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Hans von Kulmbach in Poland: On the writing of the story¹

In the mid-19th century a certain case of artistic mobility in the early Renaissance entered the agenda of Polish, and subsequently German antiquarianism and art history. The artist in question was Hans Suess von Kulmbach (d. 1522), a peer of Albrecht Dürer and one of Nuremberg's leading suppliers of panel paintings and designs for altarpieces and stained glass. In the 1840s Kulmbach's name was linked to a collection of high-quality works preserved in two churches in Cracow. At the same time, a controversy erupted over the supposition that the Polish city was not only the destination of these recognized masterpieces, but also their place of creation. In the face of scarce and inconclusive evidence, answers to the question as to whether Kulmbach actually resided in Cracow have proven closely dependent on changing methodological principles developed in specific political situations. This paper aims to retrace the fashioning of the research problem conventionally referred to as the "Kulmbach and Poland" issue.

Who's afraid of *Kulturträger*?

One underlying commitment of both Polish and German studies on Kulmbach was expressly articulated in an essay published in 1924 in a Cracow daily newspaper.¹ This passionate peroration aimed to convince readers that "the comic figure of Poland's *Kulturträger* [italics – MS] Hans Suess from Kulmbach" had been fabricated half a century previously.² The architects of this delusion were unmasked in the very title of the article: *Hans Suess von Kulmbach. Malarz zlutowany z oszustwa niemieckiego i naiwności naszej* [A painter soldered from German perfidy and our naivety]. The author of the piece, Ludwik Stasiak (1858-1924), was a prolific art critic specializing in "reclaiming Polish property", such as the oeuvre of Veit Stoss.³ In Kulmbach's case, Stasiak rectified the situation in his usual way. Thus, it was untrue, he claimed, that a Nuremberger by the name of Hans von Kulmbach had moved to Poland and worked there; the truth was that one "Jahannes Polonus" had travelled to Nuremberg



Fig. 1 Hans Suess von Kulmbach; Disputation of St Catherine of Alexandria with pagan philosophers: detail; 1514/1515; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 118 x 62 cm.; Krakow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption



Fig. 2 Hans Suess von Kulmbach; *Cycle of St John the Evangelist*; 1516; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime: Last Supper (A), Martyrdom in a cauldron of a boiling oil (B), St John the Evangelist on Patmos (C), Test of a poisoned cup (D); c. 230 x 70 cm (not original); lost during the World War II. (Romanowska-Zadrożna and Zadrożny 2000, *Straty wojenne*, p. 215-218, no. 122-125); Self-burial of St John the Evangelist (E); c. 84 x 144 cm (not original); Cracow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption

in the company of numerous other Polish artists and been active as an “apostle of Polish art” there.⁴

The Polish advocates of the “mendacious” version of events were denigrated as “Austro-Polish”, that is, allied with the Austrian invader in the time of the partitions of Poland. Importantly, Stasiak’s research activity encompassed the years before and after his country regained independence in 1918. From 1795 until that year the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been divided between the three neighbouring powers, the other two being the Russian Empire and the Kingdom of Prussia. Cracow had fallen under

Habsburg rule. Yet the Austrians were by no means the sole exponents of this “chauvinist cupidity and German plunder”.⁵ Stasiak explicitly associated the appropriation of Polish heritage with what he termed the “Bismarckian research model”.⁶

The “Austro-Polish” handling of the grand narrative of a cultural gulf between Western and Eastern Europe (West-Ost Kulturgefälle) can be illustrated by an elaboration from 1903.⁷ This concerned, in particular, the only Cracow family to be justifiably counted among Kulmbach’s clients. The Boners, German newcomers who had earned a fabulous fortune and



Fig. 3 Hans Suess von Kulmbach; *Cycle of St Catherine of Alexandria*; 1514-1515; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 118 x 62 cm: Conversion of St Catherine (A), Disputation with pagan philosophers (B), Burning of the converted philosophers (C), Miracle of the wheel (E), Beheading of Empress Faustina (F), Miraculous translation of St Catherine's body to Mount Sinai (H); Cracow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption

political importance at the Polish royal court, had Kulmbach depict their coat of arms in his *Disputation of St. Catherine* (Fig. 1 and 3). The panel is part of one of two hagiographic cycles destined for Cracow, each of which, in all likelihood, originally spanned the closed wings of an altarpiece (Fig. 2-3). The Boners joined Cracow's elites, along with a substantial group of other immigrants from Weissenburg and Landau in the late 15th and early 16th centuries. Recognizing their cultural role, the art historian Feliks Kopera (1871-1952) remained compliant with his predecessors' language practice and called this movement a "colonisation".⁸ But he clarified right away: "Had Poles occupied German territory, and Germans that of Poles, the opposite would have been true regarding the influence of the one culture on the other."⁹

The whole truth about the German perfidy

Stasiak's eponymous "German perfidy" was provoked and longingly welcomed by his "Austro-Polish" peers. "It is in Cracow, and only in Cracow, that this new German star was born, from Cracow it marched triumphantly to Germany and into the European literature."¹⁰ Here Stasiak approximates the real events inasmuch as he points to the critical significance of inscriptions in two of the aforementioned paintings (Fig. 4-7). Their uniqueness lies in the fact that they combine the monogram HK with the full signature "Hans Sues".¹¹ When deciphering the monogram, Polish art writers of the 1840s had drawn on German and French handbooks and dictionaries, which had long included "Hans von Kulmbach/Kulenbach".¹² The respective entries provided no elucidation of the name

“Sues”, however. The baffled interpreters concentrated their endeavours on collecting material for an alternative biography to be associated with the latter name.¹³ Unlike Hans von Kulmbach, they speculated, this “other Hans” had relocated his atelier from Nuremberg to Cracow. As such, the phantom doppelgänger was listed in the 1850s among artists who either had Polish origin or had gained Polishness by working in Poland.¹⁴ The idea of Hans Sues the Migrant was soon adopted by Georg K. Nagler (1801–1866) and August Essenwein (1831–1892), director of the Germanisches Museum in Nuremberg (1866–1891).¹⁵

In 1867 Essenwein was the contact person for Józef Łepkowski (1826–1894), *nota bene* a research fellow of the Germanisches Museum. Łepkowski, who had just been awarded the first professorship in archaeology at the Jagiellonian University in Cracow, was to assist in 1873 at the birth of the Commission on Art History of the Academy of Arts and Sciences (CAH AAS).¹⁶ By providing Łepkowski with the archive records he requested, Essenwein contributed to the milestone discovery of a note which documents the compound name “Hanns Suess von Culmbach”.¹⁷ Łepkowski’s international query was mentioned by his continuators, who, however, confused Essenwein with another expert on Nuremberg sources, Rudolf Bergau (1836–1905).¹⁸ This mistake enabled Stasiak to libel Bergau as the forger who slipped in the “false” evidence.¹⁹

But it was not Łepkowski who sealed the (re)unification of a single artistic personality identical with the monogrammist HK. He seems to have differentiated between the famous “Jan Kulmbach” and his compatriot “Jan Sues” from Kulmbach.²⁰ Although the impending conclusion had been anticipated much earlier, it was not academically approved until around 1880.²¹ The final reassurance came with the publication of a monographic article by Marian Sokołowski (1839–1911).²² Sokołowski, reputed for having propounded “the first fully matured art history” in Poland, was the first professor of this discipline at the Jagiellonian University (1882–1911), as well as a prominent member of the CAH AAS, eventually elected its President (1892–1911).²³ His sophisticated dissertation on Hans Sues von Kulmbach was immediately acclaimed



Fig. 4 Hans Sues von Kulmbach; *Miraculous translation of St Catherine's body to Mount Sinai*; 1514/1515; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 118 x 62 cm; Cracow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption

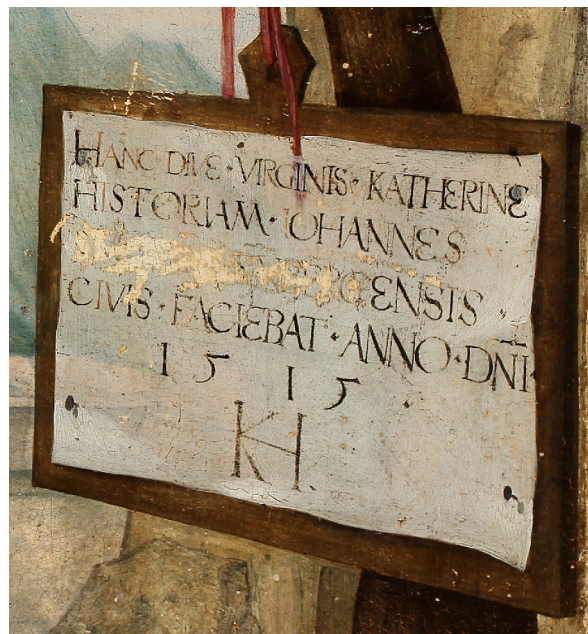


Fig. 5 Hans Sues von Kulmbach; *Miraculous translation of St Catherine's body to Mount Sinai*: detail; 1514/1515; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 118 x 62 cm; Cracow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption



Fig. 6 Hans Suess von Kulmbach; *Self-burial of St John the Evangelist*; 1516; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 84 x 144 cm (not original); Cracow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption

as a model for cultivation of the new branch of knowledge – and promoted as such among readers of popular journals and magazines in Cracow, Warsaw and Poznań.²⁴

