



The Baroque: Style, Epoch, Attitude." Of the three basic denotations of this concept, analyzed forty years ago in Jan Białostocki's excellent study, the most essential in the present essay will be the understanding of the baroque as a great cultural epoch. It permits western European art of around 1600–1780 to be regarded as a certain whole without overlooking its immense diversity in the chronological and the territorial sense. The character of the problems discussed here exempts the present study from being obliged to justify precisely the adopted limits of time and from the necessity of defining the baroque character of all the examples given.

In this epoch, just as in any other, there were some artistic centers that took the lead and set the main lines of development for the whole of Europe, the relationship between these centers and more or less peripheral territories usually being expressed in terms of influences. This term, one of the most essential notions in the history of art as a study of the history of the social process of artistic creative work, has not been defined in a satisfactory manner, despite numerous efforts. More than that, its inaccurate application or even misuse is responsible for its being frequently associated with a superficial, unscholarly approach that, unfortunately, revives again and again as a threat to this discipline of learning. The present attempt to analyze the mechanisms of the transmission of artistic patterns does not aspire to a general solution of the problem but may be useful for the understanding of the position of Poland within baroque Europe.

The ontological character of a work of visual art as a material, in-principle unique object, frequently unmovable, causes the mechanism of the propagation of influences to be more complicated in this sphere of human activity than in the domains in which the ideal existence of intellectual concepts and literary works permits their circulation in the form of easily reproducible records. The statement of the influence of work of art *A* on work of art *B* must encompass the possibility of at least indirect contact of the author of *B* with *A*. If *A* and *B* were created in different milieus (*X* and *Y* respectively), it is indispensable for the occurrence of any influence that at least one of the following conditions be satisfied: the importation of a work (or works) of art from center *X* to center *Y*, which thus becomes accessible to local artists; the bringing from center *X* to center *Y* of an artist who implants in a new territory the forms transferred from his native milieu; the journey of an artist from *Y* to *X* (frequently tantamount to studies there), where he becomes acquainted with local patterns and often assimilates the procedures of that center; the accessibility in *Y* of reference material concerning the art of *X*, which in the epoch discussed here usually took the form of pattern books, illustrated treatises, and graphic reproductions of works of art.

It is easy to see these mechanisms favor one direction of inspiration, from a cultural center toward the periphery. Even the highest values when created in a minor milieu have a slender chance of making way against the current of this general tendency. The development of European baroque art followed the directions set in three main centers: Italy, France, and the Netherlands. This domination, independent of the fluctuation of forces in particular phases of the epoch and particular branches of art, left no room for broader expansion of other milieus. Numerous original works of superior quality created in Spain, England, or German-speaking countries remained achievements on a local scale. Examples of a wider influence exerted by Velázquez on Italian painting or by Fischer von Erlach on French architecture are unknown.

MECHANISMS
OF CONTACT
BETWEEN
POLISH
AND EUROPEAN
BAROQUE

JAN K. OSTROWSKI

What determined the importance of a particular town or country on the cultural map of Europe was not solely the value of its achievements but also a convergence of political, social, and economic phenomena conditioning the wide popularization of these attainments.

In the present discussion only the most important of these conditions can be enumerated. Their exhaustive presentation would require extensive studies, and the problem of the connections between artistic activity and its social background is exceptionally obscure. Such difficulty also arises in the case of the material discussed here. After all, the leading milieus of the baroque period developed in such different conditions as, on the one hand, the feudal theocracy of the Papal State and, on the other, the burghers' democracy of Protestant Holland laying the foundations of modern capitalism. Therefore, while seeking an answer to the question of the origins of the poles of artistic domination, such aspects as the tradition of the metropolitan status of certain cities, their role as the seats of great centers of power, and their convenient geographical location are factors to be considered.

It seems that certain situations on the border between socioeconomic phenomena and the structural basis of artistic life are a decisive factor. It was indispensable that a particular society should be economically capable of devoting large sums of money to cultural purposes. This capability could be attained either by the concentration of immense resources in the hands of the central authority or through the wealth and economic initiative of wide circles of the population.

The thus-created demand for diverse works of art would have had to be matched by the possibility of satisfying it through a suitable organization of artistic activity, encompassing various problems connected with the acquisition and practicing of an artist's profession. In this connection, too, there was a variety of possible solutions. On the one hand there was the guild and on the other the academic system of education. There was the artist-craftsman but at the same time the independent member of the town community, or the artist-courtier working for a powerful patron to whom he owed his social and economic position.

