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**CULT OF ST. IOAN NEPOMUTSKYI IN UKRAINE IN EARLY MODERN ERA
(HISTORICAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASPECTS)**

Summary. The aim of the research. Among the total of the stored medallions, three of them are united by the same iconography. The article deals with the peculiarities of the images, their ideological load, and the influence of the religious cults on the development of the funeral culture. **The methodology of the research** is based on the principles of historicism, the systemicity, the scientism, the verification, the author's objectivity, as well as on the use of the general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization) and the special-historical (historical-genetic, historical-typological, historical-systematic) methods. **The scientific novelty** consists in the following: for the first time, on the basis of the rare finds of the religious medallions from the burials of the XVIIIth century, the poorly studied aspects of the funeral culture as the manifestation of the religious tendencies in the social life of the eastern outskirts of Rich Pospolyta (Rzecz Pospolita (Polska) – in Polish)) during a new era have been analyzed. **Conclusions.** The manufacture of the religious medallions with the image of St. I. Nepomutskyi is associated with the spread of the saint's cult in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries in the whole of Europe. The monastic orders: the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Franciscans were in the active propaganda of the cult. The devotional things, dedicated to St. I. Nepomutskyi, have not yet been the subject of a separate study. Their presence in the burial places, the location and a small amount in the collections of the funeral equipment, indicates the connection of the buried persons with the fraternal communities of St. I. Nepomutskyi. The ideological content, embodied in the cult of this holy martyr, enriched the funeral culture of the Baroque era with the new spiritual trends.

Key words: Dubno, Bernardine cathedral, crypt, burial, religious medallion, religious cult, Ioan Nepomutskyi.

**КУЛЬТ СВЯТОГО ІОАННА НЕПОМУЦЬКОГО В УКРАЇНІ
У РАНЬОМОДЕРНУ ДОБУ (ІСТОРИКО-АРХЕОЛОГІЧНИЙ АСПЕКТ)**

Анотація. Мета дослідження – розкрити особливості іконографії та ідейного змісту релігійних медальйонів із зображенням св. Іоанна Непомуцького, виявлених під час розкопок поховань у колишньому бернардинському костелі у м. Дубно; встановити значення медальйонів у контексті поширення культу святого на західних теренах України. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується

на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на основі рідкісних знахідок релігійних медальйонів з поховань XVIII ст. розглядаються слабо вивчені аспекти фунеральної культури як прояву релігійних тенденцій у суспільному житті східних окраїн Речі Посполитої у період нової доби. **Висновки.** Продукування релігійних медальйонів із зображенням св. І. Непомуцького пов'язане з поширенням у XVII–XVIII ст. культу святого на теренах усієї Європи. В активному пропагуванні культу відзначилися чернечі ордени: єзуїти, домініканці та францисканці. Девоціоналії, присвячені св. І. Непомуцькому, досі не були предметом окремого дослідження. Їхня присутність у похованнях, місце розташування і незначна кількість у колекціях поховального інвентарю, вказує на зв'язок похованих осіб з братерськими спільнотами св. І. Непомуцького. Ідейний зміст, закладений у культурі цього святого мученика, збагатив новими духовними тенденціями фунеральну культуру доби бароко.

Ключові слова: Дубно, бернардинський костел, крипта, поховання, релігійний медальйон, релігійний культ, Іоанн Непомуцький.

Problem statement. The analysis of sources and recent researches. During 1995 – 2007, the author carried out the archaeological research within the former Bernardine cathedral in Dubno, Volyn region, where the necropolis of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries was opened: the crypt was erected, the individual burial caverns under the side altars and the ground graves in the basements of the temple (Hupalo, 2007, pp. 315–336; 2007a, pp. 228–247; 2008, pp. 324–342). The obtained results showed the presence of various categories of personal objects of the Christian cult in the burial places (the so-called «devotional things» – the medallion icons, the crosses, the reliquaries, etc.), which in this context serve as an integral part of the funeral culture (Hupalo, 2005, p. 388–399; 2010, pp. 445–449; 2016, pp. 209–219; Hupalo, 2008, pp. 441–451). Still, such artifacts are the rare finds and belong to the poorly studied monuments. Among the devotional things, a special attention is paid to the religious medallions, the collection of which is represented by 18 items. The iconography of the samples is directly related to the certain dogmas of the Christianity of the Latin rite. In view of this, the medallions, as the bearers of the religious cults, reveal the ways and the means of spreading Catholicism in the bourgeois and gentry environments of the early modern period in Volyn region. This fact gives the study of this category of the funeral equipment a special topicality.

