

The portraits of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz: a study in iconographic typology

Portrety Jana Karola Chodkiewicza: studium typologiczno-ikonograficzne

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TOJANA RAČIŪNAITĖ
DAILĖTYROS INSTITUTAS VILNIAUS
DAILĖS AKADEMIJA
ORCID: 0000-0001-9230-130X

Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius, after 1570–1621), Voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, received copious verbal and visual representations: historians described and poets praised his military achievements and won battles, the brush masters and engravers depicted his impressive appearance indicating his valiant character, which preachers attested to. Chodkiewicz's visual representations gained the attention of art historians. Back in 1968, Marian Paździor identified Chodkiewicz's portraits in the multi-figure paintings *Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary* by Herman Han (1580–1628) in the churches at Pelplin and Wielki Buczek¹.

¹ This research was funded by a grant (No. S-LIP-21-2) from the Research Council of Lithuania.

1 M. Paździor, *Nieznany obraz „Koronacji NMP” z XVII w. – dzieło pracowni Hermana Hana*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, vol. 30, 1968, no 4, p. 467; J. St. Pasierb, *Malarz gdański Herman Han*, Warszawa 1974, p. 132.

Juliusz Chrościcki, in his monograph dedicated to the propaganda art of the Vasa era, discussing the map of the Battle of Kircholm published by Giacomo Lauro, emphasised that heraldic representation of Chodkiewicz is one of the earliest practices of its kind in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of honouring a hetman; he also published a very interesting graphic portrait of Chodkiewicz, attributed to Anthon van Dyck (1599–1641) and Gerard Seghers (1591–1651)². The emblematic graphics, namely, the series of four woodcuts illustrating the *Sacra Lithothesis* (1621) by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, that depict Chodkiewicz's votive gesture before the Battle of Khotyn (Хотин, Chocim), were also analysed³. Art historians studied various aspects of the carvings of the main and sacristy doors, the pulpit in the Kretinga Church

² J.A. Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka. Funkcje propagandowe sztuki w epoce Wazów, 1587–1668*, Warszawa 1983, p. 88, il. 126.

³ J. Liškevičienė, *Mundus emblematum: XVII a. Vilniaus leidinių iliustracijos*, Vilnius 2005, p. 55, 102–106; eadem, *Kražių bažnyčios statybos pradžia*, „Acta Academiae Artium Vilmensis”, vol. 36: *Kražiai amžių sandūroje*, 2005, p. 33–38.

(Kretynga), the only surviving church from those financed by Chodkiewicz⁴. Nevertheless, his own visual representations have not been comprehensively and systematically analysed.

This article is one of the earliest attempts to present the portrait iconography of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, aiming to classify it according to compositional-visual similarity or a common motif, for example, an armour, a window in the background, or the worn garments. Hopefully, such portrait analysis will confirm the hypothesis that, in some cases, groups of portraits that have a visual similarity or commonality of an iconographic element can be associated with a particular construction of a personal image, a selection and emphasis of certain features. Although most of the portraits of the military leader were created in the second half of the 18th and in the 19th century, in this article we will focus on the earliest known works, namely, the 17th-century portraits of Jan Karol, i.e., the images that are chronologically least distant from the 'life model', while the later portraits will serve only as reproductions of the earlier ones, or as the only surviving replicas of the old images.

In the article, we will build upon the individual studies of Chodkiewicz's portraits conducted by Marija Matušakaitė, Laima Šinkūnaitė, Rūta Janonienė and other researchers⁵, reference-type entries

4 M. Matušakaitė, *Senoji medžio skulptūra ir dekoratyvinė drožyba Lietuvoje*, Vilnius 1998, p. 194–195; eadem, *Lietuvos skulptūra iki XVII a. vidurio*, Vilnius 2007, p. 207; T. Adomonis, K. Čerbulėnas, *Lietuvos TSR dailės ir architektūros istorija*, vol. 1, Vilnius 1987, p. 140; T. Račiūnaitė, *Liūtas ir erelis, žmogus ir kolona: hibridiniai atvaizdai Kretingos bažnyčios durų dekore*, „Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis”, vol. 96: *Kaukė ir veidas: atvaizdo istorijos aspektai*, 2020, p. 43–86.

5 M. Matušakaitė, *Portretas Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje*, Vilnius 2010, p. 231–237, 247–249; L. Šinkūnaitė, *XVII a. Lietuvos portretas*, Vilnius, 2000, p. 71; R. Janonienė, *Bernardinaiškas dailės paveldas Kretingos Apreiškimo Švč. Mergelei Marijai bažnyčioje*,

published in museum catalogues⁶ and other publications. As generally accepted, when analysing the iconography of a single person, it is important to keep in mind his biography, chronology of held positions and the context of historical circumstances. The historiography of Chodkiewicz's biography is particularly rich: from Adam Naruszewicz's works published in 1781–1782⁷, Artur Śliwiński's and other 20th-century monographs (mainly by Polish historians)⁸, to articles and source publications by Marian Chachaj⁹, Karol Żojdź¹⁰, Przemysław Gawron¹¹, Neringa Šarkauskienė, Darius Antanavičius, Dariusz Chemperek;

in: *Kretingos pranciškonų bažnyčiai 400. Istorija. Kultūros paveldas. Žymūs asmenys*, ed. J. Kanarskas, Kretinga 2017, p. 133–143.

6 *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų portretai iš Ukrainos muziejų*, ed. R. Budrys, V. Dolinskas, D. Tarandaitė, D. Avižinis, M. Uzorka, B. Verbiejūtė, Vilnius 2012; S. Bohdanov, *Portrait. Catalog*, Lviv 2021, p. 424–425.

7 A. Naruszewicz, *Historia Jana Karola Chodkiewicza wojewody wileńskiego, hetmana wielkiego WKL*, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1781–1782. This article references *Żywot J.K. Chodkiewicza, wojewody wileńskiego, hetmana wielkiego W. Ks. Lit. przez Adama Naruszewicza*, Kraków 1858.

8 A. Śliwiński, *Jan Karol Chodkiewicz. Hetman wielki Litewski*, Poznań 1922; W. Więckowska-Mitzner, *Karol Chodkiewicz*, Warszawa 1965; L. Podhorodecki, *Hetman Jan Karol Chodkiewicz 1560–1621*, Warszawa 1976; E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, *Jan Karol Chodkiewicz*, Warszawa 1998.

9 M. Chachaj, *O dacie urodzenia i o edukacji Jana Karola Chodkiewicza*, in: *Studia z dziejów Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (XVI–XVIII wieku)*, ed. S. Górzyński, M. Nagielski, Warszawa 2014, p. 49–58.

10 K. Żojdź, *Uroczystości pogrzebowe Jana Karola Chodkiewicza w Ostrogu w roku 1622 na tle sporu o jego schedę*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. 111, 2020, p. 991–1009; idem, *Klientela hetmana wielkiego litewskiego Jana Karola Chodkiewicza i jej losy po śmierci patrona*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. 106, 2015, p. 31–68.

11 P. Gawron, *Organizacja i status prawny armii polsko-litewskiej w Inflantach w latach 1602–1611*, „Biblioteka Epoki Nowożytnej”, no 5/II: *Hortus bellicus. Studia z dziejów wojskowości nowożytnej*, ed. K. Bobiatyński, P. Gawron, K. Kossarzewski, D. Milewski, P. Kroll, 2017, p. 145–168.

all of them will be employed in this article or taken into account when interpreting some of Chodkiewicz's portraits¹².

The question of 17th-century hetman's, i.e., military commander's, iconography methodologically relates to Anna Sylwia Czyż's study of the artistic representation of Michał Kazimierz Pac, Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Voivode of Vilnius¹³. In this study, similarly to Czyż's article, we will seek to reveal how portraits reflect an individual's self-fashioning; in this case, the career development of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, and how in his portraits the universal schemes for conveying official positions, the concept of *Miles Christianus*, a unique physical endowment of a human body, and artistic efforts to capture personal features come together.

