

The Presentation of the Tatars and the Turks in the Legends Related to Miraculous Images/Icons of Our Lady in the 17-18th Centuries in the Eastern Territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

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Abstract. The paper investigates how Christians of different denominations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth described the Tatars and the Turks in the legends related to the miraculous image/icons of Virgin Mary. It includes both the use of *topoi* of Tatars devastating the icons during Tatar incursions in the 13-16 centuries, general vision of the Turks and Tatars by the 17 and 18-centuries' authors, and presentation of them as military enemies in the setting of wars between the Ottoman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well as reflection of these plots in the visual art. The research is based on the analysis of legends and miracles dating back to the 17-18th century and available visual material. It was shown that Christians of three main denominations –Orthodox, Catholics, Greek Catholics– represented the Turks and the Tatars in a similar way and the representation corresponded to the representation of other military enemies independently of religious beliefs.

Keywords: Virgin Mary; the Tatar Mongols; the Tatars; the Turks; Miraculous Icons; Sacred Images Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; Art.

[es] La presentación de los tártaros y los turcos en las leyendas relacionadas con imágenes/iconos milagrosos de Nuestra Señora en los siglos XVII-XVIII en los territorios orientales de la Commonwealth polaco-lituana

Resumen. El artículo investiga cómo los cristianos de diferentes denominaciones en la Commonwealth polaco-lituana describieron a los tártaros y los turcos en las leyendas relacionadas con la imagen/iconos milagrosos de la Virgen María. Incluye tanto el uso de *topoi* de tártaros que devastaron los iconos durante las incursiones tártaras en los siglos XIII-XVI, la visión general de los turcos y tártaros por parte de los autores de los siglos XVII y XVIII, y la presentación de ellos como enemigos militares en el escenario de guerras entre el Imperio Otomano y la Commonwealth polaco-lituana, así como el reflejo de estas tramas en el arte visual. La investigación se basa en el análisis de leyendas y milagros que datan de los siglos XVII-XVIII y el material visual disponible. Se demostró que los cristianos de tres denominaciones principales –ortodoxos, católicos, greco-católicos– representaban a los turcos y tártaros de manera similar y la representación correspondía a la representación de otros enemigos militares independientemente de sus creencias religiosas.

Palabras clave: Virgen María; los tártaros mongoles; los tártaros; los turcos; iconos milagrosos; imágenes sagradas Commonwealth polaco-lituana; arte.

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1. Introduction

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a military aspect was an immanent feature of Marian cult. Since the Medieval Period, all military affairs and battles were accompanied with prayers to Virgin Mary and Her icons/images. *Bogoroditsa* (Pol.: *Bogurodzica*, Rus.: *Богородица*, Engl.: *Theotokos*) hymn was the first military hymn song by the Poles and the Lithuanians in and outside the church with battle fields among others². Under the influence of the Counter-Reformation and internal processes in the state, Marian cult reached its full blossoming in the 17-18th centuries and affected religious, social, political and military aspects of life.

Additionally, Marian cult was the unifying element for the representatives of most numerous Christian denominations in the State: Orthodox, Catholics and Greek Catholics (or Uniates, who recognized the supreme authority of Pope but abided by Orthodox rite, including liturgical services with minor differences, icons, and the Church Slavonic language in liturgical services). The Protestants were in minority in the Commonwealth and were even-tempered towards Marian cult and images. Thus, this paper will consider only Catholics, Orthodox, and Uniates.

The confrontations between Christian denominations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were not as severe as in Western Europe. Janusz Tazbir stated that the State recognized religious tolerance since there were no severe armed conflicts as in, e.g. France³. However, despite the absence of armed conflicts, the confrontations still existed at different social levels. Literature polemics, preaching, and cult of Marian images/icons played an important role in the confrontation. The latter, among other, included supporting appearance of new sanctuaries and promotion of those existing by different means with the creation and support of legends and miracles associated with the images/icons.

For this paper, I will use the term “*icon*” in relation to the sacred images used in the Orthodox Church (and the Greek Catholic Church which abided by the tradition of the Orthodox Church) based on the definition adopted by the Polish art historians and given in the dictionary of terms of art history. The definition may be summarized as spiritual images shaped in the art of Eastern Christianity, depicting saint persons or biblical scenes. An icon is integrally related to liturgical practice. An icon is not a simple presentation of a saint or illustration of the Holy Bible but a remembrance of what is invisible; it contains gracious presence of the saint achieved by preserving similarity of icon with personal prototype⁴. I will use the term “*image*” in relation to holy images used in the Catholic Church,

where their function was to remind of a depicted saint person or event.

However, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, on the borderline of Orthodox and Catholic traditions, the differences between “*icon*” and “*image*” were often smoothed. Moreover, some images function as icons in Orthodox medium and as images in that Catholic. The best example could be the images of *Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Pol.: *Częstochowa*, mod. Poland) located in Pauline cloister, which functions as “*icon*” in the Slavic Orthodox world. This statement applies to majority holy images/icons on Orthodox-Catholic borderline, especially those miraculous.

Despite of theological differences, the functions of miraculous icons in Orthodox medium and images in the Catholic medium in the Polish-Lithuanian State were very similar in folk religion. Marian miracle-working icons/images were worshipped by Orthodox, Catholics and Greek Catholics independently of religious affiliation. This promoted the use of Marian icons/images in the inner religious confrontations and missionary activities in multiethnic and multi-religious Polish-Lithuanian State.

The Marian cult could not but reflect numerous wars the Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth participated in during the 17th and 18th centuries: with Orthodox Muscovites and Cossacks, Lutheran Swedes and Muslim Ottomans and Tatars. War events put the beginning of several new Marian cults, since initial demonstration of miraculous power of many icons/images was related with war affairs⁵. In public conscience miraculous image of Virgin Mary was equated with Mary Herself and “*actions of images*” were attributed directly to Our Lady Herself. Veneration of icons/images was considered as veneration of the Mother of God. Attempts to devastate a Marian icon/image were considered as attempts to desecrate Virgin Mary.

Divine help to an individual was also provided in connection with particular icons/images. Additionally, icons/images had *palladium* function and were to save the place where they were located from enemies⁶. Wars made people feel unsafe and seek Divine protection, especially, that of Our Lady. And that were the victories in particular battles or wars that demonstrated Divine help. In the setting of confessional/religious confrontations they expressed the superiority of the representatives of confession that won over the followers of confession that lost, since God and Virgin Mary were on their side. That is also why military enemies were so often represented in legends and miracles related to Marian icons/images. Despite of be-

² Marta Michałowska, “Palladium Polskie. Militarne aspekty ikonografii maryjnej XVII-XVIII w. w.”, *Studia Claromontana*, no. 6 (1985): 26.

³ Janusz Tazbir, *Tradycje tolerancji religijnej w Polsce* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1980), 8.

⁴ Barbara Dąb-Kalinowska, “Ikona”, *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych, wydanie czwarte*, Eds. Krystyna Kubalska-Sulkiewicz, Monika Bielska-Lach, Anna Manteufel-Szarota (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2003), 156-157.

⁵ E.g., image of *Galaktotrophousa from Raubičy* (Bel. Раўбічы; Pol.: Raubicze, mod. Belarus). According to the legend put down by W. Nowakowski, the image appeared to a nobleman Lukasz Holewa on a tree who was hiding in the forest during the war with the Swedes (Edward Nowakowski (Wacław z Sulgostowa), *O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej* (Kraków, 1902), 101-102.). The icon from the orthodox convent in Barkalabava (Bel. Баркалабава, Pol.: Barkulabowo, mod. Belarus), which demonstrated the miraculous power during the Polish-Muscovite wars in the 17th century (Сергий, архимандрит, “Из истории православия и братской школы в Могилеве”, in *Могилевские епархиальные ведомости*, no. 3 (1905), 55-57.

⁶ See Anna Niedźwiedz, *Obraz i postać. Znaczenia wizerunku Matki Boskiej. Częstochowskiej* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005), 12.

ing very similar in general, the representations of enemies had their particularities.

Since the military enemies of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were of different religious or confessional affiliation, there were some differences in representation of them, however, general plots were similar and were within the well-established plots.

