

*Aleksandra Jaśniewicz-Downes*

Dublin

ORCID: 0000-0001-5639-4422

## Commemoration and Family Identity in Sixteenth-Century Gdańsk: Portraits of Members of the Connert Family (1550–1599)

<https://doi.org/10.26881/porta.2022.21.09>

**Słowa kluczowe:** Gdańsk, reformacja, portrety renesansowe, medale portretowe, Johann Connert, krąg Lucasa Cranacha, kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku

**Keywords:** Gdańsk, Reformation, Renaissance portraits, portrait medals, epitaphs, Johann Connert, circle of Lucas Cranach, St. Mary's church in Gdańsk

The history of portraits in Gdańsk can be traced back to the first quarter of the fifteenth century. However, it was not until the first decades of the sixteenth century that interest in this genre spread to wider groups of the local society. The early sixteenth-century Catholic altarpieces, Lutheran epitaphs commissioned in the later part of the century, and secular artworks ranging from architectural sculpture to portrait medals and from large-scale panels to miniatures document a growing need among various members of the community to commemorate their appearance and social standing.

The present study discusses portraits commissioned between 1550 and 1599 by representatives of three generations of the Connert family. These conceptually and formally innovative artworks: architectural sculpture, epitaphs and medals, will be examined on the formal, iconographic and socio-historical levels. The discussion is opened by a reconstruction of the history of the Connert family in Gdańsk. The subsequent formal analysis of the portraits is followed by an examination of their social and confessional context. Of particular interest is the coexistence of the portraits' economic and confessional dimensions, with an emphasis on temporal and spatial manipulations aimed at amplification of their meanings.

Portraits of members of this influential family have previously been profiled in studies of various aspects of early modern art in Gdańsk (Danzig), including

research on pictorial epitaphs,<sup>1</sup> medals<sup>2</sup> and painted portraits,<sup>3</sup> general surveys of local painting<sup>4</sup> and sculpture,<sup>5</sup> studies devoted to St Mary's Church in Gdańsk,<sup>6</sup> local art patronage,<sup>7</sup> and discussions on the history of fashion in the Baltic city.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, research into the Connerts' portraits remains incomplete, while the role of portraits within the family's patronage of the arts has never yet been the subject of a dedicated analysis.

<sup>1</sup> Katarzyna Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem. Sztuka nagrobna w Gdańsku (XV–XVIII w.) „Długie trwanie” epitafium*, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 19–20, 30, 33–34, 43, 113, 136; *eadem*, *Epitafia obrazowe w Gdańsku (XV–XVII w.)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1993, pp. 26–29, 31, 56–57, 59, 62, 63, 65, 70–71.

<sup>2</sup> Siegfried Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1930, Bd. 70, pp. 142, 145–146 (cat. no. 5, 6), 147–148 (cat. no. 11), 166–167; Jarosław Dutkowski, *Motywy idei mieszczańskich na monetach, medalach i żetonach Gdańskich od końca XVI do połowy XVIII wieku w Gdańsku*, PhD dissertation, University of Gdańsk 2007, pp. 228, 232.

<sup>3</sup> Aleksandra Jaśniewicz, *Portret w Gdańsku od schyłku średniowiecza do późnego baroku. Malarstwo, rysunek (1420–1700)*, Gdańsk 2018, pp. 82, 83, 110, 237 (cat. no. KP1.1), 245 (cat. no. KP1.5).

<sup>4</sup> Willi Drost, *Danziger Malerei von Mittelalter bis zum Ende des Barock: ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Strukturforchung in der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin–Leipzig 1938, pp. 108–109; Teresa Grzybkowska, *Złoty wiek malarstwa Gdańskiego na tle kultury artystycznej miasta*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 82–83, 85; Justyna Olszewska-Świetlik, *Technologia i technika malarska wybranych nowożytnych epitafiów z Bazyliki Mariackiej w Gdańsku*, Toruń 2009, pp. 22–41, 103–105, 107–115; Jacek Tylicki, *Sztuka Prus Królewskich. Malarstwo i rysunek [in:] Prusy Królewskie. Społeczeństwo, kultura, gospodarka 1454–1772. Szkice z dziejów*, red. Edmund Kizik, Gdańsk 2012, p. 311; Bożena Szmelter-Fausek, Justyna Olszewska-Świetlik, *Painting Works by Anton Möller on the Background of Gdańsk's Painting Workshop of the Last Quarter of the 16th and the First Half of the 17th Century*, “Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo” 2007, t. 48, pp. 143, 151.

<sup>5</sup> Lech Krzyżanowski, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba kamienna lat 1517–1628*, PhD dissertation, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań 1966, pp. 17, 24, annex, p. 3; Janusz Pałubicki, *Rzeźba kamienna w Gdańsku w latach 1517–1585*, “Gdańskie Studia Muzealne” 1985, nr 4, pp. 182–183, 189–190; Renata Sulewska, *Dłutem wycięte. Snycerstwo północnych ziem Polski w czasach Zygmunta III Wazy*, Warszawa 2004, p. 28, 162; Kevin Kandt, *Schlüteriana II: Studies in the Art, Life, and Milieu of Andreas Schlüter*, Berlin 2011, pp. 63, 64.

<sup>6</sup> Willi Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 4: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschatze*, Stuttgart 1963, pp. 157–158; Stanisław Bogdanowicz, *Konkatedralna bazylika mariacka w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 1988, p. 106; Anna Sobocka, *Malarstwo nowożytne w kościele Mariackim w Gdańsku [in:] Kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku. Malarstwo i rzeźba*, red. Jacek Friedrich, Gdańsk 2019, pp. 140, 143–146; Franciszek Skibiński, *Rzeźba nowożytna w kościele Mariackim w Gdańsku [in:] Kościół Mariacki...*, pp. 112–114.

<sup>7</sup> Lech Krzyżanowski, *Rozwój nowożytnego mecenatu mieszczańskiego w Gdańsku w XVI w. [in:] Funkcja dzieła sztuki*, red. Jan Białostocki, Warszawa 1972, pp. 188–189.

<sup>8</sup> Elly Schaumann, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Tracht in Danzig*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1937, Bd. 73, pp. 19–20, 25; Aleksandra Kajdańska, *Ubiory w nowożytnym Gdańsku od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2020, pp. 57–58.

## The Connert Family in Gdańsk

Johann I Connert (Konnert, Kuhnert, Kohnert, Conrad, Conrardt, Konradt, Connerth, Koynat, Konath) (d. 1462) moved to Gdańsk from the Margraviate of Brandenburg in the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> He was a wealthy merchant, and in 1458 he purchased the Łostowice (Schönfeld) estate near Gdańsk.<sup>10</sup> Connert's ambitions extended beyond trade, however. In 1456 he became an alderman (Ger. *Schöppe*), a member of the municipal judicial authority.<sup>11</sup> In this capacity he represented Gdańsk at the diet of Elbląg (Elbing) on 28 April 1456.<sup>12</sup> In 1462, Johann I Connert was imprisoned by the Teutonic Order and later executed.<sup>13</sup>

His son, Johann II Connert (d. before 1526), did not share his father's political inclinations. He was a citizen of the Gdańsk Old Town district, most likely a merchant,<sup>14</sup> and prosperous enough to purchase a property there, on Nowa Grobla (Schüsseldamm).<sup>15</sup> His son Andreas (d. before 1526) was sent to study in Leipzig in 1492, while his daughter Catharina married a town councillor (Ger. *Ratsherr*), Michael Barenfusz (Barfuß), in 1515.<sup>16</sup> Both of these steps may be understood as an indication of his concern for his offspring's social advancement. Their sister Elisabeth married a Gdańsk citizen, Andreas Wornigk (Warnecke) (d. 1538), in 1524.<sup>17</sup>

The most eminent of the siblings, however, was Johann III Connert (d. 1560). As a merchant, he specialised in marine trade,<sup>18</sup> while also following

<sup>9</sup> Dorothea Weichbrodt, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig: In Stamm- und Namentafeln vom 14.-18. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 3, Klausdorf-Schwentne 1990, p. 137.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Foote, *Astrology in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Prussia: A Handwritten Horoscope Inscription from the Private Library of Simon Loytz*, BA thesis, Oklahoma State University 2012, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 166.

<sup>12</sup> Alongside councillors Kurt van Dalen and Mathis Colner; Paul Simson, *Danzig in der dreizehnjährige Kriege 1454-1466*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1891, Bd. 29, p. 125.

<sup>13</sup> Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 166.

<sup>14</sup> It was likely to be Johann II, to whom the magistrate of Aberdeen referred, in a letter dated 6 August 1487. Scottish officials assured the Gdańsk city council that citizens Connert and Vasolt would be assisted in obtaining their payment for goods sold there. A commissioner was sent by Connert to Aberdeen in relation to this letter; Ernst Ludwig Fisher, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, Edinburgh 1903, p. 27.

<sup>15</sup> Johann II Connert paid taxes on this house in 1495. After his death, the property was divided between his widow, his second wife Margarete *de domo* Pirch (Pirck), and his three children: Johann III, Catharina and Elisabeth. The case was still unresolved in 1532, when Margarete petitioned the city council, and finally resolved by the mayor and the council in 1546; Foote, *Astrology...*, p. 21, note 77.

<sup>16</sup> After Barenfusz's death in 1529 she married Johann von Holten; Weichbrodt, *Patrizier...*, Bd. 1, p. 137.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup> In 1558, the city council seized a consignment of barley sent to Johann III Connert by Hans Moller from Livonia; Foote, *Astrology...*, p. 18.

his grandfather's pursuit of political recognition. Johann III became a juror in the city's Main Town district in 1531, co-presided over the jury as deputy senior in 1536, and presided over it alone, as senior, in 1539. In 1540 he became a councillor (*Ratsherr*) and in 1544 performed the duties of a judge, the most prestigious of the functions accruing to the councillors.<sup>19</sup> As one of the two most senior councillors, he was also a treasurer (Ger. *Kämmerer*).<sup>20</sup> His legacy, however, stems from his role as a warden of city hospitals and the orphanage. The orphanage itself was founded as part of the hospital of St Elisabeth and functioned as a separate institution from 1541, and its four wardens were elected from among the councillors in office in 1546.<sup>21</sup> During the 1540s and 1550s, Johann III supported the orphanage financially. He also chaired a committee, which congregated in his own house, and whose role was to allocate funding for the hospital and orphanage. In 1552 he also negotiated a privilege from the Polish King Sigismund August guaranteeing equal legal rights to legitimate and illegitimate orphans. After the fourteenth-century orphanage building was destroyed by fire in 1547, Johann III Connert initiated and co-financed the erection of a new edifice in the years 1548–1549.<sup>22</sup> Influential in his native city, Connert likely sought wider connections: it was probably he who presented the ruler of Ducal Prussia, Albrecht Hochenzollern with a block of stone in 1547.<sup>23</sup>

In 1540, Johann III Connert acquired the rights to an estate belonging to the abbots of Oliva:<sup>24</sup> a plot of land by the Oliva stream, later known as Kuźnica Conradich (Conradshammer, Conrads Hammer, Connertshammer), with a hammer mill, cutting mill and grain mill, all built on the site “where the new court used to be”,<sup>25</sup> as well as executive authority (*Schulzenamt*) in the

<sup>19</sup> Witold Szczuczko, *Konnert (Connert, Conrad, Konnert) Jan (zm. 1560)* [in:] *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, t. 2: G–K, red. Stanisław Gierszewski, Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańsk 1994, pp. 431, 432; Joachim Zdrenka, *Konnert (Connert, Connerth, Kohnert, Conradt, Konradt), Jan (Johann)* [in:] *Słownik Biograficzny...*, p. 178, no. 583.