In analysing a 17th-century person's iconography, it is important to keep in mind the traditional intentions of the portraiture, widely discussed by various authors, which were mostly related to marriages, commemoration of new official positions or merits, and donations to churches and monasteries. Throughout the ages, the presence of death was, perhaps, the most important purpose for creating a person's image; it was an attempt to compensate for the demise of a person's physical body with a visual memory, an 'artistic body'¹⁴. Posthumous por-

traits of prominent personalities were created not only for funeral ceremonies and epitaphs but also to supplement existing portrait galleries, to form new private or official portrait galleries, to mark locations, and to illustrate historical works. Another aspect that pervades the research of portrait iconography can be described as ensuring the recognisability (sameness) of a person by supplementing the visual. This way, a person's recognisability disseminates not only through the replicated looks of the depicted person, the facial features, clothing, and attributes indicating the person's profession and social status but also verbally, i.e., through the lettering that supplements the image in a painting, which often became the only clues for person's identity. This quest for recognisability, which combines various elements in an image of a sitter, led to the repetitive nature of the portraits, and the variety of (self-)fashioning of the same person. Hence, a dozen different men encountered in the images can represent the same person.

In the history of slow and often hardly perceptible change and endurance of the paintings, their place and purpose play an important role. In the 17th century Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the family galleries were one of the most popular and, probably, the most studied locations of the portraits that defined their purpose and nature¹⁵. Galleries of family members and of sovereigns or other dignitaries decorated the most important family residences and churches. Portrait galleries of the benefactors installed in the monasteries represented the most important benefactors to the convent and to the entire province of the order¹⁶. Considering the portrait creation

12 D. Antanavičius, *Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius: kelias į karvedžio šlovę. Istoriko įvadas*, in: F. Małkot, *Tureckich i inflanckich wojen o sławnej pamięci Janie Karolu Chodkiewiczzu głos / Karų su turkais ir Livonijoje balsas apie šlovingo atminimo Joną Karolį Chodkevičių*, trans. E. Patiejūnienė, ed. D. Antanavičius, D. Chemperek, E. Patiejūnienė, Warszawa 2016, s. 7–26, 27–46; S. Šarkauskienė, *Motiejaus Kazimiero Sarbievijaus Akmens pašventinimas: tarp teatro ir emblemos*, in: M.K. Sarbievijus, *Akmens pašventinimas (Sacra Lithothesis)*, Vilnius 2009, p. 7–35.

13 A.S. Czyż, *Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca – przegląd ikonografii hetmana litewskiego i wojewody wileńskiego*, „Artifex Novus”, 2020, no 4, p. 86–111.

14 J.K. Ostrowski, *Portret w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 2019, p. 195–249.

15 For more see *ibidem*, p. 199–238.

16 The studied case analyzed the former portrait gallery in Kodeń Church, which was funded by Sapieha: M. Kałamajska-Saeed, *Genealogia przez obrazy. Barokowa ikonografia rodu Sapiehów na tle*

to the Caravaggisti stylistics that dominated Western European painting in the early 17th century. The painting is done professionally, most likely based on drawings from nature study.

The foreground of the painting shows the top part of the hetman's *butawa* shimmering with gold and jewel inlays; this particular detail suggests that the image may have been created between 1601 and 1605 because in 1601 he took part in the victorious Battle of Koknese (Kokenhuza) as the commander of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Army under the command of Krzysztof 'Piorun' Radziwiłł (Kristupas Radvila Perkūnas, 'the Thunder'); in 1602 Chodkiewicz became Livonian governor and commander of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Army in Livonia (*commissarius in Livonia generalis et ad exercitum legatus*); in 1605 he received the title of the Grand hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania¹⁹. If we take into account the latest research and maintain that Chodkiewicz was born after 1570²⁰, then he must have been about thirty-five years old in 1605. The portrait creation date estimated around 1601–1605 correlates with the painting stylistics and the image of a relatively young Chodkiewicz, who was in his thirties or just turned forty. In the upper part of the painting, there is an inscription which reads "Jan Karol Chodkiewicz / Wojewo. Wilen. Hetman / W. Litew. Szwedow w Ba / taliiach po kilknaście / tysięcy był Chorągwie / im odbiral. Umarł / Ro: 1621". The commentary distinguishes a great number of battles with Sweden, in which Chodkiewicz participated. Hence,

the portrait could have been created to commemorate this victory, although so far the portrait was dated 1621 (after the inscribed date of the hetman's death). Based on the calligraphic features of the lettering, it can be assumed that they are much later than the painting itself, though the text (or part of it) may have been an updated copy of an earlier one. The date of death could have been added to the verbal commentary later, after 1621, or when the lettering in the portrait was refreshed in the 19th or early 20th century.

It is perhaps the only known painted portrait of Chodkiewicz from the 17th century, where he is depicted in armour. From the compositional point of view, it is similar to the portraits of Mikołaj 'Sierotka' Radziwiłł (Mikalojus Radvila Našlaitėlis, 'The Orphan') from 1590–1620, namely, an unknown painter's oval-format work in the Royal Castle in Warsaw and an engraving by Lucas Kilian (1579–1637), most likely replicating a painted portrait which has not survived²¹. Portraits of armoured persons, according to Przemysław Mrozowski, "was not a common phenomenon in 16th century Europe, rather a rarity. Usually, rulers of territories, German dukes of various ranks were depicted dressed in metal armour, this way promoting their political and religious standing"²². In the early 17th-century portraits, armour had not yet become an established detail, a fashionable element of a representative costume or a "trend of portrait iconography", as it can be recorded in the late 17th–18th-century art of Poland

19 Until his promotion to the aforementioned position on 15 December 1602, Chodkiewicz acted as king's regent in Livonia (Inflanty). The Royal Treasury documents define his official position as "praefectus copiarum ad praesens in Livonia / copiarum in Livonia dux"; for more see: P. Gawron, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

20 M. Chachaj, *op. cit.*, p. 49–58; K. Żojdź, *Klientela...*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

21 Before 1620, 17,6 × 12,2 cm. *Radvilos. Kunigaikščių istorija ir paveldas. Tarptautinės parodos katalogas*, vol. 2: *Eksponatai*, ed. G. Džiaugytė, R. Lelekauskaitė, Vilnius 2020, p. 356.

22 P. Mrozowski, *Radvilų portretų ikonografija iki XVIII a. pabaigos*, in: *Radvilos Kunigaikščių istorija...*, *op. cit.*, vol. 1: *Tekstai*, ed. V. Dolinskas, G. Džiaugytė, R. Lelekauskaitė, Vilnius 2020, p. 433–504.

2. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, about 1620,
oil on canvas, 50 × 39,5 cm, Muzeum Wojska
Polskiego MWP 34581. Phot. MWP

and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania²³. In this case, the armour links the portrayed person with the actualization of a mediaeval knight, a novelty at the time, i.e., the idea of *Miles Christianus*, and indicates not the visually recorded part of personal ammunition but a symbolic meaning of the armour as God's justice, righteousness and divine protection²⁴. A portrait of similar composition and format (50 × 39,5 cm) depicting Chodkiewicz in armour can be found in the Polish Army Museum²⁵ (Fig. 2). As in the portrait from 1601–1605, which belongs to a private collection, the hetman is depicted in a close-up, turned $\frac{3}{4}$, with his head slightly tilted back. The cloak fastened at the neck with a large brooch reveals the metal armour covering the body. The portrait repeats the hairstyle of young Chodkiewicz with an up-twisted bun, a close-up of the *buława* and its jewels, but the artist failed to reproduce the psychological information of the earlier image: the portrayed has a completely different temperament, age, and facial expression. The portrait was probably painted around 1790 when forming the Galeria Sławnych Polaków (Gallery of Famous Poles) in Vilnius²⁶.

Chodkiewicz in full-length armour is depicted in a portrait from the hetmans gallery in Nesvizh (Nieśwież, Нясвіж), which has not survived and is known only from a photograph²⁷ (Fig. 3). In this 18th-century work, half-length armour is combined with a long *żupan*. Since such long *żupans*



became popular in the mid-17th century²⁸, it is clear that the work was created as an imaginative portrait and was not based on an 'artistic mode' of Chodkiewicz's time. The iconographic tradition of Chodkiewicz wearing armour continued variously in the 19th-century portrait iconography²⁹, but it will not be covered in this article.

Chodkiewicz's armour depiction is eloquent in votive images indicating devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. These are emblematic illustrations from the *Sacra Lithothesis* publication (1621), dedicated

23 J.K. Ostrowski, *Portret...*, op. cit., p. 364–382.

24 J. Liškevičienė, *Mundus emblematum...*, op. cit., p. 75.

25 MWP 34581, dated inaccurately as 16th century in the museum's electronic catalogue.

26 In terms of style and painting, this picture is similar to Leon Sapieha's portrait from Galeria Sławnych Polaków. I sincerely thank Prof. Maria Kałamajska-Saeed for this insight. M. Kałamajska-Saeed, op. cit., p. 48.