Within a decade the Polish findings were communicated to and absorbed by German-speaking authors.²⁵ Yet a symptomatic difference became clear. At the beginning of the 1890s neither Hubert Janitschek (1846–1893) nor Karl Koelitz (1852–1932) hesitated to state that Kulmbach had carried out his Cracow commissions *in situ*, as a resident of the city for three or four years (1514–1517/1518).²⁶ To all appearances, the Austrian and German scholars were not disconcerted



Fig. 7 Hans Suess von Kulmbach; *Self-burial of St John the Evangelist*; details; 1516; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 84 x 144 cm (not original); Cracow, Archipresbyter's Church of Our Lady of the Assumption

by Sokołowski's admonitions addressed to his compatriots in 1883. The Polish mentor insisted: "Critical sanity compels us to say goodbye to such dreams, as well as to many others, which until very recently abounded in our history writing".²⁷

The Polish-Polish controversy

One of Sokołowski's AAS colleagues, Leonard Lepszy (1856–1937), felt himself a victim of this kind of circumspection.²⁸ Lepszy remarked bitterly that the prompt recognition of Koelitz's theory might have been due to the author's German nationality. By contrast, Lepszy complained with regard to his lectures from 1890–1891 – when he argued that Kulmbach had stayed in Poland – this hypothesis was dismissed *a priori* as "simply precluded, almost ludicrous".²⁹ Even worse, it was not recorded in the proceedings of the CAH AAS. Lepszy recapitulated his resentment in 1927, when he manoeuvred to demonstrate that Kulmbach's supposed teacher, the great Albrecht Dürer, also had visited Cracow.³⁰

The premature appeasement of Lepszy can be explained in the context of the self-fashioning of the newly founded academic discipline of art history in Poland.³¹ It was conceived as an ultra-"scientific" branch of study, which sought its legitimacy in internationally established methods.³² The missionary adherence to professionalism stiffened in response to the "unprofessional" patriotism of local romantics and enthusiasts.³³ As plausibly suggested by Stefan Muthesius, the academic circle known as the "Cracow school" apparently believed that one of the tasks of a national (art) history was "also to conduct national self-criticism".³⁴ Tellingly, a programmatic statement by the CAH AAS, which declared the institution's focus on investigating art in Poland, at the same time acknowledged the mediocrity of homegrown cultural goods.³⁵

In the case of the Nuremberg master, the academic establishment was alerted by the observed "naturalization" attempts. Stasiak was by no means a pioneer. His article makes direct reference to the *dilettante* art historian Karol Teodor Soczyński (1781–1862), who derived the name "Culmbach" from the Polish city Chełmno (Lat. Culm).³⁶ Similar revelations concerned a whole pantheon of German artists. Most of them nev-

er entered the mainstream scholarly exchange. It was in the daily press, necrologies, biographic and bibliographic notes that Soczyński's findings were discredited as untruth and illusion (1862), ludicrous balderdash (1866) or historical-scientific heresy (1916).³⁷ An oral tradition recorded in the 1880s linked Soczyński to the occurrence of an inscription reading "Johannes Polonus fecit" on the reverse of one of the *St. Catherine* panels.³⁸ By all accounts, this was the very same signature that was later cited as support for the narrative by Stasiak. In spite of Stasiak's use of the present tense, it is very unlikely that he saw the inscription with his own eyes³⁹, for in 1895–1896 the reverse sides of this entire cycle of paintings were purged of secondary washes and cradled.⁴⁰

Before that treatment, Sokołowski, who was not familiar with the suggestions implicating Soczyński but had examined the inscription itself, labelled it a "*pia fraus*".⁴¹ An anonymous reviewer of Sokołowski's dissertation called the culprit not a pious forger, but "a chauvinist who indulged in national vanity".⁴² The more restrained Sokołowski considered this manipulation an indicator of the condition of "art criticism" in Poland some fifty years previously. This condition improved thanks to prospective professionals like Łepkowski, who as early as in 1847 had reported unauthentic signatures "Johannes Polonus" on two unspecified panels from the *St. John the Evangelist* cycle.⁴³ Łepkowski's dementi was then published in Polish art dictionaries and Cracow city guides, as well as by Essenwein.⁴⁴ On the other hand, it was later remembered that at that time Kulmbach had been regarded as a Pole – such a diagnosis was noted by the student Stanisław Wyspiański (1869–1907) in 1885.⁴⁵ One way or another, at some point these two inscriptions vanished from art writers' sight. They might have been purposefully overpainted during attempts to restore the *St. John* paintings in the 1860s.⁴⁶ This would explain why Sokołowski referred only to one of the altogether three tokens of the name "Johannes Polonus". When one of the older signatures was exposed in 1927 (Fig. 8–9), this was announced as a discovery (see below).

Turning to the indubitably authentic inscription in the last panel of the *St. Catherine legend*, it shows

signs of significant damage (Fig. 5). Two words are scratched out: the artist's German name "Sues", and "Nuremberg", of which he was a citizen ("*civis*"). The results of the expurgation were probably first documented in the 1870s.⁴⁷ In this case, however, the academics offered no clue as to the identity of the perpetrator or his motive.⁴⁸ To find some inkling, one can read through a description of the dark ages prior to the epoch of professional art history in Poland, written by Lepszy, who at that time embraced the viewpoint of his milieu. Lepszy unhesitatingly condemned the "patriotic" practice of erasing unwelcome inscriptions in historical documents – and paintings.⁴⁹ Not surprisingly, a simplistic explication was provided in 1940, in a peculiar publication entitled *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement*. The catalogue included the artworks thus "secured" – in fact: plundered – during the Nazi occupation of Poland.⁵⁰ The entry on Kulmbach's *St. Catherine* altarpiece clarified that the "senseless destruction" had resulted from "an aversion to everything German".⁵¹

The once daring conjecture about Kulmbach's lengthy sojourn in Cracow was eventually accepted by Sokołowski and thereby became the binding dogma.⁵² This step was substantiated by the fact that unknown pieces by Kulmbach had meanwhile surfaced among Polish proprietors. These panels were soon demonstrated by a student of Sokołowski, Konstancja Stębowska, to have stemmed from yet another altarpiece.⁵³ Her teacher accordingly changed the way he perceived the physiognomies, garments and surroundings depicted in the paintings, and retracted his original judgement about their unequivocally Nurembergian character.⁵⁴ Since then, the argument of Polish dress/types/heads/profiles in Kulmbach's oeuvre has diffused unhindered throughout Polish academic writing.⁵⁵ Subsequent attributions of further art objects have encouraged the unjustified belief that he held the office of court painter of King Zygmunt I Jagiellon.⁵⁶ For the time being, it remains an open question whether Kulmbach himself, his templates, or painters from his circle were involved in multi-authored works commissioned by the Polish monarch in Nuremberg.⁵⁷

A messenger of the Italian Renaissance

A useful framework has been sketched out by Adam S. Labuda, who delineates different historiographic constructs in relation to Central Europe around 1500.⁵⁸ Two of these will be of particular interest: the artist as “creator of a national art”, and the artist as “ARTcreator”. Kulmbach has predominantly been shoehorned into the second schema and compared to “universal” Renaissance standards. By the time the Polish writers joined the scholarly exchange in the mid-19th century, he had gained a reputation as a peerless colourist and Italianist, whose authentic feeling for nature outdistanced even that of his assumed master, Dürer.⁵⁹

It is emblematic that Kulmbach never functioned in the Nazi propaganda in the same way as did his fellow citizen Veit Stoss, who was held up as an archetype of German involvement in the East.⁶⁰ Admittedly, Ewald Behrens did not fail to place Kulmbach’s supposed eastward migration in the context of the influx from Upper Germany.⁶¹ Dagobert Frey, in turn, reserved the role of colonists for Kulmbach’s German-born clients, the Boners, and credited them with wilful support for German painting.⁶² In this story, the paintings commissioned were delivered to Cracow, where it was classified as *Kolonialkunst*.⁶³ One definition of this concept had it that colonial art, prior to undergoing transformation *in situ*, was usually brought from the motherland in the form of portable objects.⁶⁴ Still, the wartime narratives were marginal notes in comparison with the publication by Franz Stadler (1877–1959), probably the most quoted monograph on Kulmbach.⁶⁵ This book came out in 1936, in the golden age of the inglorious *Ostforschung*.⁶⁶ Surprisingly, for Stadler, it was Cracow rather than Nuremberg that gave Kulmbach the first opportunity to come into direct contact with the world of Renaissance forms.⁶⁷