<sup>20</sup> Daniel Gralath, *Versuch einer Geschichte Danzigs: Aus zuverlässigen Quellen und Handschriften*, Bd. 2, Königsberg 1790, p. 204–205.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1913, p. 185.

<sup>22</sup> Theodor Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt dargestellt*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1843, p. 336.

<sup>23</sup> In a letter sent from Königsberg on 9 August 1547, the duke gladly accepted a stone block sent by Hans Conrad: “1547 August 9. H.[erzog] A.[lbrecht] an Hans Conrad in Danzig. Ihr habt ‘unser Werkmeister und weisser, Gabriel Steinmetzen’ einen gevierten Stein mitgeben, der in unserm Herzogtum zu brechen sein soll. Da der Stein uns gefällt, so teilt uns mit, wo er zu finden ist. A. Ditsch, st. A. Kgsb. Flt. 69. S. 553”; Hermann Ehrenberg, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1899, p. 176, no. 286.

<sup>24</sup> Connert bought the estate, with the approval of Abbott Bartholomäus, from its previous tenant, lawyer Johann Treßler; Erich Keyser, *Olivaer Studien*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1928, Bd. 69, pp. 40, 41. The land was owned by the abbots and acquired by subsequent owners as emphiteutical lease until 1772; Paweł Jeziorski, *Hylzenowie w Gdańsku. Szkic do dziejów elit dawnego województwa inflanckiego*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 2015, nr 80, p. 154.

<sup>25</sup> “Wo vormals der neue Hof gestanden hat”, Keyser, *Olivaer Studien*, p. 41.

neighbouring village of Jelitkowo (Glettkau), and two meadows by the Vistula river, which belonged to the mills “for a long time”.<sup>26</sup> In Conradshammer, the Connerts established a copper mill and probably a suburban residence.<sup>27</sup>

Around 1525/1530, Johann III Connert married Gertrud Huxer (c. 1508–1550) who is assumed to have been a daughter of Ulrich, a Gdańsk merchant and councillor.<sup>28</sup> Johann III and Gertrud were Lutherans, and after their deaths were buried next to each other in St Mary’s Church, the main parish church of the Main Town and the burial site of the city elite.<sup>29</sup> They had ten children: Paul I, Bartholomäus (d. 1565),<sup>30</sup> Johann IV (d. 1587), a further four sons (including twins) who died in early infancy, and three daughters. Anna (d. 1582), the only one of the daughters known by name, married the Gdańsk merchant and town councillor Reinhold Mollner in 1557.<sup>31</sup>

Johann IV Connert was the only one of Johann III’s sons to follow his father’s political pursuits. He became a Main Town juror in 1562 and a councillor in 1571.<sup>32</sup> Before 1552, he married Anna Loitz (1534–1563), the daughter of Michael Loitz (c. 1473–1533), a representative of the wealthy and influential Szczecin (Stettin) merchant banker family, who settled in Gdańsk as late as 1528 and strove for alliances with established Gdańsk families. They had two daughters, one of them also named Anna (b. 1552),<sup>33</sup> and a son, Peter (d. 1616). In 1565, two years after Anna Loitz’s death, Johann IV married Elisabeth, the daughter

<sup>26</sup> Keyser, *Olivaer Studien*, p. 41.

<sup>27</sup> A suburban residence was present in Conradshammer before 1652. In that year, an existing house was remodelled by the subsequent owner, Gdańsk mayor Friedrich Ehler. No tangible evidence of structures present at the site before the eighteenth century is known. Only fragments of Renaissance walls have been discovered within the nineteenth-century basement walls. For this information I wish to thank Prof. dr hab. Katarzyna Rozmarnowska from the Department of Environmental Design, Faculty of Architecture, Gdańsk University of Technology.

<sup>28</sup> Dorothea Weichbrodt does not name Gertrud’s father in the Huxer family tree; Weichbrodt, *Patrizier...*, Bd. 1, Klausdorf–Schwentine 1988, pp. 114, 254; she does so when referring to the Connert family; *eadem*, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig: In Stamm- und Namentafeln vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 3, Klausdorf–Schwentine 1990, p. 137.

<sup>29</sup> Gertrud Huxer was buried on 10 May 1550, and Johann Connert on 9 March 1560, tombstone in St Mary’s Church in Gdańsk, no. 251; *eadem*, *Patrizier...*, Bd. 3, p. 137.

<sup>30</sup> Bartholomäus became a brewer, as did both sons of Paul I, Christof (d. 1600) and Paul II (d. 1639); *ibidem*, p. 137.

<sup>31</sup> The marriage coincided with the development of Mollner’s career: he became a town mayor that year. He was the son of Georg Mollner, Johann III Connert’s fellow hospital warden, and Catharina Feldstete. The culmination of his career came in 1582, when he was appointed a royal Burggraf.

<sup>32</sup> Zdrénka, *Konnert (Connert, Connerth, Kohnert, Conradt, Konradt), Jan (Johann)*, p. 178, no. 584.

<sup>33</sup> There is an inscription referring to the birth of Anna on the title page of a Bible from the private library of Simon Loitz (no. 16) now in the Elbing Municipal Library (Bibl. V. Ar N. T, gr. Bas. 1545. Fol); Foote, *Astrology...*, pp. 3–6, 45, 30–36.

of another member of Szczecin's elite, mayor Georg Bruckmann.<sup>34</sup> It is worth noting that, since 1568, Johann IV Connert and the Loitzes remained on opposite sides of a political conflict. That year Anna's uncles, namely, Johann III (1510–1573) and Stephan II (1507–1584) Loitz, became members of the Naval Commission, acting as treasurers and partly financing its activity through loans. Johann IV Connert, on the other hand, was actively opposing the Commission's existence. It was established on 24 March 1568 by the Polish King Sigismund August, with the goal of developing the Polish fleet and, ultimately, dominating the Baltic Sea. Acting under its auspices, a privateer fleet, based in nearby Puck, was conducting raids against hostile ships. The activity of the Commission frustrated Gdańsk's ambitions to develop an independent naval policy, while privateers' raids had a damaging effect on the city's trade operations. The city authorities saw an opportunity to end the fleet's presence in Gdańsk on 18 April 1568, when eleven privateers robbed farmers making their way to sell goods in the city. Their capture, judgement and execution were followed by a lengthy conflict between the city council and the Commission, in which Johann IV Connert took part as a councillor. He was among the town officials who went from Gdańsk via Elbląg<sup>35</sup> to the diet of Lublin, where the matters were to be discussed, in December 1569. The diet was attended by the mayors Georg Kleefeld, Constantin I Ferber and Johann Proite, and the councillor Albrecht Giese. Accused of acting against the Crown's interest, they were imprisoned for four months. After their release, they were greeted in Gdańsk as heroes when they rode back into town on 17 December 1570, escorted by councillors Georg Rosenberg and Johann IV Connert.<sup>36</sup> In early spring 1572, Johann IV accompanied mayor Georg Kleefeld to Warsaw on a diplomatic mission aimed at reversing the Karnkowski Statutes of 15 March 1570, which diminished the city's independence by subordinating it to the Polish monarch.<sup>37</sup> Despite their efforts, the negotiations came to naught.<sup>38</sup>

As a representative of the town authorities, Johann IV appeared in an anti-council pamphlet signed by Georg Wyllenbergk, describing an episode from the 1577 siege of Gdańsk by Stephen Báthory. The author accused Connert, who had allegedly opened the Corpus Christi gate (Ger. *Heiligen Leichnam Tor*) on purpose in the early hours of 24 June to present the Polish army with an easy target, of treachery.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Joachim Zdrenka, *Urządnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814. Biogramy*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 178.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Simson, *Westpreussens und Danzigs Kampf gegen die polnischen Unionsbestrebungen in den letzten Jahren des Königs Sigismund August (1568–1572)*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1897, Bd. 37, p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 106.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 125–140.

<sup>38</sup> Ultimately the Karnkowski Statutes were reversed during the reign of Stephen Báthory (*Tractatus portorii*, 1585).

<sup>39</sup> Wilhelm Behring, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jahres 1577. Danzig und Dänemark im Jahre 1577*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1901, Bd. 43, p. 176. Wyllenbergk

Johann IV owned a town house in the main representative street of the Main Town, Langgasse (currently 45 Długa Street), opposite the Main Town Hall. Built in the years 1555–1560, this is one of the earliest Renaissance edifices in the Baltic city. After Johann IV's death in 1578, the house was inherited by Peter.

Johann IV's second son, Jacob (1575–1648), joined the ranks of the city authorities, becoming a Main Town juror in 1618, a councillor in 1619, and a judge in 1625.<sup>40</sup> In 1617 he married Elisabeth, a daughter of the mayor of Elbląg (Elbing), Georg Wilder.<sup>41</sup> After his death, Jacob Connert was buried in St Mary's Church.<sup>42</sup>

The records of the Connert family in Gdańsk continue into the last quarter of the eighteenth century and, as their marriages indicate, they maintained a relatively high status in the local society.<sup>43</sup> However, none of them joined the ranks of the town council after 1648 or is known to have founded works of art.

## The Connert Portraits: A Formal Survey

The significance of the Connerts' portraits lies in both their formal aspects and their symbolic content. The analysis below begins with a solely formal investigation, which lays the groundwork for further interpretation.

The first known portrait of a representative of the Connert family, a sculptural portrait of Johann III (fig. 1), was placed above the entrance to the orphanage rebuilt in 1548–1549, the first known Renaissance edifice in Gdańsk.<sup>44</sup> This

sought to discredit the city authorities as complacent. According to the text, when confronted by Claus von Ungern, Connert claimed that the gate was open on behalf of the city council in order to facilitate transport of wood. This explanation did not satisfy the Danish commander, already suspicious of the council's stance. Von Ungern allegedly beat Connert on the neck with a spike and threatened to stab him in the heart; Stadtbibliothek Danzig, inv. nr Hdsr. L K f. 38. The manuscript referred to by Behring is missing from the current collection of the Polish Library of Sciences in Gdańsk, which holds two copies another text by Wyllenbergk, *Historia Das istt Warhafte vnd Eigentliche Beschreibung Etzlicher Alten Geschichten, Darinnen auch die Ankunfft der Konninglichen Stadt Dantzick...*, inv. nr. Ms. 753 and Ms. 1304 (previously: I E. f. 38, missing pages 100–102, 111–112). Neither of the copies contains the discussed pamphlet. For this information I wish to thank Stefania Sychta from the Polish Library of Sciences in Gdańsk.

<sup>40</sup> Joachim Zdrenka, *Konnert (Connert, Connerth, Kohnert, Conrad, Konrad), Jakob (Jakob) [in:] idem, Urzędnicy...*, p. 177, no. 582.

<sup>41</sup> Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 166. According to Weichbrodt they got married in 1610; Weichbrodt, *Patrizier...*, Bd. 3, p. 137. Zdrenka refers to her father as a mayor, while Rühle and Weichbrodt term him a councillor; Zdrenka, *Urzędnicy...*, p. 178.

