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Title: The obsequies of the nobleman Stefan Krzucki and his extraordinary catafalque

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Citation style: Sobczyńska-Szczepańska Mirosława. (2019). The obsequies of the nobleman Stefan Krzucki and his extraordinary catafalque. W: O. J. Rojewski, M. Sobczyńska-Szczepańska (red.), "Court, nobles and festivals : studies on the Early Modern visual culture" (S. 155-164). Katowice : Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego



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CHAPTER IX

The obsequies of the nobleman Stefan Krzucki and his extraordinary catafalque

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Pompa funebris or an expanded Catholic funerary ceremonial is a distinctive feature of Sarmatian culture in the 17th and 18th centuries.¹ While in Italy, France, or Spain the lavish funerals were prerogative only of blood princes and high court officials, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth they were popular even in the circle of middle-class nobility. The celebrations, lasting for several days, turned into a paratheatrical spectacle with wonderful set designs, often prepared by eminent artists.

The sumptuous funerals, bitterly criticized by Protestants, also raised the doubts of many Catholics. However, Sarmatians' attachment to the *pompa funebris* was so strong that it was usually not resigned even if the deceased expressed such a wish in his last will.² There were two main reasons for this: on the one hand those responsible for organizing the funeral wanted to avoid accusations of stinginess, on the other hand a relative's funeral was a great opportunity to manifest the power of the family. It happened that two funerals were organized, first modest, according to the will of the deceased, then an ostentatious one.

¹ Juliusz CHROŚCICKI, *Pompa funebris. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), pp. 44-45. The book is a comprehensive study of the Sarmatian funeral culture. See also Aleksandra Koutny-Jones, *Visual Cultures of Death in Central Europe. Contemplation and Commemoration in Early Modern Poland-Lithuania* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

² CHROŚCICKI, op. cit., pp. 60-63.

The sources of knowledge about the Sarmatian funerals and the extremely rich scenery in which they took place include: letters, diaries, wills, sums of expenses, bills, contracts, printed reports, funeral sermons, and panegyrics.³ Only for some ceremonies, iconographic messages, mainly engravings and sketches, have been preserved.

The most important component of the ephemeral architecture accompanying the funeral ceremony was a catafalque, which often took the form of a monumental structure called *castrum doloris* (castle of grief), and was placed in the middle of the church, in front of the main altar. The *castrum doloris* generally consisted of a central-plan basis (usually square or octagonal one) on the corners of which pedestals with allegorical statues were placed, frequently personifications of the deceased's virtues, and obelisks, surrounding a stepped platform for the coffin, over which a baldachin was stretched. There were also imposing *castra doloris* in the form of a central openwork building topped with a dome, resembling a *tempietto*, richly decorated with sculptures. From the ideological point of view, an essential element of Polish-Lithuanian funerals was the portrait of the deceased attached at the front of the coffin, or hung above it.

The three-day funeral of Stefan Krzucki, the treasurer of Kalisz, being the subject of the reflection herein, was held from 29th to 31st of March, 1745, at the Church of St. Nicolas in Lviv, belonging to the Order of the Most Holy Trinity. The report from the ceremony, by an anonymous Trinitarian pen, *Relacja publicznego żalu z pogrzebu świętej pamięci Wielmożnego Jego M[ó]s[ci] Pana Stefana Krzuckiego...* [Report of public grief at the funeral of the late Honorable His Majesty Stefan Krzucki...], published in the same year, has not been analyzed so far.⁴ Noteworthy is the fact that, after eight years, it was quoted, as translated into Latin, in the chronicle of the Polish-Lithuanian Province of the Order, which is an isolated case in the Trinitarian historiography.⁵ What did Stefan Krzucki, or rather his

3 Ibid., p. 43.

4 *Relacja publicznego żalu z pogrzebu świętej pamięci Wielmożnego Jego M[ó]s[ci] Pana Stefana Krzuckiego skarbnika kaliskiego, w kościele lwowskim pod tytułem S. Mikołaja na Przedmieściu Halickim, Zakonu Trójcy Przenajświętszej od Wyzkupienia Niewolników (...) promulgowana od tegoż konwentu lwowskiego pod tytułem S. Mikołaja (...)* (Lwów, 1745). The book without pagination.

