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DÉCOR MOTIFS OF THE BRONZE CHANDELIERS IN LITHUANIA AND LATVIA IN THE 16TH TO THE 18TH CENTURY: TYPOLOGY, PREVALENCE, SYMBOLISM

Summary. The article analyses for the first time the décor motifs of the bronze chandeliers from Lithuania and Latvia in the 16th–18th century. More abundant objects in Latvia are used to reconstruct the lost heritage of chandeliers in Lithuania, and the variety, origin, and symbolism of décor motifs are analysed. The study revealed two groups of décor elements: some of them came from the Gothic and were still used during the Renaissance, while other motifs were started to use altogether with the beginning of the promotion of antiquity culture in the 16th century. The tops of the chandeliers were not decorated with random but rather relevant and important elements of the symbolic meaning of that period. These could be allegorical motifs of décor symbolising fire/ Heavenly light, motifs symbolising Divine order on earth or Divine patronage, as well as heraldic décor elements denoting political relationships or friendliness.

Keywords: bronze, symbolic décor, Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque.

INTRODUCTION

Research context and problem.¹ The earliest known mention of chandeliers in Lithuanian written sources dates back to the late 16th century. However, the assessment of church inventories in the dioceses of Vilnius and Samogitia of the 17th century has demonstrated that as much as 36% of chandeliers mentioned in the sources were made in bronze.² These figures also reflect the trend in Europe, where bronze was the predominant material in the production of chandeliers in the 16th and 17th centuries. In Lithuania, this tendency lasted throughout the 18th century.

From the huge number of bronze chandeliers mentioned in the sources of the 16th to the 18th century, only 15 of them have survived. This conclusion is based on the present museum collections and those found in Lithuanian churches.³ Since only a small number of chandeliers survive, written sources help to complete the picture. Unfortunately, the sources provide minimal knowledge. They usually indicate a place where the chandelier was hung

and list the number of arms and materials. However, the décor or decoration elements of the chandelier are not described at all. Bronze chandeliers were widely mentioned in the churches and manor houses of Lithuania, and a survey of the neighbouring countries helps to understand what they looked like. Latvia, in particular, is favourable for this since many more bronze chandeliers have survived than in Lithuania. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL) and Livonia⁴ had close political and economic trade ties from the 16th to the 18th century. The port of Riga was the gateway to the markets of Western Europe. The important Riga-Vilnius trade route was used by the craftsmen of Latvia to import wares into Lithuania.⁵

Aims of the study. The article aims to analyse for the first time the décor motifs of bronze chandeliers in the two Baltic States, Lithuania and Latvia, in the 16th to the 18th century. The objectives of our study were to identify the motifs and explain their origin, prevalence and symbolic meaning. Furthermore, the numerous surviving examples in Latvia are used to reconstruct the lost heritage in Lithuania.

The methods of research. In the analysis of the décor motifs of the bronze chandeliers, empirical collection and systematisation of data was firstly used. In presenting the causal relations of the functioning of different décor motifs, the historical method was used. This allowed us to reveal a wider historical context and reasons of the prevalence of different symbolic décor. The comparative method was helpful in comparing surviving chandeliers in different countries.

Selection and survival of chandeliers in Latvia.

Our study assessed chandeliers in Catholic and Evangelical Lutheran churches.⁶ There is a similar number of Evangelical Lutheran (287) and Catholic (289) churches in Latvia. However, the number of the surviving historic chandeliers in them is disproportionate. To date, bronze chandeliers from the 17th and 18th centuries have survived in 27 Latvian Evangelical Lutheran churches⁷ and one Catholic church.⁸ In addition, several old valuable chandeliers are kept in public interiors⁹ and museums.¹⁰ Many factors have determined the difference in heritage preservation in Latvian Lutheran and Catholic churches. Latvia, where the Livonian Order was located, has long been known as a Lutheran country; therefore, Lutheran churches were first built here. In contrast to the Catholic churches, the interior of the Evangelical Lutheran churches was much more restrained and less frequently rebuilt or renovated. Therefore, the more conservative views of the Lutherans may have led to a higher proportion of chandelier survival.

Research overview. Due to the small number of surviving bronze chandeliers of the 17th and 18th centuries, their décor elements have been discussed in only two publications in Lithuania. It is worth mentioning the article “Radvilų žirandolis” by Gintaras Kazlauskas, restorer of metal wares, published in the *Annals of the Lithuanian Art Museum* in 2016.¹¹ Here, we present the historical analysis of one of the most valuable chandeliers in Lithuania and discuss the double-headed eagle, a decorative element of bronze chandeliers, which was very

popular in the 17th and 18th centuries. In an article published in *Kultūros paminklai* in 2019, we discussed the development, functioning and origins of chandeliers with serpent arms that reached Lithuania from the Netherlands.¹² An expanded version of the same article in English¹³ was published in the journal *Art History and Criticism*, Vol. 15. Descriptions of individual chandeliers and an analysis of their décor elements can be found in the website catalogue of the Lithuanian chandelier heritage established in 2017.¹⁴ Since the bronze chandeliers from the 18th century have survived in Lithuanian synagogues, Aistė Niunkaitė-Račiūnienė's monograph ‘Lietuvos žydų tradicinio meno ir simbolių pasaulis’ was used to assess the symbolism of their decorative elements.¹⁵

To date, researchers have hardly studied bronze chandeliers in Latvia. Although individual chandeliers are mentioned in several publications,¹⁶ there are no comprehensive and detailed publications of separate décor elements. Furthermore, lists of Latvian cultural heritage published in 1969 and 1984 were particularly useful for selecting chandeliers.¹⁷

The chandeliers were luxury items, and their fashions were mainly spread from Western Europe through imported articles or newcomers. Therefore, the publications of foreign researchers are essential for our study. For example, the article by Ilia Rodov, professor at Bar-Ilan University in Israel, reviews the prevalence of the two-headed eagle and Jupiter figurines on chandeliers in synagogues, and their semantic meaning.¹⁸ In 1971, Berend Dubbe and Frans van Molle published a study on the origin and symbolism of chandeliers with serpent arms.¹⁹ However, the most important study on the décor of historical bronze chandeliers in northern Germany from the 16th to the 18th century is a dissertation by German scientist Erdmute Beate Mascher maintained at the University of Kiel in 2004.²⁰ *A Handbook of Ornament* by Franz Sales Meyer²¹ published in 1917 and *Styles of Ornament* by Alexander Speltz²² helped to identify some of the décor elements accurately.

TYPES OF DECORATION OF BRONZE CHANDELIERS IN LITHUANIA AND LATVIA

In Lithuania, Latvia, and other European countries, chandeliers were mainly used to decorate representative spaces such as churches, town halls, castle and palace halls, and the residences of wealthy townspeople. Aesthetic and representational purposes were no less important than lighting. Therefore, chandeliers were more or less decorated at all times. The most important decorative elements were mounted at the top of the chandelier (Fig. 1). The terminal beneath the chandelier was also clearly defined. In addition, arms, spaces between arms, reflectors, sometimes a hanging ring at the top, and a chandelier's lowering ring at the bottom were also decorated. The prevailing décor elements of the bronze chandelier in Lithuania and Latvia in the 16th to the 18th century can be divided into several groups: Christian (the Blessed Virgin Mary), mythological (the ancient Roman gods Jupiter and Neptune, sirens), anthropomorphic (warriors of different periods and lands, men's faces, masks), zoomorphic (lions, eagles, deer, snakes, grass snakes, dolphins), heraldic (double-headed eagles) and floral (flowers, shoots, ears, buds). However, this distribution is conditional because some

elements, such as lions or deer, can be assigned to the zoomorphic and Christian groups of symbols. Looking at a typical chandelier of the 17th century, it can be noticed that some elements of the décor are larger and more visible, and others are smaller and hidden between the arms complementing the composition of the ware. Therefore, the significance of their symbolism in the ware also differs. This article discusses the elements of décor in chronological and interrelated terms.

The chandelier with the Blessed Virgin Mary figurine is probably the earliest surviving Gothic-style ware in Latvia from the 15th century. Although this chandelier goes beyond the chronological limits of the publication, it is important to understand the predominating context.²³ A tracery chandelier consisting of 120 cast details adorned St Catherine's Church of the Franciscan Monastery in Riga.²⁴ Later, it was moved to the Riga Craftsmen's Small Guild Hall. To date, the chandelier is kept at the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation (Fig. 2). The figurine of the Blessed Virgin Mary is arranged at the chapel-shaped centre of the chandelier. The arms of the chandelier are set in two stories and are held by smaller figurines, possibly depicting monks. When the chandelier was lit, light flooded the figurine of the Blessed Virgin Mary and gave the impression that light was shining from her. Therefore, the work of applied art commemorates

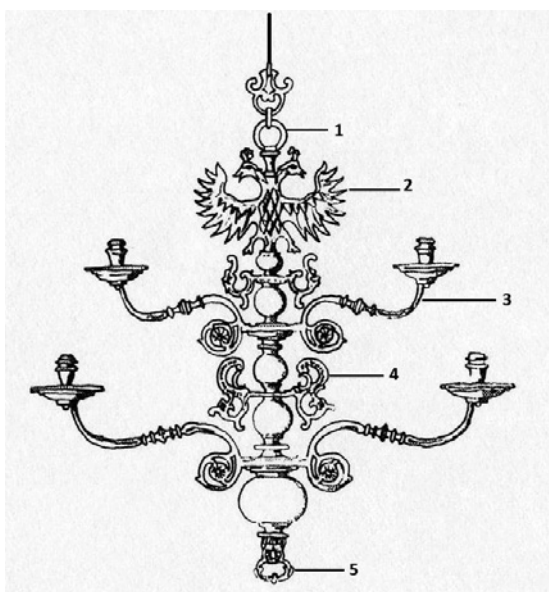


Fig. 1. A typical chandelier structure in the first half of the 17th century. 1 – hanging ring, 2 – top, 3 – arm, 4 – décor element (reflector), 5 – lower ring, in: H. Heintschel, M. Dawid. *Lampen, Leuchter, Laternen seit der Antike*. Innsbruck: Pinguin Verlag, 1975, 17