In this way, Stadler agreed with the first generations of Polish art historians, who deemed Nuremberg to be burdened with medieval taste, in contrast to the more advanced Augsburg.⁶⁸ This conviction misled Władysław Łuszczkiewicz (1828–1900), Sokołowski’s “predecessor” in terms of the use of the proper method of art history and the *spiritus movens* of the CAH AAS.⁶⁹ Łuszczkiewicz considered the monogrammist HK too Italianate to be a Nuremberger. Hence he

sought for a suitable rival candidate from Augsburg – and ferreted out the name “Hans Knoderer”.⁷⁰ The Augsburg theory was superseded by the findings of Sokołowski, who ultimately even began to observe Polish features in the critical cycles of paintings.⁷¹ Józef Muczkowski (1860–1943) and Józef Zdanowski (1887–1977) went further still: it was only in his Cracow works that Kulmbach departed from the style of Dürer. Such an achievement would have been unthinkable in the “suffocating ambiance of Nuremberg”, and thus served as indirect proof that the altarpieces must have been completed *in situ*.⁷² The experience of Poland – Wanda Drecka (1904–1992) added – helped Kulmbach to achieve a delicacy unattainable to his fellow compatriots, and to free himself from the German sentimentalism.⁷³ The monograph by Muczkowski and Zdanowski (1927) was compiled in the period when the reborn Polish state was being consolidated. Drecka published her booklet in 1957, when the memory of the Nazi plunder was still fresh and painful. Indeed, eight of the Kulmbach panels that were looted have never been found.⁷⁴

A more general tendency among Polish authors has been to look for evidence that Kulmbach transplanted the supranational ideal of the Italian Renaissance onto the “austere soil” of Poland. Since the “paradigm shift” around 1900, there have been renewed attempts to identify the natives who apprenticed at the master’s workshop in Cracow.⁷⁵ The number of local paintings connected with Kulmbach peaked in the 1920s.⁷⁶ The same decade also witnessed the reincarnation of Johannes Polonus, this time as a co-author of the masterpieces. In this context Muczkowski and Zdanowski quoted the opinion of Wiesław Zarzycki (1886–1949), a painter and restorer, who had just treated two of the panels.⁷⁷ Polonus’ signature was said to have been uncovered in the course of removing overpaintings from the *Martyrdom of St. John the Evangelist* (Fig. 8–9); it proved resistant to Zarzycki’s solvents. Furthermore, the restorer reportedly discerned more than one individual hand. Muczkowski and Zdanowski did not associate Zarzycki’s conclusions with the abovementioned warnings about fake inscriptions. The authors seem, moreover, to have had no knowledge of the argument presented by Stasiak in widely read magazines two years before Zarzycki’s restoration.⁷⁸ In

any event, the unrevised news from Zarzycki's atelier made its way into the fundamental literature on Kulmbach. The master's Polish collaborator and namesake appeared in Drecka's monograph and persists in the catalogue of wartime losses published in the year 2000 by the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage.⁷⁹

However, newer research has not confirmed the assumed transfer of Kulmbach's style, let alone his technique and technology.⁸⁰ Notwithstanding this circumstance, the established stereotype recurs even in relatively recent reference books and encyclopaedias.⁸¹ From this perspective, the "Italianized" immigrant from Nuremberg triggered an "upheaval" in Cracow painting.⁸² His "epoch-making" agency updated the local workshops with respect to study of nature, landscape, Italian/Venetian colouring, handling of light and harmonious composition.⁸³ This seductive vision has been ruffled by the repeated judgement that the impact of Kulmbach's innovativeness was compromised by unyielding incomprehension on the part of Cracow artisans.⁸⁴ The latter reservation could, in a sense, even reaffirm Kulmbach's critical role – that is, his reputed contribution to the autonomous development of a unique style in Poland. As a messenger of the Renaissance, the Nuremberger was in a position to help overcome the Gothic legacy of the German colonization. What is more, any non-German influence was suitable as a counterbalance to or neutralisation of the German influence.⁸⁵ Such a strategy worked in both Polish and, for instance, Czech/Czechoslovakian research.⁸⁶

While Sokołowski's landmark dissertation was awaiting publication, the historian and antiquarian Franciszek Ksawery Martynowski (1848–1896) claimed that the lack of a Polish school of painting could not be redressed by the work of Kulmbach and other foreign artists.⁸⁷ Before long, however, it had become common belief that the opposite was true. Kulmbach was being stylized as a founding figure of the hitherto absent national school even before Sokołowski attested to his stay in Poland.⁸⁸

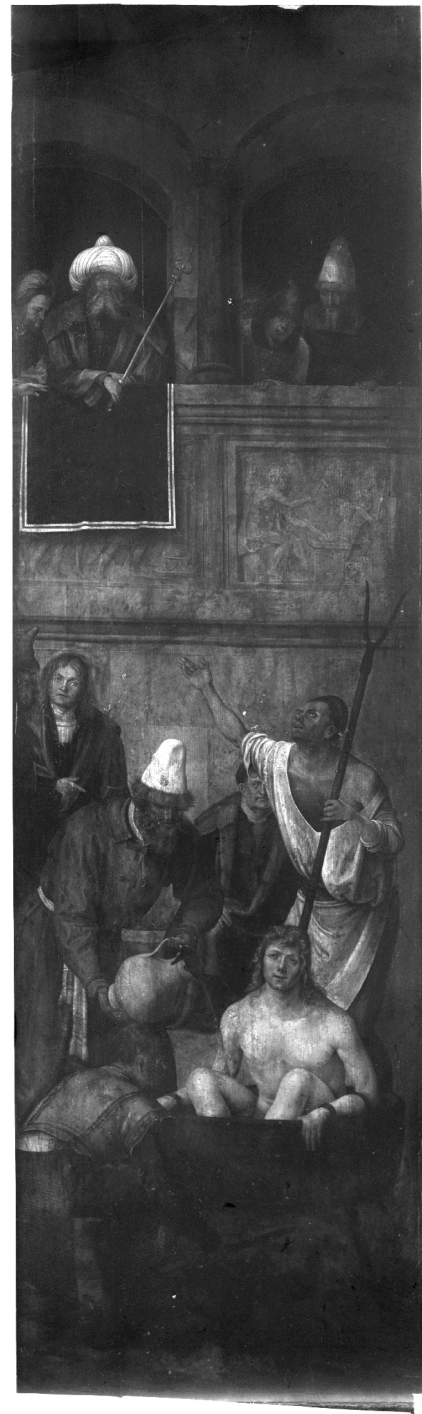


Fig. 8 Hans Sues von Kulmbach; *Martyrdom of St John the Evangelist in a cauldron of a boiling oil*; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 230 x 70 cm (not original); lost during the World War II. (Foto by Antoni Pawlikowski; 1927; Cracow; Jagiellonian University Museum)



Fig. 9 Hans Suess von Kulmbach; *Martyrdom of St John the Evangelist in a cauldron of a boiling oil*: detail; fat tempera with oil glazes on lime; c. 230 x 70 cm (not original); lost during the World War II. (Foto by Antoni Pawlikowski; 1927; Cracow; Jagiellonian University Museum)

As early as in 1883 one of Kulmbach's compositions was included in a project run by the St. Luke Society in Cracow.⁸⁹ The society's salient task was to print cheap reproductions of excellent works of religious art that reflected the national/local genius. Kulmbach's *Miraculous translation of St. Catherine's body to Mount Sinai* apparently met this description (Fig. 4). Regrettably, the initiative collapsed before the prepared aquarelle was transferred to the lithographic stone, and Kulmbach was deprived of his chance to adorn the walls of peasant huts.⁹⁰ Instead, his central role in the Renaissance in Poland was self-explanatory from the time that two major exhibitions were organized in Cracow in 1884 and 1900.⁹¹

The idea of the Italian-stimulated rise of Polish art at the dawn of the 16th century was overexploited in the time of the early Polish People's Republic.⁹² Nevertheless, Kulmbach was not intensively studied even in the "Stalinist" years 1949–1957.⁹³ Drecka's book was of a semi-popular character. In 1955 Michał Walicki (1905–1966) published a perceptive article in which he remarked that the issue required thorough reconsideration.⁹⁴ No one undertook a comprehensive search for

the missing written evidence on Kulmbach's interactions with his Cracow clientele. Thereafter the topic dropped off the agenda. Inert repetition of the inherited hypotheses usually sufficed for the purpose of dictionaries and catalogues. Critical voices have been heard – in Poland as well as in Germany – but can hardly be said to prevail.⁹⁵ The unceasing attractiveness of the Kulmbach-in-Poland theory has recently been reaffirmed by Agnieszka Gąsior and the authors of the dictionary *Künstler der Jagiellonen-Ära in Mitteleuropa*.⁹⁶ A discussion with the old-new arguments would require a separate paper, however.

