

Renaissance Architecture in Lviv: An Example of Mediterranean Cultural Import

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THE AIM OF THIS ARTICLE IS TO EXPLORE the reception of Renaissance style in architecture of Ukraine as a prominent example of far-reaching influences of Mediterranean culture. The main focus of this study is on the Renaissance architecture of Lviv (Polish – *Lwów*, German – *Lemberg*; presently a town in Western Ukraine) and the two important agents in the process of reception and adaptation of Italian architectural model in the town: Italian architects working here on the one hand, and upper strata of urban population as consumers on the other. The period taken into consideration (sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries) is the late Renaissance: times when Classical and Italian styles penetrated cultural peripheries of Europe.

‘What is Europe really and how far can it spread eastwards whilst still remaining Europe?’ (Drakulić 2000). Political developments of the last decades have intensified the process of re-definition and revision of cultural boundaries of Europe, despite the risk that a new definition could still be ‘a work of the cultural creation, of intellectual artifice, of ideological self-interest and self-promotion’ (Wolff 1994, 4). An answer to the question ‘Is Ukraine a part of Europe?’ usually depends on who defines Europe and what reasons are taken into account. From the Ukrainian point of view the answer would surely be affirmative, and as an important reason, the political and intellectual elites will emphasize as the common cultural heritage: literature, art and architecture revealing the same stylistic features as in Western Europe. Renaissance became the first ‘European’ artistic style which penetrated into practically all spheres of Ukrainian cultural life, and has been often used as an important argument for stretching symbolic European boundaries further east.

Regardless of current political implications and definitions of cultural boundaries, the aim of this article is to explore the reception of Renaissance style in architecture as a prominent example of the far-reaching influences of Mediterranean culture. The period taken into consideration (sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries) has been regarded as late Renaissance and Mannerism: times when Classical and Italian styles penetrated the 'cultural peripheries' of Europe. One can speak about the process of 'domestication' of the Renaissance, its broad geographical and social diffusion, its incorporation into everyday practices and its effects on material culture and mentalities (Burke 1998, 14). In the Ukrainian case, effects of these 'uses of Italy' (Burke 1992, 6) were the most visible in architecture: stylistic features of the Italian Renaissance could be found in military and ecclesiastic architectural ensembles, in noble residences and private houses of town dwellers.

ITALOPHILIA

How far Mediterranean influences penetrated this region is demonstrated by the example of two Italian masters – Sebastiano Bracci and Octaviano Mancini – working on the restoration of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv (Aleksandrovykh 2002, 631). However, most of the Renaissance monuments are located in the western part of present-day Ukraine. This part of the country roughly corresponds to its historical predecessor Galician Rus' that was incorporated into the Polish Kingdom in the mid-fourteenth century and became an administrative district called Rus' Principality (*Wojewodztwo Ruskie*) until the first half of the twentieth century. This region has been traditionally presented as a cultural borderland between Western (Latin or Catholic) and Eastern (Orthodox) Christianity. Here, also architectural heritage from the times before the Renaissance revealed the existence of at least two parallel building traditions well represented in stone/brick ecclesiastical architecture: the first was a continuation of building techniques and models of Kievan Rus' in Orthodox churches, while the second was represented by Gothic in Latin churches typically built by architects of German origin. The Renaissance style brought a certain degree of unification and similarity into the architecture of the region, where different building traditions were at work, which is especially



evident in the multi-ethnic and multi-religious urban milieu of Lviv. Thus, the main focus of this study is on the Renaissance architecture of Lviv (Polish – *Lwów*, German – *Lemberg*; presently a town in Western Ukraine) and the two important agents in the process of reception and adaptation of Italian architectural model in the town: Italian architects working here on the one hand, and upper strata of the urban population as consumers and active recipients on the other.

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Although town dwellers received the most attention here, it is necessary to note that in its preferences for Italian models this social stratum followed the example of elites, the royal court and nobility. Studies on the reception of the Renaissance noted a trend of ‘Italophilia,’ when Italian culture became fashionable in court circles in many parts of Europe: in Poland the trend seems to have been launched by the arrival of Queen Bona Sforza in 1518, and reached its height in the mid-sixteenth century (Burke 1998, 172). Receptive to the ‘Italian fashion,’ lay and ecclesiastic noble patrons invited Italians to build and rebuild castles, residences and churches, or to plan whole towns. It is worth mentioning that Italians were among military architects invited by Polish dignitaries to work in the region. For instance, Bernardo Morando, a military engineer of Italian origin, was hired by the royal chancellor Jan Zamojski for the planning of his town Zamosc. Zamosc was the first settlement in Poland wholly planned according to Renaissance principles. Morando also visited the royal town of the Lviv in 1589 for the purpose of the ‘delineation’ of the defense system and suggested the use of the bastion system (Vuytsyk 1995, 367–68). Later (in 1607) Aurelio Passarotti was sent by the King to examine existing defenses and to create a plan for the new ones in Lviv. Realization of his plan would cost some two millions of *zloty*, consequently Lviv urban government deemed ideas suggested by Italians as unrealistic (Vuytsyk 1995, 368). An example of a noble family who conducted lively building activities in Ukrainian lands during these times was that of the Dukes of Ostrog (the Ostroz’ki): duke Konstantyn of Ostrog employed Christoforus Bozzano to build a castle in Medzybizh, and Peter Sperendio to work on his other castle in Ostrog; a son of Konstantyn invited Italian architects to erect the church of the Bernardine friary in Iziaslav and a castle in Stare Selo near Lviv (Matsiuk 1997, 19).