Fig. 2. A chandelier in St Catherine's Franciscan Monastery Church in Riga. The 15th century. Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation, inv. No. VRVM 51887

the veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The private collection in Lithuania preserves the chandelier, probably from the 15th century, with fragments of the figurine of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Fig. 3). According to the collection owner, the fragments are from the territory of Krustpils, Latvia. These chandeliers reflect the widespread medieval theocentric world view in Europe. Furthermore, wares with Mariological motifs are present throughout Europe, from the Scandinavian countries to Serbia.²⁵ Although the above-mentioned surviving artefacts from the territories of Latvia date back



Fig. 3. Chandelier fragments from Krustpils (?), Latvia. The 15th century. Private collection. Lithuania



Fig. 4. A chandelier in the Church of St Peter and Paul in Lidzbark Warmiński. 1609. Archives of the National Institute of Cultural Heritage of Poland, card No. WRM 000 000 004 904, Maria Lubocka, 1973

to the Gothic times, it is important to emphasise that in the 16th and even in the early 17th century, chandeliers with figurines of the Blessed Virgin Mary were still present throughout Europe. This is confirmed by the surviving chandeliers in the Polish Catholic churches: St Peter and Paul (1609) in Lidzbark Warmiński, formerly East Prussia²⁶ (Fig. 4), the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (early 16th century) in Grabowo, formerly East Prussia,²⁷ St John the Baptist (1576) in Orneta,²⁸ and even St Nicholas (1617) in Gdańsk.²⁹ Based on the surviving chandeliers in Poland, it is hypothesised that in Latvia and Lithuania in the 16th to the 17th century, bronze Mannerist style chandeliers may have existed with figurines of the Blessed Virgin Mary. However, none of them has survived in Lithuania. Presumably, they could be similar to the chandelier in the Church in Lidzbark Warmiński (Fig. 4). Otherwise, they could be of the stem type with a figurine on the top, which is typical of the Renaissance chandeliers.

The Renaissance chandeliers were often decorated with a lion's head mounted at the terminal of the stem, i.e. in the lowest and most visible place. The images of the chandeliers in the paintings³⁰ and surviving wares in various European museums³¹ confirm that the lion's head is one of the most archaic zoomorphic motifs used in the Gothic tradition. The Gothic chandelier preserved at the Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation is also decorated with a lion's head.³² The popularity of the figurines of a sitting lion at the top of the chandeliers was apparently even greater in the 15th than the 16th and 17th centuries.

Unfortunately, chandeliers decorated with a lion's head have not survived in Lithuania. The zoomorphic motif was one of the most common and popular décor elements of the chandeliers in Europe from the 16th to the first half of the 17th century. Therefore, it can be hypothesised that such chandeliers may have existed in Lithuania. Furthermore, the bronze chandeliers from the first half of the 17th century are mentioned in the inventories of Lithuanian churches. In addition, many chandeliers with this décor have survived in the Catholic

churches in Poland.³³ At least six chandeliers with a lion's head³⁴ are known in Latvia. They were made during the Renaissance in the second half of the 16th to the first half of the 17th century. It is worth mentioning the chandelier with this motif in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Durbe from 1609,

which is exceptional in its décor and size (Fig. 5), and the chandelier restored in 2017 in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tukums (Fig. 6). Furthermore, from the second half of the 17th to the 18th century, the Baroque chandeliers were no longer decorated with this motif. This was determined not



Fig. 5. A chandelier in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Durbe. 1609. File No. 08-04-III, IV-27-D-1721



Fig. 6. A chandelier from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tukums (now stored and exhibited in the Tukums Museum). The first half of the 17th century. Inv. No. TMNM 42613, Photo by Līva Lielmane, 2021



Fig. 7. Dolphin motifs on the chandeliers in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tukums, the Archdiocese of Vilnius and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of St John in Riga

only by the changing popularity of certain décor elements but also by the shape and structure of the chandeliers. Renaissance chandeliers did not have a sphere. Otherwise, the sphere was fairly small and “undeveloped”. Therefore, the lion’s head at the terminal of the stem served as a decorative accent. A little later, from the second half of the 17th to the 18th century, a sizeable polished sphere became an accent of the Baroque chandeliers. Therefore, the décor elements at the terminal would already be redundant.

The stylised lion’s head mounted at the terminal of the chandelier was combined with a figurine of the Blessed Virgin Mary or a double-headed eagle on the top. The Bible mentions the lion more than one hundred times as a classic symbol of bravery, strength, struggle, and dignity. Furthermore, the lion is associated with the Resurrection. For example, in the Middle Ages, lions were thought to be born dead, and three days later, their father resurrected them with his mighty roar. This parallel was associated with the three days from Christ’s death on the cross to his Resurrection.³⁵ In the book of Revelation of the New Testament (Rev 5: 5), Jesus is symbolised as a lion: “See, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has triumphed”.³⁶ The parallel of Christ (the Resurrection) and a lion in the Gothic tradition was continued in the decoration of Renaissance chandeliers.

In the 16th century, bronze chandeliers began to be decorated with fish-like aquatic creatures (Fig. 7), seen in the lion’s jaws at the terminal of the stem.³⁷ In addition, they are sometimes precisely cast on the arms of the chandelier with a lot of small details, or they resemble a thickening with barely recognisable elements of the aquatic creature.³⁸ The creatures cannot be fish because of the open jaws and beak-form mouth that is turned up (sometimes depicted with teeth) and a thickened raised vertex, sometimes decorated with an acanthus leaf. Based on examples published in Franz Sales Meyer’s book, *A Handbook of Ornament*, the fish-like creature can be identified as a dolphin.³⁹ The motif is found on the chandelier preserved at the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania.⁴⁰ In addition, separate arms kept at the National Museum of Lithuania are also decorated with dolphins (Fig. 8). At least six chandeliers with this motif are preserved in Latvia at the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Durbe (1609), Tukums (the 16th century), St John’s in Riga, Umurga, Nereta, and the Holy Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral in Liepāja.⁴¹

Concerning symbolism, it is worth mentioning the chandelier of the St Peter and Paul Church in Lidzbark Warmiński, Poland, made in 1609.⁴² The figurine of the Blessed Virgin Mary with a Child is surrounded by three rods constructively holding it and decorated with thread dolphins in rows. Such



Fig. 8. Chandelier arms with dolphin motifs. The National Museum of Lithuania, inv. No. IM-4583. Photo by Vytautas Bartkevičius, 1980

use of this element testifies to its positive significance, the origins of which can be traced back to the antique period or early Christianity. In ancient Rome and the Mediterranean, dolphins were believed to transport the souls of the dead to the islands of the Blessed, the afterlife. Archaeological findings confirm this phenomenon. For example, in the Mediterranean, the image of a dolphin is often found in the hands of the dead, and their reliefs adorn tombs. Hence, as a mediator between this and the immortal world, a dolphin was also

adopted in the art of early Christianity, where it was considered a symbol of Christ the Saviour and Christ the Redeemer.⁴³

Discussing the motifs of chandelier décor during the Renaissance, it is important to mention the relatively rare chandeliers with serpent arms in Europe (Fig. 9). They have been discussed in detail in the Lithuanian and English publications (notes 12, 13). Four preserved intact chandeliers with this décor are stored in major Lithuanian museums.⁴⁴ In addition, separate arms of the chandeliers have survived in churches, private collections and museums.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, original chandeliers with the décor of serpent arms from the Renaissance have not been discovered in Latvia. Instead, we know that the rough wares at the museums of the Rundāle Palace and Mentzendorff's House in Riga were manufactured in the last century.

The collections of Western European museums indicate that the motif of the elegantly coiled serpent in the chandelier arms is related to Hans Rogier, an active caster in Amsterdam in 1598–1638. Based on the analysis of the historians Bernd Dubbe and Frans van Molle, who focused on



Fig. 9. A chandelier with serpent arms and an eagle. The first half of the 17th century (?). The National Museum of Lithuania, inv. No. IM-13029. Photo by Kęstutis Stoškus, 2017

the creative work of Hans Rogier, we can state that the master cast candlesticks and chandeliers with serpent arms, called *slangenkroon* in Dutch.⁴⁶ The authors also mention the surviving and somewhat rougher candlesticks and chandeliers of this décor likely cast in other workshops, suggesting that chandeliers with this décor were popular.

