Polish Baroque European Contexts

Warszawa 2012
Polish Baroque,
European Contexts

Proceedings of an International Seminar
held at
The Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies “Artes Liberales”
University of Warsaw
June 27-28, 2011
Polish Baroque, 
European Contexts

Proceedings of an International Seminar 
held at
The Institute for Interdisciplinary Studies “Artes Liberales”
University of Warsaw
June 27-28, 2011

Edited by Piotr Salwa

Warszawa 2012
This book is published with the financial support from the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) of the European Commission (project 2009 – 0783/001–004 CU 7 MULT 7), and from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education (1662/Kultura/2010/7)

This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

English translations and proofreading, if not indicated otherwise, by Aleksandra Sobczak

Cover design by Paulina Popławska


Print: ZG UW 630/12
Contents

Foreword (Piotr Salwa) ........................................... 7

Barbara Milewska-Ważbińska, Latin in the Public Space of Baroque Europe ........................................ 9

Piotr Salwa, Ortensio Lando and His Paradoxical Strategies . . . 19

Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, Formative Role of Translation in Polish Baroque Culture ........................................ 31

Fernando Sánchez-Marcos, Poland and Spain in the Baroque Age: Some Suggestions for a Comparative Study. ............ 45

Wojciech Tygielski, Foreign Educational Travel of Residents of the Old Polish-Lithuanian Res Publica .................... 61

Diana Carrió-Invernizzi, The Viceregal Court of Naples: Ceremony and Representation of the Spanish Viceroy in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century ........................................ 77

Elisabeth Tiller, Augustus the Strong’s Polish Spaces of Representation ........................................... 95

Aneta Markuszewska, «L’Amicizia d’Hercole e Theseo» (1707) – a Serenata from the Roman Court of Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska ................................................................. 127

Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka, Echoes of the Viennese Victory (1683) in Italian Music of the Final Decades of the 17th Century: John III Sobieski as a Hero of Religious Dialogue and Oratorio – Study of Selected Cases ........................................... 139
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piotr Wilczek</td>
<td>Conversions and Transformations in the Lives and Works of Polish Baroque Poets</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maciej Ptaszyński</td>
<td>Jonasz Szlichtyng (1592-1661) – the Forgotten Arian Theologian of the 17th Century?</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francesco Benigno</td>
<td>Baroque Festivals in Sicily: Between Heritage and Invention</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniele Di Bartolomeo</td>
<td>Giants in European Festivals and Processions: A Short Note</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthias Müller</td>
<td>Baroque Sights of Western Pomerania</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enrico Wagner</td>
<td>Special Features of Baroque Architecture in Schleswig-Holstein</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michal Wardzyński</td>
<td>Flemish Trend in Schleswig-to-Königsberg Baroque Sculpture in Marble and Stone in the Second Half of the 17th Century</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Renata Sulewska</td>
<td>Maarten de Vos and Polish Early Modern Art</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX: Renata Sulewska</td>
<td>The Catalog of Polish Works of Art Based on Maarten de Vos’s Compositions</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At first glance, the essays presented in this volume may appear heterogeneous and lacking a focus that unites all the issues it addresses. Instead, they seem to offer spotlights on some significant questions of European baroque culture and its heritage, geographically spanning from Spain to Poland and Lithuania, and from North Germany to South Italy, across different fields such as history of art, music, confessional problems, travels, intellectual circuits and political propaganda. This is due to the nature of a larger project these studies derive from, namely the ENBaCH – European Network for Baroque Cultural Heritage. The project is an initiative of eight European universities that receive promotion and financial support from the European Commission through the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA), Culture Programme 2007-2013. Further details and materials are available at www.enbach.eu.

ENBaCH aims to disseminate historical consciousness not only among scholars and academics, but also among school teachers, secondary school students, life-long education groups, policy makers, and a wider public. Its goal is to present baroque European peoples and societies, with their different political, religious and cultural histories, as the outcomes of contacts, exchanges, mutual influences, rivalries, challenges and conflicts. When international trade, the circulation of scholars, artists, craftsmen, and a regular postal system unified the European area as a whole, assimilation and differentiation were the two ultimate poles in a history of multiple encounters, exchanges, rivalries, and collaborations. Shared ways of living, common social - and sometimes even geographical - environments, similar patterns of education and behavior did indeed unify social groups divided by political boundaries.

The reconstruction of the actual circulation of cultural models in all these fields, its development and its spread in very large geographic areas will show the interplay between original elaboration and successive
reinterpretation of received patterns. It will also show the relationships that, since the 16th-17th centuries, have existed between distant regions such as Italy and Poland or Germany and Spain. The authors and the editor hope this volume will help to achieve this aim.

P.S.

Warsaw, September 2012
The fact that baroque heritage has been hardly discussed in a comprehensive and integrated way is a weak point of culture studies carried out until recently. For instance, contemporaneous Latin writing was studied separately. It seems that this should be largely attributed to the fact that Latin scripture research was chiefly conducted by philologists approaching this particular part of baroque heritage from a philological angle, and employing methods usually applied to the analysis of classical texts. Nonetheless, scholars investigating other aspects of baroque culture paid little heed to language, much less to Latin, albeit widely used at the time. Fortunately, much has changed in this respect, as testified in outstanding performed by the following art historians: Artur Badach, Juliusz Chrościcki, Mariusz Karpowicz, and Stanisław Mossakowski. A great deal of recent research, including symbol-related projects, among others, confirmed a departure from formerly used practices. A keen awareness of unity, emblematic of ancient culture, has proven increasingly manifest in latest studies. Furthermore, Latin baroque heritage has lived to see not only its philological analyses, but also certain conceptualisations from the historical and social standpoints. Notably, the implementation of Latin throughout the baroque period stemmed largely from practical reasons – in the 17th and in the first half of 18th century, Latin continued to serve as a communication tool. Hence its crucial role as the chief language of science was incontestable. Nonetheless, it ought to be remembered that schools taught not only reading, writing and speaking skills, but also poetry writing in Latin. No wonder that many a young man, discouraged by their tutors, aspired to equal old masters, or even to surpass them. Since many renowned authors wrote in Latin throughout their creative time, their works should by no means be conceived merely as an introduction to ‘true’ vernacular literature. Notably, in Catholic countries Latin
was the language of Church, and was as a result associated with direct intimacy within the *sacrum*, as manifested in Latin religious poetry.

When debating the use of Latin in baroque culture, one cannot limit resources to such obsolete items as manuscripts or prints. One has to come to terms with the fact that since the times of ancient Rome, Latin words went hand in hand with graphic representations and architectural structures. This is why the fact that Latin survived in public space until the 18th century does not come across as surprising. The fact proves to be of high importance, given that whereas baroque literature, for all its abundance, is these days restricted to the domain of specific libraries, animating the interest of hardly anybody but experts, Latin inscriptions remain visible on facades of churches and secular buildings. Placed in shared public space, they continue to serve as an open invitation for spectators to become co-authors of their meaning. One should not disregard the fact that in baroque times, the correlation of literary text with its graphic representation was achieved via such genres as emblem and elogy. Embedded Latin words were on display on architectural ornaments, plates and medals. The Eulogia style characterised by *argutia* (keenness) proved applicable in numerous panegyric and sepulchral inscriptions. Latin inscriptions were later incorporated into modern works of art. The famous apopthegm *Et in Arcadia ego* is noteworthy: a component of Guercino’s painting, it was later used in two images by Nicholas Poussin. In baroque Latin, inscriptions of the kind could be deciphered by sovereigns, scholars, clerics, or even by nobility and educated bourgeoisie. In certain parts of the country (e.g. in Silesia), Latin managed to rise above social conventions, reaching peasantry as well as women. It could be argued that such inscriptions could be read and interpreted more widely in baroque than in renaissance Europe, the main reason being the popularisation of formal education in the 17th century. The elitist education system predominant in the renaissance period, offering schooling in three ancient languages (Hebrew, Greek and Latin), was replaced by a system focusing on the teaching of speaking and writing skills in Latin. Hence, with the increasing popularity of Latin – especially in churches – inscriptions in the language were no longer incomprehensible. Together with paintings and sculptures, they formed a coherent artistic programme, apart from serving as an ornament of sorts. Armando Petrucci would speak of the “high density of exhibited verbal signs inside confined spaces of baroque churches”.¹

---

Notably, these consisted largely of epitaphs in Latin, not only in prose but also in poetic form.²

Graduates of Protestant gymnasiums and Jesuit colleges dispersed all over Europe made use of their command of Latin by devising a ceremonial language for various celebrations, routinely refined by occasional speeches and poems. Maxims and aphorisms quoted in the tongue of Cicero were always welcome at religious ceremonies, as well as state and private celebrations. Latin words accompanied architectural artworks and paintings as a complement of artistic ideas. The popularity of celebratory ornaments exhibited on different occasions all over Europe inspired, as assumed by Petrucci, the trend of engraving inscriptions on marble slabs, in a manner making slabs resemble non-durable materials used in baroque occasional ornamentation.³

The descriptions of coronations, inquests, ingresses, marriages or funerals are known from numerous manuscripts and publications, faithfully conveying celebratory proceedings. Thanks to such forms, ephemeral epigraphy has survived. It was assumed that full understanding of the artistic programme of occasional decorations arrived with the reading of inscription. Deciphering the code through unravelling literary references was a challenge for spectators. The effort, however, paid, for interpreters were able to delve further into the content of a given artwork. Latin inscriptions were not aimed at verbalising visual arts, but rather complementing it, intensifying expression and amplifying sensations.

Gates and obelisks were part and parcel of occasional architecture. They were ornamented with symbolic graphic representations, as well as with carefully chosen maxims and Latin poems. Such practice was considerably influenced by the abovementioned symbolism. The latter, in turn, was associated with the flourishing of graphics, conspicuous in the 17th century, and gradually evolving into a self-sufficient discipline of art. Plates were widely popularised and acted as a principal means of propaganda dissemination; they were also meant to convey information. Images of notable individuals, especially of the ruling classes, were exceptionally popular.

Graphic occasional representations were frequently analysed by outstanding scholars, such as Juliusz Chrościcki, Stanisław Mossakowski, and Hanna Widacka, to name just a few. The ensuing remarks are but


³ Petrucci, p. 92.
a humble attempt to complement the state of research, and to highlight the value of language material. I would like to pay closer attention to the literary framework of the ideological agenda of selected works penned during the reign of the Polish king Ladislaus IV (1595-1648).

Plates depicting the future king by Lucas Kilian who grew up in a well-known family of chalcographers residing in Augsburg are worth special mention. They were completed during the prince’s tour around Europe. Emulating the painting of Matthias Gundelach, the plates show a young man wearing a collaret and armour, girded with a commander sash. The prince’s chest is decorated with an order of Golden Fleece, which Ladislaus was presented with in 1615 by the Spanish King Philip III. The heraldic and emblematic components of the plate attract particular attention. The plethora of images includes an emblem which Ladislaus would continue to wear to his dying day: a person mounting an obelisk, topped by a wreath and two palm twigs looming overhead. The monogram IHS encircled by a cloud is perched over the obelisk. Royal insignia were placed mostly on architectural structures, and used in occasional decoration. They are visible for instance on a steel part of a plate made after Ladislaus’ death. The exposition is accompanied by a lemma: VEL SIC ENITAR (literally: I shall climb nonetheless). The intended ambiguity of the Latin word enitar is a striking element of the aforementioned maxim excerpted from Typotius’ collection, and borrowed from Ladislaus II Jagiellonian. The verb enitor, verbatim: “I climb”, can also be translated as: “I toil, undertake, head somewhere”. Notably, an oval medallion was made by Alessandro Abondio around the same time as the abovementioned plates, featuring the prince’s image on the obverse, and an emblem – identical to that on the plate – with the VEL SIC ENITAR motto on the reverse. The winged-like silhouette climbing the obelisk was to epitomise the royal genius. Interestingly, the medal with the VEL SIC ENITAR maxim was completed in part to commemorate Ladislaus’ engagement to Cecilia Renata. A detailed legend of the maxim can be found in a Latin epigram placed on the said plates below the king’s image. Poems placed under the

---

4 See Spis rycin przedstawiających portrety przeważnie polskich osobistości w zbiorze Emeryka hr. Huten-Czapskiego w Krakowie, Kraków, Hr. Emerykowa Huten-Czapska, 1901, pos 2095, 2096.

5 J. Typot, Symbola divina et humana pontificum, imperatorum regum, accessit brevis et facilis Isagoge Jacobi Typotii. Tomus Primus, Pragae, s.n., 1601, p. 54. In Typotius’ collection the emblem with the motto was attributed to Ladislaus II Jagiellonian.

iconographic images were presented in the form of epigrams – a genre that truly echoed the baroque period. The punchline was an essential feature, typical of epigrams. Epigrams were composed by courtly poets, tutors and clerics. The poem from the plate reads as follows:

Rem tetigisti heros, per SUMMUM ad summa necesse est
  Eniti: magni nil agis absque DEO.
At si signa sub HOC moveas, vel magnus Apollo
  Alcidesque, Tibi se dat in armigerum;
Martia quin Pallas, Diva et Victoria, factis
  Officiosa Tuis gestit adesse comes.
Aude ergo Decus Heroum, non ulla, Coronis
  Ardua vel Palmis te prohibere queunt.

You struck at the heart, Hero, you must climb
to reach the highest peaks, without God you shall accomplish nothing,
If you enter the fray in His name, even the great Apollo
  Or Alcides shall be at your service,
Even Martia Pallas, the Divine Victoria,
  Favourable to your deeds, wishes to become your companion,
On you go, the pride of heroes, no hindrance
  Can take away your wreaths and palms.

It appears that the VEL SIC ENITAR motto might as well serve as the title of the epigram, as it comprises the response to the call included within. In the opening verse, the author addresses the prince in the second person, (Heros), alluding to the proverbial expression: tetigisti acu (you touched with a needle) introduced to literature by Plautus (Rudens 5, 2, 19), and later evolved into an idiom. In subsequent words, a pun is followed by a direct reference to the content of the inscription: ad summa / eniti. The meaning of the phrase per SUMMUM is displayed in the second verse. Only by trust and confidence in God, as asserted by the author, can one reach the highest laurels. Then, as befits Neo-Latin poetry, mythological characters evincing universal heroic traits are invoked. The final distich addresses the prince directly yet again (decus heroum), spurring him on to act. Only if seconded by epigram, can the inherently terse inscription open up vast interpretative space to the reader. The interpretation of the poem is much more apt at conveying the meaning of the motto.

The aforesaid emblem is referred to by images engraved on other royal medals depicting a knight standing next to an obelisk and holding a palm and laurel wreath. The images are combined with the maxim: HONOR VIRTUTIS PRAEMIUM. The new motto was incorporated into a plate by Willem Hondius, where the Polish King’s silhouette is encircled
with a frame bearing an inscription: *HONOR VIRTUTIS PRAEMIUM MDCXXXVII*. The king’s icon comes with an epigram, which glorifies the King’s military prowess as well as his political moves. The representation of an obelisk with a climbing figure and a new maxim was later borrowed elsewhere, e.g. on the title plate by Stanisław Kobierzycki: *Historia Vladislai Poloniae et Sveciae Principis* (Gdańsk 1655). The *HONOR VIRTUTIS PRAEMIUM* motto was also attributed to others, but only when juxtaposed with the words *VEL SIC ENITAR* does it amplify the fulfilment of all intentions. The leader needs no longer to climb an obelisk and demonstrate his prowess. He has just won the wreath and palm twig. He has been rewarded for courage – he has been graced. Let us emphasise that the two maxims joined together form hexameter verse: *VEL SIC ENITAR – HONOR VIRTUTIS PRAEMIUM*.

The heroic verse presents itself as yet another factor implying that the second image complements the first. Significantly, the second motto refers to Cicero’s words included in a letter to Munatius Plancus (Ad Fam. 10,10):

*Is autem, qui vere appellari potest honos, non invitamentum ad tempus, sed perpetuae virtutis est praemium.*

Now this honour, which can be truly so called, is not meant to impart a momentary impulse, but is the reward of unvarying excellence.

Matters of honour and virtue were often pondered at times by Thomas Aquinas in response to Aristotle’s ethical writings (*De regno* 2, 3, *Summa* 2-2,129 and 131). The obelisk was meant to be erected, as assumed by Juliusz Chrościcki, on the Forum of the House of Vasa arranged by Ladislaus IV.\(^7\) On the preserved drawing by Giovanni Battista Gisleni, to the left of the obelisk peak, there are figures holding a ribbon with *lemma* copied from emblem books. It can be found in Paradin’s oeuvre in a version identical to that in the drawing *Virtutis Fortuna comes*.\(^8\) Should the words in the ribbon be yet again combined with to the aforementioned prince’s maxim, another hexameter verse will emerge: *Vel sic enitar – Virtutis Fortuna comes*.

In the collection of symbols by Alciatus, there is a plate with *lemma*: *Virtuti fortuna comes*,\(^9\) and the collection of Erasmus’

---


\(^8\) C. Paradin, *Devises heroïques*, Lyons, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, 1551, p. 93.

Adagia, as well as other emblem books invoking the lemma: *Virtute duce, comite Fortuna.* The latter was excerpted from a letter to Cicero (*Ad fam. 10, 3*):

> Omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna.

You have attained to the highest distinctions in every department, virtue shewing the way, and fortune marching by your side.

The verse is in concord with other royal maxims and emblems illustrating obelisks.

The *lemma* proves that the female figures from Gisleni’s drawing are allegories of *Virtus* and *Fortuna*, as seems to be confirmed by a frontispiece to Everhard Wassenberg’s work entitled *Gestorum Gloriosissimi ac Invictissimi Vladislai IV*, initially published in Gdańsk in 1641. A panegyric plate by Jan Herman, glorifying Ladislaus IV’s achievements, depicts two allegoric female figures. Signed: *Virtute duce* (on the left) and *Comite Fortuna* (on the right), they leave no doubt whatsoever as to who they are representing. Jeremias Falck’s panegyric plate created in 1646 illustrates the triumphal gate (*Porta Honoris*). The two allegorical figures were represented again on the columns to the left and right of the image of Ladislaus IV, holding their attributes: Fortuna’s figurine and a laurel twig, respectively. It goes without saying that the image resonates with the maxim: *Virtute duce, comite Fortuna* or: *Virtutis Fortuna comes.*

When considering the omnipresence of Latin under Ladislaus IV, it seems imperative to point out that the monarch founded the statue to the glory of his father and predecessor to the throne – Sigismund III.

---

Crispiani Passaei. Prostant apud Io[an]ne[m] Iansoniu[m] Bibliopola[m] Arnhemie[n] se[m], 1611, no. 76.


Sepulchral inscriptions are what we find in terms of form and content. There is an epigram on the southern face of the monument:

*Non statua erigitur, nec caeso gloria monte*

*Fulta Sigismundi, mons erat ipse sibi,*

*Nec fulgorem auro, robur neque sumit ab aere*

*Auro fulgidior, firmior aere fuit.*

No statue shall raise, no hewed stone
Shall assert Sigismund’s glory, he was like stone himself,
Neither does his glamour come from gold, nor his might from bronze
He was brighter than gold, and mightier than bronze.

The content of the first verse might be seen as surprising. The spectator is confronted with a message that appears contradictory to what she can see. One reads: *non statua erigitur*, but surely every pedestrian can see the column pointing at the skies; *nec caeso gloria monte*, and yet the pillar is made of hewed marble, and the monument is meant to be a statue of fame. The discrepancy between sensory perception and reason is ironed out only after we read the phrase: *Mons erat ipse sibi*. The author of the epigram reapplied a similar concept in the second distich, largely because he still attempts to captivate the spectator’s sight. The blaze of the king’s fame shines more intensely than gold decorating the monument, his courage more resilient than the bronze statue and plates. The epigrammatic punchline is inspired by the idea that the king’s splendour does not emerge directly from the fact that the monument was erected to his glory, but rather that he came to his fame by himself, which the monument merely confirms. It is not only the content that serves to glorify the king; the refined form pays homage as well. Importantly, the epigram is serpentine-structured. The final word of the first verse – *mons* – is reiterated in the second verse. Hence, it links the monument with well-merited fame. In the third verse, Sigismund’s blaze of glory is accentuated by the word *fulgor*, which begins with the same syllable as *fulta* in the second verse. In the final verse – the epigrammatic punchline – the comparative form of the adjective is employed to express the intensity of blaze: *fulgidior*. The same can be said of the two central nouns from the previous verse: *aurum i aes* – gold and bronze. Euphony attracts particular attention throughout the poem, as stressed by the repeating consonant: “f”.

The remaining inscriptions on the column contain laudatory content alluding to antiquity, such as: *PATRI PATRIA* or: *IN HOC SIGNO VICIT*. In Ancient Rome, men of merit were referred to as the fathers of their home country, the title later conferred to emperors. The second sentence alludes to the famous quotation, which originally addressed Emperor Constantine the Great immediately before a battle against Maxentius. This serves to legitimise the Polish king as a Christian monarch.

All afore-quoted examples of Latin inscriptions and artistic text originate in the first half of 17th century, and refer to the reign of a single monarch only – King Ladislaus IV. The intention was to disseminate the texts while using them in public space. The most superficial of analyses suffices to draw certain conclusions. Firstly, it turns out that in order to come to grips with the meaning of a work, one has to understand texts inscribed therein, in Latin in this case. Secondly, owing to multilateral communication in universal languages – language of iconography on the one hand, and Latin on the other – the Polish King presents himself as a truly European monarch.
Ortensio Lando and His Paradoxical Strategies

“Ortensio Lando is a familiar figure to all specialists in the literature of sixteenth-century Italy as one of the most singular and individual of those who, according to Arturo Graf, si potrebbero... opportunamente chiamare gli scapigliati della letteratura del Cinquecento, but outside Italy he is little known to those who have not made a special study of this field”, wrote Walter Ll. Bullock more than seventy years ago.¹ Ever since, the volume of works focusing on Lando has grown significantly, both in Italy and elsewhere; nonetheless, one cannot deny that he is a character known to a rather narrow group of specialists. This indubitably stems from the fact that Lando escapes unambiguous assessments and interpretations alike; the character himself, his identity and accomplishments trigger a number of doubts. Nearly everything we know about him has been sourced in his own declarations scattered here and there in his works, whereas when it comes to the texts themselves, they are usually not signed with the first or last names of the author, remaining attributable only thanks to certain features of the style, allusions, and intertextual relations blending them into a certain recognisable and relatively coherent network. Doubts concerning the author and his identity may be proven by the fact that a distinguished expert on the matter, Silvana Seidel Menchi, argued that Ortensio Lando was an alias, a pseudonym – nome di battaglia – forged for ideological polemics of a 16th-century heterodox preacher, Giorgio “Filalete” Macedone, called “Il Turchetto”, who also actually remains relatively unknown.²

Studies published over the last years offer analyses of works signed by Ortensio Lando or attributed to him (edited anonymous, under real

---

historical names of other persons or with various pen names – Ortensio Tranquillo, Philalethes Polytopiensis, Anonimo d’Utopia), in two fundamental contexts: firstly, as polemical utterances by a supporter of unorthodox religious beliefs and proliferator of concepts by Erasmus of Rotterdam, and secondly, as works forming part of the riscrittura practice developed mid-16th century, being a kind of intended and deliberate plagiarism and consisting in the rewriting of information from a number of encyclopaedic compilations without quoting the source – in short, practice translating into ostentatious manifestations of erudition actually consisting in second-hand knowledge.

All seem to perceive Ortensio Lando as a personality who clearly reflected the crisis seemingly encountered (at least in the opinion of certain authors) by book culture of humanist pedigree. This could be proven by the ironic or indeed mock use of bibliographical, erudite knowledge, apparent not only in works such as Paradossi cioè sentenze fuori del comun parere, Sette libri de’ cataloghi a varie cose appartenenti, non solo antiche ma anche moderne, Commentario delle più notabili & mostruose cose d’Italia & altri luoghi, La sferza de’ scrittori antichi e moderni, but in a manner considerably more pronounced in the regular use of palinodes: Paradossi were followed with the Confatuzione del libro dei Paradossi, La sferza de’ scrittori – with Brieve essortazione allo studio delle lettere, Un brieve trattato dell’eccellentia delle donne – with Un’essortazione a gli huomini perchè non si lascino superare dalle donne, which discussed the superiority and inferiority of women and men, whereas the earlier Cicero relegatus in Latin – with Cicero revocatus. The supposed purpose of such erudition-based games would have been to align knowledge with lightweight entertainment, apparently

---


4 As well pointed out by L. Bolzoni in her study Il mondo utopico e il mondo dei cornuti. Plagio e paradosso nelle traduzioni di Gabriel Chappuys (“I Tatti Studies. Essays in the Renaissance”, vol. 8 (1999), pp. 171-172): la letteratura viene vista come un gioco combinatorio, come una ruota da cui non si può uscire, come un mondo in cui tutto è stato detto, un universo di parole in cui tutto è stato scritto. Non resta dunque che ricombinare insieme frammenti strappati qua e là e sbandierare la novità del prodotto sperando che l’ars combinatoria così praticata generi un’arte della trasmutazione, produca appunto, quasi alchimisticamente, il nuovo. [...] La confezione di un libro, in altri termini, il modo in cui l’oggetto libro viene messo in circolazione sul mercato editoriale, sono un indicatore preciso di come la letteratura viene non solo realizzata, ma appunto anche letta e recepita [...].
Ortensio Lando and His Paradoxical Strategies

... denying knowledge any solemn meaning. Since classic books and examples could be used to prove anything imaginable, such proof would have been devoid of any extensive meaning. However, Ortensio Lando’s ironic and paradoxical deliberations do contain concurrently serious passages and elements of social or religious critique one would be hard-pressed to classify as part of humorous discourse, albeit this is exactly the context they are used in – with their actual reference rather than their literary context highlighted. In his Commentario, for example, Lando writes with high emotional commitment of such “hot points” as duels, universities, or perverse social relations. It is possible to perceive in these texts particular symptoms of a new sensibility – mixing different registers and tones, using surprising concepts, creating tensions and astonishment – which will develop in time to a larger extent in the baroque era. In a certain sense Lando seems to be its forerunner.

In an attempt to illustrate the thesis, I have decided to base my deliberations on the example of paradoxes, which had become very popular in Europe, with English and French translations produced rather rapidly. As emphasised by the afore-quoted Walter Bullock, and specifically by Paolo Cherchi, Lando was inspired in the majority of his paradoxes by the Second Book of the Petrarch’s treatise De remediis utriusque fortunae. Techniques he applied in his arguments, however, are also quite apparent.

---

5 [...] vennero i combattenti in camisa con le braccia ignude, col capo scoperto, con due spade più che rasi taglienti e se incominciarno a ferire con tanta rabbia e furore che parevano due cinghiali [...], discorreva nell’animo mio come tutti gli animali vivessero nella propria specie tanto amichevolmente et con tanta unione [...] et dall’humo nascere sempre all’huomo danno rovina et spesse fiate totale esterminio. [...] Non sono questi abattimenti cose da huomini ma da fiere, non si ragiona già de’ duelli altrove che in Italia (O. Lando, Commentario delle più notabili & mostruose cose d’Italia & d’altri luoghi. Ripresa dell’edizione veneziana del 1553, ed. by G. and P. Salvatori, Bologna, Pendragon, 1994, p. 38).

6 [...] vado alla scuola de’ legisti [...], et non odo salvo che contradizioni [...]; vado alla scuola de’ philosophi [...], et non odo favellare salvo che di materia della quale parevami che havessero pieno il capo, di forma non so se di cacio o da informar stivalli [...], entro nella scuola de’ Metaphisici [...], ma ecco che per molti giorni io non odo parlare de l’altro che di ente et uno. [...] Vennermi a fastido questi tanti scaldabanchi, queste rabule, questi loquaci corbi, né potei sofferir di più udirli [...] (Lando, Commentario, pp. 71-73).

7 Io vi vidi tener le razze d’huomini per venderli come si vendono cavalli, buoi, muli et altri irragionevoli animali, il che parvevami pessimamente fatto. [...] Strana et mostruosa cosa mi parve il veder condur le donne a prezzo, perché pianghino li altrui defunti [...] (Lando, Commentario, p. 20).

wherever he decided to focus on other topics, occasionally approached much more briefly. First and foremost, arguments known and constantly reiterated by authors of the antiquity have been taken to the edge of the absurd. For example, the paradox telling the reader that alcoholic intoxication is superior to sobriety (Paradox VII) was supported by a number of statements praising wine and its consumption – the use of wine as such is thus perceived as tantamount to intoxication, and its advantages – with the advantages of intoxication. In further parts of the text, passages by classics are clearly adapted to match that thesis, whereupon intoxication itself proves to be “saint” – the *santa imbriachezza*; furthermore it is claimed that in olden days, and very correctly so, who didn’t get drunken wasn’t considered a nobleman – *chi non s’imbriacava non era galantuomo tenuto*. The purpose of those deliberations in their entirety was to prove that drunkenness is generally better than sobriety, albeit concurrently the belief itself has been classified as one of the opinions contrary to the common sense – *sentenza fuori del comun parere*, recorded by the author as put down in summertime for amusement – *l’estate passata non per acquistarne fama, ma sol per fuggir la molestia del caldo* – with no time to develop it *con maggior prudenza e dottrina*, not necessarily in the Tuscan language, but in author’s colloquial one – *nella forma che solito [sono] di parlare con e miei più familiari amici*. Neither does this preclude the emphasis placed elsewhere on the harmfulness of drinking, and the abuse of wine (as in Paradox I).

A closer glance at the paradoxes and their structures proves them to be focusing on a limited number of issues and values: wisdom vs. stupidity (*ignorante/dotto, pazzo/savio*, as well as – to a certain extent – *ceco/illuminato and imbriachezza/sobrietà*), worldly accomplishment vs. modesty (*povertà/ricchezza, caristia/abbondanza, umil case/gran palagi, gente umile/chiara e illustre, vita parca/splendida, avere/non avere servitori, essere/non essere bastardo*), blemishes and qualities of women (*donna/uomo, moglie sterile/moglie feconda, moglie disonestà, morte della moglie*), politics (*perdere lo stato, esilio/patria, guerra/pace*), weaknesses vs. strengths of man (*timido/animoso, debole e malsano/robusto e gagliardo, brutto/bello*) and the literary canon (Boccaccio, Aristotle, Cicero). Let us take a closer look at deliberations concerning

---

9 O. Lando, *Paradossi cioè sentenze fuori del comun parere*, ed. by A. Corsaro, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2000, p. 139. All the quotations of *Paradossi* refer to this edition.

10 Lando, *Paradossi*, pp. 81-82.
Ortensio Lando and His Paradoxical Strategies

riches and modesty – focusing not on the authorities mentioned, but rather on arguments quoted in favour of the latter.

The classic theme of the superiority of poverty over riches has been discussed in Paradox I: *Che miglior sia la povertà che la ricchezza* [Poverty is superior to wealth]. Potentially, readers ought to reflect on why Lando decided to present the motive as a notion not compatible with ordinary ways of thinking. After all, there is nothing new about sentiments linking poverty with virtue and telling us that the virtuous were usually poor, that the wise have always despised wealth, that poverty ensures harmony at time of death and is a state recognised as the Christian Church’s foundation, that poverty was the father of many inventions and it lets us distinguish true friends from false, that it is more effective than philosophy in mapping out the way of virtue, and that the poor are outstanding in their gentleness, intelligence, and freedom of envy or intrigue. The contrast with wealth is distinct: one endures hardship to obtain riches, sheds tears once they are gone, and suffers anxiety and concern if they are kept. Wealth is a source of disquiet and stress, leading people to debauchery, pride, and wastefulness, and subsequently to a variety of diseases. Moreover, it is difficult to use one’s fortunes prudently; they vanish fast if not saved, and turn the holder into a warden rather than owner if saved.

Lando proceeds to prove the uselessness of wealth; it serves the purpose of acquiring assets resulting in nothing but trouble. There is a dose of jest in tirades describing the senselessness of keeping horses which are but a nuisance and hassle, the futility of spending money on valuable fabrics requiring constant airing and protection against pests, the sorry consequences of wasting funds on rare wines or precious jewels. Entertainment is not worth squandering money either: music leads to effeminacy and debauchery, hunting makes men wild and cruel, gardens become places of idleness and sensuality. Women, referred to as “sweet poison”, are described extensively; forceful apostrophes recall all manner of negative results of amorous passion: anxiety, suffering, tears, and assorted deviations.

In conclusion, all arguments are amplified. Under the influence of riches, people become rude, insolent, spiteful, crazy, careless, eccentric, beastly, scornful, averse, lascivious, odious – *insolenti, arroganti, bizzarri, avari, dispettosi, bestiali, negligenti, disdegnosi, folli, ritrosi, lascivi e odiosi* – and are thus unfit for harmonious co-existence with others.

---

11 Lando, *Paradossi*, p. 94.
Wealth is the bane of feminine virtue, paving the way to murder, betrayal, and other extremes. In closing, Seneca is evoked, alongside a statement that poverty makes men free, while wealth makes them slaves. Arguments quoted in massive volume, the juxtaposition of poverty and exaggerated wealth rather than poverty and prosperity, all serve to create an impression of exaggeration and absurd, which in turn undermines the entire discourse, in itself seeming (as declared before) anything but serious or akin to common sense. Nonetheless, the fact that critical authorities, Christ included, are quoted in extenso, seems to be an imperative to rethink the individual arguments used – which is exactly what seems to have been the author’s intention. Any discourse basing consciously and programmatically on contradictions forces one to consider them – whereas the author points at his “neutrality” – as juxtaposed statements at equal odds. In verifying Lando’s suggested way of thinking, readers have to ponder values portrayed as fundamental: cheerfulness and harmony; moral and physical health; lack of stress, anxiety, or concern; affability and concord in social co-existence – such is the image of a seemingly obvious epitome. The extraordinariness of argument offered by Lando does not consist in the fact that he lays down new and unusual objectives to be reached, but that he presents means of achieving unquestioned values in a way undermining the common sense and does it in a jesting and somewhat grotesque manner. The same concept of arguing can be seen in further examples.

In Paradox XIII: *Esser miglior la caristia che l’abondanza* [Shortage of food is superior to its abundance], Lando portrays a specific version of the theme, applying and recalling similar arguments, and yet not justifying his declarations at all, but rather presenting them as utterly incontestable, standing by generalities and evidently referring to fiction, as if throwing the reader a wink on the sly. If the learned historians are correct, the people of Ircania enjoy wonderful harvests making no apparent effort to sow or reap, and are also haughty, mean and beastly – *fieri, tristi, bestiali e orgogliosi.*12 The inhabitants of India live in a land of plenty, while being eccentric, false and deceitful – *bizzari, bugiardi e frodolenti.*13 Babylonians are the champions of all “wicked actions” – *scelerate operazioni.*14 Africa has an abundance of anything and everything, together with corruption, robberies, adulteries, perfidiousness and treacheries

---

13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
Ortensio Lando and His Paradoxical Strategies

– tristizie, latrocini, adulterii, perfidie e dislealtà.\textsuperscript{15} In closing, the author confesses, however, that exotic references are but a cover for allusions to certain regions of Italy, a trick allowing the Genoans to be portrayed wittily as residents of harsh and unfriendly lands while being bold, nice, well-mannered, alert and fit almost for everything – arditi, piacevoli, accostumati e vigilantì, dotti nell’arte marineresca, e quasi ad ogni cosa destri.\textsuperscript{16} Florentines, Venetians, and inhabitants of Lucca are also described favourably: dedicated to honour and virtues, loyal and religious without any superstition – servi d’onore, amici di virtù, pieni di lealtà e religiosi senza alcuna superstizione.\textsuperscript{17} Furthermore, assertions to claim that plentiful harvests in Italy would entail greater threat of pests and weeds, greater dependence on the toil of farmers, greater fear of theft, and greater trouble with crops storage are all uttered jokingly. Albeit the direct meaning of this Paradox seems to be spent in the mock opinions of different Italian regions, one cannot help but notice that the Paradox itself upholds a discourse based on juxtaposition of poverty and wealth, while referring to elementary standards of harmonious social co-existence, and drawing absurdly radical conclusions from far-fetched premises.

Further enhancements of the poverty-wealth contradiction motive include the closely related juxtaposition of modesty and sense of importance, and assorted modes of excessive self-confidence. A variation thereon has been contained in deliberations included in Paradox XV: Che meglio sia nascere ne’ luoghi piccoli che nelle popolose città [Being born in a small town is superior to being born in a crowded city]. Fundamentally, one new claim transpires: it is easier to gain fame and recognition in small communities; they gauge every value differently than major cities. Moreover, the reader will find in this Paradox a typical list of examples from the antiquity (the author omitted newer examples, regarding them as common knowledge). Famous people born in small towns are listed alongside the aforementioned manifestation of a blend of pride and exaggerated self-confidence with claims that haughty towns are dominated by rage, murders, robberies, treacheries and turmoils – in alte e superbe città […] il più delle volte regnano ire, micidii, furti, tradimenti e sedizioni.\textsuperscript{18} One is better off with choosing existence wherein we would be reasonably

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{18} Lando, Paradossi, p. 175.
distant from pompousness and harmful ambitions – *ragionevolmente più alieni dalle pompe e dannose ambizioni*.

A similar line of reasoning has found its way into Paradox XVI: *Che meglio sia abitare nell’umil case che ne’ gran palagi* [Living in modest homes is superior to living in enormous palaces]. Modest homes are more practical (less expensive, less prone to the danger of burglary or lightning), and relieve their owners from organising big parties and hosting eminent guests (who corrupt servants, break crockery, and violate feminine virtue). When living in modesty, we are not a source of envy; moreover, one must bear in mind that cramped quarters do not limit the freedom of soul, and that a cramped hole in the ground is the destiny of everyone mortal. Boasting about having a magnificent home is futile: all credit is the architect’s. Furthermore, no inanimate object may be a foundation of glory. Grand palaces are no protection against bad luck, they are a place where misery, treason, deception and murder are always at home – *abita la miseria, il tradimento vi aloggia e la fraude con l’omicidio vi fanno suo perpetuo nido*. Numerous examples from the antiquity seem to confirm the accuracy of those statements. Notwithstanding, also in case of this Paradox the lofty tones of pure moralisation frequently seem inflated, with the overall argumentation hinting at irony, specifically in the contrast of references to elevated spirituality directly flanked with allusions at small-minded shrewdness. It may, conversely, seem nothing but an exercise in rhetorics. As in case of formerly quoted examples, learned rhetorics of the *bibliotheca* have been brought to serve semi-scornful reasoning. At the same time, Lando does not forget to warn the reader that rhetoric should not prevail over the common-sense thinking: *a me non persuaderanno giamai il contrario di quello che la ragione, la natura e il buono esempio de’ virtuosi efficacemente mi persuade a credere; non mel persauderebbeno, dico, se avessero le lor lingue sorbite tutte le greche e le latine retoriche* [nobody will ever make me believe the contrary of what reason, nature and good examples of virtuous people teach, nobody could do it, even if his language made use of all Latin and Greek rhetoric].

Such warning against rhetorics is included in the finale of Paradox XXIV: *Esser miglior la vita parca della splendida e sontuosa* [Modest life is superior to life magnificent and lavish], which seems to reflect a rather

---

19 Lando, *Paradossi*, p. 177.
21 Lando, *Paradossi*, p. 222.
typical line of argumentation, wherein one would be hard-pressed to discern a paradox at all. Lando is fully aware of the effect: *Crederò facilmente che questo parer mio non sia però da molti reputato paradosso, e parerebbero ad ogni modo strano che persona veruna ch’avesse punto di sentimento dubitasse mai che la vita frugale non fusse assai miglior della copiosa e abondante* [I’ll believe easily that many people will not consider it a paradox and I’d find it strange if a witted person doubted that a modest life is better than an abundant one).22 Also in the preceding Paradox XXIII: *Che meglio sia nascere di gente umile che di chiara e illustre* [Being born among simple people is superior to being born among nobility], the ironic and mocking tone of an argument “à l’envers”, evident at the beginning, surrenders later on to committed satire. It is better to be born in a modest community, as it is much easier to sin and sate one’s impure desires; one does not have to suffer strict teachers or the etiquette; one does not have to dress stylish or eat elegant; one may go where one chooses. Furthermore, if a man of humble origin lives a noble and virtuous life, his achievement is doubled and tripled, and he does not have to share it with ancestor or advisor. In case of this Paradox, examples quoted originate in antiquity as well as in more modern times, the world of writers included. Lando hastens to become much more direct and severe in tone, however, blaming false ambitions and intemperate foolish desire to be praised and glorified: *perché cerca oggidì ognuno con espresse bugie e col mostrar false scritture di farsi dire illustre? perché tanto si contende e tanto hassi a male se ne le inscrizioni non si fa sempre menzione di questo falso lustrore? Deh, come è fortemente cresciuta questa vanità. [...]*,23 and making manifest his disdain: *Oh quante cose mi persuaderebbe a scrivere il sdegno contra delli ambiziosi conceputo; ma lo rafrenarò poi che mi ravego d’essere scrittore de paradossi e non di sattire.*24 Nor is he swift to cease in the rather violent and extensive critique, describing his experience with Catholic dignitaries, Neapoletans, Venetians, and the Swiss, who are no less vain than Italians. Aristocrats of the past must have been outstandingly noble-minded and magnanimous, but at present – he says – the way to a high social rank leads through murders, treason and robbery, the nobility being rather a reward for a “notable iniquity”: *il che a’ nostri tempi di rado accade poi che si nobilitano con gli omicidii, con e tradimenti e con e furti, di modo che*
dir potrebësi che a si mali tempi altro non fusse la nobiltà che il premio
d’una notabil iniquità.\textsuperscript{25} It would be difficult to conceal such a personal
and involved attack within a discourse typical for paradox or irony.

Similar observations come to mind when one reads the \textit{Confutazione
del Libro de’ Paradossi, nuovamente composta et in tre orationi distin-
ta}.\textsuperscript{26} The anonymous author (with no doubt our Lando, no less) revisits all
paradoxes in turn, including those aforementioned herein. No differently
to other works, also this one is to offer entertainment: \textit{Trastullatevi
adunque alcuna fiata con la presente lezione} [Have some fun with the
present text],\textsuperscript{27} as he writes in the dedicatory letter addressing countess
Ippolita Gonzaga, whereas the publisher did not pass over the chance
of recalling a detailed manifest of all arguments overruled. Confronting
his adversary, the author of the confutation mostly uses arguments \textit{ad
personam}, in this particular case tabling a forefront accusation that
Lando’s intention in the \textit{Paradossi}... and in his repeated praise for refuting
wealth was in fact to get rid of any competition in striving for worldly
goods. Before long, however, these deliberations become nothing but
a disillusioned diagnosis of the world we live in and where the words do
not correspond to deeds and real sentiments, where the poverty is verbally
praised and the wealthiness deeply desired: \textit{Veggo sempre con la lingua
lodar la povertà et con l’affetto del cuore bramar le ricchezze [...] ho
sempre veduto che ogniuno losingha i ricchi et con maggior prestezza
si fuggono i poveri che non fugge l’anitra il falcone}.\textsuperscript{28} The novel element
involves a contrast: where the author of \textit{Paradoxes} embodied a moralising
believer in the certainty of adopting a code of moral values to live by, the
author of the confutation declares acceptance for the world as it truly is.
He acknowledges, for instance, the crucial role that money has in our
lives as motivation of all our actions, principal spirit of wars, support of
states, nourishment of arts, source of pleasure and witness of true nobility:
\textit{A qual cosa in vero non e buono il danaio? Egli e l’istrumento di tutte le
nostre azioni, nervo imprima delle guerre, sostegno degli stati, alimento
delle buone arti, ministro della migliore creanza, donator di piaceri et
fianalmente vero testimonio della nobiltà alla quale poco rispetto s’usa
hoggi d’havere se le ricchezze non vi sono congiunte. Il danaio concorre

\textsuperscript{25} Lando, \textit{Paradossi}, p. 218.
\textsuperscript{26} O. Lando, \textit{Confutazione del libro de Paradossi nuovamente composta et in tre
orationi distinta}, Venezia, Bartolomeo Imperatore, 1545.
\textsuperscript{27} Lando, \textit{Confutazione}, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{28} Lando, \textit{Confutazione}, p. 4.
ad ogni cosa al viver humano necessaria.\textsuperscript{29} Poverty is something horrific, as it stinks worse than dead flesh – pute a ciascuno piu di qualunque carogna; to avoid that condition pieno d’horror et di schifezza, many beautiful women give themselves to wealthy lovers; men lie, commit perjury and betrayal, kill and murder; the wise cease caring for fame or God judgments; high-ranking men of cloth abandon sheep they have been trusted to tend and seek recognition at court, where they entertain rulers, suffering their whims; monks leave their remote monasteries… Given such ways of the world, is it not arrogant to claim that poverty is superior to riches?

It is simple to conclude that the confutation situates the notion of wealth within the same context of values reflected in the corresponding Paradox. In essence, Lando reiterates the self-same story with the use of indirect and refined ways of dispute, reminiscent of the concept in a purely baroque sense of the term. Is Lando a baroque figure? It would be hazardous to argue. Nevertheless, he anticipates in many aspects the ways of addressing the public and persuading, the concepts and the taste of the times to come.

\textsuperscript{29} Lando, \textit{Confutazione}, pp. 4-5.
In *Poesia española. Ensayo de métodos y limites estilísticos* (1957), Dámaso Alonso wrote emphatically:

I see baroque as art with no balance, art which had not managed to produce its own expression. It is a tremendous force, which at time of creation encountered petrified forms of renaissance poetry and art; growing and spreading, it breaks or creases columns, folds the syntax, brings concepts into focus, twists frontons, condensates poems, stimulates pedantry and philosophy to the extreme, introduces chaos into landscape. [...] Nonetheless, even such deformed or deconstructed classic components or models continue their existence, remaining in violent contrast to the wild deconstructive energy within. The force of baroque demands a new and free form, and is found wanting. [...] Hence the disquiet, the readiness to experiment with any technique, any transpiring method.¹

His description would apply equally well to Polish baroque, where scholars find a head-on collision between the centuries-long traditions of antiquity, medieval thought, and above all renaissance humanism on the one hand, and fresh creative impulses on the other. Like a huge ocean, the 17th century absorbed the cultural currents of the preceding periods,

¹ D. Alonso, *Poesia española. Ensayo de métodos y limites estilísticos*, Madrid, Editorial Gredos, 1957. The author’s translation from the Italian version of this study: *Saggio di metodi e limiti stilistici*, transl. and foreword in Italian by G. Cerboni Baiardi, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1965, pp. 238, 239: *Per me il barocco è un’arte senza equilibrio, un’arte che non è giunta ad elaborare una sua adeguata espressione. Era un’immensa forza che, al suo sorgere, si scontra con le strutture della poesia e dell’arte rinascimentali e che, crescendo ed espandendosi, spezza o piega le colonne, increspa la sintassi, assottiglia i concetti, distorce i frontoni, condensa il verso, spinge all’estremo la pedanteria o il filosofismo, sconvolge il paesaggio [...]. Ma, anche così deformati o spezzati, gli elementi classici, i modelli sono lì, in violento contrasto con la selvaggia energia che li contorce. L’impeto barocco avrebbe avuto bisogno d’una forma libera e nuova e non la trovò. [...] Di qui la sua inquietudine, quel suo sperimentare ogni tecnica, ogni procedimento che gli cada tra mano.*
but in keeping with the notion of “creative betrayal” as one of its guiding rules, continued the tradition in a creative if not entirely faithful manner.

The diversity of baroque culture is reflected in the translations of the period, abounding in all spheres of cultural activity, secular and religious, high-brow and vulgar. Baroque translations continued the work of renaissance translators, albeit with different aims. In early renaissance, translations were of particular importance to young transalpine cultures. Intended as they were to enrich the national cultures and to

2 Of the extensive literature describing the topic, let me quote the following examples:
induct them into Europe’s cultural community, translations of the time tended to be receptive and utilitarian. At the same time, however, the translators’ choices walked the line separating the “familiar” from the “alien”. They provoked discussions on the autonomy of national cultures, and functioned as laboratories in forging new discourses on identity. In the process, such translations shaped the concepts of national cultures and distinct local identities.

The 17th century continued to produce translations which served to promote specific religious or political agendas, but it also witnessed the emergence of autonomous translation projects. Unrestricted by notions of social or national duty, such projects derived instead from their authors’ personal choices in matters of ideology and/or artistic style. Such works have not been fully appraised by scholars. This would amount to the formidable task of carefully scanning and analysing all of 17th-century literary production in its entirety, since many such projects were not so much easily recognisable translations in the strict sense of the word, but rather periphrases, travesties and allusions to foreign works, as often as not quite loosely linked to the originals. This literary freedom or anarchy was the product of the waning of humanist philological procedures. In religious literature, certain liberties with the original were presumably justified by shared spiritual tradition whose members were free to express various religious propositions in their own ways and languages. In conceit-based poetry, where emulation was the rule, foul play was a frequent and prized element of poetic rivalry. Marino proclaimed the artist’s right to steal and betray “treacherously” – to be able freely to hunt for precious pearls in the ocean of poetry, where every hunter could rightfully hold on to his catch. In popular literature, we find splinters and fragments of various works new and old culled from the general treasure trove of European culture. There is simply no way of telling which of the many potential models – Marcialis? Owen? Anything in between? – provided the creative impulse for any given epigram by Daniel Bratkowski, Jan Gawiński or Waclaw Potocki.
The difficulties involved in cataloguing and classifying translations are not the only problem faced by a student of baroque translation. The period’s complex intercultural relations and the multiplicity of its translation models present difficulties of their own.

We should recognise that the dialogue between Polish culture/literature and its European counterparts was not so much a sum of bilateral parts as a network dominated by multilateral relationships. We usually encounter the following models:

1. A single author who interweaves together a number of different strands or threads.

For instance, Jan Andrzej Morsztyn translated, paraphrased or travestied some 40 writers, ancient and modern, writing in Latin and in the vernacular. Since he emulated their works, his texts often take on a multi-layered (“palimpsest”) aspect. The novelette *Psyche z Luciana, Apulejusza, Marina* is one such example.

2. Poetic and meta-poetic debates on specific texts (mostly minor poetry genres, such as epigrams or elegies), taking place on the broad European forum.

By the 17th century, the old humanist project of a *respublica litterarum* had become a thing of the past; still, multinational circles of writers continued to exist, including Latin poets (mostly imitators of Horace, such as Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski) and Marinists (mostly diplomats travelling to European courts, including Italy, England or Sweden). One characteristic technique evident among this group is what Czesław Hernas
referred to as “diamond-cutting”, i.e. the honing of rhetorical devices and intellectual punchlines in the intertextual laboratories of the masters of acutum et argutum (acumen and argutezza).

3. Transmission of text through intermediary cultures.

For instance, works by Spanish mystics often reached Poland via Italy (where they were filtered through the poetic lens of petrarchismo spirituale) or Flanders (original home of the Carmelite nuns of Cracow).

In the Jesuit world, poetic texts likewise travelled between different Jesuit communities in Austria, Germany, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Baltics and Italy, leaving behind them a comet-like trail of parodias or emulations.

To avoid being excessively abstract-minded, I would like to spend some time discussing two translations from the Italian, which provide some excellent examples of 17th-century translation. One is Gofred abo Jeruzalem wyzwolona (Gofred, or Jerusalem Liberated) by Piotr Kochanowski; the other is the erotic poetry by Jan Andrzej Morsztyn.

Gofred, or Jerusalem Liberated,
Translation by Piotr Kochanowski

In 1618, a Cracow-based printing shop owned by Franciszek Cezary published Gofred abo Jeruzalem wyzwolona, an epic poem by Piotr

---

Kochanowski. This was the fourth European translation of Torquato Tasso’s *La Gerusalemme liberata* (1575, published in 1581), preceded only by translations into Spanish, French (non-versified) and English. Remarkably, Piotr Kochanowski’s translation was published only 34 years after the death of his uncle, Jan Kochanowski, whose poetry marked “the high point of renaissance in Polish literature” (Janusz Pelc), and a mere four years after the publication of *Sielanki* by Szymon Szymonowicz (1614), a crowning point in the development of renaissance lyric poetry. We get an even better idea of the breathtaking pace of the evolution of Polish poetry towards the new, baroque aesthetic canons when we take a closer look at the “metaphysical poets” writing under the reign of Stefan Batory (1576-1586) and Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632): Mikolaj Sęp Szarzyński (whose poetry has distinct links with secular and spiritual Petrarchism), Sebastian Grabowiecki (translator of works by Gabriele Fiamma and French writers), Stanislaw Grochowski (translator of *De Pueri Iesu*, a fashionable poetic cycle by Iacobus Pontanus), Kasper Twardowski, and the “singers of worldly pleasures”: Hieronim Morsztyn and Szymon Zimorowic, whose *Roksolanki to jest Ruskie panny* cycle (1629) is unmistakeably a work of the baroque clearly influenced by *poesia per musica*. For sake of comparison: early days of baroque poetry in Italy lay with Giambattista Marino’s *Rime* (1602), *La Lira* (1615) and *L’Adone* (1621-1623); first Polish attempts to translate the poetry by “The King of New Beauty”, slipshod and fragmentary as they were, appeared in manuscript as early as 1622 (Piotr Kostka) and 1630 (Mikołaj

---


16 Cz. Hernas used the name collectively in describing works by aforementioned poets (id., pp. 31-64). The author of the synthetic work also suggested the following name: “singers of worldly pleasures” (ibid., pp. 64-90).


Evidently, Poland had successfully closed the gap separating it from contemporary European culture, which had been so pronounced just a hundred years before; translations had opened a debate with modern European literature.

As proven by the career of Gofred, translation could carry real ideological impact well beyond the confines of literary debate. Piotr Kochanowski’s work is permeated with the idea of Christian humanism. It calls for a heroic dimension to *humanitas*, an extremely committed model which did not balk at the ultimate sacrifice of death and bloodshed, and where lasting value is only achieved *sub specie aeternitatis*. I would like to emphasise that the ideological message of Gofred, though not strictly unfaithful to the Italian original, is galvanised and revitalised by its new cultural dimension. *La Gerusalemme liberata* was merely a reverie about a distant time governed by the chivalric values of rectitude, magnanimity and sanctity. In Polish culture, Gofred turned that distant vision into a deeply internalised idea which helped to shape the personal and collective experience of the period. This inspiring work would later prove extraordinarily potent and productive, spurring Polish, Ukrainian, Hungarian and Croatian soldiers to achieve exceptional acts of heroism; for three centuries, the poem was a lasting source of hope for Slavic nations languishing under foreign oppression.

The remarkable intensity with which readers reacted to the poem reflects the historical experience of the Slavic nations. As Endre Angyal noted correctly, the borderland realms of the Poles, Hungarians or Croats were a fertile ground for the reception and transformation of Tasso’s epic. The readers, admirers and imitators of Gofred included such figures as the Hungarian poet Istvan Gyöngyösi and Miklós Zrínyi (Croatian: Nikola Zrinski), author of *The Siege of Sziget Castle*, where Hungarian and Croatian Christians are depicted as loyal and heroic warriors who hold their ground against Muslim aggression. Although the struggle ends in military defeat, it becomes a spiritual victory in moral, patriotic and religious terms. Incidentally, the author’s younger brother, Petar, wrote a Croatian version of Tasso’s epic poem.

---


Obviously, Torquato Tasso also had a direct influence on Croatian literature; his works were known in Croatia in Tasso’s own lifetime, where they were read and paraphrased by the likes of Junije Palmotić or Vice Putić Soltanović, and translated by Vice Petrović and Ivan Gundulić. Gundulić, proudly styled as the *rex illyrici carminis*, hoped that his translation would, “with heaven’s aid”, be “adorned with the good name of the most holy crown of the Polish king” for “all of our Slavic nation” to see. Ultimately, Gundulić abandoned the translation project in order to write *Osman*, an original poem focusing on current events: the Polish military victory over Turkey at Khotyn (Chocim, 1621), followed by a janissary rebellion and Osman II’s inglorious death in 1622. Gundulić studied Poland and Turkey extensively in preparation for the writing of *Osman*, a project which kept him busy until his death. Apparent throughout is Gundulić’s admiration for Poland’s culture, civilisation and democracy: *Osman* shows a writer consumed by the idea of a liberated and unified Christian Slavic world, demonstrating the cultural fertility of hope.\(^{22}\)

The impact of Piotr Kochanowski’s *Gofred* also extended to the Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands which belonged to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as to realms further afield, such as Muscovy or the Ukrainian lands across the Dniper. The ideas of *Gofred* penetrated those lands thanks to the poem’s considerable readership, some attempted translations (including 18th-century attempts by Michał Finicki and by monks from the monastery in Zhyrovichi), and selective imitations in works by Ukrainian writers. As demonstrated by Ryszard Łużyński, the remarkable impact of *Gofred* stemmed from its relevance as “an heir to that tradition which incorporated as one of its elements the history of almost uninterrupted armed struggle against the power of Islam”; the sense of immediate relevance was amplified by the assorted preachers, poets and polemicists who sounded constant warnings about the Turkish threat.\(^{23}\)

Piotr Kochanowski’s epic poem was popular and influential also for purely literary reasons. *Gofred* was used in the teaching of poetics at the Kiev-Mohyla Academy. Introduced to the canon by Teofan Prokopovich, the poem was treated as an example of excellence in terms of narration, style, imitation, invocation and fiction, and was seen as being on a par with the classical models, favourably contrasting with the pomposity of


baroque style. We might add (quoting Łużny) that Lavrentiy Gorka’s compared Piotr Kochanowski to his famous uncle, Jan Kochanowski, and contrasted him favourably with the “ornate” Miaskowski.

Those are familiar facts, and I mention them only to highlight their importance in creating and transmitting the fundamental mythologems of Central and Eastern Europe. Gofred proclaimed the primary idea of modernity in that it embraced responsibility for Christian Europe, and exhorted individuals and communities to serve the cause of liberty, and of national and religious identity. This idea, originally planted in Polish culture, was elevated to universal transnational status. On its transnational dimension originated the idea of Slavic solidarity, and – in Gundulić’s work – of Polish Commonwealth’s primacy as a model of democracy, high culture and mighty statehood capable of lending effective help to the southern Slavs locked in a dramatic struggle with Islam. The idea was seen as spanning a time-frame stretching from the Middle Ages (a period treated by political constructs as a sort of perfect beginning) to modern-day events of the battles of Tuţora (Cecora, 1620), Khotyn (Chocim, 1621) and Pidhaitsi (Podhajce, 1667), the Treaty of Buchach (Buczacz, 1672), the siege and fall of Kamianets-Podilskyi (Kamieniec Podolski, 1672) and the Battle of Vienna (1683).

In considering the reception of Gofred as a textual embodiment of a major ideological paradigm we should also note that it operated in two different cultural perspectives, lending a sort of intertextuality to the work itself.

Kochanowski’s Polish translation of Tasso was published at a time particularly amenable to Italian literary influence, when late renaissance culture had produced a spectacular artistic efflorescence tinged with the aesthetic disquiet of mannerism. In poetry, it was a fascinating period of formal richness and sophistication marked by subtle eroticism and unbridled imagination, and willing to explore distant and fantastical lands – a delightful time which gave Polish readers a sense of belonging to the cultural core of Europe; Piotr Kochanowski’s successful emulation of Tasso was regarded with justified pride. Gofred invited associations not only with the refined Italian original but also with the familiar, popular romances featuring tales of chivalric adventure, love and magic. Its influence radiating to the neighbouring lands, Gofred strengthened Poland’s political and cultural status in Europe, boosting the imitation- and emulation-based models of literary production (in the East and the Balkan South, respectively).

The history of Gofred prefigures the cultural situation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in Europe. Italy at the time was bidding
farewell to ideals of the past, regarding them as nothing but a soothing salve to the problems of modernity, and depicting the past as a stylised dream of a simpler world, where high ideals were still an essential part of life, and the choice between good and evil remained a reliable touchstone of human actions. In contrast, the Poland (and other Slavic nations) of Gofred continued believing in ultimate victory over powers of darkness, and upheld their belief in the value of loyalty, heroism and sacrifice.

Marinist Erotic Poetry of Jan Andrzej Morsztyn: Between Marinism and Sarmatianism. A Clash of Cultures

An important novelty of the 17th century was an anti-humanist and anti-Christian anthropological project which sought to reduce people to a purely biological dimension of instinct-driven beings.\textsuperscript{24} Such approach aggressively confronted the “delusions” of liberty, dignity and, above all else, of continued existence after death. Though not strong enough to threaten Poland’s Christian humanist tradition, this trend was prolific. Translations by Jan Andrzej Morsztyn are a good case in point.

Morsztyn’s translations and paraphrases of Marino are not programmatic acculturations, i.e. their purpose is not purely utilitarian (cultural or educational). They have not been dumbed down or attuned to popular reading habits – instead, they became an element of Polish culture in their own right. The transformations which Marino’s madrigals and sonnets from \textit{La Lira}\textsuperscript{25} undergo in the act of translation result from a clash between the two cultures. The translator enters into a dialogue with his Italian original (with its way of experiencing the world and recognising beauty), and he makes sovereign decisions as to which elements are worth keeping and transforming, and which should be rejected on account of their alien nature. As a result of his decisions and choices, the translation becomes an original work in its own right, an aesthetic act integrated around its own


\textsuperscript{25} Translation analyses have been contained in A. Nowicka-Jeżowa’s monograph: \textit{Jan Andrzej Morsztyn}, pp. 248-397 (and in the Italian version of the treatise, respectively), and in other studies, i.a. \textit{Il sonetto di Jan Andrzej Morsztyn – marinista}, parts 1-2, transl. by M. Kopicka, A. Ceccherelli, “Ricerche Slavistiche”, vol. XLIII (1996), pp. 148-181.
principles. More broadly, such decisions define the translator’s artistic identity. At the same time they draw boundaries of Poland’s presence in the cultural universe of baroque, and affect qualities of Polish literature stemming from tradition, or formed by the seventeenth-century *genius loci*.26

Morsztyn’s decisions as a translator are discreet. His poetic landscapes omit geographical elements too remote to evoke associations in the target culture. No omissions are domesticated, i.e. replaced with specifically Polish elements – instead, more general phenomena and objects are introduced, recognisable as Polish only insofar as they were securely rooted in Renaissance poetry. In other words, Morsztyn shows his respect for Polish poetic tradition not through some kind of external Polonisation, but by cultivating lyrical structures which had already taken root in Polish poetry.

Counter to Marino’s suggestion, Morsztyn’s model of lyrical monologue is not descriptive, static or contemplative. It is dynamic, filled with vivid action and frequent exhortatory addresses to the reader with the aim of closing the gap between the reader and the world of the poem. Propositions of the lyrical subject are thus kept within bounds of plausibility. Imagination and feeling retain a concrete dimension, offering a connection to the “natural world”. There are no forays into the supernatural (explored so boldly by Marino), neither are translations as insistent with regard to the occasional and causal nature of the rhetoric, suggesting that different interpretations of reality were purely conventional and equally valid.

Morsztyn stopped short of crossing the Rubicon separating the old familiar world of mimeticism from the realms of new poetry. He rejected the flashiest mannerisms of post-Renaissance poetic avant-garde, and resists the tempting call of the “Parthenopean sirens”, who taught Marino to liberate rhyme to a point where it became pure sound. Morsztyn’s rejection of the madrigal device of *rime libere* in favour of the epigram was a particularly pregnant poetic choice; for a poet whose formative influences included classical masters and their Renaissance and post-Renaissance successors, the epigram was a genre offering a better sense of security and self-assurance.

By Morsztyn’s conscious choice, his *Lutnia (The Lute)* does not have the full tonal register of Marino’s *Lira*. The most subtle and sophisticated

---

tones have been clipped, and replaced with often arrogant dissonances (possibly because Morsztyn believed the effect would be more “masculine” than in Marino’s “cosseted” Neapolitan poetry). Moreover, Morsztyn muffles and obscures any notes he found too affected or scandalous, such as child lovers or homosexual unions. There also seems to be a difference in how the two poets approach death: unlike Marino with his penchant for exaggeration, Morsztyn thinks of death with epicurean sangfroid. 

Certain qualities of the translation are unmistakeably chosen specifically to align the product more closely with the Polish culture of the 16th and 17th centuries, and possibly to nod at the potential reader, who must never have been far from Morsztyn’s thoughts. These include the concretisation of the female addressee, the “militaristic” overtones of the erotic imagery, and the earthy, unceremonious humour that peppers the translation, all of which would have grated on Marino’s and Tesauro’s sophisticated ear.