Now in deplorable condition, the castle in Stare Selo was built in the late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries by Ambrosio from Valltellina who settled in Lviv and received local citizenship.

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During the sixteenth-beginning of the seventeenth centuries, the town of Lviv accepted many Italian architects as citizens: after arrival, they often married and assimilated into the local environment. This town has the best preserved and most prominent Renaissance heritage, and gives – unique for Ukrainian lands – examples of non-noble artistic patronage represented mainly by private buildings. Developing as a centre of long-distance trade already in the first half of the fourteenth century, Lviv had a population that was both multi-ethnic and multi-religious. A royal privilege for Magdeburg law issued in 1356 referred to four main religious groups living in the town: *Armeni, Rutheni, Judei et Saraceni*, apart from *Romani* (that is Catholics), (Kapral 1998, 3). Here the King allowed *aliis gentibus habitantibus in eadem civitate, videlicet Ormenis, Iudeis, Saracenis, Ruthenis et aliis gentibus cuiuscumque condicionis vel status existent* to use their own laws, thus revealing different religious groups living in the town. The market of Lviv contributed to further diversification of the local population attracting picturesque crowds of foreign merchants, so vividly described by Martin Gruneweg from Gdansk (Danzig), who, being involved in trade, lived there between 1582 and 1606. He compared the town to a great port like Venice, where one can find visitors from all over the world and every language one wanted (Gruneweg 2003, 7). The town became a site of interactions between diverse nationalities and religions (e.g., served as the residence for archbishops of three Christian rites: Orthodox, Latin and Armenian) and witnessed intense ideological rivalries between different group identities. Belfries, towers, churches lent concrete expression to the competition between religious and ethnic groups, so that architecture seems to engage in these ideological debates which can be understood only if someone is informed about the complexities of Lviv's political history and turbulent relations among its competing nationalities and religions (Zhuk 2005, 96). Thus, in the case of Lviv, Italian architectural models were applied in the multi-cultural environment where distinct groups (religious communities) had their own architectural traditions, so it is interesting to see how this influenced



Renaissance features and what impact the new style had on local traditions; or, in other words, to see how ‘the process of appropriation, adaptation and cultural translation’ (Burke 1992, 7) worked in this particular geographical, political and social context.

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ITALIAN MASTERS

New stylistic models were adopted in Lviv architecture starting from the mid-sixteenth century after a great fire destroyed the medieval town in 1527. The town’s stable economic position at this time ensured a sweeping reconstruction according to the contemporary fashion evincing the influence of Renaissance forms (Zhuk 2005, 105). These forms were brought by ‘labor emigrants’ from northern Italy and southern Switzerland, particularly from the regions of Como and Lugano. The first known master was *Petrus murator Italus* (in the record from 1563 – *Magister Petrus Italus de Luugnon, civis Leopoliensis*) mentioned in town books (*Acta Consularia*) under the year 1543 (Loziński 1901, 24). His most important building project in Lviv was an Orthodox (Ruthenian) church of the Virgin Mary (the Dormition Church) that had to be built anew after the old edifice was destroyed by the fire of 1527. Documents from 1558 informed about the architect complaining about the irregular supply of building materials by employers, Orthodox confraternity (*Stauropigion*), and delays in the building process. Nevertheless, the church was finished and consecrated in 1559 (Nelhovskiy 1967, 90). Unfortunately, the building was destroyed by another fire in 1571, and there are no data left regarding its architectural features, no image or plan of this monument remained.