The Muscovites and the Cossacks were Orthodox, like great number of the citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Ruthenian lands of the Polish Kingdom. Military collisions with the Muscovites and Cossacks were represented in miracles and legends in several similar narratives. One of them described the cases when icons/images were treated as loots and were stolen by both Orthodox and Catholics. This is how Orthodox icons got to Catholic temples⁷ and icons from Greek-Catholic and Orthodox temples were brought to Moscow State. Another stated that the images from Uniate/Catholic sanctuaries helped Polish troops and those from Orthodox temples helped the Muscovites and Cossack rebels⁸.

The Lutheran Swedes were Christians as well, however, they did not venerate the Mother of God's images. The legends of military narrative allow distinguishing between the local Polish-Lithuanian Protestants and Sweden military enemies. In the miracles of images/icons recorded in the 17th and 18th century, local Protestants were represented sneering the Mother of God and Her icons/images, rejecting their miraculous power, with no physical attempts to devastate them⁹. Meanwhile the Swedes are presented mainly as those who physically devastated icons with the two following *topoi* (i.e., traditional themes that are found in literature, legends in case of this article) dominating. The first *topos* is: the Swedes break into the temple and try to steal icons/images, they are punished for this (mainly become blind) and are thrown away by invisible force¹⁰. The second popular *topos* is that they bring horses to a temple with a miraculous image/icon and are punished with blindness¹¹.

The Mongol Tatars, Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Turks were of absolutely different religion (Paganism in

case of the Mongols and Islam in case of the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Turks). They neither shared similar theological aspects, nor had sacred images. Additionally, they were military enemies. Were they represented in other ways? How they were represented by Christians in the legends of icons/images of Our Lady? Did Christians of the Polish-Lithuanian State in the 17-18th centuries distinguish ethnic and religious differences between the Tatars and the Turks? This paper is an attempt to find answers to these questions.

The objective of this paper is to investigate how Christians of all denominations represented the Tatars and Turks in general as contemporary military enemies in legends and miracles and how the legends and miracles were represented in visual art: icons, engravings, paintings, etc.

I will focus on the eastern territories of the Commonwealth which currently substitute the territories of Belarus, Lithuania, Poland and Ukraine. These territories are of particular interest since they were the area of religious confrontations between the Christian denominations. Thus, in addition to general representation of the Tatars and the Turks by Christians, it will allow detecting if a denomination had any impact on the presentation thereof.

The investigation is based on legends and records of miracles related to Virgin Mary's icons/images originated in the 17th and the 18th century or published later based on sources that date back to the specified time¹². Since the objective is to investigate how the Tatars and the Turks were perceived by their Christian contemporaries, I analyzed the records of miracles of the most popular Catholic, Orthodox and Greek Catholic icons/images of Virgin Mary in the eastern territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, that currently constitute the territories of Belarus, Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania.

By this paper I have no intention to offend the representatives of any ethnicity or religious denomination. This is just an attempt to investigate how Christians of the 17th and 18th centuries perceived their military enemies of absolutely different religious affiliation. While working with the documents of that time we should take into consideration the difference in that-time and contemporary mentality and context the legends and miracles developed in the 17th and 18th century.

2. General aspects in representation of the Turks and Tatars

The topic of presenting the Turks and Tatars in the legends and miracles associated with miracle-working icons/images of Our Lady from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has been touched upon the researchers in relation

⁷ See Mirosław P. Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2011).

⁸ E.g., the icon of Our Lady from orthodox temple in Mahiloŭ (Bel. Магілёў, Pol. Mohylew, modern Belarus) helped the Muscovite troops to withstand the battle with the Polish troops and the image of Our Lady of Białyniчы (Bel. Бялынічы, Pol.: Białynicze, mod. Belarus) from Catholic convent helped the Polish in the battle with the Muscovite troops. (Informacya krótka de origine Obrazu Matki Naysiwetszey Białynickiey, wielkiemi Cudamy słynącego, który za wyszłą Bullą y Dekretem, Naywyższy Stolicy Apostolskiey, koronowany jest przez Jasnie W. Jmsci Xiędza Jerzego z Eklow Hilzena biskupa Smolienskeigo roku 1761 miesiąca Septembra dnia 20, f. 2, rev.).

⁹ E.g., see Eleutery Zielejewicz, *Zwierzyniec na Ziemi niebieski, to jest Puszcza Budzka, łaskami boskimi opływająca, których ludzie przy Cudownym Obrazie Nas. Panny w kościele O. Bernardynów będącym doznawają* (Wino, 1650), 9-11.

¹⁰ E.g., *icon of Virgin Mary in Volma* (Bel.: Волма, Pol.: Wołma, mod. Belarus) (П. Трусовский, "Восстановление в м. Волме православной церкви", in *Вестник Западной России*, v. III, part VII (Вильна, 1867), 61.

¹¹ E.g., icon of Our Lady from Kletsk (Bel.: Клецк, Pol.: Kleck, mod. Belarus) (*Описание церквей и приходов Минской епархии, составленное по официально затребованному от причтов сведениям*, part III: *Слуцкий уезд* (Минск, 1879), 130-131.

¹² Work with sources that originate from the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth themselves is complicated because many of them were lost to follow up during numerous unregistered archive transfers in the second half 19th century and 20th centuries. Additionally, multiple local religious documents were destroyed along with churches and monasteries where they were stored during the anti-religious communist activity in the territories that constituted the USSR. Therefore, this conditions the need to use works of 19-century's authors who had access to and invoked original sources.

to particular images¹³ or separate aspects of Mariology. Mirosław Piotr Kruk investigated the representation of *Tatar medium* topos in the legends of origin and transfer of icons from Orthodox temples to those Catholic¹⁴. The relation of legends mentioning Tatar and Polish-Ottoman wars with the coronation of Catholic and Uniate images in the Polish-Lithuania Commonwealth was brought up by Andrzej Baranowski¹⁵. Tomasz Dywan investigated into the visions in formation of Catholic Marian sanctuaries in Ruthenian lands of Poland¹⁶, etc.

This paper investigates how the Turks and the Tatars were perceived and represented by people in the 17th and 18th century in relation with miraculous Marian icons/images. This representation, however, not always correctly reflected historic events since it was based on legendary data, detached from historical reality. As the texts imply, Christian authors putting down legends and miracles about icons/images did not distinguish between the Mongolian Tatars from the Golden Horn, the Crimean Tatars and the Ottoman Turks. They used interchangeable terms to define them: “the Tatars” (“Tatarzy”, “тагары”), “the Turks” (“Turcy”, “турки”), “Pagans” (“poganie”, “pogaństwo”), “Saracens” (“сарацины”), “Hagarenes” (“агаряне”). While the terms “Saracens” and “Hagarenes” were used in the literature in Russian by Orthodox authors with reference to the Tatars or the Turks, they were not used in literature in literature in the Polish language by Orthodox authors. The term has Biblical origin, since it was believed that Muslims are descendants of Biblical Hagar. In some cases, the terms “Turks” and “Tatars” were used interchangeably.

Generally, the mode of representation of the Turks and the Tatars in the legends and miracles associated with the icons/images of Our Lady in the 17th-18th century can be divided into two main groups. The first group refers to numerous invasions of the Mongol Tatars and the Crimean Tatars to Rus and the Great Duchy of Lithuania in the 13-16th centuries and references to previous collisions between the Byzantine Empire and the Muslim or Pagan invaders. The second group refers to the Tatars and Turks as real military enemies in the battlefields of Polish-Ottoman wars in the 17th century.

3. Representation of Tatar invasions the legends

The first group includes the representation of the Tatars (with the Tatar Mongols, who were referred to as “the Tatars” in sources. Thus, analyzing the texts, I will not stress the difference in the article). This representation came

down to archaic topoi that has been popular since the Middle Ages. It focuses on the devastation of icons in the territories inhabited by Christians by “others” – people of other religion and other values. This topos was one of the group of topoi used to make the icon more significant by stressing its anciency and supernatural occurrence. Among others, the group of topoi included painting of icon by St. Luke and bringing it to Rus by a person associated with the Christianization of Rus¹⁷. Moreover, in local legends, the Turks, military enemies of the Byzantine Empire, were substituted with the Tatars, who represented grave hazards to the citizens of the Commonwealth¹⁸. This can be shown on the example of the image of *Our Lady of Trakai* (Pol.: Troki, mod. Lithuania), which depicts Mary holding Child Jesus on Her right arm and a flower in the left hand. The legend claimed that it was this image to thank for the victory of John II Komnenos over the Tatars in Thrace. However, in reality the emperor fight with the Turks¹⁹.