Notably, such gestures on Morsztyn’s part amount to a contestation of the principles of *buona costumatezza* and *buona creanza*, a somewhat surprising choice in a poet who was such a regular visitor to Europe’s courts. Morsztyn, a Grand Court Treasurer, before the reader frequently dons an aspect of *malcreato, incivile, scostumato, villano*. Occasionally, he turns aggressive in his struggle against fetishes of European baroque culture or the alienations of high culture. He repeatedly disowns esoteric ceremonies identifying a courtier, and abrogates the dictates of *decorum* which offered such a sure road to success on Tesauro’s magic mountain.27

We should also emphasise that such transformations of original work reflect the principles of Morsztyn’s aesthetic, which in their turn stemmed from a fundamental relationship between the subject and external reality (nature and culture). Both Marino and Morsztyn regarded beauty as a source of bliss and supreme value. However, there are differences as to how each of them perceives and realises that value. For Marino, contemplation of beauty involves an intense heightening of the senses and of the *ingenium* – a state of sensitivity to the softest whisper of the muses, albeit without any hope for discovering meaning or achieving permanence. Morsztyn knows all about nostalgia for evanescent beauty, but he also knows the taste of life, and tries to snare the world’s charms and flashes of beauty, and to hold on to them. As Giovanni Pozzi writes,28

---


Marino is no longer able to value life, and feels that his predecessors had exploited the world’s riches and subdued nature completely, so instead he places his trust in form. Formal perfection is his aim, so that he can admire his own genius in the crystalline shapes of his madrigals, sonnets and canzone. Morsztyn, who breathe the air of a young culture, is less decadent. Reluctant to see poetry as a purely formal affair, he often behaves like a barbarian in the lunar garden of his Lira, disrupting the ideal subtleties of shape and form. Impatient, brisk and active, the Protean Polish poet seems bent on getting his hands on the elusive horn of poetic plenty.

In revealing Morsztyn’s activism and anxieties (so different to Marino’s narcissistic contemplation of the perfection of his conceptual art), one must also ask why it is that Morsztyn’s poetry is so often haunted by a sense of a point missed with its the recurring line A to też nie tak (“That too is not as it ought to be”). Morsztyn’s typical air of tentative attempt expresses his belief that poetry is not only the precise and painstaking job of “diamond-cutting”, but also a movement of the free spirit, a search for living beauty and a constant effort to achieve artistic transcendence; a job which involves the imperative of discarding or destroying the things one has already achieved, of questioning authority (meaning both the sacrosanct poetic heritage of Jan Kochanowski and the present-day idol Giambattista Marino). Such attitude places Morsztyn alongside European poets who scoured the treasure trove of literary tradition to find new kinds of beauty. Embedded in his translations is a waning of belief in grand ideas, transcendent truths, or the social and nationalistic missions of poetry. Instead, they carry a sense of scepticism and loneliness, and fear of annihilation. Concurrently, they contain belief in the unlimited power of the poet’s lute, capable of conjuring autonomous worlds, where the poets reign supreme.

The two examples of translations by Piotr Kochanowski and Jan Andrzej Morsztyn are like two poles jointly forming the axis of baroque translation. Between them stretches out a wide expanse in which translators and authors


30 Hernas, pp. 312-315.
of paraphrases follow the rule of *ogni tecnica, ogni procedimento che gli cada tra mano* in order to reflect the full spectrum of ideas and values tested in the 17th century. A faithful witness of the Seicento, translation is a guide to the labyrinth of its paths and empty spaces.

*Translated by Piotr Szymczak*
I visited Poland for the first time in the year 2000. I went to the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań to attend an international conference on *Time, Space and the Evidence of Experience (Interdisciplinary Approaches to the Past)*. The visit to Poznań was very important to me, as I was exposed to the ambiguous experience of cultural affinity and linguistic foreignness. I found that Poland and Spain share cultural heritage in certain aspects, for instance in fine art representations (biblical and classic in origin) and in the use (in the Polish language) of a number of words forming part of semantics in Humanities and Social Sciences, very similar in written form to ones employed in Spanish and other west European languages. Nonetheless, when in Poland I also experienced an inability to understand hardly any phrase in spoken Polish, as I had no knowledge of linguistic structures or of the majority of object-describing words used in this Slavic language.\(^1\) The experience that I now evoke was very challenging and led me to reflect more extensively upon requirements needed by and inevitable limitations to the historian in his/her possible capacity as translator, or mediator between cultures.\(^2\)

---

* I wish to thank the translator into English, Philip Banks. I also express my gratitude to Professor Kazimierz Sabik for his comments and supplementary information concerning my presentation at the aforementioned seminar.

\(^1\) At this juncture, I can bear personal witness to the foreignness of Polish for Spanish people until recent times. When, at the end of the 1970s, I was looking for a book in Barcelona with an intent of studying the Polish language, the closest item I found was the *Assimil* language method in English or French, but not in Spanish. It is now possible to find a book in Spanish to study Polish: F. Presa, *Lengua Polaca para españoles*, Madrid, Editorial Complutense, 1992 (1st ed.).

Now, when rewriting for publication purposes a paper on a subject area more specialised than the one I presented at the International Seminar on Polish Baroque, European Contexts, held in Warsaw in June 2011, I am sure that the Seminar was an excellent opportunity to learn and better understand what Polish cultural heritage has in common with Europe as a whole (especially – not inconsiderably – with Spain), and the specific and differential features of Polish culture examined through its history.

I have outlined two objectives for the pages to follow, and will dedicate a corresponding part of my contribution to each, respectively. The former, preparatory in character to a certain extent (for me or other people seeking to research the same field), is to present an overview of the type of studies that, as far as I am aware, have been completed or are in progress with regard to the relations, cultural transfers in particular, between Poland and Spain in the 17th century latu sensu. I aim to identify subject areas, printed periodical or occasional publications, as well as selected prominent scholars or institutions who can serve as important points of reference.

My second aim for the text is much more specific, and more directly connected to the ambitious title I chose for this article. What I intend to do is the following: against the backdrop of a comparative overview of historical evolution of Spain and Poland, especially in baroque times, I have sought out a possible case study. With such target in mind, I have decided to focus on the presence of two leading individuals in our historical culture/public history; in my opinion, their historical profile and significance hint at extensive similarity. I am referring to two charismatic royal figures: the Pole, Jan (John III) Sobieski, 1629-1696, forming part of baroque proper, available in description in a number of contributions in the volume – with regard to him and his family (his father Jakub or wife Maria Casimira).3

The Spanish figure I have chosen is the first Don Juan de Austria (1547-1579) or John of Austria (or d’Austria), the son of Charles V and Barbara of Blomberg, who died half a century before Jan III was born. In the history of Spain, there is another Don Juan de Austria, who was more

---

3 In this article, I sometimes attribute the title of King of Poland (or Polish King) to John III Sobieski for abbreviation purposes; however, I do not forget that his official title was Joannes III, Dei Gratia, rex Poloniae, magnus dux Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Livoniae, Smolesciecie, Kijoviae, Volhyniae, Podlachiae, etc. In fact, as of 1569, as is well known, the Kingdom of Poland and the Great Duchy of Lithuania formed a confederated Commonwealth under the rule (limited by traditional laws) of a Polish king elected by the nobility, not able to transmit the throne automatically to any of his sons. John Sobieski’s Lithuanian name was Jonas Sobieski.
strictly a contemporary of Jan Sobieski. This second Juan de Austria was the son of Philip IV and the actress La Calderona. He is better known as Don Juan José de Austria (1629-1679). This latter figure would be more suitable for comparative purposes in terms of contemporaneity, but when considered from a long-term perspective of modern-day historical culture, he lacks a fundamental requisite for comparison against Jan Sobieski: great impact on European scale. In contrast, both Jan III and John of Austria possessed, and still possess, European (or even inter-cultural) significance or importance, as they can both be considered standard-bearers in defending Christian Europe or Christendom against Ottoman military pressure. In Europe of the time, its Christian roots and rationalist humanism were undergoing integration, albeit not without tension. And that remains a crucial point of reference, even though John of Austria only impacted the history of European regions within the sphere of influence of the Spanish monarchy. Certainly, I must admit that John of Austria can only be placed in baroque in a fairly broad interpretation of the period. Perhaps it could be offered that John of Austria, who was chiefly credited with honours in consequence of the sea battle of Lepanto and died in 1579, should be placed astride late renaissance and early baroque.

I have chosen to consider these two figures in comparison, because (although my personal knowledge of the two is very unequal), neither is totally unrelated to my previous studies. With regard to John of Austria, in July 2010 I presented a communication at a conference held at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau on Popular History in the 19th and 20th Centuries entitled: Don Juan de Austria (1547-1578) in European Historical Culture. The Twentieth-Century Metamorphosis of a Popular Hero.4

As far as Jan Sobieski is concerned: as a result of a fortunate coincidence, during the academic year 2010/2011 I was following a Master’s degree research project by a Serb student, Tara Karajica , who perused a Spanish-language extensive account of diffusion in Europe, the 1683 siege of Vienna, and the re-conquest of Hungary. The work is generally known under the shortened form of its title: Floro historico (Madrid, 1684), a newsletter-style account adapted from the Italian by Francisco Fabro Bremundan, a journalist from Franche-Comté.5 And, of course, Jan


5 The complete title is as follows: F. Fabro Bremundan, Floro histórico de la guerra movida por el sultan de los turcos Mehemet IV contra el Augustissimo Leopoldo Primero,
Sobieski is a leading figure in the account. In fact, my curiosity for the figure of Sobieski and his wife Maria Casimira had already been aroused (among other works I read) by a historical novel involving Maria Casimira penned by Geneviève Chauvel.

Overview of Previous Studies

In Spain, as (I believe) in Poland, knowledge of the history of another country (when such ‘other’ can be considered culturally close in various aspects, albeit distant in geography and language) has traditionally been fairly closely linked to the study of the corresponding foreign language. In fact, when I looked for Spanish-language bibliography on Hispano-Polish relations, I found that a substantial proportion of publications were produced by experts on Polish language and literature, some of whom writing for a relatively new journal, the “Eslovística Complutense” (first issued in early 21st century and managed by Fernando Presa González, holder of a chair of Polish language, and scholar of, among others, the influence of baroque authors such as Calderón de la Barca on Polish romantics).

The aforementioned scholar, F. Presa, was tutoring a doctoral dissertation by Grzegorz Bąk, involving an investigation of Spanish image in Polish literature. Although his work, available online today, focuses on the 19th century.

---

6 Supervision of the El Floro histórico research project led me to a particular search for information on a courtly theatrical work, written in 1686 by F. Bances Cándamo, and entitled La restauración de Buda, to celebrate in Madrid recent triumphs over Ottoman army by John III Sobieski and other members of the Holy League. On this work, see K. Sabik, Dos fiestas teatrales en el ocaso del Siglo de Oro. La Restauración de Buda y Duelos de Ingenio y Fortuna de Francisco Bances Candamo, in: Teatro del Siglo de Oro. Homenaje a Alberto Navarro González, Kassel, Reichenberger, 1990; Apuntes sobre la loa sacramental y cortesana. Loas completas de Bances Candamo, ed. by I. Arellano, K. Spang, Ma. C. Pinillos, Kassel, Reichenberger, 1994.


Poland and Spain in the Baroque Age

offers (in the first chapter) a panoramic view of early modern age contacts between Polish and Spanish scholars, in Renaissance times onwards.9

During the post-World War II period, Spain and Poland, two countries with common cultural heritage,10 were separated by the political orientation of their respective totalitarian regimes (right- and left-wing, respectively). After 1978/89, both countries reinstated a democratic system, and reinforced connections with other European countries. In the course of these events, it is no surprise that, when the new Polish Republic commemorated, in 1991, the second centenary of its first Constitution, the event found a positive echo in the new democratic Kingdom of Spain. The 1991 publication of a number of articles on Polish-Spanish relations in the 16th through 18th centuries in “Hispania”, the historical journal of the Spanish CSIC (Council for Higher Scientific Research), is ample proof of Spain’s positive response.11

The growing closeness between scholars of the two countries, and Poland’s visibility in Spanish public opinion, has recently been reflected at an exhibition entitled Polonia: Tesoros y Colecciones Artísticas, held at the Royal Palace of Madrid in the summer of 2011 under the auspices of the King of Spain (Juan Carlos I) and the Republic of Poland’s President (Bronisław Komorowski), which attracted large numbers of visitors.

To those who, like me, work on European cultural history in the baroque age, the Polish journal “Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka” had been a very stimulating point of reference even before we participated in the (ENBaCH) seminar.12 After the meeting, I can be more accurate in assessing the high quality and usefulness of this journal

---

9 This edition (containing an extensive introduction) of Joanes Dantiscus’ correspondence was prepared by A. Fontán, Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V. Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco, Madrid, Alianza, 1994.


12 I wish to remark on an obvious (and very relevant) piece of evidence, to the purpose of manifesting the common semantic world shared by Polish and west European languages. Of the four Polish names used in the title and subtitle of the journal “Barok”, only one: sztuka (fine art or visual art) has a meaning that is not almost immediately
for research in the field. The most recent issue, XVII/1 (33), 2010, for instance, contains three articles providing evidence of the presence of Spanish subjects in the journal. In the section entitled Rozprawy i eseje (“Dissertations and Essays”), 13 Jacek Żukowski investigates a portrait of the Prince and future King, Ladislaus IV Vasa, created in c.1626, clarifying the political and anthropological keys for representing the character in formal Spanish attire (in black garments and with a golilla or ruff). 14 The other two articles can be found in the section Komentarze i dyskusje wokół wystaw (“Comments and Discussions on Exhibitions”). The two exhibitions in question are ones dedicated to the sculptress Luisa Roldán (Seville, 2007), and the painter Juan Bautista Máñno, O. P. (Madrid, 2009-2010). 15

We now have a recent important publication available to us: “The Culture of Spanish and Ibero-American Baroque and its European Contexts”, 16 edited by Kazimierz Sabik and Karolina Kumor, which serves as a complete compilation and overview of the different areas of research cultivated by Polish scholars specialising in baroque culture, some of whom work at the Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos at Warsaw University. 17 This book contains Spanish- and English-language contributions to an International Congress held in Warsaw in September clear to Spanish-, French-, English- or German-speakers with no knowledge of the Polish language.

---

13 In this section, as in every one of “Barok”, all texts are written in Polish, but in it we can also find an “Abstract” in English, very useful to most European (and non-European) scholars.


17 This Institute (Instytut Studiów Iberyjskich i Iberoamerykańskich Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego) has a link to the Asociación Polaca de Hispanistas (APH) / Polskie Stowarzyszenie Hispanistów) on its website. It is possible to establish contact with the APH through the Portal del hispanismo, of the Instituto Cervantes (Ministry of Culture of the Spanish Government).
2009, organised by the abovementioned Institute of Warsaw University and by the Warsaw-based Cervantes Institute.\textsuperscript{18}

Among occasional publications, the volumes of homage dedicated to a leading scholar to commemorate an event, usually retirement, are also important. A case in type involves a collection of studies entitled \textit{Hispano-Polonica. Homenaje a Piotr Sawicki} – a special issue of “Estudios Hispánicos”, no. 15 (2007). Sawicki researched many key themes in the transfer of Spanish literature to Poland, and the Polish reception of \textit{Don Quijote}.\textsuperscript{19}

Last but not least, in this brief summary of useful references for research I will allude to a fundamental work by Joachim Lelewel, today a classic. Joachim Lelewel was a prominent 19\textsuperscript{th}-century Polish historian, as can be seen from the treatment he deservedly receives in a recent \textit{Atlas of European Historiography}, edited by I. Porciari and L. Raphael.\textsuperscript{20} Lelewel has hitherto been little known in Spain, but in 1820 he gave a course in Warsaw on \textit{Historical parallels between Spain and Poland}. This text was a great success, although it was not published in Polish until 1831. In 1991, as mentioned, it was published for the first time in Spanish (with a very useful introduction to Lelewel’s work) upon an initiative by Jan Kieniewicz, Professor of Iberian Studies at Warsaw University and Polish Ambassador to Spain at the time.

In his ambitious study of comparative history, basically qualitative in nature, Lelewel was of course unable to take advantage of certain resources available to us today from the vantage point of quantitative analyses of large volumes of historical texts. Above all, Lelewel wanted to examine the principal lines of development in two countries, both peripheral in Europe to a certain extent, and both internally divided.\textsuperscript{21} He embarked on a comparative analysis of historical development of Spain and Poland from a standpoint of projecting his liberal-progressive convictions.

\textsuperscript{18} I am very grateful to professor Kazimierz Sabik, Head of the Organisational Committee of the Congress of 2009, for his kind reception at the International Seminar (Warsaw, June 27\textsuperscript{th} and 28\textsuperscript{th} 2011), where we met for the first time.


\textsuperscript{20} The use of the “Books Ngram Viewer” Google tool reveals that with regard to Lelewel in Spanish digitised text, the number of “Lelewel” entries never stopped growing in the period of 1980 and 2008.

Juan de Austria and Jan III Sobieski: A Tentative Proposal for Comparing Two Baroque Figures in Present-Day European Historical Culture

After such overview of bibliography and institutions working in the field, let us now consider the interest potentially triggered by a comparison of King Jan III Sobieski and John of Austria. As aforementioned, they both enjoyed great popularity and were praised as defenders of Christendom in consequence of their triumphs at different times of threat to Christian Europe. In both cases, the Europe-wide proliferation of news describing their success did not only stem from texts penned in their own respective languages (Polish and Spanish). At the time of successes attributed to each, these tongues were relatively marginal. So, to a great extent, the fame of both was a result of the role played by two languages key to international culture of the late renaissance and baroque in transmitting such information. One, Latin, marked the continuity of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages; the other, Italian, reflected the awakening of specific cultures that were to a greater or lesser extent proto-national in nature.

Another common characteristic between the two figures is that they were lead and key protagonists at a time of several European nation states making a great joint defensive effort, arising from what some writers have dubbed the *Christliche Solidarität*, despite the pressure of different *raisons d'état* that made such common effort very difficult, except at moments of exceptional challenges, such as the ones of 1571 and 1683. In both cases, not only in positive terms, the crusading tradition had a long-term impact on collective mentalities. In both contexts (another common feature), the Papacy took a leading role, while France did not commit to in such an important undertaking, even though, as well known, Jan Sobieski was familiar with and admired French culture, an admiration encouraged by his wife Maria Casimira. Another connection between the two figures was that they both had the elective throne of Poland in sight over their respective lifetimes.

A substantial difference in the careers of the two individuals stems from the fact that Jan Sobieski was born to a married couple within an aristocratic family. Therefore, he did not have to fight the ambiguity and stigma that being the child of an extra-marital affair implied, as opposed to John of Austria (and here we might add that the second Don Juan or Juan José de Austria also had to). As a member of a line that attained royal status, the likelihood of memory being glorified and promoted was far greater in case of Jan Sobieski than of Don John. The latter never
married (although he had several lovers and natural children), neither did he fulfil his great aim of achieving a crown (in England, Ireland or Poland).

Another difference between Don John of Austria and Jan Sobieski is that, at the time when each was at the peak of his fame, the presence of the Habsburg Empire was very uneven. Whereas the Spanish Habsburgs were the principal power in the House of Habsburg in the Mediterranean conflict, of which the sea-battle of Lepanto formed part (Philip II was always ahead or behind John of Austria), the Vienna-based Habsburgs were pre-eminent among the Habsburgs in the late 17th century, to such an extent that the courts of Vienna, Paris and London began entering into pacts with regard to different ways of dividing up the lands of the extensive but exhausted, Spanish Monarchy. Naturally, in literary accounts of the defence of Vienna, the Austrian Emperor (Leopold I) played a leading part that his forebear had not enjoyed in 1571. To be more precise, what was known in Spain as the “Wars of Hungary” enabled the Monarchy ruling from Vienna to gain access to the Mediterranean via the Istrian peninsula (a crossroads of particular interest to the history of Europe).

In previous paragraphs, I attempted a qualitative comparison of the historical significance of two great royal figures. Now I would like to offer another idea, more quantitative in nature, although I do not consider the two approaches to be mutually exclusive. As Wikipedia is, in relation to our historical culture, both an important agent (the cause) and a mirror (the effect) of it, I will try to take advantage of a new related tool: statistics referring to the number of views of Wikipedia articles on John Sobieski and John of Austria over a certain time.

As I am trying to incorporate a multilateral perspective of European historical culture into my approach, I will not limit myself to searching and comparing only hits on articles in the Polish or Spanish editions of Wikipedia. For the moment, I will also include articles in the English, French and German editions of this enormous, ever-changing, digital repository of knowledge.

On the following pages, I will present some results of my comparative analysis research of the quantitative weight of the two figures in our current historical culture: Juan de Austria (or John of Austria), victor at Lepanto in 1571, and Jan Sobieski (or John Sobieski), the lead figure among the 1683 liberators of Vienna. On the adjoining page, the reader can see the details of evidence I obtained from statistics currently offered by Wikipedia with regard to the respective number of times which the articles under the two names have been accessed in different versions, depending on the language of the article.
For the moment, as I said, I have limited myself to searching Wikipedia articles in Polish and Spanish (for obvious reasons), but also in three other languages: English, because it is the new *lingua franca*; in German, because of its scientific significance and also for the important connections of both figures with the Germanic area; and in French, official language of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and native tongue of Queen Maria Casimira, John Sobieski’s spouse, thus also well known to the monarch.

I collected statistics referring to the aggregate number of times the different articles (in the variants of names in aforementioned languages) were visited in a random month; February 2011 in this case. In relation to Jan (John) Sobieski, I also chose (to warrant validity of my evidence) to include articles containing this name with the intercalation of the ordinal (III) as King of Poland. This is not the case for Juan (John) of (de) Austria, because, as declared before, he never became king.

![Visits to John (III) Sobieski and John of Austria articles in different editions of Wikipedia during February 2011](from "Wikipedia articles traffic Statistics", by F. Sánchez-Marcos)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>John (III) Sobieski</th>
<th>John of Austria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>20367</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>5419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>8789</td>
<td>2936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1004</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Percentage difference of visits to John of Austria and John (III) Sobieski according to each language edition](from "Wikipedia articles traffic Statistics", by F. Sánchez-Marcos)

- **John of Austria**
- **John (III) Sobieski**
What do these numbers reveal and what precautions should we take when interpreting them?

As regards the reliability of figures obtained in one particular month (February 2011), I would like to declare that I used a quick check for another month of the same year (May 2011), and found no meaningful differences, at least with regard to the relative proportions between the numbers for one version of Wikipedia or another in different editions of the article concerning the same character.

As concerns the comparison of aggregate or total number of hits for articles describing the two figures (J. Sobieski, 30,871; J. de Austria, 10,493), it is apparent that these would have been higher if other editions of Wikipedia had been taken into account, such as the Italian, Czech, Hungarian and Ukrainian versions of the Jan Sobieski article; nonetheless, the total number of visits to the text on Juan de Austria would have also been higher if editions in, for example, Italian, Croatian, Hungarian, Czech and Greek had been considered. Similarly, in both cases, the careers of these figures aroused interest in countries where those languages were used (in addition to Latin, the common tongue of the baroque period, though hardly used in Wikipedia).

Be that as it may, the differences in size between the number of searches for articles on one figure and the other are so great (in fact, larger than I had imagined *a priori*) that the relative importance that is now given to the two of them within our globalised and mediatised historical culture would probably not be substantially modified by the greater or lesser diffusion of languages.

What reasons could explain the far greater interest (in absolute terms) that Jan Sobieski triggers when compared with Juan de Austria (Charles V’s son) in Wikipedia nowadays, according to the source that we prioritised?

Juan de Austria became a key point of reference in historical culture not only for the country of his birth, but also in many countries which, since they formed part of the Spanish monarchy in the 16th and 17th centuries, continue to speak Spanish or Castilian, and are part of the Catholic world. However, the reality is that in many of these countries the use of Wikipedia is restricted to a small percentage of the population. In addition, Don Juan de Austria was not a king, neither is he commonly referred to in contemporary Spanish national culture, unlike references in other periods. Consequently, the number of Jan Sobieski entries in the Polish version of Wikipedia is more than three times higher than the number of Juan de Austria hits in the Spanish
In all likelihood, a not-inconsiderable reason lies in the fact that the memory or impact of Sobieski has been strengthened in Poland’s cultural heritage by the important role he played in the refurbishment and expansion of a masterly work of art, the Palace of Wilanów (on the outskirts of Warsaw). In contrast, Don Juan de Austria, who died unmarried and relatively young, was not able to bequeath any artistic legacy of similar significance on his motherland.

Such disproportionate number of searches for articles on “Jan Sobieski” and “Jan III Sobieski” in the Polish edition of Wikipedia against the number of times the Spanish version was consulted on Juan de Austria, is somewhat reduced once we take the most international English-language version of Wikipedia as a point of reference. In this edition, John of Austria does not lag quite so far behind (2936/8789) Jan/John Sobieski.

The fact of the substantial number of searches for “Jan III Sobieski” spelled in Polish in the English version of Wikipedia is noteworthy. Is this a consequence of an accumulation of searches by individuals who have, apart from a knowledge of English, some notions of Polish or another Slavic language fairly akin to it, who might (or might not) live outside Poland and who wish to contrast this more international version with information provided by the Polish edition? This could be an explanation. As regards the weight of searches in the English edition as a proportion of the total searches over the month in question, for both John Sobieski (and John III Sobieski) and John of Austria, the proportion is very similar, approximately 28% in both cases. Since the version of Wikipedia in a specific language is chosen for the search for an article, preference for the English edition, coming in second after the respective native languages of the figures dealt with in the entries, raises the rather complex question of how the specific content factor and the factor dependent on the strength of said language in present-day media system combine, and how they influence one another in today’s historical culture.

As for consultations of the German version of Wikipedia, they seem to show that there is currently a considerable difference in the amount of interest in Don Juan de Austria and Jan Sobieski in the German sphere.

---

22 The fact that Juan de Austria, in Spanish, is a name that leads to a certain degree of confusion, does not seem to have been an important factor in the considerably smaller number of Wikipedia consultations of articles on Juan de Austria against those on Jan Sobieski and Jan III Sobieski. This name could refer to two different individuals: the half-brother of the Spanish King Philip II, and the half-brother of a later Spanish King, Charles II of Spain, Jan Sobieski’s contemporary. On the other hand, as far as I know, the name “Jan Sobieski” does not imply two important yet different historical figures.
judging by the percentage of searches. This percentage is substantial in case
of Juan de Austria: around 13% of the total number of searches,23 in other
words approximately half the proportion of the searches in English. This
can be explained. Don Juan de Austria, in addition to being a defender of
Christianity in 1571 (rather than of a Christian Europe conceived accord-
ing to Erasmus’s ideas), had strong ties to the German Empire through
his origins. He was the son of Charles V and a German girl who lived
in Regensburg.24 Consequently, a proportion of such nature was to be
expected. However, I find it surprising that the total number of searches
for Jan Sobieski and Jan III Sobieski in the German version of Wikipedia
should be a mere 0.68% of the total (almost all of them, incidentally,
for “Jan Sobieski”, the name in Polish). I have been unable to identify
a satisfactory reason. This is surprising because the relief of Vienna, capital
of the Habsburg Empire, from under Ottoman siege in 1683 was perhaps
the apogee of the King of Poland, Jan (or John III) Sobieski’s glory.25 Is
this due to the fact that this event has been excessively influenced by other
layers of history of less harmony between the German-speaking world
and Poland? Do Germans prefer to consult such works in English? Is the
fact that in German-speaking countries, and particularly Austria, searches
for J. Sobieski are included within and eclipsed by direct access to the
article entitled Kahlenberg, the location of his great victory in 1683?26

23 My statistics of the hits (1398) on John of Austria articles do not include views
of “Johann von Österrreich” (in the German version), as I found the latter corresponds
to an enlightened German Archduke (born in Tuscany), 1782-1858. It can be deduced
that, if a significant proportion of these searches had been for “our” figure and not for
the Tuscan-German Archduke, the percentage of interest in the former would be further
increased by a proportion that I do not have the means to quantify.

24 The fact that two biographies (well-documented and written in novel-style) have
recently been published (by Marita Panzer), one on Juan de Austria himself and the
other on his mother (ead., Don Juan de Austria. Karriere eines Bastards, Regensburg,
Friedrich Pustet, 2004; ead., Barbara Blomberg (1527-1597). Bürgerstochter und
Kaisergeliebte, Regensburg, Friedrich Pustet, 1995), is clear evidence of the interest that
Don Juan de Austria continues to arouse interest in the educated German-speaking
world (I commented on Juan de Austria in 20th-century literature in my aforementioned
contribution to the 2010 colloquium at Freiburg am Breisgau).

25 This I have checked by consulting www.europeana.eu (enormous digital repository
of European culture), where a substantial proportion of the items listed under the “Jan
Sobieski” heading related to the relief of Vienna in 1683; these sometimes include con-
temporary evidence (images and texts) while others refer to later public commemorations
(such as the bicentenary in 1893, but not in Poland in 1983, owing to the fact that the
country was under General Jaruzelski’s communist dictatorship).

26 In fact, I have been able to check that in the German version of Wikipedia, the
article entitled Kahlenberg was seen 1518 times in the month of reference for this study
As regards search data for entries selected in the French edition, certain points are worth mentioning. Concerning J. Sobieski, all consultations are made via the French form of his name (Jean or Jean III). These represent a modest, but not insignificant, proportion of the total: 3.55% (a percentage that is almost double the searches for these articles in the Spanish version, and six times greater than the German one). In the case of J. de Austria, a greater proximity can be detected in the French-edition world of Wikipedia. It is revealing that the percentage of searches is only slightly lower than that to be found in the German edition (9.5% / 13.3%) and also that a hybrid form of his name, Juan d’Autriche (a translation of the name of the dynasty rather than his own name), was a preference. Notably, some of these searches might include the second Juan (José) de Austria directly linked to the conflicts on the Franco-Spanish frontier in the Low Countries prior to the Peace of the Pyrenees.

Summary and New Horizons

I hope to have achieved, the aims of this article, if in part only. I provided an overview of basic references for those who might want to work (or who are already working) on relations between Spain and Poland in the European context, especially, but not exclusively, in baroque times. From the standpoint of present-day European historical culture, I followed with a comparative analysis in qualitative and quantitative terms, on the presence within the culture of two leading emblematic figures: Don Juan de Austria and Juan III Sobieski.

Furthermore, I proposed that access statistics for Wikipedia articles should be used as the source corpus in a quantitative analysis of these two figures of the baroque. This corpus could be considerably expanded to become a research topic in its own right. For example, it might well be of interest to compare the post mortem inventories of Jan Sobieski and the second Juan de Austria (or Juan José de Austria), who were almost contemporaries, in order to analyse, on the basis of the specific items or artefacts, the coincidences, specific features and transfers between these two modes of European culture.

I have presented some data and suggestions that I hope will be of some use as an incentive. Be that as it may, I am sure of one point. Poland (February 2011), a figure 50% higher than the statistics for the same entry in the English edition.
Poland and Spain, two countries sometimes considered part of the periphery of Europe, have entered the European Union, whose future must also be constructed with free exchanges of our views concerning “our” history. “Our” history, I write, as the history of Spain and that of other Western countries cannot be understood without studying the history of (geographically) Central and Eastern Europe – such as Poland. Conversely, the history of contemporary Central and Eastern Europe cannot be grasped without bearing in mind that countries like Poland had been for a long time part of a European system for which Western Europe is another active agent.

Translated by Philip Banks

Bibliography


Españoles y polacos en la Corte de Carlos V. Cartas del embajador Juan Dantisco, ed. by Antonio Fontán, Madrid, Alianza, 1984

Fabro Bremundan, Francisco, *Floro histórico de la guerra movida por el sultan de los turcos Mehemet IV contra el Augustissimo Leopoldo Primero, Emperador de Romanos, &. El Año M.DC.LXXXIII.*, Madrid, En la Imprenta de Bernardo de Villa-Diego, 1684


Hispano-Polonica. Homenaje a Piotr Sawicki, Wrocław, Wyd. UWr, 2007 (“Estudios Hispánicos”, no. 15)


La cultura del barroco español e iberoamericano y su contexto europeo, [International Congress on The Culture of Spanish and Ibero-American Baroque and its European
Fernando Sánchez-Marcos


Rzeczpospolita w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego / The Republic of Poland during the times of John III Sobieski, [exhibition catalogue], Regional Museum of Stalowa Wola, ed. by Kazimierz Kuczman, Stalowa Wola, Muzeum Regionalne, 2004


Sabik, Kazimierz, Del corral al palacio. Estudios sobre el teatro español del Siglo de Oro, Warsaw, IEII, 2000 (“Monografías del Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos. Universidad de Varsovia”, no. 9)


Sawicki, Piotr, Los vaivenes del hispanismo polaco. Inicio, desarrollo, expansión, “Mundo eslavo. Revista de cultura y estudios eslavos” (Granada), no. 2 (2003), pp. 9-18


Tazbir, Janusz, La opinión polaca sobre España en los siglos XVI-XVIII, “Hispania” (Madrid), LI (1991), no. 2 (178), pp. 559-587


www.culturahistorica.es (web site on historical culture, history of historiography and theory of history)
The term “old Res Publica”, as used in the title, refers to early modern period, or the 16th through 18th centuries: late Renaissance, and (primarily) Baroque. Hence, we shall be discussing residents of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under the last Jagiellonians followed by a number of elected monarchs. The state itself, inhabited by some ten million, was extensive in terms of territory, with decentralised power and poorly developed administration; its population was diversified in terms of nationality and religion alike, the social structure basing on distinct social division, and dominated by the nobles.

The political power of the nobility, as well as their culture and related educational capacity were decisive to the country’s opportunities, and its ability to meet civilisation-related challenges. The bourgeoisie was far less important in those terms. Their educational aspirations, albeit frequently perceived as a way to social advancement and fairly conspicuously expressed, were rather limited in execution. The vast majority of peasantry, on the other hand, seemingly had no such aspirations at all.

It would be therefore worth our while to closely examine all and any changes in education of the elite, in recognition of long-term consequences of new, if any, educational forms and customs. Upon the threshold of modern times, one such novelty consisted in travel abroad to study, considerably more frequent in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time than in the Middle Ages.

Nature and Specificity of the Phenomenon

Travel, as in “being on the move”, coupled with constant exposure to new fields of experience, business deals, and social life, is omnipresent throughout our history and culture. Over time, the only noticeable changes
related to forms of travel and its technicalities, gradually enabling the coverage of ever-greater distances. Key motives remained unchanged: the will to explore unknown territory, trade exchange, religious needs, and broadly understood education – albeit different motives took precedent depending on period, region, and community.

In this paper, we shall focus on travel involving education abroad during the period of the 16th through 18th centuries in the context of the system of educating the nobility and bourgeois elite of the time. The phenomenon seems noteworthy: not only does the educational system carry the functionality of fundamental social importance by determining civilisation-related opportunities of consecutive generations, but it also speaks loudly of the society itself, of its attitude to values and their hierarchy, of aspirations of assorted group and community representatives, and of the way practicalities were implemented.

According to one belief, the system of education (at least that official and formalised) tends to lag behind social changes and consequent expectations concerning educational fields and forms, and is in that sense rather inert. Nonetheless, we are able to identify cases of a modernised education system also serving to modernise the society, in conformity to long-term plans and within the framework of a well-developed concept followed by an elite fully conscious of its objectives. Such should, for example, be the classification of reforms of the age of enlightenment, implemented and approved of, if not always supported, by graduates of schools formerly reformed by the Commission for National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej).

Despite the founding of certain institutions with modernising ambitions (such as the Nowodworski Schools in Cracow, successful as university preparation facilities), the old Polish system of education had been usually dominated by conservative elements serving to cement the traditional hierarchy of values. The domestic scene included parish schools offering elementary education, and home tutoring. The Cracovian Academy, founded in the 14th century, was past its years of glory at the time, while the other college, the University of Vilnius (established during the reign of Stefan Báthory on the basis of a formerly existent Jesuit College) had not

1 “Bringing up is a conservative process. Parents tend to educate and bring their children up in the way they themselves had been educated and brought up” – A. Danysz, Instrukcje wychowawcze Jakóba Sobieskiego, in: id., Studia z dziejów wychowania w Polsce, Kraków, Książnica Główna, 1921, p. 212. Another comment concerns staff generals who plan wars against past wartime experiences, suffering spectacular failures in consequence.
yet gained sufficient prestige to expand its area of influence; the Zamość Academy, opened in late 16th century in emulation of the Parisian Collège Royal as a university training state officials, had never managed to live up to the role originally planned by its founder, chancellor Jan Zamoyski. The protestant German-language Królewiec (Königsberg) was a nearby option. In general, the overall offer was clearly far from satisfactory to elite Polish-Lithuanian communities of the time.

Given the context, foreign “schooling” travel, which had developed into a relatively mass-scale phenomenon throughout the 16th century, seems to have been a form displaying astonishing modernity, well ahead of its time. Furthermore, the phenomenon debated here is truly fascinating in that such an educational model required considerable effort and sacrifice, especially under circumstances of few, if any, examples encountered in travel enjoying domestic approval.

Sending a son abroad to college required parental determination mainly for reasons of the indispensable financial outlay: all tutoring and boarding expenses had to be covered in cash, of which there was disproportional scarcity in the economic system of the nobles when compared with their actual wealth. The parent or guardian of a potential peregrinating student, accustomed to supporting himself, his family, and servants on basis of peasant-style in-kind contribution, had to make an extra effort to amass appropriate funds, of which there was usually a shortage, as described in preserved correspondence. “I sing but one song, now that Your Grace is in foreign lands, and today I repeat it in all sincerity: I spare no cost or fund for my son’s education or true schooling, though it does my income curb”, wrote Aleksander Ługowski in July 1641 to Szymon Naruszowicz, priest, preceptor, and guardian of Jaś Ługowski, then a student in Innsbruck. ² Despite the cost, sacrifice, and difficulties which had to be overcome, the peregrination formula proved relatively popular as an evidently attractive option, important for reasons of its prestige as well.

Phrasing used to describe the sense and purpose of foreign education is found in parental guidelines, whose authors had to cover the aforementioned expenses when investing in their sons’ future. A glance at those passages, or at any preserved correspondence containing records of travel and educational progress alike, hints at major interest in humanistic trends in culture, increasingly prevalent in the Res Publica as of late 15th century. Seeking their sources was perceived as a worthy cultural

challenge. Communities were interested in famous works of art, buildings, and fortifications. The beneficial influence of exposure to foreign customs and institutional solutions was strongly believed in.

Such broadly understood curiosity of the world and need for intellectual inspiration were sufficiently strong to give rise to the aforementioned elite custom of travelling abroad; the power of the new model proved permanent. In that sense, the Old Polish system of education was altered following expansion to include a major component. This was indirect proof of a groundswell of social and cultural change.

Foreign Educational Offer

Thus, the natural question would be what educational options were open to foreign students at European universities of the time, and whether the offer matched expectations. One ought to bear in mind that in early modern times, the European university system underwent relatively major changes when compared with the middle ages. The mediaeval model, in formation since the end of the 12th century, was universal in style, if only for language reasons; the entire continent was taught in Latin: the language barrier was not an issue. Moreover, all European universities were similar in their organisational structure in emulation of Bologna or Paris; universities usually had four departments each (liberal arts, law, medicine, and theology), and, more importantly, they had a system of mutual degree and title recognition (licentiate, baccalaureate, master, doctor). The licentia ubique docendi papal privilege was tantamount to an authorisation to teach throughout the world of Latin Christianity.

Therefore, the teaching system resembled a supranational community of mutual trust in terms of the level of qualifications gained. Moreover, universities enjoyed autonomy from the church and secular institutions alike; the rule of independence in electing authorities of all levels prevailed, which (theoretically, at least) translated into a lack of external interference with academic hierarchy, definable by scientific and organisational qualifications only. Latin-speaking Europe of the late 15th and early 16th centuries had more than sixty such colleges, including Prague, Vienna, and Cracow.3

On the threshold of modern times, in the wake of reformation and the founding of national states, the aforementioned uniformity began eroding. Numerous and often excellent protestant universities opened i.a. in Wittenberg, Heidelberg, Tübingen, Leipzig, Geneva, Zurich, and Königsberg. This brought a permanent division by belief to the college (and student, after a while!) community, translating in turn into periodical student attendance problems at formerly well-functioning catholic universities.

In principal, however, the development of modern states and the growing needs of their administrative bodies sped up the process of establishing new academic and vocational schools offering law, medical, technological, artistic and military education. In consequence, the number of universities in catholic as well as protestant countries grew rapidly. The decision on how to select a college thus became much more difficult, and required a larger number of parameters to be considered.

Foreign Travel in the Context of Old Polish Education

Reconstructing the old Polish educational model is rather difficult because of the large number of potential scenarios, and – primarily – the social and wealth-related diversity of the student community. Nonetheless, it is possible (as suggested) to use an example appropriately rich in educational episodes, and such opportunity lies in the history of Jerzy Ossoliński’s youth. Ossoliński was a renowned diplomat and grand chancellor of the crown, which made him a representative of old Polish elite (“While the Ossoliński family were not part of the Republic’s ruling classes, they were second to none in Poland in terms of the ancient lineage”, as the author of Ossoliński’s classic biography wrote4); our choice also relates to the fact that Jerzy himself as well as his father, Zbigniew Ossoliński, left valuable journals with descriptions of educational matters and their social context.

Jerzy Ossoliński entered regular education at around ten years of age, when sent for three years to the Jesuit College in Pułtusk. In 1607 he was dispatched for four years to Graz, which he later recorded in his journal: “[…] father sent me with my older brother to Graz on 19 septembris, willing him to be part of the archduke Ferdinand’s court, and me to study at the local academy”.5 He boarded with the local Jesuit convent.

---

Upon return and a six-month rest, the time came for the fundamental component of the eighteen-year old’s foreign peregrination: “[...] so that I would not become slothful, father sent me to foreign lands again”, wrote Jerzy in his journal. His father made a similar comment in his own memoirs.

Ossoliński spent his first year in Louvain. After many years, he recalls:

I began with hiring a philosophy professor, with whom I repeated the entire course of philosophy and the metaphysics finals *privatim* during that one year. I had another private one, albeit shared with numerous other con-disciples. He read *Institutiones Iustiniani* [legal compilation drafted under the rule of Byzantine emperor Justinian in the 6th century A.D.] to us, and held frequent disputes to the great benefit of us all.

Thus, his education varied in form: entirely private when it came to philosophy; mixed, as in private with other students attending – for purposes of legal commentary; public lectures were also an option. Having scrutinised the available tutoring offer, our student selected the Dutch lawyer Gerard Corselius (1568-1636), and the historian and classic philologist Eric Puteanus, who dealt with works by Quintus Curtius Rufus, a Roman historian of the 1st century A.D. and biographer of Alexander the Great.

Then Ossoliński travelled to Paris, France, visiting the Netherlands, Flanders, and England on the way – “to see and perceive worthy matters, including customs of the different nations, which is of great assistance to young men in their dignity and experience of worldly things”. He spent his next year in Paris.

The time was not wasted, as apart from the French language, I had a professor in mathematics, and so did not miss public lessons and disputes at the local Academy, but primarily polished *stilum privato studio*, resorting to the constant reading of lead orators and historians. My *exercitia* included horsemanship, playing the lute, and dancing. As to security and handsome behaviour, I was assisted by conversing with people of importance in the nation, and by frequently

---

6 Ibid., p. 34.
7 Under an analogous date, April 24th 1613, Zbigniew Ossoliński wrote “of my Jurek’s expedition to foreign lands *ad continuanda studia* I made appropriate effort and dispatched him in God’s good graces and healthy on Maii 14th to Louvain, whereto he travelled on (May) 18th from Cracow via Prague and Nuremberg – please good God, happily!” (Z. Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik*, ed. by J. Długosz, Warszawa, PIW, 1983, pp. 56, 76).
8 Thanks to such lectures – as we find – “young people were well exercised in elocution” (J. Ossoliński, pp. 36-37).
9 Ibid., p. 41; see Kubala, p. 8.
observing the local court, in which I was immensely facilitated by public acts, weighty and many that year.\footnote{J. Ossoliński, p. 41.}

Yet again, private classes (seemingly dominant) were combined with public lectures. Specifically gained qualifications (French, mathematics, rhetorics) blended in with skills valuable in court and social life (horseback riding, lute, and dancing classes). Benefits stemming from participating in the French court’s life were pointed to, or even highlighted: courtly conversation and witnessing local ceremonies were an asset.

Ossoliński spent his third year abroad in Italy, chiefly in Padua, where he studied Italian while polishing his style and rhetoric skills; this is also where he wrote and published (1615) a treatise entitled \textit{Questiones ethicae}. At year-end, he travelled to Rome, where he stayed for nearly six months. “I began that year,” he wrote in his diary, “with a Roman abode, where I engaged in \textit{solita exercitia} and studies, while watching things of dignity and conversations of the great in their various professions, something far from difficult to find in this city”.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 43-44.} One such “great” character is easy to identify: Abraham Bzowski of the Dominican order, author of the \textit{Church Annals (Roczniki kościelne)}, and a person of importance in the Roman Curia.

Leaving Rome, young Jerzy travelled briefly to Naples, where (sight-seeing apart) he spent time “exercising handsome seat in horsemanship under Horatio Pintatio, a master famous throughout Europe”. Upon returning to Rome in “the second month”, he received his father’s summons to go home. He followed the order, “unwilling to miss a sound opportunity” – the phrase suggests a will to take advantage of the political situation, and make an appearance in circles close to the increasingly influential prince Ladislaus.

In summary: the peregrination was lengthy, rich in experience, and diversified. Typically for Polish travel of the time, it coupled private tutoring usually supervised by a guardian-preceptor accompanying the young master, attendance at lectures delivered by renowned professors, and diligent enjoyment of local attractions: connections at the Parisian court, or horseback riding classes in Naples, then famous throughout Europe for its community of horsemanship masters.\footnote{The father, Zbigniew Ossoliński, wrote on August 7th 1616 of his son’s successful return, and expressed (albeit laconically) satisfaction of the effects of the journey (Z. Ossoliński, p. 76).} Notably, a typical educational sequence was obviously far less expansive.
University Realities – Educational Realities

Preferred Locations

The choice of route or locations of extended stay was far from hap-
hazard. The decision was driven by a number of factors, primarily by the
reputation of a given college and her professors.

In his journal, Jakub Sobieski speaks with respect if not reverence
of a renowned medic, Geronimo Fabrizio Aquapendente, a former tutor
at Padua – “in surgery and anatomy superior to all Christian world”.

“Of all philosophers, [Caesar] Cremonius was primas, who philosophiam
discipulis dictabat [taught his students philosophy], not from pages
written at home, but from memory alone, in emulation of a priest at
the pulpit, a magnificent ingenium [skill]”, wrote Maciej Vorbek-Lettow
enthusiastically about the fame and rhetoric skill of another professor
from Padua. Vorbek-Lettow, future doctor of Ladislaus IV, journeyed in
the second decade of the 17th century.

Teodor Billewicz, who visited Padua sixty-five years later, emphasised
the multidisciplinary nature of education offered at the local Academy,
“famous throughout the Italian land for all its fields; in particular medica
tractantur [medicine is studied]”.

A desirable and frequently considered factor was the isolated and quiet
nature of university centres. Maciej Rywocki, guardian and preceptor to
the young Kryski masters – Wojciech and Szczęsny, sons of Mazovian
Voivode Stanislaus – wrote in 1584 in support of an extension of his
charges’ stay in Padua. “I do see,” he argued, “that there is no place more
peaceful for study than Padua”. In 1613, Jerzy Ossoliński explained
Louvain as his first choice for studying abroad by claiming that “this was
a city well-matched for the profession, and the most beloved venue for
the learned”, whereas Jan Heidenstein, who arrived in Louvain in 1631,

---

14 Further entries prove that renowned professors taught at all departments, with
the jurist Jacobus Gallus (1525-1618) most famous of all (M. Vorbek-Lettow, *Skarbnica
pamięci. Pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV*, ed. by E. Galos, F. Mincer, Wrocław,
15 T. Billewicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677-1678*, ed. by M. Kunicki-
16 *Macieja Rywockiego Księgi peregrynackie (1584-1587)*, ed. by J. Czubek, Kraków,
AU, 1910, p. 191.
17 J. Ossoliński, p. 36.
thus explained its prestige, and thus his own motivation: “This seclusion, seeming to conceal the Academy within its folds, gave it splendour and a certain fame, thanks to a large number of learned professors, and crowds of students arriving from all parts”.18

Organisers of student travel and accommodation apparently feared the impact of huge agglomerations on the morale of their charges. Moreover, and quite importantly, boarding and tutoring costs were lower at remote locations.

Studying Conditions

Notwithstanding the above, the quality of foreign studies abroad or actual conditions of studying should by no means be idealised, as proven in numerous entries in peregrination journals, including references to locations considered most prestigious. In a letter addressing Voivode Kryski and sent from Venice on December 31st 1584, Maciej Rywocki gave the following description of his charges’ circumstances in Padua: “They attend neither the Academy, nor the Jesuits, plurimos doctissimos consulti, as dissolutio, non studium, at the Academy for the time being, and doctors are unable to read there now. Moreover, no one recommended the Jesuits, as nil studii there either”. Given the overall circumstances, the young Kryskis, and two other Polish students (Franciszek Lipski and Piotr Opaliński) were forced to use private tutoring services at a considerably higher cost.19 Ten years later, the Padua reality was described in terms no less harsh by Stanisław Reszka, renowned traveller and diplomat, in a letter to Szymon Szymanowicz.20

We owe a curious record of the academic reality in Siena to Jaś Ługowski, the aforementioned young man from a noble family, who travelled for educational purposes in the years 1639-1643. He wrote in his laconic Latin-language travelogue:

They say that the Academy in Siena was founded many years ago, but it has no students; the few there are completely inane. They prevent professors from teaching; whenever a professor begins tutoring, they make noise, shout, and throw stones, so that the professor has to leave. The whole Academy is covered with dirt.

18 Peregrynacja Jana Heidensteina przez Belgię, Francję i Włochy w roku 1631 zaczęta a w roku 1634 zakończona, ed. by Z. Pietrzyk, Kraków, Collegium Columbinum, 2005, p. 36.
19 Macieja Rywockiego Księgi, pp. 189-190.
20 Stanislaui Rescii epistolarum liber unus, Neapoli, Giovanni Giacomo Carlino, Antonio Pace, 1594, p. 496.
Further comments, however, show the college not to be all that negative: “All sciences are taught there, as our professors, especially those from Siena, are the most learned of all”, concluded Ługowski while emphasising the commonly known advantages of the Tuscan language (the purest form of which was to prevail in Siena) as well as the intellectually attractive leisure-time options.\(^{21}\)

The educational reality, and specifically the learning progress, were mostly described in bright terms, as letters were customarily penned by students themselves or their guardians to the students’ parents. “His Grace is not wasting time here in Leipzig; he takes several classes a day: in iure, in mathematicis, in philosophias, and practices the German language one hour a day. He fences out of class, and rides horseback, weather permitting,” wrote Salomon Rysiński, guardian to master Krzysztof Radziwiłł, son of Krzysztof Radziwiłł Piorun, in 1602. The young Radziwiłł’s other preceptor, Samuel Filipowski, assured the concerned father of his charge’s progress in German classes, though highlighting that the young master could well use someone brought in from Poland and fluent in the language.\(^{22}\)

The Financial Reality vs. Relations with the Teaching Community

Albeit young nobles travelling abroad to study were a relatively frequent phenomenon (obviously in the democracy-abhoring sense of the phrase as used in the period discussed), the community’s tremendous diversity, wealth-related as well, should be borne in mind. The cost of educational travel and related issues were a common concern to all; nonetheless, financial problems affected students and their guardians to a varying extent.

The largest number of associated comments can be found in preceptors’ correspondence with the Poland-dwelling parents of students. The authors of those letters used the reality as an explanation for exceeding the expense limit, or simply to highlight their sound asset management and ability to save. The aforementioned Maciej Rywocki, reporting to Voivode Kryska on the realities of his sons’ stay in Padua, wrote suggestively of “Padua’s high prices”, which were supposedly nothing in comparison with the cost of living in Rome, allegedly twice or even three times as high.\(^{23}\)

\(^{21}\) Jasia Ługowskiego podróże, pp. 391-392.


\(^{23}\) Macieja Rywockiego Księgi, p. 190.
An extreme example, illustrating the scale of expenses relating to social representation and duties, as well as the rather specific bond between wealthy students and the professor community, can be found in letters penned by Samuel Filipowski, guardian to master Krzysztof Radziwiłł, son of Krzysztof Radziwiłł Piorun.

Krzysztof Radziwiłł’s expenses in the course of his early-17th century educational travel to Leipzig were to total four, and occasionally exceed seven thousand zlotys – a truly impressive amount at the time. “Your Grace ordered master Krzysztof to consort and behave appropriately with the great; His Grace master Krzysztof has made the title of duke public (which announcement was of most detriment to Your Grace’s pocket)” – wrote Filipowski in October of 1601 to Krzysztof Radziwiłł senior, further specifying that “one thousand zlotys are spent per six months on food alone, no more than six dishes for dinner and supper alike”.

The number of consumers was a deciding factor, it seems: “Professors take dinner with His Grace every Sunday, and indeed they arrive in turn, as their number exceeds thirty; His Grace asks two professors every Sunday until they have all been with us in rotation, to converse and practice, otherwise he would not have benefitted from staying here at all”, continued Filipowski. In greater detail, he highlights that the two professors teaching Krzysztof privatim “continuously visit and dine or sup with His Grace”; furthermore, “His Grace always brings a dozen professors from college”, not to mention the local nobility and other persons with titles “coming purposely to meet His Grace”.24 “And other magnates, who board in town, councillors, and collegiates – sometimes, as God is my witness, my head spins, it seems we are staying at an imperial court rather than at school”.25

Such generosity bestowed upon professors by a student was by no means customary; nonetheless, such specific familiarity formed (it seems) a crucial part of educational reality at the time. Benefits were bilateral and hard to question, although one might well ask whether such relations were always conducive to learning progress.

Proof of such specific familiarity in relations can also be found in journals by Jan Heidenstein, son of Jan – a famous historian during Stefan Báthory’s reign. The young Heidenstein, who arrived in Louvain in June of 1631, describes how his stay at the famous university was organised:

25 The excerpt is quoted by Sajkowski, p. 241.
I began with renting bed and board with the distinguished master Piotr Castellan, at 300 Brabant florins for me and 200 florins for my servant, and that excepting the tutoring fee (he lectured me on Tacitus). Once he died after three-quarters of the year, I applied to another renowned and famous person, the distinguished master Eric Puteanus, royal councillor, historiographer and professor. I paid him an amount of 360 for myself and 200 for my servant for one year of boarding. It was pleasant to live with him, as I had equal admiration for his learning and his virtue; I attempted to emulate him. Gentle in manner, sweet in speech, handsome in expression, and known for many proofs of virtue.

Other professors listed by Heidenstein include Nicholas Vernulanus (1583-1649), who taught him logics, physics, ethics, economy, and politics; and a well-known theologian, Thomas Leonardi (1596-1668) of the Dominican order, who “tuned my mind in private conversation, so that – educated and assisted with efforts by great and famous teachers – I wouldn’t succumb to anything shameful or infamous”.

Students from faraway countries, even if of limited means, boarded with their tutors, which was an obvious asset to education, and made academic relationships more familiar.

The domination of private student-professor relations has also been confirmed in memoirs by Maciej Vorbek-Lettow, who also – albeit somewhat earlier, in the early 1610s – arrived in Louvain as guardian to the masters Sapieha, Fryderyk and Aleksander: “And since the young masters hired a private preceptor to read the Institutiones iuris to them (they attend public schooling pro forma, and then only classes held by Eric Puteanus, who reads ethicam Aristotelii and retoricam in trilingui collegio [at the tri-lingual college], while participating in private classes he delivers as professor eloquentiae), I had to carry Their Graces’ files, but also listened to classes so as not to sit in idly.”

That author’s opinions on the university in Padua seem even more fascinating. Lettow arrived in Padua on December 5th 1612: “[...] the Parisian Academy excepted, I see none equal in Europa available to a studiosus, especially at lower outlay. Suffice to gather a dozen of them or so, and they then convince one professor or another to read privatim,

---

26 Piotr Castellan (1585-1632) taught Greek and medicine in Louvain; Heidenstein’s servant’s name was Zembecki.
27 Eryk Puteanus (1574-1646) was a famous historian and Latinist.
28 Peregrynacja Jana Heidensteina, pp. 34-35.
29 A civil law textbook written in the 6th century A.D. in Byzantium, by the scientist Trebonianus.
30 Vorbek-Lettow, p. 41.
which such professor does *gratis* recognising it a great honour and prize, as the students not only listen to his *publicas lectiones*, but also walk him to the Academy and back home after the lessons are over”.

Thus, professors would teach their students for free for support and prestige. Lettow spoke of this strangely contemporary motivation *expressis verbis*, emphasising that the number of students in class determined the professor’s position in the community, which in turn coaxed tutors into competing and vying for student appreciation, and into constant efforts to make classes increasingly attractive.31

Evolution of Educational Travel in Old Poland

Albeit foreign “schooling” travel became a crucial and permanent component of the educational system in Poland at the time, it is considerably difficult to assess the usefulness of qualifications gained during such peregrination. All related benefits were a combination of knowledge and intellectual training on the one hand, and established social connections on the other. In the reality of the *Res Publica* of the nobles, the former seems to be with time giving way to the other: the importance of education and intellect is gradually weakening, with general worldliness gaining.

We understand that the phenomenon stems from two intertwined reasons. Firstly, the share of young people of noble and magnate origin in the 17th century grew in comparison with the previous century, whereas the domination of the nobles among travelling folk might speak of lesser propensity for regular studies. Secondly, the usefulness of qualifications gained was gradually put to the test. Since a career at court was the utmost ambition, worldliness and correct manners gained importance against measurable knowledge confirmed with a scientific title.

In the context, the term *peregrinatio academica* (a synthetic summary of knowledge-oriented travel) seems to be as quintessential as *Grand Tour*, a phrase describing a journey in search of general polish, worldliness, and social connections.32 Each term highlights a different aspect

31 “Tam ad *calamum publice* nic nie dyktują, ani z karty *praelegit* profesor, ale jak kaznodzieja na katedrze każe, uczy, autora *interpretat*” (ibid., p. 44).

of study-centred peregrination, while hinting at subtle variations in the membership of travelling communities.

Both phenomena were present in the Res Publica of the time, although slightly shifted in time. It may be assumed that young nobles, or – more specifically – parents responsible for their education began (as of the 16th century) displaying major education-related ambitions, and were ready to shoulder the risk and the not inconsiderable costs associated therewith. Notwithstanding the above, excepting isolated cases of true prodigies, the usefulness of peregrination-gained qualifications was rather questionable in the students’ future careers. Regular university studies were not a decisive factor in the career of a young student, whose future was rather dependent on family connections, on access to a client system or to the royal court directly, or on public activity – at a local parliament (sejmik) followed by the central Sejm.

The bourgeois and clerical circumstances were somewhat different. In their case, theological or legal education offered a major step up in terms of opportunities and lifestyle. Albeit they considered regular university studies a constant and major attraction, they were not the group decisive to the formation of education-bound customs – the nobles and magnates were. Notably, following the period of initial fascination, mistrust of western cultural models gradually began developing. Protection against their unfavourable influence materialised in the person of a trusted preceptor, competent as tutor and educator, and in the “touring” format of educational activities.

Therefore, the aforementioned change to the nature of educational travel stemmed from a test of their usefulness by consecutive student generations. Since courtly aspirations no longer required in-depth erudition, but knowledge rather more dilettante in nature, the Grand Tour formula, a perfect response to such needs, dominated the foreign component of education favoured in Poland up until the 18th century.

Long-term Inspirations and Results

Consequences of educational travel are a matter as important as it is hard in unambiguous assessment. Did foreign inspirations shape the peregrinators’ mentality? Did they (and to what extent) impact their future fates and career? It is by no means easy to answer those questions. Indubitably, several generations of most influential groups
in the *Res Publica* of the time had experienced a certain form of education truly illustrating European diversity; notwithstanding the above, what consequences did the educational and travel boom carry for Polish-Lithuanian realities?

The conviction that Polish nobles studying abroad returned profoundly changed and distinctly formed is accompanied by a belief that knowledge and skills in specific areas are far less important than general “worldliness”, consisting in awareness of the magnitude of diversities, and absorption of modern civilisation-related solutions. Does the Polish-Lithuanian reality of the 16th and 17th centuries feature sufficient body of proof for such revitalising influence?

One could well argue that graduates of foreign universities, as well as all other European *Grand Tour* participants, albeit usually the elite of society and wealth, under any circumstances the most well-developed and influential part of the Polish community of the time, had not reformed their motherland according to western modes, as profoundly proven by subsequent turns of Polish history. In all likelihood, exposure to diversity impacted flexibility in thinking, although not sufficiently to question domestic institutions, structures, or habits, not to mention a hierarchy of values approved by generation after generation.

Therefore, friendships and connections established with other students (other Polish-Lithuanian arrivals) may well prove to be the most important thing gained in studying abroad. On his way from Padua to Rome in 1615, Jerzy Ossoliński stopped in Bologna, where “I spent several weeks”, as he duly recorded in his journal, “thanks to a friendly gesture by Messrs. Mikołaj and Prokop Sieniawski; the friendship was kindled upon our first meeting, and has remained within us eternally, specifically with master Prokop, today’s standard-bearer of the crown”.33 “I beg Your Grace to recommend my friendly services *per occasionem* to His Grace Voivode of Malbork [Fabian Czema], and remind him that we have been Schul-bruder [... “], wrote Cardinal Stanisław Hożjusz from Rome to Jan Działyński, Voivode of Chełm, in a letter dated October 19th 1577.34

Such bonds could be of fundamental importance to political configurations former peregrinators helped establish: they formed a community

33 J. Ossoliński, p. 43.
34 A. Grabowski, *Starożytności historyczne polskie, czyli pisma i pamiętniki do dziejów dawniej Polski*, vol. II, Kraków, Józef Czech, 1840, p. 270. The term itself obviously stems from German: *die Schule* – school; *der Bruder* – brother.
bound with student experience and friendships forged in unusual circumstances, as well as with distinct similarities in curricula vitae and analogies in the sequence of educational lifestyle.\textsuperscript{35}
According to Peter Burke, Allan Ellenius and other historians, political reorganisation in Europe after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 may have produced a simultaneous crisis of court ceremony across the continent. These scholars have identified the appearance of an increased number of ceremonial treatises and posts related to ceremonies. They outlined the birth of a new concern for cultural representation of power in the mid-17th century. Most of the subsequent studies of this phenomenon have focused on cultural representation at the Prince’s own court. Nonetheless, basing on the example of the large Spanish Habsburg Monarchy we can question ways of expressing courtly culture and legitimising its power abroad, at viceregal courts. The purpose of this paper is to explore the process from Italy, and more precisely from the Neapolitan court.

Thanks to their favour-granting policy, Spaniards attracted Italian elites and maintained a community faithful to the dynasty. Does this, however, serve to fully explain Spanish supremacy in Italy? In his well-known article on “Europe of composite monarchies”, J.H. Elliott poses a pertinent question: How did unions resembling those of the Spanish monarchy – so artificial in conception and so loose in articulation – hold together for so long? Portugal remained tied to Spain for sixty years; Naples – for almost two centuries. The Spanish success of retaining control over Naples fifty years after the revolt of Masaniello in 1647 was partly due to the fact that Spaniards decided to revise their
political imagery, their involvement in ceremony, and their patronage activities with an aim to become better at achieving political purposes. This campaign started in Rome, the theatre of nations, where each crown displayed showed itself to the European monarchies represented in the city by their legations. From then onwards, Philip IV, aware of the need to reinforce his image in Italy after suffering the 1640 revolts in Catalonia and Portugal, introduced a policy of artistic patronage with regard to the Church’s possessions, based on the allocation of several fixed pensions payable to assorted Roman congregations, such as St. Peter’s, Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. As early as 1643, he expressed the desire to make a substantial donation to the congregation of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. This was when the congregation announced that it would erect a statue to Philip IV as a sign of gratitude. In 1647, the Spanish *Obra Pía* promulgated in Innocent X’s bull *Sacri Apostolatus Ministerio* was enacted, making Philip IV the great benefactor of Santa Maria Maggiore. It marked the starting point of a widespread artistic campaign soon extended throughout the remaining part of Italy, intended to attract supporters and detractors alike. In Italy, the Spanish and the French swayed between confidence and mistrust in the political power of images. In 1664, the viceroy, count of Peñaranda, demonstrated his lack of faith in ceremonies, differing from the French in the gesture. Referring to Cardinal Flavio Chigi’s recent legateship to France, he sustained that the honours, treatment and gifts he received at the court in Paris failed to impress him in any way imaginable, whereas the French maintained that they had converted him into a *tutta francese*. In contrast, other Spaniards dispatched to Italy, such as the Count of Oñate (in Rome

---

4 For documentation on pensions awarded by Spain, see: Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro (The Vatican), ARM. 37, G, p. 472, *Spedizione di danaro dalla Spagna, 1660-83*, [“The Financing from Spain, 1660-1683”].