The symbol of the serpent is the most controversial among the animals. Due to the supposed renewal by sloughing off the skin and living in the soil cracks, this animal symbolises treachery and resurrection, light and darkness, good and evil. The depiction of a snake in Christian art is often intertwined with the representation of a dragon. *Draco* in Latin means *serpent* and *dragon*, both of which symbolise the devil in the Christian tradition.⁴⁷ The biblical scenes and inscriptions on the candlesticks enable us to clarify the décor symbolism of the Renaissance chandeliers. The wall candlestick stored at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Fig. 10) consists of a cartouche-shaped holder with a lion's head in which a curled serpent-shaped arm with a sconce is inserted. Initials of the caster and date are inscribed on the edges of the cartouche: *STERCK. ALSDEN. LEEV. / VOORSICTICH. VOORT. / .TSLANGHEN. VIER. / .FE. HANS. ROGIER. 1599.*⁴⁸ The verbatim translation of this important inscription is: *Beware of the serpent's fire, and be courageous as lions, Hans Rogier, 1599.* As a symbol of courage, strength and nobility, the lion discussed earlier in this allegory contrasts with the serpent's negative, insidious image.



Fig. 10. A wall candlestick by Hans Rogier. 1599. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv. No. BK-BR-946-S

In addition, the stories of the Holy Bible help to understand the symbolism of chandeliers with serpent arms. The Old Testament Book of Numbers (Num 21: 4–9) says, “They travelled from Mount Hor <...> But the people grew impatient on the way; they spoke against God and against Moses <...> Then the Lord sent venomous snakes among them; they bit the people, and many Israelites died. People used to pray for the rescue from disaster <...> So Moses made a bronze snake and put it up on a pole. Then when anyone was bitten by a snake and looked at the bronze snake, they lived.”⁴⁹ In this story, the “copper snake” that Moses raises in the wilderness becomes the image of the Saviour.⁵⁰ Renaissance chandeliers with serpent arms were made of copper alloy. Therefore, they resemble the life-saving “copper snake” made by Moses. On the other hand, a large number of the chandelier arms with candles at the terminals could symbolically resemble the “venomous snakes” sent by the Lord. In any case, both the venomous snakes and a life-saving copper snake are the tools of the Lord. Chandeliers with many serpent arms may have served in churches as a symbolic message and a reminder to be vigilant and of strong faith.

In contrast to the sinfulness embodied in the snake, the chandeliers depicted not only lions but also deer and eagles. Deer motifs on the chandeliers are not so common. However, there are deer motifs on the aforementioned chandelier preserved at the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania (Fig. 11).⁵¹ These motifs are also present on the chandelier from a



Fig. 11. Deer. The décor element of the chandelier arm from the Archdiocese of Vilnius. The late 16th or the 17th century. Photo by Mindaugas Kaminskas, 2017



Fig. 12. A chandelier with the motifs of deer and double-headed eagles. The 18th or the first half of the 19th century. Inv. No. Tt-1707. Photo by Povilas Jarmala, 2019

synagogue, currently preserved at the National M. K. Čiurlionis Art Museum (Fig. 12). It is worth mentioning that chandeliers with deer motifs have not been found in Latvia.

Chandeliers were decorated with deer motifs as early as the Gothic period. The chandelier in the Church in Lisewo from the 15th century is a surviving example in central Poland.⁵² A copy of the Belgian chandelier of similar structure from the 15th century is kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.⁵³ In the aforementioned Gothic chandeliers, the dignified, quietly squat deer is surrounded by dragons snaking below, symbolising the devil in the Christian tradition. The early Christian work *Physiologus* explains the subject depicted in chandeliers. A deer spits water into every crack of the ground where poisonous snakes are hidden, pulls them out, and tramples them. The work says: “Destroy, O Lord, the snake and the devil with heavenly water.”⁵⁴ The deer is associated with the water of life and, standing on the snake’s head, the deer is identified with Christ.⁵⁵

The deer was a common motif in traditional Jewish art in Lithuania. Researcher Aistė Niunkaitė-Račiūnienė stated that the deer depicted in the wings of wooden Aron Kodesh together with other animals (lions, eagles and leopards) was a metaphor for service to the Lord. To explain it, the author provides an extract from the Pirkei Avot: “Be bold as a leopard, light as an eagle, fleeting as a deer and mighty as a lion to do the will of your Father in Heaven.” (Pirkei Avot 5:20).⁵⁶ Depicted alone, as preserved on the chandelier at the National M. K. Čiurlionis Museum, it may have symbolised the rush of the human soul to God. Such a metaphor is found in the Sabbath hymn Yedid Nefesh: “Your servant will hurry like a hart to bow before Your majesty; to him Your friendship will be sweeter than the dripping of the honeycomb and any taste.”⁵⁷

The eagle contrasts with the evil embodied by the snake. Titled the king of birds, the eagle has been associated with the sun, light and the sky since ancient times due to its high flight. Furthermore,



Fig. 13. A chandelier. The 18th century. The National Museum of Lithuania, IM-4621. Photo by Kęstutis Stoškus, 2017

the eagle has the same features as the phoenix. Therefore, it was considered a symbol of rebirth and baptism, and was first associated with Christ in the Middle Ages.⁵⁸ Apparently, in this allegory, with its wings spread out above the curled crown of the snakes, the eagle is depicted on the chandelier at the National Museum of Lithuania.⁵⁹ The chandeliers with the tops and sometimes the arms decorated with the motifs of stylised birds have survived in Latvia⁶⁰ and Lithuania⁶¹ (Fig. 13). In addition, they were widespread throughout Europe. Because of their wings and flight, birds have long been considered intermediaries between the earth and Heaven.⁶²

Much more often than the motif of the eagle, the tops of the chandeliers have been adorned with double-headed eagles since the Renaissance. Four chandeliers with this symbol survived in Lithuania: two wares in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Žeimelis,⁶³ one in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Kėdainiai,⁶⁴ and a chandelier at the National M. K. Čiurlionis Art Museum.⁶⁵ Based on iconographic sources, it can be stated that a chandelier with this motif is hung in the St James' Evangelical Lutheran Church in Klaipėda.⁶⁶ In Latvia, chandeliers with double-headed eagles have survived in at least 12 Evangelical Lutheran churches.⁶⁷ This



Fig. 14. The coat of arms of the Holy Roman Empire by David de Negker. 1510. Reproduced from <https://commons.wikimedia.org>

décor motif is generally one of the most common on the chandeliers in Europe from the 16th to the 18th century. However, is it heraldic in all cases?

The two-headed eagle on the coat of arms was first used by the Byzantine Empire (330–1453) and later by the Habsburg-ruled Holy Roman Empire (962–1806) (Fig. 14). In Russia, the double-headed eagle was known as early as the second half of the 15th century (Fig. 15) because in 1472, Ivan III, the Grand Prince of Moscow, married Sofia, the daughter of the Byzantine emperor. By becoming the successor of the Byzantine emperor, he also took over its coat of arms, the double-headed eagle. However, the coat of arms was not popular, and St George, the patron and the old symbol of Moscow dominated for a long time. The double-headed eagle was rooted in Russia in the early 18th century, and its depiction became most similar to that of the eagle of the Holy Roman Empire in the late 19th century.⁶⁸

Restorer Gintaras Kazlauskas renewed and described in detail one of the largest and most beautiful chandeliers with eagles at the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai, Lithuania (Fig. 16). The author attributes the double-headed eagle on this chandelier to the House of Habsburg, arguing that the Radziwiłł family were princes of the Holy Roman Empire, a title the family received from the Habsburg emperors. Furthermore, Gintaras Kazlauskas states that the chandelier cannot

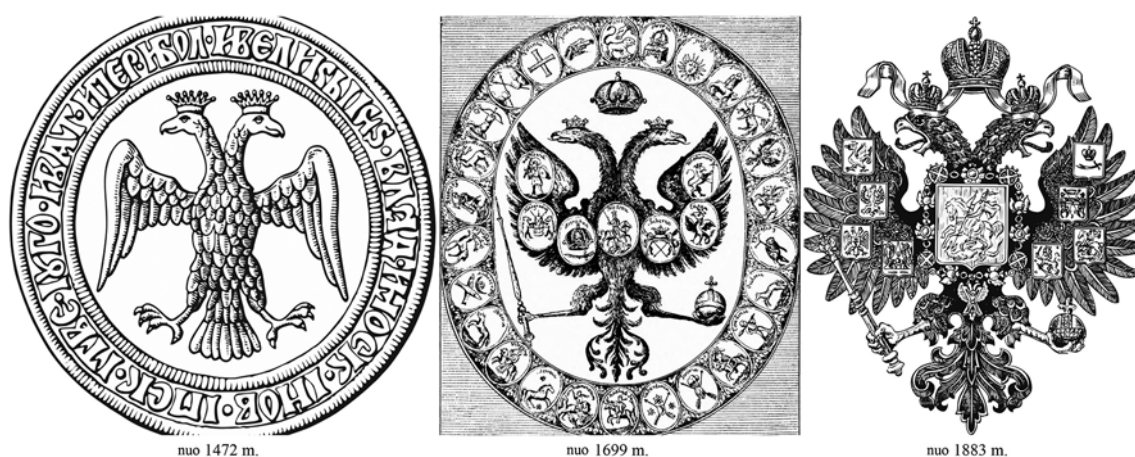


Fig. 15. A double-headed eagle in 1472, 1699 and 1883. Iconographic development of the coat of arms of Russia. Reproduced from <https://commons.wikipedia.org>



Fig. 16. A chandelier in the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai. The late 16th or the first half of the 17th century. Photo by Gintaras Kazlauskas, 2016

be associated with the Russian Empire because the coat of arms of the double-headed eagle at the time the chandelier was made was not so popular or widely used in this country.⁶⁹ It can be seen that the chandelier is decorated with several double-headed eagles; one is at the top and several more can be seen on the tracery sphere at the terminal (Fig. 16). A copy of the chandelier from the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai can be seen in the Orthodox Church of St Paraskeva in Vilnius (Gintaras Kazlauskas made the copy). The other two chandeliers with double-headed eagles hang in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Žeimelis, one of the oldest in the territory of present-day Latvia and Lithuania, which belonged to the diocese of Bauska until 1783. The eagles on the chandeliers of the Church in Žeimelis are depicted with spread wings and without crowns (Fig. 17). A roughly cast eagle of the smaller chandelier is barely recognisable.