5 Marianus a S. Stanislao [SIKORSKI] O.SS.T., *Hypomnema Ordinis Discalceatorum Sanctissimæ Trinitatis, Redemptionis Captivorum, in inclytum Regnum Poloniæ introduci (...)*

brother Antoni, sword-bearer of Podlachia who financed the funeral, do to deserve this distinction? In the title of the funeral print, the Trinitarians named Antoni Krzucki their extraordinary benefactor, but religious sources do not inform what his merits were. It is known, however, that the Trinitarian monastery *extra moenia* in Lviv⁶ was supported by Adam Broniewski, the cup-bearer of Kuyavian Brest,⁷ a close relative (probably brother) of Antoni's wife, Rosalia, who contributed to the construction of the church, pledging to transfer annually 500 barrels of salt or 500 *zloty* to the Order.⁸ It should be noted that in the report, among the families related to the mother of Antoni and Stefan (whose name is unknown), the House of Broniewski is mentioned, as well as the House of Sakin from which Teresa Broniewski, Adam's wife, came.⁹

The friars began the erection of the brick Church of St. Nicholas, having only one third of the necessary funds. Certainly, Antoni and Rozalia Krzucki, like Adam Broniewski, belonged to the benefactors who made it possible to complete the investment. In terms of generosity, neither Krzucki nor Broniewski could compete with the powerful protectors of the Order such as Wielhorski, Potocki, or Karczewski whose deaths were barely recorded by the religious chroniclers. When Stefan Krzucki was dying, the construction of the temple came to its end. This fact, as well as the insistence of Antoni Krzucki, definitely influenced the Trinitarians' decision to join the funeral ceremonies with the inauguration of their new church. The author of the report stresses that the newly completed building was deliberately opened for the funeral discussed here. Undoubtedly for this reason, in the chronicle of the Polish-Lithuanian province of the

(Varsavia: Typographia S.R.M. & Reipublicæ Collegii Scholarum Piarum, 1753), pp. 564-573.

6 The Trinitarians had two monasteries in Lviv. The first one, with the Church of the Holy Trinity, located in the heart of the city, was called *intra moenia*, while the other, with the Church of St. Nicholas, because of its location outside the city walls, was known as *extra moenia*.

7 Adam BONIECKI, *Herbarz polski*, part 1. *Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich*, vol. 13 (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1909), p. 12.

8 [SIKORSKI], *op. cit.*, p. 563. A portrait of Adam Broniewski, whom the Trinitarian chronicler calls the founder and benefactor of the monastery, hung in the side aisle of the church, between two altars, see Józef BIAŁYNIA CHOŁODECKI, *Trynitarze* (Lwów: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Miłośników Przeszłości Lwowa, 1911), pp. 60, 71.

9 BONIECKI, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff, 1900), p. 139.

Trinitarians, in the chapter devoted to the history of the Lviv monastery *extra moenia*, after the information relating to the foundation of the brick Church of St. Nicholas, the content of the funeral print has been quoted almost in its entirety.

Relacja publicznego żalu... is the single known printed source which mentions the name of Stefan Krzucki. Adam Boniecki in his armorial only alludes Antoni Krzucki (son of Jan, grandson of Marcjan), married to Rozalia *de domo* Broniewska, and their six children. As it seems, Stefan was childless and unmarried, since the organization of the funeral was taken by his brother. The chronograms included in catafalque's decoration (described hereafter), contain the date 1744 which should be considered as the year of his death. In the epitaph ending the funeral print, information is given that Krzucki died at the age of sixty, which entails that he had been born in 1684.

The report begins with a dedication – omitted in the Trinitarian chronicle – directed to the grieving brother of the deceased, signed: “Konwent Lwowski S. Mikołaja, *Ordinis S(anctis)imæ Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum*”. Then, the author talks about the brotherly love between Antoni and Stefan Krzucki and explains that funeral ceremonies were planned for three days, in order to divide the pain of the mourners, thus reducing its intensity. A description of the funeral decoration follows.

The basilica-form church is provided with a wide central nave of three bays, with an aisle on either side, and a rectangular presbytery of two bays, flanked by two chapels. On the occasion of the funeral, the presbytery was decorated with a pall. The ephemeral retable of the main altar, made of planks and painted illusionistically, reached the vault. In its center was an image of St. Stephen, the patron saint of the nobleman. The first Christian martyr was shown on his knees with his eyes directed upwards, where against the background of the glory there was a verse from the Acts of the Apostles: “Stephanus intendens in cælum, vidit Gloriam Dei” [Stephen gazed into heaven and saw the glory of God]. The choice of the moment preceding the stoning of the saint was inspired by the hope that thanks to his intercession, Stefan Krzucki, shortly after his death, would receive the grace of communion with the God. The entablature, surrounding the nave and the presbytery, had been covered with a wide valance with emblems of death. Twelve beautifully decorated altars (“*comptissima magnificentia*”)

were erected in the aisles. The interior was intensely lit by candles and lamps arranged in the altars and on the cornice of the entablature.