Among other works attributed to *Petrus Italus* were porches of private buildings. For instance, the porch of building number 20 on Armenian street preserved until the present day despite numerous reconstructions that affected the building itself (Vyutsyk 1996, 15). With ionic columns and heavy moldings this architectural element was apparently too monumental for the modest edifice on a narrow street. Another porch, rich in ornament (spandrels decorated with floral motives) and more subtle in construction, is dated to 1555 according to the inscription on the lintel. The porch was made for the house of rich burgher and town councillor Stancel Szolz, however the building

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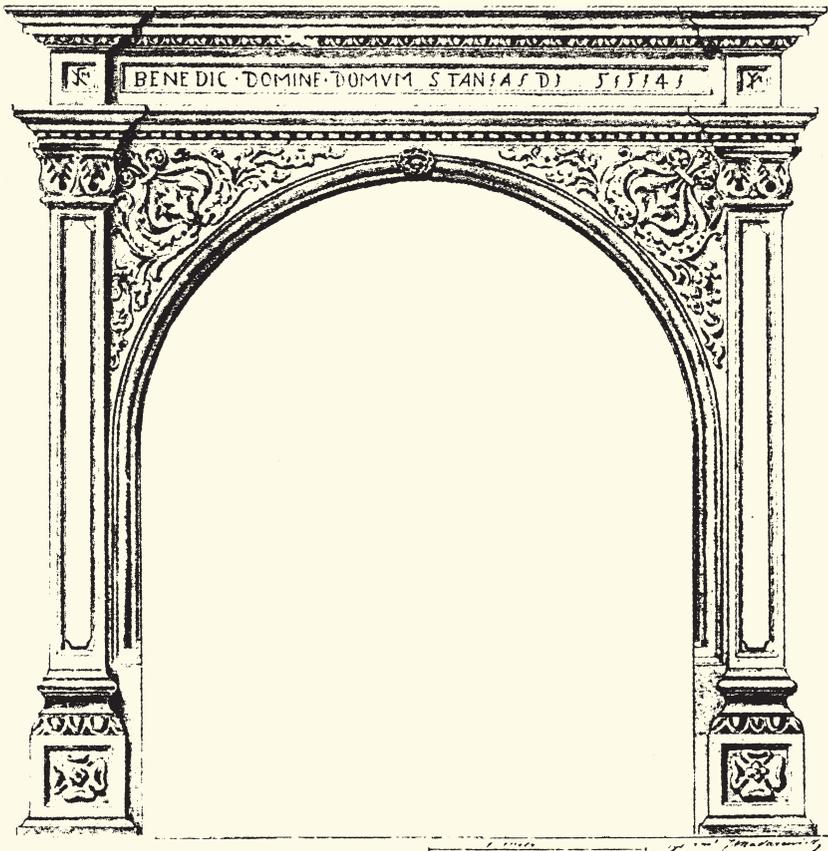


FIGURE 1 Portal, 1555 (after Loziński 1901)

was disassembled in the nineteenth century and the porch is known only from nineteenth century drawings (fig. 1).

The 1560s brought further records mentioning new Italian masters in Lviv and : *Gabryel Quadro Italus magister murator* (1561), brothers Angiolo and Gallacius designated as *Itali de Bruzin* (the latter died in 1560), Franciscus Roland de Brusimpiano, *Peregrinus Bononicus* and the already mentioned Christophus Bozzano from Ferrara. Not all these names have any immediate connection to the existent Renaissance monuments (at least there is no evidence for it), but they do give an idea about the origin of these Renaissance masters, who came from Lombardy, Ferrara, or Bologna and stayed in the town for a while. This



also demonstrates how many masters were coming to the region. Their presence contributed greatly to the formation of the professional organization of Lviv architects: a guild of builders and stone masons was formed at this time and its statute was confirmed by the town council in 1572 (Kapral 2007, 444). Members of the guild were all Lviv citizens called in the document *famati et providi magistri muratores et lapidae cives infrascripti Leopoliensis*. Among them also Italian masters were listed, such as *Petrus Casmur Italus*, *Rochus Safranyecz Italus* and *Franciscus Crotophila* (the latter was later mentioned as *Franciscus Quadro Krotofilia Italus murator*) (Kapral 2007, 446). We know, however, very little about their works.

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Well documented activity had *Petrus Crassowski Italus Murator Szwanczar*, a master who arrived from Ticino/Tessin and received local citizenship in 1567 (Loziński 1901, 32). *Szwanczar* could be understood as Swiss, but his name Crassowski (quite of local character) was more difficult to clarify. A plausible explanation was that such a name derives from village of Krasow near Lviv with a stone mine in its vicinity, where the master probably lived for a while (Loziński 1901, 32). Crassowski was not very fortunate in his great projects: he constructed two bell-towers in Lviv, but neither survived. The first one, built for the Armenian Church, burned down in 1778 ‘until the foundations.’ The second was commissioned by the already mentioned Orthodox Confraternity for their church of the Virgin Mary in 1568. Even before the construction had been finished, the tower developed in the masonry and collapsed, still unfinished, in 1570. David Ruthenus, a representative of the Orthodox community, initiated a court case at the town court in his own and the community’s name (*suo et totius Civitatis vicinorum suorum religionis Rutheniae nominatus*) blaming the architect for this misfortune (Loziński 1901, 33). To defend himself Peter Crassowski asked his colleagues who worked in the region to give an expertise. These were Alberto, Jacopo, Martinus Quadrino and Rochus (a Venetian working in Lviv, mentioned in 1572) – all *Italos muratores* as court records emphasized. Apparently the presence of the specialists was of little help because Peter lost the case and had to pay compensation to the Confraternity (Loziński 1901, 33).