The image of *Our Lady from the Dominican church in Lviv* (Ukr. Львів, Pol. Lwów, mod. Ukraine) was supposed to have Byzantine origin as well and being the property of Leo I of Galicia (1228 – 1301), a founder of Lviv. He arrived in these territories in search for shelter from Tatars²⁰. The origin of the *image of Our Lady in Pidkamin* (Ukr.: Підкамінь, Pol.: Podkamień, mod. Ukraine) was associated with the Tatars, who burnt a local church in 1519. In the 30-s of the 16th century, Virgin Mary appeared to shepherds at this place, and her image was considered to be miraculous²¹.

The *icon Our Lady from Uniate Basilian monastery in Minsk* (Bel. Мінск, Pol.: Mińsk, mod. Belarus), also known as Hodegetria of Minsk, is a good example of creating a new legend using several topoi at once. The icon is painted on panel. It depicts Mary holding Jesus on Her left arm and pointing on Him with Her right hand, as in majority Hodegetrias painted with tempera on panel. The icon was initially located in Orthodox cathedral and later overpassed to Uniates. The cult of miraculous icon existed already on the cusp of the 16th and 17th centuries²². In Orthodox setting, the icon was considered to be presented by Helena Ivanovna of Moscow (1476-1513), a daughter of Moscow Prince Ivan III and the wife of Alexander, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania²³. After the icon had passed to Uniates, its relation to Helena Ivanovna was removed and a legend was developed instead²⁴. That is of no wonder since Helena Ivanovna was famous

¹³ E.g., the development of legend relating the icon of Our Lady of Minsk in the Uniate monastery was investigated by Yury Mikulski (Ю.М. Мікульскі, “Гісторыя іконы Божай Маці Менскай (да XVIII ст.)”, *Беларуская даўніна*, no. 1 (2014): 59-96.

¹⁴ Mirosław P. Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Kraków: Collegium Columbinum, 2011), 146-149.

¹⁵ Andrzej J. Baranowski, *Koronacje wizerunków maryjnych w czasach baroku. Zjawisko kulturowe i artystyczne* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN / Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 2003).

¹⁶ Tomasz Dywan, *Kształtowanie kultury prowincjonalnej w katolickich sanktuariach maryjnych na Kresach południowo-wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Łódź: Księży Młyn, 2014).

¹⁷ Andrzej Gil, “Kult ikony Matki Boskiej Chelmskiej. Źródła i konteksty”, in *Przywrócona pamięci. Ikona Matki Boskiej Chelmskiej: ikonografia – kult – kontekst społeczny*, ed. A. Gil et al (Lublin-Lwów: Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski, Український Католицький Університет, 2016), 60.

¹⁸ Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 146.

¹⁹ Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy*, 146.

²⁰ Leon Ulanowski, *Obraz Najświętszej Maryi Panny Matki Boskiej, przez ś. Łukasza ewangelistę malowany, w kościele Bożego Ciała ww. xx. dominikanów we Lwowie, laskami i cudami słynący* (Lwów: Drukarnia Zakładu Narodowego Imienia Ossolińskich, 1853), 6.

²¹ J. M. Chudek, *Matka Boska Podkamieńska. Szkic historyczny, skreślony z okazji powtórnej koronacji cudownego obrazu* (Kościan, 1927), 2.

²² Мікульскі, “Гісторыя іконы”, 73.

²³ Ulanowski, *Obraz Najświętszej Maryi*, 12.

²⁴ Мікульскі, “Гісторыя іконы”, 78.

for her activities in support of Orthodoxy. The new legend was compelled of several topoi and was published in 1675 by Wilhelm Gumpenberg (1609-1675) based on information provided by Lithuanian Jesuit Albert Wijuk-Kojałowicz (1609-1677)²⁵. The icon was claimed to be painted by St. Luke the Evangelist and brought to Kyiv by Prince Vladimir in the 10th century. It remained there until the city was devastated by the Tatars one of whom threw the icon into the river. Finally the icon appeared in Minsk swimming on the river around 1500²⁶.

The icon of *Our Lady from Uniate sanctuary in Chelm* (mod. Poland) (Fig. 1), painted in rarer type of Dexiokratousa, which depicts Mary holding Her Son on the right arm and pointing on Him with Her left arm, contains the greatest number of legends and miracles associated with the Tatars and Turks. They are represented by both referrals to devastation by the Mongols and description of military attacks at the battle fields of the Polish-Ottoman wars in the 17th century. The troops of the Commonwealth carried the icon with them. King Jan Sobieski prayed it and devoted to it the victory in the Battle of Beresteczko²⁷. Since the icon accompanied the troops, there were many miracles associated with battles and individual soldiers. Moreover, in the engraving by Aleksander Tarasiewicz, the icon of *Our Lady of Chelm* is accompanied with an inscription calling Her “Tartarorum et Cosacorum ad Beresteckiem gloriosa ac memoranda prostigatrix” (Fig. 2).



Figure 1. *Icon of Our Lady of Chelm*. Museum of Volhyn icon, Lutsk, Ukraine. Source: Wikipedia, https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Che%C5%82mska_Ikona_Matki_Bo%C5%BCej



Figure 2. *Our Lady of Chelm*, engraving by A. Tarasiewicz. Source: Дмитро Степовик, Українська гравюра бароко (Київ, ТОВ «Видавництво «КЛЮ»), 2012.

The icon has a typical set of topoi in the legend of origin. They all were brought together by the Uniate bishop Jakob Susza. Like many other popular and important icons, it was claimed to be painted by Saint Luke the Evangelist. The icon was considered to have saved Chelm from the Tatars. When the enemies approached Chelm, the Mother of God lifted the Chelm hill so high that the Tatars could not reach it and had to retreat. This plot was painted as a separate image that decorated the arcade of first chapel inside the Chelm Cathedral constructed on the occasion of the icon coronation in 1756²⁸. The image has not preserved.

The motif of destructive incursions of Tatars is also presented in the legend of miraculous *icon of Our Lady from Orthodox in Kupiaciży* (Bel.: Купяцічы, Pol.: Kupiatycze, mod. Belarus) (Fig. 3) dating back to the middle 17th century. The icon depicting standing Our Lady holding Emmanuel on Her left arm was engraved on the encolpion cross was reported to appear in light on the tree in the 12th century and to be venerated till the second half of the 13th century, when the Tatars burnt the church. The icon preserved, however, was hidden in the land and re-appeared again much later²⁹. The motif of devastation by the Tatars is represented in the liturgical texts but is missing in the visual art.

²⁵ Мікульські, “Гісторыя іконы”, 63.

²⁶ Wilhelm Gumpenberg, *Atlas Marianus quo Sanctae Dei Genitricis Mariae imaginum miraculosarum origines duodecim historiarum venturiis explicantur* (Monachii, 1672), 947.

²⁷ Maksymilian Ryłło, *Koronacya cudownego obrazu Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Chelmskiej Katedrze obrzdku greckiego od samego początku wiary chrześcijańskiej w krajach naszych naboże chowanego, i od prawowiernych za cudowny zawsze mianego* (Berdyzów, 1780), Część 2, rozdział I; Część 2, rozdział I, § VI; Część 2, rozdział I, § II.

²⁸ Ryłło, *Koronacya cudownego*, Część 2, rozdział II, § I.

²⁹ Иоанникий Галятовский, *Небо новое с новыми звездами, или повествование о чудесах Богородицы, почерпнутое из достоверных преданий и древних летописей изуменом Иоанникием Галятовским и напечатанное 1677 года в Чернигове на польско-русском языке*. Translated by Александра Плохова (Москва, 1851), 92.



