

MARIUSZ KARPOWICZ

*Baldassare Fontana, an Architect*

Dedicated to the architectural activity of the Italian artist Baldassare Fontana, the paper aims at clarifying certain controversies existing for numerous years now. Although winning more and more praise as a stuccoist, the artist is still awaiting an impartial honest judgment as an architect.

The Author considers the Cracow Church of St Anne to be Baldassare Fontana's major architectural accomplishment, which is testified to by both archival sources and the very form of the facility. Although almost all the scholars have so far attributed it to Tylman van Gameren, it was actually Fontana and Father Sebastian Piskorski, the then Vice-Chancellor of the Cracow Academy cooperating with him, who worked out its architectural concept. It is clearly visible that there are too many differences between the complex asymmetric architecture of St Anne's Church and the academic oeuvre of the renown Dutchman (it is impossible for an architect to have designed works that contradict his nature and all his oeuvre). Fontana, just like any artist, had his favourite detail repertory and his own language of minor elements he constructed the whole with. At least several details can be found in St Anne's Church that can be traced in other Fontana's works. These include four major capital types, extremely individual, quite heavy, ornamental, and value-based, used for decorating the façade and the interior. Moreover, Fontana's contacts with Father Piskorski have been documented. If the archival source were to be interpreted slightly differently than so far, appropriate unequivocal premises could be identified which would confirm the thesis that it was precisely this artist-client team which designed the Cracow church and also significantly contributed to its construction.

The earlier activity of Baldassare Fontana as a designing architect has been confirmed by Czech scholars on the grounds of archival sources. Letters related to the Chapel of St Odile in Vyškov (1692) demonstrate that he was the author of all the architectural and interior décor, including the altar and the frescoes, and that he was responsible for all the works as well. Additionally, data related to the reconstruction and re-decoration of the Cistercian Church in Velehrad (1724-30) have been discovered.

The most interesting and most meaningful documents are related to the reconstruction and

extension of the sanctuary in Kopečk, near Olomouc; the contract of 1722 did not only cover the design and raising of the high altar as well as lateral ones in the transept, but also the decoration and articulation of the nave below the cornice. The contract was therefore of a comprehensive character and in its light Fontana seems to be the individual responsible for everything: from the design to the execution, as well as in all the materials and techniques. He is also the one to whom the western façade and the cloister garth of the Kopečk complex should be attributed.

The second example of Fontana's architecture in Moravia is a small, single-space church in Polešovice (1725-34). The three altars inside are so close to the architectural furnishings in the Velehrad lateral chapel that Moravian scholars have already attributed them to Fontana. One can also take a step further and assume Fontana to have designed the church's structure. This being confirmed not only by the artist's close relations with the Cistercian Abbey in Velehrad, but first of all the fact of the use of characteristic unique capitals, almost identical with the ones he had designed for the nave in Kopečk and Velehrad.

The third interesting facility in Moravia is the Piarist Church in Kroměříž. This exquisite building on an elongated hexagonal plan with a dome and two towers in the façade also features capitals typical of Fontana, identical with the ones in Polešovice or Velehrad. This may be accounted for by the fact that the church built already after Fontana's death (from 1732 or 1737), was raised following his designs.

At this point let us also recall another Moravian work attributed to Fontana, namely the Dominican Church of Archangel Michael in Olomouc, together with its decoration, rebuilt after a fire.

All the above considerations lead to quite an important conclusion for a researcher in Polish art: Baldassare Fontana also has to be regarded as an architect and his artistic activity on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth should be analyzed anew.

The first facility revealing Fontana's contribution as an architect is the Lanckoroński Chapel in Kurozwęki. Its mass dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, while the nave portal, the altar on the entrance axis, the stucco of the dome and of the

pendentives, were executed in ca 1700; the scagliola antependium in the altar features the date: 1701. All these elements were executed under Fontana. The designs of both the altar and the dome decoration were avant-garde for their times and in the Polish realities. The Kurozweki altar features curvatures in its layout, as well as protruding columns which form as if an internal delineated space, a kind of a small stage (the Italians refer to this altar type as *altare a boccascena*; it was invented by Gian Lorenzo Bernini himself). All these elements clearly echo the high altar in the Cracow Church of St Anne (1695), the first one to introduce such innovations on our territory. The next innovative and equally avant-garde solution introduced is the construction of the altar finial in an anti-architectural way: with clouds, angels, and just clouds as the backdrop to the Holy Spirit in the entablature sections. On the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth only the high altar at the Oliwa Cathedral (1688) anticipated the Kurozweki solution, since Fontana's Altar of St Catherine at St Anne's Church dates from 1700. This obviously leads to the conclusion that the design of the Lancokoroński Chapel altar must have been executed by the author of St Anne's Church furnishings, since it clearly echoes the design of his master and cousin, Carlo Fontana from the Albani Chapel in the Roman Church of S. Sebastiano fuori le Mura.

Another monument that must be attributed to Baldassare Fontana as the designer is the Crucifixion Altar in the former Parish Church in Sucha Beskidzka (today by the church's southern wall). Its design must have been created soon after 1700; considering the time of its execution, it is also very special and avant-garde. It boasts four fluted pillars of a square section instead of columns and a huge sunburst in its finial. First of all, however, it is a spatial structure in which two middle edge-to-edge and set forth pillars create such a *boccascena*, though not essentially deep. The whole structure directly echoes the Lamentation Altar at St Anne's Church. The Cracow altar was executed in 1699-1700, therefore the Sucha one is its almost immediate reference. It could have been designed only by Baldassare Fontana as he was the only one applying such a repertory of forms (particularly the sunburst).

The next project designed by Fontana is to be found in the stucco decoration of the portal leading into the Chapel of Our Lady of Loreto at the Cracow Church of Corpus Christi. The earlier frame is crowned with a sunburst surrounding the Loreto House with Virgin and Child sitting on it. The form of this finial is unique and avant-garde and Fontana was the only artist who applied such a solution in Central Europe at the time.

A totally different idea is to be seen in the domed oratory added to the presbytery of the Hebdów church in ca 1700. The oratory plan, actually square, was enriched with three semicircular apses, this yielding in effect a cruciform plan. The dome's stucco decoration and the altars in the apses date from the same time. The scholars have already paid attention to the sophisticated lighting of the oratory space and the altars, referring to it as the "Baroque play with the light," noting lateral illumination, in the central part entering through little windows placed in a purposefully added "annex". This "annex" is Bernini's *pozzo della luce* - illuminated space which Gian Lorenzo Bernini applied in e.g. Raimondi Chapel at San Pietro in Montorio or in the Cornaro Chapel at S. Maria di Vittoria. It is constructed by making a large window in the gable wall, subsequently turned into deep bay window accompanied by windows in lateral walls. The Hebdów *pozzo della luce* features a mediaeval statue of Madonna lit from two invisible windows. This is unquestionably a pioneering solution north of the Alps, a conscious transfer of Bernini's idea conducted by someone who was perfectly familiar with High Baroque accomplishments in Rome. Therefore it is Fontana, Bernini's follower who should be considered as the designer of the set of altars, the box, and the whole oratory.

The oratory's multilayer high altar ranks among the best brilliant designs of church furnishings, which constructs illusion in a masterly way. His designer begins with illusion, and the first layer is constructed as an altar. However, this is only a frame made up of two lateral colonnades, joined at the top with a sunburst, which gives an impression of a homogenous whole. It is a built-in rod screen, displaying the proper altar hidden inside. The next illusion consists in the suggestion that the altar is located much further than in reality. Fontana achieved the effect by diminishing the columns, cornices, angels, versus the first layer. The third measure is to be found in the afore-mentioned "Baroque play with the light". In the relatively dark space under the oratory dome, the presbytery part gleams with light, although the light sources, namely large lateral windows, remain invisible. Finally, the fourth measure is the successful hiding of the "light box" behind the altar. Therefore the author of this sophisticated architecture suggests that it is the miraculous statue of the Madonna that radiates by itself, lighting up the whole space.

The two above remarks lead to the conclusion that Baldassare Fontana was a refined designer, initiated into the Roman world of High Baroque with all its subtleties. This, in turn, yields two further attributions: the first being the altar in the Morsztyn

Chapel in Wieliczka, until now regarded as representing late Baroque. What accounts for its attribution to Fontana is, in fact, the very structure, typical of numerous altars, pear-shaped suspended ornaments frequently used, finally the crowning with the sunburst with little single clouds. The sunburst is almost identical with those in Sucha, the altar of the Holy Cross at St Anne's Church, in Hebdów or other afore-mentioned Moravian examples. If this attribution is correct, then an important time caesura has to be moved: that of the appearance of the sunburst on the Polish territory. The first such project is obviously the Chapel of St Odile in Moravia's Vyškov (1692), followed by Wieliczka, while the high altar at St Anne's Church (1695) is only the third work (its design dating from 1693). Worth recalling here is the world precedent: the Confession of St Francis Xavier in the right transept of the Church of Il Gesù in Rome (1676?) designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini himself.

The second attribution is the altar of marble, marbleization, and stucco in the first chapel on the right of the Church of St John the Baptist (the Servite

Order) in Mendrisio, the latter located in the Canton of Ticino, some dozen kilometres from Baldassare's birthplace, Chiasso. The altar dedicated to the saint of the Servite Order, S. Pellegrino Laziosi, must have been created before 1733. Its forms, unique in the area, reveal Fontana's authorship without a shadow of doubt.