27 T. Bernatowicz, *Mitra i buława. Królewskie ambicje książy w sztuce Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej (1697–1763)*, Warszawa 2011, p. 235, 243, ill. 149.

28 M. Matuškaitė, *Apranga XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvoje*, Vilnius 2003, p. 139.

29 For example, steel engraving Chodkiewicz, *Grand – General*, which was published by Louis Emile Vernier & Léopold Massard; 19,5 × 12,5 cm (MWP 16112 A).



3. The portrait of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz from Nesvizh castle collection, 18th century. Phot. T. Bernatowicz, *Mitra i buława...*, op. cit., ill. 149.



4. *Pietas*, paper, woodcut. Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius, *Sacra Lithothesis...*, Vilnae 1621, VUB RS III 10711. Phot. VUB

to commemorate the funding of Kražiai Church (Krože) as a votive request for blessing in the Battle of Khotyn³⁰ (Fig. 4). In the

³⁰ *Sacra Lithothesis in prima templi Magnae Virgini Matri dedicati erectione a patribus collegii Crosensis Societatis Iesu, liberalitate illustrissimi domini d. Ioannis Carolo Chodkiewicz [...] fundati auspicio celebrata, ab eiusde(m) collegii Chodkieviciani studiosa iuuentute descripta, et honori eiusde(m) liberalissimi fundatoris oblata*, Vilnae 1621.

four woodcuts Chodkiewicz is depicted in armour that covers his chest and shoulders, a helmet garnished with feathers, and other attributes of a hetman. In each of the visual parts of this emblematic work, Chodkiewicz's virtue is conveyed by combining his figurative image with his heraldic gryphon and other symbols³¹. In these woodcuts created by an unknown Vilnius master, Chodkiewicz is treated as a formal warrior figure, which is expanded and supplemented with his family's heraldic symbolic figure, i.e., a peculiar equivalent of a genius, a personification of a restless soul. Chodkiewicz, wearing armour and holding hetman's mace, is also identified among other nobles in Herman Han's multi-figure paintings *Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary* from the churches in Pelplin

³¹ J. Liškevičienė, *Bažnyčios...*, op. cit., p. 33–38.

and Wielki Buczek³². Most likely, an image of a Christian knight was also conveyed in Chodkiewicz's tombstone in Ostroh Church (Острор, Ostróg), but it has not survived. Historiography indicates the tombstone inscriptions that emphasised the *virtutes militares* of the deceased: honour, courage, nobility of spirit, military virtues and knowledge of military science³³.

WITH A BUŁAWA AND A SABRE

Next, we will discuss four analogous portraits of Chodkiewicz from the 1620s that are in the collections of the Polish Army Museum and the Museum of King Jan III's Palace at Wilanów (Warsaw), the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow, and the District Museum in Tarnów. The person portrayed in these works is already advanced in years, with a pensive face, greying hair, and a neat semi-circular beard, holding a *buława* in one hand and a sabre in the other³⁴. The imagery dominates the portraits, there are no supplementing heraldic signs or textual explanations in the background. In each of them, we are greeted by a very similar image of Chodkiewicz looking directly at the viewer. By comparing these images, we can establish the same prototype of facial proportions, hairstyle, identical attributes and the canonical way of holding them. It is clear that these works, despite ending in different Polish museums, are based on an analogous compositional scheme, and have a similar colouring and format. Thus, it can be concluded that they were created after the same drawing or sample portrait. On the other hand, perhaps one of these portraits is an authentic original and the others are copies after it.

32 M. Paździor, op. cit., p. 467, 470.

33 T. Bernatowicz, *Śmierć rycerza kresowego i jego sepulcrum*, „Studia Muzealne”, vol. 19, 2000, p. 62–63.

34 G. Zujienė, *Insignijos ir ceremonijas Lietuvos viešajame gyvenime (XII–XVIII a.)*, Vilnius 2008, p. 150.



5. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, 86 × 66,5 cm, Muzeum Pałac Króla Jana III w Wilanowie. Phot. Muzeum w Wilanowie



6. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, 91 × 74 cm, Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich – Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie. Phot. NMC



7. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, Muzeum Okręgowego w Tarnowie. Phot. MOT



8. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie. Phot. MWP

Recognising the recurrent nature of these formal official portraits, we can nevertheless observe different nuances of the subject's facial features and a slightly noticeable change in the depicted expression. A portrait from the Wilanów Palace Museum (86 × 66,5 cm), that has no visible inscription in the background, is distinguished by its dynamism, vibrant painting and strong contrasts. In the portrait from the Museum in Tarnów, Chodkiewicz is depicted in fine detail and, unlike elsewhere, has a particularly pleasant expression on his face. The author of this piece delights in precise graphic contouring, starting with the *delia* fastenings and ending with the facial



9. Peter de Jode, Portrait of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, 1622 (?), engraving, 177 × 123 mm, Odesa National Scientific Library. Phot. Public Domain

features, complete figures and decorative treatment of the beard, which seems to invoke an almost calligraphic dance of the brushstrokes. *Jan Karol Chodkiewicz* (91 × 74 cm) from the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow is very similar to the portrait in the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw; these two works could have been created by the same artist (Figs. 5–8).

An engraving (177 × 123 mm) by Pieter de Jode (1570–1634), dated 1622 (Fig. 9), is similar to these official portraits of Chodkiewicz as the Grand Hetman, probably painted towards the end of 1620 or 1621. However, painted portraits and engravings are different in two nuances. As often happens with the replication of a painting or drawing in printed graphics (or *vice versa*, i.e., when a painter follows the work of an engraver), the portrayed person gazes not to the right, as in paintings, but to the left. Another iconographical difference is that in the graphic portrait, only one hetman's hand can be seen, with which he holds a *buzdygan* instead of a *buława*, which is another

10. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, 155,8 × 78,5 cm, Lviv. Borys Voznytsky National Art Gallery. Phot. Lviv National Art Gallery

insignia of the military commander, while the sabre (attribute of the voivode) is not depicted. The portrait inscriptions record Chodkiewicz's titles and the new position entrusted to him in 1620, i.e., the post of the Polish army military commander. The date of hetman's death is not indicated in the inscription of the copper engraving, thus, it is possible that this graphic work is of the same time as the painted portraits and was created around 1620, when Chodkiewicz was given the title of the Grand Hetman³⁵.

WITH A WINDOW IN THE BACKGROUND

In the work at the Lviv National Art Gallery, Chodkiewicz is depicted up to his hips, holding a hetman's mace and a sabre; behind him, there is a window, through which one can see a fortress standing on a hill with the inscription "Chotimum" (155,8 × 78,5 cm). Thus, the image of a person is visually supplemented by the landscape seen through the window, referencing the victory near Khotyn in 1621 of the army led by Chodkiewicz. The lettering at the bottom of the portrait once again links the portrayed person with the specific historical event depicted in the window; it reads: "IOANNES CAROLVS CHODKIEWICZ COMES IN SZKLOW MYSZ ET BYCHOW, / PALATINUS WILNENSIS, EXERCITUUM MAGNI DUC. LITH. CONTRA / OSMANUM TURKARUM, IMPERATOREM REGNI POLONIAE GENERALIS BELLI DUX / LIVONIE GUBERNATOR". The victory against the Turks in Khotyn was achieved after the hetman's death (Chodkiewicz died on 24 September 1621, and the battle ended

35 Inscription in the bottom margin of the engraving reads "Ioannes Carolvs Chodkiewicz Comes in Szklow Mysz et Bychow Palatinus Viltensis, exercituum Mag. Duc. Lith. et contra Osmanum, Turcarum Imperatorem Regni Poloniae Gnalis Belli Dux; Meÿssens excudit Antverpiae" (National Museum in Cracow, later as NMC, Inv. G 161).



on 9 October of the same year), hence this portrait has to be treated as a posthumous image, which could have been painted after an earlier prototype. Furthermore, in the painting “Chodkiewicz is still young and slim, with brown hair that has not yet

turned grey”³⁶. It is believed that in this work from the first half of the 17th century,

36 M. Matuškaitė, *Portretas...*, op. cit., p. 247; *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų portretai iš Ukrainos muziejų*, ed. R. Budrys, V. Dolinskas, Vilnius 2012, p. 262-263, ill. 66.

an unknown painter followed an earlier created portrait of Chodkiewicz (Fig. 10).