Figure 3. Copy of encolpion cross Our Lady of Kupiaci, 17th century, wood. Source: Photo by V. F. Sutiagin.

Referrals both to the Tatar devastators under the leadership of Tamerlane and Polish-Ottoman wars are contained in the book devoted to miraculous *image of Our Lady of Yuravičy* (Bel.: Юравічы, Pol.: Jurowicze, mod. Belarus) (Fig. 4). It depicts the Mother of God in type of Hedegetria, holding Her Son on Her left arm. The image/icon was in Yuravičy in the 17-19th centuries. After two rebellions of 1830-1831 and 1863-1864 which were supported by Catholics, the Catholic cloister was closed by the Russian government, and the temple with the miraculous image was given to Orthodox. To have the image in possession, local Catholic painter Jadwiga Keniewicz made a replica of it. The original image was substituted with the replica that remained in re-built and re-consecrated Orthodox temple Yuravičy and the original image was brought to Krakow to Saint Barbara church. As of 2010, the original image was in the Jesuit cloister in Krakow and replica is located in the Saint Barbara church³⁰.

In first part of the book devoted to the sacred image of Our Lady, the author, a Jesuit Franciszek Kolert, described the devastation of the surroundings by “glorious” Tamerlane, and called him “nie [...] człowiekiem, ale gniewem Bożym na złe ludzkie od Boga zesłanym” (“not human, but God’s enragement sent to people”)³¹.

The topos of icon of Our Lady protecting a town from the Tatar invasions was reflected in the legends of icons from Eastern Russian territories. The spectacular examples could be *the icon of Our Lady of Vladimir* (Rus. Владимир, mod. Russia) and *the icon of Our Lady of Smolensk* (Rus. Смоленск, mod. Russia). The first icon was considered to save Moscow from Tamerlane’s invasion. The Tatar troops did not reach Moscow thanks to Virgin Mary’s protection. The second icon was believed to save Smolensk from Batu Khan. However, these legends occurred earlier.

³⁰ M.P. Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach rzymsko-katolickich dawniej Rzeczypospolitej*, 126-127.

³¹ Franciszek Kolert, *Krynice cudownych łask Maryi z Jurowickich Gor wynikające* (Nieswież, 1755), część I.



Figure 4. Replica of image of Our Lady of Yuravičy, Krakow, St. Barbara church. Source: Volha Barysenka.

Additionally, the legends of this type were associated not only with Virgin Mary, but also with saints. An example may be a miraculous icon of Saint Nicolay of Mohzhaysk (Rus.: Можайск, mod. Russia). The legend associated its origin with the Tatar invasion to Mohzhaysk in 1389. They were not able to undertake the town due to a vision of Saint Nicolay above the St. Nicolay Cathedral holding a sword on his one hand and fortified church in the other. The Tatars were impressed by the vision, raised the siege and left the area. The icon was created depicting the Saint holding a sword in his one hand and a church in the other (Fig. 5)³².



Figure 5. Icon of Saint Nicolay of Mohzhaysk. Source: Петров Н. И. Резные изображения св. Николая Можайского и историческая судьба их. Труды XI Археологического съезда в Киеве, т. III. Киев, 1899, 18.

Thus, it may be concluded that the topos considered was typical of the Christian territories which were familiar with Tatar invasions in the 13-16th century. Some legends could have historical grounds for further formation of detailed and spectacular legends. The Tatar invasions

³² Н. И. Петров, “Резные изображения св. Николая Можайского и историческая судьба их”, in Труды XI Археологического съезда в Киеве, v. III (Kiev, 1899), 18.

were described in the chronicles. For example, the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle states that Chełm was saved by God from “irreligious Tartars” under the leadership of Batu Khan while many nearby towns suffered a lot³³. However, the chronicle does not contain any indication of miracle associated with the miracle-working icon of the Mother of God. Other legends could be formed in a similar fashion because the memory of invaders still existed and was resumed in the setting of war.

4. Representation of the Ottoman enemies

4.1. Sieges and battles

4.1.1. Sieges

In contrast to the legends of the first group, the plots related with the Ottomans, contemporary to the Christian authors, can be classified as “group” events such as military battles or sieges, and “individual” events, or individual’s experience at war. Both were recorded by the contemporaries or close successors of the Polish soldiers and were more commonly reported in the Catholic or Uniate sources. This is explained, first of all by the fact that keeping records of miracles was more popular in the Western Christianity. Orthodox did not pay so much attention to the miracles of icons. The followers of the Vatican used miracles as a proof of their belief verity in missionary purposes among Orthodox. That partially explains why the miracles that date back to wars were recorded years later and in Uniate medium. Vivid example of this can be the icon of *Our Lady of Pochaiv* (Ukr.: Почаїв, Pol.: Poczajów, mod. Ukraine).

Initially the icon was located in Orthodox monastery of Pochaiv and was one of the most popular among Orthodox and later Uniate believers. The icon was presented to the landlady, Anna Hoyska, a ktitor of the monastery, by the Greek metropolitan Neophyte in 1597. After miracles had happened in relation with the icon, A. Hoyska presented it to the monastery. The icon and the monastery played an important role in spiritual life of Orthodox believers. After the monastery had become Uniate, the icon remained therein. The Uniate monastery became an important missionary center of Roman Christianity in the territories initially inhabited mainly by Orthodox.

The data about the icon contain several episodes related to the Turks and Tatars. The greatest miracle associated with the icon was the appearance of the Mother of God after a 3-day siege of the monastery in Pochaiv on 23 July 1675, which was reflected in the art and liturgical texts devoted to the icon. The legend states that on 20 July 1675 the troops of the Turks and the Tatars approached Pochaiv and laid the siege to the monastery. The siege lasted for three days. On 23 July, when the monks, nobles and the locals praying the Mother of God started singing the first words of kondak 1 of Akathist Hymn “You are the victorious, triumphant leader...” Virgin Mary in light clothes with angels in military clothes holding swords appeared above

the main church. The Turks fired arrows to them but the arrows turned back and stroke the Turks. Impressed enemies ran away. Some of them converted to Christianity and remained in the monastery till the end of their lives³⁴.

The legend exists in two very close versions: “Russian” and “Polish”. The first variant was printed in the book devoted to the icon in Russian³⁵ and the other in Polish³⁶. General plot of the legend is similar. The difference is in one term. The Russian states that the Mother of God was in light clothes spreading Her panne white omophorion (“омофор белоблещица разнуца”) ³⁷. Meanwhile the Polish version uses the word “coat”: covering with panne white coat of Her Mother’s mercy (pokrywając białoświecym płaszczem miłosierdzia swego Macierzyńskiego). The words “of Her Mother’s mercy” are missing in the Russian text. The difference in this only word is important since it refers to two different iconographic traditions of representing Our Lady in icons of Pokrov (Mantle). The text in Russian refers to typical iconography spread in Orthodox tradition. In this case Virgin Mary standing on the cloud holds Her omophorion above the prayers as in the icon from Volhynia dated to 1630 of the 17th century (Fig. 6) The text in Polish refers to the same iconographic plot, however, with slight variation caused by the influence of western iconography of Mater Misericordiae, where Virgin Mary covers prayers with Her coat. The synthesis of both iconographic traditions resulted in depiction of Virgin Mary standing on the cloud and spreading Her coat over the prayers, as in the icon from Volhynia dating back to the first half of the 18th century (Fig. 7).



Figure 6. *Icon of Pokrov*, 1630, Volhynia.

Source: Т. Єлісеєва, А. Вигоднік, Музей Волынской иконы (Київ: Р.К. Майстер-принт, 2010), 25.

³³ Галицко-Волынская летопись: Текст. Комментарий. Исследование, сопр. Н.Ф. Котляр [и др.], ed. Н.Ф. Котляр (Санкт-Петербург: Алетея, 2005), 110.

³⁴ *Przesławna gora Poczajowska dawnością cudów Przenajczystszej Bogarodzicy Panny od cudownego Jey obrazu wynikających jasnijąca [...] w roku 1773 za zezwoleniem Najswiętszego Oycy Klemensa XIV [...] wykonanego, krótkim opisaniem do wiadomości świata, za zezwoleniem zwierzchności podana* (Poczajów: Drukarnia Jego Imperatorskiey Mci WW. OO. Bazyljanów, 1801), 22-25.