In the presbytery and the nave, between the arcades and over them, sixteen paintings were hung (eight on each side), showing the coats of arms of families related to the deceased, placed against the background of a shell. The coats were been alternately accompanied by condolences or lemma and epigram. The right side of the interior was reserved for the relatives of Krzucki's father, the left one – for the kin of his mother. A decoration composed of those paintings and figures of angelic puttos transformed the arcades of the nave into three-axis triumphal arches (“arcus triumphales”).

Because of insufficient space on the walls, the coats of arms of some families were placed on two tablets, surrounded by panoplies, which were held by a figure of “genius Domus perillustrium Krzucciorum” – the guardian deity of the Krzucki family, set in front of the presbytery. The statue was dressed in a toga and had a laurel wreath on its head. Above the tablets were the words: “Vis omnibus una dolendi” [Great pain for all at the same time]. On each of them, at the bottom, there was an inscription. The right one stated: “Stemma, quæ refero magni sunt tessera luctus. Tantus signari nobile funus amat” [The coats of arms that I wear are signs of great regret. The noble funeral needs to be signed with many of them], while the left one: “Quam dolor est vastus conceptus funere Krzucci. Opressit luctu stemmata cuncta simul” [How great is the pain caused by Krzucki's death and burial. It overwhelms with grief all coats of arms at the same time].

The strong emphasis on genealogical thread in the ideological program of funeral ceremonies was a typical phenomenon. The demonstration of kinship with many distinguished families raised the prestige of the deceased and the living members of his House.

The carrier of the ideological content, strictly referring to the person of Stefan Krzucki, was the magnificent catafalque, situated in the middle of the nave. The *castrum doloris* received an unusual shape. It consisted of one monumental figure of a man in armor, named by the author of the funeral description “genius Martis” (God of War), between two obelisks decorated with panoplies.¹⁰ On the left arm of the giant statue rested the

10 *Relacja publicznego żalu*, op. cit.: “Katafalk był *in meditullio* kościoła osobliwszy, bo tylko jedna osoba *in genio* Marsa w armaturę zwyczajną między dwoma piramidami *in forma trophaeorum* z rzetelnych zbroi, szyszaków, pancerzy, chorągwi, strzelb, proporców,

coffin with Krzucki's portrait attached to the front, and in its right hand was a tablet with the inscription:

“HerCVLI s eXVVIas DIVIs tVMVLabo trophæIs” [I will bury the remains of Hercules under divine trophies].

Over the coffin, covered with crimson cloth with a golden galloon, a white eagle hovered. On its breast were: the Krzucki coat of arms, Axe, and the inscription:

“InVoLo CVI VIXI par, tVMVLanDa Viro” [I am flying away, who lived equal, I will be buried in the man].

Both inscriptions are chronograms, containing the date 1744, undoubtedly the year of Krzucki's death. The white eagle, as the author of the report assures, symbolized the orphaned Homeland – the Polish Kingdom.

From the day preceding the funeral to its end, bells were ringing in all the churches in Lviv.¹¹ Prayers and holy masses at the side altars were held for all three days. The friars from all monasteries in Lviv visited the Trinitarian church to pray for the soul of the deceased. Moreover, a handout was distributed.

The first day, the ceremony began at five o'clock in the morning and lasted eight hours. After a solemn High Mass with mourning songs, celebrated by Fr Woliński, the parish priest of Buczacz, a nephew of Stefan Krzucki, the body was removed to the crypt situated at the entrance to the temple.¹² This part of the ceremony had an unusual course. Namely, the

kotłów, & *id generis militaris*, ozdobiona, na której lewym barku leżała trumna karmazynowym sukniem obita z galonem złotym, *continens* ciało ś. p. JMci pana Krzuckiego s[karbnika] k[oronnego] z portretem *in facie* tegoż W. JMci: w prawej zaś ręce też osoba Marsa trzymała chronosticon na tabulacie w koło uzbrojonej”. [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 565: “Feretrum in meditullio Ecclesiae fuit singulare; quoniam unius non nisi Genius Martis armatura consueta intra duas Pyramides in forma Trophæorum ex veris, variisque insignibus militaribus composita adornatus fuit. In cuius sinistro humero reposita cernebatur urna, coccino aureisque fimbriis obducta, continens corpus p. m. Perillustris M. D. Krzuccii cum effigie ejusdem in facie. Dextra autem manu idem Genius Martis tenebat chronosticon in tabula undique armis cincta”.

