stones, and other decorations.[47] To give an example, in the

---

konserwatorskich [The image of Jasna Góra. Theological and historical study, the documentation on the decorations and restorations], ed. Jan Golonka (Częstochowa: nakł. Jasnej Góry, 1991), 86.

[41] The icon is located now in the Basilica of St. Nicolas in Gdańsk, Poland, see: Lesław Szolginia, *Dokumentacja prac konserwatorskich do obrazu 'Maria z Dzieciątkiem' z bocznego ołtarza Bazyliki Św. Mikołaja w Gdańsku* [Documentation on restoration of the image of "the Virgin and the Child" from the side altar in the Basilica of St. Nicolas in Gdańsk] (Świecie: 1967-1968), 7-8, quoted from Mirosław Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 235, Barbara Dąb-Kalinowska, "Ikona Matki Boskiej Smoleńskiej w kościele Dominikanów w Gdańsku. Problem kultu i funckji" [The icon of the Virgin of Smolensk from the Dominican church in Gdańsk. The cult and function] in *eadem., Ikony i obrazy* (Warsaw: Wyd. DIG, 2000), 139-155.

[42] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 33-34; Dąb-Kalinowska, "Ikona," 144.

[43] Grabar, *Les revêtements*, catalogue item 36, 65.

[44] Belting, *Likeness*, 333; Maria Vassilaki "Praying for the salvation of the empire?" in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, 263-274.

[45] Milčo Georgievski, *Icon gallery - Ohrid* (Ohrid: Institution for Protektion of the Monuments of Culture, 1999), catalogue items 8 and 17.

[46] Jannic Durand, "Precious metal icon-revetments," in *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 243.

[47] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 231; Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Entre 'koinè méditerranéenne', influences byzantines et particularités locales: le culte des images et ses limites à Rome dans le Haut Moyen Age" in *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilita di studi comparati: Tavola rotonda del XVIII Congresso del CISH, Montreal, 29 agosto 1995*, ed. Girolamo Arnaldi, Guglielmo Cavallo (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo, 1997), 113; See also: Trexler, "Being and Non-Being. Parameters of the Miraculous in the Traditional Religious Image," in *The Miraculous Image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Papers from a Conference Held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Biblioteca Hertziana* (*Max-Planck-*

year 1347 Cola di Rienzo, a Roman tribune, decided to commemorate the victory over his enemy, Colonna, by giving the gift of silver crown and sceptre to the eleventh or twelfth-century Lucan icon of the Virgin from the Franciscan church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli (fig. 14). A year later, the icon performed the miracle of stopping the plague. The miracle made it more famous than its prototype, the Madonna of San Sisto (fig. 15) dated to the first century. Probably the replica of Aracoeli icon dated to 1355 was the image that Pope Urban V gave to Emperor Charles IV in 1368. The replica is kept in the Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague (fig. 16).[48] Another copy of the Aracoeli icon is in Mechelen (today Belgium). In 1450, Jan de Leeuw obtained indulgences from Pope Nicholas V for the local churches there and brought with him the image (fig. 17) placed since 1531 in the St. Rumbold's Cathedral.[49]

The tradition of crowning images was linked with cult sites and shared by both East and West.[50] At the turn of the fifteenth century, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* got a late Gothic crown, depicted in the same way on the two indirect copies of the image from the sixteenth century: one of them comes from printed version of the legend about the image (fig. 18) written by Piotr Rydzyński (1524), second from the village of Umienie (fig. 19).[51] In the Middle Ages, crowns were often given to the images. The San Sisto icon (fig. 15) was surely decorated and crowned with a metal diadem, but it survived only on the copy of the image kept in the Vatican (fig. 20). The Virgin of San Siso might also have had earrings painted on the twelfth-century copy of the image from the church of the Virgin in Via Lata, nowadays Via del Corso (fig. 21). The golden casting of her hands, indicating the healing power of the

Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May-2 June 2003, ed. Erik Thunø, Gerhard Wolf (Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004), 15-27.

[48] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 231; Claudia Bolgia, "The Felici Icon Tabernacle (1372) at S. Maria in Aracoeli reconstructed: Lay Patronage, Sculpture, and Marian Devotion in Trecento Rome," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005): 30; *Prague: the Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*, ed. Barbara Drake Boehm, Jiři Fajt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), catalogue item 28. 158.

[49] Ainsworth "'À la Façon Grèce,'" in *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 547.

[50] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 241-242.

[51] Ewa Smulikowska, "Ozdoby obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej jako zespół zabytkowy" [The decorations of the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as the historical treasure], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 10 (1974): 186-188.

Virgin, is dated to the eighth century at the latest.[52] Although in Rome the custom of crowning the image goes back to the eighth century, it became widespread only in modern times because of Archbishop Alexander Sforza. In 1631, the archbishop gave crowns to thirteen Roman images and in his testament bequeathed a sum that would cover the coronations of even more paintings.[53] On the initiative of Clement XI, on 8 September 1717 *Our Lady of Częstochowa* got a papal crown, the first image to be honored in this way outside Italy.[54]

Dressing the Virgin in gold, silver, and jewels has a long tradition. It was practiced not only with images but also with statues of the Virgin. Michael Camille writes, that in 1439, Isabel, countess of Warwick, donated a crown for *Our Lady of Cavesham*, located in a silver tabernacle. Statues like *Our Lady of Ipswich* and the York Virgin were dressed, repainted, and crowned with flowers and jewels.[55] The shiny and costly materials were associated with divine light, symbolizing the dualistic nature of Christ as a human and God, both visible and invisible. Decorating images of the Virgin established her role as the Mother of God, sharing and transmitting the divine splendor of her Son.[56]

The word "luminosity" associated with the shiny materials should be taken in the context of religious "illumination."[57] Belting mentions the inscription that Abbot Suger left on the gilded portal of Saint Denis: the sumptuous interior of the abbey should enlighten the believer with the metaphoric divine light, and direct one's attention to God.[58] Pilgrimage sites used to invest in the statues of saints and decorate them lavishly. Often, the statues were

[52] Belting, *Likeness*, 315, 320.
[53] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 241-242.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 227.
[56] Irene Kabala, "Dressing the Hodegetria in Częstochowa," *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* vol. 22, no. 3 (2006): 281.
[57] Ibid., 281.
[58] Belting, *Likeness*, 304.

made in the same techniques as reliquaries or holy vessels.[59] After 1200, when the panel painting became widespread, images took on the role of relics, as in the case of the icons of St. Francis, in front of which the miracles started to happen.[60]

Except for the silver-gilt plaques and crowns, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was decorated with many other votive offerings, pinned to the image and its surroundings by pilgrims. The earliest, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, were donated by the members of the upper class. They are recorded in one of the legends about the image, *Translatio tabulae*, according to which Duke Leo of Ruthenia offered the image silver and gold plates with gems and haloes for the Virgin and Child Jesus.[61] Other early votive offerings mentioned in another legend about the image, *Historia Pulchra*, are: a red Turkish hat offered by Hungarian soldiers after the battle they won over the Ottomans, an image left by a nobleman, Starzechowski, who survived being imprisoned by the Turks, and a piece of iron that a child swallowed and vomited up, offered by his mother.[62] According to *Historia Pulchra*, these objects were hung in the chapel where the image was allegedly located.[63] Another document preserved at Jasna Góra, *The Miracle Book*, tells about the votive tablets and panels brought by pilgrims. The Confraternity Register mentions Antonius Banfy of Alsolindva, who offered the shrine a golden chalice.[64] The interior of the chapel and its furnishings including the votive offerings were first described in 1593 by the bishop of

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 308., Patrick Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 5.
[61] *Translatio tabulae,* published in *Najstarsze historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 75.
[62] *Historia Pulchra,* published in *Najstarsze historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 168-180. See also: Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century. The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2004), 106-107, Appendix 7:13, 7:20, 7:41, 213-216.
[63] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 109.
[64] Zbudniewek, "Jasnogórski rękopis:" 282.

Cracow, Jerzy Radziwiłł,[65] but the earliest surviving casual gifts are eighteenth-century silver plaques depicting the donors, who kneel in prayer.[66]

Indirect copies of the image have been painted systematically since the end of the sixteenth century, showing that the custom of pinning jewelry, expensive crosses, and single jewels on the image was prevalent. In the treasury of Jasna Góra monastery some of these costly gifts are preserved. They come from Poland, Hungary, Germany, Italy, France, and other, unidentified places. After the seventeenth century many of these jewels were incorporated into the Virgin's robes, made of precious stones (fig. 22).[67]

According to the priest Stanisław Reszka, who visited the shrine in 1585, the image was covered in different votive offerings. Reszka insisted that the multiple objects surrounding the image should be fixed to the boards on both sides of the altar into which *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was incorporated. Only the decorations donated by Anna Jagiellon should remain in proximity to the image.[68]

Despite the expensive gifts of royalty and nobility, the members of the lower social strata also brought offerings. Due to a fire which happened in 1690 and probably the reluctance of clergy to keep them, they did not survive. However, it is possible to deduce what kind of objects they were. Mirosław Kruk mentions the writing of a Polish Protestant, Marcin Krowicki, who reproaches the pilgrims for bringing silver and wax models of healed heads, hands, legs, and children to the shrine.[69] Kruk cites the text of Grzegorz of Żarnowiec,

[65] His report from the visit at Jasna Góra is to be found in the first part of the Miracle Book, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, Appendix 9, 221; Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" note 22, 151.
[66] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 107.
[67] Smulikowska, "Ozdoby obrazu:" 184-221.
[68] *Visitationes et ordinationes 1577-1743* (Archive of Jasna Góra, 2407), 16, published in Jan Golonka, *Ołtarz jasnogórskiej Bogurodzicy: treści ideowe oraz artystyczne kaplicy I retabulum* [The altar of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*: the chapel and retabulum] (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Zakonu Paulinów, 1996), Appendix 1, 315.
[69] Marcin Krowicki, *Obrona nauki prawdziwey y wiary starodawney krześcijańskiey, którey uczyli Prorocy, Krystus Syn Boży, y Apostołowie iego swięci: naprzeciwko nauce fałszywey y wierze nowey, którey uczy w kościelech swoich Papież Rzymski, a którey odpowiedzią swoia broni Jędrzey Biskup Krakowski* [The defence of the old Christian faith as it was taught by the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and saints: against the false and new faith taught by the pope of Rome and defended by Andrew, the bishop of Cracow] (Pińczów, 1560), 260, see: Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 246.

who points out the same types of votive offerings and pagan behavior of pilgrims, walking on their knees around the church, lying and stand in front of the image to thank the Virgin for miracles.[70] In 1585, Stanisław Reszka described people pulling their hair out and sticking it to the image, as well as leaving old clothes to get rid of illnesses.[71] After the first half of the sixteenth century small copies of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* circulated even among poor pilgrims. The custom of rubbing them against the original continued until the middle of the nineteenth century.[72] Especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a growth in the number of workshops in Częstochowa which were producing copies of the image.[73] The first indirect but recognizable panel copies of the image come from the end of the sixteenth century.[74] The panels classified as "Piekary type" images were prevalent in Southern Poland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: they depict a half-length Virgin with the Child Jesus on her left arm, but they do not share significant details with *Our Lady of Częstochowa*.[75]

Votive offerings from the shrines of Tuntenhausen near Rosenheim, Altötting, and St. Benno in Munich, examined by Barbara Schuh, were mostly destroyed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Except for the money, garments, jewelry, silver plaques depicting healings, wax models of cured body parts and organs, they comprised crutches, chains of freed prisoners, even tapeworms and farm animals. The number of wax offerings decreased

[70] Grzegorz z Żarnowca, *Postilla* (Kraków 1556, k, 610v), quoted from Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 246.
[71] Jan Kracik, "Święte obrazy wśród grzesznych Sarmatów: ze studiów nad recepcją kultowego dziedzictwa," [Holy images among the sinful Sarmatians: studies on the reception of cultural heritage] *Nasza Przeszłość* 76 (1991): 162 and note 28, see: Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 246.
[72] Anna Kunczyńska-Iracka, "Ludowe obrazy Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej" [Folk images of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*], *Studia Claromontana* 2 (1982): 276-287.
[73] Jerzy Groch, "The Town-Formative Function of the Jasna Góra Shrine," *Peregrinus Cracoviensis*, 3 (1996): 206, available online: http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/publikacje.php?id=000002en&page=peregrinus&menu=3 (accessed: April 2013).
[74] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 161; The Marian sanctuary in Gnadenfeld, Frankfurt, had a copy of the image brought in 1626 by Wolfgang Michael von Silberman. In 1653 another copy was brought by the Paulines to Rohrhelden. About this and other copies of the image dated to the modern period from present-day Austria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Italy, and Russia, see: Jan Nalaskowski and Elżbieta Bilska "The Cult of the Virgin Mary Outside Poland," *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 192-193, available online: http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/ publikacje.php?id=000002en&page=peregrinus&menu=3 (accessed: April 2013).

and the number of precious offerings increased together with the growing distance from the shrine. The growing number of votive offerings at Jasna Góra proves the faith in the power of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*.[76]

The frame visible nowadays is a reconstruction (fig. 23). The original, known from before the restoration of 1925-1926, was dismantled by Rutkowski and Turczyński due to its decay and insect infestation. These scholars did not mention much about the old frame. They cut a 10 mm strip from the front of the old frame where it was decorated with an *Astwerk* (branch tracery), and incorporated this part into the new frame. This ornament links the production of the frame with the Northern European art of the fifteenth century.[77] Floral motives on frames are traditionally Byzantine: they evoke the idea of comparing the icon with the Garden of Eden.[78]

The sources and legends on the image imply that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was restored after the Hussite plunder of the monastery in 1430. An alleged restoration took place in Cracow said to have been commissioned by Władysław Jagiełło, who died in 1434.[79] The attack of 1430 is a historical event. Evidence is to be found not only in Ian Długosz's *Annales*, written in the 1470s, but also in the letters of the Lithuanian Duke Witold to the papal legate and Władysław Jagiełło. Information on the attack was incorporated into the oldest legends about the image. All these sources state that the invaders were the Hussites, however there are also other, which do not mention directly who attacked the monastery.[80] The attack on the monastery probably really happened and the monastery may have been

[75] Teresa Mroczko and Barbara Dąb, *Gotyckie Hodegetrie Polskie* [Gothic Hodegetrias of Poland] (Wrocław, 1966), 32-64; Smulikowska, "Ozdoby obrazu:" 184-188.
[76] Barbara Schuh, "'Wiltu gesund warden, so pring ain waxen pildt in mein capellen …' Votivgaben in Mirakelberichten," in *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole*, ed. Gertrud Blaschitz, Helmut Hundsbichler, Gerhard Jaritz, et al. (Graz: Akademische Druch- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1992), 747-761.
[77] Turczyński, Rutkowski, *Konserwacja*, 22.
[78] Durand, "Precious metal icon-revetments," in *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 247.
[79] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Geneza:" 13-16.
[80] Piotr Bilnik, "Napad 'husytów' na Jasną Górę. Fakty – konteksty – legenda" [The attack of "Hussites" on Jasna Góra. Facts – contexts – legend], *Studia Claromontana* 15 (1995): 298-311.

plundered and the image robbed of the valuable decoration.[81] A critical approach to the sources and image itself attest that the scars on the Virgin's check were not caused by this. The scars were painted by an artist on purpose.[82] The wounding of an image is a *topos* present in many legends about icons, however they are visible on a small number of images. The closest parallels to *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in this regard are two icons from Mount Athos: the *Hodegetria* from the Vatopedi monastery (fig. 24) dated to the thirteenth century and the *Panaghia Portaitissa* from the Ivron monastery (fig. 25) dated to the ninth century.[83] The intensive pilgrimages to Jasna Góra, the scars on the Virgin's cheek, and her dark completion might be interpreted in a new way.

In the late Middle Ages, devotion started to be focused on emotional and individual relationships with Christ, however, the Virgin as the Mother of God remained a central figure of belief.[84] The concept of the Virgin suffering together with the crucified Christ was established at the end of the thirteenth century, and a century later began to appear in religious art.[85] On the backs of the Byzantine *Hodegetrias*, the Crucifixion was often depicted.[86] The link between the Virgin and the Passion of Christ, a popular subject for contemplation, is articulated by the grief visible on *Our Lady of Częstochowa*'s face. As

[81] Ian Długosz, *Opera omnia*, vol. 13, ed. Aleksander Przezdziecki (Cracow: Tipographia Kirchmajeriana, 1877), 399.
[82] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 70-85.
[83] Since the end of the thirteenth century, Mount Athos from which the iconography of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* could partially derive became an important asylum and center of Orthodoxy. In the times of the Latin occupation of Constantinople, during the Ottoman sieges on the Eastern lands of the Byzantine Empire, and the wars on the Balkan peninsula, many monks fled to there. Inhabitants of Mount Athos were also in contact with one of the most influential centers of Byzantine culture in continental Europe, that is, Thessaloniki. Despite the difficult political situation, monks of Athos enjoyed independence and financial security. Their high position allowed them to shape the public opinion and intellectual trends. See: John Meyendorff, "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988): 157.
[84] André Vauchez, "Medieval Man in Search of God: The Forms and Content of Religious Experience," in *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: From the Eighth to the Twelfth Century*, tr. Colette Friedlander **(**Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1993), 145-162; Giles Constable, "The Ideal Imitation of Christ," in *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143-248; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 5; Stanisław Bylina, "Nowa dewocja, postawy wiernych i kult maryjny w Europie środkowej późnego średniowiecza" [Devotio moderna, believers and Marian cult in the East-Central Europe of the Late Middle Ages] *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 122-125.
[85] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 129.
[86] Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 109-121.

Maniura observed, the pilgrimage to the image becomes the "carnival" of human misery, one of the moments when a breakdown in the structure occurs. The pilgrim sees his or her own poor condition mirrored by the suffering depicted on the Virgin's face.[87]

The scars on the Virgin's cheek might be also linked with the medieval expression of grief among women: scratching one's face in the act of despair.[88] The dark skin of the Virgin enforces the expression of mourning. On the halo of the Bohemian Black Madonna of Březnice (fig. 26) there is a Latin inscription: *Nigra sum sed formosa fili(a)e ier(usalem)* (I am black but comely, O daughters of Jerusalem), taken from the Song of Solomon (1:4).[89] One of the nocturns sung on the occasion of the Office of the Virgin in Częstochowa comprises the same quotation, and describes the Virgin as scorched by the light of Christ.[90] The Virgin of Březnice, a copy of a lost image from Roudnice, was owned by King Wenceslaus, who commissioned it in 1396. Because of the black skin of the Virgin and the above quotation, the original was probably imported from Byzantium. Based on the stylistic features, it was probably made on Cyprus, commissioned by a Crusader, in the thirteenth-century. A similar icon depicting the iconography of *Kykotissa* is located at the monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai.[91]

Mensa Mariana

During their restoration, Rutkowski and Turczyński removed *Our Lady of Częstochowa* from the seventeenth-century altarpiece and took a closer look at the back. They found the so-called *Mensa Mariana* pasted on the other side of the panel (fig. 27). The *Mensa Mariana* is an oil painting on canvas to which text was added. The painting bears the date of

[87] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 129; Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage,* 34-39.
[88] Maniura, *Pilgrimage,* 130-131.
[89] *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, cat. no. 302, figure 302, 499.
[90] *Officium Beatae Virginis Maria Czestochoviensis* (Archieve of Jasna Góra, sygn. 2099, fol. 2), quoted in Kabala, "Dressing,"282. The *Officium* is dated to 1888-1903, but it is based on earlier texts, see: Kabala, "Dressing," notes 9, 282 and 68, 284.
[91] *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, cat. no. 302, 499.

1682 and information about the 300th anniversary of the foundation of the Jasna Góra monastery.[92]

The *Mensa Mariana* illustrates the legends about the image from its creation by St. Luke until the defense of the monastery during the Swedish Deluge (1655). The events are shown in four baroque cartouches. They depict the legendary origins of the image in Jerusalem (the upper cartouche), placing it at Jasna Góra monastery (the lower), the history of the image in Constantinople (on the right), and in Bełz (on the left). Next to these scenes, in the medallions, are small portraits of Constantine the Great, the Empress Pulcheria, Patriarch Nikephoros, Charlemagne, Prince Lev, and Louis the Great. Moreover, the painter used the space on the rim to paint the portraits of popes, saints, and the landscapes of several Polish cities. The blue, green, bronze, and red colors of the painting are soft and muted.[93] The signature of the artist: "I. K. Indignus Servus pinxit," only became visible only after Krupik put the image under infrared light.[94]

In the middle of the painting there is an untidy Latin inscription: MENSA/ MARIANA/ POTISSIMA/ DOMVS/ NAZARAE/ SVPELLEX (trans. The Marian table, the mightiest furnishing of the House of Nazareth).[95] According to all the oldest legends about the image, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was painted on a panel from the Virgin's table. Therefore, according to the believers, the image preserved some tight bond with the Virgin herself as she was supposed to have touched the table while using it daily.[96] The second four-verse text is divided into two, above and below the middle writing. It reads: ANNIS TERCENTVM SOLYMA PER SECVLA QVINQVE/ BYZANTINA HABITANS HOSPES IN VRBE FVI/ RVSSIA QVINGENTIS OLIM IN BEŁZ ME ABDIDIT ANNIS/

[92] Turczyński, Rutkowski, *Konserwacja*, 13.
[93] Eustachy Rakoczy, *Mensa Mariana: malowane dzieje obrazu Matki Boskiej Jasnogórskiej* [The Mensa Mariana: painted history of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*] (Warsaw: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1989), 5-18.
[94] Kurpik, *Podłoże obrazu*, 75-121.
[95] I am grateful to Cristian-Nicolae Gaspar for consulting with me when I was translating the inscriptions.
[96] Rakoczy, *Mensa Mariana*, 19-22.

TERCENTUM CLARI ME IVGA MONTIS HABENT/ A. MDCLXXXII (trans. For three hundred years I have dwelled in Jerusalem, [then] I was a guest for five centuries in the city of Byzantium. Russia once secreted me in Bełz for five hundred years; for three hundred years the peak of the Bright Mountain has been keeping me. The year 1682). Although the inscription notes the 300th anniversary of the monastery, Eustachy Rakoczy states that the painting was not made in 1683, but after the celebration in 1705, when the goldsmith Makary Sztyfkowski restored the *Our Lady of Częstochowa* icon. The record of this restoration was found in the monastery's Miracle Book.[97]

Rakoczy's theory is quite plausible. Considering the details of the painting, the tower of the monastery in the scene of the Siege of Jasna Góra looks different than in other depictions of the monastery from the seventeenth century. The tower was rebuilt in the years from 1699 to 1703, after being devastated by fire in 1690. Moreover, it was forbidden to move the miraculous painting of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* from its chapel without an important reason after the end of the sixteenth century. Each move was documented. The date of the goldsmith Makary Sztyftkowski's restoration of the image in 1705 suits the presumed date when the *Mensa Mariana* was painted because the restoration of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* would have been a good reason to move it.[98] Also, the initials of the painter may be linked with the monastery's abbot, Izydor Krasuski, who ordered both the rebuilding of the tower and the restoration of the image.[99] The *Mensa Mariana* is proof that the pilgrimage to the miraculous image was well established around 300 years after the Pauline monks settled at Jasna Góra monastery.

Rutkowski and Turczyński put forth a theory that the oil repainting which left the faces of the Virgin and Christ Child intact were made at the same time as the *Mensa Mariana*

[97] Ibid., 41.
[98] Ibid., 31-33, 39-42.
[99] Ibid., 89.

was painted.[100] Nevertheless, their claim cannot be supported. The restoration of 1705 was not the one which covered the fleurs-de-lis on the Virgin's robe – the stars were present on it long before this date. There are many seventeenth-century books with engravings of the image that confirm this fact (fig. 28).[101] Also, the brass stars could have not been fixed to the image in 1705. All the ornaments of the painting, including the jewels, which are mentioned in the text of the Miracle Book were made of precious materials. Therefore, the brass stars replaced those made of more expensive metal after the year 1705.

***

Our Lady of Częstochowa is a Black Madonna depicting the Byzantine type of *Hodegetria*. The half-length Virgin holds the Child Jesus on her left arm, and points to Him with her right hand. Jesus symbolizing the source of salvation, blesses with his right hand, and holds the book of gospels. Rutkowski and Turczyński, who made the restoration of the image at the beginning of the twentieth century, after taking off the silver gilt-plaques covering the haloes and the background, revealed that the faces of the figures and the right hand of the Virgin were not visible. Probably they had been wiped off during the practice of rubbing the image with copies of it or kissing it. After cleaning the oil paint layers, it appeared that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was made primarily in egg tempera. Fleurs-de-lis were discovered as the previous but not original pattern on the Virgin's robe.