³⁵ Гора Почаевская: стопою чудесні из нея истікающую чудодійственную воду имущую, и іконою чудотворною Пресвятыя Дівы Матере Божія Маріи почтена, всему міру ясна и явна. – 4rd ed. (Почаїв: Друкарня Успенського монастиря, 1793).

³⁶ *Przesławna gora Poczajowska*.

³⁷ Гора Почаевская, f. 21 av.



Figure 7. *Icon of Pokrov*, first half of the 18th century, Volhynia. Source: Т. Єлісеєва, А. Вигоднік, Музей Волинської ікони, 63.

The second tradition was used by engraver Nikodem Zubrzycki to present Our Lady above the monastery and battle scene dated to 1704 (Fig. 8). The Mother of God is depicted standing on the cloud above the main church of Pochaiv monastery. She outstretches Her mantle to cover the monastery and believers and holds a scepter in Her right hand. The scepter refers to regal power She was conferred by the Polish Christians as the heaven Queen of Poland and its Protector in military battles among other. The angels mentioned in the legendary vision are omitted in the image. There is praying Saint Job of Pochaiv depicted on the right side of Mary. The Ottomans are presented out front, at the bottom of the picture, attacking the monastery, dying from the arrows and escaping.

The detailed plot of the legend and the look of Our Lady in the vision further presented in the image remind the salvation of Constantinople by Virgin Mary in 626 in the siege by the Avars. The following similar features may be stressed between the legend of siege of Constantinople and Pochaiv:

- Stronger and more numerous army of enemies of different religion siege the place (Constantinople vs. Pochaiv);
- Inhabitants lose hope for victory due to their military capabilities and weapon and pray God and Virgin Mary for help;
- When the first words of Akathistos are being sung, Virgin Mary appears in the sky with heavenly host dressed in military clothes that fight and win the enemies³⁸.

³⁸ Anna Niedźwiedz, *Obraz i postać*, 129.



Figure 8. *The siege of Pochaiv Lavra in the Turks and Tatars in 1674*, Copper engraving, Nikodem Zubrzycki. Source: <https://polona.pl/item/obrona-poczajowa-inc-drogim-kruscem-stalasio-poczaiovska-skala-gdzie-krolo-wa,OTMxMTkyMw/0/#info:metadata>.

Additio1 engraving was made in 1699 by Denis Senkiewicz. The Turks and the Tatars were referred to as the Hagarenes (“агаряне”). On the right top angle of the engraving there is Our Lady holding omophorion in Her hands above the monastery and praying Jesus (Fig. 9).

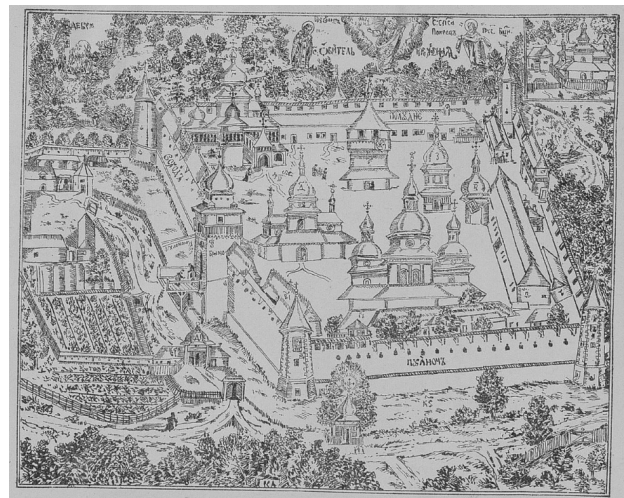


Figure 9. *Monastery of Krekhiv*, engraving by Denis Senkiewicz, 1699. Source: Я. Головацкий, *Монастыри юго-западной России вообще и Креховский монастырь. Памятники русской старины в западных губерниях империи, издаваемые по высочайшему повелению П.Н. Батюшковым. Вып. 7: Холмская Русь (Люблин и Седлецкая губ. Варшавского генерал-губернаторства). Петербург, 1885.*

The plot of the siege legend in this case is not as detailed as in case of Pochaiv. However, the general trop is similar: the monastery is sieged by the enemies; prayers see Our Lady in the sky and win with Her intervention. Our Lady is depicted with omophorion in Her hands. This suggests the impact of initially Byzantine legend popular in the Post-Byzantine world. Simultaneously the legend represents common topos which reflects a palla-

dium function of icons/image popular both in Christian East and West which originates in Antiquity. The icons/holy images were to protect the place where they were located from enemies.

Similar plots are known relating to Russian icons – e.g., the *Hodegetria of Smolensk*, in which, however, the Mother of God turned Her face to enemies – the Polish and helped them³⁹. The image of *Our Lady of Białyniчы* (Bel. Бялынічы, Pol.: Białynicze, mod. Belarus) from Carmelite monastery in Białyniчы in protected the fortress in Lahaviчы (Bel.: Ляхавічы, Pol.: Lachowicze, mod. Belarus), where it was located in the middle of the 17th century, from the Muscovite troops⁴⁰. Numerous icons in rural area protected villages from the Swedes. Images of Our Lady in Iberian Peninsula protected the locations and inhabitants from the Moors⁴¹, etc.

Returning back to the Turks and Tatars and the Commonwealth, it is necessary to mention the most important sanctuary of *Our Lady of Czestochowa*. The image of *Our Lady of Czestochowa* was the most popular miraculous image in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was worshipped by Catholics, Greek Catholics and Orthodox. Despite of numerous works devoted to the image, there are still unsolved questions about the exact place and time of its origin⁴². The image's story incorporates multiple legends and topoi related to Polish history from the Middle Ages up to present⁴³. The legends state in was painted by the Saint Luke the Evangelist and later was brought to Poland after "traveling" through different important Christian places: Jerusalem, Constantinople, Rus, Poland. The legend of the icon also contains a fragment of siege of Belz (Ukr.: Белз, Pol.: Belz, mod. Ukraine) by the Tatars. According to the legend, a Tatar darted an arrow and drove to the right side of the image. As soon as it happened, a dark cloud covered the enemies, deprived them of vision clarity. The Tatars had to escape but many of them were taken captive⁴⁴.

4.1.2. Battles

The miracles and legends associated with the battles during the Polish-Ottoman wars in the 17th century come mainly from the lands of modern Ukraine that previously constituted a part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They are very rarely reported in relation to the lands of modern Belarus, Lithuania or north-eastern Poland. This is conditioned by the territories that were the battle area reached by the Turks and Tatars. The icons/images from territories located to the north of modern Ukraine contain multiple

descriptions of the battles with the Muscovites or Swedes, i.e. "the others" vary in similar narratives of legends.

The *Battle of Chocim* in 1621 was one of the most important battles for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Polish-Ottoman wars. The battle was prominent in a way that the troops of about 6000 Polish-Lithuanian soldiers won 40000 Ottoman soldiers. No wonder, that the battle is mentioned in the legends of several icons/images and the victory therein is ascribed to the Divine intervention and multiple wonder-working images/icons of the Mother of God. There was no difference how far the icons/images were located from the battle field, since they all were prayed by the locals. The legend of the *image of Our Lady of Yuraviчы* states that at night people saw miracle light over the chapel with the image with fire arrows let towards Chocim. The arrows were claimed to have success since the victory was Polish⁴⁵.

Jesuit monk Mikołaj Oborski from the cloister in Kalisz had a vision while praying on 10 October 1621. He saw Polish trench near Chocim and the Turkish troops exceeding those Polish two-fold and chariot-riding Virgin Mary with Child Jesus in the clouds with kneeling Saint Stanisław Kostka pointing at the Polish troops. In a moment Jesus Christ extended His hand towards Kostka as if to raise him. The vision was depicted was painted by Tomasz Dolabella in 1641 ordered by Władysław IV. The image was votive and was intended for the chapel of St. Stanisław Kostka in Saint Peter's church in Krakow. The image has not preserved⁴⁶.