Fontana was both an outstanding stuccoist and architect, designing both architecture of a grand and small scale (buildings' furnishings). He was an innovator who transferred Bernini's avant-garde forms northwards; particularly the sunburst finial, which though conceived in Rome was not appreciated there, but was fully successful north of Italy in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Among his many works, his true *capolavoro* is to be still seen, however, in the Cracow Church of St Anne, one of the most precious and outstanding projects of its time in Europe. Baldassare Fontana also transferred the comprehensive mathematics of light. It has to be strongly emphasized that his designs are far ahead of everything that was happening in Europe north of the Alps and are pioneering in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*

ANNA SARATOWICZ-DUDYŃSKA, DANUTA SZEWCZYK-PROKURAT,  
RAISA RASZKOWA

### *Ciro Ferri's Gilt-bronze Altar from the Chapel at the Royal Castle in Warsaw in the State Museum of the History of Religion in St Petersburg*

Established in the early 1930s, the State Museum of the History of Religion in St Petersburg has an unassuming gilt-bronze altar [Fig. 1] featuring a round plaque which shows the beheading of St John the Baptist [Fig. 3] and the coat of arms of King Stanisław August Poniatowski [Fig. 2] (Б-8497-III). A masterpiece of bronze sculpture, until recently the altar remained totally deprived of its history or any attributions for that matter.<sup>1</sup> The altar was shown to the public for the first time at the *World of the Bible* exhibition in St Petersburg (from 27 November 2008 to 27 May 2009) as an art piece of unknown origin made in Western Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup> c.

This article focuses on artistic merit of the piece, i.e. an attempt at determining the authorship and the date of the altar, as well as on its provenance in time. In-depth archival studies on the history of the art collection of the Royal Castle in Warsaw have

provided solid grounds for linking this superb *objet-d'art* with the Castle Chapel in Warsaw, the residence of the Polish Kings.

The first reference to the altar appears in a document entitled *Ekspens pieniężny na fabrykę Zamku Warszawskiego... Roku 1777 zakończony [Expenditure on the Remodelling of Warsaw Castle... Completed in 1777]* drafted in connection with the remodelling and decorating the interiors of the royal residence in the mid-1770s. In addition to the list of expenses, the document also contains a list and valuation of items owned by King Stanisław August which were used to decorate the Castle premises. The excerpt relating to the Chapel lists three such sacral art pieces:

One square painting of Lord Jesus Retiring by Mr Rembrandt placed on the Altar; oil painting on canvas, priced # 300 (...) one oval mosaic of Our

Lady, in gilt-bronze frame # 300 (...); **Beheading of St John in the altar, in gilt-bronze # 400** (...).<sup>2</sup>

There is no doubt that the last entry refers to the bronze altar kept in the State Museum of the History of Religion, and the date of the document, i.e. 1777, is *terminus ante quem* of evidencing the presence of the piece in the Royal Castle in Warsaw. This identification is further confirmed in the *Inventory of the Royal Castle* of 1795 which offers further important details:

In the Chapel Sanctuary: The gilt-bronze altar in which the medallion is upheld by two little angels shows the beheading of St John; the coat of arms of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania on the pedestal below.<sup>3</sup>

Reference to the altar is also made in a document written in French most likely soon after the death of the King in 1798.<sup>4</sup> The part of the document entitled *Spécification des Effets en Bronze, savoir Bras, Girandoles et Chandeliers sans compter aux appartenans à la République* contains the following entry: *Dans la petite Chapelle: Un Tableau d'Autel fait en bronze doré dont le médaillon soutenu par de petits Anges représenté la décollation de St Jean.*<sup>5</sup>

One may wonder why the altar, quite impressive and made of gilt bronze, failed to attract foreign guests who visited the Castle at the time. The account by Fortia de Piles and Boisgelin de Kerdu<sup>6</sup> mentions merely a fine painting entitled *Ecce Homo*, then attributed to Rembrandt.<sup>7</sup> Little was changed later when this painting was replaced with a copy by Mateusz Tokarski, the royal painter. The English traveller Richard Smith, who visited Warsaw in 1816 makes a reference to the *Ecce Homo* painting totally disregarding the bronze altar.<sup>8</sup>

There is no doubt, however, as duly attested in archive records, that the altar was still in the Chapel during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw (1807-1815) and of the Kingdom of Poland (1815-1832). The entry in the inventory made between 1819 and 1827 reads as follows: *The Beheading of St John, made in gilt-bronze.*<sup>9</sup>

The inventory from the years 1832-37, made after the suppression of the November Rising and the destruction of some Castle interiors by the Russian authorities, does not list the bronze altar in the Castle Chapel.<sup>10</sup>

The archive records in St Petersburg cast some light on what happened to the altar later on. Apparently, Joanna Grudzińska (1791-1831), Duchess of Łowicz, is connected to the disappearance of the altar from the Chapel. Joanna

Grudzińska was the wife of Grand Duke Constantine Pavlovich of Russia (1779-1831) who, following their marriage, renounced his claim to the throne in favour of his brother Nicholas (1796-1855). Interestingly enough, the marriage ceremony of the two was held on the Castle Chapel on 24 May 1820. After the outbreak of the rising on 29 November 1830 and a failed assassination attempt, the couple left Warsaw. Grand Duke Constantine died of cholera in Vitebsk on 27 June 1831. His wife, also laden with disease, accompanied the funeral procession all the way to Petersburg where soon after, i.e. on 29 November 1831, she passed away and, in accordance with her last will, was buried in St John's Roman Catholic Church at Tsarskoye Selo.<sup>11</sup> Designed by W.P. Stasov (1769-1848),<sup>12</sup> the church was built in the years 1825-26, largely from the public collection of funds. In 1831 the Duchess offered 11,000 roubles for the appurtenances and interior décor of the temple<sup>13</sup> in which she wished to be buried.

No sooner had she left Poland than she set out to remove the entire decoration of the Chapel in Warsaw including the altar. In her last will<sup>14</sup> and in her earlier correspondence with Nicholas I,<sup>15</sup> she requested that "the altar from the Catholic chapel where her marriage was solemnized" and "the entire Chapel along with its appurtenances be brought" from the Castle to Petersburg.

The archives of the Ministry of the Imperial Court, contain numerous documents relating to the execution of the Duchess' last will.<sup>16</sup> On 12 October 1832, Prince Pyotr Volkonsky, Minister of the Imperial Court, passed the order of Nicholas I to General Ivan Paskevich: "His Imperial Highness ordered me to advise your Lordship that the altar in the Catholic Chapel of the Castle in Warsaw, along with all its appurtenances, be packed in cases and forwarded to Petersburg. Passing the will of the Emperor, may it please your Lordship that said altar has been designated for the Catholic church at Tsarskoye Selo in which the Duchess of Łowicz is buried to commemorate her marriage solemnized before this very altar."<sup>17</sup>

The bronze altar remained at the Castle in Warsaw until 19 January 1833.<sup>18</sup> It is registered in the "Inventory of Items from the Catholic Chapel Shipped to Petersburg" as "Gilt-bronze depicting the Beheading of St John the Baptist. 2 ells in height and 1 ell in width."<sup>19</sup>

On 9 March 1833 the Ministry of the Imperial Court informed Oberhofmeister Count Litta and Chief Administrator of Imperial Palaces and of Tsarskoye Selo, General J.W. Zachorzewski that a Catholic altar from Warsaw would be delivered to the Catholic church. The following day Count Litta followed by General Zachorzewski confirmed the receipt of the

altar “as ordered by His Imperial Highness” and delivering the same to the Catholic church”.<sup>20</sup>

It was not long after that the origin of the altar, i.e. the Castle Chapel in Warsaw, faded away. In 1911 S.N. Wilczkowski, author of the monograph on St John’s at Tsarskoye Selo, wrote: “Above the tabernacle with the Holy Sacrament a fine bronze relief is placed showing the beheading of St John the Baptist”, taking erroneously the coats of arms of King Stanisław August as the coats of arms of “Her Ladyship Duchess Joanna of Łowicz”, the benefactor of the church.<sup>21</sup>

After the October Revolution struggling with financial problems and against an unfavourable political climate, the Church operated until its closure on 1 February 1938. The elements of the interior decorations were moved to State Warehouses and on 22 May 1938 they were handed over to the State Museum of the History of Religion<sup>22</sup> including, according to the inventory list then drafted, “Bronze relief from the 18<sup>th</sup> c. ‘Bringing the Head of St John the Baptist’”,<sup>23</sup> marked 827 in the subsequent register as “‘Beheading St John the Baptist’ – bronze relief; in the upper part in the roundel: ‘Beheading St John the Baptist’ relief; below: coat of arms”.

At this point the link of the altar with King Stanisław August and also with Joanna Grudzińska fell into oblivion, and soon after, the altar itself was deemed to have been totally lost. The lost altar was mentioned in numerous publications, most notably in the proceedings from the 18<sup>th</sup> Scientific Conference held in the Tsarskoye Selo State Museum on 26-28 November 2012.<sup>24</sup>

\*\*\*

As it has already been said, in 1777 the altar was included in the interior décor of the Chapel becoming an important element of the artistic and ideological message of this fairly small albeit highly sophisticated interior. Arguably, its Baroque form had a bearing on the solutions proposed by the designers of the Chapel.