Our Lady of Częstochowa was a cult object; its reception among believers was very personal. Metal pins that the scholars removed from the panel surface were probably used as the hangers for votive offerings pinned to the image and in its surroundings. The image has been re-painted many times. It was not admired as an artwork of high artistic value evoking a critical response but it created a space in which the unsuppressed behavior of believers took place. The offerings and practice of covering the image in revetments, crowning and dressing

[100] Turczyński, Rutkowski, *Konserwacja*, 14.
[101] Rakoczy, *Mensa Mariana*, 82-87.

it in robes show that the Virgin was highly regarded on the emotional level and honored as if she was a living person, knowing about her respect among believers. Such practices affected other Marian icons and images imitating them in the Latin West. Decorating icons and images with gold, silver, and jewels made them similar to reliquaries in a way.

The so-called popular response to such depictions was repressed by the religious authorities, who systematically removed votive offerings left by the members of the lower social classes and distanced themselves from the sometimes-ecstatic behavior of pilgrims. Nevertheless, some characteristic and enigmatic features of icons and images, such as scars in the case of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, might be considered factors that encouraged people to act so. A similar role can be ascribed to the images fixed to Marian depictions or hung in their proximity: *Mensa Mariana*, which illustrates the legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, legitimizes and reasserts the sacred space around the cult object. These objects of visual culture enforce the "carnival" of human misery that happened during the pilgrimage. They made the spiritual visible in material culture.

CHAPTER II: THE ORIGINS

Iconography of *Hodegetria*

The term *Hodegetria* became used in relation to the icon kept at the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, which was destroyed during the Ottoman siege in 1453. According to the post-iconoclast legends, the image was supposed to have been sent to Constantinople from Jerusalem or Rome in the fifth century. It was a gift of Empress Eudokia, to Empress Pulcheria.[102] Bissera Pentcheva states that judging by the written accounts, recension C of the Patria, the Life of Saint Thomaïs of Lesbos, and the narrative of the *Maria Romaia*, the name of the monastery where the icon was kept changed to Hodegon in the eleventh century. There are no earlier written accounts on either the Hodegon or the *Hodegetria*. Until the middle of the tenth century, the cult of the Mother of God in Constantinople was related more to relics than icons. Only after the fame of the *Hodegetria* grew was the icon called a protector of Constantinople, and the battle won against the Avars who tried to conquer Constantinople in 626 was ascribed to it.[103]

According to two texts based on lost Greek sources: *Anonymous Tarragonensis* found in Tarragona in Spain, dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the *Anonymous Mercati*, written by an English pilgrim, and a third one, which is the homily on Sunday Orthodoxy composed by Philangathos Kerameus of Sicily, dated on the early twelth century, *Hodegetria* was a work of St. Luke, kept in Constantinople. Surprisingly, the legends about the icon as a work of the apostle were present first in sources in the Latin West.[104] In Pentcheva's opinion: "It is also possible that the myth of Marian icon painted by Luke developed in Rome during Iconoclasm; it would then have been integrated unto the Greek polemical writings of iconophiles and would have persisted unchanged in the Byzantine sources after

[102] Kondakov, *Иконография*, 152-249. Recent scholarship has shown that the Empress Pulcheria was not involved in the Council of Ephesos, and did not promote Marian devotion in Constantinople, see: Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 15.
[103] Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 126-127.

Iconoclasm."[105] Pentcheva supports Michele Bacci's viewpoint that the number of the images attributed to St. Luke increased after the schism of 1054 because they were treated as a means to gain hegemony over the Church by both medieval Catholic and Orthodox dignitaries.[106]

Pentcheva notices that the later iconography of *Hodegetria* differs from the pre-Iconoclast versions. In her opinion, *Hodegetrias* like *Our Lady of Częstochowa* were a creation of post-Iconoclast times. Pentcheva states that the emergence of this new types is strictly linked with the procession. In the twelfth century, the Constantinopolitan *Hodegetria* played the leading role in the commemorative services at the Pantokrator monastery. Each Tuesday it took part in weekly processions, being carried to the altars of different churches in order to celebrate the Mass. Therefore, its iconography needed to be seen from afar: the Virgin and Christ Child make gestures of prayer, which were repeated by the believers standing in the processional crowd. The core of the theological concept of this iconography is the power of prayer and intercession. For the latter, a perfect occasion was during the procession. Going deeper into the theological concept standing behind the *Hodegetria* icon, the Virgin is the one who gave the Christ Child so that he could sacrifice himself for the sake of humanity. This is why on the other side of *Hodegetria* icons there is another painting showing the Crucifixion.[107]

Nevertheless, this is not the case in the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, where it was decided to illustrate its legend on the back. The Polish image does not follow the canonical rules of Byzantine iconography. Its concepts must have been somewhat strange to the artist who painted the *Mensa Mariana* and for those who re-painted the image proper.

[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 127.
[106] Michele Bacci, "Relics and Holy Icons as Historical Mementos: The Idea of Apostolicity in Constantinople and Rome (11th- 13th Centuries)," abstract published in *Relics in the Art and Culture of the Eastern Christian World*, ed. Alexei Lidov (Moscow: Radunitsa, 2000), 32-33.
[107] Pentcheva *Icons*, 109-121.

Probably the image took part in processions at Częstochowa until the end of the sixteenth century. It was associated with miracles, and became the main focus of pilgrims tormented by illness and misery, asking the Virgin for help.[108] The grief on the Virgin's face and her association with the idea of salvation and intercession might explain why the pilgrimage movement to Jasna Góra arose. Did the simple believers, devotedly adoring the image, know what was hidden behind the iconography of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*? Why did the image gain such popularity in medieval Poland, lying so far from the territory of the Byzantine Empire?

Marian icons and images between Byzantium and Latin West

In the sixth century the usage of icons was confirmed in a still-undivided Church. Officially, they were to serve for didactic purposes but before and after this date people still associated Christian beliefs with older Greco-Roman tradition and relied on the apotropaic powers of images. Icons were known to perform healings and were treated as domestic intercessors. This is especially accurate when referring to Marian icons.[109]

The growing importance of the Virgin in Rome can be shown by the construction of the first church dedicated to her: Santa Maria Maggiore, commissioned by Celestine I (422-432) and Sixtus III (432-440). Gregory the Great (540-604) popularized her cult by associating it with imperial notions and representations. Around 609, on the initiative of Boniface IV, the old pagan temple of the Pantheon was changed into the church of St. Mary and All Martyrs. The Virgin's cult was influenced by her veneration in the East. Sergius I (687-701) incorporated the Marian feasts of the Purification, Annunciation, Dormition, and the Nativity of Mary into the liturgy.[110] At Santa Maria Antiqua, which served as an imperial

[108] In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the veneration of the *Constantinopolitan Hodegetria* was widespread outside of Byzantium. As in the case of *Hodegetria* icon from Thessaloniki, not only the image but also the cult was imitated, see Bacci, "The Legacy of the *Hodegetria*: Holy Icons and Legends Between East and West," in: *Images of the Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, 323; Alexei Lidov, "The Flying *Hodegetria*. The Miraculous Icon as the Bearer of Sacred Space," in *The Miraculous Image*, ed. Thunø, Wolf, 273-304.
[109] Hans Belting, *Likeness*, 30-41.
[110] Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: a History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 95-98.

basilica and the pope's residence in the seventh century, a fresco dated to the mid-sixth century shows the Virgin enthroned, dressed in Byzantine fashion and painted in a Greek manner. This type of image, presenting the Virgin as an Eastern empress, called later *Maria Regina*, stood for her status in the Latin West.[111]

In regard to the so-called miracle-working icons of the Virgin in Rome, dated to the first millennium, one should mention the icon of the Virgin with Christ-Emmanuel from the church of St. Mary and All Martyrs, the icon from the church of Santa Francesca Romana (the old Santa Maria Nova) (fig. 6), the image of the so-called *Madonna della Clemenza* from the Basilica of Our Lady in Trastevere,[112] the Madonna of San Sisto from the church of Santa Maria del Rosario (fig. 15),[113] and *Salus Populi Romani* from Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore (fig. 29).[114]

Icon production developed based on late Classical panels.[115] Icons incorporated different genres of painting: they "inherited the divine image, the imperial image, and the portrait of the dead."[116] From the very beginning their power was not associated with the artistic quality. It came from the divine, proven by the Lucan legends and miracles.[117]

As the early tradition of icon painting was similar in the East and in the West, it is hard to differentiate which region pre-iconoclastic art works come from. Scholars sometimes have problems in determining the origins of icons dated even to the central Middle Ages. For instance, for the *Freising Hodegetria* (fig. 30), an icon made of an ivory plaque from around

[111] On the political significance of this image, which symbolizes the will of the papacy to become independent from Constantinople, see: Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 21-26; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani* 119-124.
[112] Wolf "Icons and Sites," 28-37.
[113] Pietro Amato, *De vera effigie Mariae. Antiche icone romane*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori; Rome: De Luca, 1988), 42.
[114] Wolf, "Icons and Sites," 31.
[115] Belting, *Likeness*, 115.
[116] Ibid., 26; on the icons in pre-iconoclastic era, see: Ernst Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 83-150.
[117] Belting, *Likeness*, 47.

the eleventh century, it is not possible to specify if it is a work from the East or from the West.[118]

In late antiquity and the early Middle Ages in Rome, imports and replicas of Byzantine icons were prevalent.[119] The interest in Marian icons was certainly due to the veneration of the Virgin in the Holy Roman Empire, demonstrated by the writings of the famous court intellectual Alcuin (740-804). From Carolingian times, Marian feasts were widely celebrated and the Virgin was incorporated into family piety.[120] The processional function of icons was established in the early Middle Ages.[121] Processions grew in number in the ninth century; they celebrated Marian feasts: for instance, on the day of the Dormition, the icon of the Savior from the Lateran was carried from the papal palace to "meet" *Salus Populi Romani* (fig. 29) in Santa Maria Maggiore.[122] During the iconoclastic controversy icons found asylum in Rome, where the Marian churches kept growing in number. Marian depictions started to be treated as relics; they were carried in processions and became objects of pilgrimage.[123]

After the iconoclastic controversy ended, from the ninth century on, the icon's role became official in the Byzantine Church. In regard to the doctrine and the rules of painting, it became a sign of identity.[124] This did not happen in the West, where art drifted in another direction, toward three dimensional paintings. However, at the end of the tenth century the royal court of the Holy Roman Empire imported a number of Byzantine artworks, including

[118] Anthony Cutler et al., *Diözesan Museum Freising. Die Freisinger Hodegetria*, ed. Sylvia Hahn (Freising: Diözesanmuseum, 2002); Barbara Zeitler, "The Migrating Image: Uses and Abuses of Byzantine Icons in Western Europe," in *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack,* ed. Antony Eastmond, Liz James (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 185-204.
[119] Belting, *Likeness*, 21-27.
[120] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 100-103.
[121] Bolgia, "The Felici icon tabernacle:" 29.
[122] Wolf, "Icons and Sites," 28-33; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 37-44, 156-160, 198-208.
[123] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 98-99.
[124] Belting, *Likeness*, 26-27.

golden and silver objects, jewels, vestments, fabrics, and relics.[125] After the schism of 1054 and during the attempts to reunite the Eastern and Western Churches, despite the varied doctrinal issues of the both sides of argument, the importance of Marian devotion was undisputable.[126] Since the eleventh century, the accounts of pilgrims travelling to Constantinople, Byzantine religious literature, and translations of Marian miracles were present even in Northern Europe. Southern Italy should be regarded as the place from which the cult of the *Hodegetria* had spread into the Latin West.[127] According to Bacci, a seventeenth-century historian, Giuseppe Richa, recorded that in lost twelfth-century documents, the church of Santa Maria Edigitria or Odigitria in Florence was dedicated to the *Hodegetria*. Similarly, the church of the Madonna di Piedigrotta used to be called Santa Maria dell'Itria, and a copy of *Hodegetria* was venerated there.[128] Bacci states that "In the second half of the fourteenth century, such dedications seem to have been increasingly popular in Sicily: a Benedictine monastery of the Itria in Sciaccia was founded by Queen Eleanor of Aragon in 1370, and in the 1390s both a hospital and a chapel were dedicated to her in Palermo, the capital of the Island."[129]

In the era of the Crusades, including the plunder of Constantinople in 1204, many valuable objects were taken from the East to the West. Among them was the *Liège Hodegetria* (fig. 5), which, according to its legend, was given to the cathedral treasury by Frederick II (1220-1250).[130] Another example imported after the plunder is the *Hagiosoritissa from Freising* (fig. 7), which was a gift of Manuel II Palaiologos (1391-1425)

[125] Bernhard Gallistl, "Byzanz-Rezeption und Renovatio-Symbolik in der Kunst Bernwards von Hildesheim" in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Konstantinou (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997), 129-60.
[126] *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 546.
[127] Especially since the sixteenth century the popularity of *Hodegetria* was immense in Sicily, Calabria, Campania, and Apulia, where the Tuesday processions were organized, see Bacci, "The Legacy," 329.
[128] Ibid., 326-327.
[129] Ibid., 327.
[130] Colman, *Le trésor*, 35-37. On the relationships of the East and West including trade and the colonies of Venice and Genoa in Constantinople even before 1204, art and education, see: Robert S. Nelson, "Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France," in *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 515-523.

to the duke of Milan, Gian Galeazzo Visconti (1395-1402), was transferred to Saint Mary's Cathedral in Freising in 1440.[131]

Mosaic, enameled, and gem-encrusted icons from Byzantium, like the *Virgin Nikopoia* from the Basilica of San Marco, was most valuable for the "Westerners". In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the abundance of imported relics and icons contributed to the unification in their status. The case of the Byzantine icon of Saint Nicolas, kept in the Benedictine abbey in Burtscheid near Aachen, is an illustration of this.[132]

Especially in the thirteenth century, icons "conquered" Rome. They started to be placed as the retables in the altars and side-altars of Roman churches. Italian paintings were modeled on the iconostasis, *vita* icons (depicting the titular saint together with the scenes from his or her life), and half-length panels of the Virgin.[133] In the same century, icons of the *Hodegetria* gained immense popularity in Byzantium. Simultaneously, their copies were greatly admired in Italy, as in the case of the *Madonna di Constantinopoli* (fig. 31) from Padua, whose cult developed from the fourteenth century.[134] It was owned by the Benedictine abbey of S. Guistina, which since the twelfth century had the relics of St. Luke. The early-fourteenth-century lectionary of the abbey mentions that the commemoration of the Byzantine *Hodegetria* was established there much earlier.[135] The last phase of Byzantine imports happened after the Fall of Constantinople. It was connected with the Cretan school, which produced icons for export. As a result, Venice became a place where these icons were more prevalent than in other regions.[136]

[131] *Diözesanmuseum Freising. Christliche Kunst aus Salzburg, Bayern und Tirol 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert* 2, ed. Friedrich Fahr et al. (Freising: Diözesanmuseum, 1984), 244-251; Vassilaki "Praying," in *Images of the Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, 263-274.
[132] Belting, *Likeness*, 330.
[133] Ibid., 21-25.
[134] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 21; Michele Bacci, *Il pennello*, 403-420.
[135] Bacci, "The Legacy," 327.
[136] Robin Cormack, *Painting the Soul: Death Masks and Shrouds* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997), 167-217.

Marian devotion came to East Central Europe together with Christianity in a process of politically influenced Christianization.[137] The baptism of Poland took place in 966, when Mieszko I decided to receive Christianity from the Bohemians and marry Dobrava, daughter of Boleslas I.[138] In the year 1000, the first archbishopric of Gniezno was dedicated to the Virgin. [139] The late-twelfth-century portal *Porta Speciosa* of the Cathedral of Esztergom in Hungary, today destroyed but partially preserved in the local museum, shows the Virgin enthroned with the Christ Child on her knees. She is flanked by St. Adalbert, the Bishop of Prague and missionary in the pagan lands of East-Central Europe, and St. Stephen, the first Holy King of Hungary. According to the inscriptions, the Virgin is accepting the role of protectress of Hungary. The portal was commissioned during the reign of King Béla III (1172-1196) who popularized courtly art influenced by Byzantine and French style.[140]

In the ninth and tenth centuries, East Central Europe was not separate from the general trends in devotion in the Latin West; the Virgin was associated with the courts, and celebrated during the liturgy and her feasts. The religious achievements of the Latin West were probably absorbed depending on the local needs.[141] Between the tenth and twelfth centuries, the relationships between East Central Europe and the Latin West crystallized.[142] In the process of Christianization, especially in the thirteenth century, the Latin orders, including those particularly dedicated to the Virgin - the Benedictines, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, and the Cistercians - started to settle in the East Central European region.[143]

[137] Marvin Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 4.
[138] Alexis P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: an Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 115.
[139] Jerzy Kloczowski, *A History of Polish Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 10-14.
[140] Thomas von Bogyay, "L'iconographie de la *Porta speciosa* d'Esztergom et ses sources d'inspiration," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 8 (1950): 85-129; Isa Ragusa, "*Porta patet vitae sponsus vocat intro venite* and the inscription of the Lost Portal of the Cathedral of Esztergom," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980): 345-351.
[141] Rubin, *Mother of God*, 113.
[142] Kloczowski, *A History*, 5
[143] On the Marian devotion in these two orders and growing popularity of the Virgin around the year 1000 see: Rubin,*The Mother of God*, 121-157; Kloczowski, *A History*, 13, 39.

In the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries Christians from the West and East were connected through trade, crusades, and pilgrimage; the exchange of material objects and artworks was facilitated by Latinized and Orthodox Christians, many of whom lived in the contemporary Balkans, Hungary, and southern Italy.[144] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, individual devotion was popularized in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. The forms of *devotio moderna* stressed the contemplation of Christ and the Eucharist and an emotional attitude about contact with God. The Eucharist played an important role; the masses started to receive communion more often and public processions of *Corpus Cristi* developed, introduced in 1263.[145] According to Trexler, the feast of *Corpus Cristi* influenced the veneration of images and holy statues; analogous to regarding the host as the image of God, icons and images mirrored the Virgin. Trexler argues that the cult of Christ's body influenced the conviction that power can lie in an object.[146]

The center of the new devotion was Prague, which kept in contact with Cracow, located in proximity to Częstochowa. The evolving monastic community established social networks, especially among the Canons Regular of Bohemia, Silesia, and Cracow, and the Pauline Fathers of Hungary and Poland. Even if the elites and common people were focused on Christ in regard to celebrating his Nativity or Passion, as in the Latin West, the Virgin was also at the center of the cult. Marian devotion was spread by the mendicant orders: Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites, Canons Regular, Paulines, and later in Poland, the Bernardines.[147]

Franciscans and Dominicans had houses in the East from which they were spreading their teachings and trying to convert non-believers and other Christians. Their presence was

[144] Rubin, *The Mother of God*, 171. Especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some of the refugees coming from the Ottoman-occupied lands decided to stick to the rituals connected with the *Hodegetria* and brought with them multiple copies of the image. See Bacci, "The Legacy," 328-329.
[145] Bylina, "Nowa dewocja:" 110-125.
[146] Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience:" 9-18; Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 215-219.
[147] Bylina, "Nowa dewocja:" 110-125.

used in negotiations on the possible union with the Orthodox Church. They were influenced by Byzantine theology and art. By linking Byzantine images with their own devotional literature, they popularized icons in the Latin West. With their influence, the cult of the Virgin, reinforced by the popular Marian pilgrimage sites, helped integrate the higher and lower social strata.[148]

In late medieval Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland the Byzantine-looking images of the half-length Virgin were usually the works of Italo-Byzantine or Italian schools. Italo-Byzantine paintings were made by Greek artists painting in Italy or Italian artists influenced by Orthodox art. The Italian school refers to the images of Italian artists who copied and modified the Italo-Byzantine images to blend them into contemporary Italian art. In East-Central Europe, Orthodox-looking images were also painted by local or visiting artists and by those travelling with the court. In order to enhance the status of royal power, they were brought by Charles IV, Elizabeth of Poland, and Louis the Great, as loot, souvenirs or gifts from abroad.[149]

The phenomenon described above explains why, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* became popular in fifteenth-century Poland, ruled by the Jagiellonian dynasty. In Poland, the Catholic elites shaped the devotion of the court, nobility, and middle class. After the thirteenth century, Polish pilgrims visited the Sanctuary of Loreto, Santa Maria Maggiore, St. Mary and All Martyrs, Santa Maria Antiqua and Aracoeli. They knew the images from San Marco and San Giacomo Maggiore in Bologna. Moreover, Poland was a kingdom open to diversity; among all the parishes, two-thirds were Orthodox and one-third Catholic.[150] The interest in

[148] Maria Georgopoulou, "Venice and the Byzantine sphere," in *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 449.
[149] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Geneza:" 14-22; See: Edward B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976).
[150] Casimir III the Great (1333-1370), the last king of the Piast dynasty, annexed Red Ruthenia with Lviv. Its population was Orthodox and belonged to the Byzantine-Slavic culture. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the contacts between Ruthenia, Poland, and Hungary were sustained by various links (Kloczowski, *A History*, 54-60, 73-74); Władysław Jagiełło, who laid the foundations of the Polish-Lithuanian Union commissioned painters from Ruthenia to decorate the Cathedral of Sandomierz and the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Lublin Castle and in Wiślica. Although, according to Różycka Bryzek, he might be regarded as an enthusiast of

the Virgin might be regarded in the context of the closeness to Greek Christianity, in which the Mother of God had a central role. Because of political reasons, King Jagiełło decided to be baptized in 1386, when establishing the Union of Krewo and being crowned as the King of Poland. His baptism triggered the mass conversions in Lithuania. Although the court of Jagiełło converted after him, a majority of the lower social strata remained Orthodox or pagan.[151] Although not entirely identical, the cult of Marian images was somehow inherited from the Orthodox rite, widespread in Poland. It was also a result of the lack of relics, which were abundant in Western medieval Europe.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, the Hussites, hostile to the cult of the Virgin, became strong in Bohemia. The echo of their activity was later recalled in the legends on *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. Being afraid of the Hussite antipathy towards images, members of the mendicant orders transferred some of the Marian images from Bohemia to Silesia and Southern Poland.

The devotional and cult role of icons were stressed, but with no deeper understanding of their theological meaning. Marian images were regarded as vehicles for God's power: protectors from outside enemies and evil forces tearing down every man. People venerated icons, enchanted by their mysterious origins and legends.[152]

Orthodoxy, his inclination towards the rite is debatable (Różycka Bryzek, "Byzantine Frescos in Medieval Poland," in *Evolution generale et developpements regionaux en histoire de l'art. Actes du XXIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'art, Budapest 1969*, volume 1 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972), 225-231). In many cases the king's attitude towards Orthodox believers was far from being tolerant. He supported the Catholic Church, and the commission of "Greek" paintings might be regarded as subordinated to Western art and liturgy (Grażyna Jurkowaniec, "West and East Perspectives on the 'Greek Manner' in the Early Modern Period," *Ikonotheka* 22 (2009): 84-85); Maniura suggested that the re-paintings of Our Lady of Częstochowa might illustrate its eradication from the Eastern connotations (Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 57-60); The Union of Poland and Lithuania was later straightened by King Łokietek and King Kazimierz, however then, the Catholic-Orthodox relationships became more complicated (Kloczowski, *A History*, 54-60, 73-74).

[151] Ibid., 54-57.

[152] Józef J. Kopeć, *Bogarodzica w kulturze polskiej* [The Mother of God in the Polish culture] (Lubin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1997), 376-387.

The origins of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in historical context

Polish art historians have tried to investigate the stylistic features of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* to answer the questions about its exact origins. As in the case of the ***Cambrai Madonna*** **(fig. 32)**, being a gift by Canon Fursy de Bruille to the Cathedral of Cambrai in 1450, its prototype is not known. The Madonna is an Italo-Byzantine image, which became an object of pilgrimage since the late Middle Ages.[153] Its fifteen copies were commissioned and painted by Petrus Christius and Hayne de Bruxelles only between 1454 and 1455.[154]

Same as the *Cambrai Madonna*, according to the most reasonable and scholarly theory, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was made in Italy.[155] In the 1970s, Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot developed this theory, formulated at the beginning of the twentieth century; she noted that the position of the figures on the Polish image is similar to that of the twelfth-century mosaic icon from the Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople, nowadays in Church of St. George in the Phanar, Istambul (fig. 33). Moreover, she analyzed *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in regard to the shape of the haloes, the positions and size of the heads, the shapes of the eyes of the Virgin and the Christ Child, and other stylistic features, including the facial features of the figures, details of their clothes, and the way chiaroscuro was used. Based on this, she concluded that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was painted in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in the Sienese circle of Simone Martini in Italy.[156]

[153] *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, catalogue item 349, 583-584.
[154] Jean C. Wilson, "Reflections on St. Luke Hand: Icons and the Nature of Aura in the Burgundian Low Countries During the Fifteenth Century," in *The Sacred Image: East and West*, ed. Robert Ousterhout, Leslie Brubaker (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 132-146.
[155] Jan Fijałek, "Historia kultu Matki Boskiej w Polsce średniowiecznej w zarysie" [The history of the cult of the Mother of God in Poland in a sketch], *Przegląd Kościelny* I (1902), 409-418; Władysław Podlacha, *Historia malarstwa polskiego tom 1* [The history of Polish painting, vol. 1] (Lviv: Zakład Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1914), 76; Feliks Kopera, *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce, tom 1: Średniowieczne malarstwo w Polsce* [History of painting in Poland, vol. 1: Medieval painting in Poland] (Cracow: Drukarnia Narodowa, 1925), 148; Krystyna Pieradzka, *Fundacja klasztoru Jasnogórskiego w Częstochowie w 1382 r.* [The foundation of Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa in1382] (Cracow: Druk W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1939); Rudolf Kozłowski, "Historia obrazu Jasnogórskiego w świetle badań technologicznych i artystyczno-formalnych" [The history of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in technological, artistic, and formal light] *Roczniki Humanistyczne KUL* 20 (1972), 5-46; Janusz Kębłowski, Polska Sztuka Gotycka [Polish Gothic art] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1976), 212.
[156] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Geneza:" 25-34.