More successful was this architect in private buildings: his ‘Black House’ on Market Square no. 4 is one of the best examples of local Re-

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naissance architecture. According to the agreement concluded with the owner, Sophia Hannel, in 1577, the master had to decorate the façade and attic with columns and carved stones (*columnas et kabzamszy[?] omnes ex lapidibus sculptis parare*) (Gębarowicz 1962, 81). Sophia personally controlled the work and supplied materials for the building. Today it is the most richly decorated Renaissance monument: the façade is all covered with so-called ‘diamond’ rustication made of limestone. The stone darkened in the nineteenth century, so the mansion received its name ‘The Black’ much later than it was built. Especially elaborately decorated is the ground floor level: the portal and window frames were covered with floral ornaments; sculptures of saints adorned the architraves (fig. 2). In 1595, this house was bought by an Italian, Thomaso Alberti.

Alberti and numerous other Italians who settled in Lviv were not architects: many of them were merchants, some arrived with political missions, still others had to leave their homeland and to seek shelter here, as for instance Urbano della Rippa Ubaldini who found his new home in Lviv. A relative of the Pope Sixtus V and Cardinal Octaviano Ubaldini, he took an active part in an unsuccessful plot against the Medici and had to flee from Florence. Ubaldini appeared first in Krakow then in Lviv, where he married a daughter of the town councillor Wilczek and received citizenship in 1579. Thanks to his wife’s dowry, Ubaldini became an owner of 1/3 of the building on Market Square no. 3, that is next to Sophia Hannel’s house (Zubrytsky 2002, 185). He participated in trade and established close contacts with another Lviv citizen of Italian origin Sebastiano Montelupo. Domenico Montelupo, the son of Sebastiano, organized the first post in Lviv (1629). It is worth mentioning that the post office was located in Bandinelli’s house – a building situated next to that of Ubaldini’s on Market Square no. 2 (Vyutysyk 1984, 98–9). Roberto Bandinelli, a relative of the famous Florentine sculptor Bacco Bandinelli, was a rich Lviv burgher of Italian origin. His house is another late-Renaissance monument of Lviv: unlike in other sixteenth century buildings, here the original inner-planning has been preserved (Vyutysyk 1984).

On the southern part of Market Square (no. 14) there is a building of Antonio Massari, a Venetian councilor (*bailo*) settled in Lviv.





FIGURE 2 'The Black House,' doorway (after Loziński 1901)

The façade is decorated with rustication with a Venetian lion on the top of the doorway arch: the lion holds a book with the date '1600' (fig. 3). This building was started in 1589, but not preserved intact (for instance, the fourth floor was added in the nineteenth century). Still, details of the façade with rustic decoration reveal features of the sixteenth century. The house of Antonio Massari was the work of another Italian architect, Paul from Rome (*Paulus Romanus murator Italus*



FIGURE 3
Element of Massary's house
(photo by Yulia Andrusiv)

or Paulo Romano as is evident from his signature), who received local citizenship in 1585. He and his older colleague Peter Barbon (*Petrus Barbon Italus murator* or *Petrus di Barbona*) were the most prominent artists of Italian origin working in Lviv (Loziński 1901, 44–5). Peter Barbon (died 1588) worked in cooperation (*muratoriae artis socius*) with Paulo, as is evident from Barbon's testament; one more member of this team was the already mentioned architect of the castle in Stare Selo *Ambrosius Simonis murator Italiae oriundus*, as town documents called him, coming from Valtellina, Switzerland (Loziński 1901, 46–7).

The testament implied that Peter Barbon built a new bell-tower of the Orthodox Church of the Virgin Mary commissioned by Konstantyn Korniakt, a rich Greek merchant settled in the town (for this reason it was often called Korniakt's tower). The earliest history of Lviv written by its burgomaster Bartolomej Zimorowicz in the 1670s informed that the tower was built in 'ionic style' and was 'covered with



silver tin' (Zimorowicz 2002, 119). The monument has been appraised by art historians as the best Renaissance tower in the Polish kingdom: the composition of this 60.15 m high construction resembles Italian campaniles and initially stood apart from the church wall. The fourth level and a Baroque helmet were added after the tower was damaged [203] during the Tartar siege in 1695 (Bevz 2008, 92).