Catholic authors and artists among other were inspired by the events related to the Battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571. During the mentioned battle between the united Christian fleet and Ottoman armada Pope Pius V organized processions with the image of Our Lady of Rosary in Rome, Venice and other towns. The victory of the Holy League was alleged to Virgin Mary and Pope Pius V instituted the annual feast of Our Lady of Victory to commemorate the victory at Lepanto⁴⁷.

The battle of Lepanto inspired numerous artists and had massive impact on European art from Italy to Poland⁴⁸. European and Polish artist Tommaso (Pol. Tomasz) Dolabella united the plots of two events in his picture *Battle of Lepanto*, painted in 1632 (Fig. 10), currently stored in Wawel Royal Castle National Art Collection in Krakow, Poland⁴⁹. The picture unites three events in the same time: see battle and two rosarian processions – Roman with the Pope and Polish. This was related to the procession organized by bishop Marcin Szyszkowski in Krakow on 3 October 1621 after the death of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz on 24 June 1621 in Chocim castle. During the procession the image of Our Lady of the Rosary from Dominican St. Trinity church was carried along the streets⁵⁰.

³⁹ Mirosław P. Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach rzymsko-katolickich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, 69.

⁴⁰ Informacja krótka, f. 2, rev.

⁴¹ E.g., see P. Henrico Scherer, *Atlas Marianus Sive Praecipuae Totius Orbis Habitati Imagines Et Statuae Magnae Dei Matris: Beneficiis Ac Prodigis Inclutae Succincta Historia Propositae Et Mappis Geographicis Expressae* (München, 1702); Wilhelm Gumpenberg, *Atlas Marianus Sive De Imaginibus Deiparae Per Orbem Christianum Miraculosis*; Bd. 2. (Ingolstadt, 1657), 538.

⁴² See the summary in: Mirosław P. Kruk, *Ikony-obrazy w świątyniach...*, 10-11.

⁴³ See Anna Niedźwiedz, *Obraz i postać...*

⁴⁴ Wojciech Kurpiak, *Częstochowska Hodegetria* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo konserwatorów dzieł sztuki – Pelpin: Bernardinum, 2008), 92.

⁴⁵ Kolert, *Krynice łask, część IV*.

⁴⁶ Marta Michałowska, *Palladium Polskie...*, 25-46, 30; Mieczysław Skrudlik, *Królowa Korony Polskiej* (Lwów, 1930), 198.

⁴⁷ Marta Michałowska, *Palladium Polskie*, 25-46, 29.

⁴⁸ See Victor Mínguez, "A Sea of Dead Turks: Lepanto and the Iconographies of Hell and the Flood" in *Lepanto and Beyond Images of Religious Alterity from Genoa and the Christian Mediterranean*, Edited by Laura Stagno and Borja Franco Llopis (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021), 111-136.

⁴⁹ Victor Mínguez, "A Sea of Dead Turks..." , 25-46, 30.

⁵⁰ Mieczysław Skrudlik, *Królowa Korony Polskiej*, 197-199.



Figure 10. T. Dolabella, *The battle of Lepanto*, 1632, Wawel Royal Castle National Art Collection, Krakow, Poland. Source: Malarstwo polskie. Manierizm. Barok. Wstęp M. Walicki i W. Tomkiewicz, katalog, opr. A. Ryszkiewicz, b.m., 1971, 338.

The Victory at Lepanto promoted the cult of images of *Our Lady of the Snows* and *Our Lady of Loretto*. The cult of *Madonna of Loretto* rose after the victory at the battle of Lepanto and proliferated in the areas threatened by the Turks⁵¹, and in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as well.

Another images associated with the battles between Polish and Ottoman troops is *the image of Our Lady of Terebovlia* (Ukr.: Теребовля, Pol.: Trembowla, mod. Ukraine) representing the iconography of “Tender Feeling”. As the legend states, during the siege of Terebovlia by Turkish army in 1675, the image was carried in a procession on the city walls and the place was saved. Thereinafter the image was brought to St. George cathedral in Lviv by the Józef Szumlański, bishop of Lviv⁵², and now it is located in Carmelite church in Gdansk (mod. Poland).

Far not all the battles were successful for Christians. The book devoted to the image of *Our Lady of Yuravičy* describes the Ottomans taking over Kamianets-Podilskyi (Ukr. Кам'янець-Подільський, Pol.: Kamieniec Podolski, mod. Ukraine) in the 17th century. The churches were turn into the mosques and the Sultan, while entering the town with triumph, savaged holy images⁵³. In result the Mother of God was claimed to leave the town. Franciszek Kolert described the vision Ms Kisielewska had in 1673. Virgin Mary told her She was going from Podolia to Yuravičy, because She, beautiful like the Moon, could not tolerate the Ottoman cusps outshining holy images in Kamianets-Podilskyi overtaken by Muslims⁵⁴. This suggests a different perception of Muslims, they are no longer defeated by Christians, but are winners not only of physical war, but also spiritual. Virgin Mary, together with the Christian in-

habitants is shown to acknowledge the defeat and leave the town for a place inhabited with Her loyal servants.

After the occupation of Kamianets-Podilskyi by the Ottomans in 1672, the adjacent areas, including *Pidkamin* (Ukr.: Підкамінь, Pol.: Podkamień, mod. Ukraine), where the Dominican convent with Marian miraculous image was located, suffered from their attacks. The Tatars were claimed to visit Pidkamin every year during the war. However, never did harm to the convent, partially because of being frightened by a miraculous power, partially because the convent stood up against them. Hiacynt Pruszcz in the paragraph devoted to the image from Pidkamin shortly noted that there were many Christians were rescued from the Tatars⁵⁵.

The book about the above mentioned *icon of Our Lady of Chelm* contains multiple detailed description of another important battle, the Battle of Beresteczko. I will omit general descriptions of the battles and focus on different visions the Polish had that were associated with the invaders, since the Turks and the Tatars are represented there rather in symbolic perception of spiritual enemies. This battle was important for the history of icon and the victory of Jan Sobieski in Battle of Beresteczko was depicted on the image that was located over the arcade of the second chapel inside the Chelm Cathedral constructed on the occasion of the icon coronation in 1756⁵⁶.

On the eve of the battle between the combined troops of the Muslim Tatars and Orthodox Cossacks on 29th June 1651, two Catholic Polish soldiers, Jaworka and Jackiewicz from the regiment of Lew Sapieha, saw the same night dream: Virgin Mary praying on Her knees the Crucifix when suddenly a fantastic animal appeared and the whole

⁵¹ Deborah Walberg, “The Cult of the Nicopeia in Seventeenth-Century Venice”, in: *Reflections on Renaissance Venice: A Celebration of Patricia Fortini Brown* (Milan: 5 Continents Editions, 2013), 204.

⁵² Mirosław P. Kruk “King John III Sobieski and Marie-Casimire Sobieska in Ukrainian Icons of the “Pokrov” of the Mother of God” in *Acta Musei Apulensis. Apulum. LII. serios Historia & Patrimonium, Alba Julia*, no. 52 (2015): 51.

⁵³ Mirosław P. Kruk “King John III Sobieski...”, 51.

⁵⁴ Mirosław P. Kruk “King John III Sobieski...”, 51.

⁵⁵ Piotr Jacek (Hiacynt) Pruszcz, *Morze Łaski Boskiej, Ktore Pan Bog w Koronie Polskiej po różnych miejscach, przy Obrazach Chrystusa Pana, y Matki iego Przenajświętszej, na serca ludzi pobożnych, y w potrzebach ratunku żądających [...] co dzień obficie Wylewa: A żeby ta szcudrobliva Łaska Boża, wszystkim wiernym zawsze pokazywana, była wiadoma Naprzod Przez Piotra Hyacynta Prvszcza dobrze uważana [...] z różnych miejsc referowana, pilnie y szczerze [...] wypisana, y przez Druk do wiadomości Podana, Potym z Additamentami swemi powtornie Roku P. 1740 Przedrukowana* (Kraków, 1740), 57.