Anna Różycka-Bryzek and Jerzy Gadomski added to the findings of Śnieżyńska-Stolot. They divide the history of the image into three phases. The first one, the iconic, is dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century. According to them, in the fourteenth century the image was re-painted, therefore this phase might be called Italian. The last, so-called Polish phase, starts from the fixing of the image after the "iconoclastic" attack on the monastery in 1430. Both scholars confirm the possible relationship of the painting not only with the circle of Simone Martini but also with Francesco d'Ancona, who was working in the second part of the fourteenth century.[157]

In addition, Robert Maniura argues that there is a similarity between the haloes of the Virgin and the Christ Child and the technique used in Italian thirteenth-century panel paintings. In both cases, the haloes are carved into the panel itself. Two of the Italian images of the *Hodegetria* type, one from Museo Horne in Florence and the second from Museo Nazionale San Matteo, differ in articulating the edges of the relief, but in this regard show the closest resemblance to the Polish image. Hence, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* is linked with the artistic cycle of the Latin West. An X-ray examination (fig. 34) and the discovery of varied layers of canvas prove that the image was restored many times. Maniura concludes that because of its panel *Our Lady of Częstochowa* is a thirteenth-century Italian painting. Based on the look on the Virgin's face, it was re-painted in the fourteenth century in the Sienese style. The frame was modified in Northern Europe in the fifteenth century.[158]

Another scenario for the origins of the image suggests that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was created in Hungary under the patronage of the Angevin dynasty. In the years 1370-1382, Louis the Great was the king of Hungary and Poland. He belonged to the Neapolitan branch of the Angevins, with whom he kept in touch. Scholars have argued that fleurs-de-lis on the

[157] Różycka-Bryzek and Gadomski, "Obraz Matki Boskiej:" 27-52.
[158] Rudolf Kozłowski, "Historia obrazu:" 5-50; Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 34-35; Kurpik, "Podłoże obrazu:" 75-121.

robe of the Virgin are Angevin lilies.[159] Although this motive is present on the fourteenth-century images depicting the saints from the Angevin family, these assumptions cannot be sustained; it is unlikely that the heraldic motif would be used in this manner on the Virgin's robe.[160] No stylistic features link *Our Lady of Częstochowa* with late medieval Hungarian art but it is possible that the image was an Italian import, transported from Hungary to Poland. In her collection, Elizabeth of Hungary had a Lucan image of the Virgin, which she donated to the monastery of the Clarissas in Óbuda, however, scholars agree that it was not *Our Lady of Częstochowa.*[161] It is more likely that because of Vladislaus II of Opole (Duke Opolczyk), who founded the Jasna Góra monastery and had connections with the king's administration, the image could have been brought to Poland together with the fathers of the Pauline Order.

The influence of Italian art on Hungarian taste was also meaningful. For instance, around the year 1367, King Louis the Great offered a Marian image in the type of *Hodegetria*, presumably a work of Andrea Vanni from Siena and the goldsmith Pietro di Simone from Naples, to the Austrian shrine called Mariazell (fig. 35). The image, decorated with pearl necklaces just like *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, was known to work miracles and was the object of pilgrimage.[162] According to Johannes Mannesdorfer of St. Lambrecht Abbey, who wrote a book on the history of Mariazell in 1487, the reason the king donated the image was a dream in which he saw the image of the Virgin.[163]

Together with the image of Mariazell, King Louis donated two other images to the Hungarian Chapel near the Cathedral of Aachen (fig. 36, fig. 37) which can be linked with

[159] Kopera, *Dzieje malarstwa*, 148-150; Śnieżyńska-Stolot "Geneza:" 36-42; Michał Walicki, *Malarstwo polskie. Gotyk, renesans, wczesny manieryzm* [Polish painting. Gothic, Renaissance, Early Mannerism] (Warszawa: Auriga, 1961), 292.
[160] Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "Jasnogórski obraz Matki Boskiej. Studium ikonograficzne" [*Our Lady of Częstochowa*. Iconographic study] *Studia Claromontana* 20 (2002): 19-44; Śnieżyńska-Stolot "Geneza:" 31-33.
[161] *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül* [The art of Hungary around 1300-1470], volume 1, ed. Ernő Marosi (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987), 93, 494.
[162] Manfred Koller, "Das Schatzkammerbild und die Darstellungen der Ludwigslegende," in *Ungarn in Mariazell, Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*, ed. Péter Fabraky, Szabolcs Serfőző (Budapest: Kiscelli Muzeum, 2004), 300-308.
[163] *Magyarországi*, 92-94.

the same artistic circle.[164] Their frames, including Polish heraldic motifs and background with fleurs-de-lis, confirm that they were Louis' gifts.[165] Covered with metal revetments and jewels, they prove the existence of a bond between Hungary and Byzantium in mid-fourteenth century.[166] According to Ernst Grimme, they should be dated between 1367 and 1370, after Louis became the king of Poland.[167] It is important to mention, that the king or Elizabeth of Poland donated one more image, now lost, to the Cathedral of Cracow, which, according to the inventory of Bishop Wojciech Padniewski, hung above the grave of St. Stanislaus.[168] According to Éva Kovács, its frame was similar in style and composition to those of Mariazell and Aachen, and was partially saved by being re-used as part of a thirteenth-century cross made of crowns and kept in the treasury of Cracow Cathedral.[169]

In addition to these two prevalent theories on the origins of the image, others, less plausible, are now outdated. A group of scholars believed in the legends about the image and kept looking for evidence confirming them in the Byzantine art.[170] Some argued that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* is an icon transported to Poland from Ruthenia.[171] Others claimed that the image was created in Bohemia in the early fourteenth century. A stylistic comparison between *Our Lady of Częstochow*a and any examples from Bohemian art do not offer strong

[164] Two images with the Virgin and Child Christ from Aachen, like *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, were covered in metal revetments and re-painted in the nineteenth century. Scholars argue that the third image, depicting the coronation of the Virgin, was not a donation of Louis the Great, see: *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus* [Art at the court of Louis the Great, 1342-1382: catalogue], ed. Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, Lívia Varga (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982), catalogue items 15, 16, 110-112. Polish scholars argue that the third image was donated by Vladislaus II, see: Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Andegaweńskie dary:" 22.

[165] Heraldic motives and signs of the owner are typical for the images in the Latin West, see: Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 278-279.

[166] Durand, "Precious metal icon-revetments," in *Byzantium*, ed. Evans, 250.

[167] Ernst Günther Grimme and Museumsverein Aachen, *Der Aachener Domschatz,* issue 1, vol. 42 (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1973), 100-104.

[168] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Andewageńskie dary:" 25.

[169] Éva Kovács, *Species modus ordo: válogatott tanulmányok* [*Species modus ordo*: selected studies] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998), 269-272; *Magyarországi,* 92-94.

[170] Mieczysław Skrudlik, *Cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* [The miraculous image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*] (Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Popierania Kultury Regionalnej, 1934), Walicki, *Malarstwo polskie*, 291-292.

[171] Teresa Mroczko, Barbara Dąb, "Gotyckie Hodegetrie:" 22-32; Aleksandr I. Rogow, "Ikona Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej jako świadectwo związków bizantyńsko-rusko-polskich" [The icon of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as the proof for the contacts between Byzantium, Ruthenia, and Poland] *Znak* 28 (1976): 509-516.

support. Nevertheless, the image could have been imported from Italy by Charles IV, who commissioned and collected many works of art at the famous Karlštejn Castle near Prague,[172] including a triptych with the Virgin and the Christ Child located in the Holy Cross Chapel and painted by Tomaso da Modena before 1365,[173] and the famous fourteenth-century *Zbraslav Madonna*, influenced by Tuscan and French models and Byzantine art (fig. 38).[174]

***

The iconographic term *Hodegetria*, referring to the icon from Hodegon monastery in Constantinople, started to be used only after the eleventh century. After that time, the power of *Constantinopolitan Hodegetria* grew and the type started to be reproduced. Before, the role of relics in the East was still superior to that of images. The iconography of the *Hodegetria* was linked with the Tuesday processions, in which the image played a major role. Because of processions, the iconography needed to be visible from a distance. The Virgin was seen as a participant in the procession, present among the believers. The icon stood for her intercessory powers, which is why the Crucifixion, a reminder of Christ's sacrifice and salvation, was usually depicted on the other side of the icon. In this sense, the mysterious scars on the cheek of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* might be interpreted as visual traces symbolizing the Virgin relieving people's suffering and empathizing with them. Looking at the image towards the end of the pilgrimage to Jasna Góra is a final and most important experience of the spiritual and physical purification experienced during the journey.

The type of *Hodegetria* which *Our Lady of Częstochowa* represents is a creation of post-iconoclast times. Its theological meaning was not entirely known in the Latin West. However, the reception of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, associated with the miracles and the

[172] Karol Estraicher, "Madonna Częstochowska – Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie" [*Our Lady of Częstochowa* – report from the sessions of the Academy of Arts in Cracow] 53 (1952), 249-252; Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 27-29.
[173] Barbara Drake Boehm, "Called to Create. Luxury Artists at Work in Prague," in *Prague: the Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*, ed. Boehm, Fajt, 76.
[174] Ibid., catalogue item 5, 135.

pilgrimage movement, might constitute a link between the Orthodox and Catholic veneration of the *Hodegetria*.

In the sixth century, the cult of icons was practiced in both the West and East. It was rooted in the Greco-Roman tradition that images had apotropaic powers. For Christians, the miracles were especially associated with Marian icons, around which legends and special veneration arose. Their cult spread from Rome, the capital of the Western Church, and soon extended to the whole Latin West, including the East Central Europe.

Although after the Great Schism icons were still imported to the Latin West, they did not carry the same theological meaning. After the twelfth century in the West, the abundance of icons and images imitating them as well as the introduction of the feast of *Corpus Cristi* contributed to the unification in the status of depictions and relics. The iconography of icons started to be adjusted to Western standards. Nevertheless, one needs to remember that the status of icons in the East was much higher than relics in the West: the access to icons was not controlled by the clergy and they were owned by private persons of all social classes.

The prominent role that the Virgin took on in both Churches was taken over by the Christianized kingdoms of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia. The mendicant orders, travelling between East and West, successfully spread her cult among the members of the higher and lower social strata. In East Central Europe Marian icons and images were usually introduced by royalty and the nobility, who obtained them from Italy as loot, souvenirs, and gifts. The veneration of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was probably due to the lack of relics that were widespread in other parts of the Latin West and to the fact that in the High Middle Ages Poland was a diverse kingdom where most people were Orthodox. The examination of interconnections between East and West showed that the image was probably imported from Italy, however, no prototype of it is known. It is highly probable that because of Louis the

Great and the Pauline Fathers it was brought from Hungary, where the court had long-lasting ties with it.

CHAPTER III: THE LEGENDS AND TOPOI

The authors and dating of the legends

The seventeenth-century *Mensa Mariana* shows that through the centuries, the legends about the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* were highly popular. Six of the oldest legends about the image date to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There must have been many more of them that were not preserved. One can find differences and similarities in all of these stories; they comprise historical data mixed with the *topoi* present in many other legends on the so-called miracle-working images and statues. Who were the authors of the legends and when were they composed? What are their contents?

The oldest legend is *Translatio tabulae Beatae Mariae Virginis, quam sanctus Lucas depinxit propriis manibus.* It is a part of the manuscript from Jasna Góra which also inludes several theological writings from earlier periods. On the last page of the legend there is a date, 1474, which was written by the same anonymous scribe who wrote the text. Because of characteristic mistakes he made, the legend was probably copied from the earlier text or texts which did not survive. The hypothesis of Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz states that the original legend was composed between 1393 and 1430. The first date is the year in which Władysław Jagiełło became the King of Poland; the legend refers to Jagiełło at the end. The second date is when the attack on the monastery happened. The attack is confirmed by the written sources; it is also reported in other legends, but not in this one.[175] According to Maniura the original legend was written in the 1420s because the first indulgences granting the monastery the right to be a pilgrimage site are dated to this time. Indulgences confirm the fame of the image and the pilgrimage to Częstochowa.[176] Following the model of a

[175] *Najstarsze Historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 62-64; Tadeusz Kos, *Fundacja klasztoru jasnogórskiego w świetle nowej interpretacji źródeł* [Foundation of Jasna Góra monastery in the light of new source interpretation]. (Cracow: Colonel, 2002), 117-121.
[176] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 121-126.

pilgrimage site's evolution of Victor and Edith Turner,[177] Maniura states that it is not very likely that the cult of the image flourished during the life of Duke Opolczyk, who settled the Pauline Fathers at Jasna Góra. Moreover, it did not develop shortly after the Pauline Fathers came to Częstochowa because that would imply that the cult of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was forced upon the believers [not clear why this should be so]. Spontaneous acts of pilgrimage started by a vision or miracle only gradually become structured and officially supported.[178]

The second oldest legend, *Historia declaratoria, quo pacto imago Virginis Mariae de Hierusalem in Clarum Montem translata fuit*, comes from the end of the sixteenth century but is a copy of a text prepared in 1514 that is a slightly modified version of the oldest legend. This legend is part of the first volume of the manuscript *Liber Miraculorum* (1577-1591), kept at Jasna Góra. After the end of the legend, the anonymous scribe added three prayers, the date "Anno 15XIIII," and a short note about the Hussites who had plundered the monastery and wounded the image. The date of this event, 1430, was added on the margin by a hand of a different scribe.[179] The same legend, written in German under the title: *Hie volget dy historie, wy das Bylde der Junckfrawen Marie ... komen sey gen Czestachaw ...* was printed in the form of a broadsheet around 1515 or between 1516 and 1524. Probably there were other similar broadsheets in Polish. They were usually hung in the churches at the pilgrimage sites. The author of this writing is not known, however, it is possible that Bishop Jan Konarski (1503-1524), whose coat of arms is on the former document and who was a declared worshipper of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, composed the legend.[180]

[177] Tuner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 25, 32, 37.
[178] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 121-126.
[179] *Najstarsze Historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 92-94.
[180] Jan Pirożyński, "Najstarszy zachowany drukowany przekaz legendy o obrazie Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej" [The oldest surviving and printed legend about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*], *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 1-2 (1973): 151-166.

The fourth text, *Historia venerandae imaginis Beatae Mariae Virginis quae in Claro Monte in magna veneratione habetur*, is dated to the middle of the seventeenth century and kept in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław in the form of a small manuscript of eleven pages. The legend illustrated, with six miniatures, is a copy made by a Pauline, Piotr Lasota Rybicki (1626-1689), who was famous for his characteristic handwriting. On the cover of the manuscript there is a seventeenth-century note stating that this copy was made based on an earlier illustrated manuscript.[181] The original manuscript is missing but at the beginning of the legend, Rybicki states that he copied it from the version of "Nicolaus Lanckoroński." Lanckoroński was a nephew of Jan Konarski and a burgrave in Cracow in the years 1510 to 1517. He died around 1524.[182] In 1902, when describing *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, Father Edward Nowakowski mentioned that in 1773 the original was still preserved in the monastery's library, and that an antiquarian from Warsaw, Jan Giejszter, had a seventeenth-century copy of it which was kept in the Ossolineum Library.[183] Janusz Zbudniewek proved that Rybicki's copy was in the collection of Kazimierz Gieysztor in Lviv in 1903 and the Ossolineum Library bought it from there.[184] Nevertheless, it is not known when exactly the legend was composed. Some hints about the date might be deduced from the text of the legend. One can argue that the part in which the image resides in Constantinople was developed because Lanckoroński visited the city in 1501. Also, his travel to Aachen might have influenced the long description of the art collection linked with Charlemagne.[185]

The fifth and sixth legends are very similar, therefore they will be discussed together. The Latin legend, *Historia pulchra et stupendis miraculis referta Imaginis Mariae, quomodo*

[181] *Najstarsze Historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 114-117.
[182] Ibid., 116, 126.
[183] Edward Nowakowski, *O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej. Wiadomości historyczne, bibliograficzne i ikonograficzne* [About the miraculous images of the Virgin in Poland. History, bibliography, and iconography] (Cracow, 1902), 117, see: *Najstarsze Historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 114.
[184] Zbudniewek, "Kopiarze dokumentów:" 338.

et unde in Clarum Montem Czastochowiae et Olsztyn advenerit, was translated into Polish under the title *Historyja o obrazie w Częstochowie Panny Maryjej i o cudach rozmaitych tej wielebnej tablice* (The history of the image depicting the Virgin from Częstochowa and of the various miracles of this reverend board). The Latin version was written by a canon from Poznań, Piotr Rydzyński (died 1558). In 1523, it was printed as a book in Cracow. Nowadays, one copy is in the Ossolineum Library in Wrocław, another, hand-writtenand dated to the sixteenth century, is in the Cathedral Chapter Library in Gniezno.[186] The legend is followed by a section devoted to seventy-two miracles performed by *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. Rydzyński states that he based his legend on a manuscript written in medieval Latin.[187] The Polish version of the same text was translated in 1568 by a Pauline, Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko, and was probably printed in Cracow. The only remaining but incomplete copy is preserved in the Jagiellonian Library. Although the text is based on Rydzyński's legend, some parts were changed (a different introduction), omitted (the description of Rus, a shorter description of the renovation of the image) or added (prayers to the Virgin in the beginning and in the end, accounts of the miracles).[188]

The main plots of the legends

According to all the stories, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was painted by St. Luke the Evangelist in Jerusalem.[189] The panel he used was taken from the Virgin's table. The image was made after the Assumption, but all of the stories underline that the panel on which the image was painted had direct contact with the Virgin. *Historia declaratoria*, *Historia pulchra*

[185] Monika Kowalewiczowa, "Przyczynek do akwizgrańskiego wątku historii" [The reasons for the Aachen description in the legend], *Przegląd Powszechny* 4 (1982): 60-72; Różycka-Bryzek, "Mikołaja Lanckorońskiego pobyt:" 79-92.
[186] Anna Niedźwiedź, *The Image and the Figure: Our Lady of Częstochowa in Polish Culture and Popular Religion*, tr. Guy Torr (Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2010), 25-26.
[187] Kos, *Fundacja*, 123-124.
[188] *Najstarsze historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 206.
[189] For comparison of the legends I used the edition and translation by Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz in *Najstarsze Historie*, where the original pages of the legends are also given: *Historia tabulae*, Latin text: 65-74, Polish: 75-79; *Historia declaratoria*, Latin text: 96-97, Polish: 98-99; *Hie volget dy historie*, German text: 104-

and *Historyja o obrazie* indicates that the panel was also touched by Christ. *Historia venerandae* and the last two legends state that the panel was of cypress wood. According to *Historia venerandae*, the Virgin also cried on the wood. Rydzyński and Wilkowiecko state that the image was taken by the apostles and placed in one of the churches in Jerusalem.

All the legends indicate that the image was transported to Constantinople. The *Historia declaratoria*, the *Historia pulchra*, and the *Historyja o obrazie* mention that Charlemagne transported the image there. In *Historia venerandae*, the person who relocated the image was Saint Helena, Constantine's mother. Later, the Emperor Nikephoros gave it to Charlemagne. Accounts vary about when the image started to work miracles; it might have happened before (*Translatio tabulae, Historia declaratoria*) or after (*Historia venerandae, Historia pulchra, Historyja o obrazie)* the transportation to Constantinople.

Historia tabulae attests that afterwards Constantine gave the miracle-working image to the prince of Ruthenia, Lev. All other legends state that the image got into his ownership because of Charlemagne.[190] It was adorned with jewels and luxurious robes. The legends develop this theme stating that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was placed in Bełz Castle, moreover, accessible only for Ruthenians (*Historia venerandae, Historia pulchra, Historyja o obrazie*). In addition, it was under the protection of Orthodox priests (*Historia pulchra, Historyja o obrazie*).

Later, all the legends are quite similar. Ruthenia was taken by the Polish king, Casimir the Great. According to *Historia tabulae*, the image was then hidden in Bełz Castle. All the legends agree that five castles, among them Bełz, stayed unharmed. When Louis of Hungary became the king of Poland, the castles lost their independence and Duke Opolczyk became the governor of the province. Just after that, the image was discovered and displayed in one of the castle's chambers.

106, Polish: 107-109, *Historia venerandae*, Latin text: 126-133, Polish text: 134-141; *Historia Pulchra*, Latin text: 168-180; *Historyja o obrazie*, Polish text: 208-219.

What happened next is that Lithuanians and Tatars or Scythians (*Historia venerandae)* tried to conquer the castle. When the duke was praying in front of the image, asking God for help (*Historia tabulae),* an arrow wounded the image or specifically the right side of the image (*Historia tabulae*, *Historia declaratoria*). According to the *Historia tabulae,* the mark made by the arrow looked like a fibula. According to the *Historia venerandae, Historia pulchra,* and *Historyja o obrazie* the arrow wounded the image, but in the part on the Virgin's neck. Nevertheless, all the stories agree that after the image was hurt the invaders lost the battle. The image saved Bełz Castle and its defenders.

Subsequently, the image was transported by Duke Opolczyk to Poland or, in detail, to his hometown, Opole (*Historia declaratoria*, *Historia pulchra* and *Historyja o obrazie*). The *Historia tabulae* and *Historia declaratoria* attest that the horses, as big as camels, stopped the cart and only moved on when the duke promised the Virgin that he would found a monastery at Jasna Góra and leave the image in the church there. The *Historia declaratoria* attests that the monastery was of the Pauline Order. The *Historia venerandae* tells, that Duke got the directions to build the monastery at Jasna Góra in a dream, and that together with *Our Lady of Częstochowa* he transported many other icons. According to the versions of Rydzyński and Wilkowiecko, the monks who settled at Jasna Góra were the Paulines. Both authors write that the image arrived at the monastery in 1384.

The oldest legend, *Historia tabulae*, relates further the four witnesses of the events, calling them by name, and the time when Władysław Jagiełło was the king of Poland and supported the monastery. At this point, the narrative stops. In the *Historia declaratoria* one can see a note added. Its author claims that in 1430 the Hussites attacked Jasna Góra. The holy image was injured and could not be repaired.

[190] Probably the authors mean Lev I of Galicia (1228-1301), see: Kos, *Fundacja*, 125.

The three last legends are more complex. They confirm that the Hussites attacked the monastery in 1430. The invaders took the image out of its chapel and robbed it of jewels and robes. In *Historia venerandae*, they broke the image into three parts and suddenly died. In *Historia pulchra* and *Historyja o obrazie*, the Hussites tried to take the image twith them, but the horses did not want to move. Therefore, in anger, one of the men smashed *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, which broke into three parts: the part with the Virgin's head was left in one piece. With a sword, he made two scars on the Virgin's cheek. Suddenly the Hussites were blinded and subsequently they died. The end of the story is the same in all three accounts. Władysław Jagiełło demanded that the image be restored in the capital, which was then Cracow. The board was fixed, however, no one could fix the scars. The holy image was transported back to the monastery.

The legends indicate that the Virgin from Częstochowa was an intercessor in negotiations with God. The image facilitated contact with the Virgin, who chose Jasna Góra for the place of her special power. The Virgin's miracles, as described in the legends, functioned on individual and public levels. The legends affirm that the believers and their communities can expect the graces they pray for. The stories about the origins of the image legitimized and popularized the object of veneration. To enforce the contact with the sacred, similarly to the case of the San Sisto icon (fig. 15) the legends of which were depicted on frescos in the convent on the Campus Martinus,[191] the stories about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* were painted on the *Mensa Mariana* (fig. 27), fixed on the other side of the image.

Topoi from legends

The 'acheiropoietos' and its apotropaic powers

Every icon or image has its own legend which establishes its position in society. Although the legends are varied and linked with different historical backgrounds, they

[191] Belting, *Likeness*, 317.

contain *topoi*, repeated and recognizable motifs. The main plots of the legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* are also present in the legends of other icons and images from the Orthodox East and Latin West. In the case of the latter, the number of miraculous depictions grew in number in the thirteenth century. Before, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, similar legends were associated with statues of the Virgin.[192] What were the purposes of these legends? Why were they so widespread? Were there any differences between the legends in medieval Europe and Byzantium?