Reviewed by Jessica Taylor-Kucia

Endnotes

1. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the whole team of the *Mobility of Artists in Central and Eastern Europe 1500-1900* project for the immensely inspiring research stay in Berlin and Cracow.
2. Ludwik Stasiak, *Hans Suess von Kulmbach. Malarz zlutowany z oszustwa niemieckiego i naiwności naszej* [Hans Suess von Kulmbach. A painter soldered from German perfidy and our naivety], in: *Ilustrowany Kuryer Codzienny*, no. 95, 05-04-1924, p. 3–4. Stasiak's theory was recapitulated in: Ludwik Stasiak, *Mistrzowie Joannes Polonus i Henryk Parler (W siedemsetlecie kościoła Mariackiego w Cracowie)* [The masters Joannes Polonus and Henryk Parler (On the 700th anniversary of St. Mary's Church in Cracow)], in: *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, no. 28, 12-07-1924, p. 460–461.
3. "Ta sama austro-polska konstrukcja, która stworzyła Niemca Stwożsa, [...] ukula humorystyczną postać kulturtrągera Polski Hans Suessa z Kulmbachu [italics - MS]." See: Stasiak 1924, *Hans Suess*, p. 4.
4. Maria Leśniakowska, *Polska historia sztuki i nacjonalizm [Polish art history and nationalism]*, in: *Nacjonalizm w sztuce i historii sztuki 1789–1950 [Nationalism in art and art history 1789–1950]*, eds. Dariusz Konstantynów et al., Warszawa 1998, p. 37–38.
5. "Nieprawdą jest, jakoby Norymberczyk Hans von Kulmbach wędrował do Polski i tu obrazy malował, Prawdę zaś jest, że Johannes Polonus wędrował z całą rzeszą polskich artystów do Norymbergi i tam był sztuki polskiej apostołem." See Stasiak 1924, *Hans Suess*, p. 4.
6. "Zachłanność szowinistyczna i grabież niemiecka"; see Stasiak 1924, *Mistrzowie*, p. 461.
7. "Bismarkowska nauka"; see Stasiak 1924, *Mistrzowie*, p. 460.
8. Feliks Kopera, *O emigracji Niemców z Wissemburga i Landau do Polski w XV i XVI w.* [On the emigration of Germans from Wissemburg and Landau in the 15th and 16th century], in: *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 7 no. 3, 1903, col. CLXXII – CLXXXVI. For further reading on the theories of *Kulturträger* and *Kulturgefälle* see e. g. Sabine Arend, *Studien zur deutschen kunsthistorischen „Ostforschung“ im Nationalsozialismus*, Berlin 2010, <http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/docviews/abstract.php?id=37336>, 15.10.2015; Adam S. Labuda, "...eine von sinnvollen Zweckgefühlen erfüllte, herbe

- und grobartige Kolonialkunst...". *Zum Kunsthistorischen Diskurs über Ostmitteleuropa*, in: Zeitschrift Für Kunstgeschichte, vol. 56, 1993, p. 1–17.
9. Kopera 1903, *O emigracji Niemców*, col. CLXXII.
 10. "Gdyby Polacy zajmowali obszary niemieckiej ziemi a Niemcy polskiej, sprawa oddziaływania kultury jednej na drugą niewątpliwie miałyby się odwrócić"; see Kopera 1903, *O emigracji Niemców*, col. CLXXV–CLXXVI.
 11. "W Cracowie i tylko w Cracowie zrodziła się nowa ta niemiecka zwiazda, z Cracowa poszła triumfalnie do Niemiec i do europejskiej literatury [...]"; see Stasiak 1924, *Hans Suess*, p. 4.
 12. *Miraculous translation of St. Catherine's body to Mount Sinai*: "HANC DIVE · VIRGINIS · KATHERINE / HISTORIAM · IO · HANNES / [...] [...] · ENSIS / CIVIS · FACIEBAT · ANNO · DNI · / 1515 · / HK [ligated]"; *Self-burial of St. John the Evangelist*: "HANC DIVI / JOHANNIS APOSTOLI / HISTORIAM JOHANNEM SVES / CIVIS NVREMBERGEM / COMPLEVIT; 1516 / HK [ligated]".
 13. Józef Łepkowski, *O obrazach mianych za dzieła Suesa z Norymbergi dochowanych w Cracowie* [On the paintings considered works of Sues from Nuremberg that are preserved in Cracow], in: *Starożytności i pomniki Cracowa*, vol. VII, 1847, p. 109–111. See also: Józef Mączyński, *Pamiętka z Cracowa. Opis tego miasta i jego okolic* [A souvenir from Cracow. A description of the city and its surroundings], Kraków 1845, vol. II, p. 192; cf. Mączyński 1845, *Pamiętka z Cracowa*, p. 187, 227. Hans von Kulmbach entered the European literature in the mid-16th century; see Johann Neudörffer, *Des Johann Neudörfer, Schreib- und Rechenmeisters zu Nürnberg, Nachrichten von Künstlern und Werkleuten daselbst aus dem Jahre 1547* [...], ed. Georg W.K. Lochner, (Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, 10), repr. Osnabrück 1970, p. 134.
 14. Łepkowski 1947, *O obrazach*, p. 109–111; Józef Łepkowski, *Dla pamięci przelożonych kościołów Cracowskich* [To the memory of the supervisors of churches in Cracow], in: *Czas*, No. 183, 12-08-1852, p. 2; Józef Łepkowski, *Kraków i Norymberga* [Cracow and Nuremberg], in: *Teka Wileńska*, vol. II, 1857, p. 217–219.
 15. See Edward Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzów polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających* [Dictionary of Polish painters and foreign ones who settled in Poland or temporarily lived in this country], vol. II, Warszawa 1851, p. 244–246 and vol. 3, Warszawa 1857, 419–420. For Rastawiecki's "proto-scholarly" lexicographical undertaking see Jolanta Polanowska, *Historiografia sztuki polskiej w latach 1832-1863 na ziemiach centralnych i wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*. F.M. Sobieszczański, J. I. Kraszewski, E. Rastawiecki, A. Przewdziecki [Historiography of Polish art 1832-1863 in the central and eastern lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. F.M. Sobieszczański, J.I. Kraszewski, E. Rastawiecki, A. Przewdziecki] (Studia z Historii Sztuki, vol. 49), Warszawa 1995, p. 113–144, 211–212. See also the micro-dictionary entitled *Wiadomości o niektórych malarzach polskich* [Information on some Polish painters], included as a chapter in Ambroży Grabowski, *Skarbniczka naszej archeologii* [A treasury of our archaeology], Lipsk 1854, p. 52–53. The figure of a double of Kulmbach who lived in Cracow was subsequently introduced by Józef Mączyński, *Kraków dawny i terażniejszy. Z przeglądem jego okolic* [Cracow today and in the past. Inclusive of an overview of its surroundings], Kraków 1854, p. 18; Józef Łepkowski, *Z przeszłości. Kościół N. M. Panny w Cracowie* [From the past. The Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Cracow], in: *Czas*, vol. XIV No. 196, 1861, p. 2; Józef Łepkowski, *Die Marienkirche in Krakau Und Ihre Artistischen Merkwürdigkeiten*, in: *Mitteilungen der K.K. Central-Commission*, vol. 9, 1864, p. 106.
 16. Georg K. Nagler, *Die Monogrammisten und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen* [...], München 1871, vol. III, 594–595; August Essenwein, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale der Stadt Krakau*, Graz 1866, p. 122–123 and XXIV.
 17. For Józef Łepkowski see Lech Kalinowski, *Dzieje i dorobek naukowy Komisji Historii Sztuki Akademii Umiejętności i Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności 1873–1952 oraz powstanie Katedry Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1882* [History and achievement of the Committee for Art History of the Academy of Sciences and Letters in 1873–1952 and the foundation of the Department of Art History of the Jagiellonian University in Cracow in 1882], in: *Dzieje historii sztuki w Polsce. Kształtowanie się instytucji naukowych w XIX i XX wieku* [The History of Art History in Poland. The Rise and Development of Academic Institutions in the 19th and 20th Century], ed. Adam S. Labuda, Poznań 1996, p. 25; Adam Małkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiej historii sztuki. Studia i szkice* [From the history of Polish art history. Studies and sketches] (*Ars Vetus et Nova*, 18), Kraków 2005, p. 29–30.
 18. *Dyskusja nad rozprawą czł. Władysława Łuszczkiewicza Pod tytułem „Malarz monogramista KT” na posiedzeniu komisji dla historii sztuki d. 7 lutego* [Discussion over the dissertation of the member Władysław Łuszczkiewicza entitled "The painter monogrammist KT" at the meeting of the Commission for Art History on February 7th], in: *Rozprawy i Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Wydziału Filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności*, vol. 1, 1874, p. 127–128.
 19. Marian Sokołowski, *Hans Suess v. Kulmbach, jego obrazy w Cracowie i jego mistrz Jacopo dei Barbari* [Hans Suess v. Kulmbach, his paintings in Cracow and his master Jacopo dei Barbari], in: *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. II, no. 3–4, 1883, p. 54; Stasiak 1924, *Hans Suess*, p. 3–4; Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Hans Sues von Kulmbach*, in: *Czas*, no. 128, 09-06-1883, p. 1.
 20. Stasiak 1924, *Hans Suess*; Stasiak 1924, *Mistrzowie*, p. 461.
 21. Józef Łepkowski, *Sztuka. Zarys jej dziejów. Zarazem podręcznik dla uczących się i przewodnik dla podróżujących* [Art: an outline of its history. A handbook for students as well as a city guide for travelers], Kraków 1872, p. 379–380.
 22. See e.g. *Kronika miejscowa i zagraniczna* [Local and foreign chronicle], in: *Czas*, no. 280, 07-12-1871, p. 2, which reports on a lecture delivered by the historian and art collector Count Aleksander Przewdziecki (1814–1871) on December 6th 1871.
 23. Sokołowski 1883, *Hans Suess*.
 24. Stefan Muthesius, *The Beginnings of the "Cracow School of Art History"*, in: *History of Art History in Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe*, ed. Jerzy Malinowski, Toruń 2012, p. 93. See also Kalinowski 1996, *Dzieje i dorobek*, p. 36; Małkiewicz 2005, *Z dziejów*, p. 34–36, 60, 66–70, 74; Magdalena Kunińska, *Included - ex-cluded. Marian Sokołowski's building of the Monument of Art History at the end of the 19th century*, in: *History of Art History*, ed. Malinowski 2012, p. 101–109; Wojciech Bałus, *A Marginalised Tradition? Polish Art History*, in: *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe. Transnational Discourses and National Frameworks*, ed. Matthew Rampley, Leiden 2012, p. 439–440).
 25. See e.g. Stanisław Tarnowski, *Nowa karta z historii sztuki* [A new page in art history], in: *Przegląd Polski*, vol. LXIX No. 206, August 1883, p. 286–293; Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Hans Sues von Kulmbach*, in: *Czas*, No. 126, 07-06-1883, p. 1–2; no. 127, 08-06-1883, p. 1 and no. 128, 09-06-1883, p. 1; Teodor Nieczuja-Ziemiecki, *Wystawa zabytków z epoki Jana Kochnowskiego* [Exhibition of antiquities from the time of Jan Kochanowski], in: *Czas*, no. 152, 04-07-1884, p. 1; Aleksander Lesser, a review in: *Słowo*, no. 194, 20-07-1883, p. 1; W.M., *Z Galicji*, 25 lipca [From Galicia, July 25th], in: *Gazeta Polska*, no. 171, 02-08-1883, p. 2–3; XXX., *Z dziedziny sztuki* [From the field of art], in: *Kurier Poznański*, vol. XII, no. 132, 13-06-1883, p. 2–3.
 26. See Alfred Woltmann, Förster, Ernst: *Die deutsche Kunst in Bild und Wort*, in: *Repertorium Für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 3, 1880, p. 213; Alfred Woltmann and Karl Woermann, *Die Malerei Der Renaissance (Geschichte Der Malerei, 2)*, Leipzig 1882, p. 405.; Fryderyk Papée, *Die Publikationen der Krakauer Akademie der Wissenschaften*, in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, vol. II, 1881, p. 161–162; Moritz Thausing, *Dürer. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, vol. I, 2nd edn., Leipzig 1884, i, p. 184–185; Anonym, *Bibliographische Notizen*, in: *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. VII, 1884, p. 129–130; Raphael Loewenfeld, *Hans Suess von Kulmbach und seine Werke in den Krakauer Kirchen, laut Anmerkungen nach Maryan Sokolowskis Studie im 3. und 4. Hefte der Berichte der Commission zur Erforschung der Kunstgeschichte in Polen*, in: *Die Sonntagsbeilage der Vossischen Zeitung*, vol. XLIV, 1885, p. 9–12; Hubert Janitschek, *Geschichte Der Deutschen Malerei*,