6 Peñaranda expressed his doubts concerning benefits brought about by ceremonies in: Archivo General de Simancas [hereinafter: AGS], Estado-Roma [hereinafter: E-R], 3287-111, letter of the Count of Peñaranda sent from Barcelona on October 21st 1664: *que el cardenal no vino francés ni lo serán el ni su tío; ni los favores que ha recibido en ceremonias borraran de su ánimo la memoria de los estragazos de obra y de palabra que lo han hecho sentir franceses* [“the cardinal was not French on his arrival, and neither he nor his uncle – Fabio Chigi – will be so; neither will the favours that he has received in ceremonies erase from his soul the memory of the humiliation in word and deed that the French have made him feel”]. An *avviso* from Paris, in contrast, stated the opposite: ceremonies succeeded in converting Chigi into *tutta francese* (*Avviso* from
between 1645 and 1647), favoured the campaign, asking the king for more field for manoeuvre in order to add greater distinction to their residences in Rome, and thus better embody the king’s dignity. 7

With or without detractors, there was no going back on this image campaign, which was to permeate all areas ruled by Spain in Italy, Naples recognised as the first and foremost of these. Its condition as a fief of the Church made Naples a place very open to anything that happened in Rome. In the case of the Neapolitan court, it was clear that the lack of a king by no means implied any lack of focal point or centre of patronage. We might thus question the manner of displaying magnificence to political ends, and manipulating symbols for political effect. This paper will focus on three main innovations identifiable in the representation of viceregal power at the time. Firstly, the increasing visibility of Spanish monarchy in Italy; secondly, the expansion of Hispanic pietas; and thirdly, the new symbolic appropriation of local devotions and festivities. 8

In recent decades, courtly studies have re-emerged as a research field thanks to the rediscovery of Norbert Elias’ works; the court itself has become a central issue of discussion for the political and cultural history of early modern societies. Today, historians seem to be favouring engagement

7 The Count of Oñate decided to endow the Spanish embassy with its first established seat in Rome, by buying the Palazzo Monaldeschi and commissioning Borromini to reform it. The reasons that he put forward for purchasing it can be found in a letter dated February 9th 1647, AGS, Estado [hereinafter: E], 3016. The Duke of Terranova asked Philip IV for 10,000 escudos to dignify the palace. He spent 30,000 escudos from his own pocket and asked for the sum to be reimbursed. The Council of State paid him only 10,000 escudos. He justified the expense on the residence as he wished to compete with the los sumptuosos edificios que allí (en Roma) tienen los potentados, las casas de los barones romanos y muchos de menos esfera [“the sumptuous buildings that the magnates have there (in Rome), the houses of the Roman nobility and many of lesser rank”] (Letter of Terranova dated April 29th 1654, AGS, E, 3026). On the palace in general see: A. Anselmi, Il palazzo dell’ambasciata di Spagna presso la Santa Sede, Roma, De Luca, 2001.

in confronting the archetypal court (that of Louis XIV) with other models in Europe and further afield. Nevertheless, some examples, such as the court of Naples, remain neglected in the framework of the Europe of Courts, despite the fact that it became one of the most populated cities in the seventeenth century, as a runner-up to Paris and London. New case studies and new perspectives on court culture are raising new questions: Can we assume the existence of a unique and standardised court model? Or, conversely, did courts involve different and ever-changing realities, depending on local conditions and interactions involving a multiplicity of stakeholders?

The peculiar nature of the Neapolitan court makes it a particularly interesting case study in terms of addressing the set of problems. Moreover, the discourse of court ceremonies, festivities, and political imagery are a pertinent angle from which one might approach the complex dynamics of Naples’ integration within the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy. Court ceremonies are not perceived as a mere expression of official ideology, but rather as space for struggle between social groups and transformation of power relationships. Occasionally, ceremonies at the court of Naples were a harbinger of constitutional changes within the kingdom. In 1669, for instance, the Viceroy Pedro Antonio de Aragón (1666-1672) attempted to rebuild the kingdom’s constitutional frame by giving the popular representative (the electo del popolo) an unprecedented central role: primarily in the ceremonial sphere, and – secondly – in the


government itself. Another example can be identified in the context of Philip IV’s succession in Italy. At the beginning of his reign, the monarch had to request the Pope to invest him as the new King of Naples, as the kingdom was a papal fief. The pope issued the golden bull (*bulla aurea*) required, taking an oath of fealty from the new king in return. In 1665, and until June 1666, the investiture remained pending. The Pope proposed a constitutional change to the Kingdom of Naples, making a Papal legate rather than the viceroy ruler of the kingdom during the King of Spain’s minority. The way he chose to announce his decision to the Spanish was by refusing to hold the annual festival of the *chinea*, in the course of which the handing over of a tribute of 7,000 ducats by Spain to the Holy See was staged, the latter ratifying the continuation of Spanish rule in Naples. The delay in preparations preceding the festival was used as a weapon reminding the world of the chasm in relations between Spain and the Holy See.

Moreover, consideration of the gender-related dimension of the court helps shed light on the particular features of the Neapolitan court in comparison with others. At Naples, vicereines joined their husbands in informal power practices, as they had no particular legal status. Chief sources of this paper consist in diplomatic reports, courtly diaries, and *avvisi* (newspapers). We have searched for contemporary witnesses writing of the use of images and ceremony. The Ceremonial book of Renao (1634) and the diary of Innocenzo Fuidoro (1660-1680) explore codes prevailing at the Neapolitan court, and are full of remarks describing the space occupied by either the viceroy or the vicereine, and the way they were expected to act under assorted circumstances.

Ten years ago, the historian Xavier Gil assessed the existence of a variety of provincial court cultures within the composite Spanish monarchy, Valencia to Palermo, and Navarre to Lisbon. These locations had experienced different forms of aggregation to the Monarchy, and, accordingly, each of these provinces or viceroyalties posed different chal-

---

12 These circumstances are studied by: P.L. Rovito, *Il viceregno spagnolo di Napoli. Ordinamento, istituzioni e cultura di governo*, Napoli, Arte Tipografica, 2003. In the words of this scholar, it was a matter of a true *e propria riforma costituzionale, anzi di una sorta di colpo di stato che spaventò la corte madrileña*.


lenges and problems.\textsuperscript{15} Like Lisbon, the Kingdom of Naples belonged to a similar category of viceregal Spanish courts. Both capitals had been seats of a royal court in the past, which, according to Giovanni Botero, had an influence on their composition in early modern times. Both kingdoms had been united with the Spanish Monarchy under the same form of aggregation, known as \textit{aeque principaliter}; their laws, \textit{fueros} and privileges were preserved accordingly. Naples, similarly to other provinces within Spanish Monarchy, served as a stage, upon which the Crown’s authority and the limits to its jurisdiction underwent a continuous process of negotiation, with profound results. Relations with local actors, such as aristocracy and the Church in particular, affected the viceroy’s rule, as was the case at other courts. Spanish viceroys in Naples applied a “pact-based” form of power in order to introduce compromise to the widespread feudal jurisdiction of the nobility, the fierce independence of the legal system, and the considerable ecclesiastical jurisdiction prevailing in Spanish lands in Italy. The viceroy in Naples or Lisbon, then, had to deal with old, and strong, local political institutions, whereas royal courts were generally created \textit{ex novo} at new locations (like Madrid itself) in early modern times. This meant that the king did not need to bow to local mediaeval traditions to the extent well-known to new viceroys at old royal courts such as Naples. In some cases, more so than the king, the viceroy needed to use symbolic and rhetorical resources in order to define his own authority and legitimacy with relation to local jurisdictions.

It would be convenient to consider relations between a Spanish viceregal court and the main court of Madrid. What made the Spanish court unique in early modern times was, to quote Sir John Elliott: “its balance of tension between the claims of reclusive and public kingship”.\textsuperscript{16} Spain made kingship at once remote and impressive. These were the two strands of the legacy of King Charles V: the isolation of the king (the need to protect him) on the one hand, and the use of political imagery and court ceremony to project glories of the dynasty (the need to project the royal image) on the other. Moreover, Spanish life at court was perceived


\textsuperscript{16} Elliott, p. 68.
The Viceregal Court of Naples

as permeated with elaborate and ceremonious character (extreme formality), and noted for the highly religious character of Spanish kingship in its public manifestations. Did all the provincial courts of the Monarchy operate in the same manner? What was distinctive about the Neapolitan way of performing court functions (concepts of the residence and the seat of government, display of public devotion, sacralisation of the prince, role of the viceroy’s wives)?

In 1442, Alfonso the Magnanimous conquered the kingdom of Naples. In 1503, his heir, Ferdinand II of Aragon, succeeded in re-conquering Naples following the victories of Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (the Great Captain). After the Kingdom passed from under the Aragonese to the Spanish rule, local elites expressed their resentment at the royal court’s departure. The transition became easier thanks to a form of unity with Spain, preserving the kingdom’s own laws and privileges, as aforementioned. Its financial and military resources, as well as its central location in the Mediterranean, made the kingdom a keystone of Habsburg power in Europe.

The Spanish composite Monarchy held six royal households in total, Naples included. The viceroy ruled the kingdom on behalf of an absent king, as his alter ego. Concurrently, however, the viceroy was head and administrator of the royal household of Naples. Naples had a double, ambiguous identity, and was composite in nature as a kingdom-cum-viceroyalty. The viceregal appointment was one of the most coveted offices available post-1550 to Spanish grandees. The wives of viceroys also hailed from the most important Castilian noble families in Spain, some exceptions notwithstanding, such as the well-known case of the Italian Anna Caraffa who married the Viceroy Duke of Medina de las Torres (1637-1644). Some of these ladies became familiar with Italian mores and customs even before their husbands did, becoming cultural mediators and co-ordinators of extended networks. Such was for instance the case of Ana Fernández de Córdoba, who was married to the governor of Milan, the Duke of Feria, from 1625 to 1634. After his death, she married the aforementioned viceroy of Naples, Pedro Antonio de Aragón.

Some research groups in Spain, Italy, and Portugal have engaged in studying the provincial and viceregal courts within the Spanish Monarchy from a comparative perspective, and produced some challenging results. In 2006, a conference was held in Seville (a comparison between Spanish courts in Italy and The Americas), resulting in a book: _Las cortes virreinales de la monarquía española. América e Italia_, ed. by F. Cantù, Roma, Viella, 2008. In 2008, another conference was held in Barcelona (a comparison between courts within the Iberian Peninsula): _El mundo de los virreyes_, ed. by P. Cardim, J.L. Palos, (in press).
To a Neapolitan nobleman, forming part of both the viceroy’s and vicereine’s household was an important source of power and influence. Fuidoro refers to two examples: firstly, that of the aforementioned Vicereine Ana Fernández de Córdoba (1666-1672) and the husband of the Princess of Cassano, who belonged to the same household; and secondly, that of Ana María de Guzmán (1672-1675) and Carlo Calà, both of whom formed part of the Ossorio household.  

When approaching the Neapolitan process from a *longue durée* perspective, what we see is not continuity, but rather a process, wherein court culture, ceremony and strategies of representation to legitimise power were altered over time or deployed in a more calculated way. This was more likely at lesser courts, occasionally more innovative in comparison with leading royal courts. Relevant examples include certain lesser rulers such as the dukes of Burgundy and the changes they introduced to ceremony in the 15th century, or the innovations introduced by the Medici to court performance in the 16th century.

This alternate Spanish way of perceiving and using political imagery was partly a consequence of Spain losing its leadership in Europe. During the period, the Spanish Monarchy lost its continental hegemony, as the centre of European politics shifted to France. It is interesting, therefore, to consider the impact of the deterioration of Spain’s international image, and the ways Spanish viceroys in Italy pursued to improve the management of traditional resources of power to the precise purpose of countering the decline. The process is evident in selected letters of the time; furthermore, it emerges from a consideration of the fact that cultural expenditure (expenses relating to patronage and ceremonial practices) of the Spanish in Italy clearly increased throughout the period (from the 1660s onwards) in response to new political needs, whereas military expenditure, among others, tended to decrease.

---

18 Fuidoro, vol. II, p. 178: (Ana Fernández de Córdoba) *fu ricevuta dalla principessa di Cassano, essendo suo marito di casa Aierbo d’Aragona* [“she was received by the Princess of Caiano, her husband being of the household of Aierbo d’Aragona”]. And Fuidoro, vol. III, p. 3: *il presidente Calà, facendosi parente del marchese di Astorga, per causa che la duchessa sua moglie è di casa Ossorio* [“the president Calà, as Marquis of Astorga’s relative, and married to a woman of the house of Ossorio”].


The growth of cultural expenditure in Spanish Italy is evident from new pensions the Crown created for financing the Roman Congregation responsible for the construction of St. Peter’s and St. John Lateran (the so-called *Fabbrica di San Pietro*) as we have seen already. Furthermore, a study of accounts from the embassy in Rome and the viceroyalty in Naples enables us to observe growing expenses relating to festivities involving the Spanish for the first time, in cities such as Rome and Naples, two main political centres for Spaniards in Italy, during the period. A number of recent studies point out the lesser rhetorical skills of Spaniards in contrast to Popes, for instance, who were experts at deploying propaganda. In my opinion, however, this balance does not account for the second half of the 17th century. Around 1660, we see a transition towards a more rational use of ceremony and patronage in Spanish Italy. In 1663, the ambassador Pascual de Aragón (1662-1664) still expressed certain doubts with regard to benefits the embassy would obtain from renewed Spanish financing for the construction of the basilica of St. Peter’s. Nonetheless, Spaniards would gradually come to believe in the political usefulness of patronage and ceremonies.

To a certain extent, the invisibility of the king at the Spanish court, as referred to by John H. Elliott, was paralleled by the invisibility of the viceroy in Naples. Naples witnessed the same debate concerning the relative merits of the Spanish style of reclusive kingship, as contrasted with thePopes, who took pains to ensure the erection of large plaques and eye-catching tombs.

---

21 To evaluate the Spanish representatives’ accounts, see for instance: AGS, E-R, 3040, list of the expenditure of Pascual de Aragón’s and Pedro Antonio de Aragón’s ambassadorships to Rome (1661-1666). For growth of cultural expenses in Naples see: British Library, Ms. ADD. 20924, 65, pp. 80-90, 100-108.

22 In the book *Spain in Italy*, Thomas J. Dandelet suggested that Spanish financing of the work on the basilica of St. Peter’s, for instance, was not accompanied by a rhetorical concern for making their patronage known. This differed from the Popes, who took pains to ensure the erection of large plaques and eye-catching tombs.

23 AGS, E-R, 3035, letters from the ambassador Pascual de Aragón (1662-1664).

24 There is a previous example of a viceroy being very concerned with public image, the Count of Oñate: A. Minguizo, *Linaje, poder y cultura. El gobierno de Íñigo Vélez de Guevara, VIII Conde Oñate, en Nápoles (1648-1653)*, Ph.D. Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2004. See some evidence of increased engagement from 1660: AGS, E-R, 3036, consultation of the Council of State of April 15th 1663. In April 1663, Queen Christina of Sweden asked King Philip IV for a gift of horses. The ambassador in Rome, Pedro Antonio de Aragon, said it was opportune to accede to the request *por lo que puede influir a la razón de estado* [“for the way in which it might influence the raison d’état”]. Another example would be AGS, E-R, 3026, consultation of the Council of State of March 13th 1654: the ambassador Duke of Terranova’s requests to the King for more funds to redecorate the Ambassador’s palace in Rome.
against the French style of conspicuous kingship. Depending on the viceroy, emphasis was placed on the reclusive (as in case of the Viceroy Count of Santisteban, according to the contemporary Misson)\(^{25}\) or the conspicuous sphere (preference of the Viceroy Pedro Antonio de Aragón). The latter went as far as to receive foreign visitors in bed, in emulation of the French kings, an unusual practice for the Spaniards, noted by Colbert’s son when he visited the royal palace of Naples in 1671.\(^{26}\)

What is clear is that the viceroys in Naples frequently asked the King and the Council of State for more extensive capacity to represent the royal image as the *alter ego* of the monarch. As of 1662, these requests became more vocal. It seemed they suddenly acquired a more important sense of forming part of a homogeneous institutional or political body: that of the Viceroyalty. The Council of State was continuously reluctant to accept such demands, especially since consent could make the King’s representatives exceedingly autonomous.\(^{27}\)

The viceroys requested more funds to reorganise and reform the viceregal residence, expanding space in conformity to new ceremonial needs, new royal symbols included, in themselves evoking the Habsburg dynasty’s signs of identity. Viceroy’s often absorbed new cultural practices during their previous postings in Italy, in particular as Roman ambassadors.\(^{28}\) The Viceroy Pedro Antonio de Aragon worked to increase the long-established traditional visibility of the Spanish Monarch in Rome by promoting a statue of Philip IV at the aforementioned Santa Maria.

\(^{25}\) M. Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, London, Printed for R. Bonwicke, 1714 (1\(^{st}\) ed. 1691).


\(^{27}\) This desire on the part of a viceroy to represent the king’s person with greater dignity, in spite of the Council of State’s criticism, can be found in the figure of Pedro Antonio de Aragón. When cardinal Vincenzo Rospigliosi, the Pope’s nephew, visited the court of Naples in May 1668, the Viceroy Pedro Antonio de Aragón declared: Como don Pedro de Aragón no repararé en nada, como virrey he de dar quenta a Su Majestad para representar a su misma persona y en el consejo de Estado me embiarán reprehensión si lo hiciera de otra manera [“As Pedro de Aragón, I will not avoid any efforts, but as Viceroy I have to inform the King and act in consequence to represent his Majesty, and the Council of State will punish me if I do not do so”] (AGS, E, 3290-201, *Venida del nepote del papa Clemente Nono en esta ciudad de Nápoles el 20 de mayo de 1668* [“The journey to Naples of Pope Clement IX’s nephew on 20\(^{th}\) May 1668, written by the master of ceremonies”]).

\(^{28}\) This is the case of gift-exchange practices: D. Carrió-Invernizzi, *Gift and Diplomacy in Seventeenth Century Spanish Italy*, “The Historical Journal”, 51 (2008), 4, pp. 881-899.
Maggiore. The palace and so-called “national churches” (Santiago and Montserrat) became too small a theatre to represent Philip IV’s pageantry and magnificence in Italy. For this precise reason, Spaniards began taking over new spaces for propaganda, even in cases of previously rare express connection to Spanish piety. The Roman church of San Francesco di Paola is one such example: the Spanish Habsburg coat of arms was hung there for the first time in 1662. The Spanish decision to fund the construction of a new altar in San Francesco di Paola was made in order to promote Philip IV as Rome’s great patron and benefactor. For decades, the religious community of Franciscans of San Francesco di Paola had been symbolically harming the Spaniards by supporting the French.

It is no chance that such act of patronage took place in 1662. That year, ties between Spain and the Holy See had become irremediably tense, following Philip IV’s refusal to assist Pope Alexander VII Chigi (1655-1667) after Avignon became occupied, and in the face of the threat of the French invading Italy. The Vatican went as far as to accuse the Spanish monarch of forming an alliance with Louis XIV in his determination to surround the Papal States. According to Gianvittorio Signorotto, these unprecedented circumstances marked the “end of Catholic Europe”. The Pope felt that he fell victim to a conspiracy by Christian princes to weaken his importance in international affairs as well as his traditional mediatory role, considerably eroded since 1648, which was when he had been excluded from negotiations leading to the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. From then on, the Pope began imposing pressure by hardening his position in jurisdictional conflicts within the Kingdom of Naples, as the most effective means of limiting the Spanish monarch’s control in


31 In 1662, Philip IV refused to offer the Pope the support requested by the nuncio in Madrid. According to Gianvittorio Signorotto, this event marked the end of relations between Spain and Rome as they existed since the time of Pius IV; id., Dall’Europa cattolica alla crisi della coscienza europea, in: Religione, cultura e politica nell’Europa dell’età moderna. Studi offerti a Mario Rosa dagli amici, ed. by C. Ossola, M. Verga, M.A. Visceglia, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2003, p. 241.
the Hispanic Monarchy’s most solid possession in Europe. Notably, in 1665 he also endeavoured to expel the Spanish viceroy from governing Naples during Charles II’s minority.

The Spanish response to such papal policy, initially in Rome and subsequently in Naples, was to make themselves more visible at Italian religious institutions by patronage. In practice, the plan to fortify Naples after its pacification following the 1647 revolt carried out by the Viceroy, the Count of Oñate (1648-1653), over but a few years led to the domination of another plan to construct and restore religious houses such as Santa María del Carmen, in order to strengthen viceregal authority in Naples against the Pope’s pretensions. From that moment on, viceroyals diverted large sums from royal treasury coffers to raise other religious houses such as St. Peter and St. Sebastian. The patronage formed part of a well-constructed strategy to enlarge pietas hispanica (Spanish piety) as a form of political propaganda. Spanish representatives enjoyed some success during the period. First, through the Bulla Sollicitudo (1661) issued by Alexander VII, they took an important step towards the recognition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception. Secondly, they succeeded in ensuring the canonisation of several Spanish saints. In 1671, St. Francisco de Borja, Sta. Rosa de Lima, St. Luis Beltrán, and the St. King Fernando were all canonised by Clement X.

The viceroyalty of Pedro Antonio de Aragón was another key component in such change of attitude towards informal political practices. According to our hypothesis, however, de Aragón’s wife was also significant to the process. Ana Fernández de Córdoba launched a number of political initiatives, and was successful in exercising profound impact on her husband’s viceroyalty. Fuidoro informs us that she decided as to numerous courtly appointments under her husband’s rule. Hers clearly became a kind of informal appointment, later officially confirmed by the

---

32 Once again see Minguito.
Viceroy. In September 1666, for instance, Ana was the person responsible for suggesting to her husband that the name of Troise be used for the appointment of electo del popolo. In June 1667, she pointed to Iacinto Porzio as candidate for the position of minister of the Annunziata of Naples; the Viceroy yet again confirmed an appointment initially suggested by his wife.\(^{35}\)

Ana was in fact a very visible vicereine, was accustomed to moving around Naples alone, unaccompanied by her husband. In 1671, the Viceroy had to leave Naples to attend the so-called “Ambassadorship of obedience to Pope Clement X”. In consequence, the couple were afraid of being replaced by the acting Viceroy, the Marquis of Villafranca, who would have ruled Naples during their absence.\(^{36}\) Indeed, such was the precise intention of Villafranca and a number of other persons hostile to the couple. Albeit the vicereine would have customarily joined her husband in Rome, Ana decided to stay in Naples and protect her husband’s authority. She remained in the palace, the seat of government, forcing the new viceroy to occupy another palace. Furthermore, she decided to keep a diary of daily visits she was used to receiving in the palace, thus preventing Villafranca from cultivating his residence as political centre.\(^{37}\) The noble conflict between viceroys belonging to two rival houses (Toledo and Aragón families) was intertwined with internal questions of the governance of the Kingdom.

The post-1650 proliferation of portraits of Habsburg kings Philip IV and Charles II in Italy in painting and sculpture was a yet another sign of such new era of ceremony and imagery.\(^{38}\) 1664, for example, was a crucial year in the history of Philip IV sculptures at the aforementioned Santa Maria Maggiore of Rome; his was the first public image of a Habsburg king shown to the streets of Rome. The decreasing number of royal portraits was matched by an increase in the number of depictions of the viceroys. In 1668, the viceroy of Naples, Pedro Antonio de Aragón, hung his own portrait below the image of Charles II on the façade of the Neapolitan Hospital of San Gennaro. The viceregal portrait by Bartolommeo Mori became the first fixed portrait of a viceroy ever exhibited in public space.

---

\(^{36}\) Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), Estado-2010, 2/6-9.-2/13.
in Naples.\textsuperscript{39} On a related subject, the central role played by vicereines in such changing culture of representation was evidenced by the fact that at least since the 1660s, portraits of vicereines began to be exhibited beside those depicting kings or viceroys, during public manifestations and city processions, and even at noble palaces and convents.\textsuperscript{40}

Vicereines played an important role in the creation and use of political imagery in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. However, there are also some striking examples of invisible vicereines, who in fact remained absent at public manifestations they were supposed to attend. Such was the case of Ana María de Guzmán, wife of the Viceroy Marquis of Astorga. Fuidoro notes that due to the scandalous life of her husband the viceroy, Ana María made a personal decision not to participate in any of his public or private actions. Upon the couple’s return to Spain, she decided to join a convent to avoid living with him. Even in such case, however, it becomes apparent that women were vital to how the Neapolitan court worked. Following the arrival of the invisible Ana María, the noblewoman Giovanna Ossorio attempted to fill the gap in the palace’s central space, arguing that she belonged to the Vicereine’s household. The scandalous Viceroy Astorga, however, decided to bestow the role upon the wife of the Duke of Bolea, bringing immense tension to the community of female courtiers during his viceroyalty, due to the necessity of replacing the invisible vicereine.\textsuperscript{41}

Having discussed the visibility of the Spanish Monarch and the viceroys in Naples, and the expansion of Spanish piety in Italy, we can move on to consider the symbolic appropriation of local devotions and festivities in Naples. At the time of the revolt of Masaniello, the viceroys were accused by the Archbishop of being disrespectful of religion. In fact, the viceroys had long been keen to demonstrate their support for religion.\textsuperscript{42} For many years, the viceroy competed with Archbishop Filomarino over the appropriation of urban religious spaces and rituals, in particular for

\textsuperscript{39} The fact was noted by the nuncio Gallio in Naples in March 1668, ASV, SS, Ms. 70, fol. 175.


\textsuperscript{41} Fuidoro, vol. III, p. 60 (August 1672).

\textsuperscript{42} M. Bray, \textit{L’Arcivescovo, il vicerè, il fedelissimo popolo. Rapporti politici tra autorità civile e autorità ecclesiastica a Napoli dopo la rivolta del 1647-8}, “Nuova Rivista Storica”, vol. 74 (1990), fasc. 3-4 (May-August), pp. 311-332.
purposes of the celebration of San Gennaro, patron saint of the city of Naples.\textsuperscript{43}

Vicereines took no part in constitutional ceremonies attributing the lead to viceroys: entry to the city, visits to tribunals or with main urban authorities. Nonetheless, they did participate in their husbands’ other public appearances, such as the festivities of Corpus Domini, Corpus Christi, San Gennaro, or San Giovanni a mare. On numerous occasions, the vicereine would join her husband in church visits or during religious ceremonies. Sometimes she even made private and personal visits to the surprise of chroniclers, who saw this as a certain sign of independence.

During religious festivities, both the viceroy and the vicereine enjoyed the privilege of arriving at church in a covered sedan chair (\textit{silla de mano}) and of placing themselves under a canopy once inside the church.\textsuperscript{44} We can conclude that throughout the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, the sacralisation of the prince translated into the sacralisation of the vicereine. The privileges vicereines shared with their husbands were not shared by other relatives potentially also residing in Naples (daughters or sons, mothers or sisters-in-law). However, some women tried to reverse the rule, for example the Vicereine María Bracamonte’s (1658-1664) mother. In the 1660s, when María Bracamonte gave birth to a child and was unable to take part in a number of appearances and ceremonies, her mother announced that she wanted to stand in throughout the period of her daughter taking care of her baby son. This was, however, prohibited by the masters of ceremony.\textsuperscript{45}

The birth of a viceroy’s child in Naples certainly added prestige to the court. It invoked celebration and attendance of a significant number of the nobles. The event could, however, also create a problem, since the vicereine’s functions were not transferable. The vicereine, being an important agent, was not replaceable. Fuidoro notes that in March 1662, the King ordered the Viceroy to move to Flanders with his family to rule the country. Peñaranda (1658-1664) replied that he was old and tired, that he had a wife and children, and asked the King not to send him to Flanders. He could not represent the King correctly, Peñaranda argued, since his wife had been unable to attend no more than three public


\textsuperscript{44} Fuidoro, vol. I, p. 179 (May 1663).

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid., p. 114 (March 1662).
appearances since the birth of their child, which was a real problem to him. This is very interesting in light of the research focus of this essay, as it suggests that the consideration of women as important agents in courtly life was another feature of the viceregal court of Naples. Female absence from public life could become a problem for the ruler. This would explain why, unlike the developments in American viceroyalties, Italian kings tended to send married viceroys on the majority of occasions.

Introducing the *salva reale* was a way employed by viceroys ruling the *Regno* of Naples, from the Count of Peñaranda in the 1660s onwards, in attempts to control, preside over, and organise the festivities for San Gennaro. Nonetheless, María de Bracamonte, wife of the Viceroy Peñaranda, also introduced innovations to the way vicereines participated in this festivity. Indeed, she decided to join her husband in the procession to the altar of the cathedral, and to attend the ceremony while resting on a cushion of a different colour to that of the viceroy.

The Viceroy Pedro Antonio de Aragón was more significant than his predecessors in managing to breathe Habsburg significance into some of the popular festivities in Naples, such as Saint John or *San Giovanni a mare* – the chief popular event. He did this by adopting a strategy contrasting with that chosen by the Archbishop, and accordingly formed an alliance with the *electo del popolo*. This new ceremonial strategy at the viceregal court of Naples did not begin before the viceroyalty of Pedro Antonio de Aragón. Until the time, support for urban nobility had been greater than that extended to the *electo del popolo*. In fact, it was the first time that Aragón assigned an important role to the *electo* for purposes of Corpus Christi celebrations, among other ceremonies. Not surprisingly, both festivities (San Gennaro and San Giovanni) traditionally featured strong participation of the vicereine, who had the capacity to influence decisions made by her husband.

In closing, we might well wonder whether the Neapolitan court was an exemplary centre for the Kingdom’s nobility. Viceroys sought to make the court the focus and regulator of aristocratic life in Naples, as the king of Spain had done in Madrid. Numerous examples serve to prove the thesis. In 1670, the Viceroy tried to gather the nobles in the royal square in front of the palace when attending traditional itineraries and processions they partook in. He intended to shift the aristocratic meeting.

---

46 Ibid., p. 114 (March 1662).
47 Ibid., p. 179 (May 1663).
48 Raneo.
point of the city from Chiaia avenue to the palace seafront. But yet again, the Vicereine preceded her husband in terms of summoning the nobility to the palace area: in October 1668, Ana Fernández de Córdoba began fishing in the new harbour built by her husband, and ensured that on these outings she was accompanied by a group of Neapolitan ladies. Thus, the first move to change the habits of the nobility was the Vicereine’s and not her husband’s.\[^{49}\]

To sum up, during the period (1660 onwards), the lesser Viceregal court of Naples became a space for the experimentation and definition of new cultural strategies of representing and legitimising Habsburg power, as was also the case in other parts of Europe. Naples should, therefore, be approached as a crucial court within the Spanish Monarchy and within the “courtly system” of Early Modern Europe, in many ways more dependent on the Papal rather than the Madrid court. As we have seen, the viceroys of Naples demonstrated a strong capacity to alter ceremonial procedures in order to meet new challenges faced by the image of Hispanic Monarchy in Southern Italy from the 1660s. More specifically, this was more than a mere response to general political decline. It was also an attempt to address constant attacks on the viceregal institution itself by papal representatives in Naples and the Archbishop. The viceroys, joined by the vicereines, clearly understood that the only way they could succeed in continuing to control the Kingdom, as they did for a further fifty years, was by effecting a transformation of the viceregal court into one more closely resembling a royal court, and brought the Habsburg dynasty and its ideologies of sovereignty and piety into much clearer focus in this particular corner of the monarchy.

\[^{49}\] Ibid.
Frederick Augustus I (1670-1733) and the Electorate of Saxony

The accession of Frederick Augustus I as Elector of Saxony following the death of his brother in 1694 saw a clash between power political claims and political realities from the beginning. In 1694 Saxony was a comparatively backward corporative state controlled in the interests of the nobility and the urban elite. In the following years, Frederick Augustus instituted a series of structural reorganisations drawn up according to his absolutist ideas of order. Administrative reforms, the centralisation and standardisation of the structure of offices, the creation of a loyal civil service, a mercantilist economic policy and the establishment of a standing army as contemporary instruments of power were accompanied by a series of measures specific to Saxony. ¹ Shortly after his election and before his coronation as King of Poland as Augustus II in 1697,² Frederick Augustus I established a so-called Generalrevisionskollegium to reorganise the taxation system in Saxony by the end of the century, intended to curtail the right of the Saxon Estates to approve taxes. This strategy, initially only haltingly successful, led to the so-called Generalkonsumptionsakzise


* My heartfelt thanks to Meike Beyer, Claudia Philipp and Anja Schwitzgebel for their help in sourcing material.
decree in 1702, an indirect tax on basic goods consumption levied in
towns, and collected by the supreme revenue authority under direct
control of the sovereign. The royal exchequer was also assigned to an
autonomous authority.

Since becoming monarch of the Polish-Lithuanian Union in 1697,
Frederick Augustus’ reorganisation of political spheres of influence
included the appointment of a vice regent (the Catholic Swabian Imperial
Prince Anton Egon von Fürstenberg, thus in opposition to the Saxon
estates), who was to take over the governance of Saxony during the new
Polish monarch’s long periods of absence. In 1704, Augustus II set up
a *Geheime Kabinettsexpedition*, a supreme authority for foreign and
financial policy comprising members of the royal inner council, which in
1706 gave rise to the *Geheimes Kabinett*, independent of the estates, and
a central authority which appointed ministers for foreign and domestic
affairs and the military. Saxon estates, snubbed since the 1690s, promptly
formed an initially very powerful and above all persistent opposition
within the Saxon state. Although from 1711 its political influence became
less effective apart from approving direct taxation and as an authority
for complaints in the state diet, the condition prevailed throughout the
reign of Augustus until his death in 1733.

### Augustus II and the Polish-Lithuanian Union

At the beginning of his rule as Elector of Saxony, Frederick Augustus I,
who had trained for a military career, was already thinking beyond Saxony
and, like his father Johann Georg III and his brother Johann Georg IV,
set his sights on the Polish throne and the Empire. His ultimate purpose,
which he pursued from the second half of the 1690s, was to become
Emperor. His secret conversion to Catholicism on Whit Sunday 1697 was
made with higher prizes than the Polish-Lithuanian Union in mind –
and it aroused further opposition in the Protestant heartland of Saxony,

---

3 In 1706, however, the *Geheime Rat* strongly opposed Augustus and demanded that
he relinquish the Polish crown after the disastrous defeat of the Saxon army at Fraustadt.
Soon afterwards, the Swedish army marched into Saxony, and in the Treaty of Altranstädt
Charles XII forced Augustus to renounce the Polish throne, recognise Stanisław
Leszczyński as the rightful king of Poland and revoke the alliance with Russia. Swedish
troops occupied Electoral Saxony for almost a year.

Herrscher Sachsens*, p. 164.
a constant potential area for conflict. In spite of all predictions, and in the context of diverging power political interests, as well as through diplomatic and military skill, the use of enormous bribes of money and forcing through a re-election, Frederick Augustus I was elected King of Poland over the French candidate Prince François Louis Conti de Bourbon, who had been successful in the first ballot, and some fifteen other candidates. Frederick Augustus knew how to prevent Conti, the preferred candidate of the Polish nobility, from being able to travel from France back to Warsaw in time for the second ballot. Finally, after lengthy negotiations, he was crowned Augustus II King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania in Cracow in September 1697, and found himself facing a multitude of almost insoluble political tasks. Saxon rule in the squabbling aristocratic republic of Poland, the *Rzeczpospolita*, quickly turned out to be a territorial challenge because of the conflict of interests between the barons and the minor nobility. During his thirty-six year rule, however, Augustus the Strong repeatedly attempted to establish an absolutist space of power in an exemplary manner: the creation of a centralised sovereign order on the French model in a Polish-Lithuanian-Saxon Union. Political integration of the Electorate of Saxony, the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania had not only to deal with spatial and territorial separation, but also with power political conditions structured in an almost directly opposing way – presumably much to the surprise of Augustus, who had nothing but a rudimentary grasp of the problems involved. Augustus’s absolutist intentions (fig. 1) therefore conflicted with Polish and Lithuanian actualities to such extent that his ambitions to introduce absolutist rule, to create a major European power making the Wettin family a member of elite European dynasties, and above all to be elected Emperor (his ultimate political goal), soon became unrealisable.

Augustus’s well-timed conversion to Catholicism triggered bitter opposition of Saxon estates. On the other hand, it was endorsed by the

---


6 After Augustus’s final confirmation by the Sejm (i.e. the entire Polish aristocracy) in 1699, Saxon rule in Poland in fact lasted a total of sixty-six years. His son succeeded him as Augustus III – once again under contested circumstances. The recent double election which also declared Stanisław Leszczyński king resulted in a war of succession, until in 1736 Augustus III was declared elected King of Poland until his death in 1763.

7 Czok, *August der Starke*, p. 56.
Emperor and Pope alike, and gained him the office of imperial vicar, i.e.
custodian of interests of the unoccupied imperial throne, in 1705 and
1711. These imperial positions, however, were not to have any political
effect within the Polish-Lithuanian Union. The same was true for his
extravagant programme of festivities in Warsaw, where he defied Polish
convention by having his mistresses present. Repeated violations of the
Catholic code of behaviour brought him a lasting mistrust of Catholic
nobles in Poland, who were interested in consolidating their control,
and used firm blocking tactics in prohibiting numerous Saxon projects to
create a single grand territorial organisation. The Saxon monarch was not
granted executive powers: his intention of having power of disposal could
not be imposed against the will of the Sejm, to whom the monarch also
had to apply for permission to leave the country. During his periods of

---

8 The Protestant Christiane Eberhardine von Brandenburg-Bayreuth who married
Augustus in 1693 refused to convert to Catholicism or to be crowned Queen of Poland,
and never accompanied him to Poland. She also kept her distance from the Dresden
Court (see Neuhaus).
residence in Saxony, Augustus was thus represented not by a regent from Saxony but by an Interrex nominated by the Sejm: the primate of Poland.\(^9\)

Any maximisation of sovereign power consequently became impossible, and the foundation of a new European power between the territories of Russia, the Habsburg Empire and Brandenburg-Prussia came completely unstuck, not least on account of the mishaps of Saxon and Polish troops. Given the reality of Augustus’s lack of power, the realisation of a power strategic, military, economic, administrative, infrastructural and spatially symbolically fortified order of state sovereignty could scarcely be attempted.\(^{10}\) The idea of an absolute state developed in France in the 17th century – a centralised territorial order based on optimal mercantilist circulation of people and goods, ideas and technology, requiring a military security apparatus, systematised policing as well as indispensable transportation infrastructure – came up against numerous obstacles in the Saxon-Polish Union from the beginning. Augustus’s political will was repeatedly frustrated, whereas the authority of the nobility within the Rzeczpospolita was strengthened and extended to the extent that the Saxon monarch was forced to fall back on military aggression – or more specifically on Russian troops – e.g. during the revolt of the Confederation of Tarnogród in 1715/16. Augustus, who in early 1697 had drawn up further planned absolutist measures in the memorandum Umb Pohlen in flor und in ansehung gegen seine nachtbarn zu setzen [...],\(^{11}\) had already failed to solve the problem of a capital: the absolutist concept of a centrifugally emanating metropolis as an ideal place for sovereign supremacy as described by Alexandre le Maître in La Metropolitée in 1682 simply got lost between Dresden, Warsaw and Grodno, capital of the Lithuanian territory and alternate seat of the Polish-Lithuanian Parliament.

The absolutist equation between sovereign power and territorial expansion in the case of Saxony and Poland had already become unstuck following the constitution of the Rzeczpospolita, which lasted from 1569 to 1795 as the Real Union of Poland and Lithuania. The elected monarchy, an institution invented in 1652 and permitting non-Poles as candidates,

\(^9\) See Neuhaus, p. 187.
\(^{10}\) Of the thirty-five sittings of the Sejm during the reign of Augustus II, twenty five were blocked by veto (from 1652 on, decisions had to be unanimous): the confrontation between the King and the Sejm grew harder, and the influence of foreign powers (through bribery) on the voting behaviour of the Sejm was an intrinsic part of the procedure.
\(^{11}\) See Czok, August der Starke, pp. 49ff., with a list of the most important measures planned; also Neuhaus, p. 187.
was confronted with members of the nobility in the parliament representing the special interests of magnates, the Sejm, on the one hand, and the Polish senate with 140 lifetime senators (who controlled the foreign policy of the king) on the other. In any case, Augustus had to give up on realising his claims to power until 1710 as a consequence of his foreign policy misadventures. After Augustus had promised the Livonian estates that he would regain Livonia for Poland from Sweden as early as 1699, and had formed an alliance with Denmark-Norway and Russia against Sweden, he began the Great Northern War by marching into Livonia and laying siege to Riga. This war was waged against the alliance of Poland-Saxony and Russia by Charles XII of Sweden from 1700 to 1721. Hostilities resulted in disastrous defeats of the Saxon-Polish army. In 1702, the Swedish army marched into Poland against no serious opposition, took Warsaw and Cracow, and annihilated the Polish troops at Kliszów. Subsequently in 1704, the Warsaw General Confederation under Charles XII forced Augustus to renounce the Polish crown, which was taken by the Palatine of Poznań, Stanisław Leszczyński, after a free and fair election in Wola.

Only the defeat of Charles XII by the Russian army at Poltava (1709) brought about Augustus’s return to the Polish throne, mainly thanks to the victorious Tsar Peter I who subsequently strongly influenced Polish affairs. After domestic compromise and foreign pressure, the council of the Confederation of Sandomierz placed Augustus back on the throne and renewed their oath of allegiance. Consequently, Saxon rule in the Rzeczpospolita only haltingly got underway. Augustus’s occasional oppression of political opponents and his continual attempts to suppress the self-assertive Sejm since 1710 resulted in the civil war of 1716, which he attempted to solve with the help of Russian troops. This, however, did not result in a Saxon coup to establish a Saxon hereditary monarchy, but in the Treaty of Warsaw, laying down the reconsolidation of influence of the Polish and Lithuanian estates for the following decades. For Augustus, the

---

12 Every single male aristocrat was eligible, and each one – members of the lower nobility as well as the magnates – had the right of veto (liberum veto). See Neuhaus, p. 187.

13 Czok, August der Starke, p. 58.

14 Nevertheless, Augustus travelled incognito to Poland to attend a meeting with the Tsar of Russia in October 1705. In 1706, he also spent time in different regions of Poland until September, but did not return until August 1709. Throughout the following decade, Augustus spent more time in Poland than in Dresden – often a whole year. In the 1720s, the situation was reversed. See B. Günther, N. Krüger, Die Reisen und Aufenthalte des Königs August II., in: Unter einer Krone, pp. 49-53.
political situation deteriorated considerably: in the Sejm’s new constitution of the following year 1717, a strict curtailment of Saxon military presence in Poland (only 1,200 men allowed, itemised as two or three Saxon cavalry regiments for personal protection of the Saxon monarch)\textsuperscript{15} and the exclusion of Saxon officials from Polish affairs were stipulated. The consequence was a lasting presence of Russian influence in Polish politics, with Russia now acting as guarantor.

From the early days of his reign, Augustus had estates in Electoral Saxony as well as those in the Polish-Lithuanian Union against him, and was unable to establish absolutist centralised rule in any of his territories. Whereas a step-by-step consolidation of the power of the Elector over the estates in Saxony roughly succeeded thanks to strategically effective measures right up to the end of his reign, his room for manoeuvre in the Rzeczpospolita increasingly diminished. Polish and Lithuanian nobility, and not least Russian interests, exerted pressure on Augustus’s rule, minimising the range of royal exercise of power. The intended disempowerment of the Sejm could never be brought about. As a result, Augustus, as King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, became even more persistent in his attempts to stake his claims to power explicit though a political use of space in the centre of Warsaw against all social and political opposition (especially that of the magnates far out of the capital) – and staged correspondingly lavishy decorative festivities in these imposing spaces of absolutist will.\textsuperscript{16}

Augustus’s Polish Territorial Policy

Albeit the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Union with roughly eight million inhabitants exceeded that of Saxony (1.4 million inhabitants and still the fourth largest state in the Empire in terms of size)\textsuperscript{17} at least twenty times, Augustus concentrated the spatial materialisation of his claims to power almost exclusively on Warsaw.\textsuperscript{18} Augustus’s choices of sites for


\textsuperscript{17} Czok, August der Starke, p. 56.

\textsuperscript{18} For Augustus’s building policy in Poland, see: J. Kowalczyk, Königliche Baukunst in Sachsen und Polen. Architektur und Städtebau, in: Unter einer Krone, pp. 390-393;
his Saxon residences was intended to establish a visible continuity to his Polish predecessor Jan (John) III Sobieski (reg. 1674-1696), the popular hero of the recent Turkish war, who as commander of Christian troops summarily defeated the Ottomans at the Battle of Kahlenberg in 1683. As the Royal Castle in Warsaw was formally in possession of the Aristocratic Republic and was only made available as a residence for the respective ruler, Augustus’s extensive plans for redeveloping the Warsaw Castle, drawn up in the first years of his Polish period of office by court architects of the Saxon department of building and planning, were rejected. After fighting in the northern territories had died down, and from 1713 on in particular, he used all means to try and establish court residences apart from the Royal Castle. Augustus’s territorial policy was aimed at acquiring Jan Sobieski’s castles and palaces in the area around Warsaw in order to be able to ensure continuity of sovereign representation symbolically, to the purpose of establishing a genealogical connection with Poland. Corresponding plans for acquisition and rebuilding were under way during the first period of Augustus’s reign already, though they could not be realised at first. From 1713 on, Augustus became even more determined in his attempts to establish symbolically highly coded state rooms in the urban context of the Polish capital by acquiring urban palaces close to the Royal Castle, and modifying them aesthetically and spatially according to his taste. Nonetheless, also these intentions turned out to be plagued by continual difficulties.

In the late 17th century, Warsaw was a royal capital with about 20,000 inhabitants (including the suburbs), mainly occupying wooden buildings.19

---

19 See Kowalczyk, *Die zwei Hauptstädte*, p. 79. Both the suburbs and the centre of Warsaw were mainly built of wood, and only the palaces of the nobility were of stone and predominantly in the suburbs. The city had long since swallowed up the ramparts dating from the early 17th century and extended into open country, and the periphery was rural as well as being the site of the palaces of the nobility. At the time, the city of Dresden had a population of 21,300, part of whom resident in almost 800 stone houses. There were also a further 6,300 who lived in the suburbs outside reinforced city fortifications built in 1704 in fear of advancing Swedish troops, surrounding the left and right banks of the Elbe. The right bank, Altendresden, was renamed Neustadt in 1732. The left bank was dominated by the buildings of the Elector, especially the Castle, and was only diversified by sumptuous places of the nobility in the 18th century. As far as Dresden was concerned, Augustus II saw himself confronted with the necessity of under-
The Old Town on the left bank of the Vistula lay opposite Praga und Skaryszew on the right. These had their own municipal charter, and in any case there were no connecting bridges to Warsaw after the flood of 1603. Temporary structures during sittings of the Sejm or for military purposes were not replaced by solid bridges under Saxon rule. And neither did Augustus II and Augustus III have fortifications built around the Polish capital. This was only done in 1770.

For the spatially strategic position of the planned Saxon residences in Warsaw, Augustus II had his sights on the Cracow Suburb (Krakowskie Przedmieście) which at the time consisted of a few aristocratic residences and numerous green spaces. In 1713 he acquired the Morsztyn Palace (Palac Morsztynów) from Kronmarschallin Bielińska. It was built in the years 1661-1667 by the Dutch architect Tylman van Gameren for the royal treasurer of the time. Augustus had the building refashioned as his chief residence, which was to become the Saxon Palace. Through systematic and extensive purchasing of land, gardens were laid out to the west, with distinctive effect on urban planning. Augustus also succeeded in acquiring more palaces in the immediate area. In 1721, he signed a lease on the Sendomirski Palace, situated right next to the Saxon Palace. Rebuilt by Tylman van Gameren in 1694, it later became the Sanguszko-Brühl Palace. In 1724 he managed to purchase the Casimir Palace (Palac Kazimierzowski), destroyed by fire in 1695, from Prince Konstanty Sobieski, and had eight barracks constructed on the site. The designs of Jauch and Deybel for an extension did not see daylight, however: only a ceremonial gateway was built. In 1726, he acquired the Blue Palace (Palac Błękitny), the former residence of the Bishop of Ermland, Teodor Potocki, towering directly over the Saxon Garden to the north-west. In 1729, he signed another lease for Marywil, a small palace built by Tylman van Gameren directly to the north of the Saxon and the Sendomirski palaces, and occupied by the dowager queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska. Augustus quartered his grand musketeers here and used it for public performances such as parades, court festivities and other

taking an architectural upgrading and modernisation of his Castle, intended to play a completely new European part. Projects were slow to get off the ground in Dresden as well, but were on schedule from 1705 on (Taschenbergpalais, Zwinger, Opernhaus, Holländisches/Japanisches Palais, Pillnitz, Großsedlitz, Moritzburg, Elbbrücke etc.). In 1755, the population of Dresden was around 60,000.

---

20 See n. 65.
21 This is the plot upon which Warsaw University was built after the fire of 1813.
diversions such as bear baiting and sledge racing.\textsuperscript{22} And thus, a spatially cohesive and (in terms of urban development) elaborate Saxon ensemble framed by barracks rose, ennobling the now militarily laid out Cracow Suburb (fig. 2), while forming a decidedly Saxon, suburban counterpart to the Royal Castle, whose powerful river façade dominates the distant view of Warsaw from the Vistula. No public buildings in Warsaw were constructed under Augustus II.

Outside Warsaw, Augustus succeeded in taking over a number of properties directly connected to Polish history.\textsuperscript{23} As early as 1720, he rented the former royal castle Ujazdów from the Lubomirski family after the Polish parliament forbade the sale of the complex, and began creating an axis with Catholic connotations, completed in the 1720s. In 1727, he acquired Marymont, a small palace to the north of the city, from the Dowager Queen Maria Kazimiera, with the purpose of using it as


\textsuperscript{23} See ibid., pp. 464ff.
a hunting lodge. In 1730, he was finally able to exchange the Blue Palace for the pleasure palace of Wilanów, favourite residence of his predecessor Jan Sobieski, which lay 12 km south of the city – albeit only for life tenancy, i.e. with the right to use it until his death. In addition, there were the Barracks for the Royal Infantry Guard between Marymont and Warsaw, the former Sobieski court with barbican and gardens in Solec, where, temporarily, barracks for the for the Saxon cavalry regiments were intended to be erected, and which was otherwise used for cultivation, housing a brewery complete with a hops field.24 Augustus used Sobieski’s hunting lodge in Kępa on the opposite bank of the Vistula, where he also had the new menagerie at Wiśłana laid out.25 Towards Wilanów he acquired another court from Stanisław Lubomirski: Czerniaków, built by Tylman van Gameren.26 And so an axis of power outside the city grew up along the Vistula, which Augustus was able to set as a spatial mise-en-scène of his rule as he had formerly done around Dresden with the hunting and summer palaces such as Moritzburg, Pillnitz or Großsedlitz. He also wished to establish a spatially symbolic sequence in an attempt to codify power politically according to the rules of absolutist assertions of prestige (fig. 3).

Augustus maintained a conspicuously low profile beyond the immediate area around Warsaw. In the vast territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Union, already peripherally dotted with the grand palaces owned by the Magnates,27 only the castle of Kargowa between Cottbus and Poznań28 was enlarged by Augustus for residential purposes. Augustus obtained the Kargowa Castle, built as recently as 1710, by leasing it for life from the von Unruh family: the owner, Charles von Unruh, was King’s Chamberlain at the time. Given its layout on Poland’s western border, the site was excellently suited as a bridgehead between Saxony and Poland to denote a united territorial continuity, especially as Saxony was separated from the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Union by a Brandenburg or Silesian corridor, depending on the route. Secondly, Augustus would thus have a base in Poland not far from Saxon territory, should war break out. Finally, and, not completely insignificantly to the King, who had been frail for a long time, it was a staging post for relaxation on the journeys

24 See ibid., p. 466.
25 See Kowalczyk, Die zwei Hauptstädte, p. 80, and n. 58.
26 See Putkowska, p. 471.
27 See Kowalczyk, Königliche Baukunst, pp. 390-393.
between Dresden and Warsaw. From 1731 on, comprehensive works were carried out at Kargowa. Given its relative proximity, everything was co-ordinated from Dresden. Refurbishment was planned by Knöffel, and carried out under the supervision of Pöppelmann the Younger, who had to account for Augustus’s ideas about expansive central-plan building. Nonetheless, the rebuilt palace in Kargowa with its extended

---

29 In 1732, another stage coach route between Dresden and Warsaw was opened. Existing routes included the southern and more comfortable one via Wroclaw, which in 1736 covered the 68 ¾ miles in 136 ½ hours. This indication refers to A.F. Zürner, Kurze Anleitung zur gewöhnlichen Reise von Dreßden nach Warschau, Nürnberg, Weigel, 1738, where, moreover, on p. 25, in the chapt. Distanz-Specification, the Saxon mile is said to correspond to 9,062 km, i.e. a total of approximately 620 km (nach accurat gemessenen in Sachsen gebräuchlichen Meilen von 2000. Dreßdner achtelligenten ruthen, wobey 2. Stunden auf eine Meile genommen werden). Furthermore, there is the northern route via Königsbrück, Hoyerswerda, Sorau/Żary, Sagan/Żagań, Großglogau/Głogów, Fraustadt/Wschowa, Lissa/Leszno and Kalisch/Kalisz). This third route from 1732, mentioned above, went via Kargowa for the first time (Königsbrück, Bernsdorf, Hoyerswerda, Gablenz, Triebel/Trzebiel, Christianstadt/Krzystkowice, Karge/Kargowa, Posen/Poznań, Klesciew and Blonie); see A. Oehlke, Die Königliche Reiseroute der Wettiner von Dresden nach Warschau oder zur Geschichte der Post zur Zeit der sächsisch-polnischen Union, “Dresdner Hefte”, 50 (1997), p. 57.

---

barracks and stables was destroyed in 1735 during the War of the Polish Succession.

The Warsaw concentration of royal palaces found no equivalent in Grodno in Lithuania either: Augustus rented the Sapieha Palace, used for annual meetings of the senate after necessary repairs had been completed and a new senate hall installed in 1726. Augustus’s territorial development clearly did not extend to areas of the kingdom far from Warsaw. Apart from aforementioned exceptions, no initiatives were taken to develop a Saxon absolutist base within Rzeczpospolita’s territory.

Architectural Changes in Warsaw

Augustus II’s architectural self-dramatisation in the Warsaw area explicitly sought comparison with Versailles, Berlin and Vienna. Augustus’s partially monumental building and extension projects for the buildings purchased and used in Warsaw usually came to grief, however, for reasons of the King’s financial situation inasmuch as local difficulties. He was forced to focus on selected garden projects and interior decoration, the magnificence of which could reflect his intentions of power. From the start, Augustus brought in court architects from the department of building and planning in Dresden to deal with project planning for his Warsaw acquisitions. They were Johann Friedrich Karcher at the beginning of his reign (1698 et seq.); Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann from 1713 on (1713 and 1715, and perhaps again between 1720 and 1724); Zacharias Longuelune (1715); Johann Christoph Knöffel; and Johann Christian Naumann. The leading architects in Dresden were primarily needed for major projects in Saxony, however: the Zwinger in Dresden was planned and raised from 1709 to 1728, the extensions to Pillnitz from 1718 to 1730, Großsedlitz in 1719 and from 1723 to 1727. The rebuilding of Moritzburg took place in the years 1723-1740 et seq., the castle of Übigau was built from 1724 to 1726, and Hubertusburg from 1721 to 1752. Consequently, an independent Warsaw planning and building department was founded in 1710, initially co-ordinated by the lieutenant colonel of the engineering corps.

Johann Christoph Naumann (1664-1742) and Burchard Christoph von Münnich (1683-1767). In 1721 they were succeeded by the captain of the engineering corps Joachim Daniel Jauch (1688-1754), aided by Johann Sigmund Deybel (1695-1752) during the 1720s in particular, and from 1724 on by Pöppelmann’s son Carl Friedrich (1696-1750), who later became chief architect in Warsaw. Other architects were also employed by the department, Italians included.33 Their influence on the Saxon creations was minimal, however. The model for the Warsaw plans followed the French way of building palaces *entre cour et jardin*; Versailles had in particular captured Augustus’s imagination. In fact the Warsaw planning and building office worked independently of Dresden, albeit repeatedly received development plans from Dresden.

Johann Friedrich Karcher’s (1698-1700) ambitious plans for alterations to the Royal Castle (*Zamek Królewski*) in Warsaw34 (i.e. the urban pentagon of the castle) already provided for comprehensive changes, such as a regulative central building or the lengthening of the riverside front with imposing wings, with garden terraces above the steep slope leading down to the river (fig. 4).35 In spite of these monumental extension plans, ultimately the only changes to the exterior involved the facades of the Castle. Augustus had to secure the consent of the Polish Senate for any plans of alterations to buildings owned by the *Rzeczpospolita*, and especially the late Renaissance Royal Castle overlooking the Vistula; the Senate made full use of its powers of veto. Apart from ephemeral changes for court festivities in the early years of his reign, Augustus only commissioned essential repairs after the Castle’s destruction in 1713 during the Great Northern War, had a theatre build at the Old Castle in 1715 and 1716, and modernised the royal apartments in the years 1725-1726. Partitioning walls were removed, new wall coverings procured, and stoves and fireplaces installed. Refurbishment of the senators’ hall after plans by Longuelune, which included its elevation by one storey, began in 1721. A plan for the erection of Augustus’s statue surrounded by the busts of eight Roman Emperors was overruled by the senate.

The formation of the so-called Saxon Axis (*Oś Saska*) encroached upon the cityscape of Warsaw far more explicitly. This east-west axis, which

---

33 Kwiatkowska, p. 20, states that during the first years of Augustus’s reign, Italian architects Giuseppe and Tommaso Bellotti as well as Giuseppe Piola were employed in Warsaw.

34 See Hentschel, *Die sächsische Baukunst*, vol. 1, pp. 91-105.

35 May, *Das sächsische Bauwesen*, draws comparisons with Fischer von Erlach’s first design for Schönbrunn and the garden front at Versailles.
ran orthogonally along the existing roads crossing the Cracow Suburb,\textsuperscript{36} spread out from the architectural centre of the Morsztyn Palace,\textsuperscript{37} built by Tylman van Gameren in the years 1666-1667.\textsuperscript{38} Augustus ended up with roughly 50 plans for the renovation and extension of the newly acquired Morsztyn Palace drawn up from 1713 (by Naumann, Jauch, C.F. Pöppelmann, Deybel, M.D. Pöppelmann, Jean de Bodt) – none of which completed, however. A few rooms were redecorated; a bath, kitchen, cellar, dining room were installed; and a series of extensions undertaken. The Saxon court moved in May 1724, and held the new Saxon Palace in ownership for ensuing decades. Only from 1736 on did Augustus III push gradual extensions and additions through. As early as the times of Augustus the Strong, the square in front of the palace together with the sweeping fan-shaped gardens at the rear began determining the actual characteristic of the extended Saxon Axis, flanked to the south by the imposing \textit{ulica Królew ska} and to the west, beyond the newly laid out square, across barracks for household cavalry into the surrounding countryside. Further urban development would eventually spread out to western suburbs along the Saxon Axis.\textsuperscript{39}

\textsuperscript{36} The Cracow Suburb main street ran parallel to the Vistula directly to the central Royal Castle in the north, and southwards out of the city in the direction of Zygmunt III's royal palace at Ujazdów.


\textsuperscript{38} Putkowska, p. 469, names Giuseppe Simone Bellotti as the architect.

\textsuperscript{39} See Kowalczyk, \textit{Die zwei Hauptstädte}, p. 80.
In 1721, the Sendomirski Palace (later renamed the Palace Sanguszko-Brühl) neighbouring the Saxon Palace was made part of the Saxon Axis. Its ceremonial hall was sumptuously redecorated, kitchens merged with the Saxon Palace. To the west of the Sendomirski Palace there was a French-style trapezoid, pentagonal, fan-shaped garden, morphologically complementing and introducing variation to the considerably larger neighbouring Saxon Garden. The small palace of Marywil directly to the north, built by Tylman van Gameren in the years 1692-1695, was redesigned by Deybel in 1729, and housed Augustus’s bodyguard for four years.

Augustus had his architects Deybel and Jauch draw up a total of six designs for extensions to the Casimir Palace, located slightly offset to the south-east of the Saxon Axis beyond the main street towards the Vistula, and presumably bought in 1727. It was built by Ladislaus IV in 1637. Additional general plans were prepared for the already famous gardens overlooking the slopes of the Vistula (stretching south as far as Solec), which were to serve as a menagerie, similarly to Ujazdów. These gardens, formerly owned by the Vasa Kings, were to be transformed into an ornate terraced garden with lakes and parterres. In the 17th century, there was a magnificent Italian garden in front of another landmark – the palace on the Cracow Suburb. When Augustus took the site over, the Italian garden had already disappeared, the palace separated from the street by additional buildings. Also in this case, only the main gate with guardhouses and eight double-storey barracks (work began in 1731) parallel and perpendicular to the palace were raised, the project only completed during the reign of Augustus’s successor.

The Blue Palace (Pałac Błękitny) crowned the entire Saxon Axis complex: it was acquired in 1720; in 1726, Augustus had the building extensively rebuilt after plans by Deybel, Jauch and Pöppelmann the younger, within a very short space of time. The ensemble became a model for palaces in 18th-century Warsaw. In 1728 Augustus presented his illegitimate daughter, countess Anna Orzelska, with the palace, with its two wings, arcades on both sides, and a small, intricate vector-shaped French garden designed by C.F. Pöppelmann (who was also responsible

---

for the interior decoration). Her marriage in Dresden in 1730, however, enabled Augustus to exchange the decidedly extravagantly furnished Blue Palace with its mirror rooms and chinoiserie for the palace of Wilanów. The inventory drawn up to the purpose in 1730\(^{43}\) specifies comprehensive details of the palace’s ornamentation, allowing us to get an idea of interior decoration, something possible in to rudimentary extent only for the remaining Saxon buildings. A complete inventory of the furnishings of Saxon property in Warsaw was only drawn up in 1739, without locations listed.\(^{44}\) According to the 1730 list, the majority of decorative items for the Blue Palace were manufactured in Dresden.\(^{45}\) Others included French, English, Dutch and Far Eastern objects. Thus, factories sprung up in and around Dresden from 1699\(^{46}\) on – glassmakers, mirror grinders, carpet makers, wallpaper factories, cabinet manufacturers, the Meissen porcelain factory, and Martin Schnell’s lacquer workshop – produced a large portion of interior decorations for Warsaw palaces, which later made a powerful impression on guests at countless theatre performances, balls and illuminations, all Augustus’s displays of absolutist reign. Martin Schnell, who decorated Augustus’s interiors in Saxony using lacquered furniture and Far Eastern ornamentation, was eventually summoned to Warsaw in 1730, and extensively involved in interior decoration at Wilanów up to 1732.\(^{47}\)

The layout of the Saxon Garden (Ogród Saski) from 1713 onward was one of Augustus’s most significant undertakings in Warsaw\(^{48}\) (fig. 5).

\(^{43}\) Kwiatkowska, p. 23.

\(^{44}\) Ibid., p. 21: “This register entitled Inventarium Über Die samtlichen Königl. Meubles zu Warschau gefertiget 1739 was the result of an inspection by Louis Antoine Leullier, signed by Heinrich Graf Brühl on April 5\(^{th}\) 1739. Fifty chapters categorise the furnishings by nature of the object, material and place of origin. Manufacturers apart, remarks concern the number of items in complete sets, manufacturing techniques, and ornamentation methods – to the extent possible”.

\(^{45}\) By 1704 at the latest Augustus began acquiring art from the Far East in comprehensive instalments, using Dutch agents among others. Augustus amassed porcelain (in large amounts – Augustus had 24,000 pieces in his possession), lacquered furniture, carvings and ink drawings, Coromandel screens and similar Far Eastern objets d’art, all naturally placed in his Warsaw palaces. See the essays in: “Chinois”.


Fig. 5. Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, Zacharias Longuelune, Johann Christoph Naumann, *Plan of the Saxon Axis. Eastern part with palace and garden*, after 1726, photo after: *Unter einer Krone*, p. 399.
Thanks to additional purchase of plots of land, designs for the garden submitted by Pöppelmann and Naumann early on, were actually developed under Augustus’s reign. The first designs were implemented before 1717; the second stage spanned the period of 1718/20 until 1733, whereas the third phase was finalised under Augustus’s son (1736-1745). Countless plans from the year 1726 (M.D. Pöppelmann again, based on designs for the new Royal Palace in Dresden, never built, and his plans for the pleasure garden at Moritzburg in 1723) and 1745 have been preserved. Installations such as the Great and Small Salon, garden theatre, orangery, firing range and riding area, and countless pavilions – including the Operalnia for opera performances – increasingly emphasised the Versailles model. M.D. Pöppelmann’s west gate, the Iron Gate, was built in 1724 as the western termination of the Saxon Garden. Thereafter, the central axis of the Ogród Saska was to be extended westward across the proposed square, and lined by the six barracks of Mirów built from 1731/1732 onward, on land leased from the Jurydyka Wielopole complete with parade ground for Saxon household cavalry (completed only after Augustus’s death). It was eventually extended as an avenue west on undeveloped land, originally planned as a route to a palace to be built outside city walls. The ulica Królewska, the Warsaw Königstraße, following the margins of the Saxon Garden in the southern part of the Axis was an imposing thoroughfare for coaches, and introduced a new element for traffic in town planning. From 1727 on, following the example of the Jardin des Tuileries, the Warsaw public was granted access to the Saxon Garden, and allowed to enjoy its magnificent layout.