Further studies were prompted by somewhat insignificant notes in Ewa Manikowska’s work entitled *Sztuka Ceremonial Informacja...* [Art, Ceremonial, Information...] which helped identify the altar as a gift of Apostolic Nuncio Giuseppe Garampi (1725-1792) for King Stanisław August. The researcher cites from the Nuncio’s journal his description of handing over the gift during the inauguration of his mission in Poland in 1772:

His Majesty’s equerry appeared and acting on his behalf presented me with seven perky and tall black horses. The horses were brought to the courtyard.... As the gift was being presented, a **wooden chest with a gilt-bronze relief** was dispatched as a gift for the King. Two of my servants were sent along, and

Canon Rosoli, my treasurer was vested with the task of presenting my gift to Court Master Karras. The latter ordered the bronze relief to be brought in and carried to the model and apprentice room, and His Majesty was to appear there around noon to take a close look.<sup>25</sup>

While the note concerning *the gilt-bronze relief* is far from being precise, there is no doubt that it is linked to the altar, since there is only one fine gilt-bronze relief in the royal collection of art pieces and among the items of décor of the Castle interiors.<sup>26</sup>

As evidenced in the account, the chest was taken to the model and apprentice room for the viewing of the King accompanied by his court artists. The King must have been pleased as the Nuncio reported his favourable opinion about the gift in a letter addressed to Lazzaro Opizio Cardinal Pallavicini, Secretary of State of the Holy See of 16 September 1772.<sup>27</sup>:

Il regalo del bronzo, che feci a S[ua] M[aestà] è riescito di molto suo gradimento. Di che supplico V[ostra] E[mminenza] di render inteso M[ae]stro nostro Riminaldi, che me ne fu sì opportuno autore. (The bronze presented to His Majesty pleased him a great deal. I therefore ask Your Eminence to notify our Master Riminaldi, the successful author of the same.)<sup>28</sup>

While the indication provided in the text and attributing the gift of the Apostolic Nuncio for King Stanisław August to Riminaldi seems fairly clear,<sup>29</sup> there was no sculptor by this name living and working in Italy at that time capable of such a superb work of art. If anything, this must be a reference to Gian Maria Riminaldi (1718-1789), thinker, ecclesiastical jurist, knowledgeable connoisseur of Antiquity, and one of the most distinguished art collectors of the day, most notably of Baroque sculpture. During the years 1763-89 Riminaldi bequeathed to the University of Ferrara the art pieces from his collection including marble sculptures, bronzes, furniture, mosaics and paintings which are now exhibited at Palazzo Bonacossi in Ferrara in a museum which bears his name.

Cardinal Pallavicini, Garampi’s correspondent, had close links with Riminaldi, both as friends and as partners who worked together on the reform of the University of Ferrara carried out in 1771.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, this was exactly the time when Apostolic Nuncio Garampi prepared his gift for the Polish king.

While carrying our research, we were hoping that the surviving correspondence between Riminaldi and Pallavicini would confirm the involvement of the former in preparing the gift for the King and would also provide answers to other questions

posed, namely, what was the rationale behind the selection of this particular gift for Stanisław August, what changes were made to the object, and what iconographic sources were used in fabricating the royal coat of arms. Finally, we wanted to find out how Riminaldi got hold of the altar and whether the altar was part of his art collection. Regrettably, the survey of the library holdings at Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea in Ferrara<sup>31</sup> proved futile.

The fact remains that the altar which shows the beheading of St John was very well thought of not only in terms of its form which appealed to the taste of the monarch but also in terms of its content. After all, the Castle Chapel was under direct supervision of the Warsaw Cathedral dedicated to St John the Baptist. Carrying out a detailed survey as to the needs and taste of the recipient of a gift well fitted a long-standing diplomatic custom.<sup>32</sup> Arguably, the new Apostolic Nuncio must have ascertained the King's preferences by asking around the King's entourage. In the case of a gift from Lorenzo Litta of 1794, for example, the King specified straightforwardly the type of object that would give his consolation. Instead of micromosaic tables, which he had received from the previous Apostolic Nuncio Ferdinand Maria Saluzzo, the King wished to get console tables fabricated in the *pietra dura* workshop in Florence.<sup>33</sup>

\*\*\*

The altar offered by the Apostolic Nuncio as a gift to the King is an impressive structure cast from bronze and subsequently chiselled and gilded, measuring 150 cm in height and 80 cm in width [Fig. 1]. The relief roundel 47 cm in diameter featuring the martyrdom of St John the Baptist occupies the central part [Fig. 3]. Set in a wide, threaded, and richly ornamented frame, the relief rests on a somewhat sunken pedestal which, in turn, is held between two substantial volutes on which cherubim are seated holding the tondo and pointing at the scene. In the middle of the pedestal and against the paludamentum, there is Stanisław August's coat of arms topped with the crown [Fig. 2]. The frame of the tondo, held in the upper part on both sides by volutes ornamented with oak leaf festoons is topped with a semi-circular crownpiece featuring lilies in the *corona radiata*. The crownpiece is sandwiched between two impressive volutes.

The martyrdom scene occupies a fairly shallow space against the background of stone walls of the prison and the gate that is open a fraction showing St John immediately after beheading. The headless body lies on the stone floor. Holding the sword in his right hand, the executioner swings his left arm and places the martyr's head onto the bowl held by Salome. A female servant lurks behind Salome's back.

The composition of this extremely powerful scene, with the bowl right in the centre and the arrangement of heads and robes ruffled by a sudden gust of wind is an masterly extension of the round shape of the whole relief. While the figures lean aside, they are somehow pulled back together. The executioner forcefully extends his hand with the head cut off while Salome draws the bowl held firmly in her palms. The muscular body of the saint and his wide back and shoulders occupies a fairly substantial part of the scene, balanced diagonally by the torsos of Salome and her servant.

The statues are set against a fairly shallow background. However, the head and the knee of the executioner, the head of Salome, and the head and the shoulders of St John are almost fully carved in contrast to a fairly flat statue of the servant. This, in fact, creates the depth of the scene.

The unfolding drama is reinforced by the contrast between the hardened and tense faces of the statues, with their eyes set on the head of St John, and the ripples of their robes and intensity of their moves [Fig. 3].

Further studies on this art piece were prompted by the discovery of the circumstances in which the altar was brought to Warsaw and the imposing "Roman" character of its form. An iconographic survey on St John the Baptist helped find a direct analogy to the central part of the relief in question. This is a roundel mounted in the marble finish of the altar table of the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in the Valletta Cathedral in Malta, made in Rome in the years 1688-89<sup>34</sup> [Fig. 4]. The roundel is practically identical with that in the Warsaw altar.<sup>35</sup> Basically, the only differences between both reliefs are in the frame and in the finishing details of the castings.

The manner of chiselling and punching the Castle relief is essentially more decorative, and this is best evidenced in more ornamental approach to the hair of the characters [Fig. 5]. The woolly hair is plaited, and so are the details of the camel skin that covers St John's hips [Fig. 6]. Some elements of the scene, e.g. the robes, are smoother and with a more fine texture than in the Maltese counterpart. The ornamentation of Salome's robe is also different. Salome has more refined feet and palms in the Warsaw altar. Similarly, the elements of the background exhibit some minor differences: the texture of stone and wood in the Warsaw piece is clearer [Fig. 7]; the gilding is thicker and better preserved.

A major difference is seen in the presentation of the executioners. In the Warsaw relief there is an elaborate tuft of hair on the executioner's chest [Fig. 5], an element absent in the Maltese piece [Fig. 4]. Such a modification may have been made while preparing

the mould for the casting by removing this element or, a less likely hypothesis, since this would require considerably more work, at the stage of final chiselling and punching which led to the removal of this element. It seems that the presence of the tuft of hair indicates that the Warsaw relief could have been fabricated earlier. Such a claim could also be reinforced by a more precise completion of other details including the texture of wood and stone, balustrade, parts of hair and the shroud of the servant [Fig. 7]. All these elements appear to have reflected the author's conception more thoroughly. This is particularly pertinent in the case of the Maltese roundel where the chiseller did not really figure out where the hair ends and where the shroud begins on the servant's head<sup>36</sup> [Fig. 4].

In 1970, after analysing the form of the gilt-bronze roundel from Malta, Hanno-Walter Kruft assigned the design and supervision over its fabrication to Ciro Ferri (1634-1689), a disciple and partner of Pietro da Cortona, and the execution of the piece to Giovanni Battista Foggini.<sup>37</sup> Ferri's authorship was brought to the fore following the analysis the archival records indicated by Keith Scriberras some thirty years later who denied the possibility of execution of the relief by Foggini.<sup>38</sup> While concentrating on the form of the piece, Kruft and Scriberras point primarily to female statues, so characteristic of Ferri as well as the manner of modelling the folds of the robes. "The rendition of the drapery folds that fall in thin sharply delineated folds that flicker and waft as under the effect of blowing wind", claims Scriberras.<sup>39</sup>

Known paintings and drawings by Ciro Ferri, or their graphic interpretations, do not contain anything that would serve as a direct prototype of the scene. It seems that for the needs of the relief the author compiled long-standing iconographic types: the inside scene, the walls of the prison building, and the dominating figure of half-naked executioner whose hair is tied with a headband. Jan Sadeler's I engraving based on Maerten de Vos from the years 1580-90<sup>40</sup> or the etching by Giovanni Battista Mercati from 1626<sup>41</sup> seem close to Ferri's work. What remains by far the closest piece of art to the one in question is the engraving by Pieter de Jode I. Artistically fairly weak, this engraving is based on a painting by Peter Paul Rubens<sup>42</sup> depicting the executioner, Salome, and the servant. In this scene, the executioner rests his leg on the dead body of St John.