During the restoration in 2002, a later, painted-over inscription was removed and attached to the back of the painting; its text was more elaborated, indicating the exact date of the hetman's death and the place of burial in Ostroh³⁷. The portrait belonged to the Chodkiewicz portrait gallery as it has the number 150 on its visual side; there is another portrait of similar format and style depicting Hieronim Chodkiewicz (Hieronimas Chodkevičius) marked with the number 148³⁸. The inventory of the Laszki Murowane residence (Муроване, owned by the Mniszech family) from 1783 provides additional details: the Hall of the Relatives mentions eight portraits of Chodkiewicz family³⁹, among them, the image of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, marked with the number 150⁴⁰, as in the painting held in collections of the Lviv National Art Gallery.

In Willem Hondius' (1598–1652) engraving, made in 1648–1649, we can see

a similar composition as in the portrait of Chodkiewicz with a window⁴¹. The appearance of the portrayed, the movement, and the background details including the curtain and the Khotyn castle visible through the window quite closely follow those seen in the painted canvas. The engraver supplemented the view in the window with the ranks of soldiers at the foot of the castle. In addition, he surrounded the portrait with a laurel wreath, thus creating a picture within a picture effect, which he further emphasised with the composition of spears, muskets, flags, maces, drums, trumpets and other trophies (panoply) testifying to the triumph of the military victory. In the portrait analysis, one can draw attention to the fact that the Antwerp engraver replicates not only the features of the hetman's face, the hairstyle with a slightly ruffled flip over the forehead, as depicted by a painter of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but also somewhat crudely depicted hands, especially the right hand, which holds the attribute of power⁴² with an unusually outstretched little finger⁴³ (Fig. 11).

Another portrait (115 × 113 cm) from the Kretinga Church is attributed to this group of portraits with a window, which also forms a pair with a portrait of Zofia Chodkiewicz (Sofija Chodkevičienė, 114 × 110 cm). The portrait pair, as evidenced by the inscription on the back of Mrs Chodkiewicz's image, are copies after older portraits, painted in 1822⁴⁴. It is believed that they replicate

37 "IAN KAROL CHODKIEWICZ WOIEWODA WILENSKI HETMAN / WIELKI Wo Xa Litto Y KORONNY, GUBERNATOR INFLANTSKI, SYN IERZEGO KASZTELANA TROCKIEGO Y HETMANA / Z HORNOSTAIOWNEY, WALECZNY WODZ, CAŁEMU SWIATU / SŁAWNY, BISURMANOM STRASZNY, KTORY SWYCIĘŻYWSZY / POD CHOCIMEM NA GŁOWIE OSMANA TURECKIEGO / Z WIELKĄ IEGO POTĘGĄ UMARŁ TAMŻE 1621 Dnia 24 / Wrzesnia Leży w Ostrogu".

38 Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų portretai..., op. cit., p. 264.

39 "Jan Chodkiewicz [s] podstoli W. Ks. Lit, sub No 152. Jerzy Chodkiewicz [s] wojewoda wileński, sub no 382. Hieronim Chodkiewicz [s] kasztelan wileński, sub No 392. Jan Chodkiewicz [s] wojewoda wileński, sub No 150. Jerzy Chodkiewicz [s] kasztelan Trocki, sub no 149. Hieronim Chodkiewicz [s] hetman w W. Ks. Lit, sub No 146. Aleksander Chodkiewicz [s] marszałek w. W. Ks. Lit, sub No 148. Jan Chodkiewicz [s] wojewoda kijowski, sub No 161". *Opis zamku w Laszkach Murowanych z 1748 r. Ossolineum, Zbiór Czołowski*, in: *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki XVI–XVIII*, ed. M. Gębarowicz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1973, p. 82.

40 Ibidem, p. 82.

41 NMC MNK III ryc. 26691. E. Hutten-Czapski, *Spis rycin przedstawiających portrety przeważnie polskich osobistości, w zbiorze Emeryka hrabiego Hutten-Czapskiego w Krakowie*, Warszawa 2001, p. 50–51.

42 In the engraving, Chodkiewicz is holding a *buzdygan*, not a *buława* as in the discussed painting; a *buzdygan* was used as a symbol of the highest military power in Lithuania and Poland since the 16th century. G. Zujienė, op. cit., p. 167.

43 Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų portretai..., op. cit., p. 264.

44 Marija Matuškaitė erroneously dates these



11. Willem Hondius, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, 1648–1649, 26 × 19 cm, VRIJE Universiteit Amsterdam. Universiteitsbibliotheek, Beeldbank. Phot. VRIJE Universiteit Amsterdam ▲



12. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, the 19th-c. copy of the 17th c. painting, 115 × 113 cm, Kretinga Church. Phot. T. Račiūnaitė ▲

the images of the benefactors that decorated the window niche of the monastery's library. Chodkiewicz was painted on one side of the inner arch in the wall and Mrs Chodkiewicz was painted on the other, both with 'lion coats of arms', an angel with spread wings above them⁴⁵. However, these 19th-century images can also be reproductions of oil on canvas portraits that have not survived and are not mentioned in the written sources (Fig. 12).

paintings as 17th-century. M. Matušakaitė, op. cit., p. 114, 122.

45 R. Janonienė, op. cit., p. 133; J. Klietkutė, *Sakraliniai kultūros paveldo objektai*, in: *Kretingos pranciškonų bažnyčiai 400...*, op. cit., p. 192; *Žemaičių vyskupijos istorija ir paveldas. Parodų knyga*, ed. L. Birškytė-Klimienė, D. Streikuvienė, Vilnius 2015, p. 200. Another fresco depicting the benefactor of the monastery was in the abbot's cell. J. Klietkutė, op. cit., p. 192.

The engraving of 1780 by Michael Keyl also repeats the motifs of a window, niche and Khotyn; the work is believed to have been created after the painted portrait of 1622 that has not survived or remains unknown⁴⁶. However, it is possible that the architectural framing of the official portrait dates back to the second half of the 18th century, while the portrait of Chodkiewicz in Keyl's engraving is very similar to the images in the engravings by Pieter de Jode and Willem Hondius.

WEARING A RED DELIA

The portrait held in the Jarosław Museum and painted by the unknown 17th-century author (86,5 × 107,5 cm), depicts Jan Karol as a middle-aged man with dark

46 Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius..., op. cit., p. 87.



brown hair that has not yet turned grey, a stern face, and large eyes that attentively but calmly look at the viewer (Fig. 13). The portrayed person is wearing red *żupan* with a short, upright collar and is fastened with a dense row of gold buttons. The waist is tied with a belt of luxuriously shimmering dark fabric; he is also wearing a red *delia*, fastened at the top, lined with black fur. The background of the painting is dark; in it, under bronze highlights emerges a curtain draped in a crescent and energetically, somewhat asymmetrically skewed figure of the portrayed subject. In the upper left,

an embedded inscription indicates Chodkiewicz's position. The composition appears to be trimmed from the bottom, as only a small part of the hand holding the sabre is visible⁴⁷.

The current location of the portrait in the Jarosław Museum is probably not accidental; it is known that in this Ostrogski-ruled city, on 24 November 1620, the wedding of widower Chodkiewicz and young Anna Alojza Ostrogska took place. Thus,

⁴⁷ Dokumentacja konserwatorska nr 62, PKZ w Jarosławiu, 1975.

13. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, oil on canvas, 86,5 × 107,5 cm.
Muzeum w Jarosławiu Kamienica Orsettich.
Phot. Muzeum w Jarosławiu



14. Stanisław Wyspiański, The copy of the portait of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz and the Queen Catherine of Habsburg, 20,6 × 29,3 cm, ink, paper, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, ryc. III 2673/3. Phot. NMC

the portrait could have been created for matchmaking purposes, brought to Ostroh and from there taken to the Jarosław estate, which was inherited by Anna Alojza's mother, Anna Kostka Ostrogska⁴⁸, where on 24 November 1620, the wedding of Jan Karol and Anna Alojza took place⁴⁹. From Jarosław,

Chodkiewicz left for Warsaw, later returning to Jarosław several times⁵⁰. On the other hand, it is known that the crypts of the Jarosław shrines housed the remains of the Chodkiewicz family, which were moved to Jarosław from Ostroh during the mid-17th century wars.