Under Augustus’s reign, Warsaw’s cityscape changed way beyond the Saxon Axis. Augustus’s achievements motivated the building of numerous

---

49 See Kowalczyk, Königliche Baukunst, p. 392; ...von denen schönen Gaerten, p. 42.
50 Gurlitt calls these barracks the Wielopolskische Kasernen (see id., Warschauer Bauten aus der Zeit der sächsischen Könige, Berlin, Der Zirkel, 1917, pp. 48, 70), while Hentschel refers to them as Wielopolsche Kasernen (id., Die sächsische Baukunst, vol. 1, pp. 239-243).
51 Most of the real estate belonged to the Wielopolski family, with other property owned by the Sapieha and Ossoliński families, and the Voivode (governor) of Rawa. See Hentschel, Die sächsische Baukunst, vol. 1, p. 239.
52 Kwiatkowska, p. 18.
53 Shortly afterwards (1729) Augustus allowed carefully screened public entry to the completed Grünes Gewölbe (interior design by M.D. Pöppelmann, decoration by Raymond Leplat) to impress the world with a Saxon display of splendour: Augustus’s gestures of surpassing everything demanded a large public that, in Warsaw in any case, was to consist in urban bourgeoisie.
palaces for ministers, senators, and dignitaries, as well as new town residences for Polish nobility, who did not wish to appear inferior to the monarch from Saxony. Churches and monasteries had their facades redecorated, the construction of new churches began, and the systemisation of urban spatial order advanced. The banks of the Vistula were closed off by new buildings, changing the city’s skyline significantly (fig. 6), with palaces sprouting in the surrounding countryside. Eventually, key inner city transportation routes were cobbled under Augustus’s successor. But unlike Dresden, Warsaw with its mid-18th-century 24,000 inhabitants, recorded hardly any demographic growth, which is why the density of buildings within the city did not increase.

Augustus’s Projects in the Warsaw Hinterland

Augustus the Strong now attempted to follow up a topographically systematised planning of complexes similar to the Saxon Axis in the Warsaw hinterland. Naumann’s projected extensions (dating from the beginning of the century) to Wilanów, including salons, a theatre and
a salle de jeux, were rejected by the owners, the Sobieski family, who refused to sell. The family was not on friendly terms with Augustus on account of his political manoeuvres against them: from the date of election as King in 1697, until the capture and imprisonment in Saxony of the Sobieski princes Jakub and Konstanty (1704-1706). The same was true of the new owners from 1720 on, Elżbieta Sieniawska and her daughter Maria Zofia Denhoff, friends of the Sobieskis. It was the latter who relented and exchanged it for the Blue Palace in the city centre, albeit with ownership rights limited to lease only. The strict terms of the lease of Wilanów, summer palace of the Sobieskis twelve kilometres to the south of the city, prohibited architectural changes to the complex, already featuring a richly decorated façade. Wilanów had already been modernised and extended in the baroque style under Jan Sobieski, who bought it in 1677. The building, located in a rural suburban area close to a branch of the Vistula, the central block of which constructed mid-17th century, was partially extended by the Warsaw architect Augustyn Locci, and decorated with ornamented façades (presumably with Andreas Schlüter involved) in the period 1681-1691. The adjoining park had already been reorganised in high baroque style by 1730; in this case, Augustus obtained an already impossibly laid out palace and park close to the river. It did not of course satisfy all the requirements of the monarch, but it symbolised the additional prestige of him being Sobieski’s successor. Furthermore, it rounded off Augustus’s block of Warsaw residences towards the south magnificently.

The interior decoration, which Augustus was contractually allowed to refurbish, had already been carried out under Jan Sobieski in the French style, and included themes in praise of the ruler. This satisfied Augustus’s requirements. Thus, only works on the south wing (already in progress) and a partial “modernisation“ of a few interiors were carried out under Deybel’s supervision, with no further substantial changes. The Chinese cabinet stands out among all redecoration of ceiling paintings and wall decoration. The item was redecorated over a brief period by court lacquerer Martin Schnell, summoned to Warsaw in 1730. Schnell had to finalise the cabinet lacquering project planned since 1710 in time for Augustus’s visit in 1732, which obviously demanded unremitting work – and he succeeded conclusively. Furthermore, Augustus had all Wilanów

---

54 Kwiatkowska, p. 25.
furniture, carpets and fixtures renewed, ending up with a magnificent palace over a very short time, and able to invite important high officials during the few months remaining to him. Festivities included a large summertime mock battle in the fields between Wilanów and Czerniaków, an attempt at a reprisal of the so-called Zeithainer Lustlager (Zeithain Encampment) festivities of 1730 in Poland. After Augustus’s death, all new refurbishment at Wilanów, as in the former case of the Blue Palace, passed as agreed to the owner Maria Zofia Denhoff and her husband, the Palatine of Russia, Count August Czartoryski.

Notwithstanding the above, the monarch’s construction ambitions for the countryside centred around the castle (built from 1609 to 1619) and park of Ujazdów, located on the banks of the Vistula three and a half kilometres south of Warsaw Old Town, and modified into a prestigious royal residence from 1720 on, albeit Augustus’s interventions remained patchy in this case as well.57 The castle complex of Ujazdów, the residential use of which went back to the times of Queen Bona in the 16th century, was owned by Royal Marshal Stanislaw Lubomirski in the 17th century. Augustus’s monumental plans for the castle had already been drawn up, abandoned, and taken up again by various actors as early as 1715, i.e. years before the property was acquired – yet again as leasehold for life – from Prince Lubomirski. Ujazdów, however, finally offered space and potential for a significant development scheme in Warsaw. The castle’s layout on the bank of the Vistula corresponded to the precise ideas of space developed by Augustus already in Dresden, where he planned a series of royal palaces and pavilions with heterogeneous motifs more or less close to the river. This reflected Augustus’s affinity with Venice which he had fostered for decades, and embodied his ideas of a row of royal buildings in an absolutist river landscape in particular. As Ujazdów was more impressive than Versailles, for example, when it came to landscape alone, Augustus was able to achieve a consonance of representative construction policy, absolutist display of power, axial systematisation of territory, and leitmotiv play with rural expanses, tamed nature and natural circulation.

The menagerie at Ujazdów situated between the castle and the embankment of the Vistula, which had existed since the 17th century,58 was

58 For his part, Augustus established several menageries in the Warsaw area, such as the Krółikarnia in Marymont and Wiślana at Kęp; see Kowalczyk, Die zwei Hauptstädte, p. 80.
cross-sectioned with a canal axis: the Royal Canal. Designed by Münnich during the 1720-1731 period, it created a radial visual connection to the castle building with avenues dominated by the canal itself, the axis of which extended as far as the Vistula. The Calvary (*Droga Kalwaryjska*), laid out at the same time at right angles to the Royal Canal, formed another axis leading out of Warsaw, and alternately incorporated the features of the Cracow Suburb.\(^{59}\) It was designed by Daniel Jauch in the years 1724-1731, with twenty-four Stations of the Cross as spatial confirmation of Augustus’s conversion, and was the only public building project undertaken by Augustus designed to impress the people of Warsaw with its propaganda message. It led northward in a rural extension of the north-south orientated main street and to the north across the Cracow Suburb directly to the Royal Castle, as the linear axis of the Cracow Suburb exit to the Calvary next to the Ujazdów castle (fig. 7).

Augustus’s planners – Jauch, Deybel and Carl Friedrich Pöppelmann in this case – attempted a Catholic codification of spatial relations by adding an ever-greater number of project stages at Ujazdów. This eventually culminated in a plan to implant a Catholic church of the Resurrection at the heart of the castle complex. It was to be a completely new, centrally planned building with rectangular towers and crowned with a cupola, a monumental sacred complex which was of course never constructed. Construction works allowed by the terms of the lease stipulated by the owner Prince Lubomirski also remained largely rudimentary. Later plans, possibly inspired by Pöppelmann the Elder, were especially concerned with the fan-shaped formulated systematisation of open spaces, and envisaged a lavishly laid-out flight of steps between the menagerie and the castle garden. These plans were abandoned as well. Thus, of all the plans, only the grandly accentuated Saxon axes intersect in Ujazdów, whereby the east-west canal axis at right angles to the Vistula varies the west-eastern direction of the Saxon Axis in the Cracow Suburb, and the Catholic Stations of the Cross continue the south-north axis of the major palaces. This was to be visualised as a Catholic axis stretching to the horizon, and showing the rational order of the territory in a spatially strategic manner: The Cracow Suburb and its Catholic-Augustinian extension to Ujazdów would eventually become the most important transportation route in the capital of Poland\(^{60}\) (fig. 7).

\(^{59}\) See May, *Das sächsische Bauwesen*, p. 17-18.

Further reconstruction plans in the Warsaw hinterland concerned acquired and leased castles and manors belonging to Polish aristocracy. The future summer residence of the dowager queen Maria Kazimiera, the palace of Marymont, was important on account of its location. It was built by Tylman van Gameren for Jan Sobieski around 1690 in the hereditary hunting ground of Polish kings. Early on, Augustus wished to have it converted into a hunting lodge as a second Moritzburg. In the years 1705-1715, he commissioned Johann Christoph Naumann to construct a central building with magnificently laid out axial gardens, including pavilions and parterres, fountains, terraces, an amphitheatre and canals for grounds to the north of Warsaw. After the owners, the Sobieski family, finally consented to sell the property (Augustus using a third party to the purpose) in 1727, it had been more than a decade since the drawing-up of these plans, and they were no longer implemented apart from minor changes to the facades. Ultimately, Augustus had the royal menagerie of Królikarnia laid out instead of a magnificent park, which provided a northern counterpart to the royal grounds at Kępa. Nevertheless, Marymont marked the northern boundary of Augustus’s axis of rule in

---

61 See Hentschel, *Die sächsische Baukunst*, vol. 1, pp. 182-188.
62 See ...*von denen schoenen Gaerten*, p. 47.
63 See n. 56.
Warsaw, and was used for hunting. The site was of strategic importance on account of the Barracks for the Royal Infantry Guard, located on the Vistula and connected to the city by an avenue: one of the first Saxon barracks to be built under Münnich’s supervision in the years 1719-1721.64

Augustus II and the Production of Ruling Spaces

Even so, according to the 1728 record of land purchases,65 Augustus (thanks to various legal constructions) acquired thirty-eight plots of land and buildings in and around Warsaw during the 1713-1727 period. Nevertheless, the Warsaw nobility and the Sejm knew how to block the


majority of Augustus’s intended takeovers. In spite of his poor political
luck, Augustus the Strong succeeded in making his spatial and political
mark on the capital – a clear absolutist spatial aesthetic. The inner city
formation of the Saxon Axis already contained all elements representa-
tive of Augustus’s construction projects for Warsaw. On the one hand,
Augustus’s architectonic-stylistic transformation of representative palaces
succeeded in producing construction plan models throughout the country,
which did not go without emulation. At the same time, the axis organised
baroque gardens with their elaborate landscape and water architecture,
forming a monument of architectonic town planning, and linking Warsaw
and the open situation of the city to the surrounding countryside. The
vectorisation of the court buildings in the Cracow Suburb as a result
of introducing the Saxon Axis, which extended in a major intersection
to the west as well as south towards Ujazdów with its Catholic sym-
bolism, was taken up and duplicated as an axial park in the form of
the Ujazdów canal. This architectonic motif would later be developed
within the city.

Regardless of the expensive and elaborate landscape design which
had a distinct influence on subsequent palaces in Poland, it was the
barracks (situated for the most part in the inner city) that changed the
character of Warsaw. With the exception of the Barracks for the Royal
Infantry Guard, constructed to the north of the city as early as in the
years 1719-1722, Augustus had the barracks for remaining Saxon cavalry
sited around the Saxon Axis from the end of the 1720s as a late conse-
quence of the decrees of the 1717 constitution. Thus, the Cracow Suburb
 gained royal character with an exquisite ensemble of palaces and magni-
ficent gardens as well as a powerful military component with barracks
immediately to the south-east (Casimir Palace/ Pałac Kazimierzowski),
to the north (Marywil) and to the west (Wielopolski barracks) of the Saxon Axis.

With the row of royal Saxon property bought or leased to the north
and south of the city (Marymont and the Barracks for the Royal Infantry
Guard in the north, Solec, Kępa – the only property situated on this
side of the Vistula – Ujazdów, Czerniaków und Wilanów in the south of
Warsaw), during the last years of his reign Augustus created an almost
twenty kilometre long strip along the Vistula dominated by the court as
a symbolic axis of power which codified the Polish capital territorially
on a Saxon basis. In his plans for Dresden, Augustus the Strong had
already drawn up a list in his own hand in 1716 entitled Die Schlösser und
Lusttheuser umb Dresden auf 3 meilen […] [“Castles and summer palaces
within 3 miles of Dresden"], naming twenty-four royal palaces, summer palaces, manor houses, hunting lodges and gardens within and outside the city in the greater Dresden area. In case of most, the purpose or motif is specified (chevalleri, temple de Diane, erremitage, observatoire etc.). This was expanded to include a list of meblirung (furnishing) styles with 15 sub-items (marbre, childereien, franzesicher, spanicher, persianicher etc.), a partially numbered list of wall decoration materials (ten altogether: Samt, damasten, brokastel, cottonen etc.) and a list of ten architects (from Pepelman to Leplat, from Nauman to Jaug, from Longuelune to Fritche).

While vigorously accelerating building plans in Warsaw and in Dresden to support the legitimacy of his royal dignity (albeit confirmed in 1717, severely constricted in its authority), Augustus simultaneously conceived a diagrammatic ideal system of absolutist-rational spatial production. This would – due to transfers within lists – result in a complex variety of building plans, the richness of which would place everything hitherto conceived in the shadows. Laying out a few of these projects along the Elbe in Dresden during the 1720s, which crossed and accentuated the south-north alignment of Dresden and Altendresden as an east-west axis, foreshadowed Augustus’s similar plans for Warsaw. In Dresden, however, Augustus was seeking a Venetian dimension to the court territorial and festive policy, focusing on the imposing flights of steps with berths for gondolas in Pillnitz, at the Japanisches Palais and at Übigau Castle, and on the expensive redesign of the Augustus Bridge by Pöppelmann und Fehre. By a system of visual links and opening up of space with gardens along the Elbe, Augustus’s architects attempted a fusion of artificial landscape and river basin as eternal representation of Augustan power potential. This underwent a noticeable variation in Warsaw around 1730. Augustus’s ideas are now more consistent in Warsaw than in Dresden.

In Warsaw, he used the already existing infrastructure of palaces owned by nobility along the Vistula, and immediately blended these Saxon court-coded residential spaces with the surrounding cityscape and the accompanying river landscape into a symbolic axis (fig. 8) – a territorial manifestation that (although not lasting) did not fail to have a symbolic effect. Augustus’s projected pleasure barges (fig. 9) for the inclusion of the Vistula show the political use of leitmotifs of this strategic and prestigious

---


67 See Bächler, Schlechte, p. 13.
operation, an attempt at absolutist dissolution of boundaries in case of Warsaw as well.

The artificial (“second”) nature shaped by Augustus’s architects – landscaped gardens and axes, canals and water features along the Vistula developed as a technical and elaborate series of spatial experience improving on nature – reflected the perfect absolutist spatial representations which were to compensate for the failure of appropriate political order within the country’s territory. Given the real lack of power in the Polish-Lithuanian Union, Augustus resorted to a simulation of absolutist rule architecturally from day one, which resulted in a strategically directed spatial display of splendour and highly expensive celebrations. Magnificent interiors, gardens and road axes in and around Warsaw reflected Augustus’s political dreams of greatness. At the same time in Dresden he was able to develop new projects, admittedly not in great numbers, but without serious political opposition. In his home town, Augustus was not competing against the Polish Republic in any spatially
symbolic manner, or even (indirectly) with major European powers, but with the emperors of China and Japan whom he strove to outdo with his Saxon version of oriental style in an Augustan Gesamtkunstwerk.

Bibliography


“Chinois”. Dresdener Lackkunst in Schloß Wilanów, ed. by M. Kopplin, Münster, Museum für Lackkunst, 2005


Dietrich A., Kurhut und Königskrone – Grundzüge der sächsisch-polnischen Union, in: ...von denen schoenen Gaerten, pp. 5-8
Gurlitt C., Warschauer Bauten aus der Zeit der sächsischen Könige, Berlin, Der Zirkel, 1917
Kowalczyk J., August II. und die Warschauer Architekten, in: Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann, pp. 452-463
Krzemiński A., Sachsen und Polen – eine gescheiterte Union?, “Dresdner Hefte”, 50 (1997), pp. 4-8
Lileyko J., Das Königsschloss in Warschau, Warsaw, Interpress Verlag, 1981


Zürner A.F., *Kurze Anleitung zur gewöhnlichen Reise von Dresdhen nach Warschau*, Nürnberg, Weigel, 1738
In Rome of the early 18th century a serenata was a vocal-instrumental celebratory music piece performed during ceremonies (festa in Italian) organised to commemorate and honour an important person or event. In the Eternal City, where the Pope and churchmen resided alongside aristocratic families, foreign guests, and numerous ambassadors, such compositions were performed to celebrate royal weddings or nuptials in the family ruling Rome, royal childbirth, coronations, royal namedays and birthdays, days ending wars, peace treaty signing ceremonies, events honouring victorious leaders, etc.\(^1\) All aforementioned occasions, listed herein as examples only, were a wonderful pretext to emphasise the prestige and/or power of patrons or groups they supported, or – in case of compositions performed on initiative of ambassadors – the power and glory of countries they represented in Rome. Allegorical characters portrayed in serenatas, as well as the absence of action, let authors make their pieces speak of current political circumstances, popular wisdom, or crucial social issues. Nonetheless, as Stefanie Tcharos aptly emphasised in her article on the genre, the serenata was primarily a public act concocted to strengthen political alliances.\(^2\)

The public performance of any serenata usually involved spectacular production, as described by Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, a long-term curator of the Roman Arcadian Academy (Accademia dell’Arcadia), and one of the founding fathers of the Academy concept itself. In his


Commentari [...] alla sua Istoria della volgar poesia (1702), a work crucial to the history of Italian literature, he wrote: “We heard and viewed numerous [serenatas] staged with immense splendour and glory by ambassadors and other princes and celebrities of that magnificent court [i.e. Rome].”

In preparation for the performance of a serenata, special theatrical stages were erected for artists. Walls framing the stage were decorated with arrases, other costly fabrics, and paintings. All neighbouring buildings were illuminated. When singers performed in carriages, their wagons were adorned with allegorical effigies marvelled and wondered at, spurring audiences and performers on to conjure further interpretations. Polish Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska resident in Rome in the years 1699-1714 following a failed attempt of retaining the crown in the Sobieski family, was fond of using the bridge connecting the two parts of her Roman estate (dubbed the L’Arco della Regina by locals) and the tempietto added to her palace by the distinguished architect Filippo Juvarra as backdrops for serenata performances she organised.

Of the unknown number of serenatas performed at Maria Casimira’s court, printed librettos of four pieces were preserved; all are referred to as componimento per musica:

1. *Il Tevere fatidico* (1704)
2. *L’Amicizia d’Hercole, e Theseo* (1707)
3. *La vittoria della Fede* (1708)
4. *La gloria innamorata* (1709)

Furthermore, preserved pieces include two librettos of compositions referred to as cantatas, albeit in structure and nature alike they resemble typical Roman serenatas of the period. These are:

1. *Applausi del Sole e della Senna* (1704)
2. *Applauso Devoto al Nome di Maria Santissima* (1712)

The aforementioned compositions were most frequently performed on September 12th, i.e. to concurrently celebrate the Feast of the Holy Name of Mary and the Viennese victory. That day, the Queen reminded the Romans and numerous ambassadors resident in the City of her

---

husband’s most glorious deed while emphasising the fame enjoyed by the Sobieski family. She compared Jan (John) III Sobieski to heroes of the antiquity and great historical politicians, such as Hercules and Emperor Constantine the Great. She also demanded that her sons be referred to as new Alcideses, foretelling in the serenatas she staged that their achievements would be reminiscent of Alexander the Great. In this paper, I will focus on a detailed description of one specific serenata known as L’Amicizia d’Hercole, e Theseo, & introduzione al ballo della Gloria (1707). I intend to present symbols and metaphors the Queen used in an attempt to emphasise her prestige in Rome. I further wish to show how willing she was to use symbols recognisable throughout Europe to the purpose of continuing her propaganda for the support of the Sobieski house, work she had formerly begun in Poland.

L’Amicizia d’Hercole, e Theseo was performed on February 27th 1707 at the Palazzo Zuccari. On March 5th, the Avvisi Marescotti reported:

The Queen [of Poland] provided the local aristocracy with noble entertainment, as the Princess her granddaughter danced on several occasions at the Queen’s minute theatre, in a ballo preceded with beautiful introduzione in musica; her Highness displayed extraordinary vivacity and temperament. 

The “Foglio di Foligno” published a passage phrased well-nigh identically in their printed news from Rome. The aforementioned serenata was not the only attraction prepared by Maria Casimira for the carnival of 1707. The Roman chronicler Francesco Valesio wrote in his diary of a carnival carriage, or carro, having been shown in the courtyard of the Queen’s residence, with numerous ladies and courtiers present.

---

4 L’Amicizia d’Hercole, e Theseo Componimento per Musica, e Introduzione al Ballo della Gloria Dedicato all’Altezza serenissima Della Principessa Maria Casimira di Polonia (Roma, 1707, F-Pn, Ref. No. YD-1193).

5 La sudetta regina [di Polonia] ha dato un nobile divertimento a questa nobiltà con haver ballare alcune volte nel suo picciolo teatro la principessa sua nipote preceduta con una bella introduzione in musica al ballo in che ha meravigliosamente speccata la vivacità e lo spirito di sua altezza (G. Staffieri, Colligite Fragmenta. La vita musicale romana negli “Avvisi Marescotti” (1683-1707), Lucca, Libreria Musicale Italiana Editrice, 1990, p. 170).

6 La sudetta Regina ha dato un nobile divertimento a questa Nobiltà con aver fatto ballare alcune volte nel suo piccolo Teatro, prevenuto con una bella introduzione in Musica al ballo accennato, in che ha meravigliosamente spiccata la virtù e spirito (“Foglio di Foligno”, 1707, no. from March 5th).

Queen celebrated her sudden joy upon having received news in early January that her sons James and Constantine, former prisoners of Augustus II, had been released.

On January 1st, an anonymous papal chronicler reported: “A servant carrying letters dispatched by the sons of the Queen of Poland arrived; in the evening an illumination was staged with trumpeting, drumming, and other sounds to celebrate news of their [the sons’] release”.8 Charles Poerson, director of the French Academy in Rome and a frequent guest of the Queen’s, also wrote: “The Queen of Poland organised a feast to celebrate the release of princes her sons, news of whom she received from dispatches carried by an extraordinary courier”.9 On January 2nd, the aforementioned Valesio recorded similar news in his journal:

In the morning, the Queen of Poland received a courier dispatched by the new King Stanislaus [Leszczyński] notifying her of the peace treaty signed with King Augustus, the Elector of Saxony, and congratulating her on the release of the princes her sons James and Constantine, and, the courier added, the three kings, the Swede [Charles XII], Augustus [II], and Stanislaus [Leszczyński] dined together with the said princes. Her Royal Highness dispatched the tidings to the Collegium, and ordered that Te Deum be sung in the small church of her nunnery [...].10

On January 3rd, the papal chronicler added that “About 22:00 on that day, Te Deum was sung at the church of Trinity de Monty in gratitude for the release of the sons of the Queen of Poland, with many instruments and magnificent singers, and in the presence of Her Highness and numerous aristocrats”.11

---


10 Giunse la mattina corrisso a questa regina di Polonia, speditoli dal nuovo re Stanislao di Polonia, con il quale gli dava avviso della pace seguita con il re Augusto elettore di Sassonia e si congratulava della piena libertà nella quale erano gli regii principi di lei figlioli Giacomo e Costantino, et aggiugneva a voce il corrisso che havevano gli tre re, sueco, Augusto e Stanislao, pranzato insieme con gli sudetti principi. Mandò la Maestà Sua a dare parte al S. Collegio di tal nuova, ne fece cantare il Tedeum nella piccola chiesa del suo monastero [...] (Valesio, vol. 3, p. 748).

11 Verso le ventidue hore del sudetto giorno nella chiesa della Trinità de Monti in ringratiam.lo della Liberat.ne de Figli della regina di Polonia con quantità d’Istromenti
It was under such joyful circumstances that the *L’Amicizia d’Hercole*, *e Theseo* serenata and the *ballo della Gloria* were performed to commemorate freedom regained by the young Sobieski.

The serenata lyrics, including four arias, two duets, and intertwined recitatives, were penned by Carlo Sigismund Capek, court poet and the Queen’s secretary since 1704. The author of the music (which has been preserved until today) remains unknown. The content of the composition featuring the two eponymous characters, Hercules and Theseus, can be summed up as follows – Hercules rescues Theseus, hero of Athens, from Hades. The moment is recalled in the lyrics of the serenata’s opening duet:

```
H:  Pur cedeste ombre d’Averno
T:  Pur riveggio i rai del Sole.
H:  Hò già vinto, hò già ritolto
    A Cocito le sue prede:
T:  Già disciolto in quest’arene
    Da rei lacci volgo il piede,
H:  Et à Cerbero in Catene
    Stretto hò già l’horride gole.
H:  Pur cedeste &...
```

Revelling in the sight of sunshine, Theseus thanks his friend for assistance shown. Hercules, however, responds that his arm was but a measure in the intentions of the gods. It was Theseus’ innocence that truly helped him. Heaven will always send new heroes, new Herculeses, to protect virtue.\(^\text{12}\) Expressing gratitude to his friend again, Theseus reports to Hercules what he saw in Hades. Among others, he encountered Lachesis weaving life-threads of heroes whose achievements shall in the future exceed the deeds of heroes of antiquity. Hercules, on the other hand,

\(^{12}\) Farà il Cielo in sua difesa/ nascer sempre nuovi Alcidi.
confesses to his friend that when supporting the heavenly sphere, he saw stars competing to create the most beautiful imaginings of heroes adorning future eras, with both Hercules and Theseus serving as role models. Nonetheless, Hercules was most impressed by the rivalry between Callisto and Alcmene to give new Herculeses to the northern world. Therefore, Theseus asks his friend how it is possible for virtue to shine forth where sunshine barely reaches. He learns in response that a single star distant from the sun and supporting the polar zone will one day outshine even the moon. John the Great (GIOVANNI il Grande) is the star, for whom a magnificent future has been foretold by both heroes – he shall become the Hercules of Faith and Empire (Hercole della Fede e dell’Impero). In his Tracia belva con l’empio suo dente aria following the previously quoted utterances, Hercules portrays the image of a wild beast, which wounds the breast of Europe with its godless teeth until reached by an arrow from Sobieski the invincible Sarmatian’s bow.

Theseus proceeds to tell that he saw other golden threads woven by Lachesis. Hercules supposes that these threads reflected the fate of royal sons resembling their father. Both heroes praise the battlefield deeds of the young Sobieskis, and glorify the avenger of unjust insults and liberator of the descendants of a great king. Protagonists of the serenata believe that wonderful souls of new heroes will serve to enrich the history of their contemporaries. The heroes’ conversation is interrupted by Gloria descending from heaven. Theseus wishes to follow her, but is stopped by Hercules, who explains that they are only fit to admire her. Gloria may be followed by more famous heroes only – the brothers Sobieski, as implied. In the closing duet, the eponymous characters praise Gloria, inflamer of all hearts. These words are an announcement for the ballo della Gloria.

To celebrate the release of the young Sobieskis, Capece used the well-known motive of friendship between the two most famous and courageous heroes of antiquity; primarily, however, he recalls the story of Theseus’ release from the kingdom of darkness by the son of Alcmene. As the myth goes, Theseus descends into Hades with another friend of his, Pirithous, who asked him to help conquer Persephone, wife of the ruler of the underworld. To the surprise of both Theseus and Pirithous, Pluto seemed amicable. They were shown chairs, seated wherein they were to await
the decision of the ruler of Hades. Once they sat down they understood they would never again be able to rise. This is how Pluto punished their boldness. After Theseus and Pirithous spend four years in the Chairs of Forgetfulness, Hercules arrives to Hades to perform his twelth labour as ordered by Euristheus. This time, he was to kidnap Cerberus from the underworld. In his part of the duet, Hercules specifically mentions the capture of the guardian of the gates to Hades, and the wrestling of loot grabbed by Cocytos, one of the five hellish rivers feeding on tears of the condemned. In a subsequent conversation, Hercules explains to Theseus that he was protecting his friend’s scorned and slighted innocence in the name of the gods.

Theseo, più che il mio braccio
La tua stessa Innocenza
Fù, che ti sprigionò dall’empio laccio;
E se parte v’hebb’io
Sol Ministro del Ciel fù il braccio mio

Theseus, my arm mattered less
Than your own innocence,
Which enabled me to release you from evil snares;
And if indeed I partook in the deed,
My arm was but a servant of heaven.

Hercules emphasises the importance of his words in the following aria:

L’Innocenza vilipesa
Maì di sorter non diffidi.
Farà il Cielo in sua difesa
Nascer sempre nuovi Alcidi.

Innocence scorned/slighted
Never shall trust in fate,
Heaven in its protection
Will always bring new Herculeses forth.

---

16 A.M. Carassiti, Dizionario di mitologia classica. Tutte le meravigliose storie create dai Greci e dai Romani per rappresentare i misteri dell’uomo, della natura e dell’universo. Un mondo affascinante popolato da guerrieri, eroi, divinità, re, ninfe, muse, mostri e giganti, Roma, Newton & Compton, 2001, p. 311.
17 Ibid., p. 63.
The verses quoted serve to openly emphasise the innocence of James and Constantine Sobieski, imprisoned unjustly and deceitfully by Augustus II, and to name the avenger of insult, who fought to protect the brothers, the new Hercules. The new hero, however, remains nameless in the serenata (I believe the author had King Charles XII of Sweden in mind). Maria Casimira’s belief that what Augustus II did was an insult to the honour of the Sobieskis is confirmed in a letter she penned to her son Alexander, who remained free. On March 22nd 1704, she wrote:

What a deadly strike, my dearest son! Why have I survived to witness such sad news, I, who would gladly give up the short time I have left to preserve every one of you. Should that be required to sate the relentless hatred borne against us by the tyrant [Augustus II] holding family members as protection against that family, I would be ready to surrender myself to his prisons, if only my beloved children could remain free and if their lives could be safe... [...] What a coup! To kidnap sons of a great king, brother-in-law to the Emperor! [...] I would gladly sacrifice my life to secure and preserve your existence and your freedoms, however old and feeble I am, caring only for this life if it means loving you, my children, whom I now bless asking God to grant you prosperity, and whom I embrace with all my heart.18

Finally, news of the release of Maria Casimira’s sons after three years of imprisonment allowed justice to triumph; accomplishments of the Sobieski brothers’ liberator also brought relief to her heart, and restored a smile to her face, as described in final verses of the serenata:

E della Regia Madre
Già oppressa dal timor del rio periglio
Farà che à suoi trionfi
Erga un bell’arco il Serenato Ciglio,
E volto in riso il pianto
Delle sue trombe al suono
Renda applausi festivi in danze, e canto.

18 Quel coup mortel, mon très cher fils! Pourquoi ai-je survécu à une si triste nouvelle, moi qui mettrai volontiers le peu de vie qui me reste pour la conservation de chacun de vous. Si c’est une nécessité, pour assouvir la haine implacable qu’a le tyran contre nous, qu’il ait entre ses mains quelqu’un de la famille, pour l’assicurer contre elle, je suis prête à me livrer dans ses prisons, pourvu que mes chers enfants soient en liberté et leur vie en sûreté... [...] ...Quel attentat! Enlever les fils d’un grand roi, le beau-frère de l’Empereur! [...] Je me sacrifierai volontiers pour sauver et assurer vos vies et vos libertés, toute vieille et infirme che je sois, ne me souciant de la vie que pour l’amour de vous autres, mes chers enfants, vous que je bénis, en prinat Dieu de vous combler de toutes ses prospérités et en vous embrassant de tout mon coeur (K. Waliszewski, Une française reine de Pologne. Marie d’Arquien-Sobieska d’après les documents inédits des archives étrangères, “Le Correspondant” 1884, pp. 299-300).
And to the royal mother,
Tormented by fear of cruel danger,
His triumphs shall bring gifts,
The look, relieved, shall raise a glorious arch,
And replacing tears with joy,
Will, to the sound of trumpets,
Resound in celebration of praise, with dance and song.

In the central part of the serenata, Capece recalled i.a. an excerpt from Book VI of *The Aeneid*, describing how Aeneas descends into Hades and recognises generations of his descendants: Hades is more than a place of the dead; it is also a “waiting room” of sorts for those who are to be born in the future. This is where Theseus spotted the Moira preparing threads of life for new heroes of the North – John Sobieski and his sons. This manoeuvre allowed Capece to recall the king’s glorious deeds, and to compare him and his sons to new Herculeses (*nuovi Alcidi*).

Comparing Sobieski to Hercules formed part of a tradition (initiated in the 15th century) of identifying European rulers, their strength, gallantry, wisdom, cleverness, unyielding character, and ability to follow the path of virtue with heroes of the antiquity. Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1519) was among the first monarchs claiming to hail from the line of Hercules. He was followed by the Habsburgs, who with lesser or greater frequency referred to Herculean symbolism, with the tendency distinctly amplified during the reign of Leopold I and his sons, and reaching an apogee under the rule of Charles VI (1711-1740). French kings, such as Louis XIV, as well as John III Sobieski of Poland were also fond of Herculean symbols. No wonder that: as Jerzy Banach tells us, in the latter half of the 17th century, Hercules fighting the Hydra was adapted for purposes of comparison with battles against the Cossack, Tartar, and Turkish powers, and against the schism. In 17th-century Poland and Europe, the Hydra (whom Hercules fought during his second labour) symbolised the Ottoman

---


20 The choice frequently attributed to Hercules (path of virtue and magnanimity vs. path of succumbing to personal lusts) made him a perfect role model character for kings and rulers portrayed in 17th- and 18th-century opera. See R.C. Ketterer, *Ancient Rome in Early Opera*, Urbana / Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2009, p. 13.


22 Ibid., p. 141.
power as the danger looming in the East, as well as heresy – the West’s eternal threat.\footnote{Ibid.} John III Sobieski, who slew the Ottoman Hydra in 1683, was not only dubbed the new Hercules or the Polish Hercules, but also the Christian Hercules, as shown in a post-Battle of Vienna painting by Martin Altomonte, who portrayed Sobieski as a heavenly rider, a tool held by God to fight the heathens.\footnote{W. Fijałkowski, Gloryfikacja Jana III w sztuce czasów baroku, in: Studia z dziejów epoki Jana III Sobieskiego, Wrocław, WUWr, 1984, p. 33.} Such an image of the king was further confirmed by Waclaw Potocki, who wrote after Sobieski’s death: “[He was] a pillar to the Church, and a fiery flame to heathen and heresy. [...] The second Hercules, before whom the proud Ottoman trembles”.\footnote{Banach, p. 143.} As Banach points out, the blending of King John III with Hercules into a single symbol\footnote{The term originally used in Ronsard’s title: *Hercule chrétien*, see ibid., p. 74.} began prior to the Siege of Vienna (e.g. during the 1676 coronation ceremony in Cracow, as shown in the so-called coronation figure). As recalled by Anna Czarniecka, “[Sobieski’s] royal iconography consistently displayed symbols of mythological gods – of Hercules (lion skin) and Mars (Gorgoneion, woodpecker, wolf) – as a reference to *Virtus heroica* and *Virtus bellica*”.\footnote{A. Czarniecka, Nikt nie słucha mnie za życia... Jan III Sobieski w walce z opozycyjną propagandą (1684-1696), Warszawa, Neriton, 2009, p. 45.} After the king’s Viennese victory, Europe was flooded with renderings (icons, etchings, paintings, medals) and written works (panegyrics, poems, descriptions) showing John III as Hercules, who with his courage secured protection for Christian Europe. Let us quote a 1683 work from Amsterdam:

Behold a hero, who learned from Mars as a youth.  
A King of Poland, third of that name,  
Basking like Alcides in the glory of brave wartime deeds,  
The sharpness of his sword arrested the enemy.  
Ask the terrified Vienna, a city in tears and with its heart a-tremble,  

No wonder that Capece’s Theseus, when asking after John III, uses the phrase *Virtus l’heroica* originally penned to describe Alcmene’s son, while Hercules, when announcing the birth of the hero of the North, openly refers to him as *Hercole della Fede, e dell’Impero*, and only then as the Invincible Sarmatian (*Sarmata Invitto*).
The use of the phrase “the new Hercules” as a title assigned to Sobieski’s sons, and specifically to James, his eldest, also hails back to the Polish Republic of the time, and to the Sobieskis’ dynastic policy specifically. Hercules’ traits were recognised in the fifteen-year-old James; during a court performance in Warsaw, on the eve of the 1683 Battle of Vienna, he was referred to as “Alcides, [...] protector against monsters bred in the swamp of Lerna”\textsuperscript{29} i.e. a protector against the heresy of the East. This is how hope for great deeds of the young James was expressed. Those sentiments are echoed in Capece’s serenata, when Theseus reports:

\textit{Vidi un fil sì robusto}
\textit{Che appena al quarto lustro si stendea,}
\textit{E già gruppi di Palme, e de Reami}
\textit{Seco al fuso avvolgea.}

I have seen a son so broad-shouldered,  
Barely twenty winters he saw,  
And already a group of palms and kingdoms  
He wove upon his loom.

No deliberations concerning the coming of new Herculeses could be free of the character who was to give birth to them. Alcmene was the mother of the hero of antiquity. In the vision created by Capece’s protagonists, Callisto was Alcmene’s rival as a mother to the new generation of heroes:

\textit{Vidi Calisto, che con dolce pena}  
\textit{Nel gelo ardea dell’Hiperboree notti}  
\textit{Per emular Alcmena}  
\textit{E per render fecondo}  
\textit{Di nuovi Alcidi un dì l’Artico Mondo.}

I saw Callisto, who in pain so sweet  
Was aflame in the coolness of northern nights,  
To conquer Alcmene  
And to make northern worlds  
Rich in new Herculeses some day.

Thus described, Callisto the mother of northern sky heroes brings to mind Maria Casimira, patron to the serenata. It might be assumed that the Queen enjoyed having her person associated with a woman visited by Zeus himself, who then elevated her and their son to heavenly constellations. The vision was not far from the actual truth, as the Sobieskis’ name was part of the revolving night sky ever since a new constellation was discovered

\textsuperscript{29} Banach, p. 143.
by an astronomer from Gdańsk, Johannes Hevelius. Furthermore, Gloria descending from heaven, who was to be followed by the released brothers Sobieski, was a harbinger of an even more glorious future, and of deeds well surpassing the accomplishments of ancient heroes.

The choice of Hercules and Theseus as characters expressing Maria Casimira’s joy following the release of her sons by Augustus II is no chance, but rather a very conscious continuation of propaganda engaged in by the Sobieskis and the royalists in the Polish Republic of the time, with amplified intensity after the success of the Battle of Vienna. Since Capece proved very skilful in using symbols common to and well known throughout Europe, the meaning of the work was also legible to Roman audiences. Notably, family circumstances boosted further political manifestation of Maria Casimira’s prestige in Rome, and of her family’s importance to European history. Sobieska was required to engage in such propaganda for a dual reason: her ambiguous position of a crownless queen on the one hand, and the short-term memory of politics and politicians on the other. Maria Casimira had vivid memories of homage paid to and of paeans addressing Sobieski after his Viennese victory,\textsuperscript{30} Albeit her arrival in Rome rekindled Roman enthusiasm and interest in the looks and behaviour of the wife of a great leader, time was relentless in acting against John III and his family name. The Queen must have been suffering and indignant when faced with the fact that her husband’s glorious deeds were slowly becoming a thing of the past, but she was surely stricken in her ambitions as well. The imprisonment of her sons, and the subsequent undignified treatment of her daughter Theresa Kunegunda Sobieska by imperial powers in the course of the contemporary war for the Spanish succession was a horrific assault on her sense of pride, honour, justice, and European rulers’ duty to the family of the protector of all of Christian Europe. It goes without saying that the Queen was joyful following the release of her sons, and that she wished to express her sincere thanks to Stanislaus Leszczyński and to Charles XII, one of the few rulers who remained fascinated by John III of Poland. The serenatas she staged, however, are ample proof of not having been an eruption of naive joy, but rather a well-designed concept, a political game Maria Casimira had to be consistent in playing to retain the status she deserved in Rome. Wanting to keep her status intact, she could not allow Romans or European politicians forget the Hercules of northern skies – or his family.

\textsuperscript{30} See Fijalkowski; Z. Libiszowa, Fascynacja w Europie Janem Sobieskim w XVII i XVIII w., in: Studia z dziejów, pp. 7-18.
Anna Ryszka-Komarnicka
(Uniwersytet Warszawski)

Echoes of the Viennese Victory (1683) in Italian Music of the Final Decades of the 17th Century: John III Sobieski as a Hero of Religious Dialogue and Oratorio – Study of Selected Cases

The 17th century in Europe was a time of numerous wars, with background (and often pretext...) religious in nature. Suffice to list such events as the Thirty Years’ War, France’s domestic and international wars with the Protestants, battles for the English throne, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth conflicts with non-Catholic states (Russia, Sweden), or the constant threat to Southern and Eastern Europe from Muslim forces. All these conflicts were an obvious concern and cause for involvement for the Vatican as well. Nonetheless, two were of special interest to the Holy See – the “battle of England”, in case of which more or less realistic expectations were raised with regard to Catholicism being restored (at least as a religion of the ruling dynasty), and the struggle to fight the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The force of Papal engagement may also be proven in the rather curious “artistic” phenomenon: the majority of quasi-religious works (occasionally political in nature) performed in the mid-17th century in Rome referred to matters aforementioned.¹

One would be hard-pressed to compare the political importance of the English matter, albeit of immense interest to the Vatican in the late 17th and early 18th century, to the threat to Christian Europe from the Muslim world, said threat manifested with varying force in the numerous wars erupting over the centuries along front after front: Russia to the Polish Republic, and Austrian Empire to states of the Italian Peninsula, the Venetian Republic specifically.

The importance of Poland, a country from “far beyond the Alps”, getting involved in the battle for common Christian Europe, was observed on the Italian Peninsula especially upon the onset of the 1620-1621 war between Poland and Turkey.\(^2\) The course of that war was marked by the catastrophic loss to the Turks in the Battle of Tuțora in 1620 (Turkey used Polish support for the Habsburgs, however apparent rather than effective, during the Thirty Years’ War, as a pretext for invasion) and Poland’s spectacular victory in counteroffensive, followed by the Treaty of Khotyn in the autumn of 1621. These events were an opportunity for publishers of the Italian Peninsula to print numerous accounts, panegyrics, and other works praising Polish victories, amplifying the myth of Poland as part of the *antemurale Christianitatis*,\(^3\) the importance of which continued to grow in the second half of the 17\(^{th}\) century, in the swelling wake of Ottoman threat.\(^4\) Echoes of the myth can be found in musical genres typical to the baroque era: *dramma per musica*, the oratorio, or the *serenata/cantata*. Even a brief glance at preserved works suffices to prove that in the 17\(^{th}\) century, Poland peaked twice in terms of external interest in the country as *antemurale Christianitatis*, with the political context of both stages tying in closely with the issue of Ottoman threat:\(^5\)

1. Stage one: times of Ladislaus IV (1595-1648), relating directly to the aforementioned war, and to hopes triggered by Ladislaus, a man talented in the art and craft of war as a Polish prince (basking in the glory of the victorious Khotyn campaign) and then as actual King of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1632-1648);

2. Stage two: times of Jan (John) III Sobieski (1629-1696, as King of Poland: 1674-1696), with three distinctive periods:

---

\(^2\) The 16\(^{th}\) century was relatively peaceful in terms of Polish-Ottoman relations (as opposed to Italian- or Austrian-Turkish relations); a “perpetual peace treaty” was even proclaimed in 1533. Albeit in the late years of his reign King Stephen Báthory nurtured certain plans of attacking Turkey (dreaming of liberating his beloved Balkans), to the great enthusiasm of the Holy See, his death put an end to the intention.


\(^4\) Given the importance of Poland in its struggles against religious dissenters, Rome’s focus on our country in the second half of the 17\(^{th}\) century did not differ greatly from the attention paid to such powers as France or Spain, as proven in the diaries of Carlo Cartari (*Le effemeridi cartarie*), see R. Guèze, *Echi di storia polacca nel diario di un dignitario pontificio del secolo XVII*, Carlo Cartari, in: *Barocco fra Italia*, p. 372.

\(^5\) Until today, we have encountered no special trace of “artistic” interest in the Polish-Swedish conflict, for example, even during the dramatic period of the Swedish Deluge (1655-1660).
a) Late seventies – attempts to make Poland part of a rekindled conflict with Turkey following the end of the 1672-1676 war,

b) The Great War of 1683-1699, with Poland as key participant of the Battle of Vienna (1683), and the Polish Republic joining the Holy League (1684),

c) Period of Dowager Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska’s stay in Rome (1699-1714), a time of her efforts to nurture the public memory of her husband’s heroic deeds.

In the area of music, stage one has been quite extensively described in reference sources. As aforementioned, prince Ladislaus’ visit to Italy\(^6\) (as part of the European educational tour he embarked upon as a young man in the years 1624-1625) became an excellent opportunity of expressing support for Polish actions against religious dissenters, and reaffirm the future king\(^7\) in the conviction of his special contribution to the defence of faith (notably, the prince participated in the Khotyn campaign). This was proved beyond doubt by the enthusiastic reception of Ladislaus by Urban VIII Barberini upon the prince’s arrival in Rome in January 1625. The event was celebrated by the performance of a lavishly designed work (its genre difficult to determine): *La vittoria del principe Vladislao in Valachia*, libretto by Giovanni Ciampoli, music by Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger.\(^8\)

In the finale, the allegorical manifestation of Hope (*Speranza*) openly expressed expectations of the Pope himself as to Ladislaus’ role as the man of destiny in Christian Europe. Moreover, the choice of *drammi per musica* offered to the prince during the 1625 carnival in Florence: *La regina Sant’Orsola* (libretto by Andrea Salvadori, music by Marco da Gagliano) or *La liberazione di Ruggiero dall’isola di Alcina* (*baletto*, libretto by Ferdinando Saracinelli, music by Francesca Caccini), emphasised the importance of sacrifice for the cause of faith.\(^9\) The 1634 visit of

---


\(^7\) The Polish throne was not hereditary. It seems, however, that the carefully planned itinerary for Ladislaus’ journey (the Vatican, and countries ruled by the Habsburgs, ancestor house for both wives to Sigismund III) could not involve a scenario different to the election of the young Vasa upon his father’s death.


prince Alexander Charles Vasa in Rome became a yet another opportunity to recall the Christian states’ crusade against the infidels, so precious to Urban VIII, with Poland perceived as the campaign’s foundation. The visit took place at the time of the finale of two victorious wars: the Polish-Russian conflict and the 1633-1634 Polish war against the Turks, which was in fact a part of the struggle with Russia. This must have seemed an excellent pretext for the Pope to spur Poland on to battle. The message, with Ladislaus IV himself, then King of Poland already, as its actual and obvious addressee, was ingrained in the *dramma sacro Il Sant’Alessio* (libretto by Giulio Rospigliosi, music by Stefano Landi) performed in the prince Alexander’s presence. The panegyrical Prologue (a laudation addressing to Alexander, and the liberation of slaves in Oriental dress by the allegorical manifestation of Rome), and the finale of Act III (effigies of saint Alessio and saint Adalbert) serve to emphasise the bonds between Rome and Poland, two powers united in a joint mission of religious battle against the infidels to liberate them of the chains of improper faith.  

Times of John III Sobieski are surprisingly meagre in terms of musicological reference publications, especially with regard to works in the Polish language. The phenomenon becomes even more peculiar once we


realise that literary echoes of the Viennese Victory (simple battle accounts through to a variety of poetic tributes) have been researched quite extensively. Concurrently and conversely, music pieces frequently preserved until this day as librettos only have remained beyond the boundaries of Polish researchers’ interest. The purpose of this paper is to fill the gap, if only in part, and potentially become an impulse for further research, specifically concerning the period of 1683-1699.

The Seventies of the Seventeenth Century – Approaching the Viennese Victory

This was a time of efforts by the Papacy (Clement X followed by Innocent XI) to mobilise as many Catholic countries as possible to form an alliance to the purpose of defending Europe against Ottoman invasion. The political climate of the times has been well reflected e.g. in the dialogo morale Il Giordano schiavo (libretto by Leone Alberici, music by Giovanni Battista Bianchini), most probably performed in 1678 or 1679 in Orvieto. In the work, the River Jordan representing the Holy Land held by the infidel appeals to five other river-states to liberate it after forming an alliance: the Tiber (Vatican), the Rhone (France), the Tagus (Spain), the Vistula (Poland), and the Danube (Austria). Such constellation of allies, however, never went beyond wishful thinking. It was well-known that the France of Louis XIV would never join such an alliance, given the country’s traditionally tense relations with the


13 Patronage assumed by Maria Casimira Sobieska over musical performances in Rome has been recently described in a monograph by A. Markuszewska, Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimier w Rzymie (1699-1714). Ph.D. dissertation, Warsaw University, 2011. See also A. Markuszewska’s paper in the present volume (ed., L’Amicizia d’Hercole e Theseo (1707) – a Serenata from the Roman Court of Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska).

14 Franchi, Il principe, p. 208.
Holy See and the Habsburgs of Austria. Given the circumstances, Rome must have been concerned about Poland ending the war with Turkey in 1676, also because French diplomacy helped with negotiations preceded with a secret Polish-French Treaty of Jaworów (1675). Thus no effort or measure was spared to reintroduce Poland to a conflict with the Ottoman, even if the actual battles were to take place beyond Turkish borders. Ultimately, a Polish-Austrian alliance was formed only in 1683, chiefly thanks to relentless work by the nuncii of Innocent XI. These efforts are hinted at in two political oratorios to St. Casimir, which close with a significant invocation to the saint as a divine advocate of the Republica’s military success:

– *S. Casimiro prencipe di Polonia* (libretto by Sebastiano Lazzarini, music by Francesco Beretta), published in *Sacra melodia d’oratorii musicali* (1678), most likely performed in April 1675 at the Roman church of the San Spirito in Sassia;

– *S. Casimiro prencipe reale di Polonia* (libretto by Ottavio Santacroce, music by Giovanni Bicilli), performed on March 6th 1678 at the Oratory of the Roman church of the Santa Maria in Vallicella, in the presence of Hetman Michael Casimir Radziwiłł with spouse, Catherine née Sobieska, sister of John III. Although the couple’s journey was not official, Rome took care not to miss such a wonderful opportunity (disguised as entertainment both pious and natural for Lenten months – attendance at an oratorio concert) of reminding a man of the King’s nearest and dearest of Polish duties to Catholic faith. Incidentally, the aristocratic family of Oratorian Father Ottavio Santacroce, author of the libretto, had for some time been connected to the Polish court.

---


16 *Franchi, Il principe*, p. 207 (some earlier publications gave the date of March 1st).

17 Ottavio was the son of Valerio Santacroce, *cavaliere d’onore* to Sigismund III, Ladislaus IV and John Casimir. The second son of the latter, Cardinal Marcello Santacroce, was for a time “Cardinal Protector” of Poland at the Cardinals’ Collegium; their cousin, Andrea Santacroce, will in the years 1690-1696 be nominated Papal nuncio in Warsaw. See Franchi, *Il principe*, p. 207.
Aftermath of the Viennese Victory: Between Piety and Politics – John III Sobieski as a Hero of Italian Oratorios and Dialogues

The resonance of those events in Italian opera of the time is astonishingly weak, both at the imperial court in Vienna, and in the *drammi per musica* performed on the Italian Peninsula, including opera performances attended by eye witnesses of these historical developments (at Venetian opera houses). The German opera *Cara Mustafa* (Hamburg production, libretto by Lukas von Bostel 1686) is a rare example of showing actual heroes of the Vienna siege on an opera stage. Nonetheless, Dorothea Schröder believes that the piece had not been written to praise the distinguished participants of those events – interestingly enough, Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg is the only character on stage speaking for Christian protagonists, whereas the others – John III Sobieski, Maximilian Emanuel of Bavaria, John George III of Saxony, and Charles V of Lorraine – all remain in the background. Furthermore, the opera does not portray the Christian-Muslim conflict; it remains a work describing the “elevation and fall of a tyrant” (*Aufstieg und Sturz eines Tyrannen*) – whereas during the post-1683 period, Kara Mustafa was the key and most current example of such developments, and as such definitely worthy of artistic portrayal. Therefore the opera focuses on the personality of the Grand Vizier himself as a reason for the Ottoman defeat in the Battle of Vienna (selfishness, political Machiavellism, arrogance, love affairs etc.).

A greater number of references to the first stage of the great war against Turkey (1683-1685) can be found in spoken theatre, and specifically in scholastic performances panegyrical to the emperor (similar to those composed in Poland in homage to King John III Sobieski), some of which with considerable musical content, and in illustrative instrumental

---

18 See Strohm. The work mentions the *Il Seiano moderno della Tracia overo La caduta dell’ultimo Gran-Visire* (Venezia, 1686, libretto by Antonio Girapoli, music by Francesco Rossi), and the *Clearco in Negroponte* (Venezia, 1685, libretto by Antonio Arcoleo, music by Domenico Gabrielli), Strohm, pp. 341-342. Reinhard Strohm, in his deliberations regarding reasons for the theme’s general absence (with the exception of occasional allusions) in Italian opera, offers the following hypothesis: “[...] Oper gehörte zur Sphäre des Vergnügens, nicht zur politischen Diskussion”, ibid., p. 345.

19 Ibid., p. 346 (comment by D. Schröder).

As emphasised by Norbert Dubovy, a broader reception of the theme could be ingrained in oratorios and a variety of dramatic occasional compositions lesser in dimension than the opera (such as cantatas/serenatas), albeit the topic itself has not been sufficiently researched as yet. This paper proceeds to present, in chronological order, five such works created in the period of 1683-1685, with John III Sobieski as the occasional centrefold; concurrently, it shall be emphasised how the monarch had been perceived in contrast to other participants of the Siege of Vienna under constantly changing circumstances.

The first commemorative piece (most likely the first artistic echo of the Battle of Vienna) praising John III Sobieski as the exclusive champion of the Viennese victory was the Al Re di Polonia, a cantata preserved in print and manuscript copy, performed in Rome at a dinner thrown by Cardinal Carlo Barberini, protector of the Kingdom of Poland, in honour of royal courier Tommaso Talenti, who was carrying official confirmation of the victory, and – as was then believed – the Prophet’s banner, to present to the Pope. The cantata was intended for a soloist. Perhaps, as suggested by the summary madrigal passage depicting Sobieski as “the thunderbolt of war” and “earthly Mars” (quatrain quoted below in full), a participation of choir might have also been planned. The manuscript suggests that two panegyrical sonnets were delivered during the performance of the composition. The entire piece reads as follows:

Recitative: “Fremeano i Traci, e co’i ribelli infidi...”
Aria: “Non ha’ tanti fiori il Prato”
Recitative: “Egli a’ mieter su l’Istro Arabe Vite...”
Aria: “[Di Giovanni] Del suo brando le furie incessanti”
Recitative: “Ma’ qual stupor, se tante Glorie, e tante...”
Aria: “Con la voce ogn’or festiva”
Sonnet: “Quindi l’occhiuta dea / L’Austria madre d’Eroi” – by Giovanni Bartolomeo Duranti or Giacomo Antonio Bergamori
Coro [?]: Tacciasi [dunque] quindi, e intanto
Ad immortal suo vanto
Dicasì sol, ch’un fulmine è di guerra
E che se un Marte hà il Ciel, l’altro hà la Terra.

---

21 Riedel.
23 Accounts of several Roman academies confirm the practice of combining musical compositions with declamation of panegyric poetry.
Sonnet: *Così parla il Re di Polonia a Maria Vergine: “Vergine, a cui l’Empireo”*\(^{24}\) – by Gasparo Albruini

The author of the cantata was Giovanni Bartolomeo Duranti. Music to the cantata has in all likelihood not been preserved (at least no trace of it has been identified so far); furthermore, one would be hard-pressed to offer any hopeful hypotheses as to the person of the composer. Perhaps Barberini was assisted in swift preparations of the dinner’s artistic dimension by one of the most experienced Roman music patrons, Constable Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, as seems to be hinted at in a passage from one of the accounts celebrating the victory and Talenti’s arrival in Rome: [...] *Si prepara per domani à sera la bellissima Serenata del Contestabile Colonna, dove Angeliche voci cangieranno quel suolo in Paradiso, e li Cigni canori del Romano Parnaso con infinite compositioni hanno dato segno d’un’interno giubilo [...].*\(^{25}\) The account also informs us that those

\(^{24}\) I quote from: *APPLAUSI / POETICI / PER LA LIBERAZIONE / DI VIENNA / Dall’Armi Ottomane. / COMPONENTI DI VARI SOGGETTI / Raccolti da Francesco Antonio Tinassi / E DEDICATI / All’Eminentiss. e Reverendiss. Signore / IL SIGNOR CARDINALE / BENEDETTO / PANFILIO. / IN ROMA per il Tinassi Stampator Camerale. MDCLXXXIV. / Con licenza de’ Superiori, e Privileggio. (PL-Kc 6461 II.), pp. 101-103. All quotes in square brackets obtained from the manuscript copy preserved at the Biblioteca Oliveriana of Pesaro, Ms. 133.77, entitled *Tributo d’ossequio al glorioso valore dell’invittissimo Giovanni re di Polonia. Canzone per musica cantata in Palazzo del S. Card. Carlo Barberini Protettore di quel Regno nel giorno in cui S.E. tenne seco a pranzo il S.r Talenti Segr.rio di quel Rè, as quoted by Biliński*, pp. 59-64. The composition is further discussed by Callegari, pp. 190-191.

\(^{25}\) *DISTINTA / RELATIONE / DELLE SONTUOSE FESTE / CELEBRATE / NELL’ALMA CITTA DI ROMA / Per la Vittoria dell’Armi Cristiane collegate / contro il Turco, 25. Settembre 1683. / Roma, Milano, & in Genova, per il Bottari. / Con licenza de’ Superiori. (PL-Kc 11196 I), single-time anonymous publication, s.p. Nonetheless, no receipts have been preserved in the accounts of Colonna’s patronage to prove the commissioning of any work and payment to any contractors at the time. I hereby wish to thank Valeria de Lucca, an expert on Colonna’s patronage, for verifying data we had no access to. It is likely that the Constable “used” musicians working for him full-time, in which case there was obviously no need to document any extra expenses. Furthermore, it cannot be ruled out that accounts somewhat prematurely described Colonna as the organiser of the performance of the serenata, or that private court performances of the cantata took place, one each at Colonna’s and Barberini’s palaces. Possibly for reasons of the ceremony’s private nature, no mention thereof had been made public (the aforementioned Relatione excepting). It should be further added that the performance of the cantata at the Barberini estate as homage to John III Sobieski had not been mentioned in any musicological publications reconstructing Roman musical life of the 17th century (i.a. S. Franchi, *Drammaturgia romana. Repertorio bibliografico cronologico dei testi drammaturgici pubblicati a Roma e nel Lazio, vol. I (sec. XVII)*, coop. by O. Sartori, Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1988; G. Staffieri, *Colligite fragmenta. La vita
closest to the Pope engaged in a heated debate as to the title to be assigned by the Holy See to the King of Poland and to other commanders of the Battle of Vienna, and that Innocent XI seemed to be in favour of “defenders of the faith” – the motive itself was also made part of the cantata, specifically of the recitative preceding the final aria:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Onde giust'è, ch’offrisca il Vaticano} \\
\text{Al valor suo Guerriero} \\
\text{D’Atlante de la Fede il pregio altero.}
\end{align*}
\]

It is therefore proper that for his deeds in battle
The Vatican shall hereby render unto him
The honourable title of the Atlas of Faith.

(transl. from the Polish text by A. Ryszka-Komarnicka – A. Sobczak)

Nonetheless, artistic echoes of the Battle of Vienna swiftly became permeated with politics, with its uncanny ability to alter the perception of events not extremely distant. Such was the exact outcome in case of Dialogo/ Per Musica/ Nella Vittoria ottenuta dall’Armi Cristiane/ contro l’Ottomane all’Assedio/ di Vienna,/ Sotto la generosissima Protettione, e Pietà/ Di N. S. INNOCENZO XI., performed at the Roman Palazzo Orsini on November 4\textsuperscript{th} 1683, lyrics in all likelihood by duke Flavio Orsini himself.\textsuperscript{26} The dialogo has a cast of two: Primo Visir and Starembergh (E.R. Starhemberg, commander of the Viennese defence), and two Cori: the Infidels (d’Infedeli) and the Catholics (de Cattolici). The success in defence against the Ottoman invasion was in its entirety attributed to the Austrians, and specifically to the relentlessness of Starhemberg and loyalty of Emperor Leopold, both supported by the Pope, constantly invoked by the libretto’s author. John III Sobieski as a long-awaited and hoped-for ally is mentioned only twice (as Sarmata tonante – “Sarmatian Jove”.


\textsuperscript{26} A manuscript score of the piece has been preserved, with the name of Giacomo Simonelli given as the author of the music (that does not automatically mean that he was the author of the original Roman version performed in Palazzo Orsini). The cantata is described by C. Timms, \textit{A Lost Volume of Cantatas and Serenatas from the “Original Stradella Collection”}, in: \textit{Aspects of the Secular Cantata in Late Baroque Italy}, ed. by M. Talbot, Farnham / Burlington, Ashgate, 2009, pp. 45-48.
and as *Re Sarmatico* – “Sarmatian King”). Given the overall context, even such a fleeting reference seems worthy – not a word is uttered of other commander rulers, whereas assistance provided by Non-Catholic Christians (German Protestant soldiers) was passed over altogether. The clearly pro-Austrian tone of the piece is quite extraordinary in that duke Orsini himself was a sworn Gallophile.\(^27\) However, maybe exactly because of that political orientation he wanted to demonstrate even more fervently that he rejoiced so much in the victory of the Austrian Habsburgs, the traditional enemies of French Bourbons.

Pro-Austrian political attitudes could also be expected of pieces praising the Viennese victory staged in the South of Italy (given the region’s connections with Spain, and thus with the Habsburgs, rulers of Spain and the Austrian Empire at the time). Nonetheless, contrary to all expectations, the dialogo *LA GUERRA / IRIDE / DELLA PACIE, / NELLA VITTORIA CONTRO I TVRCHI / E Liberatione di Vienna*\(^28\) by Vincenzo Giattini, music by Antonino Benitti, performed in Palermo at the Oratorio della Compagnia di Santa Maria della Consolazione to commemorate the forty-hour church service closing the carnival of 1684, contains no pro-Austrian passages. Though allegorical characters, *Fede* (Faith) and *Chiesa Romana* (Roman Church), do in the opening verses speak of Innocent XI immersed in prayer, appealing for help to Emperor Leopold I, and of accomplishments of the relentless Starhemberg (the latter even in an aria sung by Faith: *STAREMBERGH dell'ampie mura*), the choice of actual protagonists directly participating in battle (John III Sobieski, Charles V of Lorraine, Kara Mustafa) proves that the dialogue does reflect (albeit in concise form typical for drama) the historical truth of the Battle of Vienna. The first part of the dialogo climaxes in Faith and the Roman Church appealing to Sobieski for action, the King readying for a journey from faraway lands to assist the Austrian capital. In terms of drama, this “occurs” in the King’s direct dialogue with allegorical characters, in their duet, and in a poem composed in heroic octave form: *Vergine e Madre, a gloriosa pugna* (the only passage of the kind throughout the libretto, most probably intended to be recited), wherein Sobieski entrusts himself to the care of the Holy Mother. News of Poles setting forth gives a surge of faith to German soldiers (*Coro d'Alemani*) under the command of Charles of Lorraine. The second part leaves no doubt as to the champion of the earthly victory: Sobieski is praised by Charles of Lorraine (*Ai fulgori della

\(^{27}\) Franchi, *Il principe*, p. 213.

\(^{28}\) A copy in I-Rig, Rar. Libr. Orat. 17.Jh.-16-. 
tua spada), with the defeat at the hand of the Polish King shown in the “scene” of his direct confrontation with the Vizier. John III Sobieski himself, in conformity to the venimus, vidimus, Deus vicit statement declared in his letter to the Pope (incidentally well-known at the time thanks to its reprint in leaflet form), does not cease in his praise for God and Mary, true champions of victory (aria Viva Dio, viva la Croce, / Viva il Nome di Maria). In view of the appearance of Coro di Fedeli and of allegoric characters, the Christian-Turkish confrontation itself was interpreted in religious terms as a result of divine wrath, which may, however, be appeased with prayer. Thus, Giattini’s Dialogo is only political in nature in that it speaks of events indubitably political in nature themselves. Their interpretation, however, is decidedly religious; accentuating the person of the King of Poland renowned for his piety was in opposition neither to the King’s historical role in the events of September 1683, nor to the author’s devotion-based intentions, stemming from a real need to offer thanksgiving, as clearly shown in his flowery inscription directly addressing to the Virgin Mary.

Another example of a manifestation definitely political in nature can be identified in Alessandro Melani’s Golia abbattuto, an allegorical oratorio: Biblical characters conceal actual heroes of Christian-Muslim struggles. Their identity is not hard to decipher thanks to distinctive descriptions used by the anonymous librettist. Saul, referred to as Vice-Dio and pastore d’INNOCENZA (“Vice-God” and “shepherd of innocence”) represents the Pope. David, described as an umile pastorello (“humble little shepherd”), and yet gifted with forza virile (“manly strength”) is John III Sobieski’s Biblical alter ego (allusions to Sobieski’s non-royal, “low” origins is contrasted with kings hailing from the largest European royal houses with deep roots). Goliath, dubbed the Gigante Ottoman or luna languente (“Ottoman Giant” and “lamenting Moon”), stands for Kara Mustafa. Merob, Saul’s daughter, proudly calling herself the fior d’Israele (“flower of Israel”), and consistent in refusing (no, no repeated many times) to conform to her father’s will and marry the humble David, personifies Louis XIV (allusion to the lily as the symbol of the French Bourbons) who, contrary to the will of earthly Saul, failed to join the allied Christian forces to save Vienna or join the Holy League. The unknown

29 Broom, p. 392-394.

30 Sobieski was frequently compared with Old Testament heroes, David included; nonetheless, emphasis on the shepherd ing origin of the character was not a motive particularly desirable to panegyric authors.
time and place of the oratorio’s performance (most likely Rome around 1683-1685) make it difficult to solve the puzzle of the context of how this unequivocally anti-French political oratorio came to be (we do not regard Saverio Franchi’s hypothesis of it having been commissioned by Maria Casimira Sobieska as particularly convincing).