- Berlin 1890, p. 374–377; Karl Koelitz, *Hans Suess von Kulmbach Und Seine Werke. Ein Beitrag Zur Geschichte Der Schule Dürers* (Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte, 12), Leipzig 1891. See also Muthesius 2012, *Beginnings*, p. 97 and Stanisław Turczyński, *Maryan Sokółowski 1839–1911*, in: Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce, vol. VIII no. 3–4, 1912, p. 401. See also *Wiadomości artystyczne, literackie i naukowe* [News on art, literature and science], in: Czas, no. 166, 25-07-1883, p. 3; W.M., *Z Galicyi*, p. 2–3. Independently of the Polish discussion, the problem of linking the archive records with the names Kulmach/Kulmbach and Sueß/Süß was addressed by Henry Thode, *Die Malerschule von Nürnberg im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert. In ihrer Entwicklung bis auf Dürer*, Frankfurt a. M 1891, p. 267.
27. Janitschek 1890, *Geschichte*, p. 374; Koelitz 1891, *Hans Suess*, p. 6, 28, 56–61.
 28. “Krytyczna trzeźwość nakazuje więc pożegnać się z temi marzeniami, jak z wielu innymi, których pełną do niedawna była nasza historia.” See Sokółowski 1883, *Hans Suess*, p. 112.
 29. For Leonard Lepczy see Kalinowski 1996, *Dzieje i dorobek*, p. 38; Adam Bochnak, *Lepczy Leonard Jan Józef*, in: *Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary Online], www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/index.php/a/leonard-jan-jozef-lepczy#, 22-12-2015.
 30. “Lat temu dwanaście, gdym 4 grudnia 1890 r. [...] dowodził, iż słynny malarz norymberski Hans Süß z Kulmbachu bawił w latach 1514–1516 w Cracowie, spotkałem się wtedy z nieubłaganą krytyką, która z góry odrzucała wszelką możliwość hipotezy. Uważano ją wówczas wprost za wykluczoną, nieomal niedorzeczną, dlatego nawet w Sprawozdaniach z posiedzeń nie pozostał z niej żaden ślad.” See Leonard Lepczy, *Kultura epoki jagiellońskiej w świetle wystawy zabytków w 500 letnią rocznicę odnowienia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* [Culture of the Jagiellonian Era in the light of the exhibition of antiquities organised on the 500th anniversary of the renewal of the Jagiellonian University], Kraków 1901, p. 58. See also *Ruch artystyczny i umysłowy* [Artistic and intellectual movement], in: Czas, vol. L No. 144, 27-06-1897, p. 2. It is worth noticing that the opinion of Janitschek and Koelitz was not shared by Jacob Caro (1835–1904), a German expert on the history of Poland who was usually well acquainted with the state of Polish research. See the press coverage of his lecture at the meeting of the Verein für Geschichte der bildenden Künste zu Breslau: *Hans Sues von Kulmbach*, in: Czas, vol. XLIV No. 1333, 06-5-1891, p. 3. For Caro’s work, background and complex relations with Polish historians see Jakub Caro, *Listy Jacoba Caro do uczonych polskich (1862–1902)* [Letters of Jacob Caro to Polish scholars (1862–1902)] (Rozprawy z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki, 16), ed. Ryszard Ergetowski, Warszawa 2005.
 31. Leonard Lepczy, *Dürer w Polsce* [Dürer in Poland], in: Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki, vol. IV no.1, 1927, p. 68. The author’s main points were also summarized in German: Leonard Lepczy, *Dürer w Polsce*. (Dürer in Polen). *Présentée Dans Le Séance Du Novembre 1926. Extrait du Bulletin de l’Académie des Sciences et des Lettres*, Cracovie 1926.
 32. For the attempts to ridicule the suggestion that Kulmbach spent some time in Poland see e.g. Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, *Malarz monogramista KT i obrazy jego w kościołach Cracowskich z lat 1514, 1515, 1516. Przyczynek do dziejów sztuki* [The painter monogrammist “KT” and his works in Cracow churches from 1514, 1515 and 1516. A contribution to the history of art], in: Rozprawy i Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Wydziału Filologicznego Akademii Umiejętności, vol. I, 1874, p. 100.
 33. Muthesius 2012, *Beginnings*, p. 93; Stefan Muthesius, *Aspekte der polnisch-deutschen Auseinandersetzung um Veit Stoss*, in: *Ars sine scientia nihil est*. Księga ofiarowana Profesorowi Zygmuntowi Świechowskiemu [Ars sine scientia nihil est. A book dedicated to Professor Zygmunt Świechowski], eds. Zbigniew Borawski and Zygmunt Świechowski, Warszawa 1997, p. 167–168; Stefan Muthesius, *Lokal, universal - europäisch, national. Fragestellungen der frühen Kunstgeographie im späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, in: *Die Kunsthistoriographien in Ostmitteleuropa und der Nationale Diskurs*, ed. Robert Born, Berlin 2004, p. 70–71. For the problem in translating “naukowy” see Muthesius 2012, *Beginnings*, p. 92.
 34. Leśniakowska 1998, *Polska historia sztuki*, p. 52 (note 36); Muthesius 2004, *Lokal, universal*, p. 69.
 35. Muthesius 2012, *Beginnings*, p. 96.
 36. Muthesius 2004, *Lokal, universal*, p. 70. See also Kalinowski 1996, *Dzieje i dorobek*, p. 26–27; Małkiewicz 2005, *Z dziejów, esp.* p. 58.
 37. [Karol Soczyński], *O leksykonie sztuk pięknych przez Soczyńskiego Karola, senatora w 24-tomach wypracowanych, słów kilkanaście napisał P.W.F.K.*, Kraków 1858, p. 28. For the author see Stanisław Sroka, *Soczyński (Socini, Socyn) Karol Teodor*, in: Internetowy Polski Słownik Biograficzny, www.ipsb.nina.gov.pl/index.php/a/karol-teodor-soczynski-socini-socyn, 26-11-2015; Wojciech Walanus, *Karol Soczyński i poliptyk z Lusiny*, in: Modus. Prace z historii sztuki, vol. IV, 2003, p. 67–75.
 38. Edward Rastawiecki and his correspondent Józef Ignacy Krzewski warned each other of Soczyński’s fantasies as early as in 1848; see Polanowska 1995, *Historiografia*, p. 128. For published criticism see Gazeta Warszawska, no. 251, 1858, p. 2; Karol Estreicher, *Soczyński Karol Teodor*, in: Tygodnik Poznański, no. 4, April 1862, p. 112; Tadeusz Sterzyński, *Karol Estreicher o Ludwiku Gąsiorowskim i Karolu Soczyńskim* [Karol Estreicher on Ludwik Gąsiorowski and Karol Soczyński], Warszawa 1934, p. 6–10; Ambroży Grabowski, *O leksykonie sztuk pięknych Dra Soczyńskiego*, in: Biblioteka Warszawska, vol. 4, 1866, p. 140; Wojciech K. Stattler and Maciej Szukiewicz, *Pamiętnik Wojciecha K. Stattlera: studia malarskie w Cracowie i Rzymie przed 100 laty* (Biblioteka Cracowska, 52), Kraków 1916, p. 30 (note 17); Walanus 2003, *Karol Soczyński*, p. 69–70.
 39. Tomkowicz 09-06-1883, *Hans Sues*, p. 1.
 40. Stasiak 1924, *Hans Suess*, p. 3; Stasiak 1924, *Mistrzowie*, p. 460.
 41. Aleksandra Hola, *Structural conservation and restoration of six panel paintings by Hans Süß von Kulmbach (c. 1480–1522) from St. Mary’s basilica in Kraków: project realised under the Getty’s Panel Paintings Initiative*, in: *ICOM-CC Heritage Wood: Research & Conservation in the 21st Century*, in print. The information that the backs were gold washed (Pol. “zazłoczone”) comes from Łuszczkiewicz 1874, *Malarz monogramista KT*, p. 100.
 42. Sokółowski 1883, *Hans Suess*, p. 54.
 43. „[...] znalazł się nawet pewien szowinista, który dogadzając próżności narodowej [italics - MS], dopisał na odwrotnej stronie jednego z obrazów: Johannes Polonus fecit.” See XXX., *Z dziedziny sztuki* [From the field of art], in: Kurier Poznański, vol. XII No. 132, 13-06-1883, p. 2.
 44. Łepkowski 1947, *O obrazach*, p. 111.
 45. Rastawiecki 1851, *Słownik malarzów polskich*, 245–246; Mączyński 1954, *Kraków dawny*, p. 121; Anonym, *Opis Cracowa i jego okolic* [Cracow and its surroundings. A description], Kraków 1862, p. 91; Essenwein 1966, *Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale*, p. 122–123.
 46. Stanisław Wyspiański, *Hans Sues von Kulmbach*, manuscript, 1885, p. 1 (National Museum in Cracow, III-r.a-2674/1). Wyspiański grew to become an outstanding artist and playwright of the Polish fin de siècle.
 47. Łepkowski 1861, *Z przeszłości*, p. 2; Łuszczkiewicz 1874, *Malarz monogramista KT*, p. 99.
 48. See e.g. Łuszczkiewicz 1874, *Malarz monogramista KT*, p. 102 and fig. after p. 74. Up to the 1860s, sources transcribed the inscription without any gaps. See in particular Rastawiecki 1851, *Słownik malarzów polskich*, 245–246; Łepkowski 1864, *Die Marienkirche*, p. 106. On the other hand, they did not retain abbreviations and varied in the orthography of critical words.
 49. See the implausible interpretation of the erased words’ meaning by Łuszczkiewicz 1874, *Malarz monogramista KT*, p. 106. See also Franz I. Stadler, *Hans von Kulmbach*, Wien 1936, p. 127; Wilhelm Holl, *Hans von Kulmbach. Das Werk und sein Leben*, Kulmbach 1972, p. 60, 103–104.
 50. Leonard Lepczy, *Władysław Łuszczkiewicz 1828–1900*, in: Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce, vol. VII no. 1–2, 1902, col. III.
 51. Beate Störktuhl, *Historia sztuki w służbie “niemieckich badań wschodnich” (Ostforschung)* [Art history in the service of the “German eastern research” (Ostforschung)], in: Rocznik Historii Sztuki, vol. XXVI, 2001, p. 39; Piotr Skubiszewski, *Polen und die*