⁵⁶ Ryłto, *Koronacya cudownego obrazu*, Część 2, rozdział II, § I.

sky was closed by snakes, lizards and other reptiles. This dream was understood as prognostication of severe and bloody fighting lost by the Polish on that day⁵⁷, and the reptiles in the dream may be understood as the Tatars and the Cossacks with referral to Biblical vision of Saint Peter the Apostle (Acts, 10).

Praying to the *icon from Chelm* was considered to help the Polish in the Battle of Pidhajtzi (Ukr.: Підгайці, Pol.: Podhajce, mod. Ukraine). 60,000 Tatar soldiers ruining towns and villages in Podolia and massacred the locals were won by 6,000 Polish soldiers after mentioning of *Our Lady of Chelm*⁵⁸.

After the Battle of Beresteczko, the Christian troops were in Ladyzhyn (Ukr.: Ладижин, Pol.: Ładyżyn, mod. Ukraine). There was a demon living at girl's house. The demon told his name was Piorkowski and claimed he was one of six thousand demons sent by the devil to help the Tatar troops at Beresteczko. At the battlefield, a Black Lady (Szeroka) holding a Baby on Her right arm appeared on the clouds and two eagle flied from her and attacked the demons and the latter escaped taking the Tatars with them⁵⁹.

4.2. Individual experience

While there are images of siege of Pochaiv preserved and images of battles and siege of Chelm are known from the description, the presentation of miracles related with individual experience were absolutely rare, and there are only two of them known, both presented in one iconography, preserved in the form of icon (Fig. 11) and engraving (Fig. 12). The icon dating back to the end of the 18th century from the National Kyiv Pechersk Lavra Historical and Cultural Reserve depicts the icon of Our Lady of Pochaiv in the center surrounded by various miracles, two of which are associated with Muslims and dating back to the aforementioned war. One miracle is depicted in the center on the left side of the icon and the other in the top right corner of the icon.

The first, rather fantastic miracle is dated to 1673 and represents a monk, who was beheaded by a Turk and brought his head himself to put next to the miraculous icon. The second miracle was reported to occur in 1674: a monk was captured by the Tatars and brought as a slave to the Ottoman Empire. On the day of Dormition of the Mother of God, the monk prayed Virgin Mary asking Her to rescue him and bring to Pochaiv to Her miraculous icon. On the same day he was brought to the monastery by Mary's miraculous aid and brought his chains to the icon. The legend claims that the Turks knew about this miracle. The image depicts an angel bringing the monk to Pochaiv. Notably, however, that the Turks are not depicted in the images representing both miracles. The miracles of the monk transferred to Pochaiv by the Angel and the siege were depicted in images used to decorate the arcade sheds constructed during the coronation of the icon of Our Lady of Pochaiv in 1773 and were located on the chapels 9 and 10, respectively⁶⁰.



Figure 11. *The icon of Our Lady of Pochaiv with images of miracles.* National Kyiv Pechersk Lavra Historical and Cultural Reserve. Source: Volha Barysenka.



Figure 12. *The icon of Our Lady of Pochaiv with images of miracles.* Woodcut. Source: <https://polona.pl/item/wizerunek-matki-bozej-poczajowskiej-ze-scenami-z-zycia-mniechow-poczajowskich,NzU3MDA4NjE/0/#info:metadata>.

Additionally, the icon of Our Lady of Pochaiv was claimed to be well-known among the Ottomans participating in the war and even their children. The miracles dated 1722 described a conversation between a pilgrim monk from Pochaiv with a Turk in Constantinople (Istanbul). An initiator of the conversation was the Turk. Having seen a clergy from Poland he

⁵⁷ Ryłło, *Koronacja cudownego obrazu*, Część 1, rozdział I, § IV.

⁵⁸ Ryłło, *Koronacja cudownego obrazu*, Część 2, rozdział I, nr. III.

⁵⁹ Ryłło, *Koronacja cudownego obrazu*, Część 3 miracle 221.

⁶⁰ *Przestawna gora Poczajowska*, 116.

asked whether there was a Goddess in Pochaiv, referring to Virgin Mary. The Turk got mad and told She was very angry because his father and many other Muslims died in Pochaiv.

Other miracles associated with the salvation of Christians from the Muslim enemies have not been reflected in visual art. They all are of typical style and I would provide here just some of them for the purpose of illustration. One of them is a miracle related with the miraculous icon in the Uniate Basilian monastery in *Žyrovcy* (Bel.: *Жыровіцы*, Pol.: *Żyrowicze*, mod. Belarus), “Tender Feelings” in iconography (Fig. 13). In 1645 Krzysztof Długosz from Drohiczyn district claimed that he was captured by the Tatars at war but as soon as he silently promised the Mother of God to go on a pilgrimage to Her icon in *Žyrovcy* the Tatars left him as if escaping from a pursuit or threat after having come back were running around him without seeing him, as if blind⁶¹.



Figure 13. *Icon of Our Lady of Žyrovcy*, orthodox monastery in *Žyrovcy*. Source: Photo by V. F. Sutiagin.

On 29th June 1651 the Tatars chased after Piotr Bączalski and were about to catch him when he asked *Our Lady of Chelm* for help and suddenly saw a horseman who helped him wander off the Tatars and disappeared. Bączalski considered the horseman to be an angel sent to him by the Mother of God⁶².

A large group of miracles represent the salvation of Christians during the war with Virgin Mary’s intervention. Among them, it is possible to distinguish several popular plots – Muslims do not notice the person who asks for help mentioning a miraculous image, or leave the person being frightened by invisible supernatural force.

The legend of miraculous *image of Our Lady of Yuravičy* states that the Catholic priest Marcin Tykawski was able to preach in Volhynia carrying

the image, which was extraordinary because nobody could travel freely due to the Tatars invading these territory⁶³.

An attempt to devastate church and icons was also described in miracles of icon of *Hodegetria in Orthodox monastery in Chernihiv* (Ukr.: Чернігів, Pol.: Czernihów, mod. Ukraine). In 1662, Muslims, who were the God’s punishment for human sins, occupied the surrounding of Chernihiv. At night they rushed into the church, threw icons onto the floor, rubbed the utensils, however, they could not touch the miraculous icon and silver votive plates on it. The author of the book, the Orthodox monk Dmitry (Tuptalo), later a bishop of Rostov, noted that the pagans were come on with blindness so that they could not see the icon of the Mother of God, by seeing which Christians see the true Theotokos. Moreover, they could not enter the cave with hiding monks since they felt as if thrown away, which was explained as Virgin Mary’s force protecting the monks⁶⁴.

It should be noted that these cases were also within the usual trend of individuals’ salvation at war affairs. The same cases were reported in the miracles where “enemies” were represented by various military enemies and in the literature of different denominations. Salvations of a soldier surrounded by the enemies after he has prayed Virgin Mary were also often reported in relation to salvation from the enemies during wars with Sweden or Moscow state. Thus, the presentation of the Turks and the Tatars in this case was also well within the general context of salvation of individuals from danger.

4.3. Devastations and robbery of icons

In the setting of war there still was place for plots mentioning devastation of icons. They were especially numerous in relation to Lutheran Swedes, as mentioned in the Introduction. In relation to the Polish-Ottoman wars these deeds were quite rare. One of them was associated with the *Kyiv-Bratsk icon* of *Hodegetria* from an Orthodox temple in Kyiv. The origin of its cult was related to the attacks of the Tatars on Kiyiv in the middle 17th century. In 1662, after having ruined Wyshgorod and robbed the church, the Tatars made a float-boat from the icons to swim over the river Dnepr. However, the fire column appeared on the river and enemies sink to the bottom. One Tatar survived and was taken from the float-boat with no attention paid to the icon, which swam further and was washed ashore not far from Orthodox monastery⁶⁵.

⁶³ Kolert, *Krynice cudownych lask*, część II.

⁶⁴ Дмитрий Туптало, *Руно орошенное, пречистая и преблагословенная Дева Мария. От Еяже чудотворнаго Чернеговского образа слезами иногда в монастыру Тро[и]ци Живоначальной росвишаго чудодейственную бл[а]годати Росу. – В Чернегове* (Чернигов, 1689). Чудо 2.