In 1975 the work was restored, and X-ray and UV-ray scans were carried out. Research revealed that the painting was

48 Anna Kostka Ostrogska inherited Jarosław from her mother Zofia Odrowąż. A. Kowalska, *Ostrogska z Kostków Anna*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, ed. E. Rostworowski, Wrocław-Warszawa 1979, p. 478–479; G. Kazimierz, *Anna Ostrogska wojewodzina wołyńska. Zarys biograficzny na tle dziejów Jarosławia*, Jarosław 1939.

49 A. Naruszewicz, op. cit., p. 185.

50 Chodkiewicz stayed in Warsaw until January 1621, then returned to Jarosław where he stayed until 7 February; when he left for Lithuania, before going to Khotyn, during summer he once again visited Jarosław. *Ibidem*, p. 186.

15. Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, 1621, oil on canvas,
139,3 × 105 cm, Lviv, Borys Voznytsky National Art Gallery.
Phot. Lviv National Art Gallery

cropped and painted over, the visual side has been slightly refurbished following the earlier authentic layer, and the text of similar content has been written over: “Ioannes Carolus Comes De Sklow / Et Mysz Chotkiewicz Palatinus / Wilnensis Generalis Ex(er) citvvm Regni. Et M. D. Litvaniae Dux Ad / Chocimum Cvm Vladislao Princi / peo Poloniae”. Comparing the later inscription on the portrait background with the old one uncovered by the restorers in 1975 and currently visible, one has to note that in the later version, part of the old text was omitted. When renewing the lettering, it was ‘overlooked’ that Jan Karol Chodkiewicz is the Voivode of Vilnius. The motive for updating the portrait record remains unclear. Was it decided to paint over the old inscription in order to match the calligraphic style of the other portraits in a portrait gallery? Was it because of the modification of the subject’s status description? Sometimes the changes and even the locations of works are visually recorded in their replicas. For example, an exact copy of this portrait can be found in a drawing by Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907), currently in the collection of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Cracow. There is also a copy of the portrait of Catherine of Habsburg, Queen of Poland (Fig. 14) on the same sheet (20,6 × 29,3 cm)⁵¹. This fairly accurate drawing by Wyspiański confirms that at the time the drawing was created (i.e., before 1907), the inscription in Chodkiewicz’s portrait had already been updated, but the painting itself was not yet trimmed from the bottom, as in the drawing, the hand holding the sabre is still almost fully visible as is the helmet placed on the table next to him.

Looking at the portrait in the Jarosław Museum from the perspective of an individual’s

self-fashioning, we can state that here Chodkiewicz is depicted as younger than in the official portraits dated 1621, but older than in a portrait from a private collection created ca. 1601–1605, where he was depicted with a bun and hetman’s *buława*. Thus, although according to the visually recorded age, Chodkiewicz was supposed to hold the position of a hetman, here he is depicted only with a sabre, without the hetman’s mace. Perhaps this attribute was omitted because the portrait was created for a private purpose, for example, matchmaking. By the way, Chodkiewicz is depicted only with a sabre in an 1860 drawing by Wojciech Gerson, which replicates a 17th-century representational *en pied* portrait (believed to have perished) and the lithograph that reproduced it (39,8 × 28,2 cm)⁵².

Another portrait of Chodkiewicz (139,3 × 105 cm) is held in the collections of the Lviv National Art Gallery. It belonged to the portrait collection of the Bernardine Monastery in Lviv until 1906 and decorated the sacristy of the church together with eighteen other portraits of the benefactors⁵³. In this work, Chodkiewicz is depicted up to his hips standing by the table, turned to the left by three-quarters (Fig. 15). The painting is highly detailed, at times somewhat flat, and stands out for its large format; the drawing of the figure is somewhat constrained, but the portrayed person’s face is modelled exquisitely realistically;

52 See Henryk Aschenbrenner after Wojciech Gerson *Jan Karol Chodkiewicz Wojewoda Wileński hetman Wielki Litew.*, in: *Hetmani Polscy koronni i Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego. Wizerunki zebrane i rysowane przez Wojciecha Gersona*, Warszawa 1860, MNK III-ryc. 56962.

53 N. Golichowski, *Kościół OO. Bernardynów we Lwowie*, Lwów 1911, p. 48–49; *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų ir didikų portretai...*, op. cit., p. 267; J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Św. Jana Chrzciciela*, in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, part 1: *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, vol. 19: *Kościół i klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego*, ed. idem, Kraków 2012, p. 28.

51 NMC MNK III ryc.2673/3. It is possible that the portrait reproduction is related with Wyspiański’s employment at the „Tygodnik Ilustrowany” magazine until 1896. H. Blum, *Stanisław Wyspiański*, Warszawa 1969, p. 37.



here we recognise the same characteristic features of Chodkiewicz: high forehead, large hooked nose, large eyes, and simultaneously more pronounced, compared to other images, signs of fatigue and old age, perhaps even illness. Marija Matušakaitė proposes that this image may have been created after a life model⁵⁴. She also speculates that the image may have been intended for the funerary ceremony. The memorial purpose of the work is subtly encoded in the black curtain with the partially visible luxurious golden trimmings and the inscription “JOANES CAROLUS / CHODKIEWIC. COMES IN / SKLOW, MISZ, ET BICHOW / PAL: WIL: SVPR: DUX: / EXERC: M.D. LITHVA: ET IN POLON: CONTRA / TVRCAS AD CHOCIMVM / AN: AETA: SVA. 47: / OBIIT. A.D. 1621.”⁵⁵ The lettering seems to be contemporaneous with the rest of the painting, and, unlike the portraits from the galleries of the Lateran Canon benefactors, does not indicate that Chodkiewicz was the benefactor of the Bernardines (even though he was). This portrait inscription enables a more accurate discussion regarding the date of Chodkiewicz’s birth: if he died in 1621 at the age of 47, then he must have been born in 1574. Moreover, another known source, a copy of the epitaph text from the 19th-century church in Ostroh, now held in Cracow City Archive, states that the hetman died “on 24th day of September in Anno Domini 1621, at the age of 49”⁵⁶. Therefore, supported by the

texts on specific artefacts (portrait and epitaph), we can suggest that Chodkiewicz was born between 1572 and 1574.

Let us go back to the main part of the portrait, i.e., the face. Since the written sources record cases when portraits of prominent people were made “from nature study” after their death⁵⁷, we can assume that in this portrait may depict the face of the dead hetman. It should be noted that the style of painting is inconsistent: the face of the subject is modelled almost sculpturally, yet the rest of the figure, despite looking majestic and massive, is somewhat constrained, depicted statically, as if it were a mannequin. The hands are particularly small and narrow in this irregular drawing⁵⁸. In the modelling of the figure, a lot of attention is paid to the rendition of fabric ornamentation and other decorative details. Portrayed Chodkiewicz is cloaked in a red *delia* lined with black fur, fastened at the neck with a golden inlaid brooch. He is wearing a luxuriously decorated *župan*, whose fabric shimmers with yellowish-brown tones and plant ornamentation, resembling a damask woven with golden threads⁵⁹. Speaking of fabrics, one can observe that the written documents of Chodkiewicz’s memorial service in Ostroh describe a similar colour range of the used

54 M. Matušakaitė, op. cit., p. 249.

55 The inscription confirms the latest information regarding Chodkiewicz’s date of birth, as it states he died in 1621 at the age of 47.

56 Tekst epitafium Jana Karola Chodkiewicza w kościele Ostrogu, in: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Mik. J-14581. Karol Źojdź used the information of this epitaph text in the earlier cited article (p. 36); the full transcription and translation to Lithuanian and English were published in: *Jonas Karolis Chodkevičius. Impavidus pro patria mori. Bebaimis mirti už tėvynę*, ed. S. Rankelienė, A. Rinkūnaitė, M. Marazas, B. Zorkienė, P. Bagočiūnas, Vilnius 2022, p. 291–293;

57 J.K. Ostrowski, *Portret...*, op. cit., p. 195.

58 The hand gestures probably have symbolic meaning. For example, the left hand holding the sword points its index finger to the ‘head’ of the *buława*, which has a black rectangular ‘eyelet’ in the upper middle part; perhaps it is an indicator that hetman’s insignia is no longer in use. After Hetman’s death, the *buława* was symbolically supposed to be returned to the sovereign. However, only a few such ceremonies are known. It is mentioned in the written sources that upon his death, Chodkiewicz handed over his *buława* to Sebastian Lubomirski. G. Zujienė, op. cit., p. 160–161.