From the moment the image was placed at the monastery of Jasna Góra it has been associated with miracles. It can be classified in the group of *acheiropoietoi* (images "not made by the human hand") which started to emerge in the mid-sixth century. According to the legends, *acheiropoietoi* were images of Christ or the Virgin with the Christ Child which miraculously appeared on earth. They were seen as images created with the help of the divine powers or imprints of the Virgin's and Christ's faces which they left on the different media during their lifetimes. Their creation was miraculous and so was their presence.[193] The legend of a North African cleric, dated to the early fifth century, tells about a piece of painted velum found on the next day after the miracle performed by the relics of St. Stephen in Uzala. The velum depicting the miracle was allegedly brought to the local subdeacon by an angel.[194] Another story refers to a pilgrim called Theodosius who, when visiting the Holy Land, reported that a depiction of Christ's face and chest was impressed on the Column of the Flagellation.[195] Other *acheiropoietic* depictions were thought to have fallen out of the sky and to be able to multiply themselves. The power of the original derived from the contact with the

[192] Legends about Marian statues can be treated as meaningful comparative material for the legends about icons and images, see: James Bugslag "Local Pilgrimages and Their Shrines in Pre-Modern Europe," *Peregrinations* 2, no. 1 (2005): 6.
[193] Ewa Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a 'True' Image* (Cambridge: B. Blackwell, 1991), 28-30; Bacci, *Il pennello*, 66-78; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 43-44.
[194] Kitzinger, "The Cult:" 113.
[195] Titus Tobler, *Itinera et descriptiones terrae sanctae*, vol 1 (Geneva: J.-G. Fick, 1877), 65, quoted from Kitzinger "The Cult:" 105.

sacred was shared with the copies.[196] The legends in which a statue of the Virgin is miraculously found often involves shepherds or peasants who notice an animal, ox or bull, returning to a particular place, from which it eventually digs out a statue. The statue can also be found on a tree, as a part of the trunk or in a grotto.[197] The statue of *Notre-Dame de Sous-Terre* from the crypt of Chartres Cathedral, now destroyed, was believed to have been made by Druids, who got approval from the prophet Isaiah before Christ was born.[198] A similar *topos* is present in the legend about the Aracoeli icon (fig. 14), which is said to have appeared on the Capitoline hill holding the Christ-child before he was born.[199] Because of an *acheiropoietoi*'s connections with the sacred its status became similar to that of a relic and at the end of the sixth century images started to be given parts in urban ceremonies.[200]

The issue of passing on the power of the image is connected with the *topos* of physical contact between the image and the believer. When asking God for graces, the believers touched the icon with a piece of cloth or other material. Ernst Kitzinger states that an early example of this practice can be observed at the end of the fourth century. Based on the text of Rufinus of Aquileia, a free translation of the account of Eusebius of Caesarea from his *Ecclesiastical History*, Kitzinger writes about the statue of Christ next to which a herb was growing. The herb, touching the garment of Christ, took on miraculous healing powers.[201] Miracles of healing or resurrecting the dead appear often in the legends about these icons and images, including *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. Usually prayer was enough to

[196] Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 63; In the group of images similar to *acheiropoietoi* Niedźwiedź enumerates the *sudarimus* ("sweat cloths") and *vera icons* ("true images") with the face of Christ on shawls or shrouds. An example of the latter is the *Mandylion of Edessa*, believed to be a real portrait of Jesus. For the purpose of this work, I follow Kitzinger in categorizing the *Mandylion* in the group of *acheiropoietoi*. For more on this issue see: Anna Niedźwiedź, *The Image*, 6-9; Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth*, 38-47; Cormack, *Painting the Soul*, 108-110.
[197] Bugslag "Local Pilgrimages:" 6.
[198] Maurice Jusselin, "Les Traditions de l'église de Chartres, à propos d'une bulle du pape Léon X concernant la construction de la clôture du choeur," *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 15 (1915-1922): 9.
[199] Bolgia, "The Felici Icon Tabernacle:" 64.
[200] Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 44; Bacci, *Il pennello*, 40-47.
[201] *Eusebii ecclesiasticae historiae* liber VII, 18, 2, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, IX, pt. 2 ed. Eduard Schwartz and Theodor Mommsen (Leipzig, 1908), quoted from Kitzinger, "The Cult:" note 31, 94.

get results (like being cured), but some stories stress the importance of an intermediary substance produced by an icon. For example, drops of dew fell on the sick person from the icon of Christ in a seventh-century story recorded in the *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon*[202] or oil from the lamp burning in front of an , reported in Sophronius' *Encomium of St. Cyrus and John* dated to the same time.[203] The story from the Coptic *Encomnium of St. Menas* tells that Menas' mother prayed to the Virgin to become pregnant. Her wishes came true after she dipped a finger in the oil and heard Christ say: "Amen."[204] In the case of the Marian statues, on the location in which they were found, a holy spring would usually start.[205]

The relationship between the believer and the image was not only dependent on the resemblance of the holy person to the one portrayed, but also on contact between the divine and the image.[206] In the case of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, this contact was in a way legitimized by the legendary material on which the image was painted. It was supposed to be the cypress wood from the Virgin's table, next to which she sat and cried for her son.[207] Later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts on the Virgin of Smolensk from the Dominican church in Lviv (fig. 11) make the same statement. Moreover, they argue that, similarly to *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, the image was imported from Byzantium through Ruthenia.[208]

According to Mirosław Kruk, the *topos* of importing an image from Ruthenia was influenced by the historical fact of the Christianization of Kievan Rus' and its official baptism in 989. This event resulted in the movement of Greeks bringing art works to this territory. Kruk states that this *topos* is typical for Poland.[209] The more general and widespread

[202] Kitzinger ,"The Cult,"106.
[203] Ibid., see also note 86.
[204] Ibid., see note 87.
[205] Bugslag "Local Pilgrimages:" 6.
[206] Egon Sendler, *The Icon, Image of the Invisible: Elements of Theology, Aesthetics, and Technique*, tr. Steven Bigham (Redondo Beach, CA: Oakwood Publications, 1988), 39-47.
[207] Lanckoroński, "*Historia venerandae*" in *Najstarsze historie*, ed. Henryk and Monika Kowalewicz, 135-136.
[208] Sadok Barącz, *Cudowne obrazy Matki Najświętszej w Polsce* [Miracle-working images of the Virgin in Poland] (Lviv, 1891), 154-155; Sadok Barącz, *Rys dziejów zakonu kaznodziejskiego w Polsce*, 2 [The history of the Order of Preachers in Poland] (Lviv, 1861), 446, quoted in Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 141.
[209] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 142.

topos of importing an image from Constantinople can be found in many legends about images, including *Our Lady of Częstochowa* and the *Madonna of San Sisto* (fig. 15).[210]

The ascription of protective powers to *acheiropoietoi* goes back to the times of ancient Greece. People believed that the stones which fell on the earth as meteors came from the gods and were connected with Pallas Athena, the famous goodness who guarded cities. People called these stones *palladions.* In Byzantium, the word became associated with the category of images not made by human hands.[211] The protective function of the Virgin was established there in the late sixth and seventh centuries.[212] From this time on there are accounts of images of the Virgin and Christ being venerated as *palladions*.[213] As Anna Niedźwiedź rightly notes, the image *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was regarded as the *palladion* of the Jagiellonian dynasty.[214]

The role of the image as a *palladion* gave rise to the *topos* of an icon saving a town from invaders. According to the legends, icons protected Christians from attacks by pagans -- Persians, Arabs, and Ottomans in Byzantium or Tatars in Poland. Among the early manifestations of this *topos* one should mention the story about the *Mandylion of Edessa*. According to Evagrios' *Ecclesiastical History* from the end of the sixth century, this *acheiropoietos* saved the city by sending fire on the Persians in 544.[215] This legendary help was based on an old belief that Christ protected Edessa. In his alleged letter to King Abgar,

[210] The legend is a homiliary from around 1100 in the Bibl. Vaticana, Fondo S. Maria Maggiore, No.122, fol. 141-142, quoted in Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 531, text 31.
[211] Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth*, 29-31.
[212] Byzantine emperors who ruled after the death of Justinian until Heraclius (610-641) started to gain more power. Because the throne was left weakened after Justinian, Persian invasions began from the beginning of the seventh century, and later, during the Avar Siege of Constantinople, religion became the binding power supporting the empire. Icons and religious rituals were linked in imperial ceremonies. The Virgin, as queen and warrior, was elevated to be the protectress of Constantinople. Her cult, associated with the Roman Victoria, was influenced by a need for local attachments and cultural integration. As the center of Constantinople was destroyed during the Nika riot in 532, this area was re-built and changed into a ceremonial core, see: Averil Cameron, "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium," *Past & Present* 84 (1979): 3-35.
[213] For examples including the famous Camuliana image, see: Kitzinger, "The Cult:" 110-115.
[214] Niedźwiedź, *The Image*, note 6, 6.

he gave the assurance that no invaders would ever enter the city. Procopius, whose account was modified by Evagrios, relates that this letter was inscribed on Edessa's gate, and that the Persians' attempt to capture the city was the unbelievers' attempt to undermine Christ's words. Evagrios writes that the image was sprinkled with water, after which it set alight the tower built by the Persians to attack Edessa. Kitzinger states that because of the intermediary role of water the image works similarly to saints or relics.[216] The *Mandylion*'s role as a *palladion* was also stressed in later stories about saving Edessa.[217] The same protective role was ascribed to the image of Christ that Patriarch Sergios was supposed to have carried to the walls of Constantinople during the Avar siege. Until the times of iconoclasm, Marian devotion in Constantinople focused on relics; protective power was ascribed to the *acheiropoietoi*, not to icons.[218] The tradition of images regarded as *palladions* also became popular in Russia. According to the legends, *Our Lady of the Sign* (fig. 39) dated to the middle of the twelfth century saved Novgorod from the Suzdalians (a medieval term for Muslims) in 1169 by changing the direction of the enemies' shots.[219] During the Ottoman invasion of Moscow by Tamerlane (1395), the Vladimir icon of the Mother of God (fig. 40) dated to the first part of the twelfth century saved the city and protected the residents.[220]

In the Latin West, the *Golden Legend* and the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* by Durantus, both dated to the thirteenth century, report an event in which the image revealed different protective powers. In 590, *Salus Populi Romani* (fig. 29), after being carried in a procession to St. Peter's basilica, ended the dangerous plague spreading in Rome. The plague was a historical event, whereas the information about carrying the image in a procession was

[215] Kuryluk, *Veronica and Her Cloth*, 38-47; Bacci, *Il pennello*, 64-66; As Kitzinger indicates, Evagrios probably based his text on the earlier *History of the Wars* by Procopius, in which the author is silent about the miraculous saving of the city, see: Kitzinger, "The Cult:" 103.
[216] Kitzinger, "The Cult:" 103-104.
[217] Ibid., 110-112.
[218] The eleventh-century sources about the *Hodegetria icon* saving Constantinople are examples the growing power of icons, and the Theotokos herself at that time. Eventually, the *Hodegetria icon* became the *palladion* of Constantinople, but not before the eleventh century, see: Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 38-59.
[219] Nikodim Pavlovich Kondakov, *Icons* (New York: Parkstone International, 2008), 86.

preserved in a Greek iconophile anthology dated between the ninth and tenth centuries.[221] Other examples of beliefs in the apotropaic powers of images refer to the *Freising Hagiosoritissa* (fig. 7),[222] the *Virgin Nikopoia* from the San Marco Basilica (fig. 41),[223] and the donations that Louis the Great made to Aachen (fig. 36, fig. 37).[224] In a story from the *Liber Pontificalis*, ascribed to the papacy of Stephanus III (768-772), a Lombard priest who was escaping from prosecutors hid in the old Pantheon. He was holding an icon of the Mother of God, but he was not saved by the Virgin.[225]

In the Latin West as well as in the Orthodox East, the same tradition associated Marian images with St. Luke the Evangelist.[226] This tradition derived from the prestige that the apostles had among believers. Since late antiquity, they were known to initiate the building of churches or giving rise to particular religious customs in different areas. Seats on which they had resting were shown to the faithful. Apostles were supposed to have commissioned images of the Holy Family and scenes from the New Testament, which were used for evangelization. Especially between the seventh and ninth centuries, descriptions of how Christ and the Virgin looked became popular. They were based on Classical literature, biblical commentaries, and patristic writings that mentioned the alleged accounts of the Apostles.[227] In the *Sermon on the Life of the Most Holy Mother of God* by Monaco Epifanio, dated to the first half of the ninth century, one finds a moral portrait of the Virgin preceding the description of her appearance: She was short with blond hair and bright eyes, black eyebrows, a prominent nose, long fingers, and oval face.[228] The author based his description

[220] Kopeć, *Bogarodzica*, 380.
[221] Wolf "Icons and Sites," 35-36.
[222] Belting, *Likeness*, 333.
[223] Kondakov, *Иконография*, 195.
[224] *Művészet* ed. Marosi, Tóth, Varga, 109-113.
[225] *Liber Pontificalis* I, 472, quoted in Wolf, "Icons and Sites," 31.
[226] For a thorough study of the Lucan icons see: Michele Bacci, *Il pennello dell'Evangelista: storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca* (Pisa: Gisem-Edizioni: ETS, 1998).
[227] Bacci, *Il pennello*, 87-89.
[228] Monaco Epifanio, *Discorso sulla vita della santa Vergine*, 6 (PG CXX, coll. 192-193), quoted in Bacci, *Il pennello*, 89.

on an earlier source, an apocryphal text entitled *Narratio de rebus Persicis*, dated to the sixth century, which also gives the information that the image of the Virgin made by a painter during her life.[229]

The origin of the Lucan legends is rather late; they may have been created in the times of iconoclasm in Rome.[230] Numerous legends state that the apostle, assisted or not by the Holy Spirit, angels or the Virgin herself, painted these depictions during his lifetime.[231] Because of this factor, Wolf argues for dividing the category of *acheiropoietoi* and establishing a group of *semi-acheiropoietic* images to which the Lucan works should belong.[232] All of the icons and images mentioned in this thesis at some point were assigned a Lucan origin. To mention two examples; based on a comparison of legends of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, the oldest one ascribes the work only to St. Luke, whereas the rest of them mention both St. Luke and the Holy Spirit as the creators.[233] A different type of co-operation is seen in the legend about the *Madonna of San Sisto* (fig. 15), in which the Virgin was outlined by St. Luke but the coloring was done by angels.[234]

The wounded image

The story of a wounded image had a long career in both Byzantium and the Latin West. The oldest stories come from Late Antiquity. A Christian historian, Sozomen (400-450), recalled Eusebius of Caesarea, who noted that Julian the Apostate, a non-Christian ruler from the Constantinian dynasty faithful to the old Roman values, removed a statue of Christ from the city. The account comprises the element of hostility towards the statue.[235] The medieval stories use this cliché to point to a non-believer or an iconoclast who damages the

[229] "Narratio de rebus Persicis" in *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane* (Genova: Marietti, 1983), vol. II, coll. 2340-2342, quoted from Bacci, *Il pennello*, 89; Bacci, "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke," in *Mother of God. Representation of the Virgin in Byzantine Art,* ed. Maria Vassilaki (Athens: Skira, 2000), 79-89.
[230] Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 126-127
[231] Belting, *Likeness*, 47-77.
[232] Wolf, "Icons and Sites," 40; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 236-239.
[233] See: note 189.
[234] Wolf "Icons and Sites," 40.

image with a sharp tool. The consequence of the invader's act is a bloody wound or scar on the image and heavenly punishment for the perpetrator: it might be the blindness, paralysis or an unexpected death. This scheme is repeated in legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. In other cases, under the notion of a miracle, the sinner repents and starts to believe in God.[236]

The legends about wounded images were popularized during iconoclasm. John of Damascus recalls the writings of Anastasius of Sinai (d. ca. 700), who described the icon of St. Theodor which was wounded by a Saracen (a medieval term for a Muslim) and started to bleed.[237] A Marian icon depicting the *Hodegetria* from the Vatopedi monastery (fig. 24) on Mount Athos, dated to the thirteenth century, is a rare example of an image on which the scars on the Virgin's cheek were actually painted.[238]

According to the legends, the marks on the cheek of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* are wounds made by invaders, Lithuanians, Tatars or Scythians during the siege of Bełz or by the Hussites who attacked Jasna Góra in 1430. Historically these events did not take place; the legend modified the reality to suit the patterns; the wounds on the image were painted on.[239] However, legends on wounding the image are still being retold by the Polish clergy and the common people, who have no knowledge about the historical background. In their stories, myths about the image mix different stories, symbols, and religious meanings which arose over the centuries when the political situation was changing.[240] Among the rare examples of images bearing visible scars is the fifteenth-century *Madonna dell'Arco* (fig. 42). The Virgin's face is deformed, however, the bloody wound can be seen nowadays only on the

[235] Piotr Grotowski, "Kształtowanie się toposu ikony ranionej a judaizm i islam," [The emergence of the topos of an icon injured in the context of Judaism and Islam], *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea* 2 (2006): 127-145.
[236] Niedźwiedź, *The Image*, 50.
[237] Kitzinger, "The Cult:" 101; For other examples from Byzantium see: Maria Vassilaki, "Bleeding Icons," in *Icon and Word*, ed. Antony Eastmond, Liz James, 124-127.
[238] Różycka-Bryzek, "Pochodzenie:" 12-14; See also: Różycka-Bryzek, "Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej. Pochodzenie i dzieje średniowieczne" [The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. The origins and its history in the Middle Ages], *Folia Historiae Artium* 26 (1990), 27-52
[239] Maniura *Pilgrimage*, 46-85.

votive images offered to the image between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. According to the legend, it was caused by a ball thrown by a young man who was angry because of losing a game.[241]

A peculiar motif known from Byzantium and linked with the *topos* of the wounded image is a motif of a Jew destroying or robbing the image. The Jew symbolizes the Other, hostile towards Christianity.[242] During the Second Council of Nicaea, Peter of Nicomedia, referring to the fourth-century sermon of Athanasius of Alexandria, mentioned the image of Christ from Beirut, bleeding and producing water after it was hurt by the Jews. After seeing this miracle, they converted to Christianity.[243] In the Latin West one encounters this *topos* in the *Librum miraculorum* by Gregory of Tours, written in the sixth century. In the first book, entitled *De gloria martyrum*, there is a story about a Jew who injured an image of Christ with an arrow so that it started to bleed.[244] Based on the archival text, with a note made in 1662 by one of the Dominicans, the Marian icon from the Dominican Church in Lviv (fig. 11) was robbed of its costly decorations by the Jews.[245]

In the legends on *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, the myth of the wounded image appears together with the *topos* on the miraculous saving of the city discussed above.[246] According to the already described legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, the image was wounded by an arrow shot by an Ottoman. As Kruk notes, the frequency of the Ottoman motif in the creates a separate *topos*.[247] In Moravia after the battle of 1241, won against the Ottomans by Jaroslav

[240] Niedźwiedź, *The Image*, 60-62, 63-87; As Alexei Lidov rightly notes, in the past and in the present historical mythology can be helpful to observe how people's perception of miracle has changed, see: Alexei Lidov, "Miracle-Working Icons of the Mother of God" in *Mother of God*, ed. Vassilaki, 49.
[241] Paolo Toschi and Renato Penna, *Le tavolette votive della Madonna dell'Arco* (Naples: Cava dei Tirreni, Di Mauro, 1971), 39, 154. 155; See: Kos, *Fundacja*, note 90, 174.
[242] For other examples of icons wounded by a Jew, see: Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 86-89.
[243] Kitzinger dates this legend to the times of Iconoclastic Controversy, see:. Kitzinger "The Cult:" note 59, 101.
[244] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Geneza:" 20-23.
[245] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 159.
[246] Niedźwiedź, *The Image*, 52.
[247] Kruk, *Ikony i obrazy*, 146-149.

of Sternberg, a Marian sanctuary was promised and built in Hostýn, near Kroměříž.[248] The legend with this *topos* concerning the Mariazell image (fig. 35) was noted by a monk, Johannes Mannesdorfer, in *De origine ecclesiae Beatissimae Virginis in Cell et miraculis ibi factis*, dated to 1480.[249] The monk writes that during the reign of Emperor Charles IV, Louis the Great made war against the Ottomans, whose army was four times larger than his. Louis planned to escape the confrontation, but the Virgin appeared to him in a dream and promised him victory. To reassure Louis, she put an image with her depiction on his chest. When the king woke up, he realized that the image was still there. Louis won the battle and, as he had promised, made a pilgrimage to Mariazell with his army. The local chapel was too small, so he decided to build a church there. He donated the image that had miraculously appeared on his breast, now decorated with precious stones and gold.[250] The biographer of Louis, Janos Küküllei, reports in the *Chronicon de Ludovico rege* that the king and his mother became interested in *acheiropoietic* images when visiting Rome.[251]

Some of the legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* state that the wounds on the Virgin's cheek were made by the Hussites during an alleged attack in 1430. As already mentioned, the *Historia venerandae*, the versions of Piotr Rydzyński and Mikołaj of Wilkowiecko, attest that the hostile invaders used a sword to cut the Virgin's face. These legends preserved but transformed the earlier explanations of the image being wounded by an Ottoman arrow.

All the legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* confirm that the invaders who harmed the image lost the battle and ran away. The legends mentioning the Hussite attack indicate that the invaders died. The *topos* of punishment for profaning the image has an

[248] Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 168.
[249] For the legend written in Latin and its translation into Hungarian, see: *Mariazell és Magyarország: 650 év vallási kapcsolatai* [Mariazell and Hungary: religious connections of 650 years], ed. Walter Brunner et al. (Esztergom-Graz: Esztergom-Budapesti Főegyházmegye, 2003), 87.
[250] Ibid., 86.
[251] Ibid., 83, 88.

ancient Roman provenance and may be derived from the *New History* of Zosimus. When the pagan statue of Victoria was destroyed, the Roman senators agreed that the era of war triumphs was over.[252] The legend on the *Hodegetria* from the Vatopedi monastery (fig. 24) tells that in a fit of anger a monk wounded the icon with a knife. The wound started to bleed. The Virgin punished him by making him blind. After three years of standing in front of the icon, the monk was forgiven but died soon after.[253]

As described before, note added to *Historia declaratiora* and the words of *Historia venerandae* together with the versions of Rydzyński and Wilkowiecko state that it was not possible to fix the marks on *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. According to the last three stories, after the restoration the *palladion* was taken back to Jasna Góra in a ceremonial procession. A *topos* present in almost all the legends is a procession in which the icon or image is carried around for different purposes and placed in a church.

The icon chooses its place

One of the roots of the *topos* of an icon choosing its location is present in the ancient legend about the relics of St. Menas (285-309), a saint popular in early Byzantine times. His shrine next to Lake Mareotis, called Abu Mina, was a prominent pilgrimage site in late antiquity, known throughout the Mediterranean area.[254] According to the hagiographic account in *Encomnium of St. Menas*, Menas was born in Phrygia; his family was wealthy but his parents died when he was young. Menas joined the Roman army, however, he left for religious reasons during the prosecutions of Diocletian after 303. Years later he started his military career again. As a Christian he declined to participate in pagan rituals, and as a result he was sentenced to death. His body was to be burned, however, some of his friends stole it

[252] Stanisław Adamiak, "Przyczyny upadku Cesarstwa Rzymskiego według Nowej historii Zosimosa," [The causes of the fall of the Roman Empire according to Zosimus' *New History*], *Mishellanea* 1 (2000): 47, with an abstract in English, available online: http://kf.mish.uw.edu.pl/mishellanea/m1/m1_ao.pdf (acessed: April 2013); Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 180.

[253] Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta, *L'art au Mont-Athos* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchikon Hidryma Paterikon Meleton, 1977), 44-46.

and transported to Egypt. On their way, the camels carrying Menas' sarcophagus refused to move further and it was decided that Menas would be buried on the spot. Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria, encouraged by the miracles happening around the grave of Menas, built a church there. Menas' body was moved to the crypt.[255] The motif of an animal refusing to move is common and used to legitimize a sacred place. It is present in many late medieval legends on transporting the corpse of a saint, for instance, in the one on St. Walstan at Bawburgh, East Anglia. The place to bury the corpse of the saint, a farm worker, was determined by an ox.[256] In contrast, according to the legend of the Hungarian King St. Ladislaus I, during the transportation of his corpse to Várad (Oradea), where he wanted to be buried, his followers made a stop to get some rest; they fell asleep and meanwhile, the carriage with the corpse moved on its own to Varadinum. After some searches, the guards saw it moving with no help of animals. They gave thanks to God and praised Him.[257]

Echoes of this *topos* are visible in the legend about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. As I already mentioned, after the Siege of Bełz, the location of the image was to be changed: the horses pulling the cart refused to move when they reached the area of Jasna Góra. They moved only after the duke's prayers and his promise to found a monastery. The same motif of animals refusing to move was used for the second time in the legend about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* written by Rydzyński. After one of the Hussite robbers loaded the image on a cart to steal it the horses stood still.