Years immediately following the memorable year 1683 were a period of frequent military operations launched against the Ottoman by countries allied in the Holy League, which was formed in the spring of 1684 on initiative of Innocent XI. John III Sobieski and the Polish army withdrew towards the East (operations in Moldavia), and it might have seemed that the Italian Peninsula’s emotions would be focusing primarily on events directly engaging Venice or the Empire. The 1685 Venetian oratorio LA FEDE / CATTOLICA GVERRIERA / Condotta al Campo dalle quatt[ro] Aquile / Coronate appears to be confirming the supposition at first glance. Author of the libretto Girolamo Oddoni dedicated his work to Emperor Leopold I, whom he calls “the Hercules of Austria, unyielding in his Christian constancy” (l’Ercole d’Austria, come instancabile nella Constanza Christiana) in the flowery opening passages. The Personaggi listed on the oratorio’s first page reflect the hierarchy of states forming part of the Holy League: the allegorical Fede (Faith) is followed by the four “crowned eagles” defending Christianity: Pope Innocent XI, Austrian Emperor Leopold I, King of Poland John III Sobieski, and the Venetian Republic. The image is made complete by Gran Turco (the Sultan’s counterpart), and Solimano, a basha sent to fight the Christians (in all likelihood, the Grand Vizier’s counterpart). The dimension of individual persons and the characters’ utterances, however, are not fully accurate in reflecting the “political correctness” of the Personaggi. Leading characters (understandably, in light of the title itself) include the duet of protagonists: Fede and Innocent XI, which serves to emphasise the moral superiority and spiritual leadership of the Pope in contrast to other heroes of European politics. Second place goes to the duo of Gran

---

31 Franchi, Il principe, p. 215. The author points to Maria Casimira’s disappointment in Louis XIV’s policy in his relations with John III and herself (the Sun King considered her but a nouveau riche who was elevated as Queen by pure chance). Maria Casimira’s earlier contacts with Melani seem to be proven by the fact that in the year 1700, the Dowager Queen was to provide him with assistance in obtaining the position of resident of Augustus II Strong, King of Poland, at the papal court (the news reported in “Gazzetta di Rimini”, 1700, no. 9).

32 Printed libretto preserved at I-Mb, Raccolta Drammatica Corniani-Algarotti 3553 (available online via the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense in Milan at www.braidense.it).
Turco and Solimano, whose numerous utterances throughout the script underscore the extraordinary extent of danger Europe was exposed to at the time. Given the publishing location of the libretto, it comes as no surprise that the Venetian Republic comes third. The Republic’s military achievements are constantly praised, if not exaggerated. The Republic’s close runner-up is John III Sobieski, who precedes Leopold I. Listing the King of Poland ahead of the Emperor whom the oratorio was, after all, dedicated to, regardless of whether Oddoni acted purposefully or not, is definitely food for thought: it seems to reflect the perception of champions of the 1683 events rather than the actual division of powers in the Holy League.33 Albeit the librettist makes every effort to uphold the image of the Emperor as a ruler extraordinarily constant in his Christianity and the Jove of modern times, the Imperator tends to utter passages reminiscent of Job and lamentation, describing the difficult condition of his country tried so bitterly by God. Leopold pleads with God and Faith for strength to meet the challenge; it seems that despite all effort, the librettist did not manage to conceal the truth of the proud Emperor (who had abandoned his capital) having to admit that his fate and that of his Empire depended on outside assistance. The constanza praised so highly by Oddoni may in the context also be perceived as a sign of the Emperor’s passivity in confrontation with Ottoman threat, especially in light of how Sobieski has been rendered. The librettist begins with emphasising the Polish King’s natural piety combined with extensive experience in battling the Turks: this is how the monarch lets himself be convinced by Faith that his intervention is indispensable. Thus, Fede concludes in a duet with John III:

Core d’un Rè
Fedel più di te
Trovar non si può.

---

33 Norbert Dubovy describes an example of Venetian work resembling Oddoni’s oratorio, and composed to commemorate current political events, albeit actually referring to a memory of the Battle of Vienna: the Amor sincero. Serenata consacrata al merito sublime delle nobilissime dame dell’Adria (libretto by Nicolò Beregan, music by Antonio Gianettini). The prologue and licenza tell the story of Venetian victories in the Peloponnese. Venice is portrayed in the eponymous Dame dell’Adria, and praised by cavaliers from throughout Europe. Dubovy describes Casimiro di Sarmatia as the champion of that courtly “tournament”. The solution suggested by the librettist undubitably echoes the importance of Polish warfare and of Sobieski himself in the victorious battles against the Ottoman – see Strohm, p. 343 [quote from N. Dubovy]. More on the work: Dubovy, pp. 167-235.
A royal heart
truer than thou
is nowhere to be found.

The author then proceeds to expose the King’s personal involvement in war, and his readiness to make a sacrifice in defence of faith. Oddoni’s John III says, *Cimenterò la Vita, il Figlio, e il Regno* (“I shall render to danger my life, my son, my kingdom”). It would be difficult to find a more accurate description of how John III Sobieski was perceived at the time. The impression has not vanished into thin air – three centuries later, Norman Davies offered a similar depiction of Sobieski hastening to rescue Vienna:

His personal inclinations had been to prefer the French connection to the Habsburg one but, disenchanted by the duplicity of Louis XIV and impressed beyond measure by the relentless advance of the Ottomans, he saw the need to change direction and put principle before inclination. Imperial subsidies notwithstanding, Sobieski’s rescue expedition involved an act of great risk and faith. Had it failed, it could have only brought opprobrium and catastrophe. But to a King raised in Catholic piety whose horizons had been broadened by a wide knowledge of world affairs, the call of principle in defence of common values and a common religion outweighed all lesser considerations. The willingness to stand up for his beliefs, in the face of danger, shows the mark of real moral stature.34

It does seem that it is worth our while to continue research. So far, we have managed to identify a number of other Italian librettos featuring Sobieski as one of the protagonists. All, however, date back to the years 1683-1685, similarly to those discussed here, which gives rise to a rather disturbing question: had John III Sobieski become the hero of oratorios, dialogues, and cantatas performed on the Italian Peninsula for such a short time only? If so, to what extent was that proof of the true memory of his accomplishments?

Conversions and Transformations in the Lives and Works of Polish Baroque Poets

In Christianity

[...] conversion is a biblical notion referring to a radical change of life – mind and action (metanoia) under the influence of accepting the Word of God. According to the Bible a convert seeks the source of his potential in God; he lives according to the principles of the Decalogue; his life is governed by the fear of God, by faith, hope, justice and love (both of God and neighbour). Theologians emphasize that conversion is not a single act, but an ongoing process bound up with an existential effort.¹

Conversion stands either for transformation as such or, more broadly, transformation through a change of denomination.

From the theological standpoint, it does not only denote communion with God, but also a shift of mentality and practice. In the Christian tradition the rapid transformation of Saul, through sanctifying grace represents a model conversion. The New Testament puts forward a formulation of transformation (Matthew 18:3; 1 Peter 2:25; Mark 1:15). Only recently has the Catholic Church narrowed down the semantic scope of the notion of conversion to the conversion into Catholicism [...]. Social sciences are not unanimous about the definition. In order to reach a consensus, sociologists limit their definition by assuming that conversion denotes change. The change is understood in different ways and can mean: 1) a turn from unbelief to faith; 2) a turn from one denomination to another; 3) a religious turn in the believer’s life (spiritual transformation within a Church).²

With regards to the issues debated in 16th and 17th century literature, this paper ventures to discuss the second definition (transition from one denomination to another) and the third (a religious turn in the believer’s life). These two kinds of conversion were in many cases interrelated, for

example, when the change of denomination was inspired by a spiritual epiphany.

In European Christian culture, *The Confessions* of St. Augustine for centuries set the pattern for exemplary spiritual conversion. The three parts of the text exemplify how a Christian conversion is a turn from oneself to God. Augustine revealed the essence of conversion in book IV, where he writes:

\[
Vivit apud te semper bonum nostrum, et quia inde aversi sumus, perversi sumus. Revertamur iam, domine, ut non evertamur, quia vivit apud te sine ullo defectu bonum nostrum, quo tu ipse es, et non timemus ne non sit quo redeamus, quia nos inde ruimus. Nobis autem absentibus non ruit domus nostra, aeternitas sua. \]

The only good we can know rests in You. When we turn from the good, You push us aside until we return. Oh, Lord, turn us, lest we be overturned. Be the good in us that is not corrupted. You are our incorruptible good. In You we do not fear that there will be no home to return to if we wander off. While we are away, You preserve our mansion with a patience that stretches into eternity.

The Protestant Reformation breathed new life into the idea of conversion. The reformers embodied a distinctive combination: first, conversion as a spiritual transformation and second - conversion as a transition from one denomination to another. It is worth noting that the first reformers, Luther in particular, had no intention of creating a new faith or a new church, but the social and political situation favoured the appeal for conversion (also the conversion within Christianity), which in turn encouraged the emergence of new churches. Subsequent change of denomination resulted in the strengthening of the faith of those whose religious shift was influenced by various internal as well as external factors.

Numerous publications and articles have discussed these issues. It is by no means my intention to provide yet another encyclopedia entry on the notion of conversion in light of the European Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Moreover, “the new model of a converted poet” has been debated many times, such as the article on Torquato Tasso by Janusz Pelc. He described a phenomenon of conversion as a new code of conduct among the writers living at the turn of 16th and 17th centuries. In this spiritually turbulent period an individual was compelled – often for political reasons – to champion a given cause. Pelc wrote:

---

3 See A. Kijewska, *Nawrócenia św. Augustyna*, manuscript.
It must be noted that religious fanaticism, both among the followers of new denominations and Catholics involved in the Tridentine renewal, coexisted with genuine religious devotion, earnest moral revival through the renunciation of sins, especially harlotry and prurience – both in life and art. As a result of these influences, acts of conversion were performed not only through the change of denomination, but also – perhaps even more likely – by remaining faithful to one’s Church. In such a case, conversion consisted in the rejection of sin understood as unashamed eroticism, in its “shameless charm” (*procax venustas*), as lustfulness, and in the destruction of immodest paintings and sculptures.4

My intent is to illustrate briefly how conversion became a fundamental category which can be used to demonstrate the literary and life attitudes of six Polish writers, active from the late 16th until the second half of 17th century: Jan Kochanowski, Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński, Erazm Otwinowski, Kasper Wilkowski, Kasper Twardowski, and Waclaw Potocki. Although the most prominent poet of the Polish Renaissance, Jan Kochanowski, is scarcely associated with the problem of conversion, there are two good reasons why the poet’s life and works should serve as a most interesting case study for the purposes in question. First, the hypothesis that Kochanowski was a Lutheran in his youth should be studied in more detail. The poet had close relations with Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern, the ruler of the Duchy of Prussia, a Lutheran country associated closely with the Kingdom of Poland. Kochanowski went abroad on a scholarship granted by the duke. Although it still remains uncertain – despite considerable scholarly research – whether the poet actually adopted Lutheranism, this hypothesis is not unreasonable. Scholars have argued that the absence of Christ, Mother of God and veneration of saints in Kochanowski’s religious poetry testifies to the poet’s Protestant sentiments. To prove the point, some have even mentioned the anticlerical elegies in Latin, which, however, can hardly serve as evidence of the poet’s alleged conversion. Wiktor Weintraub claimed that Kochanowski’s religious attitude coincided with “theistic religious universalism of Italian humanists”, which asserted that

divinity manifested itself in a similar manner in various religions and philosophical theories. It is expressed through moral and religious consciousness of every noble person. [This idea was about] a universal presence of divinity in the nature and consciousness of all people.5

---

Kochanowski’s attitude might equally well be associated with the following approach towards Christianity suggested by Jan Błoński:

In the heyday of the Renaissance [...] a third religion was emerging. Noble and ardent as it was, it could not find its own Church. Trained by philosophers and mystics, heretics and orthodox, by the Brethren of the Common Life and by the devotio moderna movement, Ficino and Pico in Italy, Erasmus in the north, represent the “third Christianity”, which did not come to fruition [...]. Up until the mid 16th century, however, it competed – in most enlightened minds – with popes and reformers. Neither Catholic, nor Protestant, it chose to remain faithful to the traditional Church, in order to - perhaps – transform it from within.6

The very hypothesis of Kochanowski’s alleged Protestantism, since he later served the Roman Church as an impeccable Catholic, might appear unfounded in light of the discoveries of contemporary literary and historical scholarship. Perhaps Błoński’s or Weintraub’s theories that Kochanowski’s religion was related to theistic religious universalism of Italian humanists could be accepted. The poet’s conversion, conceived as a shift from humanist piety, combined with elements of stoicism and Epicureanism, to traditional Catholic devotion was expressed especially in the last three poems in the series of Laments written after the death of his beloved daughter, Ursula. The most emphatic account of Laments as an example of conversion was provided by Stanisław Windakiewicz:

The Laments are Kochanowski’s confessio fidei, they constitute the poet’s public act of faith and acknowledgement of Christianity, repudiation of [his] hitherto practiced humanism and a token of affiliation with the devout Catholics.7

Laments are indeed poems of conversion, although Lament XIX was sometimes perceived as a return to the former humanistic world view. Even so, the Laments are the most prominent example of spiritual transformation in Polish literature.

Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński, a poet of the late Renaissance or – as proposed by some – early Baroque, embodies a classic instance of a poet convert for two reasons. First, it is believed – although there is no textual evidence – that Sęp Szarzyński’s alleged turn from Lutheranism to Catholicism was inspired by the example of conversions within the influential aristocratic family of Kostka, promoting Catholic renewal in the eastern part of

---

7 S. Windakiewicz, Jan Kochanowski, Kraków, Krakowska Spółka Wydawnicza, 1930, p. 137.
Poland.8 Second, even if one repudiates this assumption concerning the change of denomination,9 Sęp’s oeuvre will remain a fascinating instance of religious poetry presenting the inner conversion of a man, who in his sonnets “with tears, youthful faults [he] rues”, expresses an inner conflict between spiritual and corporeal needs. Should these “youthful faults” be taken for a Lutheran past? Should we attribute the words to the series of erotic poems, found years later in manuscripts ascribed to Sęp? Or should we accept - the most obvious conjecture – that what is at stake is nothing more than youthful sprees and revels? Whatever the answer, this dominant portion of Sęp Szarzyński’s works remains undeniably a model of Polish Renaissance literature, presenting as its protagonist a converted man going through religious transformation brought about by a spiritual turning point. Hence, Sęp’s most likely patron remains St. Augustine, and the poet’s dramatic spiritual dilemmas, anchored in the eternal spiritual conflict of a believer, take on a universal dimension.

Regarded as a chief poet of the Church of the Polish Brethren (also referred to as Arians) Erazm Otwinowski has become the prime model for this kind of conversion. But the main reason behind this assumption is dubious: erotic poems were attributed – most probably erroneously – to him, largely because they were preserved in the manuscript codex containing also poems ascribed to Sęp Szarzyński. A series of love poems of the same codex, whose author – as can be inferred from the textual analysis – was undoubtedly a Protestant, was ascribed to Otwinowski, a Calvinist in his youth, who then turned to Arianism, and became a preacher of strict biblical piety.

We are again dealing with a peculiar phenomenon – an author of love poems and a Calvinist turns into an author of religious poems inspired by the Bible after he had converted to Arianism – a denomination that is much more radical than the Calvinism from which Arianism emerged. Taking into account all possible differences, these circumstances are still much on a par with Sęp’s, although Sęp’s circumstances, too, have been entirely made up by literary historians. In all probability, Sęp might have been neither a Lutheran, nor an author of the love poems. Seen through the lens of historical and literary criticism, the external circumstances (the faith and authorship of the texts) became a sort of external justification

---

for the inner transformation revealed in his poetry, namely in the series *Polish Rhythms or Poems* (*Rytmy abo Wiersze polskie*), unquestionably authored by Sęp. Such was also the case of Otwinowski, a proponent of the new, radical faith. Otwinowski, like Sęp, was believed by critics to have written erotic poems. In fact he never did. Ascribing love and even sometimes erotic poems so much at odds with Otwinowski’s subsequent religious poetry gives the story of conversion more credibility, since in Christian literature – despite the distinct convention of mystical love poetry – eroticism was at variance with religious piety. Hence, repudiation of the erotic in literature, as argued above by Pelc, has been taken as a token of conversion.

Conversion as spiritual transformation that underscores the discrepancy between religion and eroticism, is best epitomized in the oeuvre of Kasper Twardowski. His early work, *Cupid’s Lessons* (*Lekcje Kupidynowe*), is an allegorical love poem. Innocent as the title may sound these days, in 1617 it was catalogued in *The Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*List of Prohibited Books*). Influenced by men of the cloth, seriously ill and, as a result, spiritually transformed, Twardowski assumed that “one’s penance should be measured according to the deed he sinned by”. Hence – as the critic Czesław Hernas would have it – “[one should] repent the sins of poetry in poetry”. The Cracow Congregation of the Assumption of Mary, which he joined, helped him make this decision and his subsequent poem, *Łódź młodzi z nawałności do brzegu płynąca* (*The Boat of Youth Sailing Ashore from Tempestuousness*), became the first token of remorse by “negating evil writings by means of the good ones”.

Hernas goes on to say that “the poet did not turn away from the means of expression symptomatic of a erotic discourse, but subordinated them to other functions”. Twardowski’s third work that shows spiritual transformation became the poem *Pochodnia Miłości Bożej z pięcią strzał ognistych* (*The Torch of Divine Love with Five Burning Arrows*).

The three poems constitute a reinforcing complementary series: the first one dramatizes earthly love, the second one – after the sparring victory of God’s Amor over Cupid – indicated the dimensions of internal transformation; it was a poem on the drama of conversion. The final one, which aims to bring consolation, discusses the philosophy of God’s love.10

Wacław Potocki is another interesting instance of a Baroque poet convert. His conversion to Catholicism allegedly was not as much brought

---

about by a spiritual turn, as by an act of parliament, widely commented on in history handbooks. Promulgated in 1658, this act ordered the Polish Brethren (also referred to as Arians or Socinians), either to convert to Catholicism, or leave the country. The order directly affected Waclaw Potocki, who decided to convert to Catholicism and remain on his native soil, although he was an author of Arian religious poems. It is now difficult to analyze his attitude and motives in depth. Then he was considered opportunistic by many. Emigration was not, however, a way out for the poet. He was not the most outstanding member of the Church of the Polish Brethren. He refused to engage in disputes on doctrine. Significantly enough, his wife did not abandon Arianism, and this worked to the detriment of his family. Potocki renounced Arianism as a mature, forty-year old man. All he yearned for, it seems, was the tranquil existence of a country gentleman. Hence, the community oriented model of Catholicism proved attractive for Potocki. In his Arian works, a return to the sources, e.g. to the Bible, was evident. Indeed, they can be read as an instance of poetic biblical hermeneutics, and not necessarily as a poetic illustration of doctrine. The topos *miles Christianus* is developed in biblical, rather than Erasmian terms. It is difficult to judge to what extent the conversion to Catholicism meant a genuine spiritual transformation, or for that matter to establish whether he was an ardent Arian before the conversion. In the past he has been presented as an Arian poet. We are more cautious now, as the nature of his works was manifestly Catholic (his pro-Church declarations, Marian devotions and veneration of saints, all testify to this). Perhaps the doctrinal differences were not so important to him. If we agree with Janusz Pelc that general features of Arian poetry are ethical issues, bringing forth the intellectual facets of poetry, along with a profound knowledge of the Bible, it may be assumed Potocki was always affiliated with Arianism. Unlike Erasm Otwinowski he had never been, however, a poet of his Church community. The Bible was crucial for him. As a result of his Arian upbringing he ranked it higher than the ancient classics. By the same token, the Bible would remain as more important than the ecclesiastical tradition. Undoubtedly his adoration of the works of Erasmus of Rotterdam up until the publication of *Moralia* stemmed from the Arian period, but this does not prove him Arian. His Arian origins can be most detected in his exhortations for tolerance to other faiths. In sum: it may be difficult to determine what sort of religious sentiments are expressed in the works of Potocki. It cannot be conclusively determined that Potocki promoted Arianism in the works published after 1658; even before the conversion he was more of a biblical than Radical Reformation poet.
An earlier striking example of conversion from Arianism to Catholicism was illustrated in Kasper Wilkowski’s book *Przyczyny nawrócenia do wiary powszechnej od sekt nowokrzczeńców samosateńskich* (*The Causes of Conversion to the Universal Faith from the Samosatene Anabaptist Sects*). Wilkowski, a physician from Lublin, gives a dramatic account of his conversion, characterizing his decision as a betrayal of his own father, who, as an Arian, would never forgive his son his dissent. This case study demonstrates how much had changed within the century – from highly intense accounts of conversion of the late 16th century, by individuals troubled over spiritual dilemmas in pursuit of truth (Wilkowski, whom I have just mentioned or Sęp Szarzyński), to Potocki, whose conversion a hundred years later occurred against the backdrop of the triumph of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. Individual dramas no longer mattered as much. Instead, the pattern of a religiously homogenous community was stressed. A change of religion did not any longer necessarily epitomize a radical change, but was inscribed in a particular lifestyle.

These examples demonstrate how difficult and complicated the problem of conversion in the early Poland was. For people of that time religion served as an obvious point of reference to all existential issues. Conversion did not always necessitate a change of denomination, and the latter did not necessarily entail a spiritual turn. Nor did conversion to Catholicism always result from external imperatives – even in such conspicuous cases as that of Waclaw Potocki – but rather became intertwined with complicated spiritual processes. The dynamic should never be underestimated and reduced to the Reformation – Counter-Reformation clash. The 16th and 17th century accounts of conversion serve to exemplify spiritual and existential transformations, in which – setting aside simple parallels – our contemporary spiritual renewals can be mirrored.

“To be a heretic in the Europe of that time – Janusz Pelc has stated – indeed, not only a heretic, but also an outsider, standing out from the crowd in terms of religion or beliefs simply did not pay”. And professor Pelc then asks us – and I do too – “Well, was it the case only at that time”?11
Jonasz Szlichtyng (1592-1661)  
– the Forgotten Arian Theologian of the 17th Century?

The history of the Church of Polish Brethren, commonly referred to as the Arians, remains a classic theme in Polish historiography. Szlichtyng’s predecessors, peers, colleagues, and pupils (Marcin Czechowicz, Erazm Otwinowski, Faustus Socinus, Samuel Przypkowski, Zbigniew Morsztyn, Jan Crellius, Marcin Ruar, Stanisław Lubieniecki, Krzysztof Arciszewski, and Andrzej Wiszowaty) have all had monographs written about them. Hence, an obvious question arises: Why has the most eminent of all 17th-century Arian theologians from the perspective of his contemporaries been largely forgotten. To a certain degree, this question concerns the transformation of Arianism in the middle of 17th century and the overall direction in which the theology of the Polish Brethren developed. The issue relates directly to the political, social, and religious changes in the Polish Republic of the 16th and 17th centuries. The fundamental assumption of the deliberations contained herein is that being an Arian theologian, Szlichtyng attempted to bring the Arians closer to the Reformed Church. In reaction to such an attempt, other Protestant churches used state institutions in


passing a judgment to burn his Confession in Warsaw in 1647, which was followed by a banishment of all Arians in 1658 and by a long-term sentence of non-remembrance. This paper outlines Szlichtyng’s biography and theology. The summary is an attempt at evaluating the importance of the theology itself.

Jonasz Szlichtyng was born in 1592 r. in Sączkowo near Śmigiel or possibly in Bukowiec, although the latter is less likely. He was of the German nobility, being born to Wolfgang Schlichting (died 1608 or 1612) and Barbara née Arciszewska.³ His biography can be divided into four periods: (1) schooling until 1620; (2) work as a polemicist and preacher/tutor in Raków, which also led to his rapid rise in the community (1620-1638); (3) during the third period (1638-1647), after shutting down the community in Raków and moving to Lusławice, Szlichtyng abandoned religious polemics to focus on religious conciliation; and (4) the last period of his life (1647-1661) was a time of the exile following his death sentence, when the theologian returned to his writing. A brief description of the four periods follows.

Szlichtyng was a well-educated man: he attended colleges in Bytom and Gdańsk⁴ and then graduated from an Arian school in Raków, where he met Jakub Sienieński. This would have a tremendous impact on his future life. In 1616, he joined his brother Jerzy Szlichtyng in travelling to universities in the Reich and the Netherlands as a preceptor to Zbigniew, son of Jakub Sienieński. The students remained in Altdorf from April until November 1616,⁵ but following the investigation and trial of the crypto-Arians,⁶ they left school and moved to Leiden, where they were immatriculated in November 1616.⁷ In Leiden, Szlichtyng attended lectures by Remonstrant Simon Episcopius (1583-1643) and probably met Martin

³ The best presentation of Szlichtyng’s biography can be found in: W. Dworzaczek, *Schlichtingowie w Polsce*, Warsaw, Gebethner i Wolff, [1938], pp. 26-40; biographical outline by S. Lubieniecki: *Exemplum Epistolae Stanislai Lubienieci de Lubienietz*, as a foreword to: *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, vol. 7, part 1, s.p.; I couldn’t see Z. Śniechowska, *Jonas Szlichtyng przywódca Braci Polskich w XVII wieku*, Cracow (paper drafted at a seminar delivered by S. Kot; MS at the Archive of the Jagiellonian University).
⁴ *Księga wpisów uczniów Gimnazjum Gdańskiego 1580-1814*, ed. by Z. Nowak, P. Szafran, Warszawa, PWN, 1974, p. 82.
⁶ Well-known events, most recently recalled in: W. Mährle, *Academia Norica: Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575-1623)*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 2002. The issue was described in detail by Janusz Tazbir in his many publications and articles in the *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [hereinafter referred to as PSB].
⁷ *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae*, Leiden, Nijhoff, 1875, p. 128.
Ruar. Ludwik Chmaj assumes that during this time, Szlichtyng became acquainted with Hugo Grotius.

In the spring of 1618, Szlichtyng joined other Polish Brethren in their journey from Leiden to England. Their migration from the Netherlands might be a result of the decision of the States-General (November 11th, 1617) to convoke a national synod in late April/early May 1618, with orthodox Calvinists as the distinct majority. The Polish Brethren were probably also counting on making contact with the Arminian faction at the court of King James I and in the university community. On April 20th, 1618, Szlichtyng, Sienieński, Samuel, and Krzysztof Przypkowski, Mikołaj Łyczko, Jan Morsztyn (born in 1594, son of Krzysztof Morsztyn), and Krzysztof Milanowski of Lubienieiec all made entries in an album owned by Dutchman Peter Goel (or Gool), who was then a student at Oxford. It remains unclear whether they returned to the Netherlands for the synod of Dordrecht (November 13th, 1618 – May 25th, 1619), which commenced later than planned. Neither do we know whether they were accompanied by Martin Ruar, who also visited England in 1618. After a few months, they went to France, where Szlichtyng and his brother Jerzy, as well as Sienieński, Morsztyn, Lubieniecki, Łyczko, Przypkowski, and Wiszowaty, all spent some time in 1619.

In late April 1619, Szlichtyng and Sienieński returned to Poland following a summons to attend synod proceedings. Upon his return, Szlichtyng was made minister in Raków, as well as tutor at the local school. In May 1620, he married Anna Lubieniecka, daughter of Arian Jan Lubieniecki. This blend of professional and private stability, so typical in the biographies of ministers of the 16th and 17th centuries, marked the beginning of a new period in Szlichtyng’s life. Until the Raków community was shut

---

down in 1638, he worked in three fields: preaching and education in the community, diplomacy (i.e., relations with Remonstrants,\(^\text{14}\) contributing to efforts to bring Joachim Stegmann to the Polish Republic, and the distribution of Arian publications), and publishing and polemics.

Following the decision of the *Sejm* (the Polish Parliament) to close the community, school and printing house in Raków (April 19\(^{\text{th}}\)/20\(^{\text{th}}\) 1638 r.), Szlichtyng attended the synod of Kisielnin in May 1638, where he signed a letter of appeal for support to the Reformed Evangelist and protector of the Protestants, Christopher II Radziwill.\(^\text{15}\) After the trial, Szlichtyng was moved to the Arian community in Luslawice. In June 1638, he attended another diplomatic mission to Kolozsvár to resolve a Christological dispute. Immediately upon his return, he became involved in the defence of Ruar, who was ordered by the City Council of Gdańsk to leave the city in March or April of 1639.\(^\text{16}\) In the autumn of 1638, he also visited John Amos Comenius, Senior of the Bohemian Brethren. According to Comenius, Szlichtyng requested that his son be accepted at the school in Leszno and attempted to convince the Bohemian Brethren minister to accept the religion of the Polish Brethren.\(^\text{17}\)

Furthermore, Szlichtyng worked closely with John Crellius. Their co-operation was crowned with Szlichtyng being entrusted with care for the Arian Church, a token of immense appreciation by Crellius, who allegedly expressed that wish on his deathbed († July 4\(^{\text{th}}\) 1633). In the years 1633-1638 and possibly later as well, Szlichtyng was the “unofficial acting superintendent of the Minor Community.”\(^\text{18}\) This period in Szlichtyng’s life is poorly documented; nonetheless, this deficit is compensated for by his numerous publications.\(^\text{19}\)


\(^{16}\) Chmaj, *Bracia Polscy*, p. 47.


\(^{19}\) Bibliography of works in: *Bibliographia Sociniana. A Bibliographical Reference Tool for the Study of Dutch Socinianism and Antitrinitarism*, ed. by P. Knijff, S.J. Visser,
Szlichtyng’s works reaffirmed his fame as a distinguished theologian. In 1639, the synod commissioned him to draft a creed, or confession of faith, which was later published in 1642. Besides this creed (Confessio fidei Christianae), in the years 1637-1644, Szlichtyng refrained from publishing polemics (the sole exception being his polemic with Grotius, printed anonymously in 1643). His restraint may have been partly due to the closure of the printing house in Raków. Nonetheless, a much more important motive seems to be a growing need to open up to other Protestant believers, typically those of the ecumenical climate preceding the Colloquium Charitativum convoked by King Ladislaus IV of Poland in 1644.

Alongside Ruar and Krzysztof Lubieniecki, Szlichtyng was elected as representative of the Arians at the Colloquium of Toruń. Prior to the official proceedings, which had been postponed, the “first colloquium” was held in October 1644 for the purpose of preparing the sessions. This colloquium was attended by Arians, the Bohemian Brethren, Lutherans, and a Catholic delegation. Szlichtyng and the Arian community were excluded by the Protestants and Catholics both. Given the outcome of the first colloquium, the Arians did not receive a royal invitation to the 1645 Colloquium Charitativum. Nonetheless, Szlichtyng arrived in Toruń to unofficially attend the final Colloquium sessions in October 1645. However, private conversations proved unfruitful, and official Arian representatives were precluded from taking the floor.


20 Szczotka, p. 81; [J. Schlichting], Confessio Fidei Christianae edita nomine Ecclesiaram Polonicarum quae unum Deum et Filium eius unigenitum Jesum Christum cum Spiritu Sancto corde sancto pro tentur, s.n. (printed in Lusławice, 1642); bibliographical information: see n. 19 and 33.

21 J. Simplicius, Notae in doctissimi cujusdam viri commentationem ad 2 caput posterioris ad Thessalonicenses Epistolae (s.l., s.a. [1643]).


23 Szczotka, p. 85.

Shortly after the Colloquium, Szlichtyng received a summons to a court trial, which was to take place during a Sejm session in Warsaw on October 25th, 1646. Szlichtyng must have appealed to the nobility of Lesser Poland (Małopolska) because the local assembly (sejmik) of the Cracow voivodship convoked prior to the Sejm session in Proszowice on September 13th, 1646 and demanded the annulments of the summons and the court trial. The Szlichtyng case was not discussed during the proceedings of Sejm in Warsaw (October 25th – December 7th, 1646), possibly due to the unyielding position of Protestant deputies and to the King’s illness. On April 8th, 1647, Szlichtyng reapplied to the Proszowice local assembly. In their guidelines resolved on April 11th, 1647, the local assembly again appealed for Szlichtyng “to be entirely relieved ab hac actione.” As suggested by M. Wajsblum, this item may have found its way into the guidelines following an intervention by Calvinist Stanisław Chrząstowski of Brzezie, a Cracovian official (subiudex) and an elected member of the Sejm at the time. The local assembly of the Lublin voivodship extended similar assistance to Szlichtyng.

Despite this support, the subsequent Sejm, which was convoked in Warsaw on May 9th, 1647, called a summarical court session for the purpose of passing judgment concerning Szlichtyng’s Confessio fidei Christianae. Teodor Zaporski, a nobleman and cantor from Wrocław, was the denouncer (delator). He was notorious for acting as the first Catholic priest in Raków after it had been overtaken by the Catholics, although according to Waclaw Urban, he became parish priest only in 1644 because father Stanisław Mrozek held the position during the period 1638-1644. Zaporski participated in the Colloquium of Toruń and was an official representative of Pomerania and Gdańsk in the years 1646-1647. The charges included theological and legal matters. As the Confessio was printed without a place of publication, Zaporski concluded that it vio-

[27] Ibid., p. 328.
[28] Ibid., p. 334.
lated the ban resolved by the Sejm in Raków. Furthermore, he declared that the Arians were not Christians, because they denied the consubstantiality of the Holy Trinity, recognising Christ as a mere human and not worthy of worship as a deity. The delator interpreted the beliefs as a crime against divinity and the Republic (crimen laesae Divinae Maiestatis et Reipublicae). On May 11th, 1647, the Sejm decided to burn a copy of the Confessio and prohibited its distribution and ownership. Furthermore, in reference to a 1638 decree, all Arian schools and printing houses in Poland and Lithuania were to be shut down. Szlichtyng himself was sentenced to death, infamy, and seizure of property, which was transferred to Jan Dąbrowski, castellan of Brześć in Kujawy. The burning of the book was carried out on May 14th.

During the Sejm of 1647, the Szlichtyng case was in the shadow of charges brought against Janusz Radziwiłł. The case never became as notorious as the case of Samuel Bolestraszycki, who was tried in 1627 by the Tribunal of Lublin. Nonetheless, the judgment did resound in the Protestant community, primarily among Arians. Samuel Przypkowski and Andrzej Wiszowaty penned letters in defence of Szlichtyng. During the election of the new king on November 14th, 1648, Jonasz was defended in the proceedings of the Sejm by his cousin Jan Jerzy Szlichtyng. Moreover, on December 17th, 1648, at the pre-coronation local assembly in Proszowice, nobles of Lesser Poland (Małopolska) expressed their support for Szlichtyng, who “ha[d] just delivered two sons to serve the Republic of Poland.” This local assembly in Proszowice supported Szlichtyng in their guidelines for the Sejm deputies (December 9th, 1651, June 11th, 1652, March 8th, 1653, December 31st, 1653, and May 19th, 1654). Thanks to these continuous efforts, the Szlichtyng case was reconsidered during the

\[33\] Actually published in Lusławice, Roćmirowa (Wrocławi, contemporary name: Łososina Dolna) or in the Netherlands, see Kawecka-Gryczowa, p. 50.


\[36\] S. Przypkowski, Iniuria oppressae et proditae libertatis flagitium in Comitiis a. 1647 sive Actionis Ionae Schlichtingio intentatae relatio (currently misplaced).


Sejm of Warsaw on June 20th, 1654. However, John II Casimir sustained the verdict, recognising it as one passed against the “Arian sect”, which was guilty of violating the anti-Arian act (abiecta lege contra Arrianos lata).³⁹

The verdict opened a new period in Szlichtyng’s life, although he did not appear in court and did not attempt to defend himself during the Sejm session. In 1650, he published an apology instead, which was printed again in 1652 with his defence of the Confessio fidei Christianae. In his defence, Szlichtyng referred to the Warsaw Confederation and described the trial as a conspiracy closely tied with his exclusion from the Colloquium Charitativum.⁴⁰ Despite the Sejm’s condemnation, Szlichtyng continued to attend Arian synods and probably visited his brother, Wespazjan Szlichtyng. He was likely forced to emigrate after the conversion of Achacy Taszycki (1652), the closing of the Arian community in the Lusławice, and the attacks of the priest Stanisław Bukowski against Wespazjan. W. Dworzaczek supposes that Szlichtyng left the Polish Republic around 1654,⁴¹ when he addressed his apology to the States-General of the Netherlands and West Frisia.⁴² According to A. Kawecka-Gryczowa, however, Szlichtyng’s Apologia was printed in Silesia or the Reich.⁴³ The fact of the book having been printed is not in itself proof that Szlichtyng actually moved to the Netherlands.

His potential stay in the Netherlands would have been very short because in the late September/early October of 1655, Szlichtyng joined the Arians in Gorlice. In April 1656, together with the majority of the Arian community, he arrived in Cracow, which was then occupied by the Swedish army. He was made part of an editorial board formed to publish a commentary to the Gospel of John. According to the reports by Lubieniecki, Szlichtyng focused on research, not engaging in day-to-day politics at all.⁴⁴ Szlichtyng’s stay in Cracow and the fact that he

---

⁴¹ Dworzaczek, p. 33.
⁴² J. Szlichtyng, Apologia pro veritate accusata. Ad Illustrissimos et potentissimos Hollandiae et West-Frisiae ordines. Conscripta ab Equite Polono, s.n., 1654.
⁴³ Kawecka-Gryczowa, pp. 64-73
was celebrating services resulted in charges of delivering “anti-Catholic” sermons. The content of these sermons remains unknown, and the supposition of their “anti-Catholic” nature seems to be a figment of anti-Arian propaganda. However, Szlichtyng’s brother Wespazjan began co-operating closely with Paul Würtz and Georg Forgell. Upon capture by Czarniecki’s soldiers, he was hanged in early July 1657.45

Szlichtyng left Cracow after the city surrendered to the Polish army on August 24th, 1657, initially seeking refuge in the Silesian region in estates owned by Kaspar von Sack. Later, he travelled to Szczecin to join Stanisław Lubieniecki. He arrived on May 10th, 1658 and lived in Szczecin with his wife and children until 1660. This is probably where he received the news of the edict of July 20th, 1658, sentencing Arians to banishment from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Lutheran priests reacted very strongly to Arians living in capital cities of Pomeranian duchies.46 The priests’ protests, followed by a siege of Szczecin by troops of the Brandenburg elector forced Szlichtyng to leave Szczecin in February 1660. On his way out of Pomerania, Szlichtyng was arrested in Stargard and imprisoned in the Spandau. He was released by the elector’s order of April 5th, 1660 and left for Silesia, where he settled in Kluczbork and attended an Arian synod.47 In the autumn of 1661, Szlichtyng moved to Żelechów (Selchow) with his family, where he died on November 1st, 1661.48

Any assessment of Szlichtyng’s theological accomplishments is considerably more difficult than the reconstruction of his biography. He left more than 20 books and in excess of 10,000 pages. His extensive body of work as a writer includes exegeses, confessional polemics, and the creed. Any historian is faced by the problem of the sheer size and heterogenic nature of the works: which works should be recognised as key to the process of reconstructing the theologian’s beliefs? Exegeses would be the traditional answer, which is exactly why Zbigniew Ogonowski claims that “[Szlichtyng’s] heritage as a writer was included nearly [in its] entirety [...] in a separate volume of the Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum. It chiefly includes exegetical works”.49 Nonetheless, a supposition to the

47 Szczotka, p. 97.
48 Regarding the final period in Szlichtyng’s life, see: S. Lubieniecki, Exemplum Epistolae.
contrary seems to be much more truthful: Szlichtyng’s theological heritage mainly incorporates religious polemics published throughout the author’s lifetime. These voluminous treatises, which are up to 1,000 pages each, were not made part of the Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum.

These deliberations are intended to prove that including some elements of the specific “thymotic culture of dispute” in the analysis of the confessional ideas enables a novel interpretation of Szlichtyng’s beliefs as a theologian of baroque times. The approach is enjoying an increasing level attention among researchers of protestant thought, as was proven by Irene Dingel, who appealed “to appreciate and take seriously this culture of controversy as the decisive motor for the refinement of reformational teaching, as the occasion for a process of composing a variety of confessional documents, and as a determining factor in the final consolidation of the confessional churches”.

The polemics and exegeses may be chronologically divided into three groups: (1) early polemics published in the years 1625-1637; (2) the confession of faith, compiled since 1639 and published in 1642; and (3) works published after 1644, i.e., late polemics, apologetic writings, and catechetical works.

During the first period (1625-1637), Szlichtyng published his polemics with the Reformed pastor Daniel Clementinus, the Lutheran Balthasar Meisner, and a member of the Unity of the Brethren, Georg Vechner. The choice of adversaries was by no means left to chance: Szlichtyng assigns a place to the Arian community among all Protestant churches in the Polish Commonwealth, hence the obvious lack of a Catholic polemist. In all his disputes, Szlichtyng defends the position of Faustus Socinus and his theology; it is thus worthwhile to briefly describe that position.

All reflection was based on rational and critical hermeneutics of the Bible. Szlichtyng questioned the traditional Trinitarian and Christological

[... w osobnym woluminie Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum. Obejmuje ona przede wszystkim pisma egzegetyczne).


Jonasz Szlichtyng (1592-1661)

173

doctrine, modified the teachings on predestination and justification, and defended the free will concept.53

In line with Unitarian beliefs, Szlichtyng rejected the concept of the Holy Trinity, claiming that Christ and the Holy Spirit were inferior to the One God. In his deliberations on the notions of divinity, he opposed any differentiation between persons and their essence, a concept placed at the very heart of orthodox Trinitology and Christology. In the name of rational argumentation, he rejected themes adopted and designed by scholastics and later assumed by Protestant churches.

Szlichtyng declined the subjectivity of the Holy Spirit, considering the Spirit to be dependent on God, owned by Him, and no more than an emanation of His power (Dei Donum).54 The criticism of traditional Christology was founded on the Gospel of John. Szlichtyng proceeded to prove that John’s λόγος is a reference to Jesus Christ, God’s congeneric son following incarnation. He did not, however, unambiguously question Christ’s divinity in its entirety, limiting it in his polemics with Meisner to the time following conception by the power of the Holy Spirit.55 In his polemics with Vechner, however, Szlichtyng did not refute the pre-existence of Christ, emphasising merely, Christum aliam, antequam nasceretur, naturam habuisse.56 As Christ was in possession of his own separable divine nature, he was entitled to the worship owed to God.

Matters Christological tie in closely with soteriology. Szlichtyng admitted willingly that human deeds may be justified only thanks to Jesus’s sacrifice and to faith. Concurrently, however, he noted that emphasising Christ’s service to mankind and proclaiming predestination deprives human piety of its foundations. This is why Szlichtyng rejected the concept

54 J. Szlichtyng, Reverendi viri D. Nicolai Cichovii. Societatis quae Iesu nomen praefert. Centuria argumentorum Caesa, s.n., 1652, pp. 7-8 (Spiritus S. itidem nomine nobis significatur, et in scripturis significari a nobis afferitur, caeleste illud Dei Donum, quo sancti homines a Deo afflantur et sanctificantur, quod ipsum summum Deum esse quis dixerit); id., De Fide primorum Christianorum, Martyrum & veterum Patrum, in: id., De Uno omnium Deo patre illo omnipotente et ejus filio ejus uno omnium Domino Christo ab ipso facto, fides antiqua contra novatores ad J.A. Comenium, Irenopoli [Amsterdam], s.n., 1685, p. 17 (Spiritus nimirus & afflatus Dei Sanctissimus, Virtus Dei & Donum singularissimum). Cf. Jørgensen, Stanisław Lubieniecki, p. 130.
56 J. Szlichtyng, Notae in Georgii Vechneri Concionem quam habuit super initium Evangel. Ioannis, Lesnae Anno 1639, Racovieae, typis Sebastiani Sternacii 1644, p. 20.
of justification, which attributed Christ’s accomplishment to man (\textit{iustitia imputativa}). He believed that the notion of justification contradicted the idea of justice, depriving man of any motivation to lead a pious life. Moreover, Szlichtyng criticised the Anselmian concept of justification as the satisfaction (\textit{satisfactio}) of God by Christ’s sacrifice.\textsuperscript{57} Any form of satisfaction contradicted the promise of justification \textit{gratis}.\textsuperscript{58} Szlichtyng perceived the passion of Christ as a metaphor (\textit{metaphoricis}) rather than a literal retaliation (\textit{λύτρον}).\textsuperscript{59}

In his polemics with Clementinus, Szlichtyng also spoke out strongly against the concept of double predestination, which asserted God’s sovereignty in both election and reprobation.\textsuperscript{60} Already, in his debate with Meisner, he had attempted to adapt the concept, linking it to the Philippistic or Semipelagian conviction of the participation of the human will in the act of salvation. The primeval divine choice is unalterable \textit{in genere}, yet variable \textit{in individuo}.\textsuperscript{61} Man may accept or reject divine

\textsuperscript{57} A critique of both concepts has already been outlined in: J. Szlichtyng, \textit{Odpowiedź na script X. Daniela Clementinusa, Nazwany; Antilogiae et absurda, to jest, Sprzeciwieństwa, y niesłużności wypływające z opinii Socinitów Ponurzonych uczyniona przez Jonassa Szlichtinga z Bukowca}, Raków, drukował Sebastian Sternacki, 1625, p. 9 (\textit{Cosz po tey conditiey wierzenia, išši Bogu prawdziwie zapłacono? y owszem ni može byť ta coditia przydana, boby za tym szło że oraz y dosyć uczyniono y nie uczyniono, bo zostanie conditia: a zaś dosyć uczyniono: bo temu mocno wierzyć maemy}), p. 75; id., \textit{Na Antopologią ks. Daniela Clementiusa o potwarzach odpowiedź}, Raków, druk Sebastian Sternacki, 1631, p. 332.


\textsuperscript{59} Szlichtyng, \textit{Quœstiones}, pp. 228, 247; cf.: id., \textit{Odpowiedź}, p. 139 (\textit{Nie poił tego X. Clement, co Socin per redemptionem metaphoricam rozumie, gdyż nie to mówi Socin, żeby wybawienie y zbawienie nasze było niewłasne y metaphoriczne, ale że to własne, istotne y prawdziwe wybawienie, metaphoricz y niewłasności wykupieniem iest nazywane, a to dlatego, że niemasz tego któryby zapłatębral,): id., \textit{Na Antropolgię}, p. 62 (\textit{Homine imperito, ktoś powiedział, nihil injustius. Czy to niewiecie, że nas Pan Bóg, abo Pan Jezus, krwią własną kupił? Czy tam ist własne kupno, kedy co krwie przelaniem kupiļą? Czy bierze kto tę krew?)}.

\textsuperscript{60} Id., \textit{Odpowiedź}, p. 10 (\textit{Która nauka nie tylko w ludziach chęć do wszelakiej pobożności gasi, ale też Boga niesprawiedliwym czyni), id., \textit{Na Antropolgię}, pp. 101-106.

\textsuperscript{61} Id., \textit{Quœstiones}, p. 16 (\textit{Itaque electio et reprobatio in genere prorsus est certa et immutabilis; in individuo autem mutabilis est, utpote cum ex electorum, vel etiam ex reprobatorum numero esse, cuqiä a Deo liberum sit relictum}).
This is why he does not remain a passive object of the Holy Spirit’s acts in any gesture of justification. He makes a free-willed decision to listen to the Scriptures. Szlichtyng believed such a perception of the free will notion to be fundamental to divine justice as well as to human morality and piety. The belief also stemmed from a negation of the meaning of original sin, which was Adam’s burden and not necessarily passed on to his descendants.

The confession of faith crowned the development of his theological reflections and marked a radical volte-face thereto. Szlichtyng was entrusted with this assignment by the synod in 1639 and he accomplished it in 1642. The Confessio was the most important doctrine document of the Polish Brethren since the publication of the Catechism of Raków (Katechizm rakowski).

Szlichtyng designed his Confessio in the form of a commentary on the Apostles’ Creed. The work itself is preceded with only a brief foreword, containing an expression of approval of the Symbol of Nice (niceanum) as well as a distancing of sorts from the third part of the creed, which concerns the Holy Spirit. In his commentary on article 19, Szlichtyng referred to the Holy Spirit as an “instructor, teacher, and witness” (Doctorem et Magistrum, et testem) sent by Christ upon ascension. This cautious and ambiguous wording might be regarded as only a slight suggestion of denying the quality of an independent person.

The impairment of the Holy Spirit’s manifestation is coupled with a lack of references to the Trinity. Nonetheless, Szlichtyng did not openly support any form of consistent monotheism, and thus developed common Christological motives. Although Christ remains an “average God”, he does enjoy extraordinary status among divine entities as God’s only conceived son (Article 5). Concurrently, Szlichtyng clearly emphasised Christ’s pre-existence; he existed prior to incarnation and prior to the creation of the world.

Szlichtyng’s approach to Christological issues is equally ambiguous. Radical change can, however, be noted in the concise form he applied. In his extensive treatise on the death of Christ (Article 11), George H. Williams perceives references to the theories of Anselm, Abelard, Socinus, and Calvin. Christ’s death may be perceived as the satisfaction

---

62 Ibid., pp. 30-36, 71-72.
64 Cf. Jørgensen, Stanisław Lubieniecki, pp. 150.
65 Such expressions in the Polish language can be found in: Szlichtyng, Odpowiedź, p. 12.
66 Williams, p. 108.
of divine wrath, an example to the living, and a sacrifice, thanks to which we have been assigned justice. The doctrine of predestination has also been phrased in rather vague terms, although it does not preclude the presence of human will in the act of salvation. Szlichtyng refrained from referring to original sin altogether.

Such theological openness of confession has been confirmed in ecclesiology and sacramentology. Szlichtyng gives the “Sacred Catholic Church” (Sancta Ecclesia Catholica) as broad a meaning as possible, defining it as a community recognising the creed. Apart from preaching the Gospel and atonement, Szlichtyng considered dispensing the sacraments of baptism and Eucharist constitutive. The passage on baptism suggests that Szlichtyng had the adult christening in mind. Communion is to be dispensed under two forms, but the formulation “the celebration of the memory of the death of Christ” suggests the symbolic nature of the feast of the Eucharist (Article 21).67

Confessio is largely a work of conciliation. It is very close to the Calvinist doctrine and reveals sound knowledge of Reformed theology. The rapprochement to Reformed beliefs is apparent primarily in Szlichtyng’s silence with regard to Christology: an acceptance of the formerly rejected concept of iustitia imputativa, and a lecture focusing on the science of satisfaction (Satisfaktionslehre). Thus, Szlichtyng made an effort to remain silent on the controversial topics of predestination and the form of baptism. Furthermore, he either omitted or spoke in general terms of the controversial aspects of Christology, soteriology, sacramentology, and anthropology, most likely wishing to remain faithful to the thought of Socinus and Crellius. This marked a radical change in comparison with the beliefs presented during the earlier period.

During the final period of his activity, following the court sentence (1647), Szlichtyng partly reassumed his former position, withdrawing from the language of conciliation, although he continued to consider areas of consensus. In 1651, at the synod, he announced a brief catechism, probably fundamental to the new edition of the Catechism of Raków, published in 1659 with a foreword by J. Stegmann and A. Wiszowaty.68 Moreover, he

---

67 The quotation after the translation of Confessio fidei by G.H. Williams in: The Polish Brethren, p. 412.

In his \textit{Catechism}, Szlichtyng included major modifications to its prior Christological concepts. In contradiction to the original version, Szlichtyng reaffirmed his notion of the divine features of Christ, whom he believed to be human, God, and a descendant of David. He also elaborated on the concept of \textit{munus triplex Christi}, which was present in the original version of the Catechism; in contrary to the work’s first edition, Szlichtyng added that Christ was a also preacher (\textit{Sacerdos}) on earth before his ascension. Ultimately, the treatise on the meaning of Christ’s sacrifice was modified and expanded; although Szlichtyng explicitly accepted the Anselmian concept of satisfaction, he also referred thereto implicitly in passages concerning deliverance.

Although in editing his \textit{Catechesis}, Szlichtyng withdrew from the conciliatory phrasing used in the \textit{Confessio}, he continued to diminish the distance between Arianism and Reformed confession. This tendency is apparent not only in the moderation of the Christological doctrine, but also in the lighter approach to the previously condemned baptism of children. Although Szlichtyng considers it a mistake, he believes it ought to be tolerated.\footnote{\textit{Catechesis}, p. 222 (\textit{quem tamen errorem [...] Christiana charitas tolerare suadet}).}

In his polemics with Grotius, Cichowski, and Comenius, Szlichtyng yet again focused on all the disputed issues of Protestant theology: sacramentology, Christology, and soteriological matters. The defence of Socinians before the States-General of the Netherlands and West Frisia has a special place among all his works.\footnote{Szlichtyng, \textit{Apologia}.} In that particular treatise, Szlichtyng went beyond describing the Arian theology and focusing on the Trinity and Christology. He presented a new Arian attitude to the state, which he had outlined in earlier works. He annexed his \textit{Apologia} with a letter expressing acclaim for the freedoms of conscience, speech, and – provided that injustice is not done – deed. Szlichtyng openly opposed any recourse to the secular power of the sword in the confessional debates.

Szlichtyng’s approach to the obligation of the Christian and the secular authorities evolved, though it had already been positive in his earlier works: he recognised the secular authority and the civic
duties.\textsuperscript{72} In 1635, Szlichtyng dedicated the \textit{Quaestio} to his nephew Jan Jerzy, Senior of the Bohemian Brethren. In the inscription, he recommended Jan Jerzy (who was then at the beginning of his career as an official and parliamentarian, having been nominated justice of the Wschowa region) to act for the common good.\textsuperscript{73} In his early polemics, Szlichtyng appealed to good Christian people to suffer persecution, avoid revenge, and abstain from military service.\textsuperscript{74} He also demanded that capital punishment be restricted, albeit recognising the right of the state to penalise crime and engage in defensive war. His extensive elaborations focused on the separation of a Christian’s private ethics and political life standards.\textsuperscript{75} Nonetheless, Szlichtyng avoided any response to the question of the ties and compromise between the two sets of rules.

Szlichtyng elaborated on and modified his position in polemics with Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen, wherein he defended the institutions of property and the state, as well as an individual right to carry a weapon and to engage in self-defence.\textsuperscript{76} He described any efforts to defend one’s fatherland as Christian duty.\textsuperscript{77}

In his treatises concerning the right to freedom of religion, Szlichtyng did refer to the Warsaw Confederation or to the privileges of nobility.\textsuperscript{78} However, his praise of an individual’s freedom, which proceeded to inspire the liberal thought of the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries, was much more important. According to Szlichtyng, individual freedom of conscience translated into an individual’s right to free thought and speech, and he believed those freedoms had been brutally trampled upon in the Polish Republic of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century. In his \textit{Apologia} addressing the States-General of the


\textsuperscript{73} J. Szlichtyng, \textit{Quaestio Num ad regnum Dei possidendum necesse sit in nullo peccato Evangelicae doctrinae adverso manere? contra Balthasarem Meisnerum}, [Raków], typis Pauli Sternacii, 1635, p. 4 (\textit{tibi illud dictum volo, ut tuo sub nomenie communi omnium prostet usui. Aequum enim est, ut a te& in alios manet utilitas}).

\textsuperscript{74} Id., \textit{Quaestiones}, pp. 334-459.


\textsuperscript{76} J. Szlichtyng, \textit{Quaestiones de magistratu, bello, defensione privata}, ca. 1650; id., \textit{Annotationes oppositae memoratis J.L. Wolzogenii Annotationibus}, lost works. Kot have reconstructed Szlichtyng’s arguments on basis of works by his adversary, Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen, published in the \textit{Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum}.

\textsuperscript{77} Kot, \textit{Ideologia}, pp. 116-124, 137, 153; Brock, pp. 197-198.

\textsuperscript{78} Szlichtyng, \textit{Jonae Schlichtingii De Bukowiec Epistola}, p. 18.
Netherlands, Szlichtyng accused *patriam nostram* of intolerance and religious persecution. Moreover, he had no doubt that other Protestants would share the fate of persecuted Arians.

To summarise, we ought to recall the general statement that Jonasz Szlichtyng was one of the most distinguished and most strongly adopted and received Arian theologians. His works, usually written in Latin, had already been translated into numerous European languages in the 17th century. *Confessio fidei* was translated into Polish (1646), French (1646), Dutch, (1652), and German (1653). Thanks to their publication as a part of the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum*, his exegeses were widely read in the Netherlands and England. They were used and quoted by Pierre Bayle and John Locke and most likely also by John Milton, Thomas Hobbes, Anthony Asham, and Isaac Newton.

---

79 Id., *Apologia*, p. 41 (*Polonium deinde, infausto omnine commemorant, patriam nostram; quae dum non tantum nobis, sed etiam Evangelicis, & aliis, contra jurisjurandri & faederum fident, templa adimit, exercendae religionis libertatem labefactat, & variis pressuris ob diversum in sacris sensum, infestam sese praebet; vindicem Dei manum in se provocavit, & iis sese cladibus & calamitatibus involvit, quorum neccum finem videmus ullum; quae quamdui fartam tectam cuivis servavit conscientiae & religionis libertatem, altissima pace & omnium bonorum faelicitate cumulata floruit; sed ubi vinculum illud, aequabili lege omnes de rebus divinis dissentientes continens, solvi caepit, omn'a "in pejus ruere & retro sulapsa referri"*).

80 Ibid., pp. 3-4 (*Audite caeteri dissidentes, quid & vobis sperandum sit. Ubi nos tanquam non Christianos exegerint, eundem & vobis cothurnum induent; qui ita comparatus est, ut & vestro pedi aeque aptari possit. Sed si juribus, non viribus discipulum; non vides, cautionem illa pacis, cuique jus facere, ut ex seu sensu & conscientia Christianae fidei rationem limitesque definiat?*).

81 Cf. Szlichtyng’s collected works: *Aentekeningh en verklaringh over de ses voornaemste Schriftuurplaetsen, diemen placht te greuycken tot bewijs van de Drie-eenigheydt, en de eeuweige Godtheydt Christi. Met een trackaetjen van Crelius en Stegmanus*, s.n., 1649.


To grasp the evolution of his beliefs and their importance in the historic moment, however, it shall be necessary to travel beyond the exegeses published as part of the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum* and into the realm of his polemics. Once such a method is adopted in order to analyse Szlichtyng’s works, it enables him to be pictured not only as a baroque theologian; it also allows a presentation of the peculiarity of his thought, the specificity of which distinguishes him from Faustus Socinus and Johann Ludwig von Wolzogen. Moreover, the dynamic perception presenting the evolution of Schlichtyng’s thought proves beyond doubt that he attempted to open the Arian confession to a dialogue with other Protestants, notably with the Reformed.87 This opening involved the recognition of the divinity of Christ, the emphasis of His sacrifice in the act of justification, and negligence of the issue of predestination. Furthermore, thanks to the acceptance of institutions such as secular law, the state, and defensive war, Socinianism became politically palatable to the social majority.

It is the paradox of the history of the Arians and Szlichtyng’s personal tragedy that a thinker who had stripped Socinianism of its radicalism and brought it closer to the Reformed church was punished, his beliefs were condemned, and his work publicly burned. In an attempt to explain the paradox, one might point to the escalation of Catholic radicalism and the political conflicts of the 17th century.88 This is how, referring to the war between the Catholic Polish Commonwealth and the Lutheran Swedish Kingdom, called “the Swedish deluge”, and the need for social expiation, Marek Wajsblum clarifies the 1658 edict banishing the Arians.89 On the other hand, one needs to bear in mind that cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz

---


88 Brock.

was the most avid defender of the Arians, who other Protestant churches wanted to banish as early as the 16th century. Hozjusz and his Catholic friends believed that the Arians ought to be tolerated as dissidents in the midst of Protestant churches. Attempts to open the Arian doctrine and bring it closer to the Reformed community appealed to no one in the middle of the 17th century: neither to Protestant churches striving to make their own position stronger, nor to their Catholic opponents. In other words, in attempting to defend Arianism by modifying theology and approaching Reformed confession, Szlichtyng himself sealed the fate of this community.

90 Szlichtyng recalled this in: *Jonae Schlichtingii De Bukowiec Epistola*, p. 3 (*Hosium Cardinalem, cum in patria nostra Legatum ageret, & consilio interesset de aliiis haereticorum tolerandis, aliiis autem regno pellandis (Majores nostri denotabantur) improbasse id consilium proditum est; quod diceret, multum interesse Ecclesiae, si haereticorum inter sese dissensiones relinquerentur)*.
The study of urban rituals in the early modern age, initiated in the fifties and sixties of the 20th century, enjoyed a period of particular interest from the eighties onwards. A number of factors led to such resurgence of attention to this particular field, and in particular the renewed appeal of the universe of representations; the revaluation of Norbert Elias’ thinking; and the revival of traditions tied in with Percy Schramm and Ernst Kantorowicz’s *Staatsymbolik* – broadened by the work of the most important American pupil of the latter, Ralph E. Giesey. In short, the crisis of the traditional structuralist and functionalist paradigms, in sociology and anthropology associated with the names of founding fathers such as Émile Durkheim and Alfred R. Radcliffe-Brown, contributed to the formation of a cultural climate wherein ritual, once considered an accessory element of urban dimension better analysed in terms of its socio-economic and political factors has rather become an essential and privileged point of observation of civic dynamics.

Over the past two decades, through rituals sacred and secular, one has not only studied the “staging” of power (real, princely or republican) blended in with the exploitation of the sacred/saintly, but also the hierarchical layout of such “bodies” as formed the structure of the society of ancient regimes, and consequently changes introduced to the urban space; the over-dramatisation of cults; the construction of ceremonial protocols, et cetera. Ritual has become symbolic space serving the purpose of analysing the perception of social order and its structure, primarily related to the transformation of courtly universe and he “disciplining” processes.

---


Scholars have gone to great pains to establish to what extent rituals can be viewed as proof of assertion and persistence of popular culture perceived as an entirely separate entity),\(^3\) in some cases remaining in opposition to official cultures of the Church and the nascent modern State. Following Michail Bachtin’s influence, the official regulating and edifying rituality focusing on ideological issues and intent on indoctrinating the lower classes was often juxtaposed against an intimately subversive, carnal ritual incapable of suffering inhibitory restraints, and was intent on exploiting every festive opportunity to overthrow dominant structures and, even if just for a day, turn the world upside down. In consequence of such a double aspect of rituality, the Fight Between Carnival and Lent transpired – named after the renowned 1559 painting by Pieter Brueghel the Elder. Such festive ritual popular culture seemed to disseminate an autonomous tradition of its own, while resisting the attempts at repression put in motion by the state and church, thus establishing a connection between festival and revolt and, long-term, leading to a complete normalisation of ritual and vanquishing of popular culture.\(^4\)

This paper is an attempt at illustrating a very different perspective set upon from different premises\(^5\) and diverse objectives. We will proceed by examining very briefly a group (of four in all) of important Sicilian festivals, still held at some of the greatest towns of the Island: Messina, Palermo, Trapani, and Catania. These festivals, all shown to audiences in full baroque fashion, are:

- **Il Festino di Santa Rosalia** held in Palermo on July 14\(^{th}\). This is a procession of the relics of the protector and patron saint of Palermo, organised since the first half of the 17\(^{th}\) century,

- **L’Assunta** in Messina, a festival held annually on August 15\(^{th}\). That day, a pair of giants walks the streets of Messina alongside an elaborate machine depicting the Virgin Mary’s ascension to paradise. Albeit the feast is late mediaeval in origin, it has been rearranged in the late 16\(^{th}\) century, which is when it assumed the form known to our contemporaries.


\(^5\) I have developed this point in the essay *Il popolo che abbiamo perduto. Note sul concetto di cultura popolare tra storia e antropologia*, “Giornale di storia costituzionale”, 2009, no. 18 (II semestre), pp. 151-178.
– *I Misteri di Trapani* organised on Good Friday, created in the 17th century – a parade of wooden carts illustrating assorted scenes of Christ’s passion.

– The feast of *Sant’Agata* in Catania, mediaeval in origin and refashioned in the 17th century.

Firstly, all four festivals are creations of the baroque. Secondly, they are all urban productions. It is well known that urban life on the eve of humanism has had a long-standing and important tradition in Italy. Yet only at that point, in the 16th century (and even more so in the 17th) that Italian cities – whether “free” or “dependent” – came up with a narrative intended to provide a mythical account of their origins and the accompanying structures of what we might dub the distinguishing themes of “urban physiognomy”, or edification of spiritual or moral heritage, as important as the material heritage of privileges (freedoms constituting a crucial part of the “liberty before liberalism”).

We shall not be considering urban rituals, or rituals taking place in cities inasmuch as civic rituals: rituals shaping and forming urban identity.