11 It can be assumed that on the eve of the funeral – in accordance with common practice – the coffin with the body of Stefan Krzucki was introduced in the procession to the church. See Bogdan ROK, *Zagadnienie śmierci w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej czasów baroku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1991), p. 177.

12 The brick Church of St. Nicolas had to be built on the same site as the original wooden one, founded in 1693-1695 by Mikołaj Strzałkowski and his wife Zofia *de domo*

“genius Martis”, on whose arm the coffin rested, seized it with both hands and with a dignified step he walked the distance of thirty steps separating him from the crypt. There, he gave the coffin to the mourners to lay it to the tomb.¹³

On the second day, the mourning prayers were celebrated at the new catafalque: on the three-step platform, covered with crimson cloth, two sculptural personifications of death, in armor (“sago militari”), held a shield with the coat of arms – Axe. The treasurer’s portrait, placed on their shoulders, was additionally supported by angels “floating” in the air. The chronogram on the portrait – “Morte CaDet nVLLVs qVI VIXerIt Integer aXI” [He has not died, he who will live in the heavens], contained the year 1745, the date of the funeral. On the third day, the figures standing on the platform were replaced with a coffin in crimson color, over which angels were carrying a shield with the Axe coat of arms and the inscription: “Omnes in astra labores” [All hardships in heaven].

The last act of the ceremony was a solemn High Mass with procession, celebrated by Krzucki’s nephew, Fr Woliński. The funeral print ends with an epitaph, written – according to the custom – in blank verse, containing general information about the deceased.

Michałowska, considering that – according to the religious chronicler – in both buildings the crypt, in which the founders were buried, was at the entrance, see Mirosława SOB-CZYŃSKA-SZCZEPAŃSKA, *Architektura trynitarzy na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2017), pp. 73, 231.

13 *Relacja publicznego żalu...*, op. cit.: “Po kondukcie, gdy *Salve* grać na chórze zaczęto, geniusz Marsa, który w trumnie ciało ś. p. wielmożnego jego mości pana skarbnika *in situ feretri* dźwigał, *mysterio artis admirando* sam obiema rękami za trumnę uchwyciwszy, na trzydzieści kroków *in rectilinio* kościoła zwolna, *distincto passu*, szedł aż przed grób fundatorki *immediate* do drzwi kościelnych, gdzie stanąwszy, *in admiratione spectantium*, rękę opuścił, niby *sacras exuvias* z trumną *tumulo* oddając. Zdjęto trumnę *cum piis pignoribus et in sepulchro* wielmożnych fundatorów złożono” [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 571: “Dum vero ultimate post hunc in choro *Salve* lugubri voce musici, canere cæperunt, Genius præfatus Martis, qui in urna corpus p. m. Perillustris M. D. Thesaurarii in situ feretri gestabat, *mysterio artis admirando*, (cujus inventor fuit Pater Casimirus a Corde JESUS, nostræ Religionis Sacerdos Professor, ad affabres res industriosissimus) ipse ambabus manibus urnam arripiens, ad triginta passus in rectilinio Ecclesiæ paulatim distincto pasu procedebat usque ad sepulchrum Perillustrium Fundatorum, *immediate ante fores Ecclesiæ patens*, ubi dum fixit gressum, cum admiratione spectantium manus demisit, quasi *sacras exuvias tumulo patenti reddendo* a quo recepta urna cum piis pignoribus, et in sepulchro Perillustrium Fundatorum reposita”.

Sumptuous funerals were aimed not only at exalting the deceased, but also at manifesting the affluence as well as a social and material status of his family. The ephemeral decoration was supplemented with sermons and orations, presenting the virtues and achievements of the protagonist of the ceremony, describing the moment of his death and pleading to remember him. Although the homilies and speeches delivered at the Krzucki's funeral have not been preserved, the ideological contents of his catafalque, described in the analyzed report, do not leave any doubt that the nobleman was a soldier.

The obsequies of Stefan Krzucki could be considered a typical example of the Sarmatian *pompa funebris*, if it were not for the humanoid, mobile catafalque, according to known sources without precedence in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and even throughout Europe.