The *topos* of an icon which chooses its place appears in the legend on the *Portaitissa* from Iviron on Mount Athos (fig. 25). During the reign of Emperor Theophilos, who was an

[254] For a description of the shrine, see: Peter Grossmann, "The Pilgrimage Center of Abu Mina," in *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in the Late Antique Egypt*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill 1998), 281-302.
[255] Peter Grossmann, *Abu Mina: A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center* (Cairo: Fotiadis & Co.,1986), 8-9; See: Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 180; the story continues that once a Phrygian commander wanted to take the sarcophagus of St. Menas with him to assure victory in a military expedition to Libya. However, he could not move it. Instead of bringing the body of the saint with him, he decided to touch the sarcophagus with an icon of St. Menas, see: Bacci, *Il pennello*, 46.
[256] Richard Hart, "The Shrines and Pilgrimages of the County of Norfok," *Norfolk Archeology* 6 (1865): 277-94.

iconoclast, a widow kept the icon hidden, but it was discovered. In order to save it, she decided to throw it into the sea. The icon stood on the water and swam to Mount Athos. After some time, the monks noticed it because of a great pillar of fire. Only one monk, Gabriel the Iberian, was able to carry it to the church. However, on the next day it changed its location and was found above the gate of the monastery. When the Saracens attacked the place, a man called Barbaros injured the icon with a sword. Blood flowed from the right side of the Virgin's neck. The Saracen considered it a miracle and became Christian.[258] The same *topos* is present in the legend about the famous *Virgin of Vladimir* (fig. 40), which decided to be placed in the Kievan church in Vyshgorod.[259]

In a liturgical reading from the early fourteenth-century lectionary of the Benedictine abbey of S. Guistina written on the occasion of the feast of St. Luke it is said that once an iconoclast Emperor, Julian the Apostate, ordered to burn all the icons in Constantinople. One of them, depicting the Virgin, managed to run away from the fire. A pious women asked God for help and promised on behalf of the believers that, if the *Dimitria* were saved, they would abstain from eating meat every Tuesday. The icon flew into the woman's arms, and to commemorate this event, Tuesday's processions were established. According to Bacci, this story illustrates the transformed knowledge about the rituals of the *Constantinopolitan Hodegetria*, already popular in Italy. [260] Another interesting legend with this motif is that about the *Madonna of San Sisto* (fig. 15). Three brothers, Tempulus, Servulus, and Cervulus, were instructed by God to find an image of the Madonna and bring it to Rome. After their deaths, Pope Sergius decided to bring it to the Lateran palace, where the image of Lord the Savior was kept. The icon was carried there by the clergy, nuns, and people, but in the place called Spleni it refused to move further and no force could drag it. The pope came there and

[257] "De Sancto Ladizlao rege Ungarie," in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum: tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum* vol. 2, ed. Emericus Szentpetery (Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999), 515-527.
[258] Richard MacGillivray Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1936), 361-362.
[259] Alexei Lidov, "Miracle-Working Icons,"54.

said prayers of supplication, after which the image agreed to be moved to the Lateran. However, at night it fled back to the poor nuns at Santa Maria in Tempuli, from where it had been taken.[261] *Our Lady of Impruneta* (fig. 43) of which the cult flourished since mid-*trecento* till *cinquecento* performed the same action when her image was taken to Florence.[262] A similar motif can be traced in stories about the Marian statues, in which a shepherd tries to take the statue to the local church but it appears that the object returns to the place where it was found.[263]

***

The fifteenth and sixteenth century legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* reveal the high status of the image as the object of pilgrimage and veneration. The first legends about the image were probably transmitted by storytelling. *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was not brought to Poland with an already existing pedigree; its veneration could have not been forced upon the believers by the authorities. The legends were probably written down around the 1420s, when the first indulgences concerning Jasna Góra were issued and Church dignitaries decided to support the cult. All the legends have similar plots, which were constructed on the basis of historical events and *topoi* present in many stories on the so-called miracle-working icons, images, and statues. In the Late Middle Ages, some *topoi* were still similar in the East and West. They were of ancient origin and most of them derived from the time before the Roman Empire was divided: the *topoi* of the apotropaic powers of *acheiropoietoi* and *palladions*, touching the icon, carrying it in a procession, wounding it, and the punishment for that.

On the other hand, West and East had already become separated. During iconoclasm in Byzantium, the legend of the Lucan image was created in the West that was only taken

[260] Bacci, "The Legacy," 327-328; Wolf, *Salus Populi Romani*, 162-166.
[261] See: note 210.
[262] Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience:" 19.
[263] Bugslag "Local Pilgrimages:" 6-7.

over in Byzantium in the eleventh century. The schism of 1054 led to another separate development. A number of popular *topoi* arose in the West: the import of the image from Constantinople or Byzantium through Ruthenia, as in the case of Poland, the Ottoman siege, and the wounding of the image by the Ottomans or Hussites. They developed the already existing themes but adjusted them to the changing historical background.

In the opinion of Niedźwiedź, the legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* were used by King Władysław Jagiełło to reinforce his rule with the power of religion and by the Pauline Fathers to popularize the image and the monastery as a pilgrimage site.[264] In the Latin West, Marian images and icons were not only used as objects of prestige and tools for political and ecclesiastical manipulations. Treated in a way as relics, they were intercessors between humans and God, able to heal and avert illness. They were the protectors of cities, towns, and Christian believers against *the Other*. Images created empathy among people, promising good fortune or saving them from the plague. They work on public and private levels among people of different social classes and genders. The legends popularized the icons and images and justify their veneration even today. Throughout the centuries they kept reassuring the believers that contact with the divine was possible and that the spheres of *sacrum* and *profanum* are interconnected.

[264] Niedźwiedź, *The Image*, 56.

CHAPTER IV: PIGLRIMAGE AND MIRACLES

The origins of the pilgrimage to Jasna Góra

The legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa* prove that the image attracted special veneration. The stories influenced the believers, enforced their contact with God, shaped and framed history. They legitimized the sanctity of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* and the sacred place of Jasna Góra, which became a famous pilgrimage site.[265] Because of the lack of substantial relics of Christ and the Virgin, images and sculptures had similar functions. The veneration of relics was closely related to images and statutes showing the presence of a particular saint in reality.[266] As Belting explains "Image and relic explained each other. In addition, the image, with its coat of gold and jewels, expressed the mentality of an agrarian society with feudal rule, in which gold was valued not merely as an item of exchange but as an expression of power and prestige."[267] When the image itself became the object of pilgrimage, the visual experience came to the fore.

In contrast to the long-distance pilgrimage with its destination in Jerusalem or the shrine possessing the relics of a saint as in Rome and Santiago de Compostela, a local pilgrimage was accessible to almost everyone.[268] Pilgrimage to *Our Lady of Częstochowa* functioned on both long-distance and local levels. It evolved gradually, not only in connection with the economic and political benefits of the monastery. At the time when *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was brought to Jasna Góra, it could not have had a ready pedigree. Neither Duke Opolczyk nor King Jagiełło should be considered as having introduced the monastery as a pilgrimage site. [269] As James Bugslag points out, there are many local pilgrimage sites like Jasna Góra which lack documentation in regard to the early stages of

[265] Kabala, "Dressing," 275.
[266] Belting, *Likeness*, 298-299; Bacci, *Il pennello*, 40-52.
[267] Ibid., 302.
[268] Halina Manikowska, *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela: wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza* [Jerusalem – Rome – Compostela: the pilgrimage movement at the end of the Middle Ages] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008).
[269] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 125-128, Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 25-37.

their development, for instance, miracles at the Montaigu shrine in Belgium (fig. 44) started to be recorded only after 1602, when it was rebuilt after the religious wars. According to the legends, the cult of the statue of Our Lady made of an oak tree arose in the thirteenth century. The shrine evolved gradually at the location, from where the statue refused to be moved.[270] The legend of *Translatio tabulae* served to legitimate the cult that had existed at Jasna Góra long before. It was encouraged by the Pauline Fathers but was probably started by believers.[271] At the beginning of the fifteenth century Jasna Góra gained international recognition. It started to be counted among the most famous Marian shrines in the Latin West: Altötting in Bavaria, Einsiedeln in Switzerland, Mariazell in Styria, Le-Puy-en-Velay and Rocamadour in France, Levoča in the historical region of Spiš, Příbram in Bohemia, Montserrat and Saragossa in Spain, and Walsingham in England.[272]

Indulgences

Although the Pauline Fathers settled at Jasna Góra around 1382, the first written source on the pilgrimage to Częstochowa is dated to 1425. It is an indulgence of Archbishop Wojciech Jastrzębiec of Gniezno.[273] The first note on miracles happening at Jasna Góra comes from a letter of King Jagiełło, in which he asks Pope Martin V for an indulgence honoring the pilgrims. In 1429 Pope Martin V agreed and granted indulgence to the pilgrims who visited the monastery during seven Marian and seven local feasts.[274] The indulgence given by the bishop of Cracow, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, on May 8, 1450, is the first to mention the veneration of the "Marian image" as one of the conditions for obtaining an indulgence. It

[270] Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages:"13.
[271] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 125-128, Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, 25-37.
[272] Antoni Jackowski and Ludwik Kaszowski, "Jasna Góra in the System of World Pilgrimage Centres," *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 172, available online: http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/publikacje.php?id=000002en&page=peregrinus&menu=3 (accessed: April 2013).
[273] *Zbiór Dokumentów oo. Paulinów w Polsce, zeszyt I: 1382-1464* [The collection of documents of the Pauline Fathers of Poland, issue 1: 1382-1464], ed. J. Fijałek (Cracow: Nakł. OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze w Częstochowie, 1938), no. 87, 161, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 121.
[274] Ibid., no. 95, 171, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 121.

is said that the Marian image was located in the chapel at the monastery's cemetery.[275] A proclamation of King Casimir IV, dated to July 6, 1462, approved selling food and drink in the area of the church.[276] The indulgence of another bishop of Cracow, Ian Lutek of Brzezice, dated to March 27, 1466, also mentions the Marian image in the chapel of the Virgin, located in the area of the monastery complex.[277] Around this time, the number of days on which the indulgence was obtainable grew to fifty-five. These days became linked with the feasts celebrated by the Church of Cracow in the fifteenth century.[278] In 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued another indulgence for pilgrims of both sexes who came to the site famous for the power of the Virgin and her image painted by St. Luke.[279] A total of eleven indulgences from the fifteenth century show an increase in the number of days on which absolution was possible.[280] These indulgences should not be regarded as an enforcement of particular forms of devotion on the believers, but as legitimization of a popular devotional practice at Jasna Góra.[281]

Access to the image

Ian Długosz (1415-1480) mentions Jasna Góra in the topographical introduction to his *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* (Annals or Chronicles of the Famous Kingdom of Poland), continuously written after the 1450s. He wrote that the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the monastery were frequently visited in order to venerate the Virgin and her image, painted by St. Luke.[282] He confirms that the monastery was quite rich because of the pilgrims coming to Częstochowa from Poland, Hungary, Moravia, Prussia, and Silesia to

[275] Ibid., no. 133, 263-264, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 92.
[276] Ibid., no. 151, 304, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 4.
[277] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 93, see also: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, Appendix 2, 186-187.
[278] The tendency to increase the number of indulgence days was characteristic for the Latin West at the turn of the fourteenth century and later, see: Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 150.
[279] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, Appendix 1, lines 13-18, 184-185.
[280] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 149.
[281] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 93.
[282] Ian Długosz, *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* I, ed. Jan Dąbrowski (Warsaw, 1964-97), 102, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 2.

celebrate the Marian feasts and plead with the Virgin for the intercession and healings.[283] In the Cracovian diocese's Register (*Liber beneficiorum dioecesis Cracoviensis*) Długosz mentions that at some point the church was enlarged because of the pilgrims' donations.[284]

As the shrine started to attract pilgrims from more distant lands it expanded and became more splendid.[285] The legend about the statue of the Virgin from the church of Notre-Dame at Avioth in France (fig. 45) confirms this tendency. The statue was located in the village of Saint-Brice, but around the twelfth century it fled, to the spot where the chapel and the church mentioned above were built. Over time, the complex developed and served mainly females seeking help with fertility and children.[286]

In the fifteenth century, pilgrims could obtain an indulgence by supporting the monastery financially.[287] Although the architecture of the most of the Jasna Góra complex is due to its rebuilding after the fire of 1690, archeological excavations confirm Długosz's statement that originally the church of the Pauline Fathers was modest and build of wood.[288] According to Długosz, the image was located in a chapel in the northern part of the church.[289] The location is also confirmed by the visitation report of Jerzy Radziwiłł from 1593 (fig. 46).[290] Although it is not known when the image began to be kept there and whether the authors mention the same chapel, is possible that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was kept in the northern part of the church from the 1420s or 1430s. The northern chapel where the image is located today has a partially gothic structure.[291]

Information on the Pauline liturgy is scattered and it is not known what kind of role the image played in it. Pauline Fathers were hermits, but if they ministered at the parish

[283] Długosz, *Opera*, 13, 399, see: Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski," 149.
[284] Długosz, *Opera*, 9, 122, quoted from Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, note 4, 3.
[285] Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages:" 19.
[286] Ibid., 20.
[287] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 150.
[288] Długosz, *Opera*, 9, 122, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 135. At the time of the church's consecration in 1463 the building was made of stone, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 137-138.
[289] Długosz, *Opera*, 9, 12, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 133.
[290] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 140-142.

church they must have stayed in close relations with the laity.[292] In regard to access to the image, Radziwiłł's report from the late sixteenth century say that moving the image to the high altar was prohibited; pilgrims were supposed to go to confession and communion, go to the northern chapel to leave votive offerings and exit the church.[293] Therefore, Radziwiłł's report indicates that the image had been moved previously. The Miracle Book of the monastery records that the Birth of the Virgin feast was an occasion on which Bishop Jan Konarski carried the image in a procession in order to assure the Polish victory over the Russians during the battle of Orsza (1514).[294]According to Maniura: "The feast of the Birth of the Virgin is often included in the list of feast days attracting indulgences. The picture may have been carried in a procession and then installed on the high altar on a regular basis as a way of accommodating large numbers of pilgrims on popular feasts."[295]

As Bugslag notes, miraculous images of the Virgin were usually placed behind or above the main altar. They could have their own chapel, be enclosed in a tabernacle or reredos.[296] The report of Radziwiłł implies that *Our Lady of Częstochowa* could have been enclosed in the middle of a winged triptych with the images of St. Catherine and St. Barbara, and therefore the access to it was additionally controlled. However, this hypothesis is risky and should be taken with due consideration.[297]

Nevertheless, this hypothesis has its reasons. In the early modern period, Church authorities tried to get rid of "superstitious" customs surrounding images. This included novenas, kissing and touching the images, lighting candles, bringing votive offerings, acting

[291] For more on this issue in the light of archeological findings, see: Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 142-146.
[292] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 132-133.
[293] Ibid., 146.
[294] Ibid., 149.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages:" 22.
[297] Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Geneza i styl:" 15; Kurpik, "Podłoże obrazu:" 87; Golonka, *Ołtarz,* 39-40; Kos, *Fundacja*, 162; Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 149-151.

out the legends or drinking and bathing in holy springs located in the area.[298] For these reasons of power and economics access to miracle-working images was to be regulated.

The image of *Our Lady of Impruneta* (fig. 43), in a church six miles from Florence, was veiled when standing in its church. Miracles activated by her power only happened during processions, when the image was taken to the city.[299] Access to the famous statue of *Our Lady of Walsingham* (fig. 47) was also controlled: Curtains surrounding it were pulled aside on special occasions. The statue was surrounded by votive offerings, jewels, candles, and burning incense.[300] According to the legend, in the second part of the fourteenth century, when St. Frances of Rome was praying in front of the Aracoeli icon (fig. 14), it was hidden in the tabernacle. Allegedly, the image opened the doors of tabernacle and showed itself to Francis. Normally the tabernacle was opened only on the feast days of the Virgin, during indulgences, Christmas, Easter, some of the Saturday afternoons dedicated to the Virgin, and probably on the feast of the Evangelist, when the Mass was said at the altar of the Felici chapel. The medieval custom was to carry the icon in the procession on Assumption day, which was popularized by the Franciscans.[301]

In the seventeenth century, *Our Lady of Częstochowa* had two different altars. Around 1610 it got a gilded manneristic altar, visible only on the image of Tommaso Dolabella entitled *The Communion of Jagiellons* (Komunia Jagiellonów) dated to 1648-50 (fig. 48). The image was flanked by sculptures of four saints; below it there was a predella with an image of the Annunciation. After the chapel of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was rebuilt in 1641-1644, the image got a larger Baroque altar finished by the goldsmith Christian Bierpfaff in 1650 (fig. 49).[302] As a result of the Catholic Counter Reformation in seventeenth-century Europe,

[298] Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages:" 22.
[299] Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience:"11-12.
[300] Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, 228-229.
[301] Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium urbis Romae (1518)*, ed. Enrico Bulletti (Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana, 1931); see: Bolgia, "The Felici icon:" 64-65, note 107, 65.
[302] Smulikowska, "Ozdoby obrazu:" 190-193.

Byzantine icons and images imitating them started to be treated as most authentic religious depictions: Icons in Freising (fig. 7), Spoleto, and Genoa would be turned into objects of veritable stage production, installed over sumptuous high altars or within grand Baroque tabernacles."[303]

Miracles

That miracles took place at Jasna Góra isconfirmed by five fifteenth- and sixteenth-century accounts. The oldest account is a single sheet dated to 1470s, discovered in a codex dated to the same time at the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. The so-called 1470 list was cut when binding the manuscript and only a part of the text survived. It is formulated as a notary record and might have been based on earlier documents. At the beginning of the partially preserved text "number five" is mentioned and a reference to the pontificate of "Eugenius," who could be identified with the Pope Eugen IV (1431-1439). Therefore, the document might have been written by one of the Pauline Fathers in 1435. The text refers to the Prior Andreas, mentioned in a different document form 1436. Later there is a list of people, presumably pilgrims, and their illnesses, which may have been healed.[304]

The next account is a set of miracles that are part of the register of the Confraternity of the Order of St Paul the First Hermit (*Regestrum Confraternitatis Ordinis sancti Pauli I Eremitae*) kept in the archive of Jasna Góra.[305] It bears the date 1517. According to Aleksandra Witkowska, the register was written between 1517 and 1613. The confraternity was composed of donors who supported the monastery.[306] The Confraternity Register lists their names (members introduced around 1523), and includes 255 miracles which happened

[303] Durand, "Precious-Metal," 250.
[304] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 95-98; Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 152-153.
[305] Zbudniewek, "Jasnogórski rękopis:" 240-374.
[306] As Maniura explains: "Confraternity was not a lay association whose members engaged in joint pious activities as was the case with the urban confraternities of the late Middle Ages. The members were, rather, benefactors who, in return for their donations, were granted participation in the good works of the Order" (Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 98). Lay confraternities engaged in the control of the access to the shrine and its promotion were functioning in Byzantium and Italy in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. See: Barbara

between 1531 and the end of the sixteenth century, although they do not follow a chronological order. Generally, the text was written down by over 200 scribes at times that are hard to define. Maniura states that some of the accounts were by pilgrims because some of the entries refer to journeys.[307] One miracle out of the 255 in the Confraternity Register mentions an ill Hungarian couple, Ladislaus Bannfy and his wife, who promised to visit the image of the Virgin and after the vow they were cured.[308]

The two additional accounts are parts of the legends about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*: *Historia pulchra* from 1524 and the Polish version *Historya o obrazie*, dated to 1568. According to *Historia Pulchra*, a blind woman living in Pylsno, possessed by a demon, got back her sight on her way to see the image at Jasna Góra. The other story from this source tells of King Sigismund I's courtier, Daniel Barthodzeuski, whose wound caused by a knife healed after he made a vow to the Virgin; he brought the knife to the shrine and left it as a votive offering.[309]

The already mentioned, the Miracle Book (*Tomus primus Miraculorum B V Monasterii Cestochoviensis*) bears the name of Martin Lubnicensis**,** a Pauline provincial who probably started writing it, and the date of 1591. The book continued until 1668.[310] In the first part there are the documents connected with the monastery and shrine (written by eighteen different hands); in the second part there are around 1400 dated miracle records. Most of them date from the time between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (written by around twenty-five different hands). Based on the paleographic evidence and dates of the presumed scribes' lives, many of the miracles were noted in retrospectively; for instance, one of the

Wisch, "Keys to Success. Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities," in *The Miraculous Image*, ed. Thunø, Wolf, 161-184.
[307] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 95-98, 100-104.
[308] Ibid., 104-105, see also note 60, 105.
[309] Ibid., 105, see also: Appendix 7: 48, 217 and Appendix 7:71, 218.
[310] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 153.

authors, Szymon Mielecki (died 1613), recorded miracles from 1402 until 1584.[311] Some of the records directly refer to the image, like the above account of Bishop Jan Konarski who carried *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in 1514 or the one about a vow to the image made by a pilgrim from Moravia, wounded dangerously on his way by thieves. The pilgrim was rewarded by the Virgin, who appeared to him in a dream (1526). The following story reports a vow to the image by a friend of the sick Hungarian courtier Ludwig de Thomor, who was eventually cured (1531). A subsequent account claims that a person named Lissek made a vow to the picture and was healed (1549).[312]

All of these sources are slightly interconnected, although no single story appears in the same form in all of them. This material is partial and there were other sources on miracles which did not survive.[313] Except for the *Mensa Mariana*, which only illustrates the legends about the image, there are no artworks which depict the miracles of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. At Altötting such artworks are preserved in the form of "Miracle Plaques" promoting the shrine with its statue of the Black Madonna[314] and altars at Mariazell show miracles dated to the second decade of the sixteenth century.[315]

All of the accounts of miracles comprise three elements as the parts of a pilgrimage: a vow to the Virgin or, rarely, to her image, a miracle caused by the Virgin which happened away from the image, and a votive offering brought to Jasna Góra.[316] The general trend in France confirms that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries miraculous healings took place at a distance from the shrine. Pilgrimage was made to fulfill a vow to the Virgin or give

[311] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 95-97; Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 154.
[312] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 104, see also: Appendix 5:22, 204.
[313] Ibid., 98-99.
[314] Schuh, *'Jenseitigkeit,'* 84. In the book based on her dissertation Schuh analyzed the Bavarian shrines of Altötting, St. Wolfgang near Abersee, Maria Waldrast, and St. Wolfgang near Burgholz in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.
[315] Gerhard Jaritz, "A mariazelli nagy csodaoltár avagy A Szűzanya 'mindenhatóságának' jele" [The great miracle altar of Mariazell or the sign of the Virgin's power]," in *Mariazell és Magyarország*, ed. Brunner, 61-67.
[316] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 105-115.

thanks.[317] Another study of Maniura focused on the wall painting of Santa Maria delle Caceri proved the same tendency: the majority of miracles were happening away from the shine.[318] Maniura and Trexler argue that pilgrims' activity connected to the shrine should be stressed, and that the simple notion of a miraculous image is too simplistic.[319] As Jonathan Sumption indicates, popular religiosity influenced the actions of the establishment.[320] Christianity framed the already existing traditions.[321]

How was the concept of a miracle-working image understood by the pilgrims? Late medieval pre-Reformation theologian Gabriel Biel wrote that some of the believers had faith in the images performing miracles and some of them, wanting to see a miracle, travelled to the sites without a deep religious involvement.[322] Nonetheless, the visual experience was central in the whole experience. As Maniura rightly notes, it was influenced by the local landscape of Marian images, and connected with the rhythm of feasts known by the pilgrims.[323]

Who visited shrines?