Of the four aforementioned festivals, three are dedicated to patron saints of cities, while the fourth (The *Misteri*), as remains to be seen, ties in closely with the Saint Protector of Trapani, the *Madonna di Trapani*, although is not dedicated to Her directly.

A study of the aforementioned rituals requires their perception as narratives in motion, or narration-based performances moving forward and producing meaning (and emotions, naturally): such narratives were frequently produced in image, and expressed via symbols, discourses, gestures, as well as individual and group action. We shall therefore attempt to interpret them in connection with the production of literary historical narratives dedicated to urban history. Similarly to histories of cities, civic rituals are discussions, after all (or animated discussions, so to speak), focusing on the origin, glory, and importance of what we now refer to as urban identity; rituals frequently solemnise top-ranking events in the life of a community. Let us consider Palermo, for instance: the *Festino of Santa Rosalia* ties in directly to a myth of collective danger and rebirth: the “miraculous” discovery of the relics of Saint Rosalia, a 12th century virgin hermit, “divinely” revealed to a humble hunter: the revelation consists in the fact that those relics were found exactly where the legend claims they should have been, in a cave on the summit.

---

of Mount Pellegrino where the saint was supposed to have lived. The relics were brought to procession that year (1624); it was also the time of a horrible plague haunting Palermo, and the end of the disease was attributed to the intercession of the saint, formerly referred to as *santuzza*, or “little saint”. After the plague was over, she was gloriously announced the new patron saint of the town. Interestingly, the hagiography of Santa Rosalia was expanded to include a legend reflecting the community’s civic ambitions: the saint was provided with a noble pedigree of a descendant of the Normand count Ruggero, founder of the Kingdom of Sicily, one who restored Christianity to the island.7

Regardless of 1591 records confirming the presence of the Genoese Casazza, exceptional motives induced Jesuits to refashion their cultural hegemonic strategy, abandoning any design of more orthodox Christian acculturation, and to place all stakes on *Santa Rosalia*, whose relics were, and still are, carried across town in a plush baroque ornamental decorated cart.

In other cases, as in case of the Messina festival, the focal event was the freeing of the town from under Arab domination. Throughout Mediterranean Europe (and beyond), narratives concerning urban identity often hark back to the struggle between the Moors and Christians (Byzantines, then Normans) during the 11th century; the confrontation and conflict between faiths; and the clash of military and commercial powers. Thus, municipal patriotism tends to associate mythical celebration of urban history with the most venerated relics. The patron saint becomes a personification of urban identity, and, concurrently, a link with celestial protection against the infidel.

Consider the *Assunta*.8 Notably, the Virgin Mary is the saint protector of Messina. According to legend, during her lifetime the Virgin received ambassadors of the town who travelled to Palestine in her homage. As a sign of condescension (or a confession of duty and obligation), the Virgin Mary presented Messina ambassadors with a letter concluding with the famous words *Vos et ipsam civitatem benedicimus*, a sentence etched in block capitals in the stones of the port bulwark. A very sensible site, as the Messina pier is the physical arm of the town’s commercial wealth, and at the same time the symbol of its mythical birth: the pier,

---

resembling a sickle thrown to sea, links the city with its ancient name of a former Greek colony (Zancle) to the sickle of Kronos, the last of the Titans, who bore the fatal instrument used to emasculate Father Uranus.9

The legend and cult of the Madonna della Lettera was originally a separate holiday celebrated on June 3rd, but was later blended with the festival of the Assunta on August 15th, coinciding with a major trade fair. The festival, developed since the 16th century (the first phase of its development goes back to the late 14th and 15th centuries) is a festival of urban identity, scarcely coherent, a sort of patchwork of different themes: spectators are on the one hand exposed to the procession of the Vara, a splendid machine created to express the assumption of the Virgin Mary to paradise and, on the other, to a tale of giants: two enormous puppets (with their 18th century names of Mata and Grifone) ride enormous wooden horses, parading the streets as a reminiscence of the ancient times when the city was founded, and of the mythical association to the era of giants. Popular legend tells of giant Mata, queen of Camaro, a borough of Messina in an area now called Matagrifone; Mata married Grifone, known as “the great Moor!” a ferocious African anthropophagus, who assumed human form and made the people of Camaro happy with his marriage to Mata. Interestingly, such popular folk tales (each generation is exposed to their different versions: the incredible Hulks or unfortunate Shreks) are not the sole preserved records of such characters: they are superimposed with a more literate tradition thanks to 17th-century erudite scholars, archaeologists, antiquarians and voyagers, who referred to the two giants (U gialanti, or Gialantissa in the Messina dialect) as Cam and Rea; or Zancle and Rea; or, in other versions, Saturn (identified with the Greek Chronos) and Cibele. The two levels (that of the mythical foundation of the town and that of “real” history) intertwine. Thus, a folk tale became history (real and legendary at the same time): the Norman king Ruggero entered town and freed it from the Saracens.

The theme of the camel is an interesting component, as its presence seems to bring the two narratives together. On the one hand, the presence of the camel forms part of rediscovery of oriental themes potentially connected with the wise men of the Bible, who rode camels following a comet bringing good tidings to the world. On the other hand, however, the

camel is also the symbol of plundering, gluttony and greed. Historically, a legend told in the early 17th century recalls Ruggero and his soldiers, loading their camels with the loot seized from the defeated.\textsuperscript{10}

As we see it, all these components strive to overcome the romantic vision of juxtaposition of popular and elite culture, interpreting rituals as collective practices denying any clear division between the “high” and “low”, primarily due to the sort of “patchwork” of different elements of different origins, with the aid of which rituals are described.\textsuperscript{11} Perhaps our interest in the Assunta ritual stems from the same reasons which had disturbed Giuseppe Pitré, the famous Sicilian ethnologist who, after having recognised the Messina festival leading in Sicilian folklore, judged it as “undignified jumble and nearing of different performances speaking of a colossus from an antiquity obscure and remote”.\textsuperscript{12}

Following the path paved by Hermann Bausinger in his perspective of popular culture,\textsuperscript{13} we could attempt to perceive rituals in a dialectic rather than reified manner, underlining the transformation, the mutation, the adaptation. For instance, in case of the Assunta feast, its original protagonist was a horseback-riding statue, and this before the invention of the Vara, a sort of extraordinary baroque machine, with a number of separate parts moving in different directions to disorientate and astonish the spectators, and to create the imminently baroque effect of meraviglia, the marvellous.

To yet again recall Bausinger, one should not emphasise the contrast between the popular and what he called the Technische Welt, the world of technology; on the other hand, we could well reflect more deeply on our need to consider the popular in natural opposition to the artificial world of industrial artefacts. Baroque sensibility, even popular baroque sensibility, did not oppose technical artefacts; on the contrary, it used them consciously as an instrument to create la meraviglia, the marvellous. Thus, the carnevale, allegedly the most popular of baroque parades, ties in closely with the construction of complex machines, animated carts and so on: macchine embodying technological innovation of the time.

It goes without saying that such approach shifted the focus from extended permanence, the viscosity and time-proof collective issues to the

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{10} Giorgianni, pp. 44-48.
\textsuperscript{12} G. Pitré, Delle feste patronali in Sicilia, Palermo, Clausen, 1900; I quote from the reedition by A. Amitrano Savarese, Palermo, Il vespro, 1978, pp. 163-180.
\end{flushright}
actual invention of tradition and instances of change, to that “porosity” that permits novelty to be absorbed. And the novelty in this case is the renaissance and baroque culture of the emblem and the symbol, the fascination with classical mythology, the attraction for the exotic Orient.\textsuperscript{14} This is not a Sicilian perversion: in 1581 during the Assumption festival in Siena, members of the \textit{contrada} of the Giraffe were dressed in “Turkish” attire while those of the Dragon in “Egyptian” style: by the same token, the early 17\textsuperscript{th} century carnival of Barcelona sees the appearance of the mythical figure of the Queen of Cathay. In one of 1633, the themes of the festival were based on Cervantes’ Don Quixote. Once again, the now renowned \textit{Ommengang} in Antwerp as well as the equally well known (and studied) London ceremony of the \textit{Lord Mayor}’s taking of office are steeped in 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries with classical mythological figures.

It is a process that has been interpreted in various ways, sometimes as an indication of early secularisation (as in the case of the London ceremony) but which instead could be viewed not as a (partial) substitution of elements of the sacred tradition with lay elements but as a transformation of sacred and lay elements with others (sacred and profane) components, that have acquired a new lease on life owing to different sensibility that developed in renaissance and baroque ages. The proliferation of monstrous figures such as dragons and giants carried in procession, mythological animals (unicorns, hippogriffs), heraldic ones (possibly linked to the coats of arms of corporations and guilds), or even royal, and yet featuring very important symbolic attributes (such as elephants and camels) and even figures of classical divinities and heroes goes hand in hand with the reintroduction of Biblical figures (of the sixteen processional giants known in the 15\textsuperscript{th} century Netherlands, twelve were Goliaths), of scenes linked to the life of Christ and the Saints, of moralising images sacred and secular, blended in new ways.

Such renewal was in the 16\textsuperscript{th} century frequently introduced by new orders of the counter-reformation with blatant pedagogic intent. Let us consider the most important Sicilian festival of \textit{Casazze} held during the Easter Week, the \textit{Misteri} of Trapani.\textsuperscript{15}

This highly suggestive procession, today considered the true expression of popular feeling, was introduced by the Jesuits in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
not without difficulty. More ancient and largely most popular was the procession of the Cirii, the candles to the Madonna of Trapani, a marble statue that received homage of votive candles from the Maestranze, the guilds, the Monday after Easter. One very important feature of the Cilii procession, which to a certain extent explains its popularity, was that each of the Cilii (or big candles) was borne and decorated by a different guild; guilds were competing among themselves to make the most beautiful candle of all. The hegemony of the Misteri as the civic procession instead of the Cirii was permitted thanks to the guilds’ concession of all wooden carts illustrating the scenes of the passion and death of Christ. The wooden sculpture which evolved from an original Genoese tradition (the Casazze) of theatrical performances (assorted examples of which may be viewed in Sicily until this day), and directly linked to “models” stemming from great artistic tradition, became the expression of the corporate structure of the urban organism body. Each cart represented a different section of the community, while the unprivileged people (popolino) identified themselves with the last cart in line, that of the Maria Addolorata, the saddened Mary, defender of the poor.

The most important Sicilian example of the ancient ritual of big candles offered to the Madonna or saint protector is the Ceremony of Sant’Agata in Catania, held on February 4th and 5th. Also in this case, every guild prepares a wooden big baroque style candle, competing against others not only to produce the most beautiful and most magnificently decorated artefact, but also to surpass other contenders in endurance: the enormous devotional objects had to be carried on the shoulders for a longer time, without putting them down. Yet again, a strong civic sign is superimposed on the procession, an urban mark reminiscent of the original carriage of relics from Constantinople to Catania in 1126, their “return” home. The procession has morphed over time, the cannelore (votive candles) changing in shape, form, and number. During the last centuries, they were very different from those you can see today; in the 17th century, for instance, they changed every year, as did the allegorical carriages. Where once people carrying the Vara (the cart with Saint Agata’s relics) were naked and called so, i nudi, now they arrive clad in votive costume: il sacco, “the sack”, a white tunic. Popular legend explains the arrival of the indumenta with an association with nightdresses people wore when spilling into the streets at night-time upon announcement of the arrival of the relics. The sack was an 18th century creation, as were the black velvet cap and white gloves now in use. The cry Viva Sant’Agata, echoing in the streets today is probably also quite recent: the Spanish Olé, Olé would be
more likely in the 16th and 17th centuries. The word *citatini* or *cittadini*, now shouted as incitement, in all likelihood became popular in the 18th century, albeit the gate of the Sant’Agata chapel bears the *Per me Civitas catanensium sublimatur a Christo* inscription. Form notwithstanding, a viewer will sense the permanence of the important feeling of belonging to a civic community, even today expressed in the passionate and endlessly repeated cry: *Citatini! Fidi* _l_ *tutti! Viva Sant’Agata!*
Our time is characterised by a particular use of the past, as two historians noted: Salvatore Settis spoke of “quotations out of context” and François Hartog of “techniques of «presentification»”.¹ Both alluded to the imaginative use of symbols (especially Greek and Roman ones) and nomenclatures, as well as to the approximate use of mythology and religion in the intricate patchwork of post-modernity. Nonetheless, it can be declared that similar use of history has been ongoing for many centuries.

In this regard, the following paper serves to examine a suggestive case study of the use of the past: the manufacture of processional and parade giants, and the transformation of their original and symbolic meaning.² Giants are puppets of superhuman size or dummies in animal form, constructed chiefly of wicker and wood until the 18th century, and also of iron and aluminium in the following centuries. In the twilight of the middle ages, giants moved on stilts; in the second half of the 15th century, they took on the form of upright mannequins, which paraded and danced across the streets; they were “brought”, “worn” and, more recently, dragged on platforms and wagons during religious processions and civic or ludic events.

To grasp the concept, think of the Tarasque of Tarascon,³ the famous monster of Provence, well known in Southern France, but also in Spain and in Portugal as Tarasca,⁴ or Santa Coca,⁵ respectively. The Tarasque

⁵ Cf. E. Veiga de Oliveira, *Figures gigantesques processionnelles au Portugal* (pp. 329-343); F.J. Torres Sampaio, *A propos des géants de Viano do Castelo*
is a gigantic zoomorphic hybrid with a lion’s head. It has a tortoise shell covered with several aculeos, a scaly tail tipped with a scorpion’s sting, and six short legs. According to legend, the Tarasque was born in Galicia of the famous Leviathan and Onachus, an incendiary monster. It lived in Camargue on Rhone river banks, and used to terrify local people. Saint Martha of Bethany was the only one able to tame the monster. Marie-France Gueusquin, historian, believes that in the 19th century, the Tarasque festival underwent a drastic change due to the *vogue nationale du medieval*:6 indeed the role of the vicious dragon was downsized by the introduction of new gigantic figures, including those representing the last rulers of the d’Anjou dynasty.

René Muerant also evidenced that the Tarasque was not the only one to lose their religious meaning and, consequently, their original role. The same fate befell many other giants.

For many centuries, Giant festivals have been celebrated regularly in several European regions, especially in Belgium,7 Southern Holland,8 Northern France,9 and Spain, but also in Southern France,10 Portugal, and Southern Italy. Such ceremonies take place in England,11 Germany,12 Austria,13 and Russia as well, but are much less popular. Since more recent times,
giant puppets have also been on parade in America, Asia and Africa.\textsuperscript{14} This paper will only examine the European dimension of the phenomenon, with attention focused on Spanish and Italian festivals.

Firstly, it is crucial to highlight that many people contribute to preparations preceding a Giants’ parade: puppet constructors and restorers, masters of Giants ceremonies, festival spectators, and reporters. Everyone has a distinct role, and it is fascinating to see interaction among them contribute to the process of creating an ever-changing Giants’ profile.

Giants represent one of the most famous pieces of the great and ever-changing mosaic of universal mythology.\textsuperscript{15} The deeds of these colossal beings are almost always set in epochal transition, in passage from one era to the next. The shift is usually accompanied by the defeat of the Giants by divine entities (in classical mythology and the biblical Genesis, for example); in rare cases, such as Norse mythology, Giants triumph over deities.

In this regard, Hesiod’s Cosmogony represents the most important plot, around which these legends are woven. In his oeuvre \textit{Theogony}, the Greek author declares the first specimens of gigantic beings to have been the Titans, the Cyclopes, and the Centimani Giants, all sons of two primal deities, Gaea and Uranus (the simultaneous son and husband of the goddess of Earth). Forced to save her children from her husband’s mortal envy, Gaea kept them confined in Tartar, the bowels of the Earth (i.e. inside her); thereafter she decided to produce a sickle, later used by Kronos, one of her children, to castrate Uranus, as a result of which the earth was fertilised and new Giants were born. Then, according to legend, the sickle fell in the Gulf of Messina, a Sicilian town (otherwise known as Zancle: sickle in Greek) believed to have been founded by Kronos-Saturn. Until this day, he is celebrated by a giant Kronos statue, on parade during the mid-August Feast of Assumption. Bearing his father’s fate in mind, Kronos began devouring children he had with his wife-sister Rhea. She managed to save one, Zeus, who ousted his father, forcing him to release the Cyclopes imprisoned in Tartar, and to restore his swallowed children to daylight.


From this moment on, two wars broke out: the first one was *Titanomachia* (war of the Titans against Zeus supported by the Centimani Giants); the other one was *Gigantomachia* (war of the Giants – supported by Gaea and the Centimani Giants – against Olympian gods and the demigod Hercules). Both wars ended with the defeat of the Giants.

Traditional cosmogonies aside, it is well-known that Giants have been depicted in other myths and sacred texts. 16 Stories of Giants have also been the subject of numerous literary reinventions; 17 they are present in genealogies heralded by kings and nobles, in satirical literature by Rabelais and Lewis Carroll, 18 in a number of fairytales (including the Battle of Hogwarts in the *Harry Potter* series), in videogames, and even in tourist marketing and advertising.

Different religious cultures have incorporated Giant images in their genealogies by connecting the destruction/subjection of these colossal creatures to the supremacy of man, reached “through some divine or divinely inspired hero power”. 19 Many authors have taken the image of the Antediluvian Giants (members of to the Nephilim race, born of human women and fallen angels 20) from the Book of Enoch, constructing a parallel between Nephilim Giants challenging God, and Titans challenging deities. 21 According to legend, at least one of these giant races survived the Deluge, 22 ensuring its preservation in the history of Israel and in the European symbolic repertoire.

That of Giants is also a story of periodical comebacks, not only in literature (*Gulliver’s Travels*) but also in references to the real world: to earthquakes (attributed to Giants’ thirst for revenge), to archaeological excavations, and to the discovery of the Americas (Magellan’s Patagonians, for example). In Norse mythology, the gods’ return is a prophecy predicting

---

18 Rose, p. XXVI.
19 Ibid.
20 “Similary, the *Anakim* and the *Nephilim* of Hebraic texts, which were later incorporated into the Christian biblical texts, accouted for the pre-Judaic period of the monstrous and chaotic that was destroyed in the Flood” (ibid., p. XXV).
22 “Some, such as Annius of Viturbo, accounted for this by considering Noah and his family to have been giants, while others invented a surviving giant who rode the roof of the Ark” (Rose, p. XXVI).
the time of Ragnarok (i.e. “twilight of the gods”), when Giants will defeat Gods\textsuperscript{23} in final battle.

Some scholars argue that processional and parade Giants have appeared as early as the 14\textsuperscript{th} century, albeit historical sources testify their presence only in the 15\textsuperscript{th}. The Giants of Spain and of the ancient Netherlands (Belgium, Southern Holland and Northern France) were Europe’s first colossal figures.\textsuperscript{24} According to René Meurant, Giants (\textit{simulacres fixes ou ambulants, érigés ou promenés à l’occasion de cérémonies religieuses ou civiles ou bien encore utilisés comme accessoires ludiques}) are a late mediaeval invention.\textsuperscript{25} Extremely popular in the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries, these enormous figures suffered ecclesiastical (17\textsuperscript{th} century) and state censorship (18\textsuperscript{th} century),\textsuperscript{26} even during the French Revolution.\textsuperscript{27} The 19\textsuperscript{th} century saw a nationalistic revival of the Giants’ tradition,\textsuperscript{28} while in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century that of Giants have become primarily a local myth.\textsuperscript{29}

The history of Giants obviously begins before the Seventeenth century and extends far beyond the Baroque Age. But it’s from the late Sixteenth century that something decisive for the future of European Giants happens: the final going out from the religious scene in which they were originally placed (the processions of Corpus Christi) and the beginning of a uninterrupted history of contamination. Thus there is something important that binds the Giants festive tradition in our field of research (the cultural heritage of the baroque in Twenty-First Century).

Originally, Giants paraded during \textit{Corpus Christi} processions as part of sacred representations. The biblical giant Goliath (with David his challenger), and the Dragon, an ancient zoomorphic colossus, defeated by the lance of St. George and the Cross of St. Margaret, were the first gigantic

\textsuperscript{23} Settis, pp. 9-10.


\textsuperscript{26} Ibid., p. 158.


\textsuperscript{28} Meurant, \textit{Contribution}, p. 119.

\textsuperscript{29} Vovelle, pp. 359-363.
figures to appear. According to Meurant, many other legendary animals took part in late mediaeval and early modern time processions: Le lion, la lionne, l’éléphant, le chameau, le griffon, la licorne, l’aigle, l’autruche, le cygne [...] le cerf, le léopard, le tigre, le chameau, l’aigle, le poulain, le dromadaire. Biblical figures apart, other giants have been taken from the Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine: Saint Christopher is one such example.

The French historian Jean-Pierre Ducastelle stated that, since the 16th century, certains thèmes laïques se sont introduits dans les processions à côté des scene religieuses; he was referring in particular to stories of the horse Bayard and the four sons of Aymon, and to the myth of Hercules. During the period, many giants lost their biblical identity and became anonymous colossus: many Goliaths have been transformed into local or national founding heroes in Roman-style attire. Other giants, representing the wives and children of these heroes, were similarly represented in enormous form. In the early modern age, spectators could witness such changes, especially during people’s holidays, and triumphal city entries of kings and princes. Today, there are only a few European cities where traditional giants are put on show, or famous battles between David and Goliath and between St. George and the Dragon are reconstructed. Nevertheless, many cities have preserved selected historical elements in the parades they organise.

René Meurant says that popular culture played a major role in the life of proccessional and parade Giants; nonetheless it is a known fact that popular culture is primarily the invention of intellectuals: a graphic memory, with the aid of which scholars imagined their history-deprived archaic universe.

---

30 Meurant, Géants et monstres d’osier, p. 173.
31 Ibid., p. 156.
34 Ducastelle.
36 Le Hainaut est la seule province belge où soient encore représentés deux des jeux processionnels médiévaux les plus caractéristiques: le combat de David contre Goliath à Ath, celui de saint George contre le dragon à Mons (Meurant, Les géants processionnels, p. 518).
Hereinafter follows a description of a specific example of processional and parade giants of Southern Italy and Spain. With reference to Italy, we must not forget that in some Sicilian and Calabrian cities Giants still parade along with the Vare, the splendid baroque machines depicting the Assumption of Mary into heaven. However, as for Spain, we can report that during the Festa de la Mercè the city of Barcelona is transformed into a neo-baroque festive space, populated by strange and dangerous breathing fire animals and dozens of Giant figures.

The Giants in Sicily and Calabria

Myths about giants form part of north-western Sicily’s cultural heritage. This is a land where the existence of these super humans has always been recorded: in times of mythological tales, all through the days of discovering huge, oversized bones, until modern-day festive parades. The custom of building towering puppets originated in the port of Messina – which, given its shape, is often associated with the mythological sickle carried by the Titan Kronos. The custom spread to nearby Calabria, where Sicilian names, stories and physiognomy were re-adapted with a few original additions. The mosaic of European symbols, rites and legends that have arisen around giants, has found evocative Italian expression in regions striding both sides of the straits. In this area, the march of the giants has always had religious connotations; it has been reconstructed in religious setting, with the Madonna and Patron saints in attendance. Unlike Spanish Giants accompanied by the typical cabezudos or enanos (peculiar miniature characters with huge heads), or Belgian Giants marching with monsters and fantastic animals, the ones in southern Italy are


associated with the enigmatic figure of a camel: a cloth/papier-mâché puppet on a wooden skeleton, carried by some bearers. In some cases, the exotic creature is accompanied with a little rider, generally referred to as the giants’ son: the Moorish tax collector or the little devil. This last reminds us that the legend of Sicilian and Calabrian giants has other roots besides written Roman-Greek mythology: it was also formed by the epics of Norman “liberation” of southern Italy from Saracen domination. The festival of the Assumption in Messina is quintessential to all historical and legendary references: as well as the Vara (the marvellous, baroque scenic “machine” symbolising Mary’s assumption to the heavens), also in this feast the Giants Mata and Grifone (identified not only with Saturn and his wife-sister Rhea, but also with the two Saracen princes defeated by Roger, the Norman King) and the camel (legend has it that following the Saracen victory, the count entered Messina on a camel) parade. On the other hand, the Giants of Mistretta (province of Messina) surpass the former example in their rich mixture of mythology and religion: the two giants are viewed as founding divinities (it is no coincidence that the male has been named Kronos) as well as patron saints of the city.40 These may be seen as further points of contact with the festive north European tradition, which continues to hail giant figures from sacred scriptures (such as Goliath or Saint Christopher). The connection between the myth of giants and religion has been preserved and is amplified in the giant repertoire of southern Italy: the huge saints, or Santoni of Modica, or the Sampaulluna of San Cataldo (Caltanissetta) – huge representations of Apostles.

The giants of Calabria parading in municipalities of Tropea, Briatico, Seminara and Palmi, are reproductions of the Messina style. At the close of the festival, the puppet representing the camel is destroyed, whereupon its carcass is used as a frame to put on a dazzling firework display (a custom recalling the agrarian rites of purification and regeneration).41

The Giants in Spain

In Spain, the giants seem to have been around since the 14th century.\textsuperscript{42} However, their recorded presence begins with the next century only. The first of many Spanish giants (in anthropomorphic and zoomorphic forms) marched during the Corpus Christi procession. In addition to the giants (known as gigantes in Castilian Spanish and gegants in Catalan), other parade participants include dwarves (also called cabezudos or cap-grossos), the cavalls cotoners (little horses made of cloth worn by men resembling centaurs, a hybrid also frequently found in France, and known as chevaux-jupon, usually accompanying giants and bestial monsters), and a long list of animal figures (the Drac, the Aliga, the Vibria, the Tarasca, the Mulassa, the Bull and the Lion). Akin to their European cousins, the Spanish giants were initially placed on stilts and decorated with cloth, but with time their structure was hardened, and their posture became more stable.

In the years 1380 and 1424, the Corpus Christi of Barcelona saw the appearance of the giant Goliath (with David) and the superhuman figure of Saint Christopher (with little Jesus on his shoulders). It seems that in 1399, at the coronation of Martin I, spectators witnessed the symbolic killing of a dragon. On the other hand, records tell of an eagle at the Corpus of Toledo in 1372; 1493 marks the first year of matching four continental giants with the Tarasca mounted by the Anna Bolena puppet. In Granada of 1767, the Tarasca was accompanied by seven huge Roman emperors guilty of having opposed Christianity (a similar arrangement was found in Seville, where six emperors and the Tarasca represent the seven cardinal sins). The dwarves, on the other hand, were present in Valencia as early as the 16th century: according to some, when the dwarves are seen together with giants, they symbolise the submission of both the big and the small to God; others go as far as referring to them as ancestors of the giants.

The origin of all these creatures lies with the Bible and hagiographic episodes narrated in the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine: the dragon, the *vibria* (female equivalent of the dragon) and the *Tarasca* are associated with Saint George, Saint Martha, and Saint Michael; the eagle is a reminiscence of the virtues of the Evangelist; the Lion is associated with Saint Mark, and the bull and the *Mulassa* with the nativity scene. Goliath (originally with David) and Saint Christopher (the giant carrying the child Christ figure) are the two most important giants.

However, with the passage of time, these figures have breached scenographic limits imposed by religious symbolism. The giants and beasts alike have taken on new and ever-changing identities, due to their being subject to a stratification process, often rendering them unrecognisable to a modern viewer, although extremely vital. Once the symbolic, religious features are removed, one finds original biblical giants re-decorated as Roman warriors and national heroes, mediaeval rulers and anonymous city life protagonists. For example, once the assorted giant Goliath puppets were disassociated from David’s figure, they took on changeable historical identity and often anachronistic physiognomy, especially when they began to be accompanied by a wife and countless children. The dragon, having lost its co-protagonists (Saint George, Saint Martha and Saint Michael), becomes a non-descript monster. The same holds true for all giant bestial characters.

The golden age of Spanish giants began with the late Middle Ages, and came to a standstill during the age of enlightenment, specifically following the pronouncement of restrictive measures by Charles III in 1780. Conversely, in the 19th century the reinterpretation of giants as national symbols led to their proliferation. The civil war (1936-39) led to the destruction of many giants, while others fell into disuse. Under Francisco Franco’s regime, many of the figures were instrumentalised by intransigent clergy and the regime’s propaganda. The death of the *caudillo* (1975) inaugurated an intense period of recovery and reinvention of the entire Spanish giant repertoire. Today’s festivals feature a mixture of ancient and modern giant figures, often thrown in together without much thought, but with no loss to their original mysterious fascination.
Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, Pomerania was drawn into military conflicts between Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, all of whom vying for supremacy in the Baltic Sea Region. Moreover, the House of Griffins, the old Pomeranian dynasty, reached the end of its line, leaving Pomerania dependent upon other rulers’ interests; the former duchy of Pomerania was divided several times.1 These events affected and altered Western Pomerania’s political borders as well as its construction measures, all of which has to be accounted for before considering baroque sights in the region. Exemplary religious sights influenced by baroque taste will be presented in more detail, including churches of Stralsund and their interior, as well as rural and small town churches. Thereafter, a number of typical secular buildings will be described. Ultimately, it will be possible to extract and understand selected typical characteristics of Western Pomerania’s baroque.

I

When Eilhard Lubinus, a well-known contemporary classical scholar and cartographer, finished mapping Pomerania’s territory in 1618, it spanned some 400 kilometres along the southern coast of the Baltic Sea and reached 50-200 kilometres into the hinterland, including the islands of Rügen, Usedom and Wolin (Wollin), as well as the cities of Stralsund, Greifswald, Szczecin (Stettin), Kołobrzeg (Kolberg) and Słupsk (Stolp).2

---


Only a decade later, Bogislaw XIV, the last Duke of Pomerania, had to concede to imperial troops occupying Pomerania, and was forced to accommodate enemy troops within his territory in the course of the Thirty Years’ War. In 1630, Swedish King Gustav II Adolf landed near the city of Wolgast in Pomerania, and forged an allegiance with Bogislaw against the German Emperor. Military raids, plunder, and billeting of troops devastated Pomeranian soil especially during the 1630s. Even worse, Bogislaw became severely ill and died heirless in 1637. Peace could not be reached until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The peace treaty stated among others that the Duchy of Pomerania was to be divided. The western part was handed over to Sweden, and was henceforth referred to as Swedish Pomerania. Although Brandenburg had hoped to be granted all of Pomerania for reasons of old hereditary claims,\(^3\) it was only granted its eastern part, which then became Further or Eastern Pomerania. Such division laid the foundation for constant territorial squabbles over the following decades. Sweden intended to protect its strategically important territory, while Brandenburg sought to enforce its old claims.

During the Scanian War, also known as the Swedish-Brandenburg War (1674-1679), Brandenburg was able to seize large parts of Swedish Pomerania, but was granted only minor areas under the Treaty of Saint-Germain in 1679. Not only did the Great Nordic War (1700-1721) last longer, but it also destroyed Pomerania much more severely. Russia, Denmark, Saxony, and Poland allied against Sweden. Denmark made use of Sweden’s defeat in the Battle of Poltawa, invaded Pomerania and besieged and captured Stralsund; Russian forces burned down Wolgast in 1713.\(^4\) Sweden lost the war and was allowed to keep only a part of its former territory in Pomerania, while Brandenburg-Prussia was given the other part. The period from 1720 onwards was a relatively peaceful time, and Western Pomerania’s economic situation improved along with its art production. Although Pomerania was indirectly affected by the Seven Years’ War (1756-1763), it developed without any major crises until the beginning of the 19\(^{th}\) century.

\(^3\) The Treaty of Grimnitz (1529) renewed the Treaty of Pyritz (1493), resolving the dispute concerning the legal status of and succession in the Duchy of Pomerania. Therein, the Electors of Brandenburg were granted succession rights. For further information, cf. H. Branig, *Geschichte Pommerns. Vom Werden des neuzeitlichen Staates bis zum Verlust der staatlichen Selbständigkeit 1300-1648*, Köln, Böhlau, 1997, pp. 93-94.

By now it should be relatively easy to grasp why the period of baroque construction did not start before 1648. Due to fatal consequences of the Thirty Years’ War, Pomerania had lost up to 60 per cent of its total population, including quite a number of artists. Nonetheless, construction requirements were urgent, as churches had been destroyed or damaged. Country houses and mansions were in bad conditions, and needed renovation. Some noble dynasties, however, ceased to exist or had to sell their estates. Moreover, the extinction of the Griffin dynasty should not be underestimated, as Swedish Pomerania did not have a court to serve as a source of art and culture proliferation into the region. Although West Pomerania’s artistic creation did not stop in the 17th century, it was not until 1720 that one could speak of something resembling a construction boom.

Furthermore, it should be clarified that Western Pomerania’s territory changed continuously. Being part of Sweden following the Thirty Years’ War, Prussia and Sweden shared its territory from 1720 until the early 19th century. The area that will be referred to as Western Pomerania comprises the part of Pomerania that belongs to contemporary Germany.

II

Considering Stralsund’s churches, it is important to bear in mind that any drawbacks notwithstanding, Stralsund remained the undisputed artistic centre in Western Pomerania. On the one hand, Stralsund was the biggest town of the region with a traditionally active harbour bustling with wealthy merchants. On the other, Stralsund became the most important administrative city of Swedish Pomerania after 1720. Even today, the churches of St. Nicholas and of St. Mary remain easily recognisable representatives of the baroque period. To be sure, albeit these churches had been raised chiefly during the Gothic period, their roofs were renewed in 1667 (St. Nicholas) and in 1708 (St. Mary) according to baroque taste. However, only one of St. Nicholas’s two western towers is covered by a dome-like copper roof adorned with a lantern and a high, pointed top. The other just features a flat pavilion roof, attesting to the financial constraints of the 17th century (see fig. 1).

---

5 One example is Nicodemus Tessin the Elder, born in Stralsund but unable to stay due to the bad situation after the war. K. Neville, *Nicodemus Tessin the Elder. Architecture in Sweden in the Age of Greatness*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2009, pp. 23-32.

The exterior as well as the interior of these churches were altered. St. Mary’s organ, for example, was designed and built by the famous Friedrich Stellwagen of Hamburg in the years 1653-1659. Today, it remains one of the most remarkable organs in Northern Germany, influencing the design of other renowned instruments, such as the one in Kamień Pomorski. The organ case is striking with its numerous decorative motives – carved figures, grotesque faces, and acanthus leaves, so typical for early baroque. King David, progenitor of sacral music, is the central figure, while an angel placed on a winged globe flies at the highest point, central to the casing’s axis. The angel bears a fanfare in his right hand and a banner.
in his left; the translation of the inscription on the banner reads “God of power and might”.7

Another baroque highlight of St. Mary’s Church is the tomb of Count Lilljenstedt, President of the supreme Swedish Court in Swedish Pomerania. Before his death in 1732, he already ordered his tomb from the well-known sculptor Johann Baptist Xavery of Antwerp. This tomb is a rare example of hiring an internationally renowned artist who then worked in his workshop at home. The count is resting his left arm on a pillow, pointing with his right to a naked boy-angel. Without going into extreme detail, it has to be noted that the entire tomb is made of marble. Marmoreal sculptures are extremely – wood was the most frequent raw material used.8

In case of the Church of St. Nicholas, the primary baroque highlight worth mentioning is the altar separating the choir from the nave (fig. 2). The altar, carved elaborately on both sides, was made by Thomas Phalert. The blueprint for the altar, however, was created by the outstanding German sculptor and architect Andreas Schlüter, best known for the Stadtschloss in Berlin. Its gorgeous retable does not feature a strict division of storeys; the borderlines are blurred. Framed by four Corinthian pillars and two expressive angels with overhanging garments, the main scene depicts a wreath of clouds with angels playing music and God’s eye in the centre. With no horizontal structural elements, a relief of the sacrament is discernible above, whereupon an open segmental arch gable emerges. A monumental Calvary scene has been superimposed on the arch, with Mary and John the Baptist placed beneath the crucified Jesus.9

The second and final notable baroque piece of St. Nicholas Church is a baptistery by Elias Keßler. Baroque baptisteries are generally discernible in their grand size – space permitting. St. Nicholas’ baptistery, probably the most beautiful one in Western Pomerania, was commissioned by an alderman in 1710 but could not be completed until 22 years later. Corners are adorned with four caryatids embodying the four sacred virtues: faith, love, hope and patience. They bear a lavishly carved canopy, with John the Baptist on top. The four Evangelists have been seated between the caryatids.10

---

7 Ibid., pp. 114-116.
9 Trost, pp. 124-125.
10 Ibid., p. 126.
If one associates baroque with golden magnificence, festive opulence, and manifold decoration, Western Pomerania’s rural churches do nothing to confirm the belief. Nonetheless, the following examples will proceed to prove that rural churches do indeed feature the charm of baroque architecture. Of the relatively few churches that were constructed entirely anew, Rieth, Ferdinandshof and Ahlbeck deserve particular attention.

III

Fig. 2. St. Nicholas’s main altar, photo by Matthias Müller.

The church in Rieth was built in 1731 as a well-proportioned, small, aisle-less church with a cove vault above the interior. Another remarkable element is the timber-framed tower with its baroque dome-like roof, adorned with a lantern and a rounded top. Although the roof does not reach the height of Stralsund’s churches, it is unusual that such roof can be found in a remote, rural area.

The Ferdinandshof church is plain and simple, as expected of a village church. Nonetheless, it is quite unusually framed with a polygon on its western flank, featuring windows but no entrance. The rectangular windows are framed by yellow edging against white-plastered walls which makes it look like secular buildings. This church has a drawn-in timber framed octagonal tower crowned with a small dome.

The Ahlbeck church is a well-fitting example of quickly built churches in the sparsely populated Prussian part of Western Pomerania in the second half of the 18th century. Many more examples of this kind of timber-framed churches can be found in that further Pomeranian region, which had formed part of Prussia already before 1720. Ahlbeck’s timber-framed church was constructed in a solid and cheap way; only the roof, resembling that in Rieth, is reminiscent of baroque brilliance. However, one can detect the charm of timber framing: the black beams in combination with white or red interspaces ensure an easily recognisable appearance (fig. 3).

We should not forget, however, that most churches were not newly built. The exterior of old structures was frequently modified, especially window apertures and (occasionally) representational towers. The Lord’s house in Dennin was originally a flat-roofed brick building with buttresses. Over the 18th century, it adopted a baroque style with plastered walls. The inward-sloping, wooden western tower with its high pitched roof was also added, typically for a rural baroque church (fig. 4). At the church in Zudar, the façade was not plastered and the ogive windows not re-modelled. Nonetheless, a wooden tower with a metal canopy was added in 1665. At the church in Samtens, the west gable remained unchanged, with a small tower of timber framing with a pavilion roof added in 1703. In Kölln, the church received a wooden tower in the first half of the 18th century, giving it a look slightly resembling the Rieth and Ahlbeck churches. Its segmental arch windows and facings were added around the same time.
Fig. 3. Northwest elevation of Ahlbeck’s church (Ahlbeck near Eggesin), photo by Matthias Müller.

Fig. 4. Southwest elevation of Dennin’s church (Dennin, part of Spantekow), photo by Matthias Müller.
When describing the interior, one has to highlight an important point implicitly mentioned already. Due to the fact that Stralsund was the most prosperous town in Western Pomerania, good sculptors were to be found almost exclusively there, although their art production remained manual. In addition, one should not forget that all sculptors of the region were carpenters frequently specialising in art due to a shortage of trained sculptors, and thus their works of art were almost exclusively wooden.¹²

A list of noteworthy sculptors from Stralsund would have to include Thomas Phalart, Elias Keßler, Hans Broder, Martin Becker and Jakob Freese; Keßler¹³ whose baptismery described above was the most renowned of them. Thomas Phalart, who had worked on St. Nicholas’s altar, was also the author of the Schaprodre retable (fig. 5).¹⁴ It is divided into two storeys depicting two panel paintings, the Crucifixion and the Assumption, between two pairs of twisted columns. Acanthus leaf ornaments have been placed to the far left and far right, with the four Evangelists on the epystle. Thomas Phalart placed a Dutch-style ornament and a Christ-symbolising pelican on top of the retable.

Another retable, this one by Hans Broder in Brandshagen, features two storeys with abundant acanthus ornaments. Two elliptic portraits are clearly visible on both sides of the retable. These picture Isaak Schinkel and his wife, Stralsund townspeople, who donated this work of art in 1707. The Evangelists and the revived Christ impress with their illusion of movement and lightness.

Michael Becker is known, for his pulpit in Gingst, among others. It has a round and bellied speaker’s stand. The pilasters are decorated with acanthus ornaments, with pictures of Martin Luther and the Evangelists among them. The canopy is emblazoned with a volute crown adorned with a sitting angel with a trumpet. The pulpit in Bergen, also created by Jakob Freese, is decorated with rich rococo ornaments. The Evangelists are sitting at the oval speaker’s stand, with the canopy carved with female figures and a high group of angels.

¹² Although already published some 80 years ago, it remains the most detailed overview of Stralsund’s sculptors: K. Möller, Die Stralsunder Bildhauer des 18. Jahrhunderts, “Pommersche Jahrbücher” 27 (1933), pp. 3-131.
The retable in Garz, sculpted in Elias Keßler’s workshop, appears to be rather light, almost gracile. Its flowing forms are remarkable, although the framed painting in the centre does not really match this baroque piece; it was added in the 19th century. On the left, Moses has just descended Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments. He seems dramatic, dynamic, and full of strength and movement. This high-quality sculpture was designed and worked by Keßler himself and attests to his abilities.

Finally, Prohn’s angel of baptism (fig. 6) was carved by Elias Keßler and exemplifies a piece typical for Lutheran churches after the Thirty Years’ War. As earlier indicated by the baptistery of St. Mary’s, baptism remained an important sacrament after the Reformation. Since not all churches could be equipped with flamboyant baptisteries for reasons of space or financial shortage, or both, flying baptism angels were installed, and lowered when needed.15 Similarly to Moses, this sculpture seems to be

15 For more information on angels of baptism in Western Pomerania, see: B. Becker-Carus, Taufengel in Vorpommern mit Überblick über die nördlichen und östlichen angrenzenden Regionen Vorpommern, Schweden, Hinterpommern und Ostpreußen,
moving: a breeze blows through hair and gown, as if the angel was really flying. This piece, nonetheless, appears rather calming than dramatic, and attests Keßler’s artistic repertoire.

When considering secular sights, one might note that similarly to religious sights, baroque elements were added to many important buildings. The town halls of Grimmen and Greifswald kept their original gothic or renaissance appearance. Grimmen’s town hall only obtained a small but clearly noticeable baroque bell tower, while Greifswald’s town hall got a ridge turret. Today, a plastered baroque portal on the west side of Stralsund’s town hall remains visible, although the whole building,
including the façade, was plastered according to the Zeitgeist. Wolgast is one of the few exceptions; after the town was burned down in 1713, its inhabitants needed new buildings, town hall included. It was built according to baroque taste.

Mansions and country houses are secular sights more affected by baroque, as in case of the most important baroque mansions in Pomerania: Karlsburg. It was planned as a three-winged complex, but due to financial problems only the central building and the east wing were completed. In consequence, the complex appears asymmetrical. It was Carl von Bohlen, a member of one of the oldest regional dynasties, who commissioned the mansion and gave it its name. The central building consists of two plastered storeys with nine axes and is connected by a one-storey, ten-axial gallery to the pavilion. All buildings are covered by mansard roofs. To the front and centre, axes on the far left and right advance, becoming risalits. The central axis is slightly less advanced, with a risalit is discernible nonetheless. All risalits have been fitted with horizontal, rectangular ornaments.

Another baroque highlight can be found close to Greifswald: the mansion Griebenow. This is an entire baroque complex with gatehouses, stables and manufacturing buildings. The mansion itself was built between 1702 and 1709 as a reward for the Swedish general Carl Gustav von Keffenbrinck-Rehnskiöld. The Swedish influence is easily detectable in the roof structure. This type of roof is called säteri, and can be described as a hipped roof with vertical breaks providing small extra storeys, often windowed. The main building is plastered and has a semi-basement with two more storeys. The tri-axial central risalit holds a triangular gable, and features the family crest above the main entrance.

A fifteen-sided chapel (fig. 7) also belongs to the complex. It has a pavilion roof with a high, pointed top. This kind of church construction is unique in Western Pomerania, and serves to further exemplify Swedish influence. Grotesque faces (fig. 8) at each corner of the chapel are particularly eye-catching. Based on the old belief that openings and

---


corners of buildings need particular protection, these faces are supposed to offer protection against demons.¹⁹

It is, indeed, possible to make out other Swedish influences in Western Pomerania. The Swedish architect Cornelius Loos, for example, designed a government building for Johann August Meyerfeldt, governor of Swedish Pomerania. After the construction of the so called Meyerfeldt Palace was completed in 1730, it became Stralsund’s first with a mansard roof. Notwithstanding, the building retained its rather sober Swedish baroque appearance, with a flat central risalit (fig. 9).

The penultimate building is the Commanders’ House in Stralsund (fig. 10). Its eaves face the market square; the building features a risalit with simple ornaments along the edges. The triangular gable shows a relief of Sweden’s emblem with Stralsund’s coat of arms, exemplifying the Swedish-Pomeranian connection to perfection.

Fig. 9. Meyerfeldt Palace, 19th-century lithograph, town archive Stralsund.

Fig. 10. Commanders’ House in Stralsund, photo by Matthias Müller.
The main building of the University of Greifswald, the final example of baroque construction sights, was designed by university professor Andreas Mayer inspired by Swedish-Pomeranian mansions. Built between 1747 and 1750, this plastered, three-storey building features a mansard roof and a risalit structured by pilasters, plastered squares and an effectual epistyle, crowned with the Pomeranian coat of arms between two savage men. The Swedish traveller Jonas Apelblad, who saw the university’s main building in 1755 described it as “beautiful” and claimed that “barely another Lutheran University in Germany features a more beautiful building.”

VI

Western Pomerania had to suffer directly and indirectly from European conflicts, in the 17th and 18th centuries particularly. Over the brief periods of 17th-century peace, damaged buildings could be repaired or entirely new ones built. Keeping the organ in Stralsund’s St. Mary’s church in mind, it would be unfair to deny Western Pomerania its ability to produce art with supra-regional importance. As of 1720, however, a period of peace and relative economic well-being, construction boom began. Mostly noblemen from Sweden or Pomerania, but also wealthy townspeople or merchants became a boost to the building industry of the period. They either hired well-known artists, or commissioned works by locals. Lilljenstedt’s tomb, St. Nicolas’s altar, the mansions Griebenow and Karlsburg, and Swedish government buildings are all avid proof of the former. The baptistery in St. Nicholas’s Church or Brandshagen’s retable could serve as instances of the latter.

With its numerous baroque sights, Stralsund indubitably remained at the centre of construction activities. Certain notable examples apart, art production remained rather provincial and simple. In contact with travellers or their own journeys, local sculptors might have been influenced by foreign trends. It is only Stralsund, however, that reached above provincial status – with Elias Keßler’s works most noteworthy.

Village churches were often only rectangular cobblestone or brick buildings. Sometimes exterior walls were plastered or occasional structural elements added; often towers with baroque roofs of different quality were

---

frequently raised. The interior, oftentimes renewed in the 17th and 18th centuries, consisted of regionally made pulpits, altars or a combination of both and angels of baptism.

The conglomerate of provincial simplicity and noble representativeness has its own virtue, although it can barely mirror the ostentation, flamboyance and splendour of Italy, France or southern Germany. Nonetheless, it is astonishing how contemporaries could create so many striking sights throughout these difficult times.
A glance at any illustrated book on European baroque will reveal pictures of Il Gesù or Sant’Agnese in Rome, St. Charles Borromeo in Vienna, Vaux-le-Vicomte or – last but not least – the Zwinger in Dresden. These buildings are filled with colourful walls and frescoes, ellipses, curves and cupolas. They are suitable to demonstrate and describe the qualities of this period in the history of art. Nonetheless, I believe one thing you will not find is a picture of a Schleswig-Holstein building.

The baroque in this region is very special in nature, and differs from architecture found in Italy, France, Spain, Poland, Austria, or even the southern part of Germany. In the 17th and 18th centuries, for example, one would never have found an ellipsis in a church within this territory. Rooms were octagonal or simply rectangular. The ecclesiastical buildings were done without any rounded figures, or curves. Paul von Hedemann-Heespen pointed out that baroque in Schleswig-Holstein appeared to be a form of fully developed classicism.¹

In general, structures of Swedish origin were a major influence on architecture in the region. After the years 1719-1720, many former military officers left their home country in the wake of the Swedish defeat in the Great Northern War. Because of their close ties to the king, there was no way they could return to Sweden.² Thus they were looking for new homes in Schleswig-Holstein, where they combined their own knowledge with new influence and older indigenous traditions found locally.³ During the

³ Ibid., p. 103.
Great Northern War, Sweden supported the House of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf in their struggle against Danish ambitions to occupy the country.

Zacharias Wolff (1667-1726) and Rudolph Matthias Dallin (1680-1743) were most famous architects of the Swedish military milieu. Between the years 1700 and 1710, Dallin was educated by the Swedish engineer and General-Major Zacharias Wolff. Both men fought the war in Flanders and on the Rhine as soldiers of the Schleswig-Gottorf army engaged in the region. At the time, Wolff and Dallin encountered the military architecture of Sébastien Vauban whose plan of the military hospital in Metz is regarded as a model for Wolff’s own plan of the military hospital in Tönning. It was based on an H-shaped floor plan. Even in the 17th century, the H-shaped floor plan was well-known in Swedish manorial architecture. In Schleswig-Holstein, the hospital marked its first-time introduction to the region, whereupon the plan became a model for a number of manor houses throughout the 18th century. Another tradition of 17th century Swedish architecture introduced to Schleswig-Holstein can be demonstrated by the example of Palais Dernath in Schleswig. The building is only known thanks to a colour lithograph from the late 19th century. Unfortunately it burned down in 1868. The smaller wings surrounding the cour d'honneur were separated from the main building. This style was well-known in Swedish manorial architecture of the 17th century, and was introduced to Schleswig-Holstein by Swedish military architects.

The manors and castles of the region remained under particular influence of the old-fashioned stylistic elements, with the Gottorf Castle (1697-1702) a prime example thereof. There are neither wings around the cour d'honneur, nor even any corps de logis as found in several castles and manors of the period. The Gottorf Castle was erected as an old-fashioned four-winged building modelled upon the Swedish castle of Vadstena. The central part of the building displays certain details, such as the division of the façade across several ribbons, a type of structure common to the early 17th century but not in the early 18th century.

Apart from the aforementioned, features of baroque style in Schleswig-Holstein were determined by the facility’s practical function. The buildings

---

5 Eimer, pp. 109-110.
6 Ibid., p. 111.
7 Kamphausen, pp. 102-103.
erected in Tönning reveal a strong military influence. Due to the need of the time, even the town church was reduced to military use. Tönning was founded as a fortress in 1644 to defend the rich land on both banks of the river Eider against Denmark.⁸ In 1676 the fortress was destroyed by Danish troops for the first time.⁹ Tönning was finally conquered and completely destroyed in 1714. It is not easy to determine who built the garrison church. It is possible that it was an anonymous architect. The purpose of this building was the spiritual salvation of soldiers. Thus the architecture of the church was reduced to this minimal purpose.¹⁰ Because of its demolition in 1742, the only preserved pictures of the garrison church are those printed in a number of maps. It was a very simplistic building with a single long nave and a narrow steeple on the west side. It thus resembles a typical rural church, very common in Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg-Western-Pomerania.¹¹ Nonetheless, there is

---


¹⁰ Teuchert, p. 24.

an important difference. Despite the single nave, the garrison church had two separate roofs.

This made the Tönning church unique. The separate roofs were an old Dutch tradition, common throughout the 17th century. Nevertheless, in the Tönning of 1690-1714, the garrison church was the only military building showing Dutch influence. Another assumption could be that the twin roof was a military necessity. To reduce the target for Danish bombs the architect installed two smaller roofs instead of a single large one. According to purpose, the design of the outer walls was simple. They were simply formed by continuous pedestals and round arches. Although around 1694, Zacharias Wolff managed construction work at Tönning and was also commander of the fortress, it is unlikely that he was the architect of the garrison church.

Another interesting – and preserved – example is the garrison church in Rendsburg. This building had the same purpose as the church in Tönning. In 1694, a model of the Rendsburg church was built by Hans Steenwinckel the Younger. Initially, construction activities were managed by a Dutchman, Diederick van Vijthusen. Three years later, the Italian architect Domenico Pelli from Lugano relieved his Dutch colleague. The garrison church of Rendsburg was officially opened by the Danish king on July 15th 1700. The floor plan of this church is very special. It was shaped in the form of a Greek cross, and shows a reversion to the much older design of the Holmens church in Copenhagen. It was erected in 1619 on the site of a former anchor forge. In 1643, the Holmens church was expanded to include a transept. Indeed, the relapse to the older model caused a tremendous problem – it was very difficult for the congregation to follow the service. Therefore the crossing aisles of the garrison church in Rendsburg became much shorter and broader than those in Holmens church.

---

13 Ibid. Northern Germany had a large population of Protestant refugees from the Netherlands and France who invented a very special kind of baroque architecture, completely different from Southern Baroque architecture. See also: J. Wege, *Die Rellinger Kirche. Eine kunsthistorische Betrachtung*, Heide, Boyens, 1990, p. 19.
14 Teuchert, p. 25.
15 Ibid., p. 24.
16 Ibid., p. 25.
18 Teuchert, p. 25.
19 Ibid., p. 26-27.
20 Ibid., p. 28.
The design of the outer walls is very interesting and typical for baroque architecture in Schleswig-Holstein. In the introduction to my paper, I mentioned that we would not find any round stylistic elements – such as columns – in the ecclesiastical architecture of this peripheral region. The walls are formed by straight colossal semi-pillars whose yellow colour stands in contrast to the red of the brickwork. Each pillar has its own pedestal. The brickwork is divided horizontally by two lines of windows. In the lower row, the smaller oval windows are very close to the ground. The purpose of these so-called “bulls’ eyes” was to allow light into the space below the gallery. Windows with pointed arches are typical in the ecclesiastical architecture of the period. Gothic windows of the type can obviously be found in several older churches modified or expanded during the Baroque period. In Schleswig-Holstein, however, they were used in numerous newly built churches of the early 18th century.

Notably, the cross-shaped floor plan is not only to be found in Schleswig-Holstein. The Saint Nicolai church (1708-1711) in Schwerin is another very important example of baroque ecclesiastical. Initially, Jacob Reutz (d. 1710) was in charge of construction. After his death, the task was taken over by Leonhard Christoph Sturm (1669-1719). The latter changed the original floor plan from a Greek cross into a T-modelled room by installing a wooden barrier. A comparison of both churches reveals that the wings are shaped differently. The brickwork between windows is formed by semi-pillars. At Saint Nicolai, pillars do display their structure but do not differ in colour, as opposed to the ones at Rendsburg. The most prominent differences between both churches consist in the length and design of the wings. In Schwerin, the wings are much shorter than in Rendsburg. In addition, their polygonal bases create a very compact look. These central buildings in northern Germany, however, are but exceptions. Typical ecclesiastical architecture features traditional buildings with simple square angled bases. One reason for this development could be that the architects of rural churches did not have the required artistic skills.

In the first half of the 18th century, the brickwork of newly built churches became extremely varied. The church of Rellingen, erected by Cay Dose between 1754 and 1756, serves as a perfect example of how

\[\text{Kulturdenkmale, p. 166.}\]
\[\text{Teuchert, p. 28.}\]
\[\text{Ibid.}\]
\[\text{Wege, p. 21.}\]
Fig. 2. Garrison church in Rendsburg, 1695-1700, photo by Enrico Wagner

Fig. 3. Saint Nicolai church in Schwerin, 1708-1711, photo by Enrico Wagner
the trend peaked. The church was built as an octagonal central building in the form of a pavilion with a lantern-crowned high mansard roof. The structure of walls is determined by roof weight. Four semi-pillars are bundled up at each corner of the building. All these elements are therefore more pronounced than in Rendsburg. They give an impression of having to support the whole massive roof. The windows are laid in deeper blinds and it seems as if the brickwork consisted of several layers. This kind of brickwork design can also be seen at the Saint Nicolai church in Hamburg-Billwerder, erected by Johannes Nicolaus Kuhn (1670-1743) between 1737 and 1739, which marked the beginning of the use of such kind of layered wall structuring. It can be claimed in general that in Schleswig-Holstein, brickwork structuring replaced missing stylistic elements such as ellipses, curves or columns.

Another development typical for Northern Germany was the reduction of height, and a focus on horizontal structures. This was achieved by making length the dominant in any building, as is apparent in the church in Wilster constructed by Ernst Georg Sonnin between 1775 and 1781. Sonnin was commissioned with the task of conserving the steeple of the former church; therefore he shaped both corners on the eastern side concavely. The tower lost its dominant character, with sight focusing on the building’s length. Numerous rural churches erected in the 17th and 18th centuries are not tall. Until around 1750, they were built in a simple square-angled manner. But from then on, the eastern ends of these churches were increasingly more often designed on a polygonal base, as seen in churches in Eichede (1757/58), Hohenfelde (1767) and Hohenwestedt (1770/71).

Another unique feature of baroque architecture in Schleswig-Holstein worth emphasising is that architects were not limited to a single type of building only. The aforementioned Rudolph Matthias Dallin would be one of the best examples. Like Zacharias Wolff, he was a Swedish officer stationed in Schleswig-Holstein after the Great Northern War. In Stralsund, he was promoted to so-called Capitain des Mineurs by King Charles XII of Sweden (reigned 1697-1718) on November 30th 1715. Dallin was very

---

26 Kamphausen, p. 107.
27 Ibid.
28 Wege, p. 32.
29 Dehio, p. 970.
31 Jonkanski, Wilde, p. 47.
32 Krigsarkivet Stockholm, Biographica Rudolph Matthias Dallin.
close to the king, as demonstrated by his opinion about Charles uttered several years after the king’s death. Moreover, he tended to highlight his Swedish roots by using the Swedish rank of Capitain. His works spanned the entire range of architecture. In his early days, he drew fortresses he saw in military service. His first drawing depicting the fortress of Thionville has been preserved at the Krigsarkivet in Stockholm. He used his military knowledge to build castles, manor houses, stables, barns, and other functional buildings for the regional nobility. Following captivity, he became court architect to bishop Christian August of Holstein-Gottorf in Eutin, where he restored several parts of the castle. Between the years 1723 and 1729, he built the Rastorf manor, a closed late-baroque axial-symmetric manor house for the Rantzau family, and presumably also the Pronstorf manor – his contribution to Pronstorf, however, remains uncertain. Given Dallin’s manner in structuring the outer walls (Spartan military style) it seems highly unlikely that he also built Pronstorf with its meticulously designed façade. Furthermore, there is no mention of Pronstorf in any of Dallin’s letters. Dallin’s works can even be found in Mecklenburg-Western-Pomerania. In the year of his death, he had been planning to raise the Johannstorf manor near Lübeck. The very simple design of the façade seems to emphasises Peter Hirschfeld’s assumption. The manor house belonged to the Buchwald family, nobles who also owned a number of manor houses in Holstein – such as Borstel and Pronstorf.

None of the buildings designed by Dallin display an over-ornate design. Thus Dallin’s clear structure of brickwork remains unique to north Germany. Nonetheless, in his construction he also attempted to follow modern styles and influences. In 1726, he was tasked with the renovation of the town church in Preetz. He demolished the old steeple and erected a new one. In a letter dated April 10th 1726, he wrote to Christian Rantzau about the modern design of the new roof and cupola:

---

33 Eimer, p. 117.
34 Hirschfeld, p. 75.
36 Hirschfeld, p. 75.
38 Hirschfeld, p. 77.
39 Ibid.
Euwer Hochwollgebohrnen ordres gehorsamste Folge zuleisten, unde Herrbey ein Dessein von der Couppel mit einer kleinen Spitze zum Pretzer Kirch Turm, in welcher Spitze notwendig die Stunden und Klingel Glocke Hengen solte damit der Thon oder Klang der Glocken umb so weit beßer in der Ferne gehoret werden möge.

Eß kan diese ahrt Couppel mit der kleinen modernen zierlichen Spitze oder aufsatz zur Klingel Glocken von keinem Bauverständigen alß ein Turm oder Spitze angesehen werden, unterdeßen ist eß doch eine ahrt von Spitze und meiner Meinung nach recht artich, und wird die Kirchen patronj in sonderheit wen dieselbe also portirt vor Ziehrung der gotteß Häuser, wie Euwer Exellenz: sind, obligiren, daß sie zum Kirchenbau recht ettwaß erklälicheres hergeben, ich schätze die Couppel mit dem aufsattze wie er da gezeichnet stehet, alles in allem auff 1000.- rTl. ich glaube auch, daß eß nicht zu Theuer ist, maßen die oberste Spitze wie beim riße margueredt ist, mit Kupfer gedäckt und beschlagen wird.41

Alfred Kamphausen pointed out that the variety of brickwork structures reached its climax around 1750, and that concentration on horizontal tendencies around 1770 had developed without any foreign influence.42 Thus, in the later period of Baroque architecture the most important task of regional architects was to brighten up the brickwork of outer walls. This was more important than the rooms within, and was achieved by several changes to stylistic elements. Apart from windows laid deep in blinds of differing depth, there are semi-pillars and ribbons with or without capitals, separated or continuous pedestals, and finally the varying colours of ornaments. All of these elements were combined in wide variety, or set in impressive contrasts.

Even though this peripheral region does not present any typical Baroque forms such as ellipses, curves or columns, the architecture of this period is nevertheless full of shapes, ornaments and details. This is why we can claim with no doubt that Schleswig-Holstein plays a special role in baroque art.

41 Hirschfeld, p. 69.
42 Kamphausen, p. 110.
Flemish Trend in Schleswig-to-Königsberg  
Baroque Sculpture in Marble and Stone  
in the Second Half of the 17th Century

In consequence of Bruges’ trade co-operation for many centuries  
with the Hanseatic League, whose administrative centre was in the  
city of Luebeck,¹ the countries on the southern Baltic coast had long  
remained under strong influence of Netherlandish art and culture.²  
The phenomenon intensified between the 1560s and 1620s with several  
waves of emigration of hundreds of highly qualified artists and artisans  
of various Lutheran and Calvinist creeds resolving to leave their native  
Netherlands, then streaming with the blood of war, for religious and  
economic motives.³ Arriving in the Kingdom of Denmark, the Duchy of  
Schleswig-Holstein, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, the Duchy of Prussia, the  
Duchy of West Pomerania, and the cities of Gdańsk/Danzig and Elbląg/  
Elbing in the Polish Commonwealth, they transplanted to the Baltic the  
latest art formula of Netherlandish Mannerism epitomised by Cornelis  
Floris de Vriendt and Hans Vredeman de Vries.⁴ This had turned the

¹ V. Vermeersch, Brugge, een Europese stad in Vlaanderen, in: Brugge en Europa,  
ed. by V. Vermeersch, Antwerpen, Mercatorfonds, 1992, p. 16; Ch. Römer, Die Hanse  
und die niederländische Städtewelt, in: Hanse in Europa. Brücke zwischen den Märk-  

² W. Paravicini, Brugge en Duitsland, in: Brugge en Europa, pp. 99-102, 103, 108-  
109, 113-114; S. Vandenberghe, De Brugse beeldhouwkunst en sierkunst in Europa, in:  
ibid., pp. 314-316.

³ J. Briels, Zuidnederlandse immigratie 1572-1630, Haarlem, Fibula-Van Dishoeck,  

⁴ Cornelis Floris 1514-1575: beeldhouwer – architect – ontwerper, ed. by A. Huys-  
mans, J. Van Damme, C. Van de Velde, Ch. Van Mulders, Brussel, Gemeentekrediet,  
1996, pp. 81, 91, figs 114-118, 196, 218; M. Wardzyński, Zwischen den Niederlanden und  
Polen-Litauen. Danzig als Mittler niederländischer Kunst und Musterbücher, in: Land  
und Meer. Kultureller Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und dem Ostseeraum in der  
Baltic area with Sweden, Courland and Samogitia into the largest arena of Netherlandish operation besides England and the north-western lands of the German Reich. The subject has come to considerable prominence in research on the overall region’s modern-time art and artistic culture, also covering small auxiliary architecture and church and sepulchral sculpture.

The second half of the 17th century is a much less known chapter in the history of the Baltic countries’ contacts with the Spanish Netherlands and Holland, and one to which much less scholarly attention has been allotted. However, 1999 saw an international exhibition put on in the Schloss Oranienburg and the Paleis Het-Loo under the title ‘Onder den Oranje boom’, which brought to light the historic, political, economic and cultural background of the phenomenon in Brandenburg-Prussia. The origin of these contacts is associated with the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm I von Hohezollern’s marriage to Luise-Henriette van Oranje-Nassau and the political alliance between the two dynasties. In turn,
the operation of Artus the Younger and Thomas Quellinus of the famous Antwerp family, conducted, as documented in the sources, in a vast area comprising Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein and North German duchies, is the subject of model studies on the reception of Flemish baroque in Northern and Central Europe. Flemish and Flemish-styled baroque sculpture in Gdansk, Elblag and the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania have been given much less attention so far, and just as little is known of their reception in Königsberg and Eastern Prussia.