59 Damask – a fabric with lustrous patterns on a matte background, or *vice versa*; for more see: G.M. Martinaitienė, *Audiniai ir jų spalvos Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istoriniuose šaltiniuose*, Vilnius 2013, p. 25.

16. Reproduction of a painting that has not survived. Unknown portrait from Nesvizh castle collection, Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (?).
Phot. T. Dobrowolski, op. cit., ill. 64

fabrics. The unknown author of the funerary ceremony description writes that in the procession “all servants and soldiers were in red *falendysz*⁶⁰ and others in semi-red (*półszkarłatny*) cloaks (copes), with tallow candles close to their bodies they carried a cloth (flag), other courtiers and children in black and brown cloaks with tallow candles walked in front of the body⁶¹, on the sarcophagus there was a canvas⁶² and semi-red (*półszkarłatne*) cloth, there were semi-red coverings on the horses and carriages, the whole catafalque was covered in *półszkarłacie*, the church was covered in red velvet and the chapel in carpets.”⁶³ The red colour that dominated the funerary procession can also be seen in the portrait at the Lviv National Art Gallery. This connection is likely not coincidental. At this stage, we will only note that in addition to the fashion of the time and symbolic meaning of the colour, a heraldic motif could have had a significant influence: red is the colour of the shield in the Chodkiewicz family coat of arms. In the context of the funerary ceremony and Hetman’s death, which was a potentially relevant occasion for the portrait creation, the painting becomes paradoxically expressive: it seems that the canvas shows one of Chodkiewicz’s latest faces, probably the last self-icon recorded by the artist, and at the same time, it seems to be one of the earliest posthumous representations of the hetman.

WITH A HAT... CHODKIEWICZ?

A full-length portrait of an unknown hetman, appearing in the historiography from the 1948 photograph published

60 *Falendysz* is a type of broadcloth, a wool cloth of various thicknesses and qualities. Ibidem, p. 54.

61 Dead body of Chodkiewicz.

62 It likely references a portrait painted on canvas.

63 K. Żojdź, *Uroczystości pogrzebowe Jana Karola Chodkiewicza w Ostrogu w roku 1622 na tle sporu o jego schedę*, „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. 111, 2020, p. 1004.



by Tadeusz Dobrowolski⁶⁴, attracts attention for its tall fur hat that was common in the early 17th century. Because of this characteristic clothing element, Maria Kałamajska-Saeed linked the portrait with Leon Sapieha⁶⁵. The researcher noted that although the depicted person wears attire typical to the early 17th century, other elements suggest that the work is a 19th-century improvised replica of an older portrait (Fig. 16). Jan K. Ostrowski disagrees with Kałamajska’s proposition to identify this person as Leon Sapieha and draws attention to the full-length knight armour in the background, which was a common historical element characteristic to the early 17th-century imagery⁶⁶. Without going into the discussion on the precise dating of this non-surviving work, I would like to put

64 T. Dobrowolski, *Polskie malarstwo portretowe. Ze studiów nad sztuką epoki sarmatyzmu*, Kraków 1948, p. 99, ill. 64.

65 M. Kałamajska-Saeed, op. cit., p. 144–145.

66 J.K. Ostrowski, *Portret...*, op. cit., p. 366–367.

forward a hypothesis that the portrait in the reproductions depicts Jan Karol Chodkiewicz. In the work one can recognise the expressive features common to other portraits of Chodkiewicz: the strong stature of the hetman, a face of large features and a lush, round-cut beard; one can also record the same hand gestures and the attributes they hold, i.e., the voivode's sabre and the Grand Hetman's *butawa*. In the portrait these characteristics are supplemented by 'unexpected' elements (such as a fur hat or the armour in the background) that do not yet have a wider iconographic context; however, from an iconographic and historical point of view, these elements do not contradict the hypothesis of Chodkiewicz's identity in this work.

One more work that is intriguing in terms of identification, is yet another presumed image of Chodkiewicz with a hat, although of a different style (garnished with a feather), yet typical to the 17th-century fashions of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This is a copper engraving by Gerard Seghers (19,9 × 15,6 cm), published in the Joannes Meyssens' print house. The purpose and artistic quality of the engraving were not discussed or extensively analysed by other authors who knew and documented this work. Emeryk Hutten-Czapski briefly describes the image of the engraving in his catalogue⁶⁷, while Dimitri Rowinski notes that the work may have been created from a nature study and that prints of this engraving are rare; also, his publication suggests that the engraving may have been created after Anthony van Dyck's painted portrait⁶⁸. This information is also repeated in the description of the published illustration of Juliusz A. Chrościcki's

monograph that analyses the functions of Vasa art⁶⁹.

Two versions of this portrait are known: one without any inscriptions, the other with the name of the depicted person in the lower margin: "GODEFRIDUS CHODKIEWICZ DUX IN MOSCOVIAE". According to Anthony Griffiths, such double versions of engravings are common in the 17th century; they indicate that the text engraving was added later to the same plate⁷⁰. Comparing both versions, it seems that the visual part of the work with the inscription has been slightly modified: the image has been enhanced with an additional layer of strokes (Fig. 17). Moreover, some collections of graphics contain prints of this work without the name of the author or publisher, while others have prints with lettering on the left margin: "G. Seghers fecit" and on the right – "Ioan. Meijssen's exudit"⁷¹. At first glance, there are two errors in Seghers' engraved inscription, i.e., the wrong name was appended to Chodkiewicz and the wrong title, as he was never officially declared the duke or governor of Moscow. However, let us try to decipher these epithets (the name and position) attributed to Chodkiewicz. *Godefridus* translated from the old German means 'Peacemaker'. *Dux* indicates a commander, i.e., another description of a hetman, a military leader. It can be assumed that the image was created hoping for a successful outcome in the military campaigns to Russia, led by Chodkiewicz, and most likely was

67 E. Hutten-Czapski, op. cit., p. 51.

68 Д.А. Ровинский, *Материалы для русской иконографии [изоматериал в 12 выт.]*, Санкт-Петербург 1884–1891 (Экспедиция заготовления гос. бумаг).

69 J.A. Chrościcki, op. cit., il. 126.

70 A. Griffiths, *The Print before Photography. An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820*, London 2016, p. 78.

71 Prints of this copperplate without lettering are found in the collections of Amsterdam, London, and Vienna, and with lettering are in the collections of libraries of Antwerp, Brussels, Vienna, and Petersburg. *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts ca. 1450–1700*, vol. 26, compiled D. de Hoop Scheffer, ed. K.G. Boon, Amsterdam 1982, p. 224.



17. Gerard Seghers, *Portrait of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz as a Godfrey, Duke of Moscow*, 1630–1640, paper, etching, 19,5 × 15,5 mm.
© The Trustees of the British Museum



18. Gerard Seghers, *Diogenes with a Lantern*, paper, etching, 24 × 16,8 mm.
© The Trustees of the British Museum

commissioned by the royal Vasa estate. In this context, it is important to mention a few details from Seghers' life and activities. Seghers was born and lived in Antwerp, studied under Hendrick van Balen and Abraham Janssens and worked independently since 1603. From 1608 he collaborated with the Antwerp Jesuits⁷². In January 1611 he became a member of the Jesuit Confraternity of Bachelors in Antwerp and soon after he left for Rome; he then worked for several years in Madrid at the court of Philip II. He returned to Antwerp at the end of 1620 and undertook the decoration of the Jesuit church, assisting Rubens. Seghers created paintings of mythological and religious themes, genre scenes favoured by Caravaggisti, and also created painted and graphic portraits. Thus, the portrait we are interested in was most likely created by Seghers in Antwerp in 1608–1611 or after

⁷² Gerard Seg(h)ers. *Painter and etcher 1591 Antwerp – 1651. Between 1611–1620 Italy and Spain*, in: *ibidem*, p. 224, 272; D. Bieneck, *Gerard Seghers (1591–1651). Leben und Werke des Antwerpener Historienmalers*, Lingen 1992, p. 14–29.