Korniakt also invited Peter Barbon to build his own house on Market Square (presently building no. 6, belonging to Lviv Historical museum). The edifice is located on two standard plots and therefore it is twice larger than a regular house on Market Square: in fact, Korniakt's palace was one of the largest and most splendid buildings of the sixteenth century town. Presently the monument combines features from the sixteenth till the nineteenth centuries. The first reconstruction happened in 1640, when the building was bought by King Jan III Sobieski: an attic with figures of knights and a portal with columns were added at that time. The balcony – an absolutely alien element here – was added in the nineteenth century. The inner yard is surrounded with a three-storey Renaissance gallery: it was restored during the 1930s and called afterwards 'The Italian yard' (Vuytsyk 1991, 31). In order to achieve an effect of lightness and grace, the columns of each storey were of different orders: Tuscan order on the ground floor, Doric on the first and Ionic on the second. This principle could be observed in the Roman Colosseum and was widely applied by Renaissance architects, starting from Leone Battista Alberti.

After the death of Peter Barbon, his younger partner, Paulo Romano, stepped into the forefront. According to the above mentioned testament, Paulo had to finish some of Barbon's objects, like unspecified works for the Armenian community (*apud Armenos*) (Loziński 1901, 45). Most likely these works included an arcade gallery of the Armenian church of the Virgin Mary that survived fires and numerous reconstructions. Paulo's greatest work was the Orthodox church of the Virgin Mary (the Dormition Church). As follows from the agreement concluded between the Orthodox confraternity and Paulo in 1591, the architect agreed to build a church according 'to the form and representation' presented to the members of the Confraternity (Sharanevych 1886, 95). Because of a lack of space, the church does not have a west-

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ern façade – this part is built into a row of buildings. Still, its southern wall flanked by pilasters of Doric order and pierced with round-arch windows does look magnificent. The round shaped presbytery part was crowned by a mighty dome; the upper part of the walls (below the roof and above the pilasters) is decorated with a carved stone frieze. It has been often emphasized that the architectonic composition of this monument was a combination of elements from Ukrainian wooden architecture and models of the Italian Renaissance: the local tradition was represented by three domes situated along one axis, while Western influences could be seen in the basilical structure and carved-stone decorations (Vuytsyk 2004, 36). Paulo created a plan for the building, but was not administering this project for a long time: the Confraternity invited two other architects to continue the construction: Wojciech (Albertus) Kapinos in 1597 and Abrosio from Valtellina. Ambrosio (he received a nick-name Prykhylny ‘gracious’ after entering the guild in Lviv) became chief administrator of the building campaign thereafter (Vuytsyk 2004, 36). As was mentioned above, around the same time, Ambrosio Prykhylny was invited by Jan of Ostrog to build the castle in Stare Selo near Lviv.

Paulo himself switched to another great building enterprise, namely the Church of St. Andrew of the Bernardine (Franciscan Observant) friary. Similarly, here Paulo created an architectural design for the future church, but controlled the building process only until 1613, when he was again replaced by Abrosio (Zimorowicz 1672, 94). The building was finished in 1630, that is, long after Paul’s death in 1618. One more monument belonged to this epoch and was associated with the name of Paulo Romano: this is a chapel of the Campiani family, local burghers of Italian origin. The chapel was founded in the late sixteenth century by the head of the family, who arrived in Lviv holding a doctorate from an Italian university. He had some personal relationships with Paulo Romano. Stylistic analysis of the chapel architecture allowed for establishing Paulo’s authorship also in this case: its façade had a clear three-level horizontal division (characteristic for Italian models applied in Lviv) and diamond rustication on the basement. The upper level is separated by a frieze adorned with rosettes and lion heads, a favorite type of stone decoration applied in almost all of Paulo’s works,



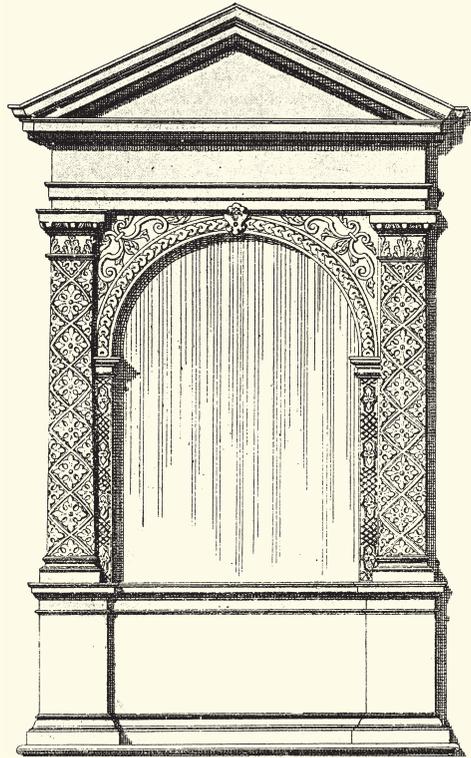


FIGURE 4
Element of the synagogue architecture (after Loziński 1901)