Ferri's *oeuvre* contains two interesting drawings which show the beheading of other saints, i.e. one entitled *The Martyrdom of a Saint*,<sup>43</sup> sold at an auction at Christie's in 2000, and a drawing from an auction in 2008 at Bonhams<sup>44</sup> which shows the beheading of a young martyr. Arguably, these

drawings were inspired by the two presentations of the martyrdom of St Paul from the Church of San Paolo Maggiore in Bologna, both made by Alessandro Algardi. One is the statuary marble group of the *Beheading of St Paul* and the other the bronze relief which decorates the altar table; the former added by the artist in 1648 illustrates the miracles that happened when the saint's head bounced on the ground. Ferri's drawing from Christie's comprises both works of art from the church in Bologna.<sup>45</sup>

Such convergences cannot be surprising, especially in the light of opinions reported by Jennifer Montagu<sup>46</sup> about immense popularity of the Algardi's relief and of the existence of its innumerable copies.<sup>47</sup> Many of them must have been made by Ercole Ferrata who inherited the mould. "There is not a studio either of a painter or a dilettante in which it cannot be found."<sup>48</sup> The direct influence of the Bologna roundel featuring the martyrdom of St Paul on the iconography of the beheading of St John is evidenced, for example, in the altar table relief from the years 1672-75 in a church in Montoggio. Attributed to the sculptor Anselmo Quadro,<sup>49</sup> the relief features the statue of the executioner and the headless corpse, both reproduced from the Bolognese tondo. However, these are shown in the company of Salome who holds a bowl containing the head – an obvious departure from the content of the original scene.<sup>50</sup> It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that Ferri knew the art piece by Algardi. When in 1685 he was working with his pupils on the fourteen terracotta roundels containing the scenes from the Way of the Cross for S. Pietro d'Alcantara Monastery at Villa Ambrogiana in Montelupo, its founder Cossimo III Medici personally indicated *Beheading of St Paul* from the high altar of the Bolognese church as a benchmark followed by artists as close as it was possible.<sup>51</sup>

In the context of Algardi's works where *Beheading of St Paul* is shown through the statuary group and by means of an altar table relief, it is interesting to note that the same type of narration is present in the oratory of St John's Co-Cathedral in La Valletta. The scene on Ciro Ferri's relief (placed exactly the same as in the church in Bologna – right in the middle of the altar table) in which the executioner placed the head of St John in the bowl held by Salome is an extension of a fairly grim scene of the execution of the Saint shown in a painting by Caravaggio of 1608 (seen in the background above the altar table). It is worth bearing in mind that contrary to the hypotheses that come from this formal and technical analysis of the two roundels, the complementary nature of these presentations may prove that the Maltese roundel was executed

first or the two roundels were made simultaneously when the order for the Maltese church was effected.

To determine the composition and the modelling of figures in Ciro Ferri's roundel, it is essential to analyse other drawings by the artist or their graphic interpretations which exhibit striking similarities in the way the figures are presented. This is best evidenced in the way the executioner is shown. An engraving by Giovanni Battista Bonacina (1610 ca./1670) after Ciro Ferri<sup>52</sup> is a case in point. It shows Hercules, with his legs drawn in a characteristic manner, slaying the Hydra [Fig. 8]. The same composition of the main character is repeated in a drawing entitled *The Holy Family Disembarking from a Boat* from the auction of *The Ingram Collection* at Sotheby's in 2005<sup>53</sup> [Fig. 9] or the copy of the same in the art collection of the British Museum.<sup>54</sup> A fairly small engraving by Jean Louis Rouillet after Ciro Ferri which presents David slaying Goliath offers yet another piece of evidence<sup>55</sup> [Fig. 10]. In this drawing David, dressed in a robe that flows in the wind, stands over the fallen enemy's body sandwiched between his legs, with the right knee of David moved forward. The composition from the roundel relief is repeated also in the way Goliath's body is presented. It lies diagonally, his muscular back is bent, and the elbow of his right hand is raised.

Many drawings as well as Ferri's paintings demonstrate violent movements of the characters, a typical feature that controls the impressions evoked. The scene shown in the gilt-bronze relief exposes the violent movement of the executioner's hand, extended and yet somewhat withheld, holding the severed head of the saint, a motif frequently found in the artist's works. Naturally, similar gestures and poses occur in the works of other artists, notably in Ferri's master Pietro da Cortona. Nevertheless, it seems that they are Ciro Ferri's favourite domain, and the gestures and postures of his characters demonstrate a greater degree of violence and expression than those found in canvases or drawings of his master.

A totally different approach to Pietro da Cortona's manner of showing draperies – as if suddenly set in motion and flowing in the wind apparently irrespective of the real motions of the characters, forming numerous horizontal and oblique folds – is easily noticeable in many drawings by Ferri such as, for instance, *Noli me tangere*<sup>56</sup> [Fig. 11] from the *Old Master Drawings* auction of 8 July 2009 at Sotheby's in London or in the robes worn by Virtue and Vice in *Hercules at the Crossroads* from the British Museum<sup>57</sup> [Fig. 12].

Evidently, this manner of draperies set in motion and flowing in the wind so meticulously imitated in

the bronze roundel, seems to confirm the assumptions made by Keith Sciberras that the artist himself must have made the model for the roundel all by himself.<sup>58</sup> Rendering the essence of Ferri's design on paper in such a perfect manner by anyone else, be it an experienced modeller, is quite inconceivable. Until recently, a wax model of a roundel presenting the Flagellation of Jesus Christ, from the Staatliche Museum in Berlin<sup>59</sup> was ascribed to Ferri beyond any doubt. However, Jennifer Montagu claims that the roundels on the cover of the font at San Giovanni in Fonte Baptistery in Rome may well have been modelled by the artist himself.<sup>60</sup> Other researchers<sup>61</sup> also point to a striking similarity between the roundel with the beheading of St John and tondos with effigies of saints, attributed to Ferri, from St Mary Magdalene de Pazzi in Florence. Arguably, in this case Ferri could have designed as well as made the moulds for the casting of such reliefs. That said, it seems that the gilt-bronze roundel in question is superior to the Florentine set of reliefs in terms of clarity of composition and lightness of execution while retaining the same depth of relief.

The hypothesis concerning Ferri's authorship made on the basis of formal premises by Hanno-Walter Kruft,<sup>62</sup> appears highly plausible in the light of archival documents that have survived. In his article published in 1999, Keith Sciberras<sup>63</sup> closely followed the story of the order for a new hand reliquary for the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in the Conventual Church of St John in Valletta. This magnificent piece made of silver and gilt-bronze was to be placed on a new altar of the Oratory, and the bronze roundel was to be part of the same. During the period of designing, order execution, and shipping from Rome to Malta, i.e. from spring 1686 to November 1689, the name of Ciro Ferri does not appear in any sources.<sup>64</sup> It does pop up only in the context of settlements of accounts between the heirs of the artist and the executors of the last will of Grand Master Gregorio Carafa, already after the death of Ferri at the beginning of 1690 and Carafa's some months later.<sup>65</sup> These settlements referred to the reliquary as well as to the altar, and, as Sciberras believes, may also pertain to the roundel that constitutes a part of the altar.<sup>66</sup>

Although there is no direct confirmation in the archival documents, an in-depth analysis of Ciro Ferri's *oeuvre* clearly points out to an assertion that he designed the relief and, more so, he may have made a model for its casting.

\*\*\*

A formal analysis of the architectural setting of the Warsaw roundel should begin with an assertion



that the coat of arms located in the altar pedestal is stylistically incompatible and it is a secondary addition. This does not merely refer to the oval plaque bearing a five-field royal coat of arms of King Stanisław August but also the part of the paludamentum and to the almost three dimensional crown at the top. They were undoubtedly cast and mounted separately, as evidenced in the crevices and mounting screws. Additional evidence comes in the form of Rococo style rooster's combs in the frame of the shield, and the chain with the Order of the White Eagle cross. There is no doubt that the coat of arms was not fabricated in Poland. This is testified by the lowered wings of the eagle, i.e. Poland's coat of arms, Pogoń or the charging knight, i.e. the coat of arms of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, shown as an improperly dressed horseman in clothes characteristic of Antiquity, and the finial of Stanisław August's private coat of arms in the form of a helmet with a crest as well as an inadequate presentation of the cross of the Order of the White Eagle [Fig. 2]. All things considered, the execution of the altar cannot be linked with the gift for Stanisław August, and, therefore, it must have been made earlier.

Arguably, the roundel featuring the beheading of St John as well as its architectural setting may well be attributed to Ciro Ferri. The already mentioned Maltese reliquary of St John may serve here as a good point of reference [Fig. 13]. A confirmed attribution to Ferri, the reliquary was fabricated by Roman goldsmith Urbano Bartalesi (1641-1726)<sup>67</sup> at least in the part concerning the casting of silver elements.

A comparison of the Castle altar with the reliquary from Valletta<sup>68</sup> reveals several analogies. Both retables show specific *horror vacui*. There are also numerous similarities in the rich ornamentation. In both cases sinuous volutes constitute an important construction and ornamentation element. They are expressively bent and finished with diagonally set scrolls; other volutes seem to form acanthus leaves [Fig. 15a, 15b]. Both share the same motif, namely, volutes in quasi-auricular style seen from the side in the bottom part of the Warsaw altar [Fig. 14] and forming a cartouche above the node of the reliquary [Fig. 13]. Both art pieces feature smooth sinuous lines of shell-like elements with clear cut ribs. These elements either top or link individual parts exposing the central axis of the piece. The frame of the tondo of the altar from Warsaw as well as the exterior lining of the opening where the relic has its place and the moulding of the pedestal of St John's reliquary feature a similar luscious acanthus ornament nicely spaced out. Laurel festoons also exhibit similar features. In addition to the same

subject matter of the two pieces and the resulting similarities, there are also floral elements found in both, i.e. blooming lilies with their buds rising and palm twigs.