The eagle of the same coarse casting adorns the Renaissance chandelier of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tukums.⁷⁰ The eagles on the aforementioned chandeliers of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Žeimelis and the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai are closer to their depiction in the coat of arms of the House of Habsburg. On the other hand, the iconography of the chandelier with cast double-headed eagles from a synagogue, currently preserved at the National M. K. Čiurlionis Museum, is closer to the Russian coat of arms, i.e. the eagles are depicted with three crowns, long necks and closed beaks, with a sceptre and an apple of power.⁷¹ However, premature conclusions should not be drawn.

Professor Ilia Rodov paid much attention to the motif of the double-headed eagle on the chandeliers in the synagogues. According to him, before



Fig. 17. Double-headed eagles on the tops of the chandeliers in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Žeimelis. The 18th (?) and the first half of the 19th century. Photo by Alantė Valtaitė-Gagač, 2020



Fig. 18. A reliquary of the Holy Cross by Horn Rentel. 1637. Vilnius. The Dominican Convent of the Holy Trinity in Kraków. Photo archive of the Church Heritage Museum

World War II, chandeliers with double-headed eagles (with one or three crowns) were common in Ashkenazi⁷² synagogues.⁷³ However, the author notes that there is no constant link between the Jews' devotion to the country in which they settled and the depiction of eagles on the chandeliers. According to research, double-headed eagles spread in Polish synagogues before the partition, which did not mean loyalty to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. On the contrary, chandeliers with white single-headed eagles spread in the Russian and Austrian territories of partitioned Poland, meaning that the symbolism must be associated with a broader meaning of the eagle.⁷⁴ According to Lithuanian researcher Aistė Niunkaitė-Račiūnienė, it cannot be ruled out that the depiction of the eagle motif in Jewish iconography was influenced by European heraldry. However, the eagle is an exclusive symbol of divine power in the Jewish world. Its two heads embody the basic attributes of a monotheistic God, power and mercy.

The double-headed eagle in Lithuania is found not only on the chandeliers. In autumn 2012, the Church Heritage Museum exhibited the reliquary of the Holy Cross from the Dominican monastery in Krakow (Fig. 18). Rafajil Korsak, the Metropolitan of the Ruthenian Uniate Church of the GDL, ordered it on the occasion of the marriage of the Grand Duke of Lithuania and the King of Poland Władysław IV Vasa and Cecilia Renata of Austria from the goldsmith of Vilnius Horn Rentel in 1637. In the centre of the reliquary is a double-headed eagle with spread wings, and on his chest is a relic of the Holy Cross.⁷⁵ The central composition of the reliquary repeats the iconography of the coat of arms with the Crucifix of the House of Habsburg.⁷⁶ However, the sacral purpose of the ware indicates that the two-headed eagle is not only a heraldic motif but possibly a metaphor for Christ.

Undoubtedly, widespread throughout Europe, chandeliers with double-headed eagles may have expressed sympathy or dynastic, administrative ties with the empire. However, the abundant heritage of chandeliers with this motif in Christian



Fig. 19. The chandelier in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Subate, Latvia. The 17th or the 18th century. The Monument Documentation Centre at the National Cultural Heritage Board of Latvia, neg. No. 8054, photo 1975

sacral buildings suggests a broader, sacral meaning for the two-headed eagle.

It is evident that some motifs of the chandelier décor discussed earlier, such as the Blessed Virgin Mary, the lion's head and the deer, came from the Gothic tradition and were still used in the 16th or the 17th century in the decoration of chandeliers. During the Renaissance and later in the Baroque period, chandeliers began to be decorated with allegorical motifs of the mythology of antiquity.

The Ancient Roman god Jupiter is one of the most popular décor elements on the Baroque bronze chandeliers. In Latvia, chandeliers with this element have survived in at least seven Evangelical Lutheran churches (Fig. 19). Most chandeliers decorated with this figurine date back to the mid or the second half of the 17th century.⁷⁷ We do not have a fully preserved chandelier in Lithuania with this décor; however, a preserved fragment testifies that such chandeliers may have existed in Lithuania. The figurine *Perkūnas* of Kernavė is kept at the National Museum of Lithuania (Fig. 20). According to the historian Gintautas Vėlius, the *Perkūnas* first came to the attention of researchers in 1858, when in the catalogue of exhibits at the Museum of Antiquities compiled by Adam Honory Kirkor,



it was put at the top of the list, probably as the most important exhibit of the museum.⁷⁸ For more than a century, this figurine has been considered the only image of the famous ancient Lithuanian and Baltic mythological god *Perkūnas*. In 1905–1907, a postcard with the image of a figurine was issued, illustrating the strongly romanticised attitude of the society at that time.⁷⁹ Indeed, as early as the 19th century, the original purpose of this figurine was discussed. In the 1960s, Lithuanian historians began to consider that this may be the base of a candlestick made in Lower Saxony.⁸⁰ With the increase in applied art research in Europe and the digitisation and publication of many collections by museums and libraries, it became clear that this 12cm



Fig. 20. Detail of the chandelier. The 17th or the 18th century. The National Museum of Lithuania, inv. No. AR 690:1. Photo by Kęstutis Stoškus, 2021

detail is indeed a decorative element mounted on top of a chandelier. This finding is confirmed by the vertical cavity of the figurine, through which it was placed on the chandelier rod forming the stem. Based on the iconography of the surviving examples in Latvia, Poland and Germany, it can be stated that the figurine *Perkūnas* (or, more precisely, Jupiter), preserved at the National Museum of Lithuania, lacks an eagle on which to fly, and a symbol of power (lance, mace or sceptre).

Chandeliers with a figurine of Jupiter were very popular in Germany from the 17th to the 18th century. However, it is important to note that they decorated the Evangelical Reformed churches and the Catholic churches, e.g. the chandelier at the Benedictine monastery in Preetz.⁸¹ They were also popular in Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, and many other European countries. Surviving examples in Polish Catholic churches are also known; for example, the one in the Catholic Church in Warpuny near the border with the Kaliningrad region.⁸² The publication by Professor Ilia Rodov confirms that chandeliers with this décor were universally popular in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁸³ In addition, the author refers to a publication by Guido Schoenberger, which states that chandeliers with a figurine of Jupiter hung in the synagogues in Worms (Germany) and Altneuschul in Prague.⁸⁴ The assessment of the territory of distribution and the areas of functioning indicates that the chandeliers with the figurine of Jupiter in Europe functioned in synagogues and Catholic, Evangelical Reformed and Lutheran churches.

The perception of the cultural context helps to answer the intriguing question of why Jupiter was depicted on chandeliers. Beginning in Italy and spreading to the rest of Europe from the 14th to the 17th century, the Renaissance was marked by an anthropocentric worldview. Renaissance scholars focused on man, the surrounding environment and natural phenomena. There were great geographical discoveries and significant astronomical achievements, and Antiquity was perceived as the “golden period”. The authors of the Renaissance took over the images and iconographic schemes of Antiquity,



Fig. 21. Jupiter, the god of ancient Rome. Engraving “Fire” from the series “Four Elements as Mythological Figures”. 1587. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Inv. No. RP-P-OB-7472

which is reflected in the carvings of that time. For example, in the engravings from the second half of the 16th century, four elements of nature are depicted as mythological creatures. The element of water symbolises the ancient Roman god Neptune⁸⁵ and the element of fire, in Latin *Ignis*, represents Jupiter, the ancient Roman god of the sky and daylight⁸⁶ (Fig. 21). Therefore, in the late 16th century, the chandelier, an object directly related to fire, light and lighting, was decorated with a figurine of the god Jupiter embodying the element of fire and heavenly light. The book about artillery by Francis Maltus, an engineer of the Royal French Army, in 1650 illustrates Jupiter’s connection with fire and force⁸⁷ (Fig. 22). On page 135 of the book, Jupiter, depicted on an eagle throwing thunderbolts into a walled city, was clearly understood as a personified language for that time. As the king of the gods of Olympus, Jupiter could also symbolise supreme justice. German researcher Erdmute Beate Mascher provides insight that Jupiter unrestrainedly flying on the back of an eagle could also be associated with the infinity of the world and the universe during the Renaissance of knowledge and discovery.⁸⁸ Hence, the image of Jupiter was used to decorate chandeliers and other wares of the time, such as ships and decorations, and drawings of this image are kept in the most famous museums in Europe.⁸⁹

The tops of the chandeliers in the 16th to the 18th century were decorated with figurines of warriors. The warrior with a helmet, armour and the defensive skirt *pteruges* is depicted at the top of the



Fig. 22. Illustration from a book depicting the technique of attacking a walled fortress, in: Francis Malthus. *Pratique de la Guerre*. <...> Paris, 1650. The Metropolitan Museum, inv. No. 959.9 M292

chandeliers in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sesava in Latvia (the chandelier has not survived) and Žeimelis in Lithuania (Fig. 23). Such clothing is typical of an ancient Roman warrior. Similar figurines of warriors adorn the chandeliers that have survived in Germany,⁹⁰ which means that the chandeliers of the Evangelical Lutheran churches of Žeimelis and Sesava, or at least a prototype of the décor, have certainly come from Germanic lands. In addition, engravings from the 16th century help to explain the motif. The Renaissance era was not homogeneous, and the images of astrological symbols and allegoric mythological characters spread more than in any other period.⁹¹ Furthermore, a series of illustrated volumes on the influence of planets on the world's countries was published. For example, the Victoria and Albert Museum preserved engravings from 1530–1550 depicting seven planets in a personified way. Jupiter, the largest planet in the solar system, is represented as the ancient Greek god throwing thunderbolts from the carriage and as a warrior of ancient Rome (Fig. 24). The Jupiter in the art pieces is depicted as a young man or an older bearded man, usually holding a



Fig. 23. A chandelier in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Žeimelis. The late 16th – first half of the 17th century or the first half of the 19th century. Photo by Alantē Valtaitė-Gagač, 2020

raised sword in his right hand and a shield in his left. The shield of Jupiter in German chandeliers was used to portray the coat of arms of benefactors or a donation record. However, to confirm the assumption that Jupiter is depicted as an ancient Roman warrior, detailed chandelier research in the European region from the 16th to the 18th century would be needed.