The phenomenon observed in all leading milieus was the emergence of specialized forms of dealing in works of art, facilitating their sale and contributing to the popularization of artists' achievements. Among particularly significant factors, though at the same time hard to perceive, was the existence of an integrated milieu serving as a forum of discussion, exchange of experience, and formation of the hierarchy of values. Such a milieu could assume the traditional forms of a guild, an academy of humanities, or even an informal Bohemian brotherhood, but it was always an indispensable factor of a stimulating atmosphere within and an influence outside the milieu. Of course, the creation of an academy remarkably raised the standing of a particular center. It contributed to improvement in the level of professional training and theoretical knowledge of artists and ensured them the earlier-unknown prestige of the intellectual practicing a learned profession. The renown of the great academies attracted students from various parts of Europe and led to dissemination of the ideas obtaining in them.

Notwithstanding the imperfections of the present description, it can easily be used as a basis for the construction of a model of the steadily increasing power of a milieu

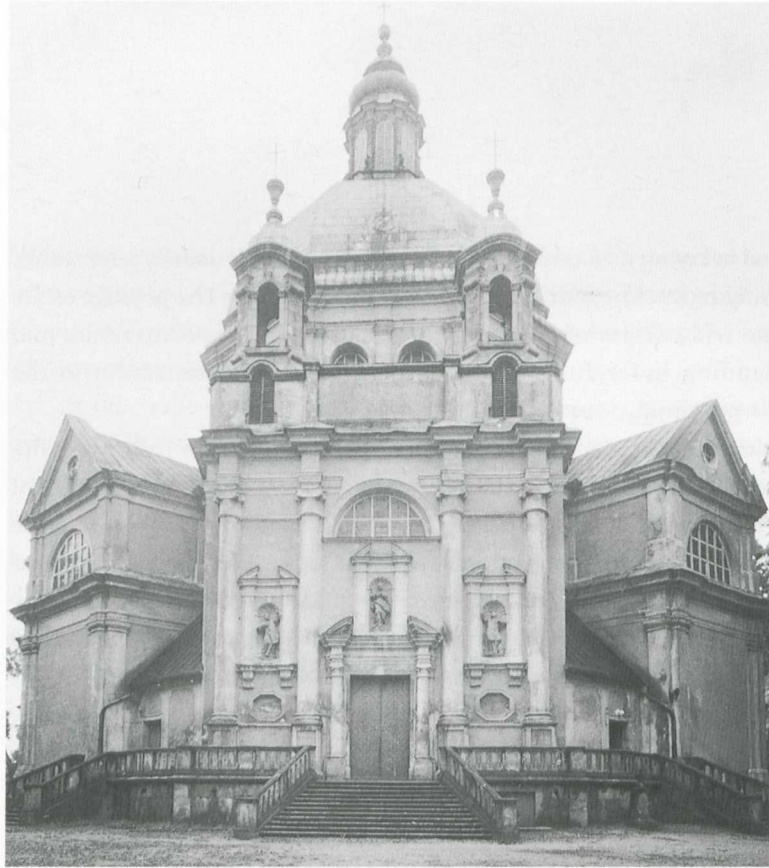
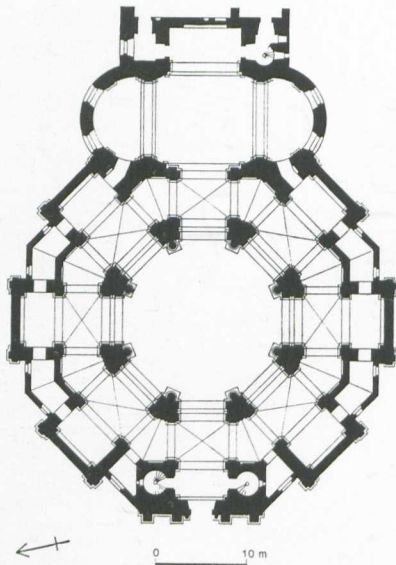
once it has succeeded in laying its foundations. A cultural position is usually very stable, changes in it occurring more slowly than in politics or the economy. The prestige of the center facilitates the wide dispersal of its products, at the same time attracting and assimilating outstanding individuals from the periphery who contribute to the augmentation of its potential.

The role of peripheral centers is for the most part reduced to following the successive fashions coming from the main one. Some of them may afford excellent and original achievements. It is on the periphery that ultimate conclusions may be drawn from certain processes whose development in the major centers is interrupted by the continual emergence of new concepts. Yet even achievements of superb value but created on the periphery have difficulty in finding their way toward the main center where they might play a universal role. Their significance is brought out in the panorama of the attainments of a given epoch, while it is much harder to find a place for them in outlines of the principal lines of development.