An analysis of the putti also confirms similarities [Fig. 16a, 16b, 16c]. While made from different moulds, the proportions of individual body parts, movements, fairly plump palms and feet, small turned-up noses, lips open a fraction, and wide-set eyes with big pupils are very much alike. It is noteworthy that they can be found in other sketches by Ferri.<sup>69</sup> The manner of placing the putti on the left side of the art pieces and their respective shapes bear a close resemblance [Fig. 16b, 16c].

The similarity of the two art pieces comes predominantly from the fact that despite a myriad of ornamental and sometimes purely decorative elements, they neither obscure the form nor dominate over the elements that carry the main message of the pieces, i.e. the roundel with the scene of martyrdom held up by the putti in the Warsaw altar or St John's reliquary from Malta pointed out ever so discreetly by the angels kneeling on the sides.

The addition of the coat of arms of Stanisław August to the altar from Warsaw Castle does not overshadow the martyrdom of St John, the subject matter of the piece. That said, it does affect the whole structure, since its numerous details are a bit too decorative. In order to keep the whole composition well balanced, it seems that there should be but an empty space filled up with a single larger element. A single-field coat of arms – to balance out the lilies in the crown at the top might do justice.

Further comparative work involving the altar in question and other designs or works designed by Ciro Ferri reveals even more similarities. Take, for instance, the tabernacle in Santa Maria in Vallicella Church in Rome<sup>70</sup> and its designs that have been preserved to this day. The tabernacle has a highly specific composition in which numerous elements of various sizes seem to circle the central oval plaque featuring a pelican. The two putti on both sides of the plaque, specifically in the drawing of the tabernacle kept in the Royal Library in Windsor<sup>71</sup> [Fig. 17] show a resemblance to the groups of putti from the Warsaw altar. The same can be said about the group of putti from a Versailles stoup,<sup>72</sup> yet another work designed by Ciro Ferri and made by Urbano Bartalesi, who also worked on the reliquary from Malta.

The structure of the altar, unveiling ingenuity of diverse ornamentation on the one hand and amazing clarity and balance of expression on the other seem to testify to the opinion expressed by Nicodemus

Tessin the Younger after visiting Ferri's workshop in the years 1687-88, and cited in Montagu<sup>73</sup> and Scriberras while elaborating on other works of art: "e in ogni tipo di ornamento egli e cosi ricco, pronto e bizzaro che finora non ho visto nessuno starli alla pari, se non fosse per Monsieur Le Brun, che gli si avvicina quanto a invenzioni originali a bizzarrie."<sup>74</sup>

Two other designs drawn by Ferri bear some resemblance to the altar in Warsaw. These refer to the cover of the font in the Baptistery at the Basilica of St John Lateran (*S. Giovanni in Fonte*)<sup>75</sup> with sizeable volutes on the sides of an oval medallion with a relief. A more detailed drawing [Fig. 18] shows how these volutes split at their end with a characteristic tongue in the middle. The base of the font features an ornamental stripe identical to the ornament used in the frame of the tondo of the Warsaw altar. They are both made up of acanthus leaves alternating with stylised shells. The cover of the font is decorated with lilies and palm twigs, a motif found in the altar. They seem to be growing from the volutes of the cover and following their shape [Fig. 19]. The s-shaped volutes decorated with acanthus leaves, placed on both sides of the reliefs, also bear a close resemblance. When looking at the executed bronze font cover, one can easily discern the characteristic acanthus flower on the stem in the corners of the volutes at either sides of the tondo. Almost the same motif is found in the volutes that hold up the altar.<sup>76</sup>

While the motifs indicated are fairly common, their existence and mutual relations as well as the way they make up the characteristic composition of the whole uphold a claim that the altar in question belongs to *Ciro Ferri's oeuvre*. Despite differences in ornamentation and in the finishing manner of other works of art of the artist, the approach to the composition, seems the same, i.e. equal treatment of architectural and ornamental elements. The decorations superimposed on the architectural framework, despite the obvious *horror vacui*, do not seem superfluous. On the contrary, they are organically linked and are constitutive elements of the piece and its form.

At this point, it is worth bearing in mind that we did not manage to find identical and identically worked out decorative details with those of the altar in Ferri's works mentioned above and in other works designed by the artist. Interestingly enough, some of them can be found in the works of Giovanni Giardini<sup>77</sup>, a great silversmith and founder of the Baroque in Rome. The stoup from c. 1702 in the collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>78</sup> for instance, shows a characteristic manner of decorating profiles in the form of engraved and not cast

ornaments as those found in the cornices of the Warsaw altar. The same can be said about the St Rose reliquary<sup>79</sup> made by Giardini featuring similar finishing details: double helix volutes, lavish festoons, acanthus leaf decorated frames, etc. However, despite the apparent similarity, it seems that the underlying principle of the composition is different from that exhibited in the Warsaw altar where its ornamentation constitutes an important part of the whole, and is not merely used for decorative purposes.

Made some fifty years later, an *anconetta* from 1744 that can be attributed to Francesco Giardini, can be an interesting analogy to the analysed altar. A gift of Pope Benedict XIV for St Peter's Church in Bologna, it has practically the same measurements as the Warsaw piece, i.e. 148 × 82 cm, similar proportions and repertoire of architectural and ornamental forms. The central place is occupied by a roundel relief – *Adoration of the Shepherds* – made in accordance with the earlier model by Angelo de Rossi of 1711, albeit in all a totally different style<sup>80</sup> [Fig. 20].

Perhaps the answers to some of the questions posed or doubts raised concerning the making of the altar featuring the martyrdom of St John the Baptist from the Castle Chapel lie hidden behind the wooden board at its back. However, its removal for analysis is not now possible, which leaves the researcher with but one option – to continue archival studies hoping to find the missing information concerning the circumstances in which the altar was made, its possible commissioner or founder.

It seems that identifying a possible commissioner would require an in-depth study of the sources concerning *Ciro Ferri's patrons* from the last decade of his artistic activity, focusing particularly on those who venerated St John the Baptist. Such a list will include the sons of the nephew of Pope Innocent X (Giovanni Battista Pamphili) Camillo Pamphili: the elder or the Pope's namesake – Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1648-1709), and the younger – Benedetto Pamphili (1653-1730). We know, for instance, that in 1684 *Ciro Ferri* was to make a painting of St John the Baptist with St Andrew and St Peter for Benedetto, Grand Prior of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Rome from 1678 and a cardinal from 1681.<sup>81</sup>

It is likely that the archive Italian sources that have been preserved to this day will disclose specific information concerning this fine art piece which till the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c. must have been the object of admiration and interest among connoisseurs of art.

*Translated by Adam Janiszewski*

<sup>1</sup> Our sincere thanks are due to Professor Katarzyna Miłkocka-Rachubowa who, sensing that the altar in question kept in the Russian collection may be linked to the Royal Castle in Warsaw, informed us about its existence, forwarded photos thereof, and vehemently supported our research with her expertise and kindness. We also wish to thank Artur Badach, Ph.D., for his pertinent assistance and encouragement to further our studies.

<sup>2</sup> Biblioteka Czartoryskich 909 [The Princes Czartoryski Library], *Ekspens pieniężny na fabrykę Zamku Warszawskiego to jest na Reperacyę Audyencyonalney Sali (...), I. Kaplicy, Apartamentów Xcia Stanisława, etc Roku 1777 zakończony*, [Expenditure on the Remodelling of Warsaw Castle including the Refurbishment of the Audience Hall (...) the Chapel, and the Living Quarters of Prince Stanisław, etc. Completed in 1777], p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *Inwentarz Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie z 1795 roku*, ed. Natalia ŁADYKA, Warszawa 1997, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Most likely not later than in 1808.

<sup>5</sup> AGAD [Central Archives of Historical Records], Archiwum Józefa Poniatowskiego 232, p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Fortia de PILES, Boisgelin de KERDU, *Voyage de deux Français en Allemagne, Danemark, Suede, Russie et Pologne fait en 1790-1792*, Paris, 1796, V, p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> As a matter of fact, a painting by Nicolaes Maes, currently kept in the State Hermitage, cf.: Nicolaes Maes, *Mocking of Christ*, Holland, the 1850s, oil canvas 190.5 × 119.5 cm, information concerning the history of the painting, cf.: Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Galeria Stanisława Augusta*, Lvov 1932, Part. II, p. 239; Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Obrazy Rembrandta w galerii Stanisława Augusta*, [Paintings by Rembrandt in Stanisław August Art Gallery], Kraków 1929, p. 22, Fig. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Richard SMITH, *Notes made during a tour in Denmark, Holstein... The Rhine Country...*, London, 1816, p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Inventory of the Royal Castle, *Inwentarz pochodzący z aktów Guberni Augustowskiej*, Inwentarze Zamku Królewskiego, inv. 30, p. 72b.

<sup>10</sup> *Inwentarz Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie z 1837 roku*, ed. Agnieszka MOCZULSKA, Warszawa 2001, p. 32, the original is kept in AGAD, Intendent Zamku 195. There is no entry concerning the altar in *Inwentarz Mebli i Sprzętów Pałacu Rządowego Namiestników Królewskich Należący w Roku 1853 uformowany*, AGAD, Intendent Zamku 220.

<sup>11</sup> РГИА, Ф. 472, оп. 66, ед. хр. 660. 1831 г. *Духовное завещание княгини Иоанны Лович*.