Aleksandra Witkowska, who examined the pilgrimage to Częstochowa extensively, analyzed 880 pilgrimages made between 1396 and 1642. She used the Miracle Book, Confraternity Register, *Historia pulchra*, and *Historya o obrazie* as well as three other sources from the seventeenth century.[324] She was aware that the data is partial and not truly

[317] In the eleventh and twelfth centuries healings were occurring rather at the shrine, see: Pierre André Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France medieval* (Paris: Janvier, 1985), 58.
[318] Maniura, "The Miracles and Images of Santa Maria delle Carceri," in *The Miraculous Image*, ed. Thunø, Wolf, 82-95.
[319] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 105-115; Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience:" 23-24.
[320] Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), 53.
[321] Ibid, 267-268.
[322] Gabriel Biel, *Expositio litteralis sacri canonis misse* (Basel: Jac. Pforczense, 1510), Lectio 49-50, fols. 124t-130v, quoted from Michael E. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders. The Development of the Concept of Miracle 1150-1350* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 2-3.
[323] Maniura, *Pilgrimage*, 166-180.
[324] Printed texts of Andrzej Żymicjusz, *Skarbnica kościoła Jasney Gory Częstochowskiego* [The treasury of the church of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa] (Cracow, 1618), Andrzej Gołdonowski, *Summariusz Historiey o obrazie Panny Mariey ktory jest na Jasney Gorze Częstochowskey z różnych Historiy starych polskich i łacińskich: korciuścieńko zebrany* [The summary of the Latin and Polish stories about the image of the Virgin from Jasna

reliable. Difficulties emerged especially when analyzing the source material from before 1591: the dating of the miracles, mistakes, and inconsistency of the scribes repeating the same accounts in different sources, spelling of names, and locations the pilgrims were coming from.[325]

Witkowska discovered that the number of pilgrims visiting the shrine started to rise systematically after the first half of the sixteenth century. This increase was followed by a rapid decrease in 1629-1630, probably caused by the plague. After the epidemic the number of pilgrims grew again. This data proves the growing popularity of the shrine supported by the Pauline Fathers.[326]

84% of the accounts record the locations from which the pilgrims were arriving (settlements, lands, regions, etc.). Most pilgrims came from places located at a rather large distance from the shrine: around and over 60 km. According to the author, this result should not be taken for granted because it was not possible that people from the surrounding areas did not visit Jasna Góra.[327] According to Jonathan Sumption and Benedicta Ward, the local pilgrimage experience was primary to that of the long-distance pilgrimage. People who tried to search for healing in a far-away shrine would have been condemned by local society and parish church authorities.[328] In the Coutances collection of miracles, there is an account of the Virgin herself chasing a woman for seeking help not in Coutances, where she was from, but in Bayeux.[329]

Witkowska discovered that the pilgrimage involved people from all over Poland, but many came from the voivodeships of Cracow, Lublin, and Sandomierz (37%) in the south of

Góra in Częstochowa] (Cracow, 1639), Andrzej Gołdonowski, *Diva Claromontana seu imaginis eius origo, translatio, miracula* (Cracow, 1642).

[325] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 148-157.

[326] Ibid., 157.

[327] Ibid., 157-160.

[328] Sumption, *Pilgrimage*, 50-51; Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,1987), 140.

[329] Freedberg, *The Power*, 120, citing John of Coutances, *Mirac. Eccl. Constatiensis 6* in *Histoire de la Cathédrale de Coutances*, ed. Emile Auber Pigeon (Coutances: Imprimerie de E. Salettes Fils, 1876), 370-372.

Poland as well as from more distant eastern lands (9.3%). The former figure was due to the trade route leading from the south to the north. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries pilgrims coming from Silesia, Hungary, and Moravia were also recorded. In Silesia, the Pauline Fathers residing in Mochów must have encouraged people to visit Częstochowa.[330] In Hungary, the popularity of the shrine was also spread by the Pauline order, of which the Black Madonna became the most popular image. Many places fostered the cult of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*: the Paulines probably had copies of the image in the monasteries of Pálosvörösmart and Sopron in the sixteenth century.[331] They established another cult of a miraculous artwork: the pietà of Sasvár (fig. 50), dated to 1564.[332] The first legend about the pieta emerged in 1732 and miracles attributed to it started to take place from 1751.[333]

The first guidebooks for Polish pilgrims travelling to Jasna Góra started to appear at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At this time the pilgrimage routes to Częstochowa within the country were already established.[334] These routes could help secure the status of a pilgrim, who, while travelling, was able to make stops in the inns, pilgrims' houses, and other places where it was possible to stay overnight.[335] For example, fourteenth-century accounts of female pilgrims to the Aracoeli icon (fig. 14) are confirmed by the presence of the two hospitals on the way to Italy where women could rest; Santa Andrea founded by a German priest from Kulm, and another one founded by a priest from Wales in 1372.[336] The dangers of

[330] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 160.
[331] Zoltán Szilárdfy, "A pálos rend két kegyképe: a Czestochowai és Sasvári Boldogasszon,"[Two devotional images of the Pauline Order: *Our Lady of Czestochowa* and Sasvár], in idem., *Ikonográfia-kultusztörténet: Képes Tanulmányok* [Iconography- history of the cult: studies with images] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003), 119. The copies of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* painted in the modern period are in the Academic Church in Budapest, the monastery in Márianosztra, and the Pauline church in Papa. Black Madonnas were venerated in Simontornya, Jászberény, Baja, Szabadka, and Szeged, see: Nalaskowski and Bilska "The Cult:" 192.
[332] Ibid., 120.
[333] Szabolcs Serfőző, *A sasvári pálos kegyhely története* [The history of Pauline shrine at Sasvár] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2012), 24.
[334] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 163.
[335] Jerzy Groch, "The Town-Formative Function:" 206-207.
[336] Bolgia, "The Felici icon:" 64.

travelling included not only harsh weather conditions but also becoming a victim of muggers, thieves or murderers.[337]

The number of people participating in the pilgrimage to *Our Lady of Częstochowa* remains unknown because in many records the individuals are mentioned as arriving with their friends, families or neighbors.[338] The age and gender of the pilgrims were not recorded. Basing on the study of Bavarian shrines by Barbara Schuh, one can, however, note that probably most of the pilgrims were men. Because of their professions and higher social status they were more mobile than women. Having no obligations towards children, they were not expected to remain in the household. Women were discouraged from travelling for the sake of "morals" and "social order." The analysis made by Schuh demonstrates that around a quarter of pilgrims in Bavaria were females, however, the author notes that an even larger number of women were travelling in England and France. Therefore, different factors must have influenced female pilgrimage.[339] According to Schuh, a quarter of pilgrims cured at the Bavarian shrines were children. This result contrasts with the old point of view that in the Middle Ages children were often neglected by their parents and their deaths were regarded as meaningless.[340]

At the end of the sixteenth century more people visited the shrine on Sundays and Mondays. The latter were days when popular markets where held, introduced in the same century.[341] The establishment of markets near pilgrimage sites seems to have been a common practice which also occurred near the St. Wolfgang shrine in Bavaria (Mondsee market) even

[337] Schuh, *'Jenseitigkeit,'* 58.
[338] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 161.
[339] See also the study of Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), in which she deals with miracles linked with the canonization of King Louis IX. In her analysis of miracles, Farmer differentiates single mothers, servants, immigrants, and the poor living in thirteenth-century Paris.
[340] Schuh, *'Jenseitigkeit,'* 46-56. For more about children in the miracle records, see: Ronald Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents. Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
[341] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 163.

earlier, in the fifteenth century.[342] Between the last quarter of the sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century the largest numbers of pilgrims visited Jasna Góra in May and June when the weather conditions were the best for travelling. July and August were months of intensive work in the fields, therefore in September the pilgrims set out on the road again enjoying the advantage of low food prices.[343]

When it comes to the social groups, the largest number of pilgrims visiting the monastery came from the middle class (40%), followed by the nobility (35%), peasants (15-20%), and clergy (5%). The rest were the members of the royal family and undefined others. The fact that the middle class and nobility mostly living in towns and cities were represented confirms the fact, that these groups were especially keen on venerating the Virgin and had the resources to do so. According to the author the number of clergy visiting the place might have been higher but was not recorded. They probably came together with groups of the middle class and nobility. Peasants, who needed time and money to visit any distant location, were more connected to local Marian cults. After the sixteenth century Jasna Góra started to be linked with the royal families and served as a political symbol integrating Polish territories. These connotations did not encourage the peasantry to visit the site.[344] Those who were not recorded in any sources were the poor: beggars or vagabonds who did not have a fixed abode and status within society. Within the pilgrimage movement, they were used as the objects of material culture by those standing higher in the social hierarchy: giving them money could assure salvation for the rich.[345]

It is not known if the shrine of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* served for healing any particular diseases. As Bugslag notes, shrines associated with particular saints served for

[342] Schuh, *'Jenseitigkeit,'* 69.
[343] Ibid., 59-60.
[344] Witkowska, "Kult Jasnogórski:" 148-167.
[345] Ibid., 58-59,see also: Gerhard Jaritz, "Poverty Constructions and Material Culture," in *The Sign Languages of Poverty*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007), 7-17; David Austin, "The Presence of Poverty: Archaeologies of Difference and Their Meaning," in *ibidem*, 19-41.

curing particular illnesses or stopping specific natural disasters.[346] They were managed with both individual and communal vows. For example, a commune vowed to the statue of *Our Lady of Montaigu* (fig. 44) that if the Virgin stopped the epidemic they would visit her each year.[347] Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, the community of Florence asked the *Virgin of Aracoeli* (fig. 14) for help during plagues and droughts. They also called on her when celebrating treaties, requesting peace or inspiration for the government. Every time, Our Lady was gifted with votive offerings.[348] Bugslag states that while the shrines focused on venerating the relics of a saint were more specialized, those possessing the image of the Virgin were more general. He writes that, traditionally, the Virgin was associated with helping women with fertility and protecting children.[349] At the shrine of Altötting the votive offerings were mostly connected with children.[350] Bugslag's statement can be also confirmed by an example of *Our Lady of Aracoeli*. In the fourteenth-century *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, the Aracoeli Virgin (fig. 14) is called *mamma celi*; the shrine attracted many female pilgrims who prayed for their children. Additionally, the Virgin started to be regarded as *Mater Dolorosa* after 1375.[351]

***

The cult of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as an object of pilgrimage evolved gradually. The early stages of pilgrimage to the site and the veneration of the image are not documented. Probably the cult was started by believers and came to be controlled by the Pauline Fathers, which can be proved by the growing number of indulgences, the accounts of Ian Długosz, miracle records, and multiplying legends about the image. One cannot help but note that popular religiosity influenced the Church authorities. People were asking the Virgin for

[346] Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages:" 15.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Trexler, "Florentine Religious Experience:" 9-18.
[349] Bugslag, "Local Pilgrimages:" 15.
[350] Schuh, *'Jenseitigkeit,'* 53-55.
[351] Bolgia, "The Felici icon:" 63-64.

successful intercession to diminish the negative effects of epidemics, natural disasters, and personal traumatic experiences. The aim of pilgrimage has always been to gain physical and spiritual benefits or give thanks for divine grace. It appears that when it comes to the pilgrimage to the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the journey was to taken to give thanks for grace. Most miracles did not happen at the shrine. To investigate if this would apply to other Marian icons and images, more studies are required. I propose to take into consideration the contexts in which such depictions started to be placed in fixed locations, for instance, in their own chapels. Where the image was located in the monastery complex of Jasna Góra is uncertain until the end of the sixteenth century. The report of Jerzy Radziwiłł gives the information that in 1593 *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was in the northern chapel, where it resides today. Before that time, the image must have been moved to the high altar and, as in Italy, carried in processions. Establishing a fixed location for an icon or image implies that its mobility linked with rituals was restricted and its accessibility fully controlled by the clergy. In my opinion, these circumstances might have influenced the accounts of miracles reported by believers.

Because of the donations of pilgrims, not only the monastery but also the area around it became prosperous. The surroundings of the image were full of votive offerings given to the Virgin after believers experienced a miracle and fulfilled the vow of coming to the shrine. The shrine attracted not only local people, but also the travelers from Silesia, Hungary, and Moravia. Most of the long-distance pilgrims were from the middle class and nobility. There are no records about the poor experiencing miracles, visiting the shrine or living nearby. The fact that the poor where present at Jasna Góra cannot be denied; in the Latin West, there are many late medieval images showing mostly male beggars occupying different shrines. Studies of material culture explain how they were used as an agency for the rich: by giving them food or money, the salvation of the members of higher social strata was assured. It is

not known if the shrine of Jasna Góra was famous for curing any particular diseases, however, based on the comparison demonstrated in this chapter it can be deduced that the Virgin was a special patron of mothers and children. Nevertheless, the majority of pilgrims were probably men.

CONCLUSION

This study was undertaken in order to understand how Marian icons and images functioned in the Latin West between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. I used the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as a model to ask how these artworks looked before and after numerous restorations and how the relations between the Orthodox East and Latin West influenced the understanding of Byzantine iconography and the popularity of icons in the West. I described the legends which arose around them: What was their role and how did they differ between the East and West? Finally, I dealt with the pilgrimage to miracle-working depictions. All of these issues contributed to establishing the character of the occidentalization and assimilation of icons and images into the Catholic Church.

My motivation for the study was the belief that it is possible to establish a general pattern on the basis of which the objects of my research functioned in the Latin West. I concentrated on finding similarities in the veneration of holy images among the Western examples. I did not focus extensively on the function of icons in the Orthodox East. Only in regard to the Italian origins of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* did I discuss in detail the stylistic features of the artwork. Workshops and individual artists were not of interest here. I mentioned copies of famous icons and images, but I treated them only as demonstrations of the power and high status of prototypes; a separate study could be written to deal with this issue. Although in the view of reformers and apologists cults and pilgrimages to holy images have always been controversial because of the risk of idolatry, I did not review the opinions of the main leaders of the European Reformation.

The aim of the thesis was to show that the veneration of icons and images was built on the Christian beliefs associated with an older Greco-Roman tradition. Marian icons and images especially were believed to possess apotropaic powers. Before and after the Great Schism, the cult of images was sustained in both Latin West and Orthodox East, however, in

the former they were not ascribed deep theological meaning. Nevertheless, the Virgin stood above the divisions, her cult and status were undisputable in Rome and in Constantinople. It was already acknowledged in East Central Europe during the process of Christianization.

I have demonstrated that in the West icons and images were repainted and put into different frames. They were honored with revetments, crowns, robes, expensive and casual votive offerings, surrounded by paintings depicting their miracles or mysterious origins. Not the high artistic value, but the characteristic features of Marian icons and images, for example, the scars and dark completion of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, made them the objects of pilgrimage. The different look of such images attracted members of all social classes. The role of icons and images became in a way similar to that of relics. Although the art of West and East drifted into two different directions, some religious rituals and practices, for instance, the participation of icons and images in processions, as well as kissing or touching them, remained similar for a long time.

A close examination demonstrated that the iconography of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* is a creation of post-Iconoclast times. It was known in the Latin West as the result of an interest among the nobility and royalty in importing depictions from the Orthodox East. The reception of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*'s iconography leads one to conclude that together with bringing in Eastern-looking artworks, the ideology standing behind them was also a subject of interest. Contact between the Latin and Orthodox spheres was strong even against a changing historical background. It was enforced because of the Crusades, travelling pilgrims, mendicant orders like Franciscans and Dominicans or Orthodox believers and painters living in the Latin West. *Our Lady of Częstochowa* was probably painted in Italy, and after its stay in Hungary, it found a final destination among the Pauline Fathers in Poland.

On the example of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* I have shown how the miracle-working Marian icons and images remained in an inseparable relationship with people. I showed that

in both East and West their holiness was legitimized by legends describing their mysterious origins and history. The legends were created by believers, who established the role of the image. They were shaped according to *topoi* which can be traced back to antiquity. The function of the legends was to integrate, bend, reinforce belief, and frame history. The legends were assurances that in the case of war, epidemics or natural disasters the Virgin would appear as an intercessor to help the believers and the divine would break into the earthly world. It appears that most of the *topoi* in the East and West were of ancient origin. In both spheres, they developed from already existing themes in different historical contexts.

All of these factors were linked with local and long-distance pilgrimage, which emerged on the basis of visual experience. Icons and images were regarded as sacred by men and women, adults and children, rich and poor, clergy and laity. They were believed to create a space where contact with God was intensified. Pilgrimage was not forced on believers by the religious authorities. Only as the sites were becoming institutionalized did access to the objects of veneration start to be controlled. In the light of new research, it appears that the notion of miracle-working images should be revised. The power to heal was not associated with a particular depiction but with the Virgin herself. In the case of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, the most important elements of the miracles were the vow to the Virgin and the journey to Jasna Góra. Each pilgrim brought a votive offering to leave near the image. Miracles usually did not take place at the shrine as was the case of relics. This theory needs to be reviewed and examined for other examples of Marian icons and images in the Latin West.

Studies on Marian icons and images in the Latin West are still to be developed. Future areas of research should comprise topics linked with pilgrimages to holy images. Analysis may include interconnections between local shrines or the character of miracles in regard to the pilgrims' performance and access to particular images. More research on liturgy and the role of icons and images in it is also needed. Separate research might embrace the group of

images bearing scars or signs of wounding. Reducing the isolation between the scholars working on Byzantium and early medieval West would also contribute to the studies on interconnections between the two spheres. Although there is a vast literature on *Our Lady of Częstochowa* written by Polish scholars, there are still questions about the image which remain unanswered: How did the pilgrimage site of Jasna Góra emerge? What were the exact origins of the image? Is it possible that its iconographic formula of scars derived from Mount Athos? In connection with the scars on the cheek of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, one should consider the emergence of bleeding hosts. For future studies I propose to analyze *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the context of contemporary German pilgrimage sites which lay in proximity to Jasna Góra.

Throughout the centuries, Marian icons and images were venerated with special honors. Their mystical aura, mysterious origins and look, emphasized by legends, were greatly respected. They were believed to create a sacred space related to pilgrims' performance, performance which kept them "alive." Marian icons and images integrated the believers and helped them in cases of invasion, illness or other disasters. For her good works, the Virgin was offered prayers and votive offerings. Marian icons and images evoked empathy among believers. By bringing the mystery of the Virgin's life closer, people could honor her and share their suffering with her. The visual stimulus constructs a relation with the holy. There is no publication that assembles information on Marian icons and images known until recently as miracle-working. Moving beyond the frame of domestic scholars' research necessary to describe their veneration in the Latin West. Future studies will be able to increase our knowledge about their function in the context between the material and the spiritual world.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Długosz, Ian. *Annales seu cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae* I. Ed. Jan Dąbrowski. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1964.

_____. *Opera omnia*, 14 vols. Ed. Aleksander Przeździecki. Cracow: Tipographia Kirchmajeriana, 1863-1887.

Fijałek, Jan, ed. *Zbiór Dokumentów oo. Paulinów w Polsce, zeszyt I: 1382-1464* [The collection of documents of the Pauline Fathers of Poland, issue 1: 1382-1464]. No. 87, 95, 133, 151. Cracow: Nakł. OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze w Częstochowie, 1938.

Kowalewicz, Henryk and Monika, eds. *Najstarsze historie o częstochowskim obrazie Panny Maryi: XV i XVI wiek* [The oldest stories about the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*: fifteenth and sixteenth centuries]. Warsaw: Pax, 1983.

Krowicki, Marcin. *Obrona nauki prawdziwey y wiary starodawney krześcijańskiey, którey uczyli Prorocy, Krystus Syn Boży, y Apostołowie iego swięci: naprzeciwko nauce fałszywey y wierze nowey, którey uczy w kościelech swoich Papież Rzymski, a którey odpowiedzią swoia broni Jędrzey Biskup Krakowski* [The defence of the old Christian faith as it was taught by the prophets, Christ, apostles, and saints: against the false and new faith, taught by the pope of Rome and defended by Andrew, the bishop of Cracow]. Pińczów, 1560.

Mariano da Firenze. *Itinerarium urbis Romae (1518).* Ed. Enrico Bulletti. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia cristiana, 1931.

Okolski, Szymon. *Rvssia Florida Rosis Et Liliis: Hoc est Sanguine, Prædicatione, Religione, & Vita Antea FF. Ordinis Prædicatorvm Peregrinatione inchoata, Nvnc Concentvvm In Rvssia Stabilitate fundata*. Lviv: Typis Coll. Societ. Iesv: apud Sebast[iani] Nowogorski Archiepiscopalem Typographum, 1646.

Szentpetery Emericus, ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum: tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae Gestarum*. Vol. 2. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999.

Visitationes et ordinationes 1577-1743 (Archive of Jasna Góra). Reprint in Jan Golonka, *Ołtarz jasnogórskiej Bogurodzicy: treści ideowe oraz artystyczne kaplicy I retabulum* [The altar of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*: the chapel and retabulum]. Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Zakonu Paulinów, 1996.

Zbudniewek, Janusz. "Jasnogórski rękopis *Regestrum Confraternitatis Fratrum S. Pauli Primi Heremite* z lat 1517-1613" [The manuscript 'Regestrum Confraternitatis Fratrum S. Pauli Primi Heremite' of Jasna Góra from the years 1517-1613], *Studia Claromontana* 6 (1985): 258-350.

Secondary Sources

Adamiak, Stanisław. "Przyczyny upadku Cesarstwa Rzymskiego według Nowej historii Zosimosa" [The causes of the fall of the Roman Empire according to Zosimus' New History]. *Mishellanea* 1 (2000): 12-24. Available online: http://kf.mish.uw.edu.pl/mishellanea/m1/m1_ao.pdf (last accessed: April 25, 2013).

Ainsworth, Maryan W. "'À la Façon Grèce:' The Encounter of Northern Renaissance Artists with Byzantine Icons." In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. Ed. Helen C. Evans, 545-555. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Amand de Mendieta, Emmanuel. *L'art au Mont-Athos*. Thessaloniki: Patriarchikon Hidryma Paterikon Meleton, 1977.

Amato, Pietro. *De vera effigie Mariae. Antiche icone romane*. Exhibition catalogue. Milan: Arnoldo Mondadori; Rome: De Luca, 1988.

Austin, David. "The Presence of Poverty: Archaeologies of Difference and Their Meaning." In *The Sign Languages of Poverty*. Ed. Gerhard Jaritz, 19-41. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

Bacci, Michele. *Il pennello dell'Evangelista. Storia delle immagini sacre attribuite a san Luca*. Pisa: Gisem-Edizioni: ETS, 1998.

_____. "Relics and Holy Icons as Historical Mementos: The Idea of Apostolicity in Constantinople and Rome (11th- 13th Centuries)." In *Relics in the Art and Culture of the Eastern Christian World*. Ed. Alexei Lidov, 32-33. Moscow: Radunitsa, 2000.

_____. "With the Paintbrush of the Evangelist Luke." In *Mother of God. Representation of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Ed. Maria Vassilaki, 79-89. Athens: Skira, 2000.

_____. "The Legacy of the Hodegetria: Holy Icons and Legends Between East and West." In*: Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*. Ed. Maria Vassilaki, 321-335. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Belting, Hans. *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art.* Tr. Edmund Jephcott. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Benko, Stephen. *The Virgin Goddess: Studies in the Pagan and Christian Roots of Mariology*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Bermann, Roland. *Réalités et mystères des vierges noires.* Paris: Dervy, 2000.

Bilnik, Piotr. "Napad 'husytów' na Jasną Górę. Fakty – konteksty – legenda" [The attack of "Hussites" on Jasna Góra. Facts – contexts – legend]. *Studia Claromontana* 15 (1995): 298-311.

Bochnak, Adam and Julian Pagaczewski. *Polskie rzemiosło artystyczne wieków średnich* [Polish craftwork in the Middle Ages]. Cracow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1959.

Bogyay, Thomas von. "L'iconographie de la *Porta speciosa* d'Esztergom et ses sources d'inspiration." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 8 (1950): 85-129.

Bolgia, Claudia. "The Felici Icon Tabernacle (1372) at S. Maria in Aracoeli reconstructed: Lay Patronage, Sculpture, and Marian Devotion in Trecento Rome." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 68 (2005): 27-72.

Brunner, Walter et al. *Mariazell és Magyarország: 650 év vallási kapcsolatai* [Mariazell and Hungary: Religious connections of 650 years]. Esztergom-Graz: Esztergom-Budapesti Főegyházmegye, 2003.

Bugslag, James. "Local Pilgrimages and Their Shrines in Pre-Modern Europe." *Peregrinations* 2, no. 1 (2005): 1-26.

Bylina, Stanisław. "Nowa dewocja, postawy wiernych i kult maryjny w Europie środkowej późnego średniowiecza" [Devotio moderna, believers and the Marian cult in East-Central Europe in the Late Middle Ages]. *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 110-126.

Cameron, Averil. "Images of Authority: Elites and Icons in Late Sixth-Century Byzantium." *Past & Present* 84 (1979): 3-35.

Camille, Michael. *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Cassagnes-Brouquet, Sophie and Jean-Pierre Cassagnes. *Vierges noires.* Rodez: Editions du Rouergue, 2000.

Castille, Daniel. *Le mystère des vierges noires.* Agnieres: Grandsire, 2001.

Colman, Pierre. *Le trésor de la cathédrale Saint-Paul à Liège*. Liège: Vaillant-Carmanne, 1968.

Constable, Giles. *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Cormack, Robin. *Painting the Soul: Death Masks and Shrouds*. London: Reaktion Books, 1997.

Cutler, Anthony et al. *Diözesan Museum Freising. Die Freisinger Hodegetria*. Ed. Sylvia Hahn. Freising: Diözesanmuseum, 2002.

Dąb-Kalinowska, Barbara. *Ikony i obrazy* [Icons and images]. Warsaw: DiG, 2000.

Dobrzeniecki, Tadeusz. "Jasnogórski obraz Matki Boskiej. Studium ikonograficzne" [*Our Lady of Częstochowa*. Iconographic study]. *Studia Claromontana* 20 (2002): 19-44.