The publication's purpose. Among the total of the stored medallions, three of them are united by the same iconography. The article deals with the peculiarities of the images, their ideological load, and the influence of the religious cults on the development of the funeral culture.

Statement of the basic material. The Monastery of the Bernardines in Dubno arose owing to the foundation of Prince Janusz Ostrozky, founded in 1608 (Kantak, 1933, p. 10). The monks arrived in the town in 1614 and started building the monastery. During 1617 – 1629 the cathedral was built devoted to the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mar. In 1658 the cell building was completed. The monastery functioned until 1855, when during the Russian occupation it started to belong to the Orthodox community. In 1921 – 1928 the Bernardines returned to Dubno for a short period of time to leave it forever.

In the walls of the monastery during the XVIIIth – the beginning of the XIXth century there functioned a higher educational institution, in which, besides the theological and other disciplines, Physics, Astronomy, Optics and Geology were taught. The teaching staff included the prominent professors: Dionizii Svitkovskiy (1728 – 1731), Yan Tvardovych (1743 –

1746), Ubald Perakovskiy and Crescentii Moscalskiy (1789 – 1792). At the monastery there functioned the hospital and the elementary school. The representatives of the monastery community were repeatedly elected by the leaders of the Russian Bernardine province – the provincials or by the curators of the districts – by definition (Hupalo, 2006, pp. 515–543). Thus, the Bernardine Monastery in Dubno was one of the regional centers, where the teachings of St. Francis were intensely pulsating, where the highly educated staff for spiritual institutions were being trained, the active pastoral activities were being carried out.

In the essence of the life of Dubno Bernardines there were the western Christian values, which influenced the emergence of the certain forms of an individual devotion in the secular environment and it was clearly reflected on the funeral culture. Under conditions of the archival sources absence, the archaeological materials, extracted from the graves, reveal various aspects of the individual religious practices as an element of the Sarmatian *pompa funebris*.

In Dubno Bernardine Cathedral, for the burial purposes, first of all a great crypt was designed, where, for almost 250 years, the Bernardine monks dead bodies had been put up, as well as the dead bodies of the representatives of the local rich gentry, who distinguished themselves with special merits in the spiritual life of this community – the founders, the colitarians, the beneficiaries. Due to various circumstances, the burial place was destroyed, and there was preserved only a fraction of the funeral inventory. The most presentable category of the personal items of the Christian piety is the collection of the religious medallions, which, despite its fragmentary character, is one of the largest in Central and Eastern Europe. Most of the objects represent the samples that are often present in the burials of the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries throughout Europe – for example: the medallions with the image of St. Benedict, Ignatius Loyola, Francis Ksaveriy, Barbara and the others (Hupalo, 2015, p. 104–116). Instead, the medallions, dedicated to St. John Nepomutskyi, are very rare, in rare instances. There are only three medallions from Dubno. They are made of mosyazh, in one case, the gold plated remains are preserved. The medallions have different shapes and sizes. A characteristic feature of the medallions is a two-sided relief image, the style and modes of which represent various artistic properties of the matrices. The study of the iconographic features of the medallions reveals a layer of knowledge associated with the production and distribution of the medallions, as well as the popularization of the cult of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi. Let's consider the peculiarities of the image.

On two medallions the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is presented on the obverse. One of the items has an oval shape (24.2 x 20.5 mm, with an eye of 34.8 mm). The Saint is depicted in full face, three quarters of height (**Fig. 1, a, рис. 1, a**). The garments and their characteristic elements are carefully depicted. There is a bonnet on the head of Ioan, from which the long hair is seen, the chin is framed by a short beard. The Saint is dressed in soutane with a rounded chest on which roketa is laid, and on top of it is a mantolette. St. Ioan stands shrouded with a quiet sadness,