At first, the description of the walking machine used during the funeral ceremony seems to be impossible to implement in the 18th century. However, the analysis of the work of Leonardo da Vinci, namely the robotic knight and mechanical lion shows that the construction of "genius Martis" was fully feasible. The renaissance humanoid robot could reproduce the basic human movements, such as sitting, moving its arms, and more.¹⁴ It consisted of two independent systems: three-degree-of-freedom legs, ankles, knees, and hips; four-degree-of-freedom arms with articulated shoulders, elbows, wrists, and hands. A mechanical, analog-programmable controller within the chest provided power and control for the arms. The legs were powered by an external crank arrangement driving the rope, which was connected to key locations in the ankle, knee, and hip. The knight carrying a coffin with Stefan Krzucki's body did not have to be so complicated, and the author of such a project did not have to know Leonardo's work to achieve the described effect of movement.¹⁵ The "genius Martis" could have been driven by means of a hidden rope, and the effect of walking could have been realized by means of appropriate gears and rods. Another possible solution would be to use a drive similar to that of the Leonardo's robot with legs powered by an external crank. It should be noted that, due

¹⁴ Anne PASEK, "Renaissance Robotics: Leonardo da Vinci's Lost Knight and Enlivened Materiality", *Shift. Graduate Journal of Visual and Material Culture* 7 (2014), pp. 4-6.

¹⁵ I would like to thank Dr. Marek Szczepański for consultations on the issue of the functioning of the discussed catafalque.

to the supernatural size of the robot, the implementation of appropriate gears would not be as difficult as in the Leonardo's approach. It does not change the fact that designing "the walking knight" and its implementation in the 18th century required a lot of technical knowledge and ingenuity. It can not be ruled out, however, that in the description of Krzucki's funeral the functions of the "robot" have been exaggerated. Whatever the case, "genius Martis" outperforms the moving elements used in theatrical and occasional decorations from the Early-Modern Period, such as figures of angels tossed on ropes, or eagles fluttering their wings.¹⁶

The designer of the unusual catafalque was a Trinitarian, Fr Kazimierz of the Heart of Jesus Granacki (1717-1747). We owe this information to the religious chronicler who added the following words to the description of the structure: "cujus inventor fuit Pater Casimirus a Corde Jesus, nostræ Religionis Sacerdos Professus, ad affabres res industriosissimus".¹⁷ The friar, who came from Lublin, from a noble family, certainly designed the entire artistic setting of the funeral. It is known from his obituary that after completing his philosophical and theological studies he began to explore the secrets of architecture, and the experience he gained in this field expressed "in splendide adornata interiori Ecclesia nostra Sancti Nicolai".¹⁸ The phrase: "Architectus sine magistro, industriæ illius monumentum stat documentum domus Sancti Nicolai", from *Liber vitæ et mortis* of Polish-Lithuanian province of the Order of the Holy Trinity, has a similar meaning.¹⁹ Given the traditional forms of the Church of St. Nicholas, it seems certain that Fr Granacki, an amateur architect, not only directed its construction, but also drew up its plans.²⁰ Stefan Krzucki's catafalque proves that Fr Kazimierz Granacki was distinguished by extraordinary constructive skills. His activity as an architect and constructor could not

16 CHROŚCICKI, op. cit., p. 99.

17 [SIKORSKI], op. cit., p. 571.

18 ANTONINUS AB ASSUMPTIONE (ed.), *Monumenta Ordinis Excalceatorum SS. Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum ad Provincias S. Ioachimi (Polonia) et S. Iosephi (Austria-Hungaria) spectantia* (Romæ: Typographia Pontificia in Instituto Pii IX, 1911), pp. 179-180. See also SOBCZYŃSKA-SZCZEPAŃSKA, op. cit., p. 148.

19 ANTONINUS AB ASSUMPTIONE (ed.), op. cit., pp. 36-37, no. 182.

20 Jerzy KOWALCZYK, *Świątynie późnobarokowe na Kresach* (Warszwa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2006), p. 71. See also SOBCZYŃSKA-SZCZEPAŃSKA, op. cit., p. 148.

be too intense, considering the fact that he held responsible functions in the convent and died at the age of only thirty years.

Relacja publicznego żalu... is one of about five hundred funeral prints preserved from the Saxon times (1697-1763).²¹ The obsequies described in it, although in terms of splendor would not match the ceremonies organized to commemorate the death of magnates, were undoubtedly remembered by contemporaries for a long time, because of their unique artistic setting.

21 Bogdan ROK, "Druki żałobne w dawnej Polsce XVI-XVIII w." in Henryk SUCHOJAD (ed.), *Wesela, chrzciny, pogrzeby w XVI-XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2001).