Poland remained on the remote periphery of Latin Europe, no matter whether viewed from Rome, Paris, Amsterdam, or Antwerp. Likewise, within the range of central European culture, whose center of gravity lay in the Habsburg and southern German lands, Poland was usually a weaker element, taking over rather than creating cultural patterns. This is hardly surprising. Poland joined the western community rather late and for a long time constituted its easternmost outpost beyond which there extended the domain of the Orthodox Church and paganism. From the end of the fourteenth century, as a result of the union with Lithuania and incorporation of vast Ruthenian territories, the cultural border between the Latin and the Byzantine world ran right through the Polish-Lithuanian state.

All this, together with geographical remoteness, was bound to affect the ways of keeping in touch with the cultural centers of the West and modes of reception of the patterns coming therefrom. There was an additional obstacle in the form of the system of democracy of the landed gentry established in the early sixteenth century, with its growing xenophobia and contempt for townspeople's occupations and mode of life, while the latter constituted a basis for the modern culture of the West. Nevertheless, in the Renaissance epoch and in that of the baroque of immediate interest here, Poland maintained regular and intensive relations with western centers, with results sometimes amazing in their topicality and artistic qualities. More than this, the territories of central Poland came to play the role of a bridge for the transmission of the achievements of Latin culture farther to the East. It was in the baroque epoch that the latinization of the eastern borderland, assuming the form of polonization and catholicization, came to be reckoned as the chief problem of the country, with tremendous cultural, social, and political consequences.

It is high time to pass on to the subject proper of the present paper, an attempt to outline the mechanisms of contacts of Polish art with the centers of European baroque through illustration by examples of the forms of carrying these contacts into effect. The description will take into account territorial and historical variables and the specificity of particular kinds of art; there will also be an effort to indicate the main social forces constituting the motive power of the analyzed processes.



1 Ground Plan and General View, Church of the Order of Saint Philip, Gostyń, 1679–98

IMPORTATION OF WORKS OF ART

It was as far back as the late Middle Ages that Poland permanently entered the European trading system, and representatives of the great Italian and German merchant houses settled in its principal towns. It seems, however, that this exchange did not on a large scale include works of art. Importation from abroad of paintings or sculpture required special endeavors and was generally connected with the travels of potential patrons and collectors and the activities of diplomatic agents. All the same, foreign art objects reached Poland regularly in considerable amounts; they represented all branches of art, including architecture in the form of designs.

Around 1612, at the very beginning of the period under discussion, Vincenzo Scamozzi made a design for the family residence of the princes Zbaraski and published it in his treatise. However, Scamozzi's elegant villa with merely token defenses was transformed in the course of construction in the years 1627–31 into a stout fortress of simplified early baroque forms.

The collegiate church at Klimontów, founded by the *voivode* Krzysztof Ossoliński and raised in the years 1645–50 by the master builder Lorenzo Senes, was clearly modeled on the much earlier design of the Roman architect Ottaviano Mascherino, never carried out in Italy itself.

The church of the Order of Saint Philip at Gostyń (fig. 1) in Great Poland faithfully repeats the plan of the church of Santa Maria della Salute in Venice. It was probably erected according to a design obtained from Baldassare Longhena himself by the founder of the church Zofia Konarzewska, née Opalińska, during her visit to Venice in 1676.

An important route of the influx of architectural models was provided by monastic orders, which varied in their procedures. The Discalced Carmelites and the Capuchins followed detailed instructions concerning the permitted dimensions of buildings, their spatial composition, and their kind of decoration. Nonetheless there was a tendency to unify actual formal solutions only within particular provinces. The Jesuits were at the same time more flexible and more centralized. While on the one hand

consent was given to a considerable variety of churches of the order, on the other each design had to be approved by Rome, and not infrequently plans made there were sent to various places for realization. The design of the church of Saints Peter and Paul in Cracow is considered by some scholars to be a product of this kind, attributed to the chief architect of the Jesuit order, Giovanni de Rosis. With certain alterations it was used for the construction of the church of Saint Casimir in Vilnius (Wilno).