as in the Dormition church or St. Andrew's church. Stone reliefs with biblical scenes, allegoric images and epitaphs were added later by Johan Pfister, a sculptor of German origin who arrived in Lviv around 1612 (Liubchenko 1981, 139).

Paolo Romano was invited to work outside Lviv as for example, in Jesupol, where he built the church of the Dominican friary commissioned by count Potocki in 1598 (totally rebuilt in the eighteenth century) (Vuytsyk 1982, 97). Just to show how many-sided was the talent of Paulo Romano, one has to mention his involvement in issues related to the town's defence system in 1614, when the urban government – being dissatisfied with the ideas offered by foreign engineers –, organized a commission of local specialists. With his death, a brilliant epoch of Lviv Renaissance architecture was practically over.

Although after the death of Peter Barbon and Paolo Romano there was no longer any equally talented Italian artist, many masters contin-

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ued their works in Lviv. Documents mentioned *Paulus Italus murator de ducatu Clamensi*, called Paul Shchasny ‘the Lucky’ (again a local nickname received after entering the guild) who in 1585 received Lviv citizenship. This master undertook so many works at the same time that his envious colleagues accused him of being in violation of the rule that no architect should take more than two jobs simultaneously. Such complaints did not deter him from becoming a *zechmeister* (the head of a guild) in 1585, (Loziński 1901, 41). The Lviv Jewish community invited Paul ‘the Lucky’ to build a synagogue commissioned by Israel Nachmanovich: a small structure hidden between houses in the Jewish district of Lviv. The synagogue, popularly called ‘Golden Rose,’ was destroyed in the 1940s, but some drawings and photos reveal its architectural features, quite archaic and modest in fact. The most interesting element was a kind of a stone altar built in the form of a porch and decorated with carved stone ornaments (fig. 4). Paul’s authorship was confirmed in the court case (1604–1606), where he was summoned as a witness: the architect declared he built the synagogue and a house for a certain Mark, and everything that was on the site near the town wall. The litigation was about the place of a Jesuit church and *collegium* for the newly arrived Jesuit order. The King endowed the Catholic order with the site within the Jewish quarter. Justifying his action with the fact that there was no royal permission for constructing a synagogue, he confiscated the building and gave it into the Jesuits’ possession. The Jewish community solved the problem by paying 4000 *zloty* of compensation. Of some advantage was also the relatively small size of the site, apparently too small to build the impressive edifice planned by Jesuits. A legend existed that tells about a beautiful Jewish girl, Golden Rose (her name was given to this monument later), who sacrificed her life in order to save the synagogue from devastation (Bevz 2008, 99–100). The Jesuits moved to another part of the town, constructing the first example of Baroque church architecture there during the 1610–1630s. Giacomo Briano, a learned Jesuit architect, arrived from Rome to supervise the construction of this monument designed similarly to Roman Il Jesu church (Zhuk 2005, 106). This three-nave basilica, 41 m long and 26 m high, is the greatest church in the town, and another monument built by an Italian master, though in Baroque style.



Starting from the two last decades of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, town documents contained numerous names of masters of Italian origin as for instance *Jacobus Italus murator de Regazzolis a civitate Clauina/Claino* (1574), *Martinus de Muralto* (near Lugano) *murator Italus* (1580), *Bernardus Francoson Venetianus murator* (1575), [207] *Zaccarius Castello de Lugano Nobilis Serenissimi Regis Poloniae Sigismundi III architectus* (1593), *Caspar de Casparino* (1597), *Pietro Caracci* (1605), or *Dominicus Sol de Vétulis* (1608), *Nicolaus Silvestri de Bormio Valtellino* (1628) (Loziński 1901, 79). However, their names are all that we know, and there is no source found so far that would help to connect the names to concrete monuments in the town. One can assume that some of them could be architects of anonymous Renaissance buildings, chapels or even architectural decorations still preserved in Lviv, but private houses of urban dwellers represented a particular field of their activity.