Drake Boehm, Barbara and Jiři Fajt, ed. *Prague: the Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Drake Boehm, Barbara. "Called to Create. Luxury Artists at Work in Prague." In: *Prague: the Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*. Ed. Barbara Drake Boehm and Jiři Fajt, 75-81. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.

Eade, John and Michael Sallnow. *Contesting the Sacred: the Anthropology of Christian Pilgrimage*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Estraicher, Karol. "Madonna Częstochowska" [*Our Lady of Częstochowa*]. *Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* 53 (1952): 249-252.

Fahr, Friedrich et al. *Diözesanmuseum Freising. Christliche Kunst aus Salzburg, Bayern und Tirol 12. bis 18. Jahrhundert* 2. Freising: Diözesanmuseum, 1984.

Farmer, Sharon. *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris. Gender, Ideology, and Daily Lives of the Poor*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

Fijałek, Jan. "Historia kultu Matki Boskiej w Polsce średniowiecznej w zarysie" [The history of the cult of the Mother of God in Poland in a sketch]. *Przegląd Kościelny* 1 (1902): 409-418.

Finucane, Ronald. *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

_____. *The Rescue of the Innocents. Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Freedberg, David. *The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991 [1989].

Gallistl, Bernhard. "Byzanz-Rezeption und Renovatio-Symbolik in der Kunst Bernwards von Hildesheim." In *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Evangelos Konstantinou, 129-160. Cologne: Böhlau, 1997.

Garrison, Edward B. *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting*. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1976.

Geary, Patrick. *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Georgievski, Milčo. *Icon gallery – Ohrid*. Exhibition catalogue. Ohrid: Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Culture, 1999.

Georgopoulou, Maria. "Venice and the Byzantine sphere." In *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. Ed. Helen C. Evans, 489-494. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Grabar, André. *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icones byzantines du Moyen Age.* Venice: Institut hellénique d'etudes byzantines et post-byzantines, 1975.

Grimme, Ernst Günther and Museumsverein Aachen. *Der Aachener Domschatz* vol. 42, issue 1, Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1973.

Groch, Jerzy. "The Town-Formative Function of the Jasna Góra Shrine." *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 203-216. Available online: http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/publikacje.php?id=000002en&page=peregrinus&menu=3 (last accessed: April 2013).

Grossmann, Peter. *Abu Mina: A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center*. Cairo: Fotiadis & Co., 1986.

_____."The Pilgrimage Center of Abu Mina." In *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in the Late Antique Egypt*. Ed. David Frankfurter, 281-302. Leiden: Brill 1998.

Grotowski, Piotr. "Kształtowanie się toposu ikony ranionej a judaizm i islam" [The emergence of the topos of an icon injured in the context of Judaism and Islam]. *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea* 2 (2006): 127-145.

Hart, Richard. "The Shrines and Pilgrimages of the County of Norfok." *Norfolk Archeology* 6 (1865): 277-294.

Jackowski, Antoni and Ludwik Kaszowski. "Jasna Góra in the System of World Pilgrimage Centres." *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 171-190. Available online: http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/publikacje.php?id=000002en&page=peregrinus&menu=3 (last accessed: April 2013).

Jaritz, Gerhard. "A mariazelli nagy csodaoltár avagy A Szűzanya 'mindenhatóságának' jele" [The Large Altar of Miracles from Mariazell or the sign of the Virgin's power]. 'In *Mariazell és Magyarország: 650 év vallási kapcsolatai* [Mariazell and Hungary: religious connections of 650 years]. Ed. Walter Brunner, et al., 61-67. Esztergom-Graz: Esztergom-Budapesti Főegyházmegye, 2003.

_____. "Poverty Constructions and Material Culture." In *The Sign Languages of Poverty.* Ed. Gerhard Jaritz, 7-17. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007.

Jusselin, Maurice. "Les Traditions de l'église de Chartres, à propos d'une bulle du pape Léon X concernant la construction de la clôture du choeur." *Mémoires de la Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir* 15 (1915-1922): 1-26.

Jurkowlaniec, Grażyna. "West and East Perspectives on the 'Greek Manner' in the Early Modern Period." *Ikonotheka* 22 (2009): 71-91.

Kabala, Irene. "Dressing the Hodegetria in Częstochowa." *Word & Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 22, no. 3 (2006): 275-284.

Kantor, Marvin. *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1990.

Karłowska-Kamzowa, Alicja. "Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej. Pochodzenie i dzieje średniowieczne" [The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*. The origins and medieval history]. *Folia Historiae Artium* 26 (1990): 5-26.

Kębłowski, Janusz. *Polska Sztuka Gotycka* [Polish Gothic art]. Warsaw: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1976.

Kitzinger, Ernst. "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 8 (1954): 83-150.

Kloczowski, Jerzy. *A History of Polish Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Koller, Manfred. "Das Schatzkammerbild und die Darstellungen der Ludwigslegende." In *Ungarn in Mariazell, Mariazell in Ungarn: Geschichte und Erinnerung*. Ed. Péter Fabraky, Szabolcs Serfőző. Budapest: Kiscelli Muzeum, 2004.

Kondakov, Nikodim P. [Никодим Павлович Кондаков], *Иконография Богоматери II* [The iconography of the Mother of God, vol. 2]. Saint Petersburg: Tipografija imperatorskoi akademii nauk, 1914-1915.

_____. *Icons.* New York: Parkstone International, 2008.

Kopeć, Jerzy, Józef. *Bogarodzica w kulturze polskiej XVI wieku* [The Mother of God in Polish culture of the sixteenth century]. Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictwa KUL, 1997.

Kopera, Feliks. *Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce, tom 1: Średniowieczne malarstwo w Polsce* [History of painting in Poland, vol. 1: Medieval painting in Poland]. Cracow: Drukarnia Narodowa, 1925.

Kos, Tadeusz. *Fundacja klasztoru jasnogórskiego w świetle nowej interpretacji źródeł* [The Foundation of Jasna Góra monastery in the light of new source interpretation]. Cracow: Colonel, 2002.

Kovács, Éva. *Species modus ordo: válogatott tanulmányok* [*Species modus ordo*: Selected studies]. Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1998.

Kowalewiczowa, Monika. "Przyczynek do akwizgrańskiego wątku historii" [The reasons for the Aachen threads in the legend]. *Przegląd Powszechny* 4 (1982): 60-72.

Kozłowski, Rudolf. "Historia obrazu Jasnogórskiego w świetle badań technologicznych i artystyczno-formalnych" [The history of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in a technological, artistic, and formal light]. *Roczniki Humanistyczne KUL* 20 (1972): 5-46.

Kracik, Jan. "Święte obrazy wśród grzesznych Sarmatów: ze studiów nad recepcją kultowego dziedzictwa" [Holy images among the sinful Sarmatians: Studies on the reception of cultural heritage]. *Nasza Przeszłość* 76 (1991): 141-192.

Kruk, Mirosław. *Ikony-obrazy w kościołach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczpospolitej* [Icons-images in the Roman Catholic churches of the old Rzeczypospolita]. Cracow: Collegium Columbinum, 2011.

Kunczyńska-Iracka, Anna. "Ludowe obrazy Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej" [Folk images of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*]. *Studia Claromontana* 2 (1982): 276-287.

Kurpik, Wojciech. "Podłoże obrazu Matki Bożej Jasnogórskiej jako niepisane źródło do dziejów wizerunku" [The wooden panel of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as the unwritten source of its history]. In *Jasnogórski obraz Królowej Polski. Studium teologiczno-historyczne oraz dokumentacja obiektów zabytkowych i prac konserwatorskich* [The image of Jasna Góra. Theological and historical study, the documentation on the decorations and restorations]. Ed. Jan Golonka. Częstochowa: nakł. Jasnej Góry, 1991.

_____. *Częstochowska Hodegetria* [Hodegetria of Częstochowa]. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki, 2008.

Kuryluk, Ewa. *Veronica and Her Cloth: History, Symbolism, and Structure of a 'True' Image*. Cambridge: B. Blackwell, 1991.

Lidov, Alexei. "Miracle-Working Icons of the Mother of God." In *Mother of God. Representation of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Ed. Maria Vassilaki, 47-57. Athens: Skira, 2000.

_____. "The Flying Hodegetria. The Miraculous Icon as the Bearer of Sacred Space." In: *The Miraculous Image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance: Papers from a Conference Held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Biblioteca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May-2 June 2003*. Ed. Erik Thunø, Gerhard Wolf, 273-304. Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004.

MacGillivray Dawkins, Richard. *The Monks of Athos*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1936.

Manikowska, Halina. *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela: wielkie pielgrzymowanie u schyłku średniowiecza* [Jerusalem – Rome – Compostela: the pilgrimage movement at the end of the Middle Ages]. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2008.

Maniura, Robert. "The Icon is Dead, Long Live the Icon: The Holy Image in the Renaissance." In: *Icon and Word: the Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack.* Ed. Antony Eastmond, Liz James, 87-103. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

_____. *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century. The Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Częstochowa*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004.

_____. "The Miracles and Images of Santa Maria delle Carceri." In: *The Miraculous Image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance: Papers From a Conference Held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Biblioteca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May-2 June 2003*. Ed. Erik Thunø, Gerhard Wolf, 82-95. Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004.

Marosi, Ernő, ed. *Magyarországi művészet 1300-1470 körül* [The art of Hungary around 1300-1470], vol. 1. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1987.

Marosi, Ernő, Melinda Tóth and Lívia Varga, ed. *Művészet I. Lajos király korában, 1342-1382: katalógus* [Art in the court of Louis the Great, 1342-1382: catalogue]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, Művészettörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1982.

Meyendorff, John. "Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988): 157-165.

Mroczko, Teresa and Barbara Dąb, *Gotyckie Hodegetrie Polskie* [Gothic Hodegetrias of Poland]. Wrocław, 1966.

Nalaskowski, Jan and Elżbieta Bilska "The Cult of the Virgin Mary Outside Poland." *Peregrinus Cracoviensis* 3 (1996): 191-201. Available online: http://www.geo.uj.edu.pl/publikacje.php?id=000002en&page=peregrinus&menu=3 (last accessed: April 2013).

Nelson, Robert S. "Byzantium and the Rebirth of Art and Learning in Italy and France." In *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (1261-1557). Ed. Helen C. Evans, 515-523. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Niedźwiedź, Anna. *The Image and the Figure: Our Lady of Częstochowa in Polish Culture and Popular Religion*. Tr. Guy Torr. Cracow: Jagiellonian University Press, 2010.

Nowakowski, Edward. *O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej. Wiadomości historyczne, bibliograficzne i ikonograficzne* [About the miraculous images of the Virgin in Poland. History, bibliography, and iconography]. Cracow, 1902.

Olszewski, Andrzej M. *Pierwowzory graficzne późnogotyckiej sztuki małopolskiej* [Graphic prototypes of the late Gothic art in Little Poland]. Warsaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975.

Pentcheva, Bisseria V. Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium. University Park: Penn State, 2006.

Petricoli, Ivo. *The Permanent Exhibition of Religious Art in Zadar*. Zadar: Turiskomerc, 1980.

Pieradzka, Krystyna. *Fundacja klasztoru Jasnogórskiego w Częstochowie w 1382 r.* [The establishment of the Jasna Góra monastery in Częstochowa in1382]. Cracow: Druk W. L. Anczyca i Spółki, 1939.

Pirożyński, Jan. "Najstarszy zachowany drukowany przekaz legendy o obrazie Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej" [The oldest surviving and printed legend about *Our Lady of Częstochowa*]. *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 1-2 (1973): 151-166

Podlacha, Władysław. *Historia malarstwa polskiego tom 1* [The history of Polish painting vol. 1]. Lviv: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1914).

Przybyszewski, Bolesław. *Złoty dom Królestwa. Studium z dziejów krakowskiego cechu złotniczego od jego powstania (ok. 1370) do połowy wieku XV* [Gold house of the kingdom. A case study of the history of goldsmith's guild of Cracow from its creation (around 1370) until the middle of the fifteenth century]. Warsaw: Akademia Teologi Katolickiej, 1968.

Ragusa, Isa. "*Porta patet vitae sponsus vocat intro venite* and the inscription of the Lost Portal of the Cathedral of Esztergom." *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43 (1980): 345-351.

Rakoczy, Eustachy. *Mensa Mariana: malowane dzieje obrazu Matki Boskiej Jasnogórskiej* [The Mensa Mariana: painted history of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*]. Warsaw: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1989.

Rogow, Aleksandr I. "Ikona Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej jako świadectwo związków bizantyńsko-rusko-polskich" [The icon of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as the proof for the contacts between Byzantium, Ruthenia, and Poland]. *Znak* 28 (1976): 509-516.

Różycka-Bryzek, Anna."Pojęcie oryginału i kopii w malarstwie bizantyńskim" [The original and copy in the Byzantine painting]. In *Oryginał, replika, kopia. Materiały III seminarium metodologicznego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki. Radziejowice 1968* [Original, replica, and copy. Materials of the third methodological seminar organized by the Association of Art Historians. Radziejowice 1968]. Ed. Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, 99-111. Warsaw: Desa - Akrady, 1971.

_____. "Byzantine Frescos in Medieval Poland." In: *Evolution generale et developpements regionaux en histoire de l'art. Actes du XXIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'art., Budapest 1969*. Volume 1, 225-231. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1972.

___.____. "Mikołaja Lanckorońskiego pobyt w Konstantynopolu w roku 1501 – nie tylko posłowanie" [The visit of Mikołaj Lanckoroński to Constantinople in 1501 – not only a diplomat] *Folia Historiae Artium ns,* 5-6 (1999-2000): 79-91.

Różycka-Bryzek, Anna and Jerzy Gadomski. "Obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w świetle badań historii sztuki" [The image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* in the light of art history]. *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 27-52.

Rubin, Miri. *Mother of God: a History of the Virgin Mary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Sansterre, Jean-Marie. “Entre ‘koinè méditerranéenne’, influences byzantines et particularités locales: le culte des images et ses limites à Rome dans le Haut Moyen Age.” In *Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilitàdi studi comparati: Tavola rotonda del XVIII Congresso del CISH, Montreal, 29 agosto 1995*. Ed. Girolamo Arnaldi, Guglielmo Cavallo, 109-124. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo, 1997.

Schuh, Barbara. *“Jenseitigkeit in diesseitigen Formen:” social- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Aspekte spätmittelalterlicher Mirakelberichte.* Graz: Leykam, 1989.

Sigal, Pierre André. *L'homme et le miracle dans la France medieval*. Paris: Janvier, 1985.

_____ .“’Wiltu gesund warden, so pring ain waxen pildt in mein capellen …’ Votivgaben in Mirakelberichten.” In *Symbole des Alltags, Alltag der Symbole*. Ed. Gertrud Blaschitz, Helmut Hundsbichler, Gerhard Jaritz, et al, 747-761. Graz: Akademische Druck. Verlagsanstalt, 1992.

Sendler, Egon. *The Icon, Image of the Invisible: Elements of Theology, Aesthetics and Technique.* Redonodo Beach, CA.: Oakwood Publications, 1999 [1988].

Serfőző, Szabolcs. *A sasvári pálos kegyhely története* [The history of the Pauline shrine at Sasvár]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2012.

Skrudlik, Mieczysław. *Cudowny obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej* [The miraculous image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*]. Częstochowa: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Popierania Kultury Regionalnej, 1934.

Smulikowska, Ewa. “Ozdoby obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej jako zespół zabytkowy” [The decorations of the image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* as historical treasure]. *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 10 (1974): 179-221.

Sumption, Jonathan. *Pilgrimage: An Image of Mediaeval Religion.* London: Faber & Faber, 1975.

Śnieżyńska-Stolot, Ewa. “Geneza, styl i historia obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej” [Origins, style, and history of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*]. *Folia Historiae Artium* 9 (1973): 5-44.

_____. “Andegaweńskie dary złotnicze z herbami polskimi w kaplicy węgierskiej w Akwizgranie [The golden artworks with Polish coats of arms as gifts of the Anjou dynasty located in the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen]. *Folia Historiae Artium* 11 (1975): 21-36.

Szilárdfy, Zoltán. “A pálos rend két kegyképe: a Czestochowai és Sasvári Boldogasszony” [Two devotional images of the Pauline Order: Our Lady of Czestochowa and Sasvár]. In *Ikonográfia-kultusztörténet: Képes Tanulmányok* [Iconography- history of the cult: studies with images]. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003.

Sztuka starobułgarska [Old Bulgarian art]. Exhibition catalogue. Warsaw: Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, 1969.

Toschi, Paolo, Renato Penna. *Le tavolette votive della Madonna dell'Arco*. Naples: Cava dei Tirreni, Di Mauro, 1971.

Trexler, Richard C. "Florentine Religious Experience: The Sacred Image." *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972): 7-41.

_____. "Being and Non-Being. Parameters of the Miraculous in the Traditional Religious Image." In *The Miraculous Image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance: Papers from a Conference Held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Biblioteca Hertziana* (*Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May-2 June 2003*. Ed. Erik Thunø, Gerhard Wolf, 15-27. Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004.

Turczyński Stanisław, Jan Rutkowski, *Konserwacja cudownego obrazu Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej 1925-1926* [The restoration of the miracle-working image of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* 1925-1926]. Częstochowa: nakł. OO. Paulinów na Jasnej Górze, 1927.

Turner, Victor W. and Edith L. B. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978.

Vassilaki, Maria. "Bleeding Icons." In: *Icon and Word: the Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack*. Ed. Antony Eastmond, Liz James, 121-129. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

_____. "Praying for the Salvation of the Empire?" In: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*. Ed. Maria Vassilaki, 263-274. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Vauchez, André. "Medieval Man in Search of God: The Forms and Content of Religious Experience." In *The Spirituality of the Medieval West: From the Eighth to the Twelfth Century*. Tr. Colette Friedlander, 145-172. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1993.

Vlasto, Alexis P. *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom: An Introduction to the Medieval History of the Slavs.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Walicki, Michał. *Malarstwo polskie. Gotyk, renesans, wczesny manieryzm* [Polish painting. Gothic, Renaissance, Early Mannerism]. Warsaw: Auriga, 1961.

Ward, Benedicta. *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

Weyl Carr, Annemarie. "Icons and the Object of Pilgrimage in Middle Byzantine Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 56 (2002): 75-92.

Wilson, Jean C. "Reflections on St. Luke Hand: Icons and the Nature of Aura in the Burgundian Low Countries during the Fifteenth Century." In: *The Sacred Image: East and West*. Ed. Robert Ousterhout, Leslie Brubaker, 132-146. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995.

Wirth, Thierry. *Les Vierges noires. Symboles et Réalités.* Paris: Oxus, 2009.

Wisch, Barbara. "Keys to Success. Propriety and Promotion of Miraculous Images by Roman Confraternities." In: *The Miraculous Image in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance: Papers From a Conference Held at the Accademia di Danimarca in Collaboration with the Biblioteca Hertziana (Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte), Rome, 31 May-2 June 2003*. Ed. Erik Thunø, Gerhard Wolf, 161-184.. Rome: Erma di Bretschneider, 2004.

Witkowska, Aleksandra. "Kult Jasnogórski w formach pątniczych do połowy XVII wieku," [The pilgrimage to Jasna Góra until the middle of the seventeenth century]. *Studia Claromontana* 5 (1984): 148-167.

Wolf, Gerhard. *Salus Populi Romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter*. Weinheim: Verlag Chemie, Acta humaniora, 1990.

_____ . "Icons and sites. Cult images of the Virgin in mediaeval Rome." In: *Images of the Mother of God: Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*. Ed. Maria Vassilaki, 25-50. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.

Zbudniewek, Janusz. "Kopiarze dokumentów zakonu Paulinów w Polce do końca XVIII w. [The copyists of the Pauline order in Poland active until the end of the eighteenth century]. *Archiwa. Biblioteki i Muzea kościelne* 34 (1977): 293-344.

Zeitler, Barbara. "The Migrating Image: Uses and Abuses of Byzantine Icons in Western Europe." In*: Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium: Studies Presented to Robin Cormack.* Ed. Antony Eastmond, Liz James, 185-204. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.

FIGURES[352]

[352] The full captions for these illustrations are given in the list of figures in the beginning of this study due to the length of the web addresses.

Fig. 2 Monastey of Jasna Góra, Częstochowa

Fig. 3 A map with the location of Jasna Góra

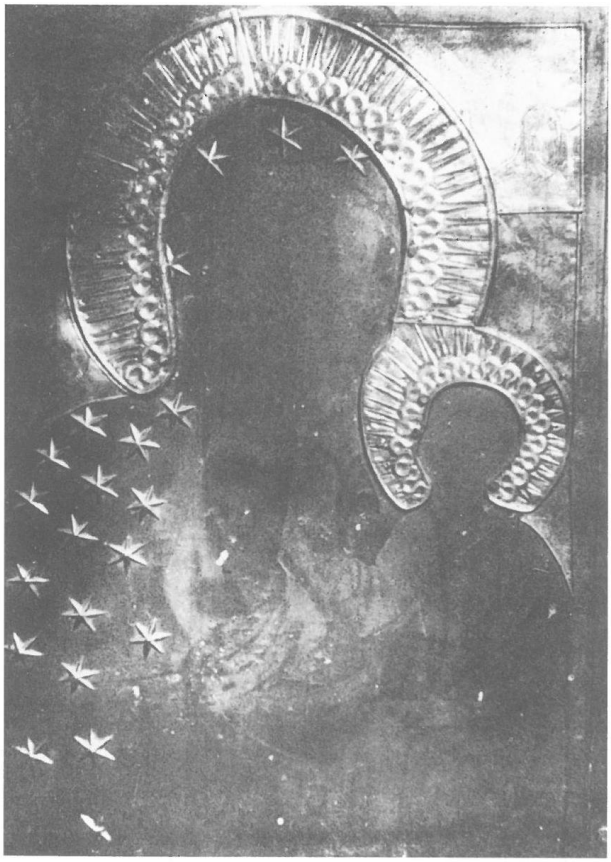


Fig. 4 *Our Lady of Częstochowa* before the restoration

Fig. 5 *Liège Hodegetria*

Fig. 6 Virgin with the Christ Child from the church Santa Francesca Romana

Fig. 7 *Freising Hagiosoritissa*

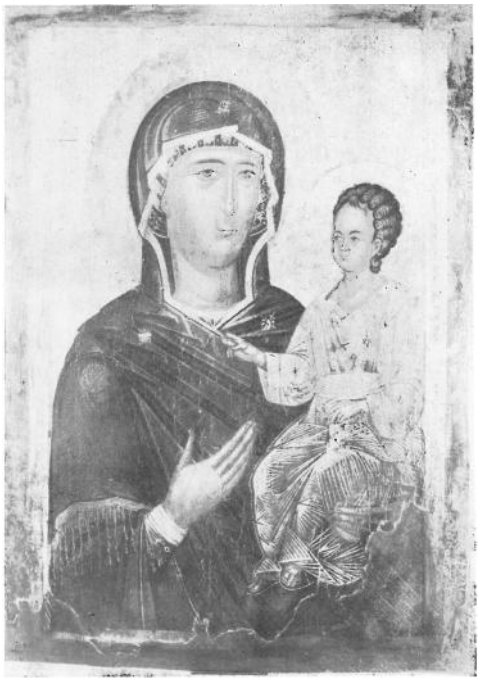
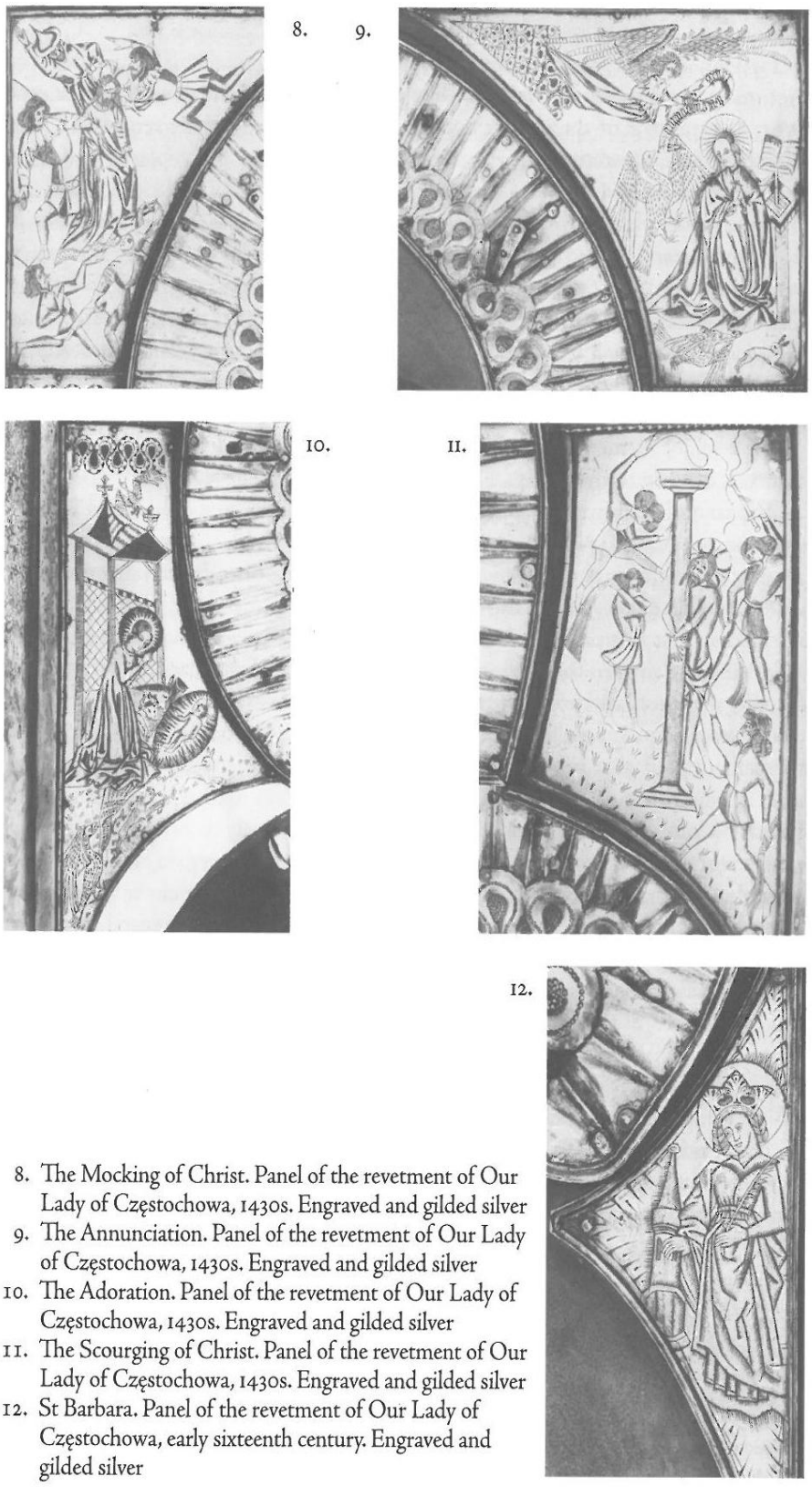