**Fig. 1. Religious Medallion.
Bernardine Cathedral. Dubno.
1715 –1721: a – obverse, St. I.
Nepomutskyi, b – reverse, Tongue of
I. Nepomutskyi**



Fig. 2. Religious Medallion. Bernardine Cathedral, Dubno. After 1729: a – obverse, St. I. Nepomutskyi; b – reverse, St. Barbara

form (23 x 21.5 mm, with an eye of 30.8 mm). The saint is dressed in the same garments as in the image mentioned above, but in a simpler and schematic version (**Fig. 2, a, рис. 2, a**). Some other differences are also traced. Ioan holds a small cross with the Crucifix on his right shoulder, pressed against his chest; he holds the palm branch in the left hand directed outward; there is a rounded nymb behind John's head, on which five stars are placed. The outlines of the clothes, the edges of which are conjuring up in fantasy lines, point at the style features of the era of the high baroque. Around the Holy there is the abbreviated inscription: S(ANCTVS) IOA(NNES) NEPOM(VCENVS) M(ARTYRVS) around the Saint.

The largest of the medallions, gold plated, had a rounded shape (34,1 mm in diameter, with an eye 44,1 mm). The image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is placed on the reverses². The image is executed with a careful drawing of a hair bundle, the hand fingers, the thick folds of drapery of clothing (**Fig. 3, b, рис. 3, б**). The attention is drawn to the fact that, despite the readable elements of the outfit, the overall clothes are reflected very schematically. In addition to the bonnet on the head, it can be argued that Ioan is dressed in soutane, apparently, roketa and mantolette. Instead, from the top of the mantolette there is the fabric depicted, hanging over the left shoulder of the Saint and is draped over his chest. The fabric hangs from the right forearm. The head of the Saint is turned to the right and is bent down slightly. The view is directed to the cross (without the Crucifix), which rests on the right palm, and the lower edge is supported by the left hand. The lowered eye-lids give the face of the Saint a sad expression, but in general, the image is not saturated with the tragedy of martyrdom. Ioan's head is surrounded by five stars. There is a shortened inscription around the figure of the Saint: S(ANCTVS) IO(ANNES) NEPOMVC(ENVS) M(ARTYRVS).

The iconography of the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is directly related to the history of his life. The majority of the researchers believe that he was born between 1340 and 1350 in the area of Pomuk near Prague. Since 1370 he has taken tonsure and as a clergyman in Prague Courland began a gradual career growth in the spiritual field. Ioan acquired a good education. He began his studies at the newly opened Prague University of Law (1381) and continued his studies at the universities of Bologna and

with his eyes lowered to the bottom. In the left hand, a large cross with the Crucifix is kept; the lower arm of the cross is supported with the right hand in which he holds the palm branch. On the edge of the medallion, in its upper part, around the figure of the Saint, there is a shortened inscription: S (ANCTVS) I (OANNES) NEPOM (VCENVS). On the reverse, in the center of the medallion's surface, there is a picture of a cut tongue surrounded by a glow; in the lower part of the medallion's plane, under the tongue there are the clouds in the form of the crescent-shaped cavities.

Another medallion, where the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is presented on the obverse¹ – the smallest and almost round

¹ On the reverse the image of St. Barbara is depicted.

² On the obverse represents the image of Jesus the Nazarene of the Redeemed is represented.

Padua (1382 – 1387), where he received PhD Degree in church law. Having returned to his homeland, he occupied various positions (canonical, archdeacon), and then – a general vicar at the Prague Bishop Johann from Jenstein (Johannes von Jenstein). As a doctor of the church law, while protecting the interests of the Church, Ioan Nepomutskyi was in solidarity with the bishop who found himself in confrontation with the Czech King Vaclav IV³. The situation with Ioan was further complicated by the fact that he was a confessor of Queen Ioanna and kept the mystery of her confession. For the defense of the faith and the rights of the Church, Ioan was imprisoned and subjected to a cruel torture, after which he was executed in accordance with the decree of the King on the night of March, 20 to March 21, 1393. At the neck of the prisoner, a millstone was tied up, they bound his hands and feet, a wooden gag was stuck in his mouth and he was thrown from the bridge of the Vltava River. The body taken from the bottom of the river, was buried by the canonists later in the cathedral of St. Vita. In 1733 – 1736 in one of the altars there was a silver mausoleum arranged of the authorship of A. Corradini and I. E. Fischer von Erlach (Adamek, 1982, p. 373). This death for the faith turned I. Nepomutskyi into a holy martyr.