In sixteenth-seventeenth century Lviv there were two types of private stone building: a standard type marked by a narrow façade with three windows, when the size of a façade was determined by the measure of standard taxed lots; and a palace-type usually twice larger (with six windows) located on two joint lots. The latter type is represented by the already mentioned palace of Korniakt. However, it is known that there were more palaces, such as the palace of the Campiani family and that of the Latin Archbishop, both located on Market Square and not preserved till today; the palace of Georg Gutteter on Market Square 18, built in the late sixteenth century and heavily rebuilt in the eighteenth (Melnyk 2008, 129). Recognizing its value for the splendor and beauty of the town (*magno sumptu et impendio pro splendore et ornamento urbis extractam*), King Sigismundus Augustus even freed Gutteter's palace from duties of hospitality (*ad hospitacione*) in 1553 as is evident from *Acta Consularia* of Lviv (Loziński 1901, 82). Among the best preserved 'standard size' private houses built in the Renaissance style and attributed to Italian masters, one can mention the house of Dominic Hepner, a doctor, who built his house on Market Square (no. 28) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its structure and the ground floor with curved-stone doorways were preserved in their original forms, despite reconstructions of the period 1763–1765, when buttresses were added to the façade. The façade preserved its clear

horizontal division that was typical for Italian models in Lviv, as for instance in Bandinelli's house or Kampiani chapel.

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Burghers were able to form their own understanding of beauty and were eager to adopt the new aesthetics into everyday life. For instance, Sophia Hannel was very much concerned with the splendor of her new building ('The Black House'), talking proudly about it as the one 'apparently built for eternity because of its decoration' (Gębarowicz 1962, 81). In another case, town documents contained a report regarding the condition of the house owed by a certain Jadwiga from Tarlo written by a representative of urban government in 1581: an inspector noted that old the doorways and window frames (still in good condition, *bona et satis durabilia*) were exchanged for new ones, richly decorated and 'fashionable.' He noted that the new architectural details replaced the 'good old ones' only to decorate the building and with no evident necessity (*pro speciali ornamento, quam pro nulla evidenti necessitate, in locum bonorum antiquorum lapidum impositas*) (Gębarowicz 1962, 81). Here, one can notice a sign of moral criticism regarding excessive luxury and new fashion that was revealed by the trend of rebuilding and reconstructions without real need. With its high number of private buildings constructed during the second half of the sixteenth–early seventeenth century, when practically the whole central part, Market Square, was rebuilt in the Renaissance style, the case of Lviv demonstrated that rich town dwellers were a driving force in the process of adoption of the new style on a mass scale and that conspicuous consumption apparently became a sign of a status. A house in the town created a good opportunity for self-representation, for demonstration of one's social and financial status, while Italian masters gave a possibility to present one's identity in a new style. The magnificence of portals that were often built into quite modest buildings seems to be a wide-used means to compensate for a lack of space and monumentality, and to satisfy aspirations for respectable self-representations.

Renaissance churches and belfries expressed the same spirit of competition, though on the collective and not on the individual level. Each of the four main religious groups of Lviv strived to adorn their religious monuments, as great representative objects, with Renaissance elements, restyle or rebuild them in the prestigious style. For instance,



the splendid ensemble of the Orthodox church of the Virgin Mary (the Dormition Church) was often seen as an ideological response of the Eastern Rite Christians to the challenge of the Latin West and the religious enthusiasm of counter-Reformation proponents (Zhuk 2005, 105). Moreover, this was also a response to the position of the dominant Latin community that subjugated non-Catholic Christians of the town and reduced the autochthonous Orthodox population to the status of minority. Interestingly enough, the ensemble of the Dormition Church was designed by the same architect, Paolo Romano, who worked also at St. Andrew's Church of the Franciscan friary, seen as 'the most eloquent architectural manifestation of counter-Reformation spirits in Lviv (Zhuk 2005, 105). Moreover, as we already know, this master built a Renaissance arched gallery in the courtyard of the Armenian Church. In this way, ideological opponents and competitive neighbors seemed to use the same 'artistic language' in their attempt to impress and make their presence visible. Therefore, Renaissance could be interpreted in this context as an 'international language,' able to adapt to specific needs of different groups of the Lviv population and bringing a certain degree of unification into the 'plural voices' of the town's architecture.

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It is easy to notice that Renaissance architects worked not only for great representative objects (these were rare occasions), but also in the sphere of 'mass production,' that is architectural details, decorative elements, etc. (such as portals, inner doorways, window frames, etc.). From there on, young masters were tested for their skills and abilities to produce a Doric column. It is worth mentioning that this import introduced new features into the architecture of Ukraine, like the classical order system or decorative curved-stone patterns, etc. Gradually the order system and floral motifs from architecture were transferred into applied arts, in particularly to wood-curved ornaments of the iconostasis and church furniture, penetrating into more provincial workshops and indeed reaching masses of ordinary consumers. Here, one certainly agrees with P. Burke that non-Italians were not passive recipients of Italian fashion but actively 'translated' models and elements of the new style.