The first half of the 17th century saw Flemish sculpture in full bloom in Antwerp. This is to be attributed to the close collaboration of the


de Nole, Quellinus, Verbrugghen, van der Eynde and de Nève families’ sculptural workshops with one of the foremost artists of the European baroque. The early baroque designs for architectural fittings and figural statuary produced in the 1620s and 1630s by Peter Paul Rubens, for he is the artist in question, based first and foremost on Roman, Genoese and Venetian patterns, provided the local style with formal and stylistic foundations. As the other major link between the contemporary Flemish sculptors and the Roman and Italian sources of the baroque, mention is due to the studio of François Duquesnoy (1594-1643), the most famous of the Fiamminghi a Roma. The artist’s status in the Eternal City was that of the most important representative of the classicising trend profusely indebted to antique tradition. In keeping with the custom of that time, Artus Quellinus the Elder (1609-1668) and Pieter Verbrugghen the Elder (1615-1686), followed by other Flemings, spent several years in papal Rome, practising most often with Duquesnoy and taking on the most important style characteristics of the sculpture of Alessandro Algardi and Gianlorenzo Bernini. As a significant corollary to the process, modelli and workshop replicas of François Duquesnoy’s sculptures were dispatched by Duquesnoy himself, as well as his pupils and artist clients, direct from Rome at first to Flanders and, beginning in the 1630s and 1640s, to Holland, England, Denmark and Prussia. The said modelli and replicas were to become an outpost of the new, classicising trend in baroque sculpture.

---

14 Europäische Barockplastik am Niederrhein. Grupello und seine Zeit, [exhibition catalogue], Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum, 1971, pp. 337-338, cat. no. 298/297, pl. 130; La sculpture au siècle de Rubens dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de
17th-century Flemish sculpture had come to a crucial point in its development with Artus Quellinus the Elder’s permanent employment in Amsterdam in 1650. While there, he undertook the task of designing the *modelli* and, with his workshop, of executing the overall figural and ornamental decoration for the new monumental *Stadhuis* (Town Hall). Quellinus worked on his task under the supervision of painter and architect Jacob van Campen while Bartholomaeus Eggers of Amsterdam (ca. 1630-1692) and Rombout Verhulst of Malines (1624-1698) were appointed as his most important assistants. In 1655, the figures, bass reliefs and ornamental decorations for the New Town Hall’s state interiors and elevations were represented in one hundred and forty plates by Artus I’s younger brother Hubertus, who was engraver and painter. Collected in two volumes, and appearing ultimately in 1661 as a Frederick de Witt of Amsterdam publication under the title *Afbeelding van ’t stadt huys van Amsterdam*... Until the close of the 17th century, the *Afbeelding* served almost all representatives of the Flemish trend in Europe as the most important pattern-book and source of inspiration combined, in the fields of architectural fittings and sculpture alike.


16 Two-volume book under title: *Afbeelding van ’t stadt huys van Amsterdam* in dartigh coopere platen, geordineert door Jacob van Camper; en Geteckeent door Jacob Vennekool, Amsterdam, Danckerts, 1661. The digital version of this book is available online at: [http://www2.tresoar.nl/digicollectie/object.php?object=162](http://www2.tresoar.nl/digicollectie/object.php?object=162). Cf. *Prima (-Secunda) pars praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentorum, amplissimae curiae Amstelredamensis, majori ex parte, in candido marmore effectorum, per artum Quellinium, ejusdem civitatis statuariun = Het eerste deel van de voornaemste statuen ende ciraten, vont konstrijk stadthuys van Amstelredam, tmeeste in marmere gemaect, door Artus Quellinus, beelthouver der voorseyde stadt, Amsterdam, Fredrick de Witt, 1655-1665/1668; De voornaemste statuen ende ciraten vant konstrijk stadthuys van Amstelredam, tmeeste in marmere gemaect door Artus Quellinus, Amsterdam, Fredrick de Witt, 1665.*
Denmark, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg

The first artist to propagate the style of the Roman baroque-inspired Flemish sculpture outside the Netherlands was François Dieussart (1600-1661) of Armentières near Liège, a Walloon likewise educated in Rome. A talented portrait sculptor, he had risen to fame working in *marmo bianco statuario di Carrara* on European courts. After Spain, England and Holland, he was active in Denmark (Copenhagen, 1643-1644) as court portrait sculptor to Christian IV Oldenburg, and in Brandenburg (Berlin, 1648-1665) at the court of Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm von Hohenzollern\(^{17}\) who had links with Holland. In consequence of the vogue for Flemish sculpture initiated by Dieussart’s work a new, baroque though much restrained, formula of portrait statuary was beginning to emerge in the regions, comprising as it did representations in the *en pied* convention, busts, and profile portraits in a tondo. Drawing on the earlier Flemish and Roman tradition of the first third of the 17th century, all of these had been tested with success at the courts of Madrid, The Hague, and London (fig. 1).\(^{18}\) With his use of *marmo bianco statuario di Carrara* imported via Livorno, Genova and Amsterdam, Dieussart also gets the credit for overcoming a lingering post-mediaeval tradition, which consisted in the use of whitish English or Thuringen alabaster as the basic medium of figural and ornamental sculpture.

Artus I Quellinus owed his fame in Amsterdam, Holland and the Spanish Netherlands in the 1650s and the first half of the 1660s to the huge-scale decoration for the New Town Hall, a prestige task, as well as a number of portraits of the United Provinces’ political and bourgeois


elite. Equally prestige commissions followed from Sweden (Stockholm, ca. 1650-1654),19 Brandenburg-Prussia (Berlin, 1660-1663)20 and Denmark (Schleswig, 1661-1663) (fig. 2)21 to where he would dispatch his sepulchral and portrait sculptures in marble as of 1650. Resident in Amsterdam, Bartholomaeus Eggers22 had likewise succeeded in establishing fruitful contacts with Schleswig and Berlin. In 1674, on the Great Elector’s commission, he executed a set of twenty-four marble busts of the most illustrious Roman Emperors and Empresses, and several other sculptures and figural groups on subjects connected with antiquity. As the portrait sculptor in ordinary at the Elector’s court in 1687-1688, he completed

20 Gabriels, pp. 230-234, fig. LXV; Theuerkauff, pp. 167-174, figs 2, 3.
21 Gabriels, pp. 226, 228-230, figs LXVI, 52; Neurdenburg, De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst, p. 195; Seelig, pp. 80, 82, 345-346, cat. no. 86, fig. 49.
a set of *en pied* portraits of the Electors of Brandenburg. At this time (1660-1680) Dutch architect and sculptor Charles Philip Dieussart, son of François, was court portrait sculptor in the Duchy of Mecklenburg-Güstrow. In contrast to contemporary Antwerp, Flemish and Dutch sculpture (Rombout Verhulst and Jan Bloemdael) which at that stage went through dynamic development towards high baroque decorativeness and emotive quality, Eggers and Dieussart represent a classicising trend. Almost severe in some aspects of form, it was primarily oriented at the antique heritage.

In the 1660s-1680s, elitist commissions from Denmark and Prussia also went to minor anonymous Flemish masters as evidenced by the large number of works to their credit surviving in Schleswig Cathedral, Luebeck churches and in Berlin. The pieces reveal overwhelming

---


influence of the Roman oeuvre of François Duquesnoy, and the Antwerp and Dutch works of Artus I Quellinus, Eggers and Verhulst. As a climax of the Flemish sculptors’ presence, Thomas I Quellinus (1661-1709) the son of Artus II of Antwerp and nephew of Artus I stayed in Copenhagen and Luebeck without intermission for eighteen years (1689-1707). The artist had ultimately sealed the primacy of Flemish sculpture in its high baroque phase in the Baltic area. His oeuvre descended straight from the Antwerp and South Netherlandish monuments and epitaphs, dynamically composed and elaborately decorated with Bernini-inspired motifs, created in the fourth quarter of the 17th century in the studio of his father and – connected with him – Francis Hendrick Verbrugghen, Willem Kerrix the Elder and Ludovicus Willemsens. Thomas I’s work was to mark out the local art centres’ development for a decade to come, after which French patterns were beginning to take over.

Ducal Prussia

The development of Flemish and Flemish-styled sculpture in East Prussia took quite a different course. The capital city of Königsberg and environs saw the emergence of only one Lutheran monument throughout the latter half of the 17th century. Anton Ulrich is credited with an introductory description of the piece whose forms, which may be cautiously regarded as ones drawing generally on the Scheldt-to-Amsel tradition, have been created on the basis of, primarily, German and local patterns. Erected in 1667-1669 in the local cathedral’s Upper Choir, the sumptuous double epitaph monument in white and black marble to the princely couple Bogusław Radziwiłł (Brandenburg Elector’s governor in East Prussia) and his wife Anna Maria, shows no qualities in common with the output of the Königsberg community. The authorship of the monument is still open to question. What we can say is that of the art of Flanders and Holland, the unknown designer-maker of the Radziwiłł monument has selected primarily the official male and female bust portrait type and

25 Seelig, esp. pp. 82-83; Barockplastik in Norddeutschland, pp. 346-358, cat. nos 87-94, figs 155-156, 158-164.
26 Seelig, pp. 82-83, 413-419, cat. nos 132-137, fig. 157; Bach-Nielsen, passim.
the characteristic ornamental element of a supple fruit-and-flower scroll winding round the cabochon inscription plaque to the Princess.

Perhaps the most important evidence of importation or direct reception of definite Flemish patterns in East Prussia survives in two archival photographs taken before World War II of elements of sculptural decoration and interiors in the Graf Alexander von Dohna Schloss Schlobitten. One represents a stone fireplace of 1708 in a room adjacent to the palace library with two putti cast in bronze or carved in wood and gilded (with a sickle and a basket of fruit) on the mantelpiece (fig. 3)\(^{29}\) that evidently imitate François Duquesnoy’s numerous drawn and sculptured inventions of children. From the name under which the artist was known in Italy, they were called *putti fiamminghi* in the 17th century (fig. 4)\(^{30}\). Commemorated in the other photo, there are groups of four such putti carved in relief in sandstone (probably the *Burgsvik* type from Gottland) shown at rest while sharing a bunch of grapes and reading books together.\(^{31}\) In these,

\(^{29}\) Ibid., pp. 473-474, fig. 559.

\(^{30}\) Boudon-Machuel, pp. 68, 70, 72-73, 79, 81-82, 326, cat. nos CE.62, In.116 ex.2, In.117a ex.1, In. 117b ex. 1.

the original relief groups of the Fleming of genius have found creative elaboration. The von Dohna residence at Schlobitten was strictly patterned on the newly built Berlin palaces of Frederick I. Prussia’s first king was in possession of a collection of Dutch and Flemish art inherited from his father the Great Elector that included works by François Duquesnoy.32 Considering the elitist character of the Schlobitten residence, this peculiar choice of the artist’s works as a source of inspiration for sculptures and wall paintings presumably reflected the current tastes of the new monarchy’s elite.

Gdańsk/Danzig and Elbląg/Elbing

It may be presumed in the light of research conducted to date that the new baroque style of Flemish sculpture reached Gdańsk in the mid-1640s, which was exactly when it reached Copenhagen and Berlin. The first important work in Gdańsk was the ensemble of eight civic virtues and personifications of 1648 surmounting the attica of the Golden Gate, 32 Boudon-Machuel, pp. 59, 288-289, cat. In.66 ex. 2, fig. 39. Cf. Barockplastik in Norddeutschland, esp. pp. 70-71, 327-328, 341-352, figs 43-45, 152.
executed by Peter Ringering (1620-1650) of Flensburg, Denmark (fig. 5). Regardless of the relationship indicated between whole complex and the most significant works of classic Roman sculpture it should be pointed out that in his composition of several figures Ringering might have modelled himself on analogous allegorical stone figures by the Dutch sculptor Pieter Adriaensz. ‘t Hooft (1610-1649/50) on the frontons of Constantijn Huygens’s house in The Hague (ca. 1638) and the Town Hall in Middelharnis (1639) (fig. 6). The local community of sculptors


---

Fig. 5. Peter Ringering, Gdańsk / Danzig, Langgasser Tor aka Golden Gate, Prudentia, 1648, photo after: Aurea Porta, vol. 2.
including Hans Gaspar Gockheller of Württemberg (mentioned 1640-1680) was soon to absorb the markedly antique-oriented Flanders-related approach demonstrated in the *figurae togatae*. Financial limitations made the Gdańsk and Elblag masters use English alabaster in place of *marmo bianco statuario* and resort to the Oland *Dälie* limestone and the Gottland *Burgsvik* sandstone in architectural elements.\(^{36}\)

Gockheller’s journey of study to Holland in the first half of the 1660s is most probable, as suggested by the Lutheran epitaphs to his design from then on, in which the architectural structure of a new, Italianate type became binding. This type was modelled on a suite of Bernardino Radi’s

tomb designs reproduced 1629 in engraving by the Utrecht printing shop of Crispijn de Passe the Elder. In his statuary of that time Gockheller relied on the popular Paris publication of François Perrier’s plates of 1638 of the most famous antique figures in Roman and Italian collections. He was also familiar with the foremost Roman work of François Duquesnoy – St. Susane statue of S. Maria di Loreto (1627-1633). Gockheller’s portraits of that stage show evident dependence on the contemporary portrait sculpture of Flanders and Holland, that by Artus I Quellinus in particular. On the other hand, the progressive forms and high artistic quality of these works account for their attribution in the past to a pupil of Alessandro Algardi’s, Giovanni Francesco de’ Rossi called La Vecchietta. King John Casimir of the Vasa dynasty had the artist brought from Rome to his court in 1651.

Hans Gaspar Gockheller’s son Hans Michael (mentioned since 1666 – d. 1695) is to be acknowledged as the main exponent of High Baroque sculpture in Gdańsk. His Lutheran and catholic monuments, epitaphs and altars in Gdańsk, Royal Prussia (part of the Polish Kingdom) and the city of Gniezno, the metropolitan’s seat, demonstrate his competent handling of a variety of patterns mainly picked up from Artus I Quellinus and Rombout Verhulst. Hans Michael has given an exact rendering of the qualities specific to the two masters’ sensual figural statuary in his bust portraits of the brothers Clemens and Gabriel Cölmer in

38 F. Perrier, Segmenta nobilium Signorum et Statuarum, Quae temporis dentem invidium evasere, Romae, 1638, fig. 55; Karpowicz, Flora Farnese, p. 123, figs 111, 117.
39 Karpowicz, Flora Farnese, p. 123, figs 118-119.
40 Cf., e.g., portrait busts in Gdańsk associated with both Gockhellers, those of Johannes Ernst Scheffler (1663) in St Nicolas’s Dominican church; Nathanael Schröder (1668) in St John’s Lutheran church; and Johann Schröder in his monument in St Mary’s church (ca. 1665-1675). For the said monuments, see: W. Drost, Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig, vol. 1: Sankt Johann, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1957 (“Bau- und Denkmäler der Deutschen Ostens”, series A, part 1), pp. 3, 84-86, 160-162, figs 70, 138, 140; J. Palubicki, Rzeźbiarz gdański Hans Caspar Gockheller, “Gdańskie Studia Muzealne”, vol. 2 (1978), pp. 127-129, figs 6, 16. Cf., e.g., portrait busts of Dr Nicolaus Tulp (around 1654-1656), especially that by Artus Quellinus I (1656, authorship uncertain), followed by those of Artus Cornelius Witsen (1658) and Amsterdam Mayor Anton van Graeff (1661). See: Gabriels, pp. 252-254, fig. LXXIII; Europäische Barockplastik, pp. 298-299, 322-323, cat. nos 242, 273, figs 120, 121; Philippot, Coekelberghs, Loze, Vautier, p. 843, figs pp. 849, 850.
41 M. Karpowicz, Barok w Polsce, Warszawa, Arkady, 1988, p. 296, cat. no. 151.
their epitaph in St Mary’s church in Gdańsk (after 1668). Particularly noteworthy among his works, it shows detailed elaboration of the hair, beards, the rich lacy collars and jackets, similar to that known from the Amsterdam originals. A comparison of two child figures, one by Verhulst, the other by the Gdańsk artist provides an important point in support of Gockheller the Younger’s contacts with the oeuvre of both Amsterdam masters. The angel-genius of death carved in Carrara marble features in Verhulst’s monument to Carel Hieronymus van In -en and Anna van Ewsum of 1664-1669 in the Lutheran church at Midwolde near Groningen in Friesland (fig. 7). An almost identical putto by Gockheller, his certain work, features in his 1678 monument to Primate Andrzej Olszowski (d. 1677) in Gniezno Archcathedral (fig. 8). Justly


44 Europäische Barockplastik, p. 323, cat. no. 274, fig. 171; Scholten, Sumptuous Memories, pp. 180-182, fig. 166.

45 The plaster hands of the figures date from the period of later conservation and hence their arrangement cannot correspond to the original one. See: L. Krzyżanowski,
acknowledged as one of the most significant pieces of the high baroque in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, the monument has its direct roots in Antwerp. Pieter Verbrugghen the Elder and Lucas Faydherbe had designed similar structures with the Bernini-like drapery suspended from three points in the background of the scene back in the 1640s and 1650s.\textsuperscript{46} Exactly at the same time, another outstanding Fleming, Jost del Court of Ypres, employed the same concept in Venice, in the pair of the tomb monuments dedicated to Giorgio as well as Pietro and Lorenzo Morosini in San Clemente in Isola (both built 1677).\textsuperscript{47} From Verhulst’s Dutch oeuvre Gockheller also picked up a motif popular throughout


\textsuperscript{46} Cf. two monuments: to Anne-Mary de Berchem, designed by Artus Quellinus II in the 1660s (design preserved in Antwerp, Prints Cabinet) and canon Huens in the St John’s church, Mechelen, dated 1651, designed and executed by Lucas Faydherbe of Mechelen. See Philippot, Coekelberghs, Loze, Vautier, pp. 396-397, fig. 1 p. 396, figs 1-2 p. 397.

\textsuperscript{47} See, more recent, M. Franck, \textit{Baldassare Longhena}, Venezia, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti,, 2004, pp. 63-64, 412-413, figs 49 and 1, 2 pp. 412, 413.
mid-17th-century Flemish statuary, one of a putto drawing aside with his hand the edge of drapery that blocks the view of it. Gockheller has adjusted the motif to the composition of a couple of babies flanking an elaborate heraldic cartouche surmounting the tomb of Ernest Bogusław de Croÿ und Arschott, the last Duke of West Pomerania, a work of 1681-1682, in the Lutheran castle church in Slupsk/Stolpen.48 The archetype of the motif was François Duquesnoy’s superb epitaph to Ferdinand van der Eyden in Santa Maria del’Anima in Rome49 that none other than Verhulst popularised in Holland in sculpture.50

The Gockhellers’ marked formal and stylistic dependence on Rombout Verhulst’s oeuvre also embraces ornamental decoration in the wide sense of the term, primarily the motif of antique-styled panoply suspended on a ribbon-clasped shawl. It often comes together with contemporary firearms and other elements of soldier or mariner’s kit, in the 17th century featuring in monuments to admirals in Holland among the basic elements of decoration and semantic programme.51 In his epitaph to the brothers Cölmer discussed above, Gockheller has travestied this and other panoply composition schemes, adjusting his choice of the individual components to the message that the monument was to convey. On the side that the epitaph’s iconography allots to Gabriel, we have updated


49 Boudon-Machuel, pp. 141-143, 148-150, 247-248, cat. no. CE.39, figs 142, 144 a-b.

50 Cf., e.g., monuments and epitaphs to Vice-Admiral Isaack Sverius (d. 1674) in Amsterdam by Verhulst, Nicolaàa Hooft (d. 1677) in the Lutheran church in Oudshoorn (non-surviving, executed by Bartholomeus Eggers); Johannes and Cornelis Evertsen in the Nieuwe Kerk in Middelburg (1680-1682), Admiral Michiel van Ruyter (1677-1681) in the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam (both Rombout Verhulst), and also Knut Kurck and Barbora Natt by Nicolaes Millich in Näshulta, Sweden (originally in Stora Mellösa) post-dating 1680. For the said monuments, see: B. Waldén, Nicolaes Millich och Hans Krets. Studier i den karolinska barockens bildhuggarkonst, Stockholm, Saxon & Lindström, 1942, pp. 127-130, figs XXIII, XXXI; K. Fremantle, The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam, Utrecht, Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1959 (“Utrechtsche Kunsthistorische Studiën”, IV), p. 148, figs 167, 171; Scholten, Sumptuous Memories, pp. 30-31, 45, 175, figs 20, 37, 192.

51 Cf. monuments to Admiral Marteen Harpertsz. Tromp in the Oude Kerk in Delft (1654-1658, R. Verhulst and W. de Keyser), Admiral Witte de With in the Grote Kerk in Rotterdam (1668, Pieter Rijx), Admiral Willem Joseph, Baron van Gendt in Utrecht Cathedral (after 1672, R. Verhulst) and Adriaen Clant van Stedum (1674, R. Verhulst). See Neurdenburg, De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst, pp. 203, 205, 219, figs 162, 179, 180; Scholten, Sumptuous Memories, pp. 65, 175, 203, figs 156, 159, 182, 189.
detail of cuirass along with military drums and kettledrums among others, while Clemens’s innovative panoply consists of meticulously sculptured attributes of a scholar, humanist and art lover. Some attributes, clusters of musical instruments and parchment/paper scrolls, the sculptor has picked up straight from the decoration of the panel beneath the Apollo statue in the southern gallery of the Amsterdam Town Hall. The other attributes, books, tufts of geese feathers and an antique theatre mask, have their archetypes in printmaking, specifically the engraved designs authored by van Campen and Quellinus that were carried into effect in 1653 in the sculptural decoration of the south gallery by Verhulst collaborating with the latter artist. The owl, in turn, a symbol of Athene and wisdom, here shown perching on the book, is in formal respects a clear reference to an almost identical figure at the goddess’s feet in the Pallas Athene fountain, the work of Artus I Quellinus of 1660. The municipal council of the city of Amsterdam donated it to Prince Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen who had it installed in his garden at Kleef/Kleve. The motif was subsequently taken over by Bartholomeus Eggers who repeated it at least twice in the 1660s in his Protestant epitaphs commissioned by Purmerend and Schleswig families.

At an early stage of his work, Andreas Schlüter the Younger, son of the well-known Gdańsk carver of wood ornament of the same Christian name likewise relied on Flemish patterns though of predominantly Roman origin. Until now the origin of the artist’s oeuvre has been generally accepted to be French. Recently, however, Kevin E. Kandt followed by Guido Hinterkreuser and the undersigned have pointed out Schlüter’s marked dependence on François Duquesnoy and Bartholomeus

---

52 Gabriels, pp. 109-110; Fremantle, figs 47, 50, 51.
53 Gabriels, pp. 39-40, pl. 32. For the architect’s collaboration with both sculptors, see Goossens, De rol, pp. 212-221.
55 Barockplastik in Norddeutschland, p. 348, cat. no. 87, fig. p. 347; De fonteiln van Pallas, p. 27, fig. 16; Scholten, Sumptuous Memories, pp. 30-31, fig. 19.
Eggers. In his set of wood-carved stucco altars in the Bernardine church at Czerniaków (now part of Warsaw) of ca. 1690-1693, practically all of the most important elements of his angel and child figures are taken over from the Duquesnoy *putti fiamminghi*. This goes for the shape and inclination of the heads, through the unique physiognomic type of a child in reverie whose thoughts seem to be far away, to the disposition of the hands and legs, and palm gestures that are at first sight imperceptible. At this point it is worthwhile to cite another eloquent example of reception of a concrete Roman motif of Duquesnoy’s invention discussed above, namely that of putti drawing aside the drapery. In the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, Schlüter used it twice in the decoration of the sarcophagi in the monuments to Stanisław Daniłowicz and Jakub Sobieski in the collegiate church at Żółkiew commissioned by the King John (Jan) III Sobieski and executed in Gdańsk in 1692-1693. It may be assumed even at this stage of research that during his art education, probably at in the late 1670s/early 1680s, Andreas Schlüter II must have had access to a number of models or drawings of Duquesnoy’s sculptures.

The monographers of Andreas Schlüter II have until now accepted him with no reservation as the maker of the sculptural decoration detail carved in the Gottland *Burgsvik* sandstone for the ornamental façade of the Royal Chapel in Gdańsk (1680-1681). The lush, realistically rendered forms of ornament: a set of Ionic capitals with representations of heraldic and royal eagles (fig. 9), fruit-and-flower festoons suspended on bands,
ribbon-tied oak-and-poppy garlands, all of the current set of architectural ornaments most fashionable in Holland, were by no means products of the designer’s or maker’s imagination. They descend straight from the almost identical Quellinus ornament in the representational interiors of the Amsterdam Town Hall. In 1665, some made their appearance in the form of plates in the first volume of Hubertus Quellinus’ work, of which above (fig. 10). It should be pointed out, however, that since some of the festoons and garlands featuring on the Gdańsk façade are missing from the said book of plates, their maker must have acquainted himself with them in direct contact during his visit, or a longer journey of study, to Holland. Yet the sculptural detail in the Royal Chapel, either ornamental or figural, bears no traits characteristic of Andreas Schlüter II’s classicising style.

Kandt’s communication may serve as a hint to future attempts at establishing the authorship of the Royal Chapel façade decoration. Johann Rohde also known as Rohden, German sculptor versed in Italian art, who had worked for John III Sobieski and Crown Treasurer Jan Andrzej

---

63 Gabriels, fig. 35; Fremantle, pp. 42, 45, 157, figs 40, 48, 49, 61, 62, 67, 68, 139; Waldén, p. 153, fig. 77.
64 Cf. identical garland festoons flanking the panel with the Jupiter and Neptune on a Dolphin bass-reliefs in the south gallery, see Fremantle, fig. 61; Goossens, De rol, p. 216, fig. 217c.
Morsztyn, was apparently engaged to provide designs for the decoration.\textsuperscript{65} Another fact for consideration arises from comparison. The leafy masks on the voluted profiles of the Royal Chapel’s central dome tambour, featuring a prominent shell in place of the lower jaw, are almost identical with the alabaster mascarons decorating the door of the chapel to Our Lady of Częstochowa in the archcathedral church ambit in Gniezno.\textsuperscript{66} The latter were carved in stone in 1690-1691 by Hans Åschman also known as Alschmann, a stone-carver of Hamburg origin active in Gdańsk, the then Elder of the Guild of builders, stone-carvers and sculptors.\textsuperscript{67}

As another important example of reception by Schlüter himself of ornamental elements picked up from the work of baroque Flemish sculptors, there is the as yet unpublished wood-carved detail (ca. 1690-1693) in the side gates of the High Altar-\textit{confessio} of St Boniface in the Bernardine Church at Czerniaków. In his design drawing discussed by Stanisław Mossakowski and Mariusz Karpowicz, Tilman van Gameren the outstanding Dutch architect of Utrecht active in Poland gives no more than a general, sketchy layout of similarly arranged decoration.

\textsuperscript{67} Kandt, \textit{Andreas Schlüter and his Circle}, p. 135; id., \textit{Sarmatia}, p. 368, n. 119.
here.\textsuperscript{68} It is the sculptor who takes the credit for the detail presented. In creating it, he drew his inspiration from the unique voluted cartouche with a characteristic fish-scale covering in the elaborate epitaph to Vice-admiral Isaac Sweers (Sverius) in Amsterdam’s Oude Kerk, carved by Rombout Verhulst in 1674.\textsuperscript{69} On the other hand, the rope garlands with pilgrim shells and liturgical vessels strung on them are simplified travesties of the much more complex ‘clergy’ panoplies, extremely rare in Flemish sculpture in the second half of the 17th century. Their occurrence is recorded primarily in the circle of artists active in Antwerp and the episcopal city of Malines.\textsuperscript{70}

The last of the group of outstanding imitators of Flemish sculpture active in the northern areas of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, Johannes Söffrens, a Netherlander from Ventspils in the Duchy of Courland, was recorded as a Master in Elbląg/Elbing between 1690 and 1722.\textsuperscript{71} On completing his education and \textit{Wanderjahre} in the Spanish


\textsuperscript{69} Scholten, \textit{Sumptuous Memories}, p. 21, fig. p. 8.

\textsuperscript{70} Cf. such panoplies, e.g. in the lateral altar of Salvator’s church at Meerle (maker unknown, 1651), the high altar of the parish church at Lebbeke (designer and maker unknown, 1660s) and the lateral altarpiece of the Holy Cross in the collegiate church at Diest (ca. 1702-1703). For the said items, see M. Pieters, \textit{Peeter Scheemackers (1652-1714), Antwerps beeldhouwer. Studie van de altaren (1684-1714)}, Leuven, 1983, pp. 132-133, 136, figs 63-65; Philippot, Coekelberghs, Loze, Vautier, pp. 309-310, fig. 1 p. 310. Artus Quellinus I employed a motif like this in the decoration for the representational interiors of the Amsterdam Town Hall, in which he substituted the attributes of Venus, Diana et al. for the liturgical paraments. See: Gabriels, pp. 177-178, fig. 37; Fremantle, pp. 72-73, figs 59, 60.

Netherlands and Holland, and settling in the city on the river Nogat as early as about 1693, he secured his first, very prestige commission. For the cathedral churches at Chełmża/Culmsee and Frombork/Frauenburg he was to provide lateral altars in marble and monuments to bishops and canons. In his typical, conservative manner, the artist’s overall homogeneous oeuvre refers to the classicising, restrained trend prevailing in Flemish sculpture half a century earlier. His excellent St Florian figure in the wood-carved altar to St Roch of 1705 in Warsaw’s Holy Cross parish church of the Priests of the Mission is a faithful repetition of another important element of the decoration in the Amsterdam Town Hall’s south gallery. The figure refers to the Mars relief of Artus I Quellinus’ invention carved by Rombout Verhulst (1653) in pose (except the somewhat altered disposition of the hands because of different attributes), physique, physiognomic type, and also detail of the antique-styled attire and kit in mirror reflection (hence via graphic art). The same formal dependence may be observed in the neighbouring figure of an unidentified female martyr saint, probably St Rosalie of the same altar, which is a compilation of the pair of figures of Iustitia and Temperantia in the Town Hall’s west pediment (1655). In the lateral altar of SS Simon and Jude Thaddeus in Frombork’s Catholic Cathedral Chapter, another example of Söffrens’s markedly traditional stylistic preferences is the alabaster figure of the latter patron saint decorating the marble altarpiece of 1697. The artist


73 K. Wardzińska, Altars of Saints Roch and Sebastian and St. Michael the Archangel 1705, Johannes Söffrens’ Workshop (attributed), in: Heart of the City, p. 205, figs 1, 5, 6, 11, 12.

74 Gabriels, pp. 109, 110, 112, 118, 120, 146-147, charts XIV, XXVIII, XXIX, fig. 23; Goossens, De rol, pp. 215-216, 219-220, figs 217e, 223.

was to repeat the characteristic pose several times in his work.\textsuperscript{76} The composition of the Frombork statue is a remarkably successful compilation of that of Duquesnouy’s most famous Roman statue, the St Susanna in Santa Maria di Loreto (1627-1633)\textsuperscript{77} and the St Peter on a pillar of SS Michael and Gudula’s Cathedral in Brussels by Cornelis van Mildert of Antwerp.\textsuperscript{78} The transposition of the martyr saint’s hands, shown in Söffrens’s work as a mirror image of the pattern, indicates yet again that he relied on one of the numerous engraved representations.

In analysis of Söffrens’s oeuvre, special attention is due to his portrait pieces, two alabaster medallions in low relief from monuments in Chelmża Cathedral, one of Bishop Kazimierz Szczuka (d. 1694; work executed in 1696), the other of canon Jan Nyczkowski (d. 1708; work executed in his lifetime).\textsuperscript{79} Especially the latter is a literal repetition of the composition and certain details of the marble tondo commemorating Ambrosius A. Capello the Bishop of Antwerp. It was carved for Antwerp Cathedral in 1676 presumably by Hendrick Frans Verbrugghen of the well-known local family of sculptors.\textsuperscript{80} The Szczuka tondo, a bust based probably on the bishop’s unknown representational portrait refers generally to a small en-trois-quarts medallion portrait type that Rombout Verhulst, Jan Bloemendael and Johannes Hanart/Hannaert used in The Hague and Holland’s most important epitaph series of the last third of the 17th century.\textsuperscript{81}

Söffrens also employed in an individual manner the unique type of ornamental aurical termination of the monument/epitaph, one with

\textsuperscript{76} Wardzyńska, \textit{Johannes Söffrens}.

\textsuperscript{77} Boudon-Machuel, pp. 120, 124-129, 237-238, cat. no. Œ.34, figs 118, 125 a-f, 139.


\textsuperscript{81} Cf. portrait in the epitaphs to Theodorus Graswinckel (1669), Admiral Johann van Brakel (d. 1690) and Johannes Schelhamer (1699) in the Hague’s Groote Kerk and Lutheran church, and to the Thibault family in Aagtekerke (1669). See Neurdenburg, \textit{De zeventiende eeuwse beeldhouwkunst}, pp. 227, 237-238, figs 184, 189; Scholten, \textit{Sumptuous Memories}, pp. 41, 42, figs 32, 33.
a remarkably rich vanitas and eschatological message. Amidst lush acanthus shoots, it features laurel leaves, cut ears of corn, hourglasses, sickles and pickaxes strung on bands (fig. 11). In all these, the artist

82 Cf. aurical terminations in the epitaphs to Bishop Jan Kazimierz Opaliński (d. 1693, executed 1696) and canon Jan Nyczkowski (d. 1708) in Chelmża (Culmsee) Cathedral, and canon Andrzej Józef Zagórny (d. 1690, executed ca. 1694-1696) in Frombork (Frauenburg) Cathedral, and decoration in the bottom closure of the non-surviving wooden epitaph to the Royal physician and Mayor of Malbork (Marienburg) Andreas Cnoeffelius (d. 1699) in St George’s local church. For the said monuments, see B. Schmid, Marienburg in schönen Bildern. Schloß und Stadt, Danzig, Kafemann, 1942, fig. 28; Obląk 1981, p. 27; Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce. Seria Nowa, vol. II, part 1, pp. 81-82, fig. 445.
Michał Wardzyński

has relied for inspiration on plates discussed earlier in this text, ones representing ornamental festoons with the Saturn attributes of Artus I Quellinus’ invention in the Amsterdam Town Hall (1652-1653) (fig. 12).\(^{83}\) Here they are enriched with skulls in profile as a substitute for the death masks present in the original.\(^{84}\)

Summary

The elitist status of courtly art enjoyed in the second half of the 17th century by small auxiliary architecture and baroque sculpture of Flemish and Dutch provenance in all of the southern Baltic countries discussed in this paper was extending gradually to embrace the aristocracy and urban patricians. Outside Denmark, Mecklenburg, and Brandenburg-Prussia, the architects and sculptors representing this particular Flemish-styled trend in Central European art had succeeded in overcoming the earlier Italian primacy in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. To evidence this, there are successful career examples of artists at the Court of John III Sobieski: the Dutchman Tilman van Gameren, the Gdańsk artists Stefan Szwaner and Andreas Schlüter the Younger, and also the Netherlander Johannes Söffrens who was connected with the French Congregation of the Mission. With the exception of stucco decoration, they were dominant in the artistic image of Warsaw’s architecture, stone- and woodcarving in the fourth quarter of the 17th century.\(^{85}\) In a thus broadly outlined geographic, cultural and artistic context, John III Sobieski’s purchase in Amsterdam in the 1680s of excellent imports from the leading Antwerp Quellinus studio of Artus II and Thomas seems natural and purposeful.\(^{86}\)

\(^{83}\) Gabriels, pp. 174, 178, fig. 32.

\(^{84}\) Only two examples of a very similar elaboration of a skull motif like this have been found in Flemish art in the area of the Spanish Netherlands. One features in the epitaph to Cornelius Pierin (d. 1668) in Ghent Cathedral. The other is one of the several dozen elements of the bass reliefs sculpted in the Carrara marmo statuario as decoration of the former choir screen constructed in 1670-1674 in Mechelen Cathedral by the local sculptor Jan van den Steen (1633-1725). See *La sculpture au siècle de Rubens*, pp. 212-214, cat. nos 175, 176; Philippot, Coekelberghs, Loze, Vautier, pp. 333-334, 405, 937-938, fig. 1 p. 334; fig. 2 p. 404.

\(^{85}\) Wardzyńska, Wardzyński, pp. 566-567.

Consequently, the one joint Flemish trend in the sculpture of Denmark, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg-Prussia, Gdańsk and Warsaw in the last third of the 17th century may be viewed as a manifestation of a much broader phenomenon. Surfacing in England, the German Reich’s northern lands and all other Baltic countries and state capitals, including Sweden and Stockholm, Russia and St PETERSburg, it propagated in the same direction and along the same routes as in the second half of the 16th century.87

Generally, the Flemish artists under discussion and local ones drawing their inspiration from the oeuvre of masters from Flanders and Holland may be divided into two groups. The two Dieussarts, Eggers, Hans Gaspar Gockheller and Schlüter, and to some degree also Söffrens are representatives of the classicising trend, at times taking on more severe forms, which developed in Flanders in the 1630s and 1640s. They had drawn profusely on the tradition of Roman antiquity and the rich oeuvre of François Duquesnoy, the first of the Fiamminghi a Roma. It should be underlined, however, that the unflagging popularity of the master’s patterns was connected with the high degree of accessibility of plates, bozzetti, sculptural models and copies in the Netherlands and also major German, Danish and Swedish studios and collections. On the other hand all of the Quellinuses, Verhulst and the Gdańsk artists following their pattern, Hans Michael Gockheller and Hans Gaspar Aelschmann, represent an emotive, sensual trend in Antwerp and Dutch sculpture characterised by dynamic architectural compositions with figures full

---


of decorative expression and rich ornamental decoration. It should be underlined, however, that the work of Artus I Quellinus and Verhulst for the Town Hall in Amsterdam, which was popularised through plates, was the one most popular in Gdańsk and throughout the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. It is also worth underlining that the four Gdańsk artists discussed here may be regarded as the foremost sculptors in alabaster (a West European importation), stone (sandstone) and wood in the whole of the Polish Commonwealth in the second half of the 17th century and early in the 18th. It is small wonder, therefore, that in the baroque sculpture of the second half of the 17th century, in all of the countries discussed, works by Flemish and Dutch artists were the most remarkable accomplishments of the joint Flemish trend dealt with in this paper. Equally sublime artistically as baroque italianism, it is undoubtedly on equal rights with it.

Translated by Joanna Holzman
In travel accounts by Poles journeying to the South Netherlands, we frequently find descriptions of cities, buildings, works of art seen, as well as information on contacts with local artists. The notable case of the travelling Prince Ladislaus Vasa is worth mentioning; by all accounts, he visited ateliers of Peter Paul Rubens and Peter Brueghel the Younger, as well as the gallery owned by Cornelis van der Geest – as commemorated in the 1628 painting by Willem van Haecht. No accounts known to date, however, contain any reference to the works by Maarten de Vos, one of the lead artists operating in Antwerp before Rubens, although guests to the city upon Scheldt had to see some of his work, if only when visiting the cathedral. Stefan Pac noted that Prince Ladislaus “was fascinated with some altars, worth viewing because of the extraordinariness of manner in which they were painted”.

---


2 Podróż królewicza, p. 181; Chrościecki, pp. 135-137.

3 Such as, e.g., the Marriage at Cana painted during the years 1596-1597, intended for the Vintners’ Guild chapel.

4 Podróż królewicza, pp. 180-181. The cathedral was also viewed by Jesuit architect Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski (see Chrościecki, p. 136, n. 27).
In the late 1590s, Maarten de Vos’s Antwerp atelier recognised as an artistic centre of considerable influence was receiving a great many orders; even in the early 17th century, when the city began adopting solutions new and different to those used by master de Vos, his style continued to have followers, though by then mostly among non-Antwerp artists, such as Jan Snellinck (ca. 1549-1638) born in Mechelen, or Hendrick de Clerck (prior to 1570?-1630), who worked in Brussels.\(^5\)

Nonetheless, it was not Maarten de Vos’s painting but rather his work as draughtsman and designer of engravings\(^6\) that made such an impact on European art, Polish art included, especially in terms of composition. Today, we can identify more than 500 drawings by de Vos,\(^7\) which served as a basis for engravings produced and published by renowned printmakers and publishers, such as Hendrick Goltzius, Pieter de Jode, the Collaerts (Adriaen, Jan II), the Sadeler (Aegidius I, Johannes I, Rafael), and the Wierixes, or — in the 1590s — Crispijn de Passe the Elder active in Germany at the time. Art historians have identified over the years nearly 1,600 allegorical and religious engravings (single plates and sets) based on de Vos’s invention.\(^8\)

The tremendous number of prints available on the market and based on de Vos’s compositions, first published and re-published alike, was reflected in a great number of works created under their influence.\(^9\) Their accessibility was enhanced by the fact that some of de Vos’s designs had been

---


\(^{8}\) Schuckman, p. 711. The most detailed and complete survey of prints produced after drawings and paintings by Maarten de Vos has been published in: *Hollstein’s Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*, [hereinafter referred to as: HD], *Maarten de Vos*, vol. XLIV, Text, vols XLV-XLVI, Plates, part I-II, comp. by Ch. Schuckman, ed. by D. De Hoop Scheffer, Rotterdam, Sound & Vision Interactive / Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1995-1996.

\(^{9}\) The notable influence of prints based on compositions by de Vos on Polish art was first presented by Maria Macharska who also announced the publication of a monograph on the subject; regrettably, the work never appeared (see ead., *Ze studiów nad rolą grafiki w polskim malarstwie okresu manieryzmu i wczesnego baroku (obrazy w kościołach Wielkopolski oraz w kolegiacie łowickiej)*, „Foliae Historiae Artium”, XI (1975), p. 142, n. 9). Maria Kalamańska-Saeed has also emphasised the phenomenon
used to illustrate missals and editions of the Holy Bible. Compositions by de Vos reproduced in the *Thesaurus veteris et novi testamenti* – a Bible published in 1585 by Gerard de Jode – were released throughout the 17th century – (with prints made from old plates as well as with new versions of de Vos’s compositions re-worked by other artists), by Claes Janszoon Visscher who made them part of the 1639 *Theatrum Biblicum*. Further editions were released in 1643 and 1650, and a subsequent edition published by Visscher’s son Claes Claeszoon in the year 1674. All re-editions of engravings based on works by Maarten de Vos expanded the market availability of his patterns, and thus reinforced their influence. Maarten de Vos designed the frontispieces and eight out of 153 illustrations for Hieronimus Natalis’s *Evangeliacae historiae imagines*, a work widely disseminated by the Jesuits during their evangelical missions. With them, the volume (and de Vos’s designs) reached “the far ends of the world”, extending the influence of the artist from Antwerp. His work inspired artists hugely diversified in terms of professional background, experience, and skill. This can be clearly proven by comparing three


renditions of a de Vos’s composition, *The Nativity of Christ*. One is a relief from a 1604-1606 Holy Trinity altarpiece (former main altar) of the cathedral in Oliwa, the second is a watercolour on paper (Victoria & Albert Museum in London) created by a Mughal artist possibly in India or Pakistan ca. 1605-1610, and finally a woodcut by an anonymous Ming Dynasty artist to *Song Nianzhu Guicheng* (Method of Reciting the Rosary) by Jesuit João da Rocha (1565-1623), in all likelihood published in Nanjing (China) ca. 1619-1623.

Engravings formed part of art collections, and were hung on walls alongside paintings; they were stored at artists’ studios and craftsmen’s workshops to be used as models. Occasionally, they were re-used, inserted in later works, as proven by the two volumes of *Antiphonarium de tempore et de sanctis* (1622, 1624) written and illuminated by Sister Dorota Łążyńska of the Holy Spirit Benedictine convent in Toruń, and preserved at the Benedictine convent in Żarnowiec. Sister Dorota pasted fourteen engraved plates (which she personally decorated with ornamental borders) into the *Antiphonarium*, including at least two based on de Vos’s compositions – *Annunciation*, engraved by Theodor Galle, and

---

15 Sulewska, *Dłutem*, p. 146 (on this altarpiece see ibid., p. 231, cat. no. 77, fig. 71).
16 See [http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O96528/painting-the-nativity-of-christ/](http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O96528/painting-the-nativity-of-christ/) (access 02.11.2011).
17 See [http://colonialart.org/archive/1132a-1132b](http://colonialart.org/archive/1132a-1132b) (access 02.11.2011); [http://ia600409.us.archive.org/12/items/songnianzhuguichoofer/songnianzhuguichoofer.pdf](http://ia600409.us.archive.org/12/items/songnianzhuguichoofer/songnianzhuguichoofer.pdf) [p. 28], (access 02.11.2011); [China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century, ed. by M. Reed, P. Demattè, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2011, pp. 32, 33, 168-169].
19 See [http://colonialart.org/archive/1132a-1132b](http://colonialart.org/archive/1132a-1132b) (access 02.11.2011); [http://ia600409.us.archive.org/12/items/songnianzhuguichoofer/songnianzhuguichoofer.pdf](http://ia600409.us.archive.org/12/items/songnianzhuguichoofer/songnianzhuguichoofer.pdf) [p. 28], (access 02.11.2011); *China on Paper: European and Chinese Works from the Late Sixteenth to the Early Nineteenth Century, ed. by M. Reed, P. Demattè, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 2011, pp. 32, 33, 168-169].
20 Ibid., p. 93, fig. 168.
Virgin adored by Genuflecting Angels Playing Musical Instruments by Johannes I Sadeler.\textsuperscript{21}

An assessment of works based on compositions by Maarten de Vos\textsuperscript{22} preserved in Poland, leads to a conclusion that the earliest extant examples were produced in the final twenty years of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century, and the most recent ones – in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century,\textsuperscript{23} once we exclude the continuously produced contemporary copies of devotional paintings modelled on the Antwerp artist’s work.\textsuperscript{24} A painting depicting the Holy Virgin with Child, St. Anne, St. Joseph, and St. Joachim, dated 1842, was placed on the processional image of the second half of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century in the parish church at Łążyn near Bierzgliwo.\textsuperscript{25} The Holy Virgin with Child and St. Anne group in this painting was based on a 1584 engraving by Johannes Sadeler I after de Vos; known from a number of copies.\textsuperscript{26} De Vos’s patterns enjoyed their greatest popularity in the first half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century; they were used more rarely later on, which was caused by their gradual displacement by pattern developed in the Rubens circle. Nonetheless, throughout the 17\textsuperscript{th} and 18\textsuperscript{th} centuries, compositions by de Vos were replicated by an eager community of assorted professionals (painters, wood-carvers, goldsmiths), who found de Vos’s patterns either exceedingly attractive or simply accessible.

The earliest known Polish works of art reproducing de Vos’s compositions date back to the 1580s. The Trinity Surrounded by Angels with the Instruments of Passion (fig. 1), from the Diocesan Museum in Płock was painted in 1583, as confirmed by the accompanying inscription. The author of the work, master HS, based his composition on a 1574 plate by Philip Galle (copied one year later by Petrus Valck), following a 1573 de Vos’s drawing (one of the earliest to be reproduced in engraved form) preserved at the Albertina.\textsuperscript{27} Another 1580s use of a plate based on a de Vos’s composition includes the anonymous painted Epitaph of

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} Cf. ibid., fig. 166 and HD, \textit{Maarten de Vos}, vol. XLIV, p. 163, cat. no. 726, vol. XLV, fig. 726/I.
\item \textsuperscript{22} See Appendix.
\item \textsuperscript{23} The long term use of de Vos’s patterns was highlighted by M. Macharska (ead., \textit{Ze studiów}, p. 142, n. 9).
\item \textsuperscript{24} See n. 43.
\item \textsuperscript{26} HD, \textit{Maarten de Vos}, vol. XLIV, p. 154, cat. no. 691, vol. XLV, fig. 691.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Ibid., vol. XLIV, p. 151, cat. no. 680, vol. XLV, fig. 680. In 1573, another drawing was created: \textit{Pax et Justitia} (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er), later replicated in a plate by Johannes Wierix – Schuckman, p. 711.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Abbot Kaspar Geschkau (died 1584) mounted in the cathedral (formerly Cistercian) church in Oliwa.\textsuperscript{28} The Last Judgement, the main scene of this 1587 monument, was based on two prints. The main composition imitates the \textit{Inde venturis est iudicare vivos et mortuos} plate from The Apostles Creed set created in the years 1578-1579 by Johannes I Sadeler (1578-1579) on the basis of a de Vos’s drawing.\textsuperscript{29} It was expanded by the artist, who added a depiction of genuflecting abbot, and a figure of a man emerging from a grave (the latter scene copied from a 1564 plate by Maarten van Heemskerk).\textsuperscript{30} Both paintings – the one in Płock and the one in Oliwa – were created approximately ten years after the engraved plates inspired by de Vos had been produced. The pattern used by master HS in the Płock painting was also later repeated by the author of the

\textsuperscript{28} On this epitaph see Sulewska, \textit{Dlutem}, p. 235, cat. no. 85 (here further literature), fig. 19.
\textsuperscript{29} See HD, \textit{Maarten de Vos}, vol. XLIV, p. 190, cat. no. (877), vol. XLVI, fig. 877.
central panel of a no longer extant 1592 triptych originally in the Holy Trinity church in Tuchorza,\(^{31}\) and by a painter and wood-carver from Poznań – Mateusz Kossior (died 1598), who in 1596 painted a triptych intended for the church in Klęcko.\(^{32}\) Kossior’s works carry a distinct resemblance to de Vos’s patterns, as evinced by The Holy Trinity preserved at the National Museum in Cracow, as well as in the Adoration of the Shepherds and the Adoration of the Magi.\(^{33}\) Jan Szolc-Wolfowicz, painter and wood-carver from Lviv, when painting his 1594 Adoration of the Holy Trinity (funded in all likelihood by Anna Pstrokońska for the Lviv cathedral and currently preserved at the Museum of the Bernardine Province in Leżajsk), based the entire upper part of the composition on the Gloria plate by Johannes I Sadeler, from the Virtues of Christ set of 1585-1588.\(^{34}\) A series of these works from the 1580s and 1590s serves to confirm that plates based on de Vos’s compositions reached numerous artistic centres of the Polish Republic at the same time. The long-term influence of certain patterns can be inferred from a number of works, following the engravings by Philip Galle or Petrus Valck (1574, 1575), such as those depicting the Holy Trinity\(^{35}\) or the copperplate by


\(^{32}\) The same pattern was used in the creation of the Holy Trinity sculpture (probably 1673) forming part of the main altarpiece of the church in Płowęż, originally located in the Bernardine church in Lubawa. Similarly to the Tuchorza artefact, the composition was limited to the central figures – nonetheless, the group is surrounded by several angelic heads, and Christ is carrying a sceptre (see KZSwP, vol. XI: Województwo bydgoskie, ed. by T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, 2: Powiat brodnicki, ed. by T. Chrzanowski, T. Żurkowska, Warszawa, IS PAN, 1971, p. 49, fig. 142).

\(^{33}\) M. Macharska, Ze studiów, pp. 141-142, figs 1-4. Notably, the pattern mentioned by Maria Macharska apart, the Adoration of the Shepherds was also based on another engraving: The Adoration of the Shepherds by Antonius Wierix from the set of prints The Birth and Passion of Christ (ca. 1585). Kossior used it as a source of the genuflecting shepherd, who replaced an angel in adoration of the Baby Jesus. See HD, Maarten de Vos, vol. XLIV, p. 100, cat. no. (437), vol. XLV, fig. 437 /I.


\(^{35}\) See n. 27.
Johannes I Sadeler, *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne’s* of 1584. The latter inspired a number of painted compositions – or their parts, such as those found in Starygród, Chełmża, Łążyn, and Złotowo, as well as a sculpture dated around 1770 and preserved at the parish church in Dąbrówka near Tuchola.

In rare cases of extraordinary popularity, additional circumstances stimulated replication of specific de Vos’s patterns. This is exactly what happened in the case of engraved plates which inspired celebrated cult images. At least two such patterns can be identified in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: Our Lady of the Gate of Dawn (Matka Boska Ostrobramska), and Our Lady of Chełmno. The former, in all likelihood painted ca. 1620-1630 (as determined by Maria Kalamatyska-Saeed), was based on a de Vos’s composition present in a number of prints, i.a. by Hieronymus Wierix, Thomas de Leu, and Julius Goltzius. The origins of veneration of this image are difficult to determine; but they probably date back to the 1660s, and the cult was amplified in the second decade of the 18th century. The image of Our Lady of Chełmno was the focus of worship initially reserved for the early 15th-century wooden polychromatic *Pieta* kept in the Grudziądzka Tower (also referred to as the Grubińska Tower) in Chełmno. The cult, which had faded slightly during Reformation, was revived following the 1649 substitution of a new image (painted instead of a sculpted one) to the Niemojewski family chapel at the Chełmno parish church of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin.

---

36 See n. 26.
37 M. Macharska, *Ze studiów*, pp. 148-151. The author also lists other paintings based on the aforementioned de Vos’s composition: works in Cracow (St. Mark’s church), Bodzentyn, Pulawy, and Ryczów. Not all are equal in their dependence on the original source; occasionally, the relation may be identified in detail only (ibid., pp. 148, 151, n. 39).
38 In painting in Chełmża, only St Anne bears closest resemblance with the original engraving – see KZSwP, vol. XI, p. 15, fig. 101.
39 See n. 25.
42 On the cult of the *Our Lady of the Gate of Dawn* painting and on other works based thereupon see Kalamatyska-Saeed, *Ostra Brama*, pp. 134-250.
43 K. Zielińska-Melkowska, *Średniowieczne miejsca pielgrzymkowe w ziemiach chełmińskiej, lubawskiej i michałowskiej*, in: Peregrinationes: pielgrzymki w kulturze
The image of Our Lady of Chełmno imitates Maarten de Vos’s composition – engraved by Hieronymus Wierix in 1585. Copies and replicas of both paintings – *Our Lady of the Gate of Dawn* present throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and particularly numerous in the Great Duchy of Lithuania, where the cult had been exceptionally strong, and *Our Lady of Chełmno* in the town itself, and throughout Kujawy region, in the former Dobrzyń and Chełmno provinces (fig. 2), and in the province of Mazovia – served to popularise compositions by the Antwerp painter, even though most viewers were probably not aware of their original source.

---


45 See n. 42.


47 Compiled by M. Pielas, pp. 176-178.
Polish works of art identified as inspired by de Vos well represent diverse ways of adaptation and replication of visual patterns described by researchers,48 and range from the exact copies to the occasional use of selected motifs. There are relatively few exact replicas of de Vos’s patterns with all details included. One such example would be The Descent from the Cross (fig. 3), a painting preserved at St. George’s church in Kętrzyn. Much more frequently, the compositions by de Vos were used with modifications, simplifications, or omissions of selected figures or motifs, such as The Crowning with Thorns from the altarpiece of Our Lady

Fig. 4. The Crowning with Thorns, circa mid 17th century, Kobylin, St Stanislaus Church, photo Renata Sulewska.

of the Rosary (mid-17th century) at the St Stanislaus church in Kobylin.49 Further examples include compositions with some motifs added (the Virgin with Child relief placed in the abbot’s stall (1622) at the cathedral in Pelplin); while others omitted some elements of the composition while adding new ones, such as the work forming part of the main altarpiece predella at the parish church in Złotów. The author of a small painting in Kobylin (fig. 4) based his work on a plate by Antonius II Wierix50 from de Vos’s Passion of Christ released around 1584.51 The layout was composed


50 See HD, Maarten de Vos, vol. XLIV, pp. 107-108, cat. no. (468), vol. XLV, fig. 468/I.

differently to that depicted in the print; soldiers watching the scene were removed, as was one of the torturers, with two figures remaining. The *Virgin with Child* (fig. 5) scene was based on Antonius Wierix’s 1587 plate of *The Virgin and Child on the Crescent* (*The Virgin of Antwerp*).

Fig. 5. *The Virgin and Child*, relief from the abbot’s stalls, 1622, Pelplin, The Cathedral Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, photo Renata Sulewska.

This time, the wood-carver repeated – as closely as permitted by a different material – wood – all of the details, while adding a stellate glory around Mary, and a dragon under her feet. The predella of the main altar at St. Barbara’s church in Złotów features the aforementioned painting of *The Vigin and Child with St. Anne* (1618), whose author used de Vos’s enthroned figures of Mary supporting Christ and Anne, while adding his own marginal composition: balustrades with flowers in vases against

---

a backdrop of drapery, and – on the left – a clergyman adoring the saints, possibly the founder of the altar. Another major change was in the figure of Jesus: he was naked on the original engraving, and is dressed in Złotów. Among works influenced by de Vos’s compositions we can also include compilations of selected motifs taken from diverse engravings, often depicting different subjects. One such example is The Way to Golgotha, a late 16th century painting preserved in the so-called Prelate’s House (Prałatówka) of the Blessed Virgin Mary’s Church in Cracow based on plates by Johannes I Sadeler. Christ bearing the cross and the soldiers leading him were painted after a print from The Passion of Christ set (1582-1583), whereas figures in the back- and foreground, as well as the staffage, were inspired by the Dilectio print from the 1588 Virtutes Jesu Christi set. The method of creating an entirely new composition based on visual quotes from a number of prints after de Vos’s designs is well illustrated by The Flagellation of Christ and The Taking of Christ reliefs (attributed to Andreas Götcken, 1635) originally sculpted for the Cistercian monastery in Oliwa, and moved to the church in Brzóza in the 19th century. Their compositions combined scenes from two different plate sets depicting the Passion of Christ: one already mentioned, executed chiefly by Antonius Wierix (ca. 1584), and another, by Hieronymus Wierix. In The Flagellation, the figure of Christ repeats the one shown by Antonius Wierix, with the torturers inspired by Hieronymus Wierix’s set. In The Taking of Christ (fig. 6), Peter and Malchus are depicted exactly as they were in the Antonius Wierix’s plate, whereas Christ and Judas followed Hieronymus’s rendition. All other figures, while inspired by the Hieronymus’s engraving, were interpreted by Götcken on a more
individual basis, as he made the episodes less dynamic. New compositions were also created by compiling motifs taken from prints based on de Vos’s works with elements from one or more engravings inspired by other masters. One instructive example is that of a painting (first quarter of the 17th century) preserved in the Church of St Mary and St Lawrence in Koźmin Wielkopolski (fig. 7). The lower part of the image, depicting a landscape and an open sarcophagus surrounded by apostles, was based on a de Vos’s composition of The Coronation of Mary engraved by Adriaen Collaert, whereas the figure of Mary against a golden background elevated by angels in the upper part of the work was inspired by The Assumption and Coronation of Mary (1574) print by Cornelis Cort, after Federico Zuccaro. Another example of an adaptation combining two

---

62 Some of the other reliefs in Brzóza also replicate de Vos’s patterns (see appendix), while others bear a distinct mark of other artists, such as the Annunciation based on a Hans van Aachen print.
63 Sulewska, Oddziaływanie.
patterns by two different masters, albeit in a slightly different manner, is that of a relief representing St. Luke, which forms part of the main altarpiece in the Pelplin cathedral. The arrangement of the figure stems from a combination of two different images of the Evangelist: one printed by Antonius Wierix, who inspired the sculptor in rendering the main parts of the effigy, and one by Johannes Wierix (after de Vos), as evident from the design of St. Luke’s left arm and (partly) legs.64

Various modifications and adaptations of de Vos’s compositions thus involved a simplification of individual motifs or an extraction of specific fragments, isolated elements, groups of figures, or objects from one or more prints inspired by de Vos, and their recombination and adaptation within a new context, occasionally also modified in terms of the subject matter, sometimes devised independently by the compiler, but often created using the graphic patterns by other artists. Changes to the original composition could stem from reasons as simple as a need to adjust it to another format, material, or intended content. Depending

---

64 Ead., Dlutom, pp. 143-144, figs 111-113.
on the extent of modification or the character of compilation of different patterns, the link to de Vos’s compositions becomes either more or less apparent. The individual characteristics evident in some works after de Vos’s compositions were determined by the manner in which the original designs had been adapted and/or interpreted: using a different colour scheme, or a form of styling draperies diverging from the one employed by the master from Antwerp, as in the case of stalls reliefs (ca. 1730) from the Dominican church in Gdańsk (fig. 8).65 In executing the six episodes the wood-carver used de Vos’s compositions selected from three print sets: the aforementioned Passion of Christ (ca. 1584) by the Wierixes, and two series of engravings by Johannes I Sadeler – The Childhood of Christ (1579-1582), as well as the Life of Christ series with renderings of St. Paul in the frontispiece plate (1582).66 In adapting them to his own

---


66 See Appendix.
work, not only did the author alter the format of the compositions by transforming the original rectangles into ovals, and reshaping certain details and modifying the clothing of figures depicted (albeit to a limited extent only), but he also made a major alteration in drapery folds arranging them in slight yet dense pleats, which heightened expressive qualities of the image.67

The great number of prints based on de Vos’s designs available on the market made them easily available to artists of diverse skill, education, professional experience, and artistic background. These prints were used by the local artists as well as by foreigners arriving in Poland, such as Jakub Merttens, trained in Antwerp in Huybrecht Brüggeman’s studio, who worked in Cracow. His Annunciation in the Cracow Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary’s Church, is largely a repetition of a 1588 print by Antonius Wierix (although the figure of Archangel Gabriel is somewhat different from de Vos’s design).68 Another artist operating in Cracow at the time, Italian Tommaso Dolabella, a student of Antonio Vasilacchi in Venice, and subsequently a royal painter setting the scene for new artistic solutions in Poland, also followed patterns by de Vos69 in his works. Ironically, the artist from Antwerp, having travelled to Rome, Florence, and Venice had himself adopted certain solutions of Italian masters.

In the case of multi-scene compositions, such as the stalls in Gdańsk, the episodes inspired by de Vos are accompanied by those based on designs by other masters.70 In the aforementioned altarpiece of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Kobylin church, compositions based on de Vos’s patterns71 are accompanied by scenes emulating prints created by Giulio Clovio, Peter Paul Rubens, Hans von Aachen, Crispijn de Passe, and Johannes I Sadeler.72 On the other hand, a late-17th century Assumption based on

---

67 Sulewska, Oddziaływanie.
70 In the Dominican stalls – e.g. by Johannes Stradanus, whose drawing, print-engraved by Johannes I Sadeler later inspired the Coronation of Mary – see Sulewska, Oddziaływanie.
71 See n. 50 and appendix.
72 For graphic inspirations pertaining to the images in this alterpiece, see: Sulewska, Oddziaływanie.
de Vos and painted on the presbytery vault of a post-Cistercian church in Łąd, is flanked by the following works: *The Resurrection* (signed WCM) – based on a Hans van Aachen composition; *The Judgement of Pilate and Flagellation of Christ* – inspired by a print made after a Gerard Sehers painting; *Jesus Falling Beneath the Cross* – a composition based on a print by Jan II Collaert; *The Crucifixion* – inspired by a Rubens composition; and *The Lamentation* – after a composition by Anton van Dyck.73 The author of works preserved in Łąd compiled compositions inspired by printed patterns that (in some instances) were nearly forty years apart in age. Among them, the de Vos’s composition engraved by Johannes I Sadeler in 1582 is one of the earliest. The Łąd vault assemblage itself proves that attractive figural compositions, such as those created by de Vos, became outdated much more slowly than the swiftly changing decorative forms. It is also clear that old inventions could work very well with the new.

Extant works inspired by de Vos ultimately prove that a huge number of prints – singles and sets – reached Polish territory. Some have been listed already, while others worth mentioning include a set engraved by Hendrik Goltzius74 depicting Christ, St. Paul, and disciples shown against scenes of their own martyrdom. The set was later used as a source of compositions depicting the saints’ deaths, e.g. in the presbytery of St. Peter and Paul church in Cracow,75 as well as patterns for figural compositions representing apostles themselves, such as those depicted on the canopy of the pulpit of the church in Susz. The 1593 *Vita, Passio et Resurrectio Jesu Christi* set of fifty-three prints, with works by Adriaen and Jan Baptist Collaert, Jean-Baptiste Barbé, Jacques de Bie, and Cornelis I Galle76 was also immensely popular. Further inspiration was sought in the *Monumenta Anachoretorum* set of five engravings, with its compositions repeated in works preserved at the following locations: sacristy of Basilica of Jasna Góra; stalls in post-Paulinian church, Pińczów (1660); door of the sacristy and stalls in St. Michael’s church, Sandomierz (end of the 17th century); stalls of the monastic choir, post-Camaldolese church, Rytwiany (first half

73 Sulewska, *Oddziaływanie*, patterns for those renderings listed in detail.
of the 18th century), benches and stalls of the post-Carmelite church in Cracow (1690s), and two at the Visitation nuns convent, Warsaw (1709). Painted compositions in the stalls of the Skalbmierz (1638?) parish church offer an interesting example of a series of works inspired nearly in their entirety by a single print set of prints. Stall backs have been adorned with depictions of Christ, Mary, and twelve episodes from the life of John the Baptist, the patron saint of the temple. Of these latter scenes, from the annunciation to Zachariah of the impending birth of St. John, to John the Baptist’s death, eleven were based on thirteen prints from the \textit{Vita B. Joannis Baptistae} set, which includes twenty-two etchings by Jacob de Weert inspired by Maarten de Vos. Two compositions combine two episodes each (in original prints shown separately): \textit{Priest and Levites Interrogating John} with \textit{John Rebuking Herod}, and \textit{Herod and Salome Offering John’s head to her Parents} with \textit{The Burial of John by his Disciples}.