The after death history of Ioan Nepomutskyi is rich in miracles and wonders. Because of the protests of the Hussites and Protestants, which broke out the whole Czech territory, the canonization of Ioan was not carried out in the Middle Ages. However, despite this, his cult has developed to the enormous proportions, covering all the Czech territory and the lands of the Habsburg Empire. Only in 1729, Pope Benedict XIII, added the name of Ioan Nepomutskyi to the saints. In general, in the XVIII th century in addition to Prague, Vienna was the prominent center of the holy cult, he was worshiped in the archdiocese of Salzburg and Meissen. The special commemorations were also given to the Saint in Bavaria, Italy, France. The cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi spread to the territory of Poland, reaching its eastern outskirts. The cult did not have such a scale as in Austria or southern Germany, but remained popular for many centuries. The evidence of the viability of the cult is also its numerous traces and manifestations in the territory of modern Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine.

Officially St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is a patron of the Czech Republic, Poland, Austria, Bavaria. The prayer is given to him during floods, he cares for crossings across the rivers, the bridges, therefore the figure of the Saint was often installed on the bridges, near the water. He is considered to be the guardian of sailors, fishermen, rafters, millers and, in general, all those who are connected with labour on water, as well as pilgrims and dying; he protects against harassment; he protects crops from flood, storm, hail.

The main moments of Ioan Nepomutskyi's life found a symbolic reflection in the iconography, to which the sculptors, the painters, the graphic artists of the Baroque era addressed (Adamek, 1982, p. 378). As a rule, they represented him in a static position, which was an expression of the apogee of martyrdom or in the dynamics of the movement that bordered on a religious ecstasy. The majority of the images, despite their invariance, mostly followed the first model, a monument to Ioan Nepomutskyi, established in 1683 at Charles Bridge in Prague. The monument is made of bronze in Nuremberg in the workshop of Jerome Gerold in accordance with the project of Johann Brockoff (Knapiński, 2002, p. 117). In this case, the characteristic features of the sculptural image of Ioan Nepomutskyi were: priestly clothes, the cross and the palm branch. The bridge across the Vltava river was often represented in the background. The same tendencies are reflected in the religious medalery.

³ After a relatively calm reign of Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg, which was marked by a harmonious relationships with the Cathedral, the son of Vaclav IV came to the throne, who sought to implement the policy of a strong centralized royal power. As a result, this led to a decrease in the previously established freedoms, independence and the rights of the Cathedral and, of course, aroused a conflict between the king and the bishop of Prague, who was supported by Ioan Nepomutskyi (Adamek, 1982, pp. 371–372).

On the above-described medallions from Dubno the figure of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is represented in clothes corresponding to the position he occupied at the time of his death, namely, as a representative of the supreme clergy. There was the ermine mantolette put on the soutane as the sign of jurisdiction, as a choir outfit and the sign of a high distinction in the church hierarchy (Adamek, 1982, p. 378). The palm branch is a symbol of the martyrs. The cross, as a symbol of the remission of the sins, with the Crucifix reminds of the special piety of the Saint to the crucified Jesus, when he prayed daily for a long time, indulging into the experience of the Passion of the Lord.

The comparative characteristics of the medallions showed some differences in their iconography. So, there is no nymb around Ioan's head on one medallion, although there is the inscription «sanctus» (**Fig. 1, a; пус. 1, a**). This may indicate that the medallion was made before the canonization of I. Nepomutskyi. The key to understanding is the image on the reverse, where the cut Saint's tongue is depicted. The tongue acts as a symbol of silence, that is to say, to preserve the secrets of confession, in which Ioan was firm in spite of the tortures. In view of this, the tongue is surrounded by glare and is represented among the clouds, which are the symbol of the heavenly estate. The content of this composition is connected with the events of 1715 when, in connection with the preparation for the canonization of Ioan Nepomutskyi, the exhumation of his remains was carried out. The surveys of the remains showed that in a good condition the brain mass and tongue were preserved, which were put in the reliquary (Knapiński, 2002, p. 117, No. 2478; Kondraciuk, 2010). It is possible that this extraordinary event gave an impact to the creation of a separate medallion, which is most likely made somewhere in the 1715 – 1721, that is, on the eve of the beatification, but unquestionably before the canonization that took place in 1729.