- deutsche Kunstgeschichte. Aus persönlicher Sicht*, in: Zeitschrift Des Deutschen Vereins Für Kunstwissenschaft, vol. 62, 2008, p. 218–219; Tadeusz Zadrożny, *Kajetan i inni (4). Adolfa darem uhonorowanie* [Kajetan and others (4). Honouring with a gift from Adolf], in: Cenne, Bezcenne/Utracone, no. 4 (69), November–December 2011, p. 44–45.
52. “Der volle Wortlaut ist in sinnloser Zerstörung aus Abneigung gegen alles Deutsche getilgt worden.” See *Sichergestellte Kunstwerke im Generalgouvernement*, Breslau 1940, p. 8. The most probable author of the respective catalogue notes was Gustav Barthel, a student of Wilhelm Pinder. See Zadrożny 2011, *Kajetan i inni*, p. 45.
53. Marian Sokolowski, *Studia do historii rzeźby w Polsce w XV i XVI w.* [Studies on the history of sculpture in Poland in the 15th and 16th century], in: Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce, vol. VII no. 1–2, 1902, col. 198–199. After Sokolowski’s self-correction, speculations on artistic celebrities visiting Cracow were no longer doubted in principle and could be presented with a dash of panache. While arguing that Cracow received a brief diplomatic visit from Jan Gossaert Mabuse, Sokolowski remarked that the famous painter “must have spent all of his free time over some wine or beer with his modest Cracow colleagues, flaunting his knowledge and talent” [Pol. “z pewnością wszystkie wolniejsze chwile musiał spędzać ze swymi skromnymi Cracowskimi kolegami przy winie czy piwie i popisując się swą wiedzą i talentem”]. See Marian Sokolowski, *Pobył Jana Gossaerta Mabuse w Cracowie i portrety Jerzego Saskiego i Barbary Jagiellonki* [Jan Gossaert Mabuse’s stay in Cracow and portraits of George of Saxony and Barbara Jagiellon], in: Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce, vol. VIII no. 1–2, 1907, col. XXXVI. Mabuse, the author continued, might also have sold some smaller paintings of his in Cracow, but none have survived.
54. Konstancja Stębowska, *Przyczynki do stosunków Kulmbacha z Polską i do jego działalności w Cracowie* [Contribution on Kulmbach’s interactions with Poland and to his activity in Cracow], in: Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce, vol. VIII no. 1–2, 1907, col. XIX–XXIV.
55. Sokolowski 1902, *Studia*, col. 226 (note 8). Cf. esp. Sokolowski 1883, *Hans Suess*, p. 95.
56. See some of the most recent instances of the problematic Polish dress argument: Agnieszka Gąsior, *Hans Süß von Kulmbachs Krakauer Karriere*, in: *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, eds. Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch, Ostfildern 2006, p. 333; Agnieszka Gąsior, headword *Hans Süß (Suess) von Kulmbach*, in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, eds. Günter Meißner and Andreas Beyer, Berlin 2011, vol. LXIX, p. 166–167; Olga Kotková, *German and Austrian Painting of the 14th–16th Centuries, Illustrated Summary Catalogue*, vol. II/1, Praha 2007, p. 112; *Stories from the Lives of Saints Peter and Paul: Hans Süß von Kulmbach*, in: *Virtual Uffizi Gallery*, www.virtualuffizi.com/stories-from-the-lives-of-saints-peter-and-paul.html, 10-12-2015. Cf. the reservations of Ernst Kausler, *Ein Pfälzer in Polen. Die Landauer Boner und ihre Weißenburger Freunde*, Neustadt 1974, p. 243–244 and Sylwia Jeruzal, *Tryptyk z Pławna* [Triptych of Pławno], unpublished master’s thesis, Jagiellonian University, Kraków 1999, p. 74.
57. The latter theory is to be found, e.g. in: Mieczysław Zlat, *Renesans i Manierizm* [Renaissance and Mannerism] (Sztuka Polska, 3), Warszawa 2008, p. 77; *Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, extranet.uj.edu.pl/ehost/detail/, DanalInfo=web.a.ebscohost.com+detail?sid=b24ee414-608e-402d-98b3c1751b6050f9%40sessionmgr4003&vid=9&hid=4212&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbnGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=39016840&db=a9h, 12.09.2015.
58. See the intriguing hypothesis concerning the piece known as the Triptych of Pławno (Warsaw, National Museum) by Krzysztof Czyżewski, *Der Krakauer Dom um 1600 im Lichte zeitgenössischer Quellen*, in: Martin Gruneweg (1562 – nach 1615). Ein europäischer Lebensweg (Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau. Quellen und Studien, 21), ed. Almut Bues, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 366–367. For further information on the triptych see e.g. Jeruzal 1999, *Tryptyk z Pławna; Wojciech Walanus*, *Późnogotycka rzeźba drewniana w Małopolsce 1490–1540* [Late gothic wood sculpture in Lesser Poland 1490–1540] (Ars vetus et nova, 21), Kraków 2006, p. 278–283; Agnieszka Gąsior, *Eine Jagiellonin als Reichsfürstin in Franken. Zu den Stiftungen des Markgrafen Friedrich d.Ä. von Brandenburg-Ansbach und der Sophie von Polen*, Ostfildern 2012, p. 251 (note 1025). A theory on Kulmbach’s role as the designer of the front slab of the bronze tomb monument of Cardinal Fryderyk Jagiellon in Cracow Cathedral has been advocated by Sven Hauschke, *Auftraggeber-Netzwerke und temporäre Werkgemeinschaften. Nürnberger Kunstwerke in Krakau zur Zeit des Veit Stoss*, in: *Wokół Wita Stwosza. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej w Muzeum Narodowym w Cracowie 19–22 maja 2005* [Around Wit Stwosz. Proceedings of the International Conference held at the National Museum in Cracow on May 19th–22nd, 2005], eds. Dobrosława Horzela and Adam Organisty, Kraków 2006, p. 225–227; Sven Hauschke, *Die Grabdenkmäler der Nürnberger Vischer-Werkstatt (1453–1544)* (Denkmäler deutscher Kunst. Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters, 6), Petersberg 2006, p. 308–309. See also Gąsior 2011, *Hans Süß (Suess)*, p. 167; Krzysztof Czyżewski, *“Koronacja Marii” w klasztorze Dominikanów w Cracowie – próba rozpoznania* [“Coronation of the Virgin” at the Dominican friary in Cracow – an identification attempt], in: *Sztuka w kręgu Cracowskich Dominikanów* [Art in the circle of the Dominican friary in Cracow], eds. Anna Markiewicz et al., Kraków 2013, p. 538. The hypothesis that Kulmbach painted Zygmunt’s portrait (Gołuchów Castle, branch of the National Museum in Poznań) can be refuted on stylistic and technological grounds. Cf. e.g. Józef Muczkowski, *Nieznane portrety Zygmunta Starego* [Unknown portraits of Zygmunt the Old], in: *Rocznik Cracowski*, vol. XXIII, 1932, p. 128, 132–134, 138; Zlat 2008, *Renesans i Manierizm*, p. 85; Maritta Iseler et al., *Künstler der Jagiellonen-Ära in Mitteleuropa* (Kompass Ostmitteleuropa. Kritische Beiträge Zur Kulturgeschichte, 2), Ostfildern 2013, p. 408, 412.
59. “Schöpfer einer nationalen Kunst” and “KUNSTschöpfer,” respectively; see Adam S. Labuda, *Der Künstler im Osten um 1500. Ansichten und Forschungsmodelle*, in: *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, eds. Dietmar Popp and Robert Suckle, Nürnberg 2002, p. 19. See also the Polish version of the paper: Adam S. Labuda, *Artysta w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej około 1500. Poglądy i modele badawcze* [An artist in East-Central Europe around 1500. Opinions and research models], in: *Rozum i rzetelność są wsparciem jedynym*. Studia z historii sztuki ofiarowane Ewie Chojeckiej, Katowice 2006, p. 25.
60. Ralf Retberg, *Nürnberger Briefe (zur Geschichte Der Kunst)*, Hannover 1846, p. 166; Gustav F. Waagen, *Handbuch der deutschen und niederländischen Malerschulen (Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei, 1)*, vol. I, Stuttgart 1862, p. 234; Carl von Lütow, *Eine Anbetung der Könige von Hans von Kulmbach*, in: *Zeitschrift Für Bildende Kunst. Kunstchronik*, vol. 6, 1871, p. 330.
61. Sabine Arend, *Die (kultur-)politische Instrumentalisierung von Veit Stoss im Nationalsozialismus*, in: *Wokół Wita Stwosza* 2006, p. 396–405.
62. Ewald Behrens, *Deutsche Malerei in Polen*, in: *Die Burg*, vol. II, 1941, p. 36.
63. Dagobert Frey, *Krakau*, Berlin 1941, p. 27.
64. For the *Deutsche Kolonialkunst* see e.g. Leśniakowska 1998, *Polska historia sztuki*, p. 34; Arend 2010, *Studien*, esp. p. 456–462.
65. Arend 2010, *Studien*, p. 456.
66. Stadler 1936, *Hans von Kulmbach*.
67. Störckuhl 2001, *Historia sztuki*; Beate Störckuhl, *Deutsche Ostforschung und Kunstgeschichte*, in: *Deutsche Ostforschung und polnische Westforschung im Spannungsfeld von Wissenschaft und Politik*, eds. Jan M. Piskorski and Andreas Warnecke, Osnabrück 2002, p.119–134.
68. Stadler 1936, *Hans von Kulmbach*, p. 70–71.
69. Sokolowski 1883, *Hans Suess*, p. 88; Józef Muczkowski and Józef Zdanowski, *Hans Suess z Kulmbachu* (Rocznik Cracowski, 21), Kraków 1927, p. 69.