<sup>12</sup> The church was consecrated on 21 November 1826 by Maciej Lipski, Bishop of Minsk. The committee headed by Cavalry General Count Adam Ożarowski raised a considerable amount of 30,000 roubles, while Emperor Alexander I designated a further 30,000 roubles from the State Treasury. For more information on the church see: Валентина М. БЕЛКОВСКАЯ, Ольга В. НОВИКОВА, “Царскосельская церковь Иоанна Крестителя. История в лицах”, [in:] *Царское Село на перекрестке времён и судеб*. Материалы XVI Царскосельской научной

конференции, Vol. 1, 2, Sankt-Petersburg, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> РГИА, Ф. 539, оп. 1, ед. хр. 1072. 21 января – 19 октября 1831 г. *О внесении к Лович 11.000 рублей в Заёмный банк в пользу Римско-католической церкви в Царском Селе*.

<sup>14</sup> РГИА, Ф. 472, оп. 66, ед. хр. 660. 1831 г. *Духовное завещание княгини Иоанны Лович*.

<sup>15</sup> РГИА, Ф. 706, оп. 1, 1826-1831, 74 листа.

<sup>16</sup> РГИА, Ф. 539, оп. 1, ед. хр. 1106. 15 августа 1831 – 14 декабря 1832.

<sup>17</sup> РГИА, Ф. 472, оп. 13, дело № 112, л. 101. 12 октября 1832 г., № 3552.

<sup>18</sup> РГИА, Ф. 472, оп. 13, д. 112, л. 146, 30 Января 1833 г.

<sup>19</sup> РГИА, Ф. 472, оп. 13, д. 112, л. 149. *Опись вещам Католической шапели бывшего Варшавского королевского замка, отправленным в С. Петербург*.

<sup>20</sup> РГИА, Ф. 472, оп. 13, д. 112, № 233-2. Рапорт Я.В. Захоржевского от 12 марта 1833 г. №792 *о получении алтаря католической шапели из Варшавы*.

<sup>21</sup> Сергей Н. ВИЛЬЧКОВСКИЙ, *Царское Село*, Sankt-Petersburg, 1911, p. 215., see also: Надежда В. МИРОНЕНКО, “Римско-католическая церковь в Царском Селе и Светлейшая княгиня Лович, [in:] *Россия-Польша. Два аспекта европейской культуры*. Сборник статей XVIII Царскосельской научной конференции 26-28 ноября 2012 г., Sankt-Petersburg, 2012, p. 398.

<sup>22</sup> Archives of the State Museum of the History of Religion, Deed No. 1055 of 22 May 1938 on the transfer of objects from the liquidated church in Pushkin to the State Museum of the History of Religion from the State Warehouses in the Pushkinsky District (to the Financial Department of the District). “Salome Bringing the Head of St John to Herodias.”

<sup>24</sup> *Россия-Польша. Два аспекта европейской культуры...*, St Petersburg 2012, p. 402.

<sup>25</sup> ASV, Fondo Garampi, 69, pp. 291-292. Cited after Ewa MANIKOWSKA, *Sztuka, ceremonia, informacja. Studium wokół królewskich kolekcji Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 2007, p. 48. An shortened description of the ceremony is also found in a letter by Apostolic Nuncio G. Garampi to the Secretariat of State of the Holy See, ASV, Archivio Nunz. Varsavia, 57, p. 68.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example: *Inwentarz Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie z 1795 roku*, ed. Natalia ŁADYKA, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>27</sup> MANIKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>28</sup> ASV, Segr. Stato, Polonia, 311, p. 194v. The excerpt from the source cited in the original and abbreviation expansion is the courtesy of Arkadiusz Smagacz, Ph.D. Besides the excerpts from the Journal and from the correspondence of Apostolic Nuncio Garampi, as cited above, we did not manage to find any other information concerning the gift in the rich archives (made available to us on microfilms in the Institute of Church Archives, Libraries, and Museums of the Catholic University of Lublin – ABMK KUL). Apparently, important as the event must have been, it was not sub-

stantially covered in the Apostolic Nuncio's documents given other important political events such as the Bar Confederation and the first partition of Poland.

<sup>29</sup> Such is also the interpretation of Ewa Manikowska, Ph.D. (cf.: MANIKOWSKA, op. cit., p. 51.) to whom we extend our thanks for checking the archival excerpts that were only partially elaborated on in her publication.

<sup>30</sup> Valentino SANI, *Una fonte inedita per la storia dell'Università di Ferrara dopo la riforma del 1771: il carteggio di monsignore Riminaldi con il Collegio dei Riformatori*, Annali di Storia delle Università italiane, Vol. 11 (2007); cited after [http://www.cisui.unibo.it/annali/11/testi/21Sani\\_frameset.htm](http://www.cisui.unibo.it/annali/11/testi/21Sani_frameset.htm).

<sup>31</sup> We wish to extend our thanks to Mirna Bonazza, Ph.D. for carrying out archival research in BCAF, Classe I, 136 at Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea in Ferrara.

<sup>32</sup> Cf.: MANIKOWSKA, op. cit., pp. 47-62.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>34</sup> Keith SCRIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for The Knights of Malta*, Midsea Books, Malta 2012, p. 315.

<sup>35</sup> The Maltese roundel measures 47 cm in diameter (excluding the frame), and 54 cm including the frame. We wish to express our gratitude to Alexander Debono, Ph.D. from the National Museum of Fine Arts in La Valletta for exceptional kindness and invaluable assistance during the research carried out in Malta and for a lot of pertinent comments.

<sup>36</sup> We wish to thank Mr Marian Klabisz for his valuable comments and technical information.

<sup>37</sup> Hanno-Walther KRUF, "A reliquary by Cirro Ferri in Malta", *The Burlington Magazine*, CXII (1970), p. 695.

<sup>38</sup> Keith SCRIBERRAS, "Cirro Ferri's Reliquary for the Oratory of S. Giovanni Decollato in Malta", *The Burlington Magazine*, 141, 1999, pp. 392-400; see also: SCRIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for The Knights...*, p. 316.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 316.

<sup>40</sup> Jan Sadeler I after Maarten de Vos, *Beheading of St John the Baptist – Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700*, vol. XLIV-XLVI Maarten de Vos, ed. C. SCHUCKMAN, Rotterdam 1995-1996, No. 567. We wish to thank Ms Magdalena Adamska of Biblioteka Naukowa PAUiPAN for consultation.

<sup>41</sup> Giovanni Battista Mercati, *Beheading of St John – A. von BARTSCH, Le peinture-graveur*, Vol. 20 (Nouvelle Édition) Würzburg 1920, p. 83, No. 2.

<sup>42</sup> Pieter de Jode I (1570-1634), *Beheading of St John*, inscription: *SPICVLATOR DECOLLAVIT IOANNEM / IN CARCERE; Pet. Paul. Rubens pinxit – Franciscus vanden Wyngaerde excudit. / Petrus de Iode fecit*; see: *Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1450-1700 by F.W.H. HOLLSTEIN*, Vol. IX, Amsterdam [1959], Pieter de Jode I, No. 63; cf.: C.G.V. SCHNEEVOOGT, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens: avec l'indication des ...* 1873, No. 160.

The model for this drawing, as per C.G.V. Schneevoogt Catalogue, was to constitute a side wing of the triptych by Rubens showing *Adoration of the Magi* from St John the Baptist Church in Mechelen. It seems, however, that although the graphic version is barbarised, another painting by Rubens must have served as a model, since there are too many differences between the two presentations.

<sup>43</sup> Cirro Ferri, *The Martyrdom of a Saint*; drawing on paper; size: 212 x 153 mm; Christie's, *Old Master Drawings*, 4 VII 2000, item 11.; see: <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/cirro-ferri-the-martyrdom-of-a-saint-1824965-details.aspx?from=searchresults&pos=8&intObjectID=1824965&sid=dba1b9ee-5bb0-45c6-bfce-1c3aa041db12&page=3&lid=1>.

<sup>44</sup> Cirro Ferri (attributed to him), *The Martyrdom of a Saint*; drawing on paper, size: 38.1 x 26.7 cm, Bonhams, 23 IV 2008, item 16.; see: <https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/16018/lot/16/>.

<sup>45</sup> The scene of beheading in Ferri's drawing rests on the marble group by Algardi, and some details like the muscles of the lower limbs or the set of curtains is reminiscent of the presentation in the roundel.

<sup>46</sup> Jennifer MONTAGU, "Alessandro Algardi in Malta" [in:] *Treasures of Malta*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1999, p. 21.

<sup>47</sup> One of the best preserved copies that exist today was commissioned, cast, and mounted in St Paul's Grotto in Rabat, Malta in 1681-82; see: MONTAGU, "Alessandro Algardi in Malta", p. 21; cf.: Jennifer MONTAGU, *Alessandro Algardi*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1985, Vol. 2, pp. 372-376.

<sup>48</sup> MONTAGU, "Alessandro Algardi in Malta", p. 21.

<sup>49</sup> Cf.: [http://www.geocities.ws/parrocchiadimontoggio/storia\\_e\\_arte.html](http://www.geocities.ws/parrocchiadimontoggio/storia_e_arte.html).

<sup>50</sup> Jennifer Montagu lists a china relief which, in part, reproduces Alagardi's composition, also replaced with the *Beheading of St John the Baptist* in Museo di Doccia, cf.: MONTAGU, *Alessandro Algardi*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London, 1985, Vol. 2, p. 376, cat. 69. D.7.