The chandelier from the Archdiocese of Vilnius with a figurine of a Renaissance warrior is preserved in the depositories of the National Museum Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania⁹² (Fig. 25). In addition, copies of the ware decorate the halls of the palace. The man holding a ceremonial mace in his hand could perhaps be an official of the GDL, e.g. a hetman. A review of a considerable number of portraits of the GDL nobles and hetmans demonstrates the clothing differences in Western Europe and Lithuania in the 16th century. The man's clothes

depicted on the chandelier are typical of Western Europe in the 1510s–1520s. The main dress, called *saione*, has wide decorative sleeves, a large square neckline, and a pleated skirt with striped edges. You can see that the skirt is densely gathered at the chin, which was also fashionable in the first half of the 16th century. The head is covered with a beret with a snug flat on the sides. Under the *saione*, we can see the trousers reaching the knees.⁹³ Footwear is a light, open-toed clog with a broad and blunt



Fig. 24. A carving by George Pencz depicting the planet Jupiter, 1523–1530. From the series “Seven Planets”. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. No. E.199B-1892



Fig. 25. A chandelier from the Archdiocese of Vilnius (kept at the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania). The late 16th – 17th century. Photo by Mindaugas Kaminskas, 2017

forepart called *Kuhmaulschuh* in German (literally *cow's muzzle shoes*). According to written sources, courtiers of the Palace of the Grand Dukes in Lithuania were dressed in saione in the first half of the 16th century. In the second half of the 16th century, saione was used by the noblemen living in more remote areas of the GDL. Berets were less frequently worn in Lithuania, and lightweight clogs were only worn closer to the ruler's palace, due to the harsh climate in Lithuania.⁹⁴ Based on the works of the German Renaissance painters, it can be stated that the figurine most probably depicts an official of the state or a *Landsknecht*, a mercenary German infantryman from the first half of the 16th century. From the 16th to the 18th century in Germany, the figurines depicting warriors were often mounted on the tops of chandeliers.⁹⁵

The dissertation by German researcher Erdmute Beate Mascher explains in detail the symbolism of chandeliers with warrior figurines. According to the author, the depiction connects the figurines of the warriors, including the ancient Roman god Jupiter. The warriors show the same gestures with the right raised hand, the left bent hand, or the arms spread out.⁹⁶ Such a depiction is associated with combat readiness, protection and strength. These figurines of warriors on chandeliers are already going beyond the ordinary symbolism of light and should be associated with a social, religious and political message. The researcher refers to the verses in Paul the Apostle's letter to the Romans (Rom 13): "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities". For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God." The author interprets the figurines of warriors as doers of justice and maintainers of the divine order on earth.⁹⁷

Continuing the theme of anthropomorphic motifs, it is worth mentioning a chandelier's arm with a facial profile of a young man in the 17th to the 18th century preserved at the National Museum of Lithuania (Fig. 26). Such chandeliers with beardless and bearded men's faces with different hats and hairstyles have survived in many countries throughout Europe. They may have been a handy décor detail to reflect the prevailing fashions of the

time;⁹⁸ however, this conclusion is not valid for all chandeliers. For example, the arms of the chandelier made in 1614 from the Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Liepāja⁹⁹ were decorated with a bearded man's profile with a crown (Fig. 27). Dolphins decorate the arm curves of the chandelier, and the spaces between the arm stories are adorned with mythical characters, such as horses, whose hooves resemble flappers, and the back part is finished with a fishtail. The three depicted motifs are not accidental. As mentioned



Fig. 26. An arm of a chandelier with a man's profile and a dolphin motif. The 17th – early 18th century. The National Museum of Lithuania, inv. No. IM-4584. Photo by Vytautas Bartkevičius, 1980



Fig. 27. A chandelier in the Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in Liepāja. 1614. The Monument Documentation Centre at the National Cultural Heritage Board of Latvia, neg. No. 68591. Photo 1985

earlier, the Renaissance was marked by spiritual values and revival of ancient traditions.¹⁰⁰ The chandeliers were decorated with the image of the ancient Roman gods Jupiter and Neptune, one of the kings of Olympus. An old man with a long beard and a crown depicted on the arm corresponds to the “ruler of waters and the sea” image. In addition, seahorses (half fish, half horses) were an attribute of Neptune.¹⁰¹ For example, an engraving in the Netherlands from 1635–1660 illustrates the typical depiction of Neptune (Fig. 28).

Sirens are another antique décor motif used to decorate chandeliers in the Renaissance. In Lithuania, the bronze chandelier of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai (Fig. 29)¹⁰² and the wooden Renaissance chandelier with deer antlers in Zapyškis are decorated with sirens.¹⁰³ Sirens are depicted on them with wings and ornamented tail-like limbs. On the contrary, the sirens on the chandeliers of the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Durbe (Fig. 30),¹⁰⁴ Nereta and St. John’s in Riga, Latvia, are depicted without wings and with a long curled tail resembling mermaids. Researchers acknowledge that the depiction of sirens has varied over the centuries. In the beginning, they were

depicted as women with bird wings, and later with wings and bird legs or a fishtail.¹⁰⁵ Mermaids were also called sirens in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, in French, the word *sirène* describes both mermaids and sirens. Like other motifs characteristic of the Renaissance, the significance of the siren’s motif cannot be explained without Greek mythology. Sirens are commonly known as demonic beings



Fig. 29. A chandelier detail in the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai. The late 16th – first half of the 17th century. Photo by Gintaras Kazlauskas, 2012



Fig. 28. A carving depicting Neptune, the god in ancient Rome, 1635–1660. Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, Inv. No. RP-P-2004-330-40



Fig. 30. Mermaid. Detail of the chandelier from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Durbe. 1609. The Monument Documentation Centre at the National Cultural Heritage Board of Latvia. File No. 08-04-III, IV-27-D-1721

who lured sailors to coastal cliffs with their songs. As a result, the image of sirens as mundane temptations and sin became established in Christianity. The sirens were also companions of Persephone, goddess of land productivity and queen of the dead. When Hades kidnapped Persephone, the god of the dead, they were turned into birds to help find the goddess. The ancient Greeks thought that the sirens were muses in the afterlife. In addition, they were often depicted on tombstones and vases.¹⁰⁶ In 1508–1519, German sculptor Peter Vischer the Elder with his sons created an ornate tombstone for the Anglo-Saxon missionary Saint Sebald (Fig. 31). The tombstone of Saint Sebald in the St Sebaldus Church at Nuremberg is considered a masterpiece of the German Renaissance. Four siren-shaped candlesticks decorate the corners of the tombstone.¹⁰⁷

Undoubtedly, bronze chandeliers in Lithuania and Latvia of the 16th to the 18th century are decorated with floral motifs most commonly found on chandelier arms as twisted shoots, buds or blossoms (Fig. 32). Shell-form drip pans to catch falling wax are also a distinctive element of the chandelier décor. This motif was introduced in the second half of the 17th century, and with a slight change in form, prevailed until the third quarter of the 18th century, when the Rococo style emerged. In Lithuania, the chandelier of the Vilnius butchers' guild¹⁰⁸ decorated with shell-shaped drip pans from 1757 has not survived, but is recorded in the iconography. Meanwhile, at least 15 chandeliers with this motif are known in Latvia.¹⁰⁹



Fig. 31. A fragment (candlestick) of the tombstone of St Sebald. 1508–1519. St Sebaldus Church at Nuremberg. In: K. Jarmuch, *Lichter leuchten in Abendland: Zweitausend Jahre Beleuchtungskörper. Germany: Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1967, 162*

CONCLUSIONS

The review of the décor of the most common elements of bronze chandeliers in Lithuania and Latvia from the 16th to the 18th century has confirmed that investigation requires a much broader historical context on the development of European chandeliers. Objective conclusions about the origin and prevalence of chandelier décor elements that