70. Małkiewicz 2005, *Z dziejów*, p. 30–31; Maria Rzepińska, *Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, malarz i pedagog* [Władysław Łuszczkiewicz, a painter and teacher], Kraków 1983.
71. Łuszczkiewicz 1874, *Malarz monogramista KT*.
72. See note 55 above.
73. "Nie mamy bezpośredniego dowodu na to, aby cykle Cracowskie były malowane tutaj na miejscu, ale też nie mogły one powstać w *duższej atmosferze norymberskiej* [italics – MS]; to pewne." See Muczkowski and Zdanowski 1927, *Hans Suess*, p. 72.
74. Wanda Drecka, *Kulmbach*, Warszawa 1957, p. 37, 42; cf. Barbara Butts, *The Drawings of Hans Süß von Kulmbach*, in: *Master Drawings*, vol. XLIV no. 2, 2006, p. 202, no. B32.
75. See e.g. Karol Estreicher, *Straty kultury polskiej pod okupacją niemiecką 1939–1944. Wraz z oryginalnymi dokumentami grabieży* [The losses of Polish culture under German occupation]. With the original documentation of the sack], Kraków 2003, p. 132–137; Paweł Pencakowski and Agata Wolska, *Historia św. Katarzyny Aleksandryjskiej Hansa Süssa z Kulmbachu w kościele mariackim w Cracowie* [History of St. Catherine of Alexandria by Hans Süß of Kulmbach in St Mary Church in Cracow], Kraków 2014), p. 3–5; *Ministerstwo Kultury i Dziedzictwa Narodowego, Katalog strat wojennych* [Online catalogue of Polish wartime losses], <http://kolekcje.mkidn.gov.pl/katalog-strat-wojennych/wyszukiwanie-zaawansowane?s=Kulmbach>, 17.12.2015.
76. See Sokolowski 1902, *Studia*, col. 199; Sokolowski 1907, *Pobyt Jana Gossaerta*, col. V–VI, VIII; Stępowaska 1907, *Przyczynki*, col. XXI–XXVII; Konstancja Stępowaska, *Nowe przyczynki do stosunków Kulmbacha z Polską* [New contribution on Kulmbach's interactions with Poland], in: Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce, vol. VIII no. 3–4, 1912, col. CCCL–CCCLV; Henryk Ochenkowski, *Galerja Obrazów. Katalog Tymczasowy* [Gallery of Painting. Temporary catalogue], Kraków 1914, p. 24, no. 92; Feliks Kopera, *Malarstwo w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku (Renesans, barok, rokoko)* [Painting in Poland from the 16th to 18th century (Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo)] (*Dzieje malarstwa w Polsce*, 2), Kraków 1926, p. 121; Muczkowski and Zdanowski 1927, *Hans Suess*, p. 26–30, 52; Drecka 1957, *Kulmbach*, p. 53. See also Urszula Stępień, "Renesansowy obraz – Imaginacyjne przedstawienie króla Władysława Jagiełły", *Kraków (?) warsztat Hansa Suessa z Kulmbachu (?), 1520–1530* ["A Renaissance painting – imaginary portrait of King Władysław Jagiełło", *Kraków (?) workshop of Hans Suess von Kulmbach (?), 1520–1530*], in: *Studia Sandomierskie*, vol. XVII no. 3, 2010, p. 159–163.
77. Kopera 1926, *Malarstwo*, p. 121–122. Kopera's ideas were copied by Muczkowski and Zdanowski 1927, *Hans Suess*, p. 50–53.
78. Muczkowski and Zdanowski 1927, *Hans Suess*, p. 44.
79. Zarzycki had already been treating the paintings since July 1926. See [o.], *Zabytki kościelne w Cracowie* [Church monuments in Cracow], in: *Kurier Poznański*, vol. XXI no. 308, 08-07-1926, p. 6.
80. Drecka 1957, *Kulmbach*, p. 49; Maria Romanowska-Zadrożna and Tadeusz Zadrożny, *Straty wojenne: malarstwo obce: obrazy olejne, pastele, akwarele utracone w latach 1939–1945 w granicach Polski po 1945 bez ziem zachodnich północnych = Wartime losses, foreign painting: oil paintings, pastels, watercolours, lost between 1939 and 1945 within the post-1945 borders of Poland excluding the Western and Northern territories*, Poznań 2000, p. 216, no. 123.
81. The distinguished monographer of gothic painting in Lesser Poland Jerzy Gadomski, named but one example: a slight mellowing of form in Master George (Mistrz Jerzy), whose colouring was nonetheless compared to that of Bernhard Strigel. See Jerzy Gadomski, *Gotyckie malarstwo tablicowe w Małopolsce*, vol. III: 1500–1540, Warszawa et al. 1995, p. 88.
82. See e.g. Jan Samek, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej dla pedagogów* [History of Polish art for teachers], Kraków / Przemyśl 1999, p. 59; Jerzy Gadomski, *Malarstwo tablicowe w Małopolsce* [Gothic painting in Lesser Poland], in: *Malarstwo gotyckie w Polsce* [Gothic painting in Poland] (*Dzieje Sztuki Polskiej*, 2/3), vol. I, Warszawa 2004, p. 287; *Wielka Encyklopedia PWN* [Great PWN Encyclopedia], ed. Jan Wojnowski, vol. XXVI, Warszawa 2005, p. 219.
83. Kopera 1926, *Malarstwo*, p. 108–109.
84. Leonard Lepesz, *Historia Malarstwa* [History of painting], in: Kraków, jego kultura i sztuka [Cracow, its culture and art] (*Rocznik Cracowski*, 6), Kraków 1904, p. 216–217; Nikodem Pajzdowski, *Z dziejów malarstwa w Poznaniu* [From the history of painting in Poznań], in: *Kurier Poznański*, vol. XI no. 65, 19-03-1916, Dodatek [Addition], n.p.; Nikodem Pajzdowski, Poznań (*Nauka i Sztuka*, 14), Lwów/Warszawa 1922, p. 36. Kopera 1926, *Malarstwo*, p. 121–122; Stefan Komornicki, *Kultura artystyczna w Polsce czasów Odrodzenia. Sztuki plastyczne* [Artistic culture in Poland in the time of the Renaissance. Visual arts], in: *Kultura staropolska* [Old Polish culture], ed. Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1932, p. 548–549; Tadeusz J. Dobrowski, *Sztuka Cracowa* [Art of Cracow], Kraków 1950, p. 306; Stefan Kozakiewicz, *Sztuka renesansu* [Art of the Renaissance], in: *Dzieje sztuki polskiej* [History of Polish art], ed. Teresa Mroczko et al., Warszawa 1984, p. 39; Janusz Kęłowski, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej. Panorama zjawisk od zarania do współczesności* [History of Polish art. A panorama of phenomena from the beginning until the present time], Warszawa 1987, p. 88–89. See also note 80 above.
85. Komornicki 1932, *Kultura artystyczna*, p. 548–549; Michał Walicki and Juliusz Starzyński, *Dzieje sztuki polskiej* [History of Polish art], in: Ryszard Hamann, *Historia sztuki. Dzieje sztuki od epoki starożytności do czasów obecnych* [History of art from the Early Christianity until the present time], Warszawa 1934, p. 1037; Adam Bochnak, *Problematyka Cracowskiego renesansu* [The issue of Cracow renaissance], in: *Cracowskie odrodzenie*, ed. Jan Dąbrowski, Kraków 1954, p. 110; Zlat 2008, *Renesans i Manierizm*, p. 89.
86. Labuda 1993, "...eine von sinnvollen Zweckgefühlen", p. 5; Labuda 2006, *Artysta*, p. 27, 29–30. See also Skubiszewski 2008, *Polen und die deutsche Kunstgeschichte*, p. 221.
87. Michaela Marek, *Kunstgeschichte zwischen Wissenschaft und Dienst am Staat: die Tschechoslowakei der Zwischenkriegszeit und ihr Kunsterbe*, in: *Grenzen überwindend: Festschrift für Adam S. Labuda zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Katja Bernhardt et al., Berlin 2006, p. 79–97.
88. Franciszek Ksawery Martynowski, *Na przełomie sztuki polskiej* [On the turn of Polish art], Warszawa 1882, p. 27. Some two decades previously the leading Warsaw intellectuals agreed that the goal of writing a history of Polish art – already pursued in Cracow – was at that point unattainable. See Polanowska 1995, *Historiografia*, p. 140.
89. Nieczuja-Ziemięcki 1884, *Wystawa zabytków*, p. 1.
90. *Walne doroczne zebranie członków Towarzystwa ś. Łukasza w Cracowie* [General annual meeting of the St. Luke Society in Cracow], in: *Czas*, no. 92, 20-04-1884, p. 3; Joanna Wolańska, "Obrazki religijne zalecające się taniością i dobrem wykonaniem" *wydawane przez Towarzystwo Świętego Łukasza w Cracowie* ["Religious pictures that boast an affordable price and good quality" published by the St. Luke Society in Cracow], in: *Sztuka sakralna Cracowa w wieku XIX* [Religious art of Cracow in the 19th century], vol. III, eds. Joanna Wolańska and Wojciech Bałus, Kraków 2010, p. 43–59.
91. Wolańska 2010, "Obrazki religijne", esp. p. 57.
92. See Nieczuja-Ziemięcki 1884, *Wystawa zabytków*, p. 1; *Katalog wystawy zabytków z epoki Jana Kochanowskiego urządzonej w 300-letnią rocznicę jego zgonu staraniem Zarządu Muzeum Narodowego w Cracowie* [Catalogue of the exhibition of antiquities from the time of Jan Kochanowski, organized on the 300th anniversary of his death by of the Executive Board of the National Museum in Cracow], Kraków 1884, p. 8–9, cat. no. 32–36; *Katalog wystawy zabytków epoki Jagiellońskiej w 500 rocznicę odnowienia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego zorganizowanej* [Catalogue of the exhibition of antiquities from the Jagiellonian Era, organized on the 500th anniversary of the renovation of the Jagiellonian University], ed. Teodor Nieczuja-Ziemięcki, Kraków 1900, p. 29–30, cat. no. 256–274.
93. See e.g. Tomasz Torbus, *Die Rezeption der Renaissance im Nachkriegs-Polen: die Suche nach einem Nationalstil*, in: *Hans-estadt, Residenz, Industriestandort*, ed. Beate Störkuhl, München 2002, p. 313–314; Bałus 2015, *A Marginalised Tradition*