<sup>51</sup> Bruce William DAVIS, *The Drawings of Cirro Ferri*, New York – London 1986, pp. 41-42.

<sup>52</sup> Giovanni Battista Bonacina after Cirro Ferri, *Hercules Slaying the Hydra*, see: Bruce William DAVIS, *The Drawings of Cirro Ferri*, New York – London 1986, fig. 31.

<sup>53</sup> Cf.: Cirro Ferri, *The Holy Family Disembarking from a Boat*; drawing on paper; 374 x 252 mm; Sotheby's *The Ingram Collection – Drawings from the Collection of the late Michael Ingram*, London, 8 December 2005, item. 44; <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2005/the-ingram-collection-drawings-from-the-collection-of-the-late-michael-ingram-105173/lot.44.html>; see also: Jorg Martin MERTZ, «Landscape Drawings by Pietro da Cortona», in *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, No. 39, New York 2004, p. 146, Fig. 31.

<sup>54</sup> A copy after Cirro Ferri, *Flight into Egypt*, 1649-89, drawing on paper, 301 x 235 mm, British Museum, Museum No. 1946.0713.1494; cf.: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/>

research/collection\_online/collection\_object\_details.aspx?objectId=718468&partId=1&searchText=ciro+ferri&page=1.

<sup>55</sup> Cf.: Jean Louis Rouillet after Ciro Ferri, *David uccide Golia*; Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Roma, Ref. No. FC52563, [http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item\\_id=157520&schemaType=S&schemaVersion=2.00](http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item_id=157520&schemaType=S&schemaVersion=2.00).

Rescaled acanthus ornament in the background is actually reminiscent of the silver ornamentation of St John's reliquary from La Valetta.

A preliminary drawing for this graphic piece, attributed to Ciro Ferri, is kept in the art collection at the Louvres: Ciro Ferri, *David coupant la tête de Goliath, sujet entouré d'un ornement de feuillages*, inv 3079, see: <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/38/100274-David-coupant-la-tete-de-Goliath-sujet-entoure-dun-ornement-de-feuillages-max>.

<sup>56</sup> Ciro Ferri, *Noli me tangere*, drawing on paper, 218 × 199 mm, Sotheby's *Old Master Drawings*, London, 8 August 2009, item. 16; see: <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2009/old-master-drawings-109640/lot.16.html>.

<sup>57</sup> Ciro Ferri, *The Choice of Hercules (Hercules at the Crossroads)*; drawing on paper; 208 × 257 mm, British Museum SL,5237.43; see: [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=714712&partId=1&searchText=ciro+ferri&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=714712&partId=1&searchText=ciro+ferri&page=1).

<sup>58</sup> SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights...*, p. 316.

<sup>59</sup> SCIBERRAS, *ibid.*, p. 317, after Jennifer MONTAGU, "A bozzetto in bronze by Ciro Ferri", *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, XVIII, 1973, p. 123.

<sup>60</sup> Jennifer MONTAGU, *Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry of Art*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London 1992, pp. 88-89.

<sup>61</sup> SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for The Knights...*, p. 316, after KRUF, *op. cit.*, p. 695.

<sup>62</sup> KRUF, *op. cit.*, pp. 692-695.

<sup>63</sup> SCIBERRAS, *Ciro Ferri's Reliquary...*, pp. 392-400., see also SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights...*, pp. 165-173.

<sup>64</sup> SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights...*, pp. 165-173.

<sup>65</sup> SCIBERRAS, *ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>66</sup> SCIBERRAS, *ibid.*, pp. 316-319.

<sup>67</sup> This is confirmed by the accounts and goldsmith's marks present on the piece and discovered during the latest conservation. Besides Bartalesi, the accounts also bear the name of Francesco Nuvolone, the modeller; see: Tuccio Sante GUIDO, Giuseppe MANTELLA, *Il restauro del Reliquario del Braccio di San Giovanni Battista nella Co-Cattedrale di La Valletta*, Bollettino ICR, Nuova Serie N. 6-7, 2003, pp. 33-49.; see also: SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights...*,

pp. 154 and 163-165.

<sup>68</sup> We wish to extend our thanks to Ms Cynthia de Giorgio of St John's Co-Cathedral Foundation in Malta for making the analysis of the tondo and St John's reliquary possible.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Ciro Ferri, *Dio Padre ed altre figure*, drawing on paper, 361 × 417 mm, Istituto Nazionale Per La Grafica, No. FC124339R, [http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item\\_id=195382&schemaType=D&schemaVersion=2.00](http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item_id=195382&schemaType=D&schemaVersion=2.00).

<sup>70</sup> This tabernacle is cited as the closest analogy to St John's reliquary; see, inter alia, SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights...*, pp. 158-159.

<sup>71</sup> See the reproduction in MONTAGU, *Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry...*, Fig. 110, p. 89.

<sup>72</sup> See the reproduction in Jennifer MONTAGU, *Gold, Silver & Bronze. Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque*, New Haven, London, 1996, Fig. 4.

<sup>73</sup> MONTAGU, *Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry...*, p. 84.

<sup>74</sup> SCIBERRAS, *Roman Baroque Sculpture for the Knights...*, p. 167.

<sup>75</sup> See the reproduction in MONTAGU, *Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry...*, p. 87.

<sup>76</sup> See: Ciro Ferri, *Progetto della vasca battesimale del Battistero Lateranense*, 1676-89, drawing on paper, 268 × 233 mm; Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Roma Ref. No. FC124335, [http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item\\_id=197572&schemaType=D&schemaVersion=2.00](http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item_id=197572&schemaType=D&schemaVersion=2.00).

See: Ciro Ferri, *Copertura di fonte battesimale*; drawing on paper, 1676-89, 150 × 146 mm; Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Roma, Ref. No. FC124418V, [http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item\\_id=194363&schemaType=D&schemaVersion=2.00](http://calcografica.ing.beniculturali.it/index.php?page=default&id=6&lang=it&item_id=194363&schemaType=D&schemaVersion=2.00).

<sup>77</sup> Giovanni Giardini (1646-1722), leading goldsmith and founder of the Holy See.

<sup>78</sup> Giovanni Giardini, Holy-water stoup with relief of Mary of Egypt after Benedetto Luti (1666-1724), Rome, Italy, ca. 1702; lapis lazuli, silver, and gilded bronze; height 60.3 cm, width: 36.5 cm; depth: 11.4 cm; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ref. No. 1995.110; see: <http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/208203?=&imgNo=0&tabName=object-information>.

<sup>79</sup> Giovanni Giardini, St Rose reliquary, 1699, gilded bronze, silver; Viterbo, St Rose's Church.

<sup>80</sup> Jennifer MONTAGU, „Anconetta con Adorazione dei pastori” (catalogue note) [in:] *Il Settecento a Roma*, a cura di Anna LO BIANCO, Angela NEGRO, Milano 2005, Cat. 43, pp. 159-160.; MONTAGU, *Gold, Silver...*, pp. 151-154, Fig. 229.

<sup>81</sup> Bruce William DAVIS, *The Drawings of Ciro Ferri*, New York - London 1986, p. 43.

ADAM SOĆKO

*Rudolf Negroni and Jakub Balin:  
on the Beginnings of Modern Architecture in Lublin*

Lublin ranks among the towns important in view of the development of modern architecture in Poland, though hitherto not sufficiently investigated by art history. Previously, the 16<sup>th</sup> century used to be identified as crucial for the transformation of the Gothic town into the Renaissance one. The process was said to continue uninterrupted until the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. Such a view was formulated mainly from art historians' perspective. The said Renaissance breakthrough was, however, illustrated with buildings from the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The image of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Renaissance Lublin has so far been defined only through drawn visions of the unpreserved Town Hall and Castle, recreated through architectural research, source texts, and iconography. Meanwhile, the preserved 16<sup>th</sup>-century historical urban tissue is limited to merely single stonemason detail elements. A certain disparity in such an image of the town's art development can be seen in the Late Gothic rib vault in the Bridgettine Nuns' Church from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century as well as the newly discovered and reconstructed rib vault in the chancel of the Dominican Church (1582-87). Up to now, Rudolf Negroni (active in ca 1575-1602) has been seen as the propagator of the modern transformation in the town architecture. He has been regarded as the major individual among the Lublin stonemasons' guild. Jakub Balin (active in ca 1602-23) may have arrived in Lublin at Negroni's instigation; they were probably related, as following Negroni's death, Balin took over his possessions.

The likely scope of Rudolf Negroni's activity has for long been identified through source material research (K. Majewski, J. Wzorek). The character of the architect's work can be specified in more detail today. A Late Gothic gable attributed to Negroni has been preserved in the Bernardine Convent. Negroni also strengthened the nave wall in the Bridgettine Church, introducing a Renaissance stonemason detail. Moreover, he can be most likely attributed the western church gable echoing Late-Gothic solutions and possibly the bell-tower superstructure. Following 1591, Negroni also modernized the eastern wing of the Dominican Convent, in one of the interiors introducing an intriguing vaulting decorated with modest stucco moulds. Additionally, Negroni may have dealt with the reconstruction of the Dominican Church which received a new Late-Gothic vaulting in 1582-87.