A distinctive feature of another medallion (with the identity of the rest attributes) is that there is the nymb behind the head of St. I. Nepomutskyi. There are five stars on the nymb. These stars are connected directly with the moment of the death of the Saint. Thus, the Archbishop Ioan Einstein of Prague, in the letter to Pope Boniface XI, describing the execution of Ioan Nepomutskyi, noted the following: when the body of the Saint was absorbed by the waters of the river Vltava, five stars appeared in the form of a crown above the surface of the river, indicating the location of the Martyr (Adamek, 1982, p. 373). At the same time, these stars are endowed with a deeper ideological content in iconography. So, each of them means a separate letter in the word «tacui» – «I was silent», as well as these stars stand for five

wounds of the Christ. In addition, the stars serve as a symbol of the five virtues of the holy martyrs – such as piety, humility, secrecy, zeal, and mercy (Zawada, 2014, p. 50).

Significantly different from the above described medallions, there is the medallion, on which around the head of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi five stars are depicted, which form a kind of a nymb (**Fig. 3, b; пус. 3, б**). In the hands of the Saint there is the cross without the Crucifix, which in this case symbolizes



Fig. 3. Religious Medallion. Bernardine Cathedral. Dubno. After 1729: a – obverse, Jesus the Nazarene was redeemed; b – reverse, St. I. Nepomutskyi

suffering. In addition, there is the fabric on the shoulder over the mantolette, it is very similar to the coat in the images of the martyrs. The coats, especially red, were also symbols of suffering.

A separate issue is the problem of the time and the place of making Dubno medallions. It should be emphasized that all three subjects are characterized by a skillful execution. As a result, the medallions are characterized by a high artistic level of images, indicating the creation of the talented medallion makers. The absence of the mark of a moulder does not allow identifying these products with specific workshops. In this situation, the image of St. Barbara on the reverse of one of the medallions (**Fig. 2, b**) is of a great importance. A similar image of the holy martyr is known to be found on one object of T. Rewoliński's collections (Rewoliński, 1887, tab. III, 83). On this medallion the date was carved «1773» under the figure of St. Barbara, and on the obverse, under the image of Czestochowa Mother of God – the place of manufacture «ROMA». The same medallion, which unlike the previous one has the date «1775», was found in Pultusk (Kotyszko, 2007, p. 75, ryc. 3). These data allow, with some caution, to speak of the Roman origin of Dubno medallion and date it to the 70-ies of the XVIIIth century. This fact is not negated by the chronology of the common artifacts found in the spiritual crypt of Dubno Cathedral, from which the above mentioned medallion originates. At the same time, the remains of the coffins with the cut off date of death: 1780, 1781, 1788 acquire the defining value.

Consequently, iconography, the artistic properties of the images, a high level of moulding skill, as well as the flawlessness of the inscriptions in Latin, typical of all Dubno medallions, are those features that correspond to the requirements according to which the devotional things were produced. The most prominent center, from where the devotional things of this quality, as the bearers of a religious worship, spread and reached the most remote corners of the Christian oikumen, was undoubtedly Rome, where the high-level medallion workshops functioned⁴. During the XVIIIth – XIXth centuries Italian artistic centers reached the peak of the medallion art⁵.

From the moment of the canonization of Ioan Nepomutskyi, his cult became widespread throughout Poland, becoming one of the central cults in the religious life of the society. Particularly numerous traces of the worship of the Saint are known in the region of Roztochya and the surrounding areas (Kondraciuk, 2010). Undoubtedly, the orbits of the spread of the cult of this martyr were drawn the territories lying on the border with the crown lands, the so-called crests – modern Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine (Nepomuki kresuw). It should be noted that the promotion of the cult played an important role in the first printed works devoted to the biography of Ioan Nepomutskyi. The oldest ones appeared long before the canonization: 1716 in Krakow, 1721 in Poznań, 1726 in Vilnius, 1728 in Toruń. From the time of the celebrations of Ioan's recruiting to the Saints there were some works published in Krakow and Warsaw (1729), Branew and Toruń (1731), Czestochowa (1744 – 1745, 1756), Poznań (1753), Kalisz (1757), Łowicz (1761), Przemyśl (1790). In Ukraine, such works first appeared in Lviv (1740, 1753), and later in Berdychiv (1761) and Dubno (1787) (Warchałowski, 2003, pp. 154–155). In addition, in Dubno in the second half of the XVIIIth