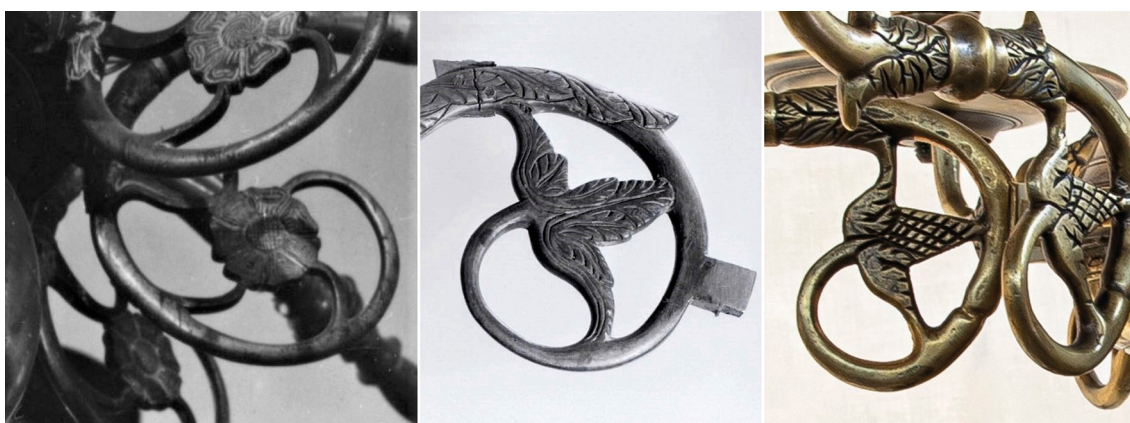


Fig. 32. Floral motifs on the chandeliers in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Durbe, the National Museum of Lithuanian and the Evangelical Lutheran church in Tukums

prevailed in the Baltic States should be based on the cultural context of that time. In addition, the knowledge of foreign researchers and surviving examples in neighbouring countries should be utilised.

It is worth mentioning that the elements of bronze chandelier décor in Lithuania and Latvia are found in Central or Western European countries such as Protestant Germany, the Netherlands and Catholic Poland. However, it can be argued that the shapes of Renaissance and Baroque chandeliers and the fashions of their décor were more determined by Western culture, which entered our lands with imported wares and casters from Western Europe, rather than by local culture.

Some of the motifs prevailing in the Gothic tradition, such as the lion mask, deer and Mariological motifs, which do not survive, were still used in the decoration of the Renaissance chandeliers. However, with the gradual adoption of an anthropocentric worldview based on ancient mythology in Western Europe, the fashion for chandelier decoration changed. The chandeliers with images of the ancient Greek and Roman deities Jupiter and Neptune and mythological sirens were produced from the 16th to the 18th century. In addition, the massive spread of the heraldic décor of the double-headed eagle is associated with the prosperity of certain states. Although the motif's origin is closely linked to heraldry, it does not always favour any empire.

As the most important and visible part of the bronze chandeliers, tops in Lithuania and Latvia in the 17th to the 18th century were decorated with figurines of an eagle, a double-headed eagle, the ancient Roman god Jupiter, and warriors. The evidence that Gothic chandeliers with a figurine of the Blessed Virgin Mary existed in Latvia suggests there may have been Renaissance chandeliers with this décor in Latvia and possibly in Lithuania. The study revealed that the tops of the chandeliers were not decorated with random but rather relevant and important elements of the symbolic meaning of that period. These could be allegorical motifs

of décor symbolising fire and the heavenly light, motifs symbolising divine order on earth or divine patronage. In addition, heraldic décor elements have denoted political relationships or friendliness.

Most of the lighting wares mentioned in the sources in the 17th century have not survived to the present day. However, presumably, they have been decorated with motifs common thorough Europe at that time, namely the figurines of the Blessed Virgin Mary, lion's faces, and the allegorical Roman god Jupiter.

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Notes

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² Percentages were calculated from 121 church inventories of the Vilnius and Samogitian dioceses of the 17th

century that mention chandeliers. It is also worth mentioning that in 52% of the inventories, the material of the chandeliers was not specified at all. Eleven per cent of chandeliers were made of timber, antlers, cast iron, metal sheets and iron, in: Alantė Valtaite-Gagač, “XVII a.–XX a. 4 dešimtmečio sietynų paveldas Lietuvoje” (Ph.D. diss., Vilniaus dailės akademija, 2015), 184–194.

³ Only chandeliers from the Evangelical Reformed Church in Kėdainiai and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Žeimelis are accessible to the public, and all other chandeliers are kept in the collections of major museums in Lithuania. Six chandeliers are kept at the National Museum of Lithuania, two at the National M. K. Čiurlionis Art Museum, and one at the Lithuanian National Museum of Art, Trakai History Museum and the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania.

⁴ Livonia, German Livland, is a historical region that was located in the greater part of modern Latvia and Estonia. When using the term Livonia, the author means the current territory of Latvia.

⁵ It is known from the Livonian poetical chronicle that the goldsmiths of Riga made the crown for King Mindaugas of Lithuania and Queen Morta. It is mentioned in the book: Ilvars Butulis and Antonijs Zunda, *Latvijos istorija* (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos centras, 2020), 35. A number of bells cast in Latvian foundries have also survived in Lithuania. Therefore, it can be assumed that chandeliers made by the foundries of Latvia could have been imported to Lithuania together with various luxury goods.

⁶ Due to the restrictions on movement imposed during the pandemic, Latvian digital image databases were used to assess the interiors of churches and select their heritage: <https://latvianchurches.eu>, <https://www.europeana.eu/da>, <https://www.zudusilatvija.lv>, <http://foto.eks.lv>. Data of the Monument Documentation Centre at the National Cultural Heritage Board of Latvia were used for the selection of chandeliers, for which I sincerely thank Rūta Kaminska, Ērika Tālberga and my colleagues from Lithuania Gabija Surdokaitė-Vitienė and Dalia Vasiliūnienė.

⁷ Bronze chandeliers (44 in total) of the 17th to the 18th century have survived in the 27 Evangelical Lutheran churches: Bauska, St Catherine’s (Bīķeri) and St John’s in Riga, Cēsis, Durbe, Ēdole, Landze, St Anne’s and the Holy Trinity in Liepāja, Nereta, Nurmuiža, Piltene, Rubene, Rūjiena, Sabile, Saldus, Sakasleja, Sāti, Sloka, Subate, Strazde, Umurga, Talsi, Tukums, Valdemārpils, Valmiera and Valka.

⁸ The bronze chandelier made in 1700 was found only in the Catholic Church of the Holy Trinity in Kuldīga.

⁹ Five bronze chandeliers from the 17th and 18th centuries recorded in the Latvian Register of Cultural Heritage decorate the buildings of Riga Small Guild (now Riga Culture and Folk Art Center, Amatu str. 5.) and Riga Great Guild (now Latvian National Philharmonic, Amatu str. 6).

¹⁰ Bronze chandeliers of the 16th to the 18th century are preserved at the museums of the History of Riga and Navigation, Tukums Palace, and Rundāle Palace.

¹¹ Gintaras Kazlauskas, “Radvilų žirandolis”, *Lietuvos dailės muziejaus metraštis 18* (2016): 111–119.

¹² Alantė Valtaite-Gagač, “Sietynų su žalčio/gyvatės formos šakomis ištakos, raida ir funkcionavimas: nuo Nyderlandų iki Lietuvos”, *Kultūros paminklai* 23 (2019), 134–147.