Fig. 8 *Hodegetria* originally from Sozopol, Bulgaria

Fig. 9 The Virgin with the Christ Child from the church of St. Simeon in Zadar



8. The Mocking of Christ. Panel of the revetment of Our Lady of Częstochowa, 1430s. Engraved and gilded silver
9. The Annunciation. Panel of the revetment of Our Lady of Częstochowa, 1430s. Engraved and gilded silver
10. The Adoration. Panel of the revetment of Our Lady of Częstochowa, 1430s. Engraved and gilded silver
11. The Scourging of Christ. Panel of the revetment of Our Lady of Częstochowa, 1430s. Engraved and gilded silver
12. St Barbara. Panel of the revetment of Our Lady of Częstochowa, early sixteenth century. Engraved and gilded silver

Fig. 10 Revetments, *Our Lady of Częstochowa*

Fig. 11 *Our Lady of Smolensk* from the Dominican church in Lviv

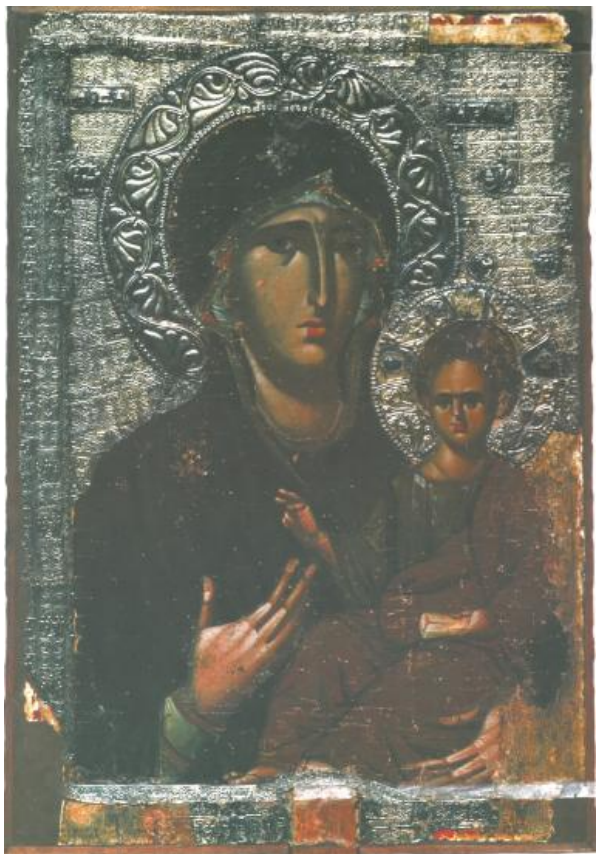


Fig. 12 *Hodegetria* from St. Clement church in Ohrid

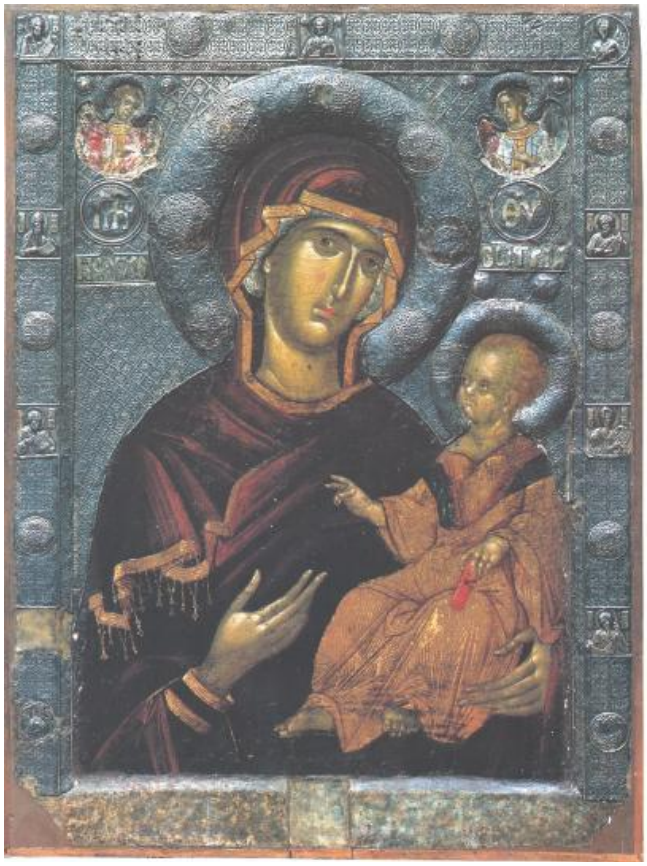


Fig. 13 Virgin *Psychosostria* from St. Clement church in Ohrid

Fig. 14 The Virgin Aracoeli

Fig. 15 *Madonna of San Sisto*

Fig. 16 The replica of Aracoeli icon kept in the Treasury of Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague

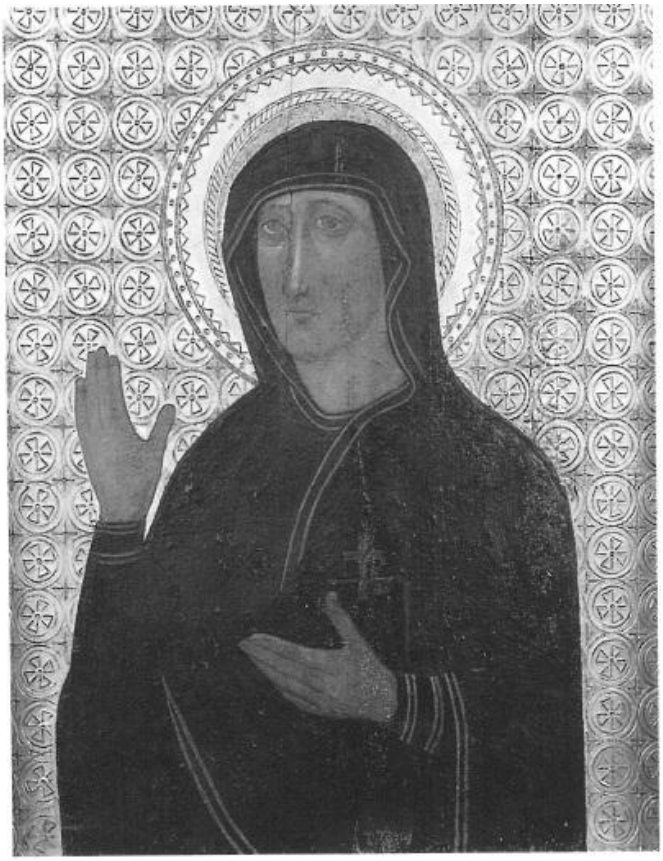


Fig. 17 The replica of Aracoeli icon from St. Rumbold's Cathedral in Mechelen

Fig. 18 *Our Lady of Częstochowa* from the printed version of the legend by Piotr Rydzyński

Fig. 19 The replica of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* from Umienie

Fig. 20 The replica of San Sisto icon from Capela Paolina, Vatican

Fig. 21 Replica of San Sisto icon from the church of the Virgin in Via Lata


Fig. 22 Eighteenth-century robe of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*

Fig. 23 The frame of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*

Fig. 24 *Hodegetria* from the Vatopedi monastery

Fig. 25 *Panaghia Portaitissa* from the Iviron monastery

Fig. 26 Black Madonna of Březnice

Fig. 27 *Mensa Mariana*

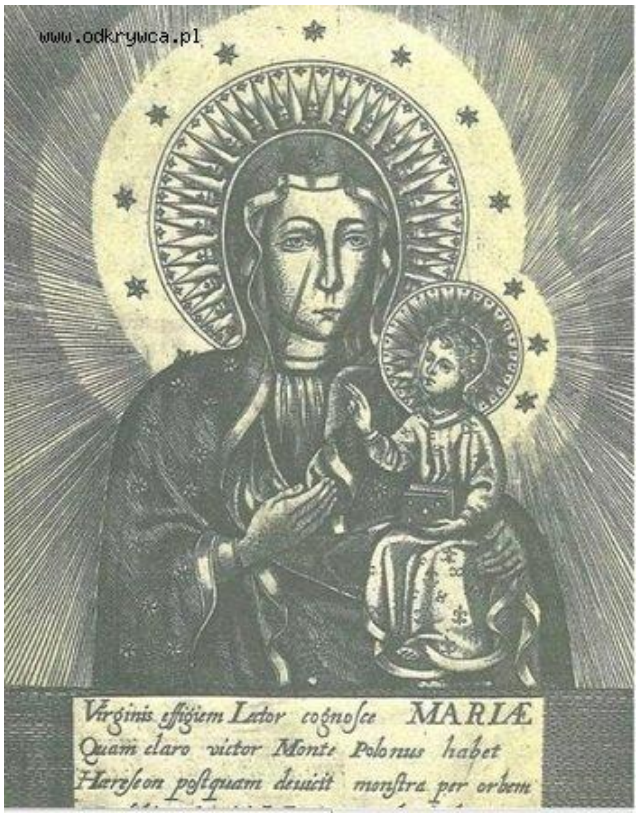


Fig. 28 *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, engraving from *Nova Gigantomachia* by Augustyn Kordecki

Fig. 29 *Salus Populi Romani*


Fig. 30 *Virgin Hodegetria* from Freising

Fig. 31 *Madonna di Constantinopoli*

Fig. 32 The *Cambrai Madonna*

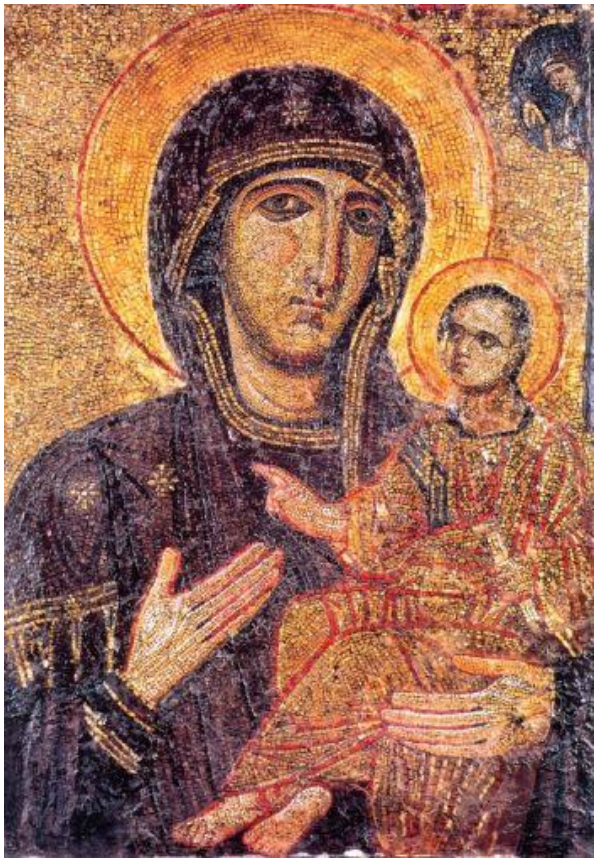


Fig. 33 *Hodegetria*, mosaic from the Pammakaristos Church in Constantinople

Fig. 34 X-radiograph of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*

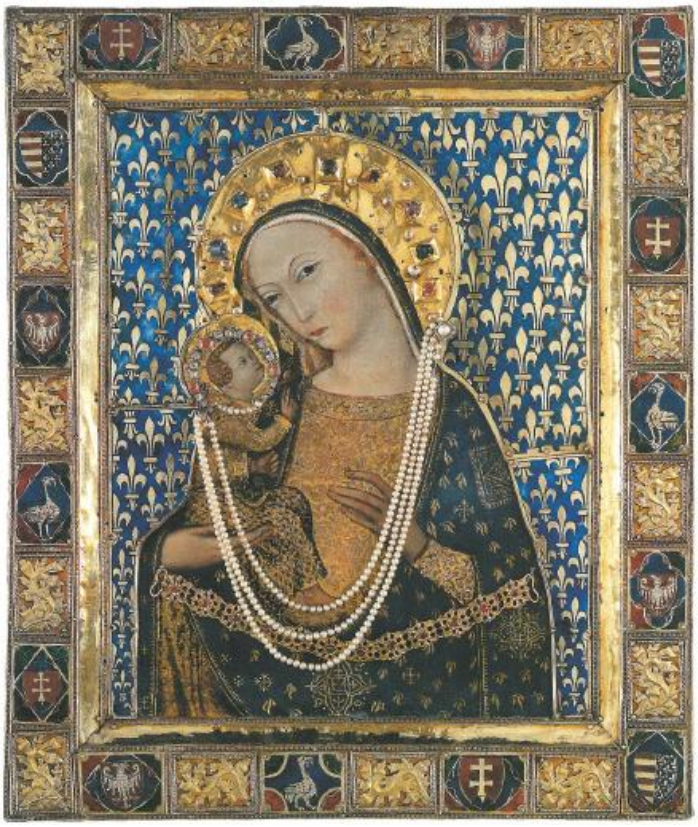


Fig. 35 *The Virgin and the Christ Child* of the treasury chapel in Mariazell

Fig. 36 The Virgin with the Christ Child from the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen

Fig. 37 The Virgin with the Christ Child from the Hungarian Chapel in Aachen

Fig. 38 *Zbraslav Madonna*

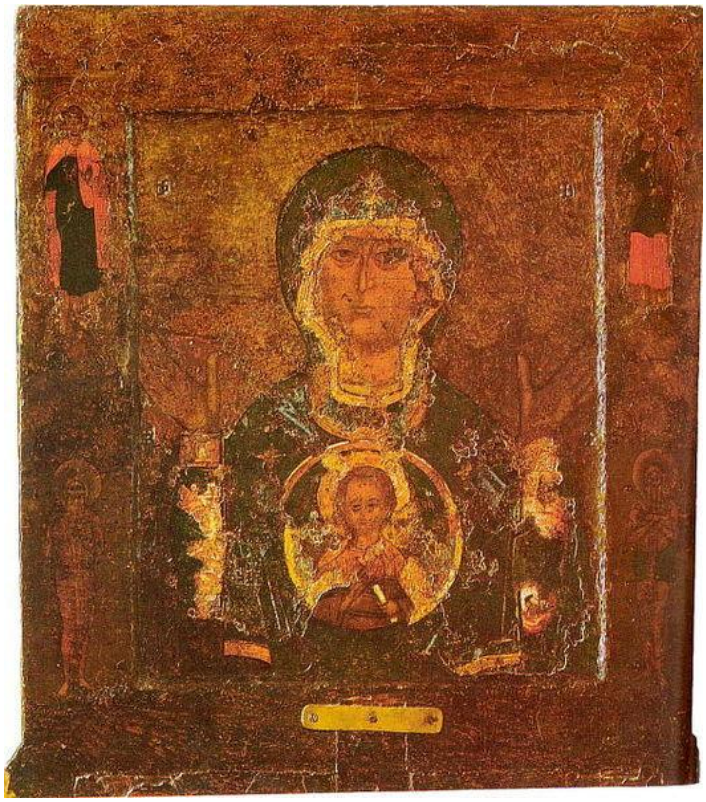


Fig. 39 *Our Lady of the Sign* from Novgorod

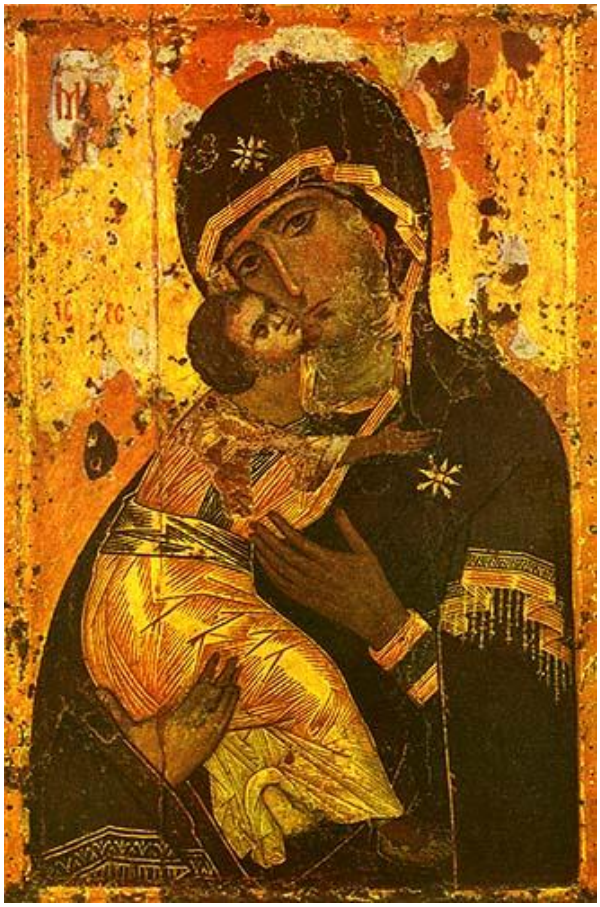


Fig. 40 Vladimir icon of the Mother of God

Fig. 41 *Nikopoia* from St. Mark's Basilica in Venice

Fig. 42 *Madonna dell'Arco,* fragment

Fig. 43 The Virgin of Impruneta

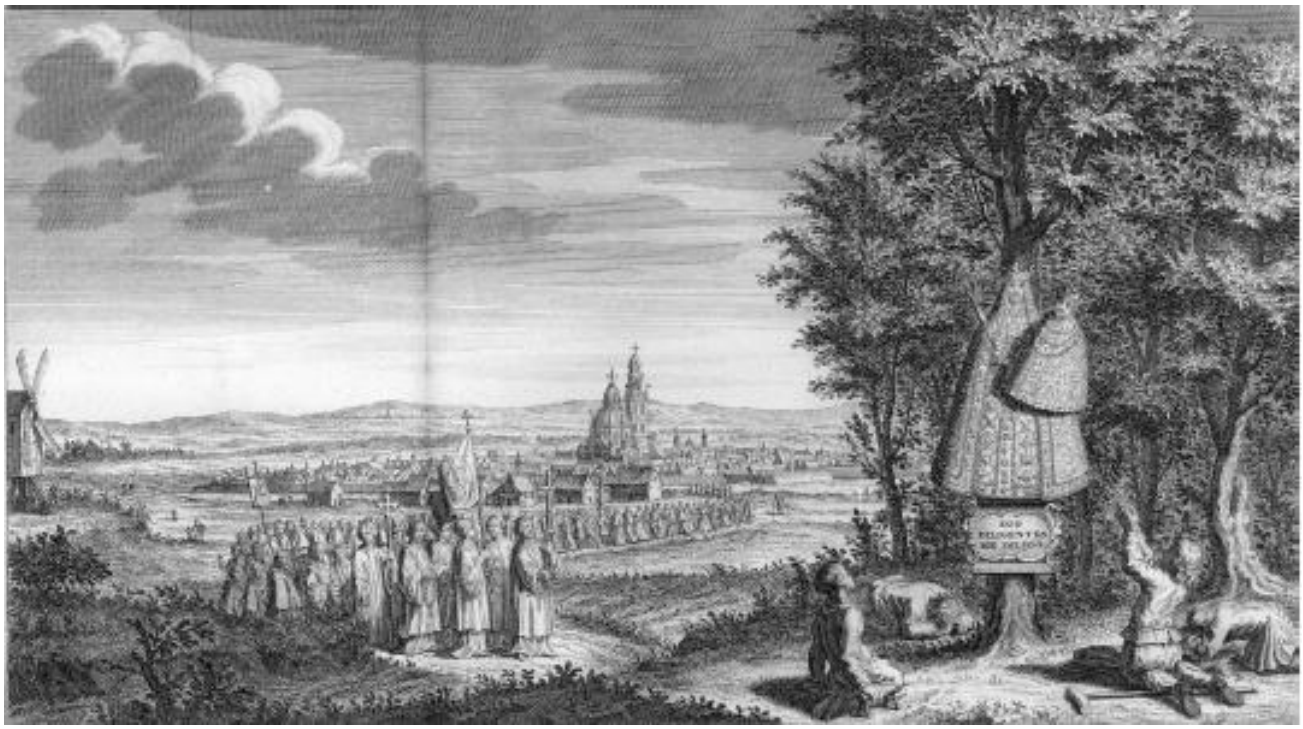


Fig. 44 *Our Lady of Montaigu*

Fig. 45 The Virgin from the church of Notre-Dame at Avioth in France

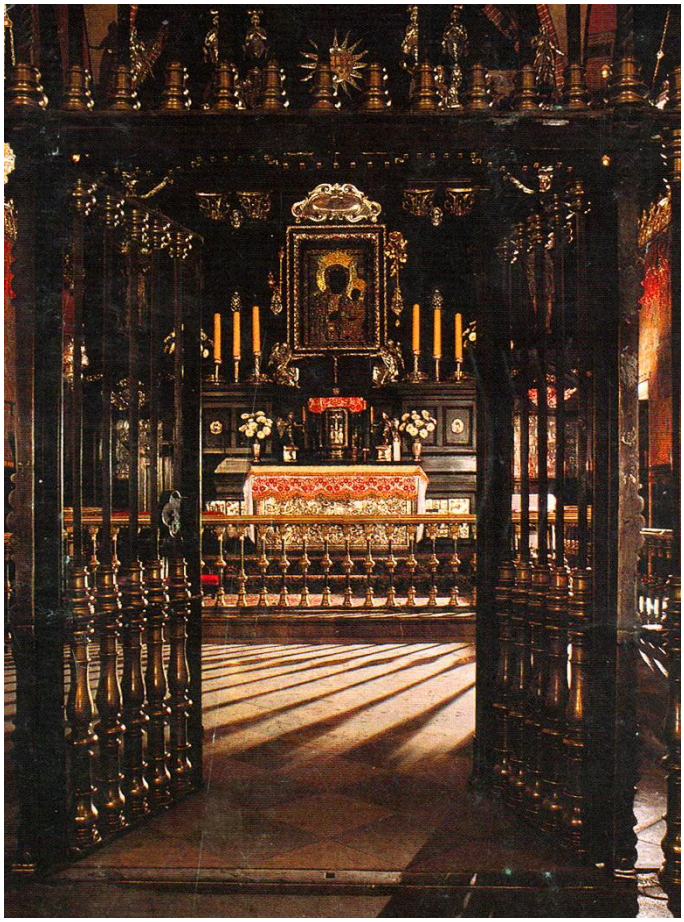


Fig. 46 Northern chapel of *Our Lady of Częstochowa*, present state

Fig. 47 *Our Lady of Walsingham* known from the seal of Walsingham priory

Fig. 48 *The Communion of Jagiellons*


Fig. 49 Baroque altar by the goldsmith Christian Bierpfaff, 1650

Fig. 50 The pieta of Sasvár