- tion, p. 443; Marina Dmitrieva, *Die Renaissance hinter dem Eisernen Vorhang*, in: *Kunsttexte.de*, no. 4, 2015, p. 1, 6–11.
94. In this period Polish art history is generally held to have followed “the tough Stalinist line”. See Batus 2015, *A Marginalised Tradition*, p. 442.
95. Michał Walicki, *Polskimi śladami Kulmbacha* [In the Polish steps of Kulmbach], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1955, p. 164–73. See also *Odrodzenie w Polsce. Przewodnik po wystawie w Muzeum Narodowym w Warszawie 1953–1954* [Renaissance in Poland. A guide to the exhibition in the National Museum in Warsaw 1953–1954], Warszawa 1953, p. 95; Mieczysław Wallis, *Nie rozpoznany autoportret Hansa Suessa z Kulmbachu* [An unidentified self-portrait of Hans from Kulmbach], in: *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1955, p. 174–175.
96. The first insightful critique of the discussed hypothesis was presented as early as in 1928 by Ernst Buchner, headword *Kulmbach*, in: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, eds. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, Leipzig 1928, vol. XXII, p. 93. This path was followed by Wojciech Marcinkowski, *Rzeźby retabulum św. Jana Chrzciciela w kościele św. Florian na Kleparzu w Cracowie. Geneza stylu - twórca* [Sculptures of the St. John the Baptist Altarpiece in St. Florian’s Church in Kleparz in Cracow. Origins of style - the creator], in: *Folia Historiae Artium*, vol. 24, 1988, p. 35 and Jeruzal 1999, *Tryptyk z Pławna*, p. 72–76. See also *Deutsche Kunst Der Dürer-Zeit. Ausstellung Im Albertinum*, ed. Werner Schmidt, Dresden 1971, p. 232; *Encyklopedia Sztuki Polskiej* [Encyclopedia of Polish art], ed. Anna Śledzikowska et al., Kraków 2001, p. 621; Manfred H. Grieb, *Nürnberger Künstlerlexikon. Bildende Künstler, Kunsthandwerker, Gelehrte, Sammler, Kulturschaffende und Mäzene vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, München 2007, vol. ii, p. 868; Czyżewski 2013, “Koronacja Marii”, p. 537; extranet.uj.edu.pl/ehost/detail/,DanaInfo=web.a.ebscohost.com+detail?sid=b24ee414-608e-402d-98b3c1751b6050f9%40sessionmgr4003&vid=16&hid=4212&bddata=JnNpd%20GU9ZWhvc3Qt-bGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=32225171&db=f5h, 12. 09.2015.
97. Gąsior 2006, *Hans Süß*, esp. p. 333–335, 338–339; Gąsior 2011, *Hans Süß (Suess)*, p. 166–167; Gąsior 2012, *Eine Jagiellonin*, esp. p. 201–202; Iseler 2013, *Künstler*, p. 408.

Picture credits

Fig.1, 4, 5-7: Cracow, Archipresbyter’s Church of Our Lady of the Assumption, Prelate House. Foto by Paweł Gąsior

Fig. 2 A-D: lost during the World War II. Romanowska-Zadrozna and Zadrozny 2000, *Straty wojenne*, p. 215-218, no. 122-125; 2 E: Cracow, Archipresbyter’s Church of Our Lady of the Assumption. Foto by Paweł Gąsior

Fig. 3 A, B, C, E, F, H: Cracow, Archipresbyter’s Church of Our Lady of the Assumption, Prelate House. Foto by Paweł Gąsior, 3 D and G: lost during the World War II. Romanowska-Zadrozna and Zadrozny 2000, *Straty wojenne*, p. 213-214, no. 120-121

Fig. 8 and 9: Foto by Antoni Pawlikowski; 1927; Cracow; Jagiellonian University Museum

Summary

In the mid-19th century, a certain case of artistic mobility in the early Renaissance entered the agenda of Polish, and subsequently German, antiquarianism and art history. The artist in question was the presumed student of Albrecht Dürer, Hans Suess von Kulmbach (d. 1522), whose name was eventually linked to a number of high-quality paintings dispersed among Cracow churches and private collections. At the same time, a controversy erupted over the supposition that the painter behind the masterpieces had resided in Cracow and developed manifold relationships with the local milieu. In the face of scarce and inconclusive evidence, the answers successively offered in the debate have proven closely dependent on changing methodological as well as political factors.

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