- ¹³ Alantė Valtaitė-Gagač, "Origin, Types, and Functioning of Chandeliers with Serpent Arms: from Netherlands to Lithuania", *Art History & Criticism / Meno istorija ir kritika* 15 (2019), 5–20.
- ¹⁴ The catalogue created by Alantė Valtaitė-Gagač, www.sietynupaveldas.lt
- ¹⁵ Aistė Niunkaitė-Račiūnienė, *Lietuvos žydų tradicinio meno ir simbolių pasaulis* (Vilnius: Valstybinis Vilniaus Gaono žydų muziejus, 2011).
- ¹⁶ Gothic-style chandelier from the 14th century is described in the publication: Aleksis Anteins, *Bronza Latvijā: pa metālu ieguves un apstrādes vēstures lappusēm* (Rīga: Zinātne, 1988), 98–103; The history of the chandelier in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Cēsis is presented in the book: Gundars Kalniņš, *Cēsu Svētā Jāņa baznīca* (Cēsis: Cēsu Kultūras un tūrisma centrs, 2015), 27; The chandeliers from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bauska are discussed in the book: Dainis Bruģis, *Bauskas Sv. Gara baznīca. 1594–1994*. (Bauska, 1993), 28–30; The chandeliers in Liepāja are briefly described in the book: Imants Lancmanis, *Liepāja no baroka līdz klasicismam* (Rīga: Zinātne, 1983), 62–66, 164–167; The chandelier of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Augstkalne is discussed in the book: *Rundāle: Pils muzejs: Kolekcijas* (Rīga: Jumava, 2001), 166.
- ¹⁷ *Latvijas PSR kultūras pieminekļu saraksts* (Rīga: GADA, 1969), *Latvijas PSR vēstures un kultūras pieminekļu saraksts* (Rīga: Avots, 1984).
- ¹⁸ Ilia Rodov, "The Eagle, its Twin Heads and Many Faces: Synagogue Chandeliers Surmounted by Double-Headed Eagles", *Studia Rosenthaliana: Jewish Ceremonial Objects in Transcultural Context* 37 (2004), 77–129.
- ¹⁹ Berend Dubbe and Frans van Molle „De Amsterdamse Geelgieter Hans Rogiers van Harelbeke (†1638)“, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 22 (1971), 21–40.
- ²⁰ Erdmute Beate Mascher, *Kronleuchter Lux ad illuminandas gentes, Studien zu Schafkronleuchtern aus Messing des 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts in Norddeutschland* (Ph.D. diss., Christian-Albrecht University of Kiel, 2004).
- ²¹ Franz Sales Meyer, *A Handbook of Ornament* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1917).
- ²² Alexander Speltz, *Styles of Ornament* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1906).
- ²³ Although the Gothic chandeliers in Latvia are beyond the chronological boundaries of the study, they are important to understand the predominant context until the 16th century and the wares, which probably existed in the 16th century, that do not survive.
- ²⁴ Vita Banga and Marina Levina, *Rīgas dievnamu arhitektūra un māksla* (Rīga: Zinātne, Apgads Mantojums, 2007), 291; Aleksis Anteins, *Bronza Latvijā: pa metālu ieguves un apstrādes vēstures lappusēm* (Rīga: Zinātne, 1988), 98.
- ²⁵ Vesna Bikic, "Hanging Chandeliers from the Territory of Medieval Serbia", *Annales. Ser. Hist. Sociol.* 18 (2008), 361–368.
- ²⁶ Archives of the Polish National Heritage Institute, No. OLX 000 001 286, WRM 000 000 004 904.
- ²⁷ Archives of the Polish National Heritage Institute, No. OLX 340 000 705, WRM 000 000 003 183.
- ²⁸ Archives of the Polish National Heritage Institute, No. ELX 000 002 238, WRM 000 000 007 037.
- ²⁹ Archives of the Polish National Heritage Institute, No. GDX 000 001 536, PMR 000 000 002 768.
- ³⁰ The chandelier, decorated with a lion's face at the terminal, is depicted in the well-known painting "The Arnolfini Marriage" of Jan van Eyck in 1434.
- ³¹ The Gothic chandeliers with stem terminals adorned with a lion's face from the second half of the 15th to the first half of the 16th century are preserved at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (inv. No. BK-NM-9698-8, BK-NM-9698, BK-NM-9387-A-16) and at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. No. 1975.1.1421, 47.101.50, 64.101.1530).
- ³² See Fig. 2.
- ³³ Gothic or Renaissance chandeliers decorated with a lion's mask have survived in Catholic churches in Lidzbark Warmiński, Grabowo, Orneta, Gdańsk and Wilczęta in Poland.
- ³⁴ Chandeliers in the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Latvia: Durbe, Umurga, Nereta, Tukums, Sakasleja and St John's in Riga. The chandelier with lion's décor was documented in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sesava. Unfortunately, the ware has not survived.
- ³⁵ Hans Biedermann, *Naujasis simbolių žodynas* (Vilnius: Mintis, 2002), 243.
- ³⁶ *Krikščioniškos ikonografijos žodynas*, ed. Dalia Ramonienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1997), 177.
- ³⁷ See Fig. 5, 6.
- ³⁸ See Fig. 26.
- ³⁹ Franz Sales Meyer, *A Handbook of Ornament* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1917), 86–90.
- ⁴⁰ See Fig. 7, 25.
- ⁴¹ See Fig. 5–7, 27. Also a chandelier with dolphin décor was documented in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sesava, which is now at the Rundāle Palace Museum.
- ⁴² See Fig. 4. Archives of the Polish National Heritage Institute, No. OLX 000 001 286 and WRM 000 000 004 904.
- ⁴³ Udo Becker, *Simbolių žodynas* (Vilnius: Vaga, 1995), 50; JČJ Metford, *Krikščionybė: realijos ir legendos* (Vilnius: Alma Littera, 2001), 58.
- ⁴⁴ Probably the oldest chandelier from the 17th century is preserved at the National Museum of Lithuania, inv. No. IM–4618. The museum also houses a chandelier made in the early 17th or second half of the 19th century, inv. No. IM–13029, and another ware from the 17th century, inv. No. TM–2332. The chandelier (inv. No. Tt–1699), probably made in the 19th century, is kept at the National M. K. Čiurlionis Art Museum.
- ⁴⁵ Separate arms of the chandeliers from the 17th to the 19th century with serpent arms are present in the Church in Bagaslaviškis, the National Museum of Lithuanian and three private collections.
- ⁴⁶ The wall candlesticks by Hans Rogier with the motif of the serpent have survived in the Catholic Church of St Bartholomew in the Antwerp suburb of Merksem (northern Belgium), and two wall-mounted candlesticks are currently housed at the Museum of the Bishop of Haarlem (West Holland) and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. In addition, two chandeliers by the same master have survived in the Evangelic Reformed churches of Buren and Eck en Wiel in the Netherlands, and one chandelier previously used in the Augustinian Church in Dordrecht, to date, is owned by the house-museum

of the famous banker and collector Simon van Gijn in Dordrecht, the Netherlands.

⁴⁷ *Krikščioniškos ikonografijos žodynas*, ed. Dalia Ramonienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1997), 81.

⁴⁸ Wandluchter met leeuwenkop en slang. Hans Rogiers van Harelbeke, 1599. Object No. BK-BR-946-S, in: *Rijksmuseum*, accessed May 15, 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.328509>

⁴⁹ *Krikščioniškos ikonografijos žodynas*, ed. Dalia Ramonienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1997), 81.

⁵⁰ Biedermann, 138.

⁵¹ For a view of the entire chandelier see Fig. 25.

⁵² *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce. T. XI. Dawne województwo Bydgoskie*, ed. Tadeusz Chrzanowskiego (Warszawa: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Sztuki, 1976), 107, il. 368.

⁵³ A copy of the chandelier (made in 1875) from the Dinant region (Belgium) made in 1450 is kept at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Inv. No. 1975.1.1421.

⁵⁴ Biedermann, 109.

⁵⁵ *Krikščioniškosios ikonografijos žodynas*, ed. Dalia Ramonienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1997), 71.

⁵⁶ Niunkaitė-Račiūnienė, 359.

⁵⁷ Shekhinah is a term in Judaism and Kabbalah that denotes the presence of God, which is also felt in a physical sense as an expression of divine power. Niunkaitė-Račiūnienė, 361, 362.

⁵⁸ Biedermann, 111–114.

⁵⁹ See Fig. 9.

⁶⁰ In Latvia, the chandeliers decorated with the motifs of stylised birds are present in the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Talsi, Tukums, Sāti and St Anne's in Liepāja.

⁶¹ Three chandeliers kept at the National Museum of Lithuania are decorated with stylised birds, inv. No. AFD–338, IM–4621 and IM–13029.

⁶² *Krikščioniškosios ikonografijos žodynas*, 231.

⁶³ See Fig. 17.

⁶⁴ See Fig. 16.

⁶⁵ See Fig. 12.

⁶⁶ A photograph of St James' Evangelical Lutheran Church from the virtual exhibition *Churches in Klaipėda Region* at the Klaipėda County Public Ieva Simonaitytė Library, accessed June 15, 2022, <https://klavb.lt/virtualios-parodos/klapedos-krasto-baznycios/380>

⁶⁷ In the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Durbe, Bauska (three wares), Ēdole, Umurga, the Holy Trinity in Liepāja, Sakasleja, Nurmuiža, Sabile, Strazde, Rubene, Tukums and St. John's (two chandeliers) in Riga. Chandeliers with double-headed eagles are also preserved at the Catholic Church in Kuldīga, the museum of Rundāle Palace (transferred from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Augstkalne), and the Tukums Museum (from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tukums). Generally, over 18 bronze chandeliers with double-headed eagles from the 16th to the 18th century are known in Latvia.

⁶⁸ Kazlauskas, 115, 116.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 117.

⁷⁰ See Fig. 6. The restored chandelier is preserved at the Tukums Museum.

⁷¹ See Fig. 12.

⁷² The term Ashkenazi refers to a group of Jews and their descendants who lived on both sides of the Rhine-land Valley and spread to Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages. Ashkenaz derives from the name of Germany in Hebrew, Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija, accessed May 10, 2021, <https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/askenaziai>

⁷³ Rodov, 77.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 85–87.

⁷⁵ Edmundas Laucevičius and Birutė Rūta Vitkauskienė, *Lietuvos auksakalystė: XV–XIX amžius* (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2001), 135, 136.

⁷⁶ See Fig. 14.

⁷⁷ The chandelier with a figurine of Jupiter on an eagle in the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Nereta (1647), Rūjiena (1652), St Anne's in Liepāja (1677), Valdemārpils (1695), Subate, Bauska and Saldus (probably from the second half of the 17th century). Chandeliers with figurines of Jupiter are known but have not survived in the Catholic Church in Spruktu and the Evangelical Lutheran churches in Jelgava and St Catherine's (Biķeri) in Riga.

⁷⁸ Gintautas Vėlius, “Kernavės Perkūnas – bažnytinės žvakidės koja”, *Orbis Lituaniae*, 2018, accessed April 10, 2020, <http://m.ldkistorija.lt/index.php/istoriniai-faktai/kernaves-perkunas-baznytines-zvakides-koja/1401>

⁷⁹ Postcard *Perkūnas from Kernava*, circa 1905–1907 preserved at the Šiauliai Aušros Museum, inv. No. ŠAM GEK 99183/1, accessed May 15, 2021, https://www.limis.lt/greita-paieska/perziura/-/exhibit/preview/150000035417094?s_id=vdhrh0IJe4Riiuj3&s_ind=55&valuable_type=EKSPONATAS; Also “Kernavės Perkūnas” was depicted in symbolic illustration of Lithuanian history by Adam Honory Kirkor published in 1854. Illustration by Vincentas Dmachauskas, in Wikimedia, accessed May 15, 2021, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:History_of_Lithuania_by_Dmacho%C5%ADski_1854.jpg

⁸⁰ Alfredas Bumblauskas, *Senosios Lietuvos istorija, 1009–1795* (Vilnius: R. Paknio leidykla, 2005), 61.