Given the above, it is hard to perceive Rudolf Negroni as the architect who determined the Renaissance face of the town in the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The real breakthrough in that respect was marked by the 1602 fire of the Bernardine Church and its modern reconstruction undertaken by Jakub Balin. The milestone importance of this project has also been pointed to in the research into the art of Lublin, however what dominates is the vision of a dynamic transformation in town's architecture throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Jakub Balin's architectural accomplishments have already been identified. What remains uncertain is the scope of his input into the Bernardine Church reconstruction due to the lack of records confirming the fact. Today, after the Late-Gothic Dominican vaulting, most likely Negroni-attributed, has been discovered, Balin's major contribution to the Bernardine Church reconstruction should not be questioned any further. With the church's nave vaulting arrangement, Balin directly echoes Negroni's Dominican vaulting. The innovative quality of this solution is to be found in the replacing of the Late-Gothic 16<sup>th</sup>-century ribs with broad stucco ornamental mouldings. However, the geometric decoration design of the Bernardine vaulting was derived from the Dominican vaulting, 20 years its senior. Following this, Balin ran the reconstruction of the Parish Church in Kazimierz Dolny, raised the Carmelitan Church (unpreserved) and Rafał Leszczyński's Palace in Lublin. An attempt has been made to attribute the construction of Warsaw's Jesuit Church to Balin, this attribution, however, justifiably questioned (J. Paszenda). Meanwhile, there are no objections to attributing the Snopkowski Manor in Gardzienice, raised in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, to Balin. Quite a lot of assumptions derived from historical circumstances confirm the fact, yet the most powerful testimony to his contribution being the decoration of the manor's northern gable identical in its composition with the eastern gable of the main body of Lublin's Bernardine Church.

To conclude, it is justified to say that 16<sup>th</sup>-century Lublin must have still been an essentially Gothic town. The intense building effort was focused on replacing the former wooden burghers' dwellings with brick structures, more and more frequently decorated in the aesthetics of the new style, namely

Renaissance, but also Mannerism. A real quality-like change in the history of the town's architecture can only be seen in Balin's reconstruction of the

Bernardine Church and the construction of the Baroque Jesuit Church, launched slightly earlier, but completed later.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*

MAREK KWIATKOWSKI

## *On the Mansion in Aleksandria Street in Warsaw*

The Warsaw palace of Janusz Sanguszko and his wife Karolina née Gozdzi was raised in Aleksandria Street, replacing the Gozdzi Baroque residence devoured in the 1776 fire. The construction of the palace conducted in 1777-81 was possibly temporarily interrupted in September 1778 due to the divorce of the Sanguszkos. Karolina remarried Karol de Nassau-Siegen in September 1780, after which the works were continued following the so-far design by Szymon Bogumił Zug. The paper's Author confronted the architect's drawings with the discussed palace in his monograph on Zug published in 1971.

It may have been Karolina's interest in theatre that resulted in including a theatre auditorium within the palace. This was the first and only palace in Warsaw with a theatre consciously located within the building already at the designing stage. However, including such a large hall within the design posed some aesthetical challenges, particularly as the architect's intention was to place a perfectly circular drawing room on the axis of the garden section, a novelty in the up-to-then palace architecture. Therefore, he allocated theatre space to one of the lateral avant-corpses. The stage, together with the adjacent dining room, had a permanent decoration featuring an engaged colonnade with Corinthian capitals.

Around the same time also the National Theatre in Krasiński Square was raised, while King Stanislaus Augustus transformed the Trou-Madame Pavilion into a theatre too. The King may have personally seen Karolina's theatre as he was fond of her second husband, which can be well testified by Jean Baptiste le Paon's painting displayed at the Łazienki Palace and showing Prince of Nasau hunting a jaguar on Argentina's coast. Earlier, i.e., in 1773, Kazimierz Poniatowski had built a theatre in his Solec garden. There, however, it was a pavilion separate from the palace. Izabella Lubomirska was intending to do the same in her Mokotów garden. The idea of combining the theatre with the dwelling quarters and its implementation outdistanced many other concepts.

The newly-raised palace in Aleksandria Street became a popular venue in Warsaw, the hostess

holding banquets with theatre shows, in which she most commonly starred herself, thus making her entertainment really attractive. Such operas as, among others, *Dido* by the Venetian composer Francesco Cavalli and *The Marriage of Figaro* by Mozart were staged there.

A fragment of a water reservoir located below the escarpment was incorporated into the estate. Its previous regular shape was transformed into an extensive pond with jagged banks, this echoing the solutions applied in the Powązki and Mokotów gardens. The design may have been executed by Zug. The outline of this centrally located interesting garden can be found in the plan of Warsaw from ca 1815 made by Zygmunt Vogel, marking some solutions from Karolina's times. The garden's traces are also visible in the plan of Warsaw from 1829.

The Palace of Karolina Sanguszko – de Nassau burnt down in mid-1787. It was thoroughly destroyed in the part with the theatre where the fire might have actually started. Initially, the owner was planning to reconstruct it in a more sumptuous form, to the extent that she even ordered the relevant designs, however after the building's part preserved after the fire had been adjusted to serve dwelling purposes, she gave the idea up for lack of funds.

The Author is of the opinion that the reconstruction project can be associated with a set of Zug's designs representing a stately palace nicknamed "Belvedere". When starting the first drawings for the Sanguszkos, Zug was 44; preparing the new versions after the fire, he was aged 55. In both, however, he demonstrated an astounding skill of creating new visions with the application of the same elements. The total of 16 drawings, showing nine concepts, which certainly cannot be judged as sketches, but as drawings finished off in details, illustrate the process of an idea being crystallized, step by step, yet at the same time a unique quality of the architect's concept around one theme. Although the incorporated forms echo French models (promoted by J.H. Mansard, J.F. Blondel, J.B. Bullet de Champlain), their application in Warsaw, or more strictly speaking in Poland, was a pioneering endeavour.

The new palace designed following the fire, although devoid of the theatre, was to feature a vast dining room, equipped with amphitheatre seats allowing the audience to admire shows. In one of the designs, the building's front was to be covered with a two-storeyed column gallery; in the other version in front of the facade, filling the width of the avant-corps, there was to be placed a two-storeyed colonnaded gallery, turning into quarter-circular

wings encircling the courtyard, and closed with porticos with attics.

The post-fire ruin which remained in place for another half a century was associated with the name of Karolina's second husband, this yielding in the Warsaw dialect the name of "Dynasy". From 1891 the plot belonged to a sports centre with a pond, the latter being the remains of Gozdzi's garden.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*

MARTA WIRASZKA

### *The Mausoleum of the Prandota Trzcińskis in Stara Rawa: its model and likely authors*

The Mausoleum of the Prandota Trzcińskis, arms-bearing Rawicz, has been raised in Stara Rawa near Skierniewice, on the former cemetery, namely the plot of land next to the Church of Sts Apostles Simon and Jude.

The Neo-Classical tomb was built as a two-segment structure composed of a high, however narrow front elevation, with the entrance in the middle, secured by a two-wing metal door, and a rectangular crypt, low, yet spacious, added from the back. The façade made of rust-coloured-yellowish sandstone is crowned with a low triangular partial-hipped end with acroteria in the form of stylized palmettes adorning large rectangular panels of white stone, contrasting with the background and fixed in the wall on both sides of the entrance. Inside they feature bas-reliefs of winged geniuses: Fortune on the right and Thanatos on the left. The same sandstone served as material for the statue of a youth lying on a sarcophagus, crowning the mausoleum, and most likely representing Józef Trzciński, prematurely dead at 18 (1821-40), the son of Adam Stefan (1793-1862) and Franciszka née Radecki (1802-91).

The façade composition was modelled on the Frochot Family Mausoleum raised at the Père Lachaise Cemetery in 1828-29 and following the design of the architect Étienne Hippolyte Godde, with bas-reliefs executed by the French sculptors: Nicolas Bernard Raggi and Jean Baptist Louis Plantar. Godde's design was known in Poland thanks to two publications dedicated to statues at Paris cemeteries by Louis Marie Normand and Ferdinand Quaglia released in 1832. Both pattern-books were popular with the Warsaw artists, which can be well testified to by two examples preserved in Warsaw and following the same model (Adolf Petyskus's

Mausoleum at the Evangelical-Augsburg Cemetery, ca 1836; and the tomb of Aleksander Sokołowski at the Powązki Cemetery, 1846).

The authors of the Trzciński Mausoleum came from Warsaw too. The same bas-reliefs of winged geniuses that are found in Stara Rawa also adorn the Powązki tombs of Wanda Bączewicz (Fortune and Thanatos, ca 1844) and of the Iwaszkiewicz family (Thanatos, after 1852), as well as the Wilanów Mausoleum of the Potockis (Thanatos, 1834-36). They were executed by Konstanty Hegel. When sculpting the figures of both geniuses, the artist used Thorvaldsen's compositions. The model for the figure of Thanatos may have been derived from the genius of death from Augusta Böhmer's epitaph (1811-12), whereas the figure of Fortune may have been inspired by the Genius of Destiny decorating Johann Philipp Bethmann-Hollweg's epitaph (1814) and Nemesis from the bas-relief *Jupiter and Nemesis* adorning the Copenhagen Palace (1808-10).

However, lack of archive records and similar references to the sculptor's oeuvre do not allow an automatic attribution of the sculpture of the youth wearing a grammar-school uniform and lying on the sarcophagus to Hegel; the statue replaced the urn covered with pall genuinely designed for the Frochots' Tomb. The introducing of contemporary realities while preserving the ancient pose demonstrated Romantic tendencies, traceable in Warsaw sculpture after 1850. Therefore, the Stara Rawa Mausoleum may have been created in the 1850s as well as in the early 1840s, i.e., roughly over the same period of time when Miss Bączewicz's tomb was executed. The latter dating is supported by the use of the same bas-reliefs: Thanatos and Fortune in both tombs.

*Translated by Magdalena Iwińska*