1620, following his return from the travels, through the mediation of the Jesuits, who were influential in the Vasas estate⁷³. It could be assumed that the commission was related to Władysław IV Vasa's (1595–1648) visit to Antwerp in 1624–1625, but if that was the case, the propagandistic statement in the engraving raises questions, as it directly points to the Polish–Muscovite War of 1609–1618 and the role Chodkiewicz had in it⁷⁴. Considering all the aforementioned circumstances, it can be assumed that the engraving was created in 1609–1611, marking Sigismund III Vasa's campaign to Russia.

Regardless of how realistic and professional Seghers' graphic portrait looks, there is no doubt that it is not a nature study. This is because the meeting between Seghers and Chodkiewicz cannot be ascertained in any historical sources; there are

⁷³ S. Obirek, *Jezuici na dworach Batorego i Wazów 1580–1668. Wpływ kapelanów dworskich i wychowawców książąt na postawy panujących i politykę państwa*, Kraków 1996.

⁷⁴ See further P. Szpaczyński, *Mocarstwowe dążenia Zygmunta III w latach 1587–1618*, Kraków 2013.

also no clues of a potential intersection in the known movement trajectories of the hetman and the artist; most importantly, the visual characteristics of the portrayed only faintly resemble the earlier discussed pictorial characteristics of Chodkiewicz. Let us look into other images of elderly men by Seghers, such as *Diogenes with a Lantern* (24 × 16,8 cm). The print without the lettering is held in the collections of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; the same print with the lettering “Diogenes Qui cherche dees gens au Clere iour avec lumiere” and signatures of engraver Gerard Seghers and publisher Joannes Meyskens can be found in the collections of prints in London, Rotterdam and Vienna⁷⁵. In the engraving, we meet the same character, i.e., an old man with deep sunken eyes, a gaunt face and a long curly dishevelled beard (Fig. 18). The anthropological type of the philosopher who searched for a man with a lantern in broad daylight is very similar to that of Seghers’ representation of Chodkiewicz. Similar types of apostles and prophets, as well as tavern visitors, can be observed in Seghers’ painted works⁷⁶. In addition, the image of a bearded man named Chodkiewicz in Seghers’ engraving is similar to the characters by Anthony van Dyck, especially his famous portraits of the apostles. When comparing the Antwerp master’s image with other portraits of Chodkiewicz, the hair of the subject draws attention. According to Maria H. Loh, the hair-wearing styles of the 16th–18th centuries are to be interpreted as a feature of personal status and even profession; moreover, the hairstyles changed slowly, thus they can be considered as one of the features of a person’s identification⁷⁷. As it happens,

the way of wearing the hair that Seghers depicted is not found in any other portraits of Chodkiewicz. We noted earlier that in his youth Jan Karol was depicted with a bun on top of his head; in the later years, he was wearing rather short but still combed-up hair, displaying a high forehead and signs of balding near the temples. It is noteworthy that in both earlier and later images, Chodkiewicz’s face is framed by a neatly trimmed Dutch-style beard, a feature that was also recorded in the written sources describing his appearance, for example in funeral sermons⁷⁸ or Franciszek Małkot’s 1622 poem: “The beard is brownish white, / Czech lushness is sliced in a semicircle”⁷⁹. With this in mind, the comparison of the previously discussed images of Chodkiewicz with the engraving created by Seghers leads to the conclusion that while the Antwerp master created one of the most professional and artistic 17th-century graphic images of Chodkiewicz, it should be considered an imaginative portrait. It is important to emphasise that “Godefridus Chodkiewicz Dux Moscovia” by Seghers did not have a real and living⁸⁰ artistic prototype that would in any way be related to Chodkiewicz. The visual appearance of the subject confirms that the artist did not follow any previously created portraits of the hetman. Most likely, Seghers simply adapted the image of an old man wearing a hat garnished

of the Old Master, Princeton 2015, p. 41.

78 See B. Czarliński, *Kazanie na pogrzebie [...] Jana Karola Chodkiewicza [...] wojewody wileńskiego, korony polskiej przeciw Osman sułtanowi, a W.X.L. hetmana najwyższego [...] miane w Ostrogu, w kościele farskim...*, Wilno 1622.

79 F. Małkot / P. Malkotas, *Tureckich i inflanckich wojen o sławnej pamięci Janie Karolu Chodkiewiczu głos / Karų su turkais ir Livonijoje balsas apie šlovingo atminimo Joną Karolį Chodkevičių*, trans. E. Patiejūnienė, ed. D. Antanavičius, D. Chemperek, E. Patiejūnienė, Warszawa 2016, p. 119.

80 It is possible that Seghers had a life model, but it was not Chodkiewicz.

75 Hollstein’s *Dutch...*, op. cit., p. 224.

76 Gérard Seghers, 1591–1651. *Un peintre flamand, entre Maniérisme et Caravagisme*, [Musée des Beaux-arts de Valenciennes du 6 mai au 21 août 2011], [Valenciennes – Deauville 2011].

77 M.H. Loh, *Still Lives: Death, Desire, and the Portrait*



with a feather to the needs of the commissioner.

WEARING A GREEN DELIA. IMAGINING THE BENEFACTOR

A separate branch of Chodkiewicz's iconography consists of images representing the hetman as the benefactor of the Canons Regular of the Lateran monastery in Bykhaw (Быхаў, Bychów). Two portraits are preserved in the museum collections in Vilnius. Today, one of them is held in the National Museum of Lithuania, and the other in the Lithuanian National Museum of Art. In both portraits, Chodkiewicz is depicted half-length with a round-cut grey beard, holding a sabre in one hand close to the belt around his waist, and a *buława* in the other. In both portraits, Chodkiewicz's facial expression is similar, the style of wearing his hair is almost identical as is his clothing and its colours: the hetman wears a green *delia* lined with black fur, which has darkened in the painting at the National Museum of Lithuania, thus it looks almost black. The iconographic and stylistic similarity of these works suggests that both portraits were painted by the same artist or after the same example (Figs. 19–20). However, certain differences between these paintings can be found. The painting from the collection of the Lithuanian National Museum of Art has a rectangular format (115 × 83 cm), a heraldic gryphon embedded in the background on one side and an inscription on the other that reads "KAROL CHODKIEWICZ WOIEWOD. WILENSKI HETM. W. W. X. Lit. Fund. Kan. Lat. w Bychowie".

The format of the portrait in the National Museum of Lithuania is oval (101 × 77,5 cm) and the inscription is composed in a curving whitish border running along the frame, not in the background; the coat of arms in the background is more developed, parted quarterly and distinguished

with colour. The latter portrait (which entered the museum collection from the State Historical Museum of Russia in Moscow in 1956) has a pair, which is compositionally very similar to the image of another Lateran Canons benefactor, namely, Kazimierz Leon Sapieha (Kazimieras Leonas Sapiega). These portraits, like the image of Michał Kazimierz Pac (Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas), known only from the photograph, were part of the portrait gallery of the Vilnius Antakalnis Monastery, which was created in the second half of the 17th century and represented the benefactors of the regular canons across the entire province⁸¹. Yet another portrait of Chodkiewicz as the benefactor of the Lateran Canons in Bykhaw belongs to the portrait gallery of Lateran Canons in Kazimierz (Cracow), which decorates the refectory of the monastery situated next to the Corpus Christi Church. The portrait of Chodkiewicz, like the other six depicting the benefactors of this monastery, was created in the late 17th century. In it, the subject is depicted at full height, turned to the left, with one hand placed on a table and holding a *buława*, and the other positioned on his waist. He is wearing a long *żupan*, tied with a fabric belt across the waist, and is cloaked in *delia*⁸². Typical to the portraits of the nobles from the second half of the 17th century, the inscription identifying the person and indicating his title and merits is placed on a wide parchment on the table, that seems to have unrolled right before the viewer's eyes allowing them to read the text... Truth be told, it is only because of this text that one can identify Chodkiewicz in the portrait, because his face is depicted very unusually

81 M. Kałamajska-Saeed, op. cit., p. 24–25; A.S. Czyż, op. cit., p. 97, 99.

82 M. Kałamajska-Saeed, op. cit., p. 24; *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 4: *Miasto Kraków*, part 4: *Kazimierz i Stradom*, ed. I. Rejduch-Samkowa, J. Samek, Warszawa, p. 78, fig. 417.



(beardless, only with moustache), not referencing any previous portraits. However, it is one of the earliest painted full-length portraits of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz from the 17th century that reached our times.