⁸¹ Mascher, 70, ill. 120–122.

⁸² A chandelier in the Catholic Church in Warpuny, Poland, the 18th century. Photo by J. Liżewski, Archives of the Polish National Heritage Institute, inventory no. WRM 000 000 010702 // OLX 000 002886.

⁸³ Rodov, 82–83.

⁸⁴ G. Schoenberger, “A Late Survival of Jupiter Fulgur”, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York: Locust Valley, 1964), 288–292.

⁸⁵ Water as the image of Neptune is depicted in the engraving by Johann Sadeler and Dirck Barendsz from 1587, Rijksmuseum, inv. No. RP-P-OB-7471, accessed May 20, 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.168675>

⁸⁶ The ancient Roman god Jupiter on an eagle. Engraving by Johann Sadeler and Dirck Barendsz entitled “Fire personified by the god Jupiter” from the series “Four Elements as Mythological Figures”, 1587, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Inv. No. RP-P-OB-7472, accessed May 20, 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/10934/RM0001.COLLECT.168676>

⁸⁷ The book is one of the most important publications on artillery in Europe in the 17th century. Francis Malthus, *Pratique de la Guerre. Contenant l'usage de l'Artillerie, Bombes & Mortiers, Feux Artificiels & Petards, Sappes & Mines, Ponts & Pontons, Tranchees &*

Travaux, avec l'ordre des Assauts aux Breches. Ensemble vn traite des Feux de Joye/par le sievr de Malthvs ... (Paris: Chez Gervais Clousier, au Palais, sur les degrez de la sainte Chapelle, 1650) The Metropolitan Museum, accessed May 20, 2021, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/591833>

⁸⁸ Mascher, 100.

⁸⁹ A jewellery drawing with an image of Jupiter by Hans Collaert, 1581, Antwerp. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No. E.879-1912, accessed May 25, 2021, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O720383/print-hans-collaert>; A ship's décor drawing by Jean Berain, France, 1693. Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. No. E.1943-1991, accessed May 20, 2021, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O146390/design-for-the-decoration-of-drawing-jean-berain-the>

⁹⁰ Mascher, ill. 54, 56, 59 (St Marien Evangelical Church in Barth, St Michael's Church in Eutin and Goslar Town Hall in Germany).

⁹¹ Antanas Andrijauskas, *Vakarų estetika ir meno filosofija* (Vilnius: Lietuvos kultūros tyrimų institutas, 2017), 263, 264.

⁹² The chandelier belongs to the Archdiocese of Vilnius. The original is kept at the depositories, but a large number of copies can be seen in the halls of the Palace of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania.

⁹³ Matuškaitė Marija, *Apranga XVI-XVIII a. Lietuvoje* (Vilnius: Aidai, 2003), 74–76, 86.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Mascher, ill. 68, 71, 72.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 87.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 101.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 55.

⁹⁹ The Monument Documentation Centre at the National Cultural Heritage Board. Files "Sv. Trisvienības luterāņu baznīca", No. 08-04-III, IV-26-1451, 1459, 1463.

¹⁰⁰ *Dailės žodynas* (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1999), 357.

¹⁰¹ Olympus of the Greek and Roman gods, in: Lietuvių žodynas, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://moksloai.lietuviuzodynas.lt/lietuviu-kalba/graiku-ir-romenu-dievu-olimpas>

¹⁰² For a view of the entire chandelier see Fig. 15.

¹⁰³ The chandelier in Zapyškis is mentioned for its ornamentation. However, the publication did not include deer-head shaped with antlers chandeliers because of the material used. Instead, sirens on these chandeliers are depicted in cartouches around the wooden deer head.

¹⁰⁴ For a view of the entire chandelier see Fig. 5.

¹⁰⁵ Becker, 232.

¹⁰⁶ Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija, accessed May 20, 2021, <https://www.vle.lt/straipsnis/sirenos>

¹⁰⁷ Kurt Jarmuch, *Lichter leuchten in Abendland: Zweitausend Jahre Beleuchtungskörper* (Germany: Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1967), 162.

¹⁰⁸ Alantė Valtaitė-Gagač, Vilnius butcher's workshop chandelier. Website *Sietynų paveldas Lietuvoje*, accessed May 25, 2021, <http://www.sietynupaveldas.lt/cards/150>

¹⁰⁹ The chandelier of the Holy Trinity Evangelical Lutheran Cathedral in Liepāja (1770), Evangelical Lutheran churches of St Anne in Liepāja, Saldus (the 17th century), Bauska (1762), Nurmē (two chandeliers from 1687 and the 17th century), Talsi (1671), Tukums (1684), Valdemārpils (1695), Sāti (1697), Landze (1707), Cēsis (1744), Piltene (1749) and the Catholic Church in Kuldīga (1700). The chandelier from the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Augstkalne is preserved at the Museum of Rundāle Palace (the late 17th century).

¹¹⁰ Mokslinis tyrimas finansuojamas Europos socialinio fondo lėšomis pagal priemonę Nr. 09.3.3-LMT-K-712-19-0135 „XVI-XVIII a. bronzos sietynų gamyba, raida ir išlikimas: atvejų analizė Lietuvoje ir Latvijoje“.

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LIETUVOS IR LATVIJOS XVI–XVIII A. BRONZINIŲ SIETYNŲ DEKORO MOTYVAI: TIPOLOGIJA, PAPLITIMAS, SIMBOLIKA

Santrauka

Straipsnyje pirmą kartą analizuojami dviejų Baltijos šalių – Lietuvos ir Latvijos XVI–XVIII a. bronzinių sietynų dekoru motyvai¹¹⁰. Gausiau išlikę pavyzdžiai Latvijoje pasitelkiami rekonstruoti prarastą šios rūšies paveldą Lietuvoje, analizuojama dekoru motyvų įvairovė, kilmė ir simbolika. Lietuvai artima Latvija tyrimui pasirinkta ne tik dėl gausaus XVI–XVIII a. bronzinių sietynų paveldo, bet ir dėl LDK ir Livoniją siejusios glaudžių politinių ir ekonominių prekybinių ryšių.

Tyrime išryškėjo dvi dekoru elementų grupės: vieni atkeliavo iš gotikos ir vis dar buvo naudojami renesanso laikotarpiu, kitus motyvus imta naudoti kartu su antikinės kultūros puoselėjimo pradžia XVI a. Kontekstui suvokti straipsnyje trumpai apžvelgiami seniausi, gotikos laikų Lietuvoje ir Latvijoje saugomi sietynai su Švč. Mergelės

Marijos skulptūrėlė. Remiantis išlikusiais pavyzdžiais Lenkijoje, galima teigti, kad mariologinių sietynų Lietuvoje ir Latvijoje galėjo būti dar ir renesanse. Vieni archajiškiausių, dar gotikoje imti naudoti zoomorfiniai motyvai – elnias, liūto galvutė. Su pastaruoju elementu nemažai sietynų išliko Latvijoje, tikėtina kad tokių buvo ir Lietuvoje. Delfinas, dažnai sutinkamas XVI–XVII a. sietynų dekoru elementas, ankstyvosios krikščionybės mene jis laikytas Kristaus Išganytojo simboliu. Lietuvoje išliko Europoje gana reti sietynai su žalčio / gyvatės formos šakomis. Šio nevienareikšmiškos simbolikos dekoru kilmė – Nyderlandai. Lietuvos muziejuose saugomi keturi XVI–XVII a. sietynai su šiuo dekoru. Tiek Lietuvoje, tiek Latvijoje išliko daug sietynų su dvigalviais ereliais. Jie paplitę visoje Europoje ir galėjo reikšti simpatiją ar dinastinius, administracinius ryšius su kuria nors imperija. Gausus sietynų su šiuo motyvu palikimas krikščionių sakraliniuose pastatuose leidžia daryti prielaidą ir apie platesnę, sakralinę dvigalvio erelio reikšmę. Renesanso, vėliau ir baroko laikotarpiu, sietynus imta dekoruoti alegoriniais antikos mitologijos motyvais. Vienas populiariausių – senovės Romos dievas Jupiteris. Jis buvo siejamas su ugnies stichija ir dangiškąją šviesa. Populiarius sietynų dekoru elementas buvo ir sirenos. XVI–XVIII a. sietynų viršūnės puoštos įvairių laikotarpių karių skulptūrėlėmis, kurių simboliką galima interpretuoti kaip teisingumo vykdytojus ir Dieviškosios tvarkos žemėje palaikytojus. XVI–XVIII a. bronziniai sietynai Lietuvoje ir Latvijoje buvo puošiami ne tik figūriniais dekoru elementais, bet ir kompoziciją papildančiais augaliniais motyvais: ūgliais, pumpurais arba gėlių žiedais.

Tyrime išryškėjo, kad sietynų viršūnėse montuoti ne atsitiktiniai, bet laikotarpiui aktualūs ir svarbūs simbolinės reikšmės dekoru elementai. Tai galėjo būti alegoriniai ugnį/dangišką šviesą simbolizuojantys dekoru motyvai, dieviškosios tvarkos palaikytojų žemėje ar dieviškąją globą simbolizuojantys motyvai. Taip pat politines sąsajas ar palankumą žymintys heraldiniai dekoru elementai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: bronzos, dekoras, gotika, renesansas, barokas.

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