<sup>42</sup> Tombstone no. 192 in St Mary's Church according to Weichbrodt, *Patrizier...*, Bd. 3, p. 137; tombstone no. 251, marking the family tomb, where Jacob's wife was also buried in 1642 according to: Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 166.

<sup>43</sup> Weichbrodt, *Patrizier...*, BD. 3, p. 137.

<sup>44</sup> The building was renovated in 1709 and 1752. In the 19th century it served as a workhouse (Ger. *Arbeitshaus*). It was demolished in 1916, after the plot was purchased by the West Prussia Fire Insurance Association (Ger. *Westpreussische Feuersoziätät*, renamed the *Danziger*



Fig. 1. Portrait of Johann III Connert with putto and hourglass, 1550, front wall of the former city orphanage, Court of Appeal, Gdańsk, photo: Zbysław Woronko

half-figure image of Johann III Connert is carved in half-round and placed in a shallow aedicula above the doorway. The bearded figure is clad in an overcoat with a broad flat collar (Ger. *Schaube*) and slashed sleeves worn over a doublet. He is holding an hourglass in his left hand and extending his right hand over the figure of a naked infant leaning on a skull and pointing towards the timepiece. A house mark identifying the man as Connert is placed below his left hand.

The authorship of the relief, previously attributed to Gabriel von Aachen (Aken),<sup>45</sup> has not been determined.<sup>46</sup> It is assumed to have been made by the workshop also responsible for the execution of the stone doorway and the stone dressing of the gable on the façade. The carved decorations of these elements reveal the influence of Heinrich Vogtherr's *Frembdes und Wunderbahrliches*

Feuersozietät in 1920). Following the design by Albert Carsten, the façade of the orphanage, the only surviving part of the sixteenth-century building, was embedded into the neo-Renaissance wing of the new quarters, the main part of which was designed in the neo-Baroque style. Transplanted into the new building, the façade was renovated and altered, particularly in the gable area, and also through the addition of a lintel with an inscription above the portrait and an inscription plaque with a German translation of the Latin verses above it. After World War II, the main building housed the Voivodeship Committee of the Polish Workers' Party (Pol. Komitet Wojewódzki KC PZPR), while the neo-Renaissance side wing was used by the General Technical Organisation NOT. It is currently the Prosecutor's Office of the Court of Appeal.

<sup>45</sup> Georg Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1910, p. 12. This hypothesis was accepted by: Krzyżanowski, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba...*, annex, p. 3) and Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, p. 33).

<sup>46</sup> This attribution was rejected as neither historically nor stylistically viable by: Pałubicki, *Rzeźba...*, p. 182.



*Kunstbüchlein* (1538) and are formally akin to the reliefs on the “Councillors’ Doorway” in St Mary’s Church in Gdańsk (c. 1550).<sup>47</sup> The execution of the portrait is of uneven quality, with the infant’s body being the most skilfully rendered fragment of the sculpture. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the sculpture is extensively restored: parts of Connert’s cloak are a later addition, as is the upper part of his right hand, while the infant’s face is barely legible. Below the sculptural relief, there is an inscription describing the house as a refuge for orphans.<sup>48</sup>

The image of the wingless putto with a skull and an hourglass is known as the “*L’hora passa*” (The hour passes) motif.<sup>49</sup> It was developed in mid-fifteenth-century Italy by Giovanni Boldú, in the 1458 Caracalla medal, and emulated in an anonymous woodcut, “*L’hora passa*” of 1490, known north of the Alps from c. 1520.<sup>50</sup> While the Italian images show the child awake, sometimes intensely gazing into the hourglass, German and Netherlandish artists developed the sleeping infant variation: an image of a putto in its death agony, as a more overt *memento mori*.<sup>51</sup> The “*L’hora passa*” motif was introduced in Poland as the latter type soon after 1547 by an Italian sculptor and architect active in Kraków, Giovanni Maria Padovano, in the tomb of Rafał Maciej Ocieski (1533–1547) in the city’s Dominican friary.<sup>52</sup> While the Gdańsk infant’s face is heavily damaged, the active pose of the gesturing figure might suggest that it represents an awake baby variation. It is the only example of a sculpted portrait of a private donor displayed on the façade of a public building in Gdańsk. Similarly, the “*L’hora passa*” motive is not known to be depicted in any later portrait of a Gdańsk citizen.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 183. The reliefs from the “Councillors’ Doorway” were dated to c. 1550 by: Krzyżanowski, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba...*, p. 17.

<sup>48</sup> Aeternae, o(mn)ipotens deus unice, nunc tua gratue / Laudib(us) extollat numina sancta piis / Abiectos quicunque pia iuvat ope puellos / Imposita est operi te duce luma manus / Confugito huc laetus quisquid haud ulla parentum / Sustentaris ope nam h(a)ec domus excipiet / Orphanos abictos matrum quos cura reliquit / Hos semper placido suscipiet gremio 1550. For the transcription and edition of the inscription I wish to thank Elżbieta Starek and Grzegorz Kotłowski from the Greek and Latin Inscriptions Research Team at the Classical Philology Division of the Institute of Classical and Slavonic Studies, University of Gdańsk.

<sup>49</sup> Motif recognized by: Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, p. 43.

<sup>50</sup> Horst Woldemar Janson, *The Putto with the Death’s Head*, “The Art Bulletin” 1937, vol. 3, p. 435; Jan Białostocki, *Płec śmierci*, Gdańsk 2007, pp. 60–64; Liana Cheney, *The Symbolism of the Skull in Vanitas Homo Bulla*, “Cultural and Religious Studies” 2018, no. 5, pp. 274–276.

<sup>51</sup> Janson, *The Putto...*, p. 439.

<sup>52</sup> The red marble bas-relief was commissioned by Rafał’s father, Jan Ocieski, an influential politician, courtier and art patron, and Deputy Chancellor of the Crown from 1549. It was emulated in a number of children’s tombs in Poland; Maria Kołakowska, *Renesansowe nagrobki dziecięce w Polsce XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, “Studia Renesansowe” 1956, nr 1, Wrocław 1956, p. 251; Anna Papierkowska, *Polskie nagrobki dziecięce w dobie Renesansu*, “Ethos” 1996, nr 3/4, p. 249; Piotr Hapanowicz, *Krakowski nagrobek Rafała Macieja Ocieskiego*, “Spotkania z Zabytkami” 2013, nr 9/10, p. 34.

<sup>53</sup> However, putti with skulls or hourglasses appear on the frames of the epitaphs of Heinrich Moller (after 1567), Bartholomäus Wagner (1571–1575) and Valentin von Karnitz (1585–1594) in St Mary’s Church in Gdańsk; Katarzyna Cieślak, *Epitafia obrazowe w Gdańsku (XV–XVII w.)*,

The next commission, the painted Connert epitaph bearing the date 1556 at its top, was placed on the north buttress of the presbytery nave of St Mary's Church<sup>54</sup> (fig. 2). Portraits of members of the Connert family are painted on the side wings of the triptych, whose central panel bears a Resurrection scene. St Peter and St Paul are depicted on the reverse of the panels, right and left respectively. Johann Connert and his sons Paul, Bartholomäus, Johann, and the further four male offspring who died in early infancy are depicted on the right wing. Gertrud Connert, also portrayed posthumously, and the three daughters, the eldest of them probably Anna, are featured on the left wing. Johann is wearing a fur-lined coat over a red and black silk doublet, colour-coordinated with the Connert coat of arms, which is placed in front of the kneeling figure.<sup>55</sup> Paul, Bartholomäus and Johann are dressed in corresponding dark robes, while the prematurely deceased sons are all clad in white death shirts. Gertrud Connert and her two elder daughters wear ankle-length coats made of rectangular lengths of fur, and white dresses adorned with long pleated aprons and small ruffs. The matron is wearing a flat fur hat (*Bereitlein*<sup>56</sup>), while all her daughters' heads are adorned with wreaths. The youngest daughter is clad in a blue skirt, white bodice, and dark coat. The portraits of the family members reveal unequal attention to detail, with Johann III Connert's being the most sophisticated and detailed, and those of Paul, Bartholomäus and Johann also depicted with individualised features, but the deceased sons and daughters are endowed with generic faces and Gertrud's physiognomy lacks the subtlety of her husband's likeness, and is strikingly greyish.

All the family members are portrayed kneeling, their hands folded in prayer, and gazing in the direction of the middle panel within a space enclosed to either side by full arches supporting *en grisaille* architecture. Decorated with tritons and mussels, its these classicist forms frame inscriptions giving Johann and Gertrud's ages: 47 and 37. Behind the figures, distant views open up, featuring contemporary buildings amongst leafy trees. The suburban architecture is

Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1993, p. 73; whereas skulls were employed as a vanitative accessory in painted and sculpted epitaph portraits in Gdańsk from the later 1600s, e.g. the stone epitaph of the Schachmann family (1607), the painted portrait of Daniel Zierenberg from his and his wife's epitaph (1616), both in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, and an epitaph portrait of an unknown man (1610) from the Sierakowski collection in Waplewo, now in the museum in Kwidzyn, near Gdańsk; Jaśniewicz, *Portret...*, p. 111.

<sup>54</sup> Gregorius Frisch refers to the epitaph as Johannes Cöler's; Gregorius Frisch, *Der Sankt Marien Pfarrkirchen in Dantzig inwendige Abriss. Beschreibung der Oberpfarrkirche zu Sankt Marien in Danzig und der inneren Merkwürdigkeiten derselben, Vorzüglich des berühmten Altargemäldes, auf welchem das Jüngste Gericht abgebildet ist*, Hg. Katarzyna Cieślak, Gdańsk 1999, pp. 7, 22. Relocated outside Gdańsk in 1945, returned to the church and placed on its original site in 1962; Olszewska-Świetlik, *Technologia...*, p. 22.

<sup>55</sup> Gules, an eagle vigilant, wings addorsed and elevated sable, on the branch diagonal sable, mantling gules and sable.

<sup>56</sup> Schaumann, *Beiträge...*, p. 19.