To date, over two hundred fifty works based on de Vos’s patterns have been found on Polish territory. The collection is impressive already, and will certainly expand as a result of further research. Religious themes are clearly dominant; yet in all likelihood, this predominance does not reflect the actual preferences of early modern patrons. It reflects instead the overall condition of works preservation in Poland – secular art forms a minuscule share of extant pieces, with better protected religious works overrepresented. Nonetheless, even among the few secular works preserved, several have been identified as inspired by Maarten de Vos. Gdańsk art of the late 16th and first quarter of the 17th century offers best examples to prove his influence. The Gdańsk-based \textit{Circulus vicissitudinis rerum humanarum} (Allegory of the Course of Human Life), formerly referred to as the \textit{Model of the World} and \textit{Gdańsk Society}, is a group

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{77} All recognised as dependent on the set, compiled and analysed by A. Zujkiewicz, \textit{Zespół obrazów o tematyce pustelniczej w zakrystii bazyliki jasnogórskiej, “Ikonotheka”}, V (1993), pp. 101-138.


\textsuperscript{79} On this set of prints, see HD, \textit{Maarten de Vos}, vol. XLIV, pp. 124-127, cat. nos 545-566, vol. XLV, figs 545/1-566/1. Of the narrative episodes, \textit{The Visitation} does not replicate de Vos’s inventions. As determined by Beata Frey-Stecowa, the composition of the work was based on a print by Theodor Galle after Jan van de Straet (called Stradanus), and most probably on another one, as yet unidentified – ead., \textit{Ryciny w Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis z antwerpskiej oficyny wydawniczej “Officina Plantiniana” i ich recepcja w sztuce polskiej XVII wieku}, in: \textit{Inspiracje}, p. 93, figs 39, 68.

\textsuperscript{80} HD, \textit{Maarten de Vos}, vol. XLV, figs 559/1 and 561/1; 565/1 and 566/1.
of paintings recently analysed and re-titled by Marcin Kaleciński as a series related to a set of prints created by Theodor Galle who based his work on Maarten de Vos’s compositions. Most likely, this collection of allegorical pictures was once much more extensive, and adorned the walls of a prestigious room in a Gdańsk house. Of all the paintings preserved, the one referring to the title-piece in the print series displays most visibly a connection to the master of Antwerp. In a similar domestic interior – in all likelihood displayed on the ceiling – there was a number of Isaac van den Block’s paintings dated to the years 1611-1614, today forming part of a collection preserved at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg. The collection includes two compositions (Minerva Rebuking Youth and Juno Carrying Honours) inspired by the Labour and Honour copperplates by Raphael I Sadeler after de Vos’s 1591 The Four Ages of Man series. Most probably, Isaac van den Block also painted Absalom Conspiring outside the Gates of Jerusalem at the time (after 1611), the work preserved today at the National Museum in Gdańsk. Van den Block’s painting is a replica of de Vos’s design after Johannes Wierix’s The Story of David and Absalom set (ca. 1585).

The impact of compositions by Maarten de Vos dearly illustrates the well-known and frequently analysed phenomenon of a complex relationship between works of art and the dentifiable models they emulate, not to mention the overall phenomenon of the impact of print on other areas of art.

Have the patterns devised by Maarten de Vos been used in Poland more frequently than compositions created by other artists? Given the limited number of analyses of the problem (Rubens being practically the only artist whose impact had been the subject of a more detailed analysis), the question remains as yet open, also because any comparisons would have to refer to the very same time. Without doubt, however, Maarten de Vos inspired one of the largest groups of followers in early modern Poland.

Proofreading by Barbara Arciszewska
The Catalog of Polish Works of Art Based on Maarten de Vos’s Compositions

This catalog compiles Polish works of art (without Silesia¹) based on prints made after Maarten de Vos’s drawings or paintings.

For greater convenience, the sequence of prints and their description corresponds with the one used in Hollstein’s Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700, Maarten de Vos (see abbreviated bibliographic information).

Polish artworks are described as follows: location (name of the town, city, village), voivodeship of Poland, title or subject of the work if it is different from the print, medium, the date and author, if known.

If the work has been reproduced in Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce (The Catalog of the Monuments of Art in Poland) it is subsequently noted. If a connection between a print made after de Vos’s work and another work of art had been previously established in another publication, a reference is given. Also, if a link between a de Vos’s composition and a Polish work of art has been suggested in the Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, a reference is provided in italics.

This catalog does not include Polish works of art that were unconvincingly tied to de Vos’s compositions in older literature.

¹ The Silesian artworks were discussed in: B. Steinborn, P. Oszczanowski, Aneks. Spis rycin użytych w obrazach śląskich od XVI do połowy XVII wieku, in: Niderlandyzm na Śląsku i w krajach ościennych, ed. by M. Kapustka, A. Koziel, P. Oszczanowski, Wrocław, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003, pp. 63-78.
OLD TESTAMENT SERIES

  Abraham's Sacrifice of Isaac, [HD, LIV, p. 20, cat. No. (66), XLV, fig 66]
  ROGI, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, a painting, first quarter of the 18th century, [KZSwP, Sn, I, 1, p. 134, fig. 253]

The Story of David and Absalom, circa 1585, Johan Wierix, engraving, four plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 35-36, cat. Nos. 118-121, XLV, figs 118/I-121/II]
  Absalom Conspiring Outside the Gates of Jeruzalem, [HD, LIV, p. 35, cat. No. (118), XLV, fig. 118/I],
  GDANSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), National Museum, a painting, after 1611, Isaac van den Block (?), (GA 1, p. 114, figs 4, 5; GT, p. 133, fig. 70)

OLD TESTAMENT

Abraham’s Sacrifice of Isaac, 1585, Antonie Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 62, cat. No. 248, XLV, fig. 248/I]
  GÓRSK, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painting on the balustrade of the musicians’ gallery, circa 1700, Hans Tiedemann the Elder (?), [KZSwP, XI, 16, p. 33, fig. 120]

NEW TESTAMENT SERIES

  The Annunciation, 1579, [HD, LIV, p. 64, cat. No. (256), XLV, fig. 256/II]
  ŁUSZCZÓW, (Lublin Voivodeship), St Barbara’s Church, a painting, first half of the 17th century, [KZSwP, VIII, 10, p. 31, fig. 51]
  The Visitation, 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 64, cat. No. (257), XLV, fig. 257]
  Kobylin, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), St Stanislaus Church, one of the painted tondi surrounding the main panel in the Our Lady of the Rosary Altar, circa mid 17th century
  The Nativity, 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 64, cat. No. (258), XLV, fig. 258]
  KŁĘCKO, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St George and St Hedwig, The Adoration of the Shepherds, a panel from the altarpiece, 1596, Mateusz Kossior, [KZSwP, V, 3, p. 74, fig. 156], (MM 2, p. 141, fig. 1); for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, pp. 100-101, cat. No. (437), XLV, fig. 437]
  The Adoration of the Magi, 1581, [HD, LIV, p. 65, cat. No. (261), XLV, fig. 261]
  GDANSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, a relief from the choir stalls, circa 1730
KŁĘCKO, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St George and St Hedwig, a panel from the altarpiece, 1596, Mateusz Kossior, [KZSwP, V, 3, p. 74, fig. 155], (MM 2, p. 142, fig 3)

The Presentation in the Temple, 1580, [HD, LIV, p. 65, cat. No. (262), XLV, fig. 262]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken, [KZSwP, VIII, 8, p. 2, fig. 36]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr and St Wenceslaus Martyr, treasury, antependium (founded by Queen Anna Jagiellon), embroidery, 1594-1596, (Wawel 1, pp. 145-146, cat. No. 1/113, comp. Magdalena Piwocka); in this scene only some of the elements follow this engraving

ŁĘGOWO, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of the Immaculate Conception (formerly Lutheran), a section of the painted frieze of the main altarpiece, 1601

The Flight into Egypt, [HD, LIV, p. 65, cat. No. (263), XLV, fig. 263]

GDANSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, a relief from the choir stalls, circa 1730

PŁOCK, Diocesan Museum, a painting, 17th century, Italian school (?)

The Dispute in the Temple, [HD, LIV, p. 66, cat. No. (267), XLV, fig. 267]

KOBYLIN, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), St. Stanislaus Church, one of the painted tondi surrounding the main panel in the Our Lady of the Rosary Altar, circa mid 17th century

The Life and Passion of Christ, [Vita passio et resurectio Jesu Christi], Jan Baptist Barbé, Jacques de Bie, Adriaen Collaert, Jan Baptist Collaert, Cornelis Galle I, engraving, fifty-one numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 69-87, cat. Nos. 275-325, XLV, figs 275/1-325/1]

The Visitation, Jacques de Bie, [HD, LIV, p. 70, cat. No. (277), XLV, fig. 277/1]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Canons Regular of the Lateran Church of the Corpus Christi, St Anne’s chapel, upper panel of the altarpiece, 1619, Łukasz Porębski [KZSwP, IV, part IV, 1, p. 66, fig. 287]

SZADEK, (Łódź Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St James the Apostle, a panel from the predella of the side altarpiece, early 17th century

The Presentation in the Temple, Jacques de Bie, [HD, LIV, pp. 71-72, cat. No. (281), XLV, fig. 281/1]

SZADEK, (Łódź Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St James the Apostle, a panel from the predella of the side altarpiece, early 17th century

The Baptism of Christ, Jan Baptist Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 73, cat. No. (285), XLV, fig. 285/II]

WARTA, (Łódź Voivodeship), St Nicholas Church, a painting, 17th century, [KZSwP, II, 10, p. 31, fig. 60], (BM, p. 53)
The Marriage at Cana, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 73, cat. No. (287), XLV, fig. 287/II]

KROSNO, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a painting, circa 1650, [KZSwP, Sn, I, 1, p. 75, fig. 232], (BM, p. 203, fig. 150-151)

Christ and the Woman of Samaria, Jan Baptist Barbé, [HD, LIV, p. 74, cat. No. (289), XLV, fig. 289/I]

KROSNO, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a painting, circa 1650, [KZSwP, Sn, I, 1, p. 75, fig. 237], (BM, p. 163, figs 108-109)

The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, Cornelis Galle I, [HD, LIV, p. 75, cat. No. (291), XLV, fig. 291/II]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Dominican Monastery, a painting, 1614-1622, Tommaso Dolabella, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 153, fig. 367], (MM 1, p. 116); only the fishermen and the landscape in the background are painted according to this engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 75, cat. No. (299), XLV, fig. 299/II]

Christ and the Woman who Was Cured of the Issue of Blood, Jacques de Bie, [HD, LIV, p. 77, cat. No. (296), XLV, fig. 296/II]

MSTÓW, (Silesian Voivodeship), The Canons Regular of the Lateran Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting, mid 17th century, unknown artist in the circle of Tommaso Dolabella, [KZSwP, VI, 4, p. 15, fig. 88]

Mary Magdalene Anointing Christ’s Feet, Cornelis Galle I, [HD, LIV, pp. 77-78, cat. No. (298), XLV, fig. 298/II]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, The Feast at Simon’s House, painting, 1614-1622, Tommaso Dolabella, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 123, fig. 374], (MM 1, pp. 111-112); only Simon is painted after this engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 99, cat. No. (434), XLV, fig. 434]

The Beatitudes, Jacques de Bie, [HD, LIV, p. 78, cat. No. (299), XLV, fig. 299/II]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of the Holy Trinity, The Miraculous Draught of Fishes, a painting, 1614-22, Tommaso Dolabella, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 153, fig. 367], (MM 1, p. 116); in this painting only a few elements follow the original engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 75, cat. No. (291), XLV, fig. 291/II]

The Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 78, cat. No. (300), XLV, fig. 300/II]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Dominican Monastery, a painting, 1614-1622, Tommaso Dolabella, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 153, fig. 372], (MM 1, p. 97, figs 1-4; BM, p. 214, figs 158-159)

The Transfiguration of Christ, Jacques de Bie, [HD, LIV, p. 79, cat. No. (301), XLV, fig. 301/II]

GRÓDEK, (Masovian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a painted scene on the nave wall, late 16th century, [KZSwP, III, 6, p. 6, fig. 25]
Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery, Jan Baptist Barbé, [HD, LIV, p. 79, cat. No. (302), XLV, fig. 302/II]
KROSNO, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a painting, circa 1650, [KZSwP, Sn, I, 1, p. 75, fig. 234], (BM, p. 189, fig. 137-138)
Christ Before Caiaphas, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 83, cat. No. (312), XLV, fig. 312/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, mid 17th century
Christ Before Herod, Jacques de Bie, [HD, LIV, p. 83, cat. No. (314), XLV, fig. 314/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Church of the Annunciation, chapel of St Francis, a painting, mid 17th century
Pilate Washing His Hands, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 85, cat. No. (318), XLV, fig. 318/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, mid 17th century
Christ Carrying the Cross and the Miracle of Veronica’s Sudarium, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 85, cat. No. (319), XLV, fig. 319/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, mid 17th century, [KZSwP, Sn, III, 4, p. 62, fig. 227]
Christ Nailed to the Cross, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, pp. 85-86, cat. No. (320), XLV, fig. 320/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, mid 17th century, [KZSwP, Sn, III, 4, p. 62, fig. 228]
Christ on the Cross Between the Two Thieves, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 86, cat. No. (321), XLV, fig. 321/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, mid 17th century, [KZSwP, Sn, III, 4, p. 62, fig. 229], (DT, p. 80)
The Descent from the Cross, Jan Baptist Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 86, cat. No. (322), XLV, fig. 322/II]
LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, mid 17th century, [KZSwP, Sn, III, 4, p. 62, fig. 230], (DT, pp. 95-96)
The Entombment, Jan Baptist Collaert, [HD, LIV, pp. 86-87, cat. No. (323), XLV, fig. 323/II]
ORNETA, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), The Convent of the Congregation of the Devout Virgins of St Catherine Virgin and Martyr, a painting, first quarter of the 17th century, [KZSwP, Sn, II, 1, p. 157, fig. 306]
The Resurrection, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 87, cat. No. (325), XLV, fig. 325/I]
ŁANKIEJMY, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist (formerly Lutheran), a painting on the gallery front, 1633, (PH, p. 23, fig. 9)
St Paul and Scenes from the Life of Christ, [1582], Johannes Sadeler I, engraving, title and five plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 95-96, cat. Nos. 401-406, XLV, figs 401-406]

Title, St Paul, [HD, LIV, p. 96, cat. No. (401), XLV, fig. 401]
KEJTZRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Collegiate Church, a painting on the pulpit, 1594

The Adoration of the Shepherds, [HD, LIV, p. 96, cat. No. (402), XLV, fig. 402]

GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, a relief from the choir stalls, circa 1730

SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a relief on the pulpit, 1604, (SR, p. 147, figs 159, 160)

WAČHOČ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), The Cistercian Church of St Mary and St Florian, wooden relief, first half of the 17th century, [KZSwP, III, 2, p. 34, fig. 56]

The Baptism of Christ, [HD, LIV, p. 96, cat. No. (403), XLV, fig. 403]

KONSTANCIN-JEZIORNIA, (Masovian Voivodeship), Church of St Joseph, a painting, 17th century, [KZSwP, X, 14, p. 17, fig. 56]

ŁĘGOWO, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of the Immaculate Conception (formerly Lutheran), a section of the painted frieze of the main altarpiece, 1601


Christ Carrying the Cross, [HD, LIV, p. 97, cat. No. (415), XLV, fig. 415]

WIELICZKA, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Parish Church, a panel from the Passion triptych, circa 1600, [KZSwP, I, p. 178, fig. 539]

Christ on the Cross, [HD, LIV, p. 97, cat. No. (416), XLV, fig. 416]

BODZENTYN, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr, a painting, 1600, [KZSwP, VIII, 8, p. 6, fig. 84]; in this painting, only St John is based on this engraving

The Passion of Christ, 1582-1583, Johannes Sadeler I, engraving, fourteen plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 98-100, cat. Nos. 422-435, XLV, figs 422-435]

The Agony in the Garden, 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 98, cat. No. (423), XLV, fig. 423]
KOŚCIERZYNA, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a scene in one of the tondi surrounding the image of Our Lady of the Rosary, 1643

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 53, fig. 290]

The Betrayal of Christ, 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 98, cat. No. (424), XLV, fig. 424]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 53, fig. 291]

Christ Before Caiaphas 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 98, cat. No. (425), XLV, fig. 425]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 53-54, fig. 292], (DT, p. 37)
The Crowning with Thorns, 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 99, cat. No. (427), XLV, fig. 427]  
KALWARIA ZEBRYDOWSKA, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Bernardine Monastery, a painting, 18th century  
WILKOWO POLSKIE, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St Hedwig, a panel from the main altarpiece, 1646, [KZSwP, V, 10, p. 115, fig. 231], (DT, pp. 55-56)  

Christ Carrying the Cross, 1582, [HD, LIV, p. 99, cat. No. (429), XLV, fig. 429]  
BIECZ, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Corpus Christi Church, painted predella of the side altarpiece, early 17th century, (OM, p. 192, figs 2, 4, 7-8; DT, p. 67)  
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 54, fig. 293], only Christ and the soldiers are painted after this engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 231, cat. No. (1158), XLVI, fig. 1158]  
KALISZ, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of St Nicholas, a painting, after 1591, [KZSwP, V, 6, p. 22, fig. 89], (OM, p. 187; DT, p. 66)  
The Descent from the Cross, [HD, LIV, p. 99, cat. No. (432), XLV, fig. 432]  
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 54, fig. 294], (DT, p. 96, fig. 48)  
Noli me tangere, [HD, LIV, p. 99, cat. No. (434), XLV, fig. 434]  
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Dominican Monastery, The Feast at Simon’s House, painting, 1614-22, Tommaso Dolabella, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 123, fig. 374], (MM 1, pp. 111-112); only Mary Magdalene is based on this engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, pp. 77-78, cat. No. (298), XLV, fig. 298/II]  

Christ and His Disciples on the Way to Emmaus, [HD, LIV, p. 100, cat. No. (435), XLV, fig. 435]  
KĘTRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Collegiate Church, a painting on the pulpit, 1594  
The Birth and Passion of Christ, [Dominicae passionis mysteria], [circa 1585], Antonie Wierix, Peter de Jode I, engraving, title, twenty-three numbered plates and a numbered text-plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 100-105, cat. Nos. 436-459, XLV, figs 436-459]  
The Adoration of the Shepherds, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, pp. 100-101, cat. No. (437), XLV, fig. 437]  
KŁĘCKO, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St George and St Hedwig, a panel from the altarpiece, 1596, Mateusz Kossior, [KZSwP, V, 3, p. 74, fig. 156]; only one shepherd is based on this engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 64, cat. No. (258), XLV, fig. 258]

The Last Supper, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 106, cat. No. (461), XLV, fig. 461/I]

BNIN (currently part of the town of Kórnik), (Greater Poland Voivodeship), St Adalbert’s Church, painted predella of the altarpiece, circa 1600, [KZSwP, V, 25, p. 3, fig. 63]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken

The Betrayal of Christ, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 107, cat. No. (464), XLV, fig. 464/I]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken, [KZSwP, III, 6, p. 2, fig. 40]; only St Peter and Malchus are sculpted after this engraving, for the other print used in this relief, see [HD, LIV, p. 112, cat. No. (485), XLV, fig. 485]

Christ Before Caiaphas, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 107, cat. No. (465), XLV, fig. 465/I]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken, [KZSwP, III, 6, p. 2, fig. 41]

The Flagellation, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 107, cat. No. (467), XLV, fig. 467/I]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken; only Christ and two spectators are sculpted after this engraving, for the other print used in this relief, see [HD, LIV, p. 112, cat. No. (488), XLV, fig. 488]

The Crowning with Thorns, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, pp. 107-108, cat. No. (468), XLV, fig. 468/I]

KOBYLIN, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), St Stanislaus Church, one of the painted tondi surrounding the main panel in the Our Lady of the Rosary Altar, circa mid 17th century, (DT, p. 56)

Pilate Washing His Hands, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 108, cat. No. (469), XLV, fig. 469/I]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken; only one soldier is sculpted after this engraving, for the other print used in this relief, see [HD, LIV, p. 113, cat. No. (491), XLV, fig. 491]

Noli me tangere, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 110, cat. No. (477), XLV, fig. 477/I]

GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, a relief from the choir stalls, circa 1730

The Journey to Emmaus, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 110, cat. No. (478), XLV, fig. 478/I]

GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, a relief from the choir stalls, circa 1730
Appendix

Christ Appearing to Simon Peter and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 110, cat. No. (478), XLV, fig. 478/I]

GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, Christ Appearing to Simon Peter, a relief from the choir stalls, circa 1730

The Passion of Christ, [Passio Domini Nostri Jesu Christi], Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, title and twenty-one plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 105-111, cat. Nos. 482-503, XLV, figs 482/II-503]

The Agony in the Garden, [HD, LIV, p. 111, cat. No. (484), XLV, fig. 484, repetition I]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken,

Judas’ Betrayal of Christ, [HD, LIV, p. 112, cat. No. (485), XLV, fig. 485]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken, [KZSwP, III, 6, p. 2, fig. 40]; only Judas, Christ, and the soldiers are based on this engraving, for the other print used in this relief, see [HD, LIV, p. 107, cat. No. (464), XLV, fig. 464/I]

The Flagellation, [HD, LIV, p. 112, cat. No. (488), XLV, fig. 488]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken; only the figures of the soldiers are sculpted after this engraving, for the other print used in this relief, see [HD, LIV, p. 107, cat. No. (467), XLV, fig. 467/I]

Pilate Washing His Hands, [HD, LIV, p. 113, cat. No. (491), XLV, fig. 491]

BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Götcken; for the other print used in this relief, see [HD, LIV, p. 108, cat. No. (469), XLV, fig. 469/I]

Christ Carrying the Cross and the Miracle of Veronica’s Sudarium, [HD, LIV, p. 113, cat. No. (492), XLV, fig. 492]

NIESZAWA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of St Hedwig, a carved predella of the side altarpiece, first quarter of the 17th century, [KZSwP, XI, 1, p. 15, fig. 103], (SR, p. 154)

The Ascension of Christ, [HD, LIV, p. 115, cat. No. (502), XLV, fig. 502]

ŁANKIEJMY, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist (formerly Lutheran), a painting on the gallery front, 1633


Christ and His Disciples on the Way to Emmaus, [HD, LIV, p. 115, cat. No. (505), XLV, fig. 505/I]

CHELMNO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Sisters of Charity Church of St John the Baptist and John the Evangelist (formerly of the Cistercian and Benedictine nuns), a painting, circa 1660, Samuel Hyppericus (?), [KZSwP, XI, 4, p. 49, fig. 219]
NEW TESTAMENT

The Annunciation, 1588, Antonie Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, pp. 119-120, cat. No. 525, XLV, fig. 525/I]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting, late 16th century, Jacob Merttens, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 54, figs 302, 303], (Wawel 2, pp. 63-64, cat. No. II/22, comp. Beata Frey-Stecowa); in this painting only right and lower parts of the composition follow this engraving

The Adoration of the Shepherds, 1588, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 121, cat. No. 532, XLV, fig. 532/I]
BRZÓZA, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Bartholomew’s Church, wooden relief, 1635, Andreas Göttken

The Adoration of the Magi, Theodoor Galle, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 121, cat. No. 533, XLV, fig. 533]
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a relief on the pulpit, 1604, (SR, p. 148)

LIFE OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

The Life of St John the Baptist, [Vita B. Joannis Baptistae], Jacob de Weert, engraving, title and twenty-one numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 124-127, cat. Nos. 545-566, XLV, figs 545/I-566/I]
Annunciation of the Birth of John to Zacharias, [HD, LIV, p. 124, cat. No. (546), XLV, fig. 546/I]
SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)
The Birth of John, [HD, LIV, p. 124, cat. No. (548), XLV, fig. 548/I]
SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)
The Name-giving of John, [HD, LIV, p. 124, cat. No. (549), XLV, fig. 549/I]
SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)
The Circumcision, [HD, LIV, pp. 124-125, cat. No. (550), XLV, fig. 550/I]
SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)
John Preaching in the Wilderness, [HD, LIV, p. 125, cat. No. (556), XLV, fig. 556/I]
SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

John Baptizing in the River Jordan, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (557), XLV, fig. 557/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

The Baptism of Christ, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (558), XLV, fig. 558/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

Priest and Levites Interrogating John, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (559), XLV, fig. 559/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, Priest and Levites Interrogating John and John Rebuking Herod and Herodos, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?), only the left part of the composition of this painting follows the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (561), XLV, fig. 561/I]

John Calling Christ the Lamb of God, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (560), XLV, fig. 560/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

John Rebuking Herod and Herodos, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (561), XLV, fig. 561/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, Priest and Levites Interrogating John and John Rebuking Herod and Herodos, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?), only the right part of the composition of this painting follows the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (559), XLV, fig. 559/I]

John in Prison Visited by His Disciples, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (562), XLV, fig. 562/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

Salome Dancing During the Banquet of Herod, [HD, LIV, p. 126, cat. No. (563), XLV, fig. 563/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

Appendix
The Beheading of John, [HD, LIV, pp. 126-127, cat. No. (564), XLV, fig. 564/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?)

Salome Offering John’s Head to Her Parents, [HD, LIV, p. 127, cat. No. (565), XLV, fig. 565/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, Salome Offering John’s Head to Her Parents and the Burial of John by His Disciples, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?); only the left part of the composition of this painting follows the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 127, cat. No. (566), XLV, fig. 566/I]

The Burial of John by His Disciples, [HD, LIV, p. 127, cat. No. (566), XLV, fig. 566/I]

SKALBMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St John the Baptist, Salome Offering John’s Head to Her Parents and the Burial of John by His Disciples, a painted panel from the choir stalls, 1638(?); only the right part of the composition of this painting follows the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 127, cat. No. (565), XLV, fig. 565/I]

ACTS OF MERCY


Feeding the Hungry, [HD, LIV, p. 137, cat. No. (614), XLV, fig. 614/I]

ŁÓWICZ, (Łódź Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting, early 17th century, circle of Anton Möller, (CAS, p. 281)

The Seven Acts of Mercy, 1581-1582, engraving, eight plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 139-141, cat. Nos. 621-628, XLV, figs 621/I-628/I]

Burying the Dead, (Tobit and companions burying members of their Jewish lineage at Nineveh), [HD, LIV, p. 141, cat. No. (628), XLV, fig. 628/I]

ŁÓWICZ, (Łódź Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting, early 17th century, circle of Anton Möller, (CAS, p. 281)

The Last Supper, Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 142, cat. No. 632, XLV, fig. 632]

TRZEBOSZ, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), The Filial Church of Our Lady of Częstochowa, a relief in the main altarpiece, 1607, [KZSwP, V, 21, p. 34, fig. 94]
Appendix

Christ on the Cross, Adriaen Collaert, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 144, cat. No. 645, XLV, fig. 645/1]

KRZYCKO MAŁE, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of Our Lady of the Snows, a painting, circa 1600, [KZSwP, V, 12, p. 16, fig. 177]; only the Virgin Mary and St John are based on this engraving

KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted Crucifixion from the Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century, (RS, p. 150); only St Mary Magdalene is based on this engraving, for the other print used in this sculpture, see [HD, LIV, p. 303, cat. No. (1550), fig. 1550]

Christ on the Cross, Johannes Sadeler I, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 144, cat. No. 646, XLV, fig. 646]

PŁOCK, (Masovian Voivodeship), Diocesan Museum, a painting, 16th century, attributed to Hans Leonard Schäufelein

WILKOWO POLSKIE, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St Hedwig, a crowning panel of the main altarpiece, 1646, [KZSwP, V, 10, p. 115, fig. 232]

Christ on the Cross, circa 1603, Raphael Sadeler I, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 145, cat. No. 649, XLV, fig. 649]

WRZEŚNIA, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Holy Cross Church, a painting, mid 17th century, [KZSwP, V, 29, p. 20, fig. 33]

Christ on the Cross, 1590, Jacob de Weert, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 145, cat. No. 650, XLV, fig. 650]

DROCHICZYN, (Podlaskie Voivodeship), House of the Diocesan Curia, a painted epitaph of an unknown family, first quarter of the 17th century, [KZSwP, Sn, XII, 1, p. 15, fig. 128]

The Descent from the Cross, 1584, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, pp. 148-149, cat. No. 666, XLV, fig. 666]

KĘTRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Collegiate Church, a painting, 17th century

DEVOTIONAL SUBJECTS

The Trinity, surrounded by angels with the Instruments of the Passion, in clouds above a river landscape, Adriaen Collaert, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 151, cat. No. 679, XLV, fig. 679]

CZERNIEWICE, (Łódź Voivodeship), St Margaret’s Church, a scene from the painted ceiling, early 18th century, [KZSwP, II, 9, p. 4, fig. 45].

The Trinity, surrounded by angels with the Instruments of the Passion, Philips Galle, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 151, cat. No. 680, XLV, fig. 680]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), National Museum, (The Bishop Erazm Ciołek Palace), former central panel from the main altarpiece in Kłecko, 1596, Mateusz Kossior
PŁOCK, (Masovian Voivodeship), Diocesan Museum, a painting, 1583, master HS

PŁOWĘŻ, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Margaret’s Church (formerly in the Bernardine Church in Lubawa), the central relief in the main altarpiece, 1678(?), [KZSwP, XI, 2, p. 49, fig. 142]; only God the Father and Christ are sculpted after this engraving

TUCHARZA, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a panel form the side altarpiece (no longer extant), 1592, [KZSwP, V, 28, p. 34, fig. 94] The Holy Family, with St Elizabeth and the infant John the Baptist on a verandah, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, pp. 152-153, cat. No. 685, XLV, fig. 685]

GŁĘBOWICE, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, a painting, before 1659, Franciszek Lekszycki, (DzJ, pp. 53, 121, 154, figs 8, 45)

The Virgin and Child with St Anne, circa 1598, Karel van Mallery, engraving, [HD, LIV, pp. 153-154, cat. No. 689, XLV, fig. 689/I]

GRODZISK, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary (formerly of the Bernardines), a panel form the side altarpiece, mid 17th century, [KZSwP, V, 14, p. 16, fig. 76]

SIERAKÓW, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception Church (formerly of the Bernardines), a painting, circa 1642, [KZSwP, V, 13, p. 18, fig. 48]

The Virgin and Child with St Anne, 1584, Johannes Sadeler I, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 154, cat. No. 691, XLV, fig. 691]

CHEŁMŻA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, a processional image, early 18th century, [KZSwP, XI, 16, p. 15, fig. 101]; in this painting, St Anne bears closest resemblance to the original engraving

CHLEWICE, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of St. James, The Holy Family, a painting, 17th century, [KZSwP, III, 12, p. 3, fig. 132]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), National Museum (The Bishop Erazm Ciolek Palace), (formerly in the Dominican Nuns Convent in Cracow), a central panel from the altarpiece, early 17th century; in this painting, St Anne bears closest resemblance to the original engraving

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 53, fig. 298]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), St Mark’s Church, a panel from the side altarpiece, early 17th century, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 37, fig. 355], (MM 2, p. 151, note 39); in this painting, St Anne bears closest resemblance to the original engraving

CRACOW (Bielany), (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Camaldolese Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a central panel from the side altarpiece, 17th century
DĄBRÓWKA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Filial Church of St John of Nepomuk, wooden sculpture, circa 1770, [KZSwP, XI, 17, p. 6, fig. 45]
KOŃSKOWOLA, (Lublin Voivodeship), St Anne’s Church, a central panel from the main altarpiece, 1618, Stanisław Szczepanik
KROSNO, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, St Anne’s chapel, a panel from the altarpiece, 1656 and 1707, [KZSwP, Sn, I, 1, p. 79, fig. 247]; in this painting, St Anne bears closest resemblance to the original engraving
KRZEPICE, (Silesian Voivodeship), St Jacob’s Church, a painting, 17th century, [KZSwP, VI, 7, p. 22, fig. 48]
ŁĄŻYN, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Valentine’s Church, a painted processional image, 1842, [KZSwP, XI, 16, p. 45, fig. 102]
RZESZÓW, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a carved predella of the main altarpiece, the turn of the 17th century, Jan Pfitzer (SI, pp. 501-503, figs 139, 140)
SINOŁĘKA, (Masovian Voivodeship), Our Lady of the Scapular Chapel, a central panel from the side altarpiece, circa 1600, [KZSwP, X, 8, p. 32, fig. 34]
STARYGRÓD, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting, 1597, [KZSwP, V, 11, p. 54, fig. 144], (MM 2, p. 148); in this painting, only the figure of St Anne follows the original engraving
STARYGRÓD, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting, after mid 17th century [KZSwP, V, 11, p. 54, fig. 142], (MM 2, p. 148)
TUROBIN, (Lublin Voivodeship), St Dominic’s Church, St Anne’s chapel, a panel from the altarpiece, 1630
ZAKRZEWO KOŚCIELNE, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church, a painting, first half of the 17th century (repainted in the 19th-20th century), [KZSwP, X, 15, p. 114, fig. 104]; in this painting, only the figure of St Anne follows the original engraving,
ZŁOTOWO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Barbara’s Church, a painted predella of the side altarpiece, 1618

The Coronation of the Virgin, Adriaen Collaert, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 161, cat. No. 720, XLV, figs 720, 720 repetition]
KOBYLIN, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), St Stanislaus Church, one of the painted tondi surrounding the main panel in the Our Lady of the Rosary Altar, circa mid 17th century, [KZSwP, V, 11, p. 11, fig. 158]; in this painting, only the figure of Virgin Mary and the arrangement of Holy Trinity follow the original engraving
KOŹMIN WIELKOPOLSKI, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St Mary and St Lawrence, a panel from the side altarpiece, first quarter of the 17th century; only the lower part of the image is based on this engraving
The Coronation of the Virgin, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 161, cat. No. 722, XLV, fig. 722] 
KOŁBIEL, (Masovian Voivodeship), Holy Trinity Church, a panel from the upper part of the main altarpiece, second quarter of the 17th century
PŁÓCK, (Masovian Voivodeship), Diocesan Museum, (formerly in St Bartholomew’s Church in Szyszki), a painting, early 17th century, [KZSwP, X, 20, p. 113, figs 157-159]; in this painting only the figure of Virgin Mary follows the original engraving

The Virgin, half-length, hands crossed before her breasts, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, pp. 162-163, cat. No. 725, XLV, fig. 725/I]
GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Dominican Church of St Nicholas, St Rose of Lima, a central panel from the side altarpiece, 1671, Andreas Stech, (KMa 1, p. 139); for other similar prints, see [HD, LIV, p. 162, cat. No. 724, XLV, figs 724, 724 copy]
RZESZÓW, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), The Bernardine Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a section of the carved predella of the main altarpiece, first quarter of the 17th century, Jan Pfister’s assistant (SI, p. 503, figs 141, 142)
TARNOWO PALUCKIE, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), St Nicholas Church, a painting on the musicians’ gallery front, 1639, (K-SM, p. 97, fig. 71)

The Virgin and Child on the Crescent (the Virgin of Antwerp), 1587, Antonie Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 164, cat. No. 729, XLV, fig. 729/I-729/II]
KORONOWO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary (formerly Cistercian), a panel from the side altarpiece, late 17th century, [KZSwP, XI, 3, p. 50, fig. 124]
PELPLIN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (formerly Cistercian), a relief from the abbot’s stalls, 1622

The Virgin and Child, 1614, (drawing dated 1595), Raphael Sadeler I, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 166, cat. No. 737, XLV, fig. 737]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), St Mark’s Church, a painting, first half of the 17th century, [KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 39, fig. 363]; in this painting, only the arrangement of Virgin and Child and some angels supporting the cross follow the engraving
NOWE MIASTO LUBAWSKIE, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Thomas Church, a painted central panel from the main altarpiece, 1627, (GA 1, p. 114)

Mater Dolorosa, 1585, Hieronymous Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 168, cat. No. 750, XLV, fig. 750/I]
BIERZGŁowo, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St Lawrence, Our Lady of Chelmno, a painted processional image, second half of the 18th century, (PM 1, p. 177)
BISKUPICE, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Mary Magdalene’s Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a painted processional image, first half of the 18th century, (PM 1, p. 177)
BOLESZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Martin’s Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a panel from the main altarpiece, mid 17th century, (PM 1, s. 176)

CHEŁMNO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lady chapel, Our Lady of Chelmno, a panel from the altarpiece, 1649, [KZSwP, XI, 4, pp. 16-17, fig. 231], (PM 1, p. 176)

CHEŁMNO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lady chapel, Our Lady of Chelmno, votive plaques on the antependium of the altarpiece, 17th-18th century, [KZSwP, XI, 4, p. 17, fig. 377],

CHEŁMNO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary above the portal to the Our Lady chapel, 1699, Jan Söffrens

CHEŁMŻA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Our Lady of Chelmno, a panel from the side altarpiece, first half of the 18th century, [KZSwP, XI, 16, p. 14, fig. 134], (PM 1, p. 177, fig. 79)

DANISZEWO, (Masovian Voivodeship), Church of the Transfiguration, Our Lady of Chelmno, a panel from the altarpiece, turn of the 18th century, (PM 1, p. 177)

GORCZENICA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), Exaltation of the Holy Cross Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a panel from the main altarpiece, circa 1700

GRUCZNÓ, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St John the Baptist Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a painting, second half of the 18th century, [KZSwP, XI, 15, p. 5, fig. 114], (PM 1, p. 177, fig. 80)

OBORY, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Carmelite Church of the Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady of Chelmno, a votive plaque, 1767, (PM 1, p. 178)

PAPOWO TORUŃSKIE, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Nicholas Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a painted processional image, second half of the 18th century, (PM 1, p. 177)

PONIATOWO, (Masovian Voivodeship), St Lawrence Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a votive plaque, 1719, (PM 1, fig. 82)

PRZYPUST, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Filial Church of St Stanislaus and St Mary Magdalene, Our Lady of Chelmno, a painting, turn of the 19th century, [KZSwP, XI, 1, p. 26, fig. 93], (PM 1, pp. 177-178, fig. 81)

RADZYŃ CHELMIŃSKI, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Anne’s Church, Our Lady of Chelmno, a panel from the side altarpiece, 1820

SIERP, (Masovian Voivodeship), The Benedictines Nuns’ Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lady of Chelmno, a votive plaque, second half of the 18th century, Karol Magierski, (PM 1, p. 178)

SOMPOLNO, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), Church of St Mary Magdalene, Our Lady of Chelmno, a painting, (PM 1, p. 177)
ANGELS

Archangels, 1583-1585, engraving, three plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 171-172, cat. Nos. 765-767, XLVI, figs 765-767]
  Gabriel, Jophiel and Raziel, [HD, LIV, p. 171, cat. No. (765), XLVI, fig. 765]
  SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, Archangel Gabriel, a sculpture on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601
  SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, Archangel Raziel, a sculpture on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601
Zadkiel, Peliel and Barikiel, [HD, LIV, pp. 171-172, cat. No. (766), XLVI, fig. 766]
  SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, Archangel Barikiel, a sculpture on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601
Michael, Uriel and Raphael with the young Tobias, [HD, LIV, p. 172, cat. No. (767), XLVI, fig. 767]
  SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, Archangel Michael, a sculpture on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601
  SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, Archangel Raphael, a sculpture on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601

EVANGELISTS

The Four Evangelists, Johan Wierix, engraving, four plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 173-174, cat. Nos. 777-780, XLVI, figs 777/1-780/1]
  St Matthew, [HD, LIV, p. 174, cat. No. (777), XLVI, fig. 777/1]
    KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a carved relief in the frieze zone of Georg von Rembau’s epitaph, 1619, (RS, p. 153)
  St Mark, [HD, LIV, p. 174, cat. No. (778), XLVI, fig. 778/1]
    KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a carved relief in the frieze zone of Georg von Rembau’s epitaph, 1619, (RS, p. 153)
  St Luke, [HD, LIV, p. 174, cat. No. (779), XLVI, fig. 779/1]
    KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a carved relief in the frieze zone of Georg von Rembau’s epitaph, 1619, (RS, p. 153)
    PELPLIN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (formerly Cistercian), a wooden relief from the main altarpiece, second quarter of the 17th century, (RS, p. 144)
Appendix

St John, [HD, LIV, p. 174, cat. No. (780), XLVI, fig. 780/I]
KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of
St John the Evangelist, a carved relief in the frieze zone of Georg von
Rembau’s epitaph, 1619, (RS, p. 153)

The Four Evangelists, attributed to Wierix (doubtful), engraving, four plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 175-176, cat. Nos. 785-788, XLVI, figs 785-788]
St Matthew, [HD, LIV, p. 176, cat. No. (785), XLVI, fig. 785]
KĘTRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Colle-
giate Church, a painting on the pulpit, 1594
St Mark, [HD, LIV, p. 176, cat. No. (786), XLVI, fig. 786]
KĘTRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Colle-
giate Church, a painting on the pulpit, 1594
St Luke, [HD, LIV, p. 176, cat. No. (787), XLVI, fig. 787]
KĘTRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Colle-
giate Church, a painting on the pulpit, 1594
ŁANKIEJMY, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of St John
the Baptist (formerly Lutheran), a painting on the pulpit, 1687
St John, [HD, LIV, p. 176, cat. No. (788), XLVI, fig. 788]
KĘTRZYN, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St George’s Colle-
giate Church, a painting on the pulpit, 1594
ŁANKIEJMY, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of St John
the Baptist (formerly Lutheran), a painting on the pulpit, 1687

APOSTLES

Christ, the Virgin, the Twelve Apostles and St Paul, 1592, Adriaen Collaert, engraving, fifteen plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 176-178, cat. Nos. 789-803, XLVI, figs 789/1-803/1]
St Thomas, [HD, LIV, p. 177, cat. No. (795), XLVI, fig. 795/I]
NOWE MIASTO LUBAWSKIE, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship),
St Thomas Church, a crowning sculpted figure of the main altar-
piece, 1627, Ditlof Siwers from Lubawa and his assistants

Christ, St Paul and the Twelve Apostles, Hendrick Goltzius, engraving, Christ and
twelve numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 178-180, cat. Nos. 804-816, XLVI, figs 804/I-816/I]

Christ, [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (804), XLVI, fig. 804/I]
LUBAWA, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Church of St John
the Baptist (formerly of the Bernardines), Christ as Salvator Mundi,
a sculpture on the pulpit canopy, early 17th century
KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of
St John the Evangelist, Christ as Salvator Mundi, a sculpture in the
Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century
St Peter, [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (805), XLVI, fig. 805/I]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church,
The Martyrdom of St Peter, stucco decoration in the apse of the
presbytery, before 1633, master Giovanni, (F-SB, pp. 166-167, figs 5-6)
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, St Peter (?), a sculpture on the pulpit canopy, 1604
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpture in the main altarpiece, circa 1601
St Andrew, [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (806), XLVI, fig. 806/I]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church, The Martyrdom of St Paul, stucco decoration in the apse of the presbytery, before 1633, master Giovanni, (F-SB, p. 166, figs 3-4); in this scene, only one figure follows the engraving, for the other print used in this stucco decoration, see [HD, LIV, p. 180, cat. No. (815), XLVI, fig. 815/I],
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, The Martyrdom of St Andrew, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 53, fig. 297]
ŻARNOWIEC, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Benedictine Nuns’ Church of the Annunciation, a sculpture against the parapet of the gallery, first quarter of the 17th century, (SR, p. 142)
St James the Great, [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (807), XLVI, fig. 807/I]
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpture on the pulpit canopy, 1604
DĘBOWA ŁĄKA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church, St Peter and Paul, a painting, circa 1615, [KZSwP, XI, 19, pp. 3-4, fig. 114]; in this painting, St Paul’s figure follows the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 180, cat. No. (812), XLVI, fig. 812/I],
St John, [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (808), XLVI, fig. 808/I]
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpture on the pulpit canopy, 1604
ŻARNOWIEC, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Benedictine Nuns’ Church of the Annunciation, a sculpture against the parapet of the gallery, first quarter of the 17th century
St James the Less, [HD, LIV, p. 180, cat. No. (810), XLVI, fig. 810/I]
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpture on the pulpit canopy, 1604
St Bartholomew, [HD, LIV, p. 180, cat. No. (812), XLVI, fig. 812/I]
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpture on the pulpit canopy, 1604,
DĘBOWA ŁĄKA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church, St Peter and Paul, a painting, circa 1615, [KZSwP, XI, 19, pp. 3-4, fig. 114]; in this painting, St Peter’s figure follows the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (807), XLVI, fig. 807/I],
St Paul, [HD, LIV, p. 180, cat. No. (815), XLVI, fig. 815/I]
HANNA, (Lublin Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church (formerly Greco-Catholic Church), St Peter and Paul, a painting, first half of
the 18th century, [KZSwP, VIII, 18, p. 8, fig. 121]; in this painting, only the figure of St Paul follows the engraving.

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), St Peter and Paul Church, The Martyrdom of St Paul, stucco decoration in the apse of the presbytery, before 1633, master Giovanni, (F-SB, p. 166, figs 1-2); for the other print used in this stucco decoration, see [HD, LIV, p. 179, cat. No. (806), XLVI, fig. 806/1]

ŽARNOWIEC, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Benedictine Nuns’ Church of the Annunciation, a sculpture against the parapet of the gallery, first quarter of the 17th century


St Peter, [HD, LIV, p. 181, cat. No. (818), XLVI, fig. 818] ORNETA, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist Church, The Martyrdom of St Peter, a panel from the side altarpiece, 1617, [KZSwP, Sn, II, 1, p. 153, fig. 299]; in this painting, only the figures of soldiers are based on the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 181, cat. No. (821), XLVI, fig. 821]

St Matthias, [HD, LIV, p. 181, cat. No. (821), XLVI, fig. 821] ORNETA, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist Church, The Martyrdom of St Matthias, a panel from the side altarpiece, 1617

ORNETA, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St John the Baptist and St John the Evangelist Church, The Martyrdom of St Peter, a panel from the side altarpiece, 1617, [KZSwP, Sn, II, 1, p. 153, fig. 299]; in this painting, only the figure of one of the spectators follows the original engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 181, cat. No. (818), XLVI, fig. 818]

Christ, the Virgin and the Twelve Apostles, attributed Johannes Sadeler I, Raphael Sadeler I, engraving, fourteen plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 182-183, cat. Nos. 831-844, XLVI, figs 831-844, LIV, fig. 844a/III]

Christ and St Paul, [circa 1585], one plate, cut in two and then added to a series of twelve Apostles as Nos. 1 and 14, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, pp. 182-183, cat. No 844a, p. 311, fig. 844a/III]

GDANSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), Saint Catherine’s Church, St Paul, a sculpture in the main altarpiece (destroyed during World War II), 1609-1613, Simon Herle, (SR, p. 141)

Christ, St Paul and the Twelve Apostles, 1578, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, fourteen numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 183-185, cat. Nos. 845-858, XLVI, figs 845-858]

St Andrew, [HD, LIV, p. 184, cat. No. (847), XLVI, fig. 847],
OLKUSZ, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Basilica of St James the Apostle, a sculpture (labeled as St Paul) in the main altarpiece, first quarter of the 17th century

DOBRE MIASTO, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Basilica of the Most Holy Saviour and All Saints, a painting, 1639-1644

KORONOWO, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Filial Church of St Andrew the Apostle, a panel from the side altarpiece, second half of the 18th century

St Matthew, [HD, LIV, p. 185, cat. No. (854), XLVI, fig. 854]

DOBRE MIASTO, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), Basilica of the Most Holy Saviour and All Saints, a painting, 1639-1644

St Paul, [HD, LIV, p. 185, cat. No. (858), XLVI, fig. 858]

KONIECPOL, (Silesian Voivodeship), The Cemetery Chapel of the Holy Trinity, St Andrew, a panel from the altarpiece, 1624, [KZSwP, III, 12, p. 22, fig. 76]

THE APOSTLES’ CREED


Ascendit ad coelos, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 187, cat. No. (864), XLVI, fig. 864/I]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Monastery of the Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, library, Graduale carmelitarum, 1644, Stanislaw from Stolec, fol. 210, historiated initial V – The Ascension; only some figures in the foreground of the illumination follow this engraving, for the other print used in this illumination, see [HD, LIV, p. 187, cat. No. (872), XLVI, fig. 872]


Et in Jesum Christum, the Transfiguration, [HD, LIV, p. 189, cat. No. (872), XLVI, fig. 872]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Monastery of the Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, library, Graduale carmelitarum, 1644, Stanislaw from Stolec, fol. 210, historiated initial V – The Ascension; only the figure of Christ follows this engraving, for the other print used in this illumination, see [HD, LIV, p. 187, cat. No. (864), XLVI, fig. 864/I]

Inde venturis est judicare, the Last Judgment, [HD, LIV, p. 190, cat. No. (877), XLVI, fig. 877]

OLIWA, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity (formerly Cistercian), a painted panel in Kacper Geschkau’s epitaph, 1587

STAROGARD GDAŃSKI, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Parish Church of St Matthew, a painting in Jan Stypus’s epitaph, 1608, only
figures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and St John the Baptist are based on the original engraving, (GA 1, p. 117; GA 2, p. 19)

FEMALE HERMITS

Female Hermits in Landscapes, [Solitudo sive vitae Foeminarum Anachoritarum], Adriaen Collaert, Johannes Baptista Collaert, Cornelis Galle I, engraving, title and twenty four numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 197-202, cat. Nos. 921-945, XLVI, figs 921/II-945/II]

Mary of Egypt, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 198, cat. No. (924), XLVI, fig. 924/II]

CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (ZA, pp. 107-108, fig. 1)

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century, (ZA, p. 110)

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325; ZA, pp. 109-110, fig. 3)

SANDOMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St Michael’s Church, (formerly of the Benedictine nuns), a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century, (ZA, pp. 108, 110, fig. 4)

Thais of Egypt, Johannes Baptista Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 198, cat. No. (926), XLVI, fig. 926/II]

CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (ZA, pp. 114, 118, figs 5-6)

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325; ZA, p. 118, fig. 7)

Cometa and Nicosa, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 199, cat. No. (928), XLVI, fig. 928/II]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), Sarah, a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century; in this scene only the hut is based on the original engraving

Erena, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 199, cat. No. (929), XLVI, fig. 929/II]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Sarah the Hermit, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 199, cat. No. (932), XLVI, fig. 932/II]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), *Amata*, a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Euphraxia of Rome, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 199, cat. No. (933), XLVI, fig. 933/II]

RYTWIANY, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Annunciation (formerly Camaldolese), a painted scene on the nave vault, before 1637,

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Sophronia of Tarent, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 200, cat. No. (935), XLVI, fig. 935/II]

CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (ZA, p. 127, figs. 16, 17)

Dympna of Gheel, Adriaen Collaert, [HD, LIV, p. 201, cat. No. (943), XLVI, fig. 943/II]

CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (ZA, p. 118, figs. 8-9)

**HERMITS**


Paulus, [HD, LIV, p. 203, cat. No. (965), XLVI, fig. 965]

PINCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, only the landscape is based on the original engraving

Anthony, [HD, LIV, p. 204, cat. No. (966), XLVI, fig. 966]

PINCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, [KZSwP, III, 9, p. 60, fig. 138], (BI, p. 325; M-JK 1, pp. 16, 334) CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (M-JK 1, pp. 16, 334)

Hilarion, [HD, LIV, p. 204, cat. No. (967), XLVI, fig. 967]

PINCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, [KZSwP, III, 9, p. 60, fig. 139], (BI, p. 325)

Apollonius, [HD, LIV, p. 204, cat. No. (972), XLVI, fig. 972]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Spiridus, [HD, LIV, p. 205, cat. No. (979), XLVI, fig. 979]

CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St Romuald, painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (ZA, p. 121, figs 10-11)

Or, [HD, LIV, p. 205, cat. No. (984), XLVI, fig. 984]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Camaldolese Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, stucco decoration on the nave wall, circa 1633(?), (KMi, p. 232)

Macharius, [HD, LIV, p. 205, cat. No. (986), XLVI, fig. 986]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century

Onofrius, [HD, LIV, p. 205, cat. No. (991), XLVI, fig. 991]

WARSAW, Convent of the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary, a painting, 1709, (ZA, p. 136)

Jerome, [HD, LIV, p. 206, cat. No. (993), XLVI, fig. 993]

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325)


Guidone, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (998), XLVI, fig. 998]

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325)

Jacob, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (1001), XLVI, fig. 1001]

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325)

RYTWIANY, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Annunciation (formerly Camaldolese), a painted scene from the choir stalls, first half of the 18th century,

SANDOMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St Michael’s Church (former Camaldolese nuns), a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century

Arsenius, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (1006), XLVI, fig. 1006]
Renata Sulewska

WARSAW, Convent of the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary, a painting, 1709, (ZA, p. 136)

Guthlacus, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (1009), XLVI, fig. 1009]

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325)

Martinianus, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (1010), XLVI, fig. 1010]

RYTWIANY, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Annunciation (formerly Camaldolese), a painted scene from the choir stalls, first half of the 18th century,

CZĘSTOCHOWA (JASNA GÓRA), (Silesian Voivodeship), The Pauline Monastery, Basilica of the Discovery of the Holy Cross and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a painting in the sacristy, after 1651, Master of the Hermits, (M-JK 1, pp. 16, 334-335)

Gallus, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (1012), XLVI, fig. 1012]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), Fr.ardus, a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Egidius, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 207, cat. No. (1014), XLVI, fig. 1014]

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325)

Zoerarde, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 208, cat. No. (1018), XLVI, fig. 1018]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century, (PP, p. 232)

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stall, 1660, (PP, p. 232; BI, p. 325)

SANDOMIERZ, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St Michael's Church, (formerly of the Benedictine nuns), a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century, (PP, p. 232)

Bruno, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 208, cat. No. (1020), XLVI, fig. 1020]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), Fulgentius, a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century

PIŃCZÓW, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), St John the Evangelist Church (formerly Pauline), a painted scene from the choir stalls, 1660, (BI, p. 325)

Arnulphus, Raphael I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 210, cat. No. (1036), XLVI, fig. 1036]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Elphegus, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 210, cat. No. (1042), XLVI, fig. 1042]

RYTWIANY, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Annunciation (formerly Camaldolese), a painted scene from the choir stalls, first half of the 18th century, [KZSwP, III, 11, p. 45, fig. 257]

Antonius, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 211, cat. No. (1046), XLVI, fig. 1046]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Oraculum Anachoreticum, 1595-1600, Johannes I and Raphael I Sadeler, engraving, title and twenty-five numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 212-214, cat. Nos. 1050-1075, XLVI, figs 1050-1075]

Zeno, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 212, cat. No. (1055), XLVI, fig. 1055]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

RYTWIANY, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Annunciation (formerly Camaldolese), a painted scene from the choir stalls, first half of the 18th century,

Symmachus, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 213, cat. No. (1057), XLVI, fig. 1057]

RYTWIANY, (Świętokrzyskie Voivodeship), Church of the Annunciation (formerly Camaldolese), a painted scene from the choir stalls, first half of the 18th century,

Lucius, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 213, cat. No. (1058), XLVI, fig. 1058]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Theobaldus, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 213, cat. No. (1074), XLVI, fig. 1074]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a scene from the painted bench, late 17th century

Gualfardus, Johannes I Sadeler, [HD, LIV, p. 213, cat. No. (1075), XLVI, fig. 1075]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church (formerly of the Carmelite nuns), a painted scene from the choir stalls, late 17th century

SAINTS

St Christopher, 1586, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 216, cat. No. 1088, XLVI, fig. 1088]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), St Mark’s Church, St Christopher and St Paul, a panel from the side altarpiece, late 16th century, KZSwP, IV, part III, 2, p. 39, fig. 338]; in this painting, only the figure of St Christopher follows the engraving

GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), Artus Court, St Christopher’s bench, painting on the reverse side of the small side door, 16th century

St Martin, 1585, Antonie Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 222, cat. No. 1116, XLVI, fig. 1116/II]

NIESZAWA, (Kuyavian-Pomeranian Voivodeship), St Hedwig’s Church, a crowning wooden relief in the side altarpiece, first quarter of the 17th century, [KZSwP, XI, 1, p. 15, fig. 102], (SR, p. 154)

St Michael Triumphing over the Dragon, 1584, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, p. 224, cat. No. 1127, XLVI, fig. 1127/I]

ŚRODA WIELKOPOLSKA, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), The Collegiate Church of the Assumption, a painting, 1654, [KZSwP, V, 24, p. 24, fig. 69]

MORALISTIC SUBJECTS:

EXEMPLES OF REPENTANT SINNERS


Joy in Heaven at One Repentant Sinner, [HD, LIV, p. 228, cat. No. (1146), XLVI, fig. 1146/I]

KAZIMIERZ DOLNY, (Lublin Voivodeship), Górsks’ Town House, sgrafito frieze on the facade, 1607 (reconstructed 1926-1927), (M-JK 2, p. 265)

VIRTUTES OF CHRIST

Virtutes of Christ, 1585-1588, Johannes I Sadeler, engraving, title and eight plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 230-232, cat. Nos. 1152-1160, XLVI, figs 1152-1160]

Sapientia, the Dispute in the Temple, [HD, LIV, p. 231, cat. No. (1155), XLVI, fig. 1155]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr and St Wenceslaus Martyr, trea-
Appendix

sury, antependium (founded by Queen Anna Jagiellon), embroidery, 1594-1596, (Wawel 1, pp. 145-146, cat. No. I/113, comp. Magdalena Piwocka)

Dilectio, Christ carrying the Cross, [HD, LIV, p. 231, cat. No. (1158), XLVI, fig. 1158]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Prelate’s House, a painting, late 16th century, [KZSwP, IV, part II, 1, p. 54, fig. 293]; in this painting, only the women in the foreground and the composition of the background follow the engraving, for the other print used in this painting, see [HD, LIV, p. 99, cat. No. (429), XLV, fig. 429]

Divitiae, the Ascension of Christ, [HD, LIV, p. 231, cat. No. (1159), XLVI, fig. 1159]

CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr and St Wenceslaus Martyr, treasury, antependium (founded by Queen Anna Jagiellon), embroidery, 1594-1596, (Wawel 1, pp. 145-146, cat. No. I/113, comp. Magdalena Piwocka; PM 2, p. 207); in this scene only figures of Mary and the Apostles are based on the original engraving

Gloria, the Trinity with angels around, [HD, LIV, p. 232, cat. No. (1160), XLVI, fig. 1160]

LEŻAJSK, (Subcarpathian Voivodeship), Museum of the Bernardine Province, Adoration of the Trinity, a painting, 1594, Jan Szolc-Wolfowicz, [KZSwP, Sn, III, 4, p. 69, fig. 189]

VIRTUTES

The Seven Virtues, Crispijn de Passe I, engraving, seven numbered plates, [HD, LIV, pp. 234-235, cat. Nos. 1169-1175, XLVI, figs 1169-1175]

Faith, [HD, LIV, p. 234, cat. No. (1169), fig. 1169]

KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpture in the Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century, (SR, p. 151)

SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpted figure on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601, (SR, pp. 151-152)

TARNÓW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a sculpted figure in the Kaspar Branicki’s monument, between 1606-1611, [KZSwP, I, 13, p. 15, fig. 55]

Hope, [HD, LIV, p. 234, cat. No. (1170), fig. 1170]

KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted caryatid in the epitaph of an unknown person, first quarter of the 17th century

SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpted figure in the main altarpiece, circa 1601, (SR, pp. 151-152)
TARNÓW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a sculpted figure in the Kasper Branicki’s monument, between 1606-1611, [KZSwP, I, 13, p. 15, fig. 55]

Charity, [HD, LIV, p. 234, cat. No. (1171), fig. 1171]
KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted figure in the Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century, (SR, p. 151)
KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted caryatid in the epitaph of an unknown person, first quarter of the 17th century

Justice, [HD, LIV, p. 234, cat. No. (1172), fig. 1172]
KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted figure in the Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century, (SR, p. 151)
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpted figure on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601, (SR, pp. 151-152)
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpted figure in the main altarpiece, circa 1601, (SR, pp. 151-152)

Prudence, [HD, LIV, p. 234, cat. No. (1173), fig. 1173]
KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted figure in the Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpted figure on the crowning cornice of the enclosed benefactors’ gallery, circa 1601, (SR, pp. 151-152)
SUSZ, (Warmian-Masurian Voivodeship), St Anthony of Padua Church, a sculpted figure in the main altarpiece, circa 1601, (SR, pp. 151-152)

CHRISTIAN KNIGHT

The Christian Knight, Hieronymus Wierix, engraving, [HD, LIV, pp. 238-239, cat. No. 1199, fig. 1199]
CRACOW, (Lesser Poland Voivodeship), Monastery of the Order of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, library, Graduale carmelitarum, 1644, Stanisław from Stolec, fol. 92v, historiated initial E

CYCLE OF THE VICISSITUDES OF HUMAN LIFE

Title, Johannes Baptista Collaert I, [HD, LIV, pp. 252-253, cat. No. (1266), fig. 1266]
POZNAŃ, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), National Museum, *Allegory of the Course of Human Life*, painting, early 17th century, circle of Anton Möller or Harman Han; (HJ, p. 39, figs 1, 9, 10)

Wealth Brings Forth Pride, Karel van Mallery, [HD, LIV, p. 253, cat. No. (1267), fig. 1267/I]

POZNAŃ, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), National Museum, *Allegory of Wealth*, painting, early 17th century, circle of Anton Möller or Harmann Han; in this painting, only the figure of Wealth is based on the original engraving

Pride Brings Forth Envy, [HD, LIV, p. 253, cat. No. (1268), fig. 1268/I]

POZNAŃ, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), National Museum, *Allegory of Pride*, painting, early 17th century, circle of Anton Möller or Herman Han; in this painting, only the figure of Pride is based on the original engraving

GDAŃSK, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), National Museum, *Allegory of Pride*, painting, early 17th century, circle of Anton Möller or Herman Han; in this painting, only the figure of Pride is based on the original engraving

PROFANE ALEGORIES:

AGES OF MAN


Youth, Labour, [HD, LIV, p. 289, cat. No. (1463), fig. 1463]

NÜRNBERG, (Germany), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, (formerly in Gdańsk), *Minerva Rebuking Youth*, a scene from the former ceiling, 1611-1614, Isaac van den Block, (KMa 2, pp. 211-212, fig 124)

Adulthood, Honour, [HD, LIV, p. 290, cat. No. (1464), fig. 1464]

NÜRNBERG, (Germany), Germanisches Nationalmuseum, (formerly in Gdańsk), *Juno Carrying Honours*, a scene from the former ceiling, 1611-1614, Isaac van den Block, (KMa 2, pp. 211-212, figs 125, 126)

BOOK ILLUSTRATIONS

Missale Romanum, Antverpiae 1606, Jan Moretus, engraving, five illustrations, [HD, LIV, p. 303, cat. Nos. 1549-1553, XLVI, figs 1549-1553]

Christ on the Cross, [HD, LIV, p. 303, cat. No. (1550), fig. 1550]

KWIDZYN, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Co-cathedral Church of St John the Evangelist, a sculpted Crucifixion from the Augustyn Milde’s epitaph, first quarter of the 17th century, (SR, p. 150); only Christ on the Cross and angels are sculpted after this engraving, for the other print used in this sculpture, see [HD, LIV, p. 144, cat. No. 645, XLV, fig. 645/I]

Christ Blessing, frontispiece, Hieronymus Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 304, cat. No. (1554), fig. 1554/I]

OLIWA, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity (formerly Cistercian), a painting, 1615

The Nativity, Hieronymus Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 304, cat. No. (1555), fig. 1555/I]

OLIWA, (Pomeranian Voivodeship), The Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity (formerly Cistercian), a wooden relief from the former main altarpiece, 1604-1606, (SR, p. 146)

Rosarium Sive Psalterium Beatae Virginis Mariae, Antverpiae [1600], Johannes Baptist Collaert I, engraving, twenty-four illustrations, [HD, LIV, pp. 308-310, cat. Nos. 1575-1598, XLVI, figs 1575-1598]

Christ Carrying the Cross and the Miracle of Veronica’s Sudarium, [HD, LIV, p. 309, cat. No. (1584), fig. 1584]

SZADEK, (Łódź Voivodeship), Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St James the Apostle, a painted fragment of the predella of the side altarpiece, early 17th century

The Ascension of Christ, Antonie Wierix, [HD, LIV, p. 309, cat. No. (1588), XLV, fig. 1588]

LĄD, (Greater Poland Voivodeship), The Salesians Church of St Mary and St Nicholas Bishop (formerly Cistercian), a mural on the vault of the presbytery, late 17th century, master WCM

CITED LITERATURE ABBREVIATIONS


(Katatalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, Seria nowa (The Catalog of the Monuments of Art in Poland, New series), vols I-XII, Warszawa 1977-
Appendix

(the number after the Roman numeral indicates the section of that volume),


HJ  Harasimowicz J., *Historia sztuki w dobie rewolucji informatycznej i globalizacji*, "Quart", IV (2010), 1(15), pp. 30-42


KMi  Kurzej M., *Siedemnastowieczne sztukaterie w Małopolsce*, Kraków, DodoEditor, 2012


MM 2  Macharska M., *Ze studiów nad rolą grafiki w polskim malarstwie okresu manieryzmu i wczesnego baroku (obrazy w kościołach Wielkopolski oraz kolegiacie w Łowickiej)*, "Foliae Historiae Artium", XI (1975), pp. 139-165

M-JK 1  Moisan-Jabłońska K., *Obrazowanie walki dobra ze złem*, Kraków, Universitas, 2002


Polish Baroque European Contexts

Warszawa 2012