⁴ The activity of the workshops that worked in the XVIIIth century on the territory of Poland gradually faded away, so in the XVIIIth century, according to researchers, in the kingdom there was no significant medallion maker. Instead, the devotional medallions were manufactured in the territories of Germany, Austria, Spain (Samek, 1984, p. 242, Koiyszko, 2013, p. 246).

⁵ The group of the most prominent medallion makers included, for example: Gaspar Morone, Gaspar Mola, the Hamerrani family, Franczesko and Ignacio Bianki and many others.

century the cathedral was built, dedicated to Ioan Nepomutskyi⁶, which makes it possible to view the city as one of the centers for the spread of the Saint's cult.

The cathedral honors I. Nepomutskyi, primarily as a defender of the mystery of the holy confession, therefore the holy martyr represented a pattern of sanctity. The monastic orders propagated such a role of I. Nepomutskyi, of which the most active were primarily the Jesuits (Hochleiter, 2009, p. 128). The cult of Ioan Nepomutskyi was of a particular respect in the Dominican and all branches of the Franciscan orders (Sinkevych, 2009, p. 154). The geography of the propagation of the cult is reflected in the construction of cathedrals dedicated to Ioan Nepomutskyi (for example: Dolynivka near Stryi, Bilolivka, Lyubar, Zavaliiika, Mizoch in Volyn region, Zamikhiv, Markova, Stara Sinyava, Zbryzh, Boyana, Turilche in Podillya), the separate altars in the temples (however St. Andrew's Bernardine Cathedral and St. Anne's Augustinian Cathedral in Lviv, the Cathedral of the Ascension of the Blessed Virgin in Vynnyky, the Cathedral of St. Bartholomew in Drohobych, the Cathedral in Ostroh, the Jesuit Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul in Lutsk) and the fresco painting (Jesuit Cathedral of St. Peter and Paul in Lviv, parish Cathedral in Navariya, Tadany in Lviv region and many others) (Nepomuki Kresouw ...). However, in the second half of the XVIIIth – first half of the XIXth century a mass phenomenon there became the single figures of Ioan Nepomutskyi, made of stone or wood, often covered with the polychrome paintings⁷. They were installed on the pedestals of the open air or under a peculiar coating that had the appearance of a chapel. To this day, a significant part of such figures have already been lost, but those that have been preserved show the extraordinary popularity of the Saint's cult. They were located mainly at the crossroads (for example: Lopatyn, Ushnya, Sukhodil, Mostyska) and near the bridges through streams, rivers, dams (Lviv, Lubin Velykyi, Mostyska, Zbarazh, Ivanychi, Holoby) (Nepomuki Kresouw ...). The mechanism of propagation of the cult of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi is connected directly with the emergence and spread of the fraternities of his name and the transfer of the parts of the remains of the Saint as relics. It should be noted that the oldest brotherhood in Poland arose in 1733 at the cathedral of St. Ann in Warsaw, as well as in Wskhow; later on there were organized the communities at other spiritual centers: 1736 – in Toruń, 1748 – in Górká Klyashtorna, 1753 – in Kalish and Kozmin. The first wave of the emergence of the fraternity of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi also came to Ukraine, where in 1737 a fraternity arose in Lviv at the Trinitarian cathedral, in 1753 in Zaslav at the Bernardine cathedral, and in the 1960-ies of the XVIIIth century – in Annapol and Berdychiv (Warchałowski, 2003, p. 160). In general, in the XVIIIth century in Poland there was a significant number of fraternities, especially in Bernardine cathedrals (Kuźmiak, 1997, p. 813). As a rule, the fraternity had a place in a cathedral, which was marked by the altar dedicated to the Saint. The activities of the fraternal community were regulated by the statute, the content of which consisted of the definition of the moral virtues, the definition of rights and responsibilities, the establishment of release rules, the compilation of texts of prayers, hymns, songs to St. I. Nepomutskyi.