On the other hand, the talents of Italian 'magisters' working in Lviv

differed, but even the most gifted and proficient, as Paolo Romano or Peter Barbon, did not establish a local tradition or a school. There is not even evidence for the adoption of Italian artistic/architectural terminology in the region. For almost a century Italian architects settled and assimilated in Lviv, but no representative of the second-generation (that means their sons or pupils) produced anything significant: Lviv guild masters were soon replaced by architects of German and Dutch origin at the beginning of the seventeenth century, who were invited by Polish magnates to build Baroque edifices in the town. In this way, Renaissance architectural models brought to Lviv from the Mediterranean remained predominantly a cultural import. The 'golden age' of Renaissance culture in Lviv declined in the 1620s and this reflected a general weakening of the position of towns in the Polish Kingdom, their economic and political roles. If there was an element of social rivalry between the nobility and burghers, the latter definitely lost and this was explicitly mirrored in the architecture: after the 1620s, the magnates replaced burghers as artistic patrons in Lviv; equally, primary roles in architecture were played by architects serving the magnates and not masters of the town guilds.

CONCLUSION

The Renaissance came to this part of Europe as a royal fancy (Da Costa Kaufmann 2004, 207), and the King's court was the center from which the spirit of 'Italophilia' was radiating. Current aspirations and a suitable level of life enabled urban elites of the most important towns to enter the group of recipients of the new style that resulted in the construction of splendid Renaissance monuments in the Polish Kingdom (including also Ukrainian lands) commissioned by non-noble patrons. Perceived as an esthetically appealing novelty and up-to-date 'fashion,' Renaissance architecture appeared to be a suitable means for self-representation of the upper strata of the Lviv population; something to be used for the demonstration of one's status and advance, as became especially evident in the case of private buildings of the Lviv urban elite. Italian masters that arrived and settled in Lviv supplied a possibility to present one's identity in a new style. Their works gave evidence for the spirit of competition that could be perceived on the in-



dividual as well as on the collective level, when the magnificence of edifices represented a kind of response to a rival. Comparing Renaissance architecture constructed in Lviv by Italian masters with the prominent models in the centers of Italian Renaissance (such as Florence), one could certainly notice the provincial, 'manneristic' character of Ukrainian examples. One could even assume that a sixteenth-century process of labor migration brought here masters from northern Italy and southern Switzerland whose qualification gave them little chance to find a job at home. On the other hand, from the 'local' point of view (that is not 'from the center' but from the province itself) it is easy to notice how creative were the masters in assimilation and adaptation of imported models to local conditions. The Renaissance style brought by Italian masters represented the 'golden age' of Lviv architecture; similarly the social weight and wealth of the Lviv burghers reached its zenith in the sixteenth century: to be active in the process of reception one has to achieve a significant degree of welfare and be ready to 'renew' the life style. In this regard, the spread of Renaissance architecture was conditioned not the least by the development of towns, their economy and commercial contacts, and consequently by the well-being of town-dwellers. It is symptomatic also, that Renaissance architecture commissioned by burgers was to a great extent limited to the largest and most developed towns in the Polish kingdom like Krakow, Poznan or Lviv. Reception of the Renaissance by the urban population contributed to further dissemination of new artistic elements and for the emergence of 'mass production' of Renaissance architectural elements. However, the word 'mass production' in relation to Lviv Renaissance architecture is somewhat misleading and cannot be taken literally: the 'masses' able to indulge in the new artistic fashion belonged to urban elites and represented not at all the numerous strata in the Polish Kingdom. Rich town dwellers emulated the style of life and esthetical preferences of the Polish nobility whose 'Italophilia' introduced an eloquent example to follow. It is interesting to note how receptive were the different religious/ethnic groups (*nationes*) that formed the urban population of the town to the new stylistic trend. The Italian Renaissance, this product of Mediterranean culture, became a form of 'transnational' style in the multi-ethnic environment of Lviv. Its archi-

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[212] tectural principles and decorations were equally applicable in works commissioned by the Jewish community or by an Armenian merchant, by an Orthodox confraternity or by a Catholic monastic order. Works of the Italian masters were created simultaneously for clients of diverse cultural backgrounds, and Renaissance art could be seen as a kind of ‘unifying factor’ in the state of cultural diversity. Using the ‘linguistic metaphor’ one could note that in the broader perspective of cultural transfers and circulation of artistic models in Renaissance Europe, Lviv Renaissance architecture could be seen as ‘an example of the dialects of an international language’ (Da Costa Kaufmann 2004, 203), thus securing its place in the general European cultural heritage.

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