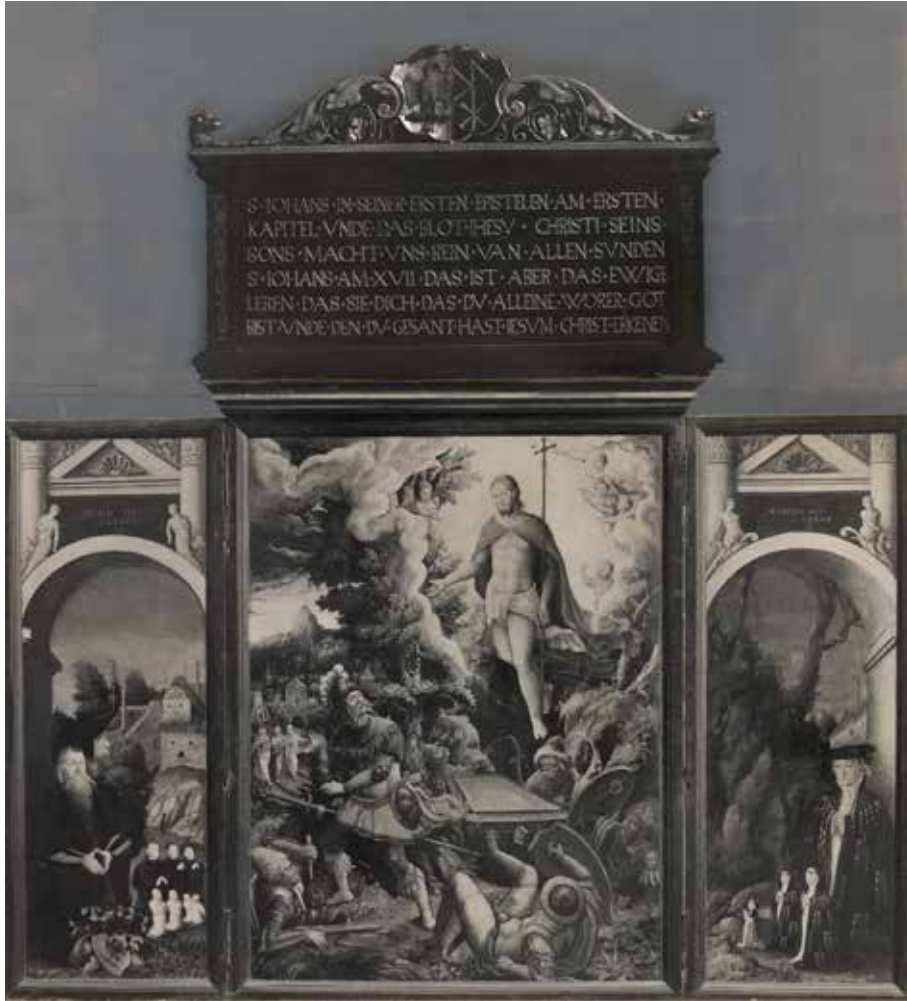


Fig. 2. Epitaph of the family of Johann III Connert, c. 1556, St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, state before 1945, photo © Herder-Institut Marburg

particularly detailed in the right panel, with three abutting buildings topped by tall gable roofs. The background building in the left panel is less detailed, seen at a sharp angle, and overshadowed by a barren tree anchored in a rock.

The static compositions of the side panels with their predominance of cool blues and pale ochres contrast with the dynamism of the overcrowded scene in the centre, which is painted with warmer reds, yellows and oranges. Although a certain continuity of space is suggested in the lower parts of the compositions of the side panels, the juxtaposition of the fantastic view in the background of the Resurrection scene with the contemporary-looking suburban buildings in the side panels explicitly separates the space occupied by the Connerts from

the central image depicting the Triumph of Christ amongst a cluster of twisted soldiers' bodies.

The epitaph was originally crowned by a plaque with an inscription referencing the Gospel of St John.<sup>57</sup> The inscription plaque was topped by a decorative crowning with a second version of the Connert coat of arms and a house mark in the centre,<sup>58</sup> as well as eagles' heads, a further allusion to the family's coat of arms. The date 1556 was displayed on the inscription plaque and on a slat below.<sup>59</sup>

The Connerts' imposing epitaph is known as the first Lutheran epitaph in Gdańsk and, as the date 1556 suggests, is among the earliest of all Lutheran epitaphs. It is a retable-like epitaph, i.e. an epitaph in the form of an altar retable, a form popular throughout the third quarter of the sixteenth century.<sup>60</sup> According to the date displayed at the top, it was painted simultaneously with the first epitaph of this kind: the epitaph of Johann Friedrich I in the St Peter and St Paul Church in Weimar (1555/1556).<sup>61</sup> The Gdańsk epitaph replicates both the spatial relation between the main and side panels of the Weimar epitaph, where the portrait subjects remain visually disconnected from the central panel, and the structural concept with crowning containing heraldic elements. It also

Commemoration and Family Identity...

<sup>57</sup> S · JOHANS · IN · SEINER · ERSTEN · EPISTELEN · AM · ERSTEN · / KAPITEL · VNDE · DAS · BLOT · IHESV · CHRISTI · SEINS · / SONS · MACHT · VNS · REIN · VAN · ALLEN · SVNDEN / S · JOHANS · AM · XVII · DAS · IST · ABER · DAS · EWIGE / LEBEN · DAS · SIE · DICH · DAS · DV · ALLEINE · WORER · GOT / BIST · VNDE · DEN · DV · GESANT · HAST · JESVM · CHIST · ERKENEN. The slat below contained the line: VICTORIA · NOSTRA · CHRISTUS · EST · IUSTUS · EX · FIDE · FIVIT · 1 · 5 · 5 · ? 6.

<sup>58</sup> Or, an eagle vigilant, wings addorsed and elevated on a branch horizontal sable.

<sup>59</sup> According to Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler...*, pp. 157–158.

<sup>60</sup> Marcin Wisłocki, *Sztuka protestancka na Pomorzu 1535–1684*, Szczecin 2005, p. 198.

<sup>61</sup> Oskar Thulin, *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation*, Berlin 1955, pp. 54–74; Herbert Hintzenstern, *Lucas Cranach d.Ä. Altarbilder aus der Reformationszeit*, Berlin 1975, pp. 106–114; Ingrid Schulze, *Lucas Cranach d.J. und die protestantische Bildkunst in Sachsen und Thüringen. Frömmigkeit, Theologie, Fürstenreformation*, Bucha bei Jena 2004, pp. 104–111; Heimo Reinitzer, *Gesetz und Evangelium. Über ein reformatorisches Bildthema, seine Tradition, Funktion und Wirkungsgeschichte*, Bd. 1, Hamburg 2006, pp. 65–67; Michael Böhlitz, *Der Weimarer Cranachaltar im Kontext von Religion und Geschichte. Ein ernestinisches Denkmal der Reformation* [in:] *Lucas Cranach 1553/2003. Wittenbergerer Tagungsbeiträge anlässlich des 450. Todesjahres Lucas Cranachs des Älteren*, Hg. Andreas Tacke, Leipzig 2007, pp. 227–298; Miriam Verena Fleck, *Ein tröstlich gemelde. Die Glaubensallegorie „Gesetz und Gnade“ in Europa zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Korb im Remstal 2010, pp. 177–184 (cat. no. 156); Daniel Görres, *Cranach, Luther und die Ernestiner. Der Epitaph der Stadtkirche St. Peter und Paul in Weimar* [in:] *Bild und Bekenntnis*, Hg. Franziska Bomski, Hellmuth Seeman, Thorsten Valk, Göttingen 2015, pp. 37–53; Peter Poscharsky, *Das Retabel von 1555 in der St. Peter und Paulkirche in Weimar von Lucas Cranach dem Jüngeren* [in:] *idem, Gestalteter Glaube. Gesammelte Aufsätze aus der Christlichen Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, Hg. Klaus Raschzok, Leipzig 2014, pp. 251–262; Aurelia Zduńczyk, *Die Bildpredigt der reformatorischen Altarretabel* [in:] *Cranachs Kirche. Begleitbuch zur Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt Cranach der Jüngere*, Hg. Jan Harasimowicz, Bettina Seyderhelm, Beucha 2015, p. 41; Jan Harasimowicz, *Andrea Huczmanová, Zur Ikonographie des Cranach-Retabels in der Augustusburger Schlosskapelle* [in:] *Sichtbares Wort. Die Kunst als Medium der Konfessionalisierung und Intensivierung des Glaubens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hg. Jan Harasimowicz, Regensburg 2017, p. 12.

displays technical similarities to works from Cranach's workshop.<sup>62</sup> It is not unlikely that Connert's epitaph was commissioned in Saxony, possibly in the circle of Lucas Cranach the Younger. When viewing this in the wider perspective of the Gdańsk artistic landscape, it is important to emphasize that although the influence of Saxon art was strong in central and eastern Europe in the second and third quarters of the sixteenth century, its impact in Gdańsk during that time was greatly reduced due to the suppression of the Reformation, and narrowed down to the secular sphere.<sup>63</sup> The scarce examples of religious artworks imported from Saxony before the mid-sixteenth century include the Altar of the Coronation of Mary founded by the Butchers' Guild for the Church of St Catherine in the Old Town quarter, dated to 1515,<sup>64</sup> and the painted portraits of Martin Luther and Philip Melancthon of c. 1530 from the Corpus Christi Church.<sup>65</sup> Moreover, the remaining sixteenth-century painted epitaphs in Gdańsk were all locally produced and based on Netherlandish or occasionally Italian, rather than German, visual sources.<sup>66</sup> The Connert epitaph also stands out as a retable-like epitaph. The form of a triptych with portraits of family members on the wings was repeated only in the Loitz family epitaph (1561–1564) in St Mary's Church.<sup>67</sup>

The Connert family used a range of media for their commemoration. These included portrait medals, a medium that gained in popularity among Gdańsk citizens from the 1540s. Around 1556 a silver portrait medal of Johann Connert was cast (figs. 3, 4). Now lost, until World War II it was in the collection of

<sup>62</sup> Olszewska-Świetlik, *Technologia...*, p. 145.

<sup>63</sup> Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, p. 147. It was manifested in paintings by Lorenz Lauenstein and the painter Jerzy (Georg), influenced by the art of Lucas Cranach the Elder commissioned in the mid-1530s by the brotherhoods of St Reinhold and St Christoph for the Artus Court (Artushof). Also worthy of note is the fact that in 1565 Hans Kramer, a Saxon builder previously active in Dresden and Wittenberg, was appointed Gdańsk's city architect (Ger. *Stadtbaumeister*).

<sup>64</sup> Monika Jakubek-Raczkowska, *Plastyka średniowieczna od XIII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2007, pp. 106–108, here references to earlier literature. Its carved main scene is based on a woodcut by Lucas Cranach of 1509, while the painted figures of SS Christopher, Roch, Peter and Paul from the altar wings are assumed to be products of Cranach's workshop.

<sup>65</sup> Willi Drost, *Sankt Nikolai, St. Joseph, Königliche Kapelle, Hl. Leichnam, St. Salvator*, Stuttgart 1959, pp. 238–239; Jaśniewicz, *Portret...*, pp. 84, 319–321.

<sup>66</sup> Cieślak, *Epitafia...*, pp. 29, 42. Only the figure of the Resurrected Christ from the central panel of the Connert epitaph was emulated, albeit with certain modifications, in subsequent Gdańsk epitaphs, those of Michael Harnisch (after 1566) and Bartholomaeus Wagner (1571–75) in St Mary's Church; *ibidem*, p. 29.

<sup>67</sup> Drost, *Danziger Malerei...*, p. 110; *idem*, *Kunstdenkmäler...*, p. 158; Bogdanowicz, *Konkatedralna...*, pp. 386–388; Grzybkowska, *Złoty wiek...*, pp. 84–85; Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, pp. 20, 147; *eadem*, *Epitafia...*, pp. 20, 21, 56–57, 59, 63, 71, 73; Frisch, *Der Sankt Marien...*, pp. 5, 22; Olszewska-Świetlik, *Technologia...*, pp. 42–61, 103–105, 107–115; Jaśniewicz, *Portret...*, pp. 82, 109, cat. no. KP1.4, p. 243; Aleksandra Lipińska, *Moving Sculptures: Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th to 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*, Leiden 2015, p. 134; *Matter of Light and Flesh: Alabaster in the Netherlandish Sculpture of the 16th and 17th centuries*, ed. J. Kriegerseisen, A. Lipińska, Gdańsk 2011, pp. 46, 52.