⁶ The foundation of the first wooden temple (the so-called «Yannivskyi») was founded in 1612 during the reign of the Duke Janusz Ostrozky. As of 1656, the temple was still in the state of construction, which testifies to the testament of Barbara Yaikovsky: «... do końcioia Farskiego Dubieckiego pikset zi.p. na zbudowanie Końcioia» (in Polish) (APBK (Archiwum Prowincji, Bernardynów w Krakowie), rkps RGP-b-3, s. 339). The Cathedral is dedicated to St. Jan (John) – the patron of the founder. In 1725 the temple was burned during the storm. The construction of a new building of the cathedral initiated the later Bishop Jan Chrysostom Kachkovsky. The time for the construction of a major building, which occurred after the canonization of Ioan Nepomutskyi, obviously influenced the dedication of the temple to the holy Martyr.

⁷ A wonderful example of this sculpture survived in the village of Kotsuriv near Lviv.

It is known that the members of the oldest fraternity of St. John Nepomutskyi, founded in 1706 in Prague by Christan Florian Heger von Hegern at the Chapel of St. John of Nepomutskyi at the monastery of Emmaus, wore the medallions with the image of the Saint (Kult i patronat Jana Nepomucena ...). There is reason to believe that this tradition has become one of the hallmarks of the members of this fraternity throughout Europe. The proof of this fact are the medallions with iconography dedicated to J Nepomutskyi, found in the burials. It should be noted that the social section of the fraternities shows the membership of the representatives of various social groups: first of all, different rank of the clergy and the educated strata of the society, gradually covering the gentry, artisans, merchants and the others (Warchałowski, 2003, p. 162). The medallions found in the under altar crypt in Dubno, undoubtedly belonged to the representatives of the social elite.

At the same time, it should be emphasized that among the considerable number of the medallions found today in the archaeological research of the burials (both soil and crypts), the samples devoted to St. I. Nepomutskyi, are still rare. For example, two medallions with a depiction of the Saint are known in the graves at the cemetery at the cathedral of St. Nicolas in Maniowy in Pidhallya, where the objects are laid in the hands of the deceased (Chudziński, 1998, pp. 76–77, 103–104, tab. XXV, 52, XXVI, 15). An interesting medallion comes from the grave at the Cathedral of All Saints in Gliwice, Silesia. It is made of a thin plaque in the form of a tear, on the obverse there is depicted a half figure of the Saint, and on the reverse – there is the Saint's tongue surrounded by the glow, over which two angels hold the crown. The medallion was near the hip of the deceased, near the placement of rosary beads, which, according to the authors of the research, belonged to (Furmanek, & Michnik, 2004, p. 402, 410, ryc. 2, 4). Several items are known from the necropolis in Pomoria. One medallion comes from a burial place in the cathedral of St. Jacob the Apostle in Lembork (Kołyszko, 2013, pp. 93–94, ryc 46–47). The medallion with the image of St. I. Nepomutskyi was found in only one of the many graves at the parochial cemetery in Starogard of Gdańsk. Its place on the neck of the deceased indicates that the subject hanged on the chest of the deceased (Aleksandrowicz, 2017). The discovery draws attention in the cathedral in Tchev as well. There, in the family crypt of the Charlinskyis (where the rector of the cathedral and the two canoniks – Varminskyi and from Wroclaw were buried), one medallion of St. I. Nepomutskyi was found (Zieliński, 2011). One «Sviatoianskyi» medallion was found in Prague, among the things found in a group grave near the cathedral of St. Trinity (Beranová, 1989, pp. 271–274, appr. 2). In Lviv, during the research of the crypt of St. Kasymyr Cathedral only one medallion with the image of St. I. Nepomutskyi was found among the destroyed burials (Nepomuki Kresouw ...).