⁶⁵ А.П. Голубцов, “К вопросу о Братской иконе Богоматери Богоявленской церкви и старом корпусе Академии” in *Труды XI археологического съезда в Киеве 1899 г.* Т. 2. (Москва, 1902), 102-103.

⁶¹ Manuscript Department of V. Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Ukraine in Lviv. MB-261, f. 457 rev./458 av.

⁶² Ryłto, *Koronacya cudownego obrazu*, Część 3, no.195.

The image of *Our Lady of Szarawiec* was stolen by the Tatars as a war booty and later captured by Mikołaj Potocki, a general of Podolia, and placed in his chapel. After his death, his wife presented the icon to Dominican convent in Brest⁶⁶.

5. Veneration of icons/images by the Muslim Turks and Tatars

While vast majority of legends and miracles of icons/images recorded by Catholics and Orthodox show the Muslim Turks and Tatars as enemies of Christians and Christianity in general, there are also cases of veneration of Our Lady by them. However, they are rare. The book by Orthodox monk Joanicjusz Galatowski, *Небо Новое* (*New Sky...*) published in 1665 in Lviv⁶⁷ and republished many times later contains a separate section describing seven miracles that the Pagans and Muslims experienced starting from Jeremiah the Prophet in Egypt and ending to Tatars without indication of time. In miracle nr. 5, the author mentioned the prophet Muhammad as “impious”, however, stating that Muslims venerate Virgin Mary. Miracle no. 7 is devoted to an icon of the Mother of God in the Crimea, to which khan Hadji Giray brought oblations. Miracle nr. 6 is devoted to conversion of a sick Tatar to Christianity with many other Tatars after having been healed by Jesus Christ from severe disease⁶⁸.

Among Catholic images, *the image of Our Lady of Trakai* (mod. Lithuania) (Fig. 14) may be distinguished. It was considered to protect the Lithuania from the Turks and Tatars⁶⁹, since there were no major war battles in the territory of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. At the same time there were local Muslim Tatars living the Great Duchy of Lithuania since the 14th century, fighting in the army of the Commonwealth and respecting their Christian neighbors. Although they were of different religion, they were perceived by Christians differently from the Ottoman Muslims. In the history of the *image of Our Lady of Trakai* there is an episode when a local Tatar stroke with the sword a Jew, who sneered the Mother of God. Moreover, the Tatar proclaimed Her “the Queen of Sky and earth”. At night, the Mother of Good appeared to the Tatar and told him to go to the priest and ask to pray for him at the mass and the his sick arm recovered.⁷⁰

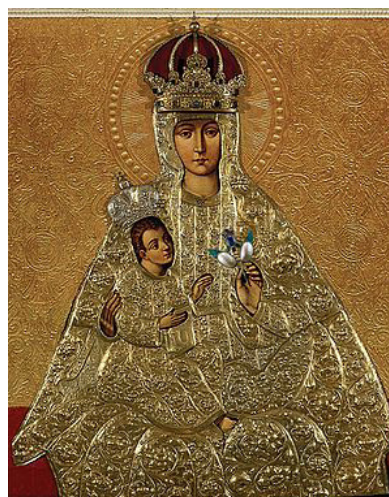


Figure 14. *Image of Our Lady of Trakai*.

Source: Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mother_of_God_of_Trakai

The Tatar women were claimed to bring votives to the *image of Our Lady of Różanystok* (mod. Poland) and asking for Her help in various complicated circumstances⁷¹. That is explained, on the one hand, by the fact that the local Tatars were not the object of Christian mission. Since they did not make any attempts to convert Christians to Islam, the latter also did not make many efforts to convert them to Christianity⁷². On the other hand, Muslims who lived among Christians could not but domesticate several Christian customs. Isolated conversions of Polish-Lithuanian Tatars to Christianity did happen, but they were not multiple and were not stressed in the legends and miracles.

The stories of Muslims venerating images of Virgin Mary and receiving help from Her were typical also of other territories where the Turks lived together with Christians, like in the Mediterranean region⁷³. For example, P. Henrico Scherer mentioned miracle-working images of Our Lady from various territories, e.g. the figure of Sanlúcar, Spain, that helped not only all Christians but also the Turks⁷⁴. Wilhelm Gumpfenber lists a number of images venerated by the Muslim Turks, Moors and Arabs. As an example, in Nazareth there was an image of Our Lady that cured not only Christians but also the Turks and the Moors⁷⁵.

This suggests that the critical point in representation of the attitude of Muslims towards Virgin Mary and Her images, and vice versa, was opposition at the battle field.

⁶⁶ Edward Nowakowski (Wacław z Sulgostowa), *O cudownych obrazach w Polsce Przenajświętszej Matki Bożej*, 74-75.

⁶⁷ Иоанникий Галятковский, *Небо новое, з новыми звездами сотворенное, то ест Препблагословенная Дева Мариа Богородица з чудами Своими* (Львов, 1665).

⁶⁸ Галятовский. *Небо новое*, 1851, 43-45.

⁶⁹ Baranowski, *Koronacja*, 16.

⁷⁰ Pruszczy, *Morze łaski*, 52-53.

⁷¹ Gabriel, Jurkowski, *Wonnosc mistycznej rozy z kościoła Rożano-Stockiego WW. OO. Dominikanów [...] na całą Oyczyznę naszą wdzięcznie się rozchodząca, albo cuda przez łaskę Przenajświętszej Maryi Panny od wielu [...] ludzi doznane y zaprzysiężone [...] a teraz samo tylko opisanie zjawienia Cudownego Obrazu y niektóre znaczniejsze cuda i łaski [...] do druku podane roku pańskiego 1762* (Wilno: Drukarnia Akademicka 1762), 62.

⁷² Artur Konopacki, *Życie religijne Tatarów na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI-XIX w.* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego 2010), 75.

⁷³ See e.g.: Catherine Infante, “La Virgen de Montserrat entre cristianos y musulmanes: el caso de El esclavo de su esclavo de Mariana de Carvajal”. *Sharq Al-Andalus* 22 (2017-2018): 185-199, DOI: 10.14198/ShAnd.2017-2018.22.09.

⁷⁴ P. Henrico Scherer, *Atlas Marianus*, 17.

⁷⁵ Wilhelm Gumpfenber, *Atlas Marianus*, 538.

As long as Muslims were military enemies, they were represented also as spiritual enemies, as long as they lived at piece with Christians they were not opposed regarding the attitude towards the icons/images of Our Lady.

6. Conclusions

From the cases described, the following conclusions may be made. The 17-18th centuries' legends mentioning the Turks and the Tatars contain well-established motives of military protection of Virgin Mary. The Tatars and the Turks, people of other belief and tradition, were perceived as both as military and spiritual enemies, sometimes conceived as God's punishments for sins. In many cases spiritual enmity was reflected as military collisions with Christians as soldiers of God supported by the Mother of God represented in Her holy images and the Ottomans as soldiers of Devil, who finally were destroyed.

Additionally, the presentation of the Turks and Tatars in the legends was used to intensify the miraculous strength of image/icon and therefore the denomination that possessed it. In the legends of *icon of Our Lady of Pochaiv* it was stressed many times that the Turks knew

about the miracles associated with the icon and the memory of them was transferred to their ancestors.

Although, the Turks and Tatars were often mentioned in the legends, they were not so often represented in art. The existing interpretations are typical: siege of monasteries/communities with attacking Turks and Tatars. In other known cases, though mentioned in the miracles, they are missing in artistic representations depicting Christians only, which correlated with the location of such images – in temples and liturgical books. The iconography of images/icons the legends of which mention the Turks or the Tatars varies. Definitely, it was not a crucial factor for relation. A location of the image/icon was a determinative – whether the locals were familiar with the Turks or the Tatar as military enemies or friendly neighbors.

The conclusions made are valid for the believers of three main Christian denominations: Catholics, Orthodox and Uniates with no differences. The only exclusion from these cases are the Muslim Tatars inhabiting the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, who had lived with Christians, fight on the Commonwealth's side for centuries, "respected" the images of Virgin Mary and were perceived not like "other" but like "our", which suggests strong influence of military opposition in perception of the Turks and Tatars.

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