Fig. 3. Obverse of portrait medal commemorating Johann I Connert dated 1556, silver,  $\varnothing$  42 mm, until World War II in Städtisches Münzkabinett Danzig, now lost, source: Siegfried Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1930, Bd. 70, fig. 5



Fig. 4. Reverse of portrait medal commemorating Johann I Connert dated 1556, silver,  $\varnothing$  42 mm, until World War II in Städtisches Münzkabinett Danzig, source: Siegfried Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1930, Bd. 70, fig. 5

Commemoration and Family Identity...

the Gdańsk Coin Cabinet.<sup>68</sup> According to the inscription on the rim, the three-quarter shoulder-length portrait on the obverse of the medal depicts Johann Connert in his prime,<sup>69</sup> while the date 1456 on the reverse permits the identification of the sitter as Johann I. His hair cut above chin length and trimmed beard are in a style typical for the 1520s, as is his attire: wide-brimmed hat, doublet worn over a shirt with a high collar of alternating lace and ribbons covering his neck up to his chin. This fanciful clothing became fashionable half a century after the subject's death. Serving as evidence of the short span of fashion memory, the choice of outfit may have been based on the medallist's reference to the earliest examples of burgher portraits in this medium.

The monogram JS in the bottom right-hand corner of the portrait offers grounds for attribution of the medal to Jacob Stampfer (1505/6–1579), a renowned seal-cutter, medallist, goldsmith and mint master active in Zurich, Augsburg and Cologne.<sup>70</sup>

The following year, another silver medal was cast to commemorate a member of the Connert family (figs. 5, 6).<sup>71</sup> This silver portrait medal, which displays the date 1557 on the obverse, bears a likeness of the 25-year old Johann IV Connert.

<sup>68</sup>  $\varnothing$  42 mm; 27.2 g; Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, no. 5, p. 145, here references to earlier literature.

<sup>69</sup> IOHANNES + KONNERT + ETATIS + VIGE · SEP +.

<sup>70</sup> Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 145.

<sup>71</sup> 50 × 48 mm; 31.5 g; *ibidem*, p. 146.



Fig. 5. Obverse of portrait medal commemorating Johann IV Connert dated 1557, silver, 50 × 48 mm, until World War II in Städtisches Münzkabinett Danzig, source: Siegfried Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1930, Bd. 70, fig. 6



Fig. 6. Reverse of portrait medal commemorating Johann IV Connert dated 1557, silver, 50 × 48 mm, until World War II in Städtisches Münzkabinett Danzig, source: Siegfried Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1930, Bd. 70, fig. 6

Likewise held in the collection of the Gdańsk Coin Cabinet, it has also been lost since World War II. Johann IV Connert is shown on the obverse in bust length, his head turned slightly to the left, within a laurel wreath decorated with ribbons. The portrait of the fashionable young man with a Spanish beard, wearing a doublet with high collar and a high, round hat, is accompanied by a Latin inscription identifying him,<sup>72</sup> and has a German maxim on the reverse.<sup>73</sup> There is a strong decorative element to this anonymous portrait medal, in which the great attention devoted to details of his attire and to the embellishments around his likeness is in striking comparison with the much more austere image of his ancestor.

This taste for richer forms is also fully communicated in Johann IV Connert's subsequent commission, the epitaph erected after the death of his wife, Anna Loitz-Connert, in 1563 (fig. 7). Executed between 1563 and 1565,<sup>74</sup> it is located opposite the earlier Connert family epitaph in St Mary's Church in Gdańsk. The oval painting with the Transfiguration image and portraits of family members is set in a sumptuously carved sandstone frame. The Connerts are identified by the conjoined Loitz and Connert coats of arms under

<sup>72</sup> HANS KONNERT ANNO 1557 ÆTATIS SVÆ XXV.

<sup>73</sup> + SORGE + UND + / + GEDENCKE + DOCH + / + NICHT + ZV + VIL + / + ES + GESCHICT + GELEICH + / + WOL + NORT + WIE + GOT + / + WIL + 1557 +.

<sup>74</sup> Katarzyna Cieślak dates the epitaph to 1563–1574; Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, p. 30; *eadem*, *Epitafia...*, p. 31.



Fig. 7. Epitaph of Anna Loitz-Connert, 1664–1665,  
St Mary's Church in Gdańsk, photo © D. Kula

a single crown presented between the male and female groups. To the right is Johann IV Connert and one of his sons, most likely Peter, both of them wearing black doublets adorned with ruffs and black fur-lined overcoats. To the left is Anna Loitz-Connert, depicted in an opulent dress with a scarlet bodice and small ruffs, a white apron, a fur-lined sleeveless black coat and a wide-brimmed black hat. The two daughters portrayed in front of their mother are wearing similar outfits, except for the flower chains appropriate to their age and marital status in their long hair. The three children are differentiated in age. It may be assumed that the elder of the daughters is Anna, who was nine years old at the time of her mother's death. Peter's adult clothes indicate that he was at least five when he was portrayed.<sup>75</sup>

The image of the pious family members is set within a rich sandstone frame crowned by a personification of Charity. Depicted below are the sitting figures of Hope and Faith. Further virtues are shown in the lower section of the frame: the standing figures of Prudence and Justice to either side of the panel, and the sitting figures of Temperance and Fortitude beneath them. The iconographic programme of the frame is complemented by the figure of a phoenix supporting an inscription cartouche under the main panel. The forms of the

<sup>75</sup> See: Jaśniewicz, *Portret...*, p. 171.



frame extend onto the wall behind the epitaph, where a dark-blue strapwork-shaped wall painting forms a backdrop to the sandstone sculptures, in line with a practice widespread in the Low Countries at the time, e.g. in epitaphs by Cornelis Floris and in prints.

At the top of the painted panel is an oval inscription plaque with a quotation from the Gospel of St Matthew;<sup>76</sup> below the panel is a bisected plaque on which only the left section is filled, with an inscription giving the date of death and age of Anna Loitz.<sup>77</sup> On the wall beneath the epitaph is a painted inscription proclaiming her eternal glory.<sup>78</sup>

The painting, attributed to a local workshop,<sup>79</sup> displays a contrast between the skilfully depicted figures of the Connert family members, which are rendered in detail and endowed with individual traits, and the flat, schematic rendering of the religious scene in the background. This invites the hypothesis that the panel is the work of two painters, the more skilled of them being the portraitist. This would not be unusual; such a practice has been observed in other Renaissance epitaphs in Gdańsk.<sup>80</sup>

It is the first Gdańsk epitaph to be placed within a stone frame. The imposing structure, the second-earliest example of Renaissance sculpture in the interior of St Mary's Church,<sup>81</sup> is known to have been the final work from the Gdańsk period of the so-called Master of the Caryatids (1560–1564).<sup>82</sup> He was most likely a Netherlandish artist influenced by the style of Jean Goujon (c. 1510–1564/69), whose familiarity with contemporary French and Italian art was based on prints rather than on direct study.<sup>83</sup> The artistic output of the Master of the Caryatids in Gdańsk is solely linked to the patronage of Johann IV Connert<sup>84</sup> and includes,

<sup>76</sup> HIC EST / FILIUS MEUS DILECTUS / IN QUO MIHI BENE COMPLACITUM / EST IPSUM AUDITE / MATHEUS III CAPITE.

<sup>77</sup> HONESTA AC / PIA ANNA LOYZIN / OBIIT ANNO 1563 / DIE 9 SEPTEMBRIS / AETATIS SUAE / 29.

<sup>78</sup> [SUMPTUS MA]GNIFICI PHRONTINO TESTE [SEPULCHRI] / [NON FACEN]T CLARUM NOMEN IN OR[BE TUUM] / [INCLITA SED] VIRTUS PIETASQUE EXERCIT[A VIVIS] / [ÆTERNUM] NOMEN PERPETUUMQUE [FACIT]; all inscriptions from this epitaph after: Grzegorz Kotłowski, Elżbieta Starek, *Łacińskie inskrypcje w kościołach Gdańska. Bazylika Mariacka*, Pelplin 2014, pp. 66–67.

<sup>79</sup> According to Anna Sobecka, the epitaph was painted by the same artist as the wings of the Loitz epitaph; Sobecka, *Malarstwo...*, p. 146.

<sup>80</sup> Olszewska-Świetlik, *Technologia...*, p. 148.

<sup>81</sup> The earliest example is the stone encasement of the baptismal font, the work of Cornelius Hohe, Heinrich Nieborch and Barthel Pasteyde (1552–1553); Pałubicki, *Rzeźba...*, p. 183; Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, p. 30.

<sup>82</sup> Name coined by: Krzyżanowski, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba...*, p. 87.

<sup>83</sup> Temperantia and Justitia are based on a figure of Triumph by the workshop of Pietro Lombardo from Foscaro Stairs in the Doge's Palace in Venice and executed in the manner of Jean Goujon, in this respect particularly resembling figures of Glory and War by Goujon in the pavilion of King Henry II in the Louvre; Pałubicki, *Rzeźba...*, pp. 189–190.

<sup>84</sup> See the paper by Franciszek Skibiński in this volume, pp. 167–170.

apart from the discussed epitaph, sculpted decorations from Johann's Main Town house: the arcaded partition from the representative hall, today in the Old Town Hall in Gdańsk, and the allegorical figures of Justice and Truth from the façade, currently in the National Museum in Gdańsk. His work was not emulated in the Baltic city, but constitute a "preliminary interlude" of Netherlandish influence in the Gdańsk sculpture of the later sixteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

The last of the portraits commissioned by a member of the Connert family is a small stone portrait medal of Jacob Connert (fig. 8). Its existence was recorded in 1930 on the art market,<sup>86</sup> but its current whereabouts remain unknown. The one-sided stone medal contains a shoulder-length image of the young man identified by an inscription as the 22-year-old Jacob Connert.<sup>87</sup> Shown *en trois quarts*, his face endowed with angular features, he is wearing a shirt with a high collar tied by ribbons. It is likely that this small object, attributed to the Master of Georg von Brandenburg,<sup>88</sup> was in the first place a model for a medal. However, rather than remaining a step in the production process, it was also a show-piece in itself, utilised as a lid for a diminutive box,<sup>89</sup> a precious object that could be presented as a gift and a keepsake.



Fig. 8. Stone model for a portrait medal of Jacob Connert, 15[9]9, present location unknown, stone, ø 17 mm, source: Siegfried Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1930, Bd. 70, fig. 11

Commemoration and Family Identity...

## Between Religion, Money and Status: The Confessional and Socio-Economic Implications of the Portraits

The desire for personal glory underpinning the Connert portraits is channelled through their confessional declarations and social statements, two reoccurring ideological traits of the portraits coexisting on the conceptual level.

The 1550 portrait is a fusion of a vanitative portrait and a "L'hora passa" type of image, both of which were understood as *memento mori*.<sup>90</sup> The meaning of the

<sup>85</sup> Kandt, *Schlüteriana II...*, pp. 63–64.

<sup>86</sup> Münzhandlung Riechmann & Co. in Halle a.S., ø 17 mm, published in their catalogue of 1927–1930, no. XIII.M., according to: Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, pp. 147–148, no. 11, fig. 11.

<sup>87</sup> IA ·KONNERT · AO ·15·9: AETAT ZZ.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 148.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 147, no. 11.