This article presents a study that is not yet complete and is to be continued. The discussed Chodkiewicz's portrait iconography shows certain dynamic variety of the subject, which is related to the held specific positions from the Field Hetman, depicted in the earliest known portrait of Chodkiewicz from 1601–1605 (in a private collection), to the official portraits of the Grand Hetman and Voivode of Vilnius, created in 1620–1621 (currently scattered across the museums of Warsaw, Cracow and Tarnów), and the painted and engraved portraits created after the hetman's death.

The surviving iconography of Chodkiewicz as the benefactor, mostly related to the financing of the Canons Regular of Lateran in Bykhaw, replicates the scheme of an official portrait. Next to the pair of analogous portraits from the second half of the 17th century (held in Vilnius museums), presenting Chodkiewicz as the benefactor of the Lateran Canons' Monastery in Bykhaw, the full-length image of Chodkiewicz from the Lateran Canons' Monastery in Cracow stands out. By the way, it is the only surviving painted *en pied* image of Chodkiewicz from the 17th century. Other 17th–18th century full-length portraits of Chodkiewicz from the portrait gallery of hetmans in Nesvizh are only known from reproductions or other copies.

The earliest known image of Chodkiewicz from 1601–1605 and one of the last portraits, dated around 1621–1622, with a red *delia* and the inscription recording his death at the age of 47, are only twenty years apart. These two images, despite their

certain subjectivity, reflect the dramatic effects of time on a person's appearance.

Thus, the review of the portraits enables us to reconstruct the changes in the appearance of the portrayed that are related to the changes in social status and positions as well as changes in age, which inevitably modifies the image of a person and his natural features.

The study once again confirms and to some extent illustrates the characteristics of the 17th-century portraiture in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in Poland. The majority of pre-photographic portraits of famous persons are images of images, copies of copies. Therefore, it is possible to talk about groups of similar portraits, compositional schemes that migrate from work to work, anthropological features and expressions of the portrayed person that are 'preserved' and passed on by the images. The most fascinating element of the research is to identify the original examples, the most authentic images, which later on were replicated. Thus, it is worth highlighting once again the following works: the aforementioned 1601–1605 portrait by an unknown author, which has an unmistakable reproduction from the second half of the 18th century; an engraving by Peter van de Jode from the 1620s; a portrait painted by an unknown local master, which today is in the Jarosław Museum; and the image held in the Lviv National Art Gallery, which may have been created shortly after the hetman's death. These are some of the oldest portraits, closest to the life model.

In addition, unmistakably imaginative images or crypto-portraits require distinction in Chodkiewicz's portrait iconography. Most of these portraits were created after the hetman's death, in the mid- and second half of the 17th century, end of the 18th century, and 19th century, usually replicating earlier images (for example, the portrait in the Kretinga Church, et al.).

However, there are also known imaginative images from the time of Chodkiewicz's life. A few of these are the previously mentioned emblematic woodcuts in the 1621 publication *Sacra Lithothesis*, where the hetman is depicted very generically as armoured *Miles Christianus* and can only be identified from the texts and heraldic symbols. Others are imaginative representations of mimetic nature. These include the engraving by Gerard Seghers 1609–1611, created to commemorate the military campaign to Russia, initiated by Sigismund III.

Paradoxically, possibly because of its masterful execution and emotional impact, the work *Godefridus Chodkiewicz Dux Moscovia* is described in the historiography as a nature study. Yet, the research revealed that the engraver did not use Chodkiewicz as a life model, nor relied on other iconographic sources that conveyed hetman's appearance. Perhaps, the engraver created the portrait of the Lithuanian and Polish hetman only from oral accounts of his 'Martial looks'.

STRESZCZENIE

Opisy i wizerunki Jana Karola Chodkiewicza (po 1570–1621), wojewody wileńskiego, hetmana Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego są bardzo liczne. Portrety hetmana nie doczekały się jednak kompleksowej i systematycznej analizy. Niniejszy artykuł jest jedną z pierwszych prób przedstawienia ikonografii Chodkiewicza, mającą na celu sklasyfikowanie jej ze względu na podobieństwo kompozycyjno-wizualne lub wspólny motyw. Taka analiza może potwierdzić hipotezę, że w niektórych przypadkach grupy portretów, które są podobne lub mają ten sam element ikonograficzny, można wiązać z określoną konstrukcją własnego wizerunku, dobozem konkretnych treści i podkreśleniem pewnych cech. Ważnym elementem badań jest identyfikacja oryginalnych przykładów, które później zostały zreplikowane: portret nieznanego autora z lat 1601–1605 (il. 1); rycina Petera van de Jode z lat 20. XVII w. (il. 9); portret namalowany przez nieznanego mistrza, znajdujący się dziś w Muzeum Jarosławskim (il. 13); oraz obraz przechowywany w Lwowskiej Narodowej Galerii Sztuki (il. 15), powstały wkrótce po śmierci hetmana. Są to jedne z najstarszych portretów, najbliższe modelowi.

SUMMARY

Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (after 1570–1621), Voivode of Vilnius, Grand Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, received copious verbal and visual representations. Nevertheless, Chodkiewicz's own portraits have not been comprehensively and systematically analysed. This article is one of the earliest attempts to present the portrait iconography of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, aiming to classify it according to compositional-visual similarity or a common motif, for example, an armour, a window in the background, or the worn garments. Hopefully, such portrait analysis will confirm the hypothesis that, in some cases, groups of portraits that have a visual similarity or commonality of an iconographic element can be associated with a particular construction of a personal image, a selection and emphasis of certain features. The most fascinating element of the research is to identify the original examples, the most authentic images, which later on were replicated. Thus, it is worth highlighting once again the following works: the 1601–1605 portrait by an unknown author (Fig. 1); an engraving by Peter van de Jode from the 1620s (Fig. 9); a portrait painted by an unknown local master, which today is in the Jarosław Museum (Fig. 13);

Wyróżnienia w portretowej ikonografii Chodkiewicza wymagają ponadto obrazy imaginacyjne. Większość z nich powstała już po jego śmierci, w połowie i drugiej połowie XVII w., a nawet później w XVIII–XIX w., na ogół powielając wcześniejsze wizerunki. Znane są jednak również takie imaginacyjne portrety z czasów życia Chodkiewicza. Kilka z nich to emblematyczne drzeworyty w publikacji *Sacra Lithothesis* z 1621 r., w której hetman jest przedstawiony bardzo ogólnie jako *Miles Christianus* i można go zidentyfikować jedynie na podstawie tekstów i symboli heraldycznych. Inne to przedstawienia o charakterze mimetycznym. Należy do nich rycina Gerarda Seghersa 1609–1611 (il. 17), wykonana jako upamiętnienie rosyjskiej kampanii wojennej Zygmunta III. Paradoksalnie, być może ze względu na mistrzowskie wykonanie i ładunek emocjonalny, dzieło *Godefridus Chodkiewicz Dux Moscovia* określane jest w historiografii jako studium z natury. Badania ujawniły jednak, że Chodkiewicz nie pozował rytownikowi. Artysta nie opierał się także na innych źródłach ikonograficznych przekazujących wygląd hetmana.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE

Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, ikonografia portretu, portret w XVII w., Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie, wizerunek hetmański w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim

and the image held in the Lviv National Art Gallery (Fig. 15), created shortly after the hetman's death. These are some of the oldest portraits, closest to the life model. In addition, unmistakably imaginative images require distinction in Chodkiewicz's portrait iconography. Most of these portraits were created after the hetman's death, in the mid- and second half of the 17th century, end of the 18th century, and 19th century, usually replicating earlier images. However, there are also known imaginative images from the time of Chodkiewicz's life. A few of these are the emblematic woodcuts in the 1621 publication *Sacra Lithothesis*, where the hetman is depicted very generically as armoured *Miles Christianus* and can only be identified from the texts and heraldic symbols. Others are imaginative representations of mimetic nature. These include the engraving by Gerard Seghers 1609–1611 (Fig. 17), created to commemorate the military campaign to Russia, initiated by Sigismund III. Paradoxically, possibly because of its masterful execution and emotional impact, the work *Godefridus Chodkiewicz Dux Moscovia* is described in the historiography as a nature study. Yet, the research revealed that the engraver did not use Chodkiewicz as a life model, nor relied on other iconographic sources that conveyed hetman's appearance.

KEYWORDS

Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, portrait iconography, 17th-century portraiture, Grand Duchy of Lithuania, personal image of the Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

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