If we proceed from the fact that the members of the fraternity of St. I. Nepomutskyi had the duty to wear the medallions with the Saint's image during their lives, we can assume that they could be buried with them. Although this fact was not obligatory. At the same time, a certain connection of the cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi with a funeral culture points at the content, which is endowed with one of the attributes of holiness of Ioan Nepomutskyi, namely the cross with the Crucifix. This cross has a special, clearly defined form. Having it during the moment of death and addressing to the cross the last prayers, one could obtain a complete remission of sins (Scheer, 1990, p. 13). Therefore, as Janusz Hochleiter points out: «Katolicy duchowni upatrywali w nim swojego szczególnego patrona, poprzez jego orędownictwo nad sprawowaniem sakramentu pokuty» (Hochleiter, 2009, p. 135). In this context, the presence of the figures of St. Ioan of Nepomutskyi becomes clear at the

public cemeteries (for example: in Lviv at the Lychakiv cemetery at the grave of Ioanna the Cavanna, which dates back to 1874, in Navariya, Medenychi, Kostyiev, Komarno, Pustomyty-Lisnevychi, Zbarazh). Often, the figure of the Saint was erected near the cathedrals, where in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries the cemeteries functioned, which as a rule, were liquidated during the XIXth century (for example: in Lviv – the Cathedrals of St. Mary Magdalen and St. Anne, in Pidhirtsi – St. Joseph Cathedral, in Horodok – the Exaltation of the Holy Cross Cathedral, in Kamyanets-Buzsky district – the Cathedral of the Savior, in Kotsuriv – the Cathedral of St. Simeon, in Soroky Lvivski – the Cathedral of the Lord's Revelation, in Turka – St. Nicolas Cathedral, in Pidkamin – the Chapel at the Dominican Cathedral, in Leshniv – the Chapel at Bernardine Cathedral and the others). (Nepomuki Kresuw).

Conclusion. Summing up the analysis of the three medallions from Dubno, it is worth emphasizing several important points. First of all, there are the reasons to believe that the medallions with the image of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi represent the highly illustrative examples of a religious medallion making. Considering the perfect image relief, the perfect compositional plot and the impeccability of the inscriptions, such medallions could only be made in a highly professional workshop, which was most likely to function in Rome, or in one of the well-known European centers. The ways, in which the medallions were brought to Dubno, were different – they were acquired during the individual pilgrimage tours or «at home» – in the monasteries and cathedrals, especially those dedicated to St. I. Nepomutskyi. First of all, such medallions, obviously, were intended for the members of the Holy Brotherhood of Ioan Nepomutskyi. Among them the closest to Dubno there was the community that functioned at the Bernardine Monastery in Záslav. The persons buried in Dubno Bernardine Cathedral, had the «sacred» medallions, could have been the members of Záslav fraternity, as well as they could have acquired the medallion image in Dubno Cathedral of St. I. Nepomutskyi. At the same time, the attention is drawn to the fact that in Dubno medallion collection the samples with the image of I. Nepomutskyi quantitatively are less numerous than the medallions with the image of Jesuit Saints – I. Loyola and Francis Ksaveriy. This fact allows linking these medallions with the activities of the Communities of Jesus, the powerful centers of which functioned near Dubno – in Ostroh (1624 – 1773) and Lutsk (1608 – 1773) (Shevchenko, 2002, pp. 86–92). It is more likely that in spreading of the cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi the Jesuits, like the Dominicans and the Franciscans, relied primarily on the educated strata of the society. The numerous traces of the Cult of St. I. Nepomutskyi (the temples of his name, the altars, the fresco paintings) show a deep-rooted belief in the patronage of the Saint, which was a special manifestation in the roadside chapels and figures. Instead, the presence of the «sacred» medallions in the burials is a phenomenon that is based on the theological and philosophical reflections on issues of life and death, on the sacrament of repentance, a spiritual purification on the way to the God. The presence of such a medallion as a funeral inventory is not just an element of the ritual, but the introduction of a deeper and thinner understanding of the meaning of the last repentance on the threshold to an eternal salvation in the funeral culture.

Perspectives of further research. In addition to the medallions analyzed, the collection of the devotional things in Dubno consists of the numerous products that contain the information on other religious cults, spread in the early modern days, both in Western Europe and in Rzecz Rzeczypospolita. These categories of the funeral equipment are an invaluable source for knowing the mentality of a religious solum.

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for illuminating the appearance and spread of the cult of St. Ioan Nepomutskyi, as a component of a religious culture in the territory of Western Ukraine in the XVIIth – XVIIIth centuries.

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