<sup>90</sup> North of the Alps it was endowed with moral implications and thus referred also to the fleeting Nature of earthly pleasures; Janson, *The Putto...*, p. 435; Jane Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature*, Cambridge 2010, p. 63; Białostocki, *Pleć...*, p. 64.

portrait is, however, complex and highly original. It may be read in two ways. It is a vanitative portrait, with the model set for eternity in the timeless space of an aedicula, where the baby, skull and hourglass serve as visual reminders of life's brevity. It is an assertion of Connert's calmness in the face of Death, and invites the viewer to a contemplation of the transience of life. On a level more directly linked to its orphanage site, the meaning of the portrait is coded within the interrelation of Connert's and the child's gestures. Here, the child, representing vulnerable orphaned babies, offers a reminder in the gesture of its left arm, that its life is in the hands of the man holding the hourglass: the benefactor and warden of the institution. Connert's position of power is underscored by the gesture of his right hand above the baby. This suggests the openness of the institution and, at the same time, is a gesture borrowed from the iconography of patron saints; it denotes presentation and protection. This interpretation indicates a departure from both the solely *memento mori* understanding of Italian examples of "L'ora passa" images and their moralistic readings prevailing in the North. It is reinforced by the Latin inscription, which states that the house is open to abandoned orphans in order to provide them with the care they need.

At the centre of the portrait's concept lay Christian ideas of compassion and charity (an allegory of which was placed in a niche above the portrait at a later stage), the latter being a virtue that was intertwined with civic pride and also lay at the core of humanist concern with the good of the community and the family.<sup>91</sup> Charity was championed by both Catholics and Protestants, and was presented by both as one of the most important social values. The new ordinations for Gdańsk hospitals (1546, 1548) and, later, for the poor (1551) were formulated in the spirit of Luther's teachings.<sup>92</sup> The image of the warden of the charitable institution, who was appointed to bear testimony to the benevolent influence of these new teachings,<sup>93</sup> is therefore a subtle but clear confessional statement, and the first such declaration made by a Gdańsk citizen in the public sphere. The relief dates to the time of the so-called 'underground development' of Lutheranism in Gdańsk, seven years before the reversal of the royal decision to penalise adherents of the Augsburg confession in the city. At the same time, the private foundation of the new building of the orphanage, and its decoration with a portrait and family housemarks, reveal that Connert's deed, like other such initiatives in Renaissance Europe, was motivated as much by Christian values as by a desire for fame and immortality.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale Degli Innocenti, 1410–1536*, Michigan 1990, pp. 1–21.

<sup>92</sup> Zdzisław Kropidłowski, *Organizacja dzieł miłosierdzia w Gdańsku w XVI–XVIII wieku* [in:] *Charitas. Miłosierdzie i opieka społeczna w ideologii, normach postępowania i praktyce społeczności wyznaniowych w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku*, red. Urszula Augustyniak, Andrzej Karpiński, Warszawa 1999, p. 142.

<sup>93</sup> Hirsch, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche...*, p. 337.

<sup>94</sup> See: Gavitt, *Charity...*, p. 8.

The date 1556 on the family epitaph indicates its completion a year before Lutheranism won royal toleration. Depicted in the act of prayer, the Connerts are “armed with their faith”<sup>95</sup> in the act of declaring their confession. As in the Weimar epitaph, at the core of this statement is the idea of the purifying blood of Christ. This is recalled in the Gdańsk painting by the Resurrection image and a now lost inscription plaque bearing words from the Gospel of St John.

The epitaph is also a strong social statement, with its ostentatious display of family identifiers, complemented by Johann III Connert’s heraldic-coordinated doublet. As in the sculpted image, the councillor wears an overcoat, a garment that not only signified wealth but was also associated with power. In the sixteenth-century German lands, such fur-lined overcoats were worn specifically by councillors.<sup>96</sup> In Gdańsk, according to the sumptuary law regarding clothing (*Kleiderordnung*) that was introduced there in 1540, fur-lined coats might be worn by the members of the Town Council and the most affluent merchants.<sup>97</sup> The outer layer of Connert’s overcoat is made of black velvet, another fabric reserved for the highest echelon of Gdańsk society according to the abovementioned law, and is paired with a doublet of dyed silk, the most expensive fabric at the time.<sup>98</sup> Long coats sewn of rectangular lengths of furs, like the costly marten or squirrel (Ger. *Artellionenpelz*<sup>99</sup>) worn by the female members of the family, had been worn by women in Gdańsk since the late fifteenth century as an indicator of their wealth and also their respectability. This latter quality was intimated through the cut of the garment, which almost entirely concealed the wearer’s body shape, thus suggesting their morality.<sup>100</sup> Beneath these matronly cloaks, fashionable small ruffs can be seen.<sup>101</sup>

Arguably one element of the display of assets is the background view visible behind the male representatives of the family. The detailed depiction of the cluster of buildings upon the hill seem too careful a representation to be a mere backdrop, and might be identified as outbuildings belonging to the Conradsammer estate, by the Oliva stream as seen from the north-west (the present-day

<sup>95</sup> Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem...*, p. 29.

<sup>96</sup> Philipp Zitzlsperger, *Dürers Pelz und das Recht im Bild Kleiderkunde als Methode der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 2008, pp. 26, 92.

<sup>97</sup> I.e. merchants whose annual income exceeded 20,000 Marks; Schaumann, *Beiträge...*, p. 21. On sumptuary laws in Gdańsk see: Otto Günther, *Danziger Hochzeits- und Kleiderordnungen*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1900, Bd. 42, pp. 185–228; Edmund Kizik, *Gdańskie ordynacje o weselach, chrzcinach i pogrzebach w XVI–XVII wieku*, “Barok” 2000, nr 1, pp. 187–205.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 19, 22.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 20.

<sup>100</sup> Worn by women in Gdańsk already in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, as seen in the Table of Ten Commandments in St. Mary’s Church (1480–1490); Adam S. Labuda, *Zur „Zehn-Gebote Tafel“ aus der Marienkirche in Danzig [in:] Bild / Geschichte. Festschrift für Horst Bredekamp*, Hg. Philine Helas, Maren Polte, Claudia Rückert, Bettina Uppenkamp, Berlin 2007, pp. 413–430.

<sup>101</sup> Depicted for the first time in Gdańsk painting; Schaumann, *Beiträge...*, p. 25.

Pomorska Street). This hypothesis must remain circumstantial, as the earliest tangible information about the layout of the Conradshammer buildings dates from the first half of the eighteenth century. It remains vague as to what extent the eighteenth-century architecture incorporated earlier structures: those destroyed during the Swedish war in 1655 and during the Russian siege of Gdańsk in 1734.

It is worth noting however, that the buildings depicted in the epitaph are similar to contemporary edifices serving related functions, e.g. the cloister mill in Strzyża (Striesse) near Gdańsk as documented in a 1601 map by Friedrich Berndt.<sup>102</sup> The clay ravine of the Oliva stream is less rugged than the painted depiction, though deep enough to justify such a representation.<sup>103</sup>

Whether the acutely foreshortened building on the left panel with similar characteristics to the structures behind Johann III Connert may be interpreted as part of the Conradshammer estate or perhaps as a building that was part of Gertrud's dowry remains impossible to assess. The barren tree shown at an angle can be read as a reference to the hewn, gnarled tree trunk in the Huxer family coat of arms,<sup>104</sup> which is not otherwise included in the complex heraldic programme of the epitaph.

The interconnection between the domains of Faith and Fame is expressed in the iconographic programme of the epitaph of Anna Loitz-Connert. As in the epitaph discussed above, much attention is paid to the depiction of clothes: black coats lined with marten fur, and dresses made of red fabric<sup>105</sup> embroidered with golden thread and adorned with white aprons were all luxurious goods accessible only to the wealthiest strata of the local society.<sup>106</sup> So are two golden chains worn by Anna Loitz, one of them with a medal. It was not the intention of the painter to show the details of this object, however it may be a medal with the likeness of her husband: the 1557 medal or perhaps another, unknown medal of Johann IV.

The family's extraordinary position within the city is underscored by the frame, of unprecedented scale.<sup>107</sup> The viewer is also subtly reminded of the cost of the imposing monument through the modest negation of the importance of material forms of commemoration expressed in the inscription.

The inclusion of theological and cardinal virtues on the frame is explicated in the inscription, where a virtuous life is referred to as the foundation of a good

<sup>102</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, 300, MP/511.

<sup>103</sup> Following the above hypothesis that the painting was made outside Gdańsk, it is assumed that the view was based on an unknown visual source, possibly a drawing or a map.

<sup>104</sup> Per fess, argent and gules, hewn, gnarled tree trunk pierced by a silver wedge.

<sup>105</sup> According to the 1540 ordination, scarlet fabric [Ger. *Scharlach*] was reserved for the uppermost class of Gdańsk's citizens; Schaumann, *Beiträge...*, p. 22. The dress is similar to that worn by Anna Loitz-Connert in the Loitz epitaph (1561–1564); Sobecka, *Malarstwo...*, p. 146.

<sup>106</sup> Schaumann, *Beiträge...*, pp. 21–22.

<sup>107</sup> As in the case of other Pomeranian epitaphs, see: Wisłocki, *Sztuka...*, pp. 197–198.

reputation, eternal memory, and fame. The idea of unfading glory is further signalled by the image of the phoenix, which, in conjunction with the scene of the Transfiguration, is also a reference to the Resurrection.<sup>108</sup> The programme of the epitaph emphasizes active righteousness (*coram mundo*), manifesting itself in good works. While this was on the one hand justification of a person in the eyes of the world, it was on the other also understood by Martin Luther as a necessary expression of faith. As it is through love displayed in good works that a person is justified in the earthly realm, the most eminent position amongst the virtues depicted in the frame of the epitaph is afforded to Charity. At the same time, this was the virtue that underscored the family's identity with reference to the tradition of benevolence established by Johann III Connert. The epitaph was completed at a time of heightened disputes between the Philippists and the Gnesiolutherans (who, i.a., called into question the necessity of good works) in Gdańsk. The Melanchthonian overtones of the monument funded by the then Main Town juror are in line with the official stance of the Council. Thus the epitaph may be interpreted as a presentation of Connert's position in the dispute that was so present in the public space.

Comme-  
moration and  
Family  
Identity...

A similar dichotomy embedded in an art object operating simultaneously as a vehicle of fame and a pronouncement of subtle theological discourse is evident in the medal of Johann IV Connert. This likeness of a fashionable young man, whose pose communicates confidence and firmness, is completed by a German inscription echoing the words of St Augustine's formula on the precedence of faith over reason. According to this concept, which was central to Lutheran theology, God is the only instance with free will, and everything else is dependent on God. By extension, putting trust in oneself and one's own works or merits is tantamount to elevating oneself to godlike status, an act for which there can be no justification. The medal's inscription refers in particular to the Melanchthonian exegesis with its concept of certainty as a "prerequisite of Christian life", grounded on faith and extending beyond the boundaries of human understanding.<sup>109</sup>

## Spatial Symbolism and Temporal Manipulations

Analysis of the locations of the objects under study here permit us to perceive a link between symbolic power and space.<sup>110</sup> A spatial awareness is noticeable already in the first, orphanage foundation. The founder's portrait above the

<sup>108</sup> The phoenix is also depicted on Anna Connert's tombstone, with the inscription "Post mortem vivit Virtus"; Cieślak, *Epitafia...*, p. 71.

<sup>109</sup> Timothy J. Wengert, *Philip Melanchthon's Annotationes in Johannes in Relation to its Predecessors and Contemporaries*, Geneva 1987, p. 154.

<sup>110</sup> Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu on space, symbolic power and domination; Pierre Bourdieu, *The Forms of Capital* [in:] *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, New York 1986, pp. 241–258.

main entrance was complemented by at least three Connert house marks placed along the walls of the building to proclaim Connert's power.<sup>111</sup> The location of this manifestation of influence was the Old Town area, the part of the city where the Connerts had settled, the family house inherited from Johann II Connert was located, and Johann III Connert presumably lived at the time.<sup>112</sup> Connert's political career was associated with the Main Town, however, and it was there that further efforts reinforcing family prestige were focused. While the town house belonging to Johann IV occupied the most prestigious location in the urban space – the plot opposite the Main Town Hall – the family epitaphs hung in what was symbolically the most respectable part of the town's main church, St Mary's. The epitaph bearing the date 1556 was placed alongside the altar of St Anthony, which was used by the Lutherans from 1529 until 1572. The epitaph of Anna Loitz-Connert was placed on a pillar opposite the earlier Connert epitaph. With the family tombstone between the two monuments, a symbolic space perpetuating family memory and glory was created within the presbytery. Its proximity to the altar underscored the Connerts' spiritual qualities and simultaneously elevated their social prestige (which was further stressed by the depiction of Conradshammer on the right wing of the retable). The only other comparable space in the interior of St Mary's Church containing multiple devices of family commemoration was the Ferbers' chapel at the south-west end of the presbytery, which was furnished with two altars dated to 1485–1490 and 1480–1498.<sup>113</sup> The Connerts' ambitious endeavour can be therefore perceived as a demonstration of their supremacy within the Lutheran community and a form of rivalry with families of longer-standing prominence in the town.

The various strategies of commemoration adopted by the Connerts involve temporal manipulations. While temporal inconsistencies in sixteenth-century portraits are hardly surprising, the Connert portraits reveal some deliberate manipulations worth investigating in the above context. The prime example is the image of Johann I Connert on the medal dated 1457, assumed to have been commissioned to commemorate the family protoplast on the centenary of his selection as a city juror.<sup>114</sup> The medal was cast at a time when Johann III Connert was at the pinnacle of his career. By 1556 he possessed influence, power and wealth. In actively shaping the image of his family, he may have been pursuing what would today be described as a policy of memory, seeking to create a visual document of his family's history that would elevate his own image as a representative of a family of long-standing importance, and possibly support the claim

<sup>111</sup> Currently, all three are displayed on the façade. Their original arrangement, which was presumably altered after the demolition of the building in 1916, is unknown; Pałubicki, *Rzeźba...*, pp. 182–183.

<sup>112</sup> See note 15.

<sup>113</sup> Another family epitaph now displayed in the chapel, the *Ecce Homo* painting, c. 1500, was not at the site in 1698; Frisch, *Der Sankt Marien...*

<sup>114</sup> Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 166.

of equal status with more distinguished families whose ancestors had arrived in the city in the fifteenth century, such as the Ferbers or the von Suchtens. A medal bearing a fifteenth-century date might also have supported the Connerts' claim to cultural primacy, in a bid to credit the family's ancestors with the introduction of the medium of the portrait medal in Gdańsk.

Temporal contradictions are abundant in the epitaph funded by Johann III Connert. According to the inscriptions, this epitaph was completed in 1556 and portrayed Johann and Gertrud at the ages of 47 and 37, respectively. This detailed information is hardly precise, as Gertrud died in 1550 at the age of 42. How exactly these discrepancies relate to the husband and the other children's ages remains impossible to assess. The juvenile-looking Jacob IV Connert had been married for at least four years in 1556; Anna Connert, who married the following year, is not distinguished by a fiancée's wreath, instead wearing a maiden wreath like the other female offspring. These details raise questions about the accuracy of the date displayed at the top of the epitaph. Was it completed almost in parallel with the Weimar epitaph, or was it commissioned in or around 1556? In the latter eventuality, it would have gone on display in the church a few years after Lutheranism in Gdańsk gained royal approval. The indication of the year 1556 permits commemoration of the family members as heroes of the Reformation, playing an important part in the history of Lutheranism in the city.<sup>115</sup>

## Conclusions

Through successful trading, political activity and marriage alliances, within three generations of their arrival in Gdańsk, the Connert family had established its position within the highest echelons of the local society. Throughout the third quarter of the sixteenth century, this was reaffirmed and reinforced by portraits, which had a limited presence in the Baltic city at that time. The Connerts introduced new types of this genre into the public sphere, and sought formal solutions that further underscored the family's prestige.

On the conceptual level, the Connert portraits reveal concern not only for individual commemoration, but also for the family's visual history (the antedated portrait medal of Johann I Connert), and the role of the family within the history of the Reformation in Gdańsk (the sculpted portrait of Johann III Connert, the Connert epitaph, and the Anna Loitz-Connert epitaph). An important component of the family's image as perpetuated by the portraits is linked to the

<sup>115</sup> Temporal discrepancies can also be observed in the medals, though the reasons for them are obscure. Johann IV Connert's 1557 medal gives his age as 22. This is highly unlikely, as his daughter Anna was born in 1552, which would have made Johann IV a husband and father at the age of 17. The portrait medal of Jacob Connert displays similar inconsistencies. He was 24 in 1599, but the medal describes him as 22 years old; *ibidem*, p. 167.



philanthropic activity of Johann III Connert, referred to by Johann III himself in his sculpted likeness, and by his son in the Anna Loitz-Connert epitaph crowned by the figure of Charity.

These factors, paired with ostentatious displays of wealth, and both spatial and temporal manipulations, can be perceived as the Connerts' strategy for distinguishing their family within the local society and asserting their symbolic dominance.<sup>116</sup> This was at its strongest in the art patronage of Johann III Connert and his son Johann IV Connert. However, the latter's final commission, the epitaph, was abandoned and no inscription commemorating Johann IV was ever placed in the designated space. Why he was not honoured after his death in 1578 remains unclear. One possible explanation is his second marriage.<sup>117</sup> However, the likely rift between Johann IV and the Loitz family, resulting from opposing political interests, is a possible factor.

Considering Johann III and Johann IV's level of consciousness of the power of images, it is remarkable that no individual painted or engraved portrait of either of them is known. It might be speculated, that such likenesses did exist but records of them were lost to time. Neither of Johann IV's sons emulated their ancestors' efforts by funding epitaphs or other grand-scale artworks. The town house inherited by Peter was sold after his death in 1616.<sup>118</sup> Jacob Connert chose to continue the charitable traditions initiated by his grandfather through a donation of 200 marks to the city's orphanage.<sup>119</sup> His art patronage was restricted, in the light of current knowledge, to a diminutive stone portrait. This may have been because the family's position was already established and symbolic reinforcement of power was less vital.

Jacob Connert was the last offspring in his line of the family and the last member of the wider family to become a town councillor. After his death in 1636, the influence and power of the Connerts diminished significantly, with no further evidence of their art patronage.

## Bibliography

Behring Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Jahres 1577. Danzig und Dänemark im Jahre 1577*, "Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins" 1901, Bd. 43, pp. 161–218.

Białostocki Jan, *Płec śmierci*, Gdańsk 2007.

Bogdanowicz Stanisław, *Konkatedralna bazylika mariacka w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 1988.

Bourdieu Pierre, *The Forms of Capital* [in:] *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson, New York 1986, pp. 241–258.

<sup>116</sup> For observations of such strategies, see: Bourdieu, *The Forms...*, pp. 241–258.

<sup>117</sup> Cieślak, *Epitafia...*, p. 31, note 87; Foote, *Astrology...*, p. 23; Sobeczka, *Malarstwo...*, p. 146.

<sup>118</sup> From 1616 the property belonged to Engelbrecht König (König).

<sup>119</sup> According to his last will; Rühle, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, p. 147, no. 11.

- Böhlitz Michael, *Der Weimarer Cranachaltar im Kontext von Religion und Geschichte. Ein ernestinisches Denkmal der Reformation* [in:] *Lucas Cranach 1553/2003. Wittenbergerer Tagungsbeiträge anlässlich des 450. Todesjahres Lucas Cranachs des Älteren*, Hg. Andreas Tacke, Leipzig 2007, pp. 227–298.
- Burke Peter, *The Italian Renaissance: Culture and Society in Italy*, New York 1972.
- Cheney Liana, *The Symbolism of the Skull in Vanitas Homo bulla*, “Cultural and Religious Studies” 2018, no. 5, pp. 267–284.
- Cieślak Katarzyna, *Epitafia obrazowe w Gdańsku (XV–XVII w.)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1993.
- Cieślak Katarzyna, *Kościół – cmentarz. Sztuka nagrobna w Gdańsku (XV–XVIII w.)*. „Długie trwanie” epitafium, Gdańsk 1992.
- Cuny Georg, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1910.
- Curicke Reinhold, *Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam–Danzig 1687.
- Drost Willi, *Danziger Malerei von Mittelalter bis zum Ende des Barock*, Berlin–Leipzig 1938.
- Drost Willi, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 4: *Die Marienkirche in Danzig und ihre Kunstschätze*, Stuttgart 1963.
- Drost Willi, *Sankt Nikolai, St. Joseph, Königliche Kapelle, Hl. Leichnam, St. Salvator*, Stuttgart 1959.
- Dutkowski Jarosław, *Motywy idei mieszczańskich na monetach, medalach i żetonach gdańskich od końca XVI do połowy XVIII wieku w Gdańsku*, PhD dissertation, University of Gdańsk 2007.
- Ehrenberg Hermann, *Die Kunst am Hofe der Herzöge von Preußen*, Berlin–Leipzig 1899.
- Fisher Ernst Ludwig, *The Scots in Eastern and Western Prussia*, Edinburgh 1903.
- Fleck Miriam Verena, *Ein tröstlich gemelde. Die Glaubensallegorie „Gesetz und Gnade“ in Europa zwischen Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, Korb im Remstal 2010.
- Foot Daniel, *Astrology in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Prussia: A Handwritten Horoscope Inscription from the Private Library of Simon Loytz*, BA thesis, Oklahoma State University 2012.
- Frisch Gregorius, *Der Sankt Marien Pfarrkirchen in Dantzig inwendige Abriss. Beschreibung der Oberpfarrkirche zu Sankt Marien in Danzig und der inneren Merkwürdigkeiten derselben, Vorzüglich des berühmten Altergemäldes, auf welchem das jüngste Gericht abgebildet ist*, Hg. Katarzyna Cieślak, Gdańsk 1999.
- Gavitt Philip, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale Degli Innocenti, 1410–1536*, Michigan 1990.
- Görres Daniel, *Cranach, Luther und die Ernestiner. Der Epitaph der Stadtkirche St. Peter und Paul in Weimar* [in:] *Bild und Bekenntnis*, Hg. Franziska Bomski, Hellmuth Seeman, Thorsten Valk, Göttingen 2015, pp. 37–53.
- Gralath Daniel, *Versuch einer Geschichte Danzigs: Aus zuverlässigen Quellen und Handschriften*, Bd. 2, Königsberg 1790.
- Grzybkowska Teresa, *Złoty wiek malarstwa gdańskiego na tle kultury artystycznej miasta*, Warszawa 1990.
- Günther Otto, *Danziger Hochzeits- und Kleiderordnungen*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1900, Bd. 42, pp. 185–228.
- Hapanowicz Piotr, *Krakowski nagrobek Rafała Macieja Ocieskiego*, “Spotkania z Zabytkami” 2013, nr 9/10, pp. 34–35.

- Harasimowicz Jan, Huczmanová Andrea, „Hier hat die Religion einen Gönner und Beschützer“. *Zur Entstehung, Ikonographie und ideellen Funktion des Cranach-Retabels in der Augustusburger Schlosskapelle* [in:] *Sichtbares Wort. Die Kunst als Medium der Konfessionalisierung und Intensivierung des Glaubens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hg. Jan Harasimowicz, Regensburg 2017, pp. 95–118.
- Jan Harasimowicz, Huczmanová Andrea, *Zur Ikonographie des Cranach-Retabels in der Augustusburger Schlosskapelle* [in:] *Sichtbares Wort. Die Kunst als Medium der Konfessionalisierung und Intensivierung des Glaubens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Hg. Jan Harasimowicz, Regensburg 2017.
- Hintzenstern Herbert, *Lucas Cranach d.Ä. Altarbilder aus der Reformationszeit*, Berlin 1975.
- Hirsch Theodor, *Die Ober-Pfarrkirche von St. Marien in Danzig in ihren Denkmälern und in ihren Beziehungen zum kirchlichen Leben Danzigs überhaupt dargestellt*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1843.
- Jakubek-Raczkowska Monika, *Plastyka średniowieczna od XIII do XVI wieku*, Gdańsk 2007.
- Janson Horst Woldemar, *The Putto with the Death's Head*, “The Art Bulletin” 1937, vol. 3, pp. 423–449.
- Jaśniewicz Aleksandra, *Portret w Gdańsku od schyłku średniowiecza do późnego baroku. Malarstwo, rysunek (1420–1700)*, Gdańsk 2018.
- Jeziorski Paweł, *Hylzenowie w Gdańsku. Szkic do dziejów elit dawnego województwa inflanckiego*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 2015, nr 80, pp. 151–168.
- Kajdańska Aleksandra, *Ubiory w nowożytnym Gdańsku od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 2020.
- Kandt Kevin, *Schlüteriana II: Studies in the Art, Life, and Milieu of Andreas Schlüter*, Berlin 2011.
- Keyser Erich, *Olivaer Studien*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1928, Bd. 69, pp. 5–38.
- Kingsley-Smith Jane, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature*, Cambridge 2010.
- Kizik Edmund, *Gdańskie ordynacje o weselach, chrzcinach i pogrzebach w XVI–XVII wieku*, “Barok” 2000, nr 1, pp. 187–205.
- Kołakowska Maria, *Renesansowe nagrobki dziecięce w Polsce XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku*, “Studia Renesansowe” 1956, nr 1, pp. 231–256.
- Kotłowski Grzegorz, Starek Elżbieta, *Łacińskie inskrypcje w kościołach Gdańska. Bazylika Mariacka*, Pelplin 2014.
- Kropidłowski Zdzisław, *Organizacja dzieł miłosierdzia w Gdańsku w XVI–XVIII wieku* [in:] *Charitas. Miłosierdzie i opieka społeczna w ideologii, normach postępowania i praktyce społeczności wyznaniowych w Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku*, red. Urszula Augustyniak, Andrzej Karpiński, Warszawa 1999, pp. 139–160.
- Krzyżanowski Lech, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba kamienna lat 1517–1628*, PhD dissertation, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań 1966.
- Krzyżanowski Lech, *Rozwój nowożytnego mecenatu mieszczańskiego w Gdańsku w XVI w.* [in:] *Funkcja dzieła sztuki*, red. Jan Białostocki, Warszawa 1972.
- Labuda Adam S., *Zur Zehn-Gebote Tafel aus der Marienkirche in Danzig* [in:] *Bild / Geschichte. Festschrift für Horst Bredekamp*, Hg. Philine Helas, Maren Polte, Claudia Rückert, Bettina Uppenkamp, Berlin 2007, pp. 413–430.
- Lipińska Aleksandra, *Moving Sculptures: Southern Netherlandish Alabasters from the 16th to 17th Centuries in Central and Northern Europe*, Boston–Leiden 2015.

- Matter of Light and Flesh: Alabaster in the Netherlandish Sculpture of the 16th and 17th centuries*, ed. Jacek Kriegseisen, Aleksandra Lipińska, Gdańsk 2011.
- Olszewska-Świetlik Justyna, *Technologia i technika malarska wybranych nowożytnych epitafiów z Bazyliki Mariackiej w Gdańsku*, Toruń 2009.
- Pałubicki Janusz, *Rzeźba kamienna w Gdańsku w latach 1517–1585*, “Gdańskie Studia Muzealne” 1985, nr 4, pp. 175–195, 391–418.
- Papierkowska Anna, *Polskie nagrobki dziecięce w dobie Renesansu*, “Ethos” 1996, nr 3/4, pp. 248–251.
- Peterson Charles William, *The Humanist, Fideistic Philosophy of Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560)*, (“Dissertations 2009-”, paper 237), Marquette University 2012.
- Poscharsky Peter, *Das Retabel von 1555 in der St. Peter und Paulkirche in Weimar von Lucas Cranach dem Jüngeren* [in:] *idem, Gestalteter Glaube. Gesammelte Aufsätze aus der Christlichen Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, Hg. Klaus Raschzok, Leipzig 2014, pp. 251–262.
- Reinitzer Heimo, *Gesetz und Evangelium. Über ein reformatorisches Bildthema, seine Tradition, Funktion und Wirkungsgeschichte*, Bd. 1, Hamburg 2006.
- Rühle Siegfried, *Die Danziger Personenmedaillen*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1930, Bd. 70, pp. 137–175.
- Schaumann Elly, *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Tracht in Danzig*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1937, Bd. 73, pp. 7–62.
- Schulze Ingrid, *Lucas Cranach d.J. und die protestantische Bildkunst in Sachsen und Thüringen. Frömmigkeit, Theologie, Fürstenreformation*, Bucha bei Jena 2004.
- Simson Paul, *Danzig in der dreizehnjährige Kriege 1454–1466*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1891, Bd. 29, pp. 1–132.
- Simson Paul, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1913.
- Simson Paul, *Westpreussens und Danzigs Kampf gegen die polnischen Unionsbestrebungen in den letzten Jahren des Königs Sigismund August (1568–1572)*, “Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins” 1897, Bd. 37, pp. 3–172.
- Skibiński Franciszek, *Rzeźba nowożytna w kościele Mariackim w Gdańsku* [in:] *Kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku. Malarstwo i rzeźba*, red. Jacek Friedrich, Gdańsk 2019, pp. 111–123.
- Sobecka Anna, *Malarstwo nowożytne w kościele Mariackim w Gdańsku* [in:] *Kościół Mariacki w Gdańsku. Malarstwo i rzeźba*, red. Jacek Friedrich, Gdańsk 2019, pp. 139–167.
- Sulewska Renata, *Dłutem wycięte. Szynerstwo północnych ziem Polski w czasach Zygmunta III Wazy*, Warszawa 2004.
- Szczuczko Witłod, *Konnert (Connert, Conrad, Konnert) Jan (zm. 1560)* [in:] *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, t. 2: G–K, red. Stanisław Gierszewski, Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańsk 1994, pp. 431–432.
- Szmelter-Fausek Bożena, Olszewska-Świetlik Justyna, *Painting Works by Anton Möller on the Background of Gdańsk’s Painting Workshop of the Last Quarter of the 16th and the First Half of the 17th Century*, “Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo” 2017, t. 48, pp. 133–175.
- Thulin Oskar, *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation*, Berlin 1955.
- Tylicki Jacek, *Sztuka Prus Królewskich. Malarstwo i rysunek* [in:] *Prusy Królewskie. Społeczeństwo, kultura, gospodarka 1454–1772. Szkice z dziejów*, red. Edmund Kizik, Gdańsk 2012, pp. 309–371.

- Weichbrodt Dorothea, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig: In Stamm- und Namenstafeln vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 1, Klausdorf-Schwentine, 1988.
- Weichbrodt Dorothea, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien und Hansestadt Danzig: In Stamm- und Namenstafeln vom 14.–18. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 3, Klausdorf-Schwentine 1990.
- Wengert Timothy J., *Philip Melancthon's Annotationes in Johannes in Relation to its Predecessors and Contemporaries*, Geneve 1987.
- Wisłocki Marcin, *Sztuka protestancka na Pomorzu 1535–1684*, Szczecin 2005.
- Zdrenka Joachim, *Konnert (Connert, Connerth, Kohnert, Conrad, Konradt), Jakob (Jakob)* [in:] *idem, Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814. Biogramy*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 177.
- Zdrenka Joachim, *Konnert (Connert, Connerth, Kohnert, Conradt, Konradt), Jan (Johann)* [in:] *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, t. 2: G–K, red. Stanisław Gierszewski, Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańsk 1994.
- Zdrenka Joachim, *Urzędnicy miejscy Gdańska w latach 1342–1792 i 1807–1814. Biogramy*, Gdańsk 2008.
- Zduńczyk Aurelia, *Die Bildpredigt der reformatorischen Altarretabel* [in:] *Cranachs Kirche. Begleitbuch zur Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt Cranach der Jüngere*, Hg. Jan Harasimowicz, Bettina Seyderhelm, Beucha 2015, p. 41.
- Zitzlsperger Philipp, *Dürers Pelz und das Recht im Bild Kleiderkunde als Methode der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 2008.

### **Upamiętnienie i tożsamość rodzinna w szesnastowiecznym Gdańsku. Portrety członków rodziny Connertów (1550–1599)**

Przedmiotem artykułu są portrety powstałe w latach 1550–1599 na zamówienie przedstawicieli trzech pokoleń gdańskiej rodziny Connertów: rzeźbiony portret Johanna III Connerta umieszczony w fasadzie Sierocińca przy kościele św. Elżbiety (1550), epitafia Johanna III Connerta (1556) i Anny Loitz-Connertowej (ok. 1563–1565) w kościele Najświętszej Marii Panny oraz trzy medale portretowe: Johanna I Connerta (1556), Johanna IV Connerta (1557) i Jacoba Connerta (1599). Analizę portretów poprzedza szczegółowa rekonstrukcja historii rodziny Connertów, umożliwiającą osadzenie dzieł w kontekście biografii zamawiających. Portrety omówione zostały na płaszczyźnie formalnej, ujawniającej artystyczne preferencje poszczególnych członków rodziny oraz w warstwie treściowej – konfesyjnej i społeczno-ekonomicznej. Dzieła zawierające podobizny Connertów wprowadzają do gdańskiej przestrzeni publicznej nieznaną tu wcześniej typy portretów i nowatorskie rozwiązania formalne. Wyróżniają się przy tym koncepcyjnym wyrefinowaniem, którego specyficznym komponentem są czasowe i przestrzenne manipulacje. Poczynając od Johanna III Connerta, inicjatora odbudowy gdańskiego sierocińca, członkowie rodziny akcentowali – także w wymiarze artystycznym – swoje przywiązanie do idei dobroczynności. Powyższe zabiegi uznać można za elementy strategii nie tylko odzwierciedlającej ambicje poszczególnych członków rodziny, ale zarazem służącej podkreśleniu rodzinnej tożsamości Connertów.