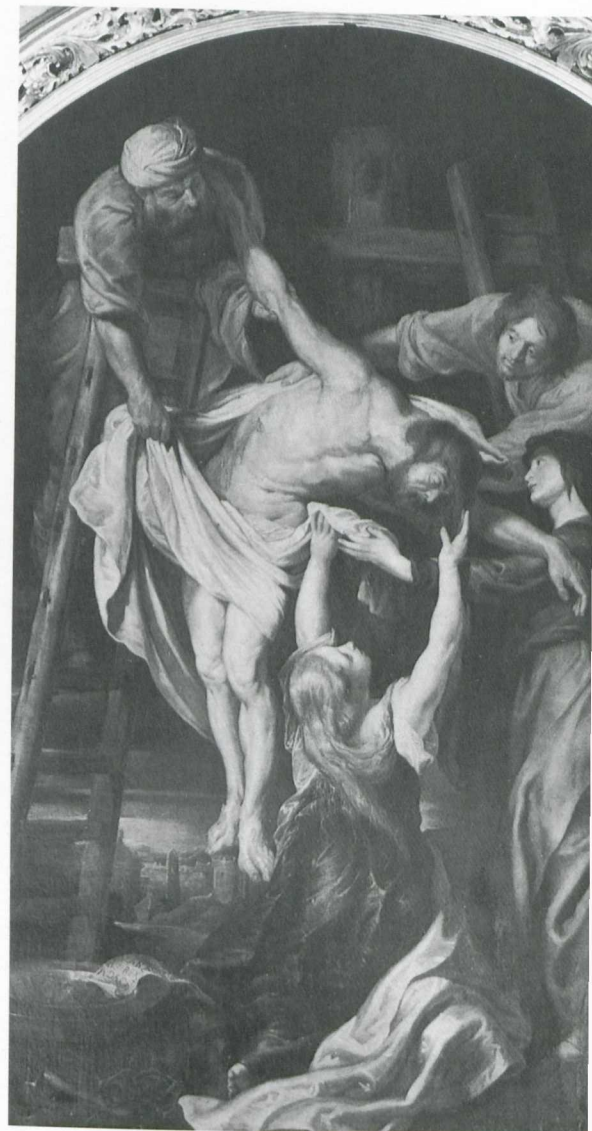
While in the seventeenth century Italian links in architecture were the rule, the eighteenth century brought essential new phenomena. The two successive Saxon electors on the Polish throne relied in their architectural undertakings on a state building office with a branch in Warsaw. Intended for Poland, the designs by outstanding architects such as Mathäus Daniel and Karl Friedrich Pöppelmann, Joachim Daniel Jauch, Johann Christoph Neumann, Zacharias Longuelune, or Gaetano Chiaveri could have been made in Dresden or in Warsaw. In both cases they introduced to Poland architectural forms in the specific, Saxon, dry, and linear version of the baroque with strong French influences.

The 1730s also saw examples of importation directly from Paris of complete interiors. The furnishings of the drawing rooms in the Warsaw palace of Marshal Bieliński and the palace of the Czartoryski princes at Puławy were designed by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier and executed in France, from wall decoration to furniture. These works, today unfortunately known only from iconographic records, were among the earliest and most sumptuous examples of the new rococo fashion.

The importation of paintings and sculptures in the baroque epoch must have been appreciable; nevertheless, it is extremely difficult to reconstruct it with precision. There are very few examples of European baroque art for whose presence in Poland documentary evidence has been supplied since the time near that of their creation. As a rule there is a gap between the archival sources concerning objects that disappeared long ago and those relating to present collections of monuments of art whose pedigree rarely reaches back further than the nineteenth century.

Purchases of paintings and sculpture for the royal collections are documented the best. The successive kings of the Vasa dynasty employed for this purpose their diplomatic representatives, Polish church dignitaries staying in Italy, and also special agents additionally charged with the task of engaging musicians and actors. In this way the Polish court participated, for instance, in the sale of Rubens' collection. The grand tour through Europe made by the Prince Royal Ladislas Sigismund in the years 1624–25 brought a rich harvest in the form of purchases and gifts; Ladislas visited the studios of Rubens, Guido Reni, and Guercino as well as great court art collections in the Netherlands and Italy. The magnate galleries were of similar provenance, their surviving inventories frequently numbering several hundred items.

Pictures were bought both with the intention of embellishing residences and for churches remaining under the special care of particular persons. In the latter case, the emotional attitude toward a religious work of art took precedence over its artistic value. Mikołaj Sapieha simply stole from the Vatican a copy of the *Virgin Mary of Guadalupe*, which to this day has enjoyed a great cult in the church at Kodeń. From time to time, however, Poland imported some outstanding works of art, such as the *Deposition* by Rubens (fig. 2), brought by Piotr Żeroński for the church of Kalisz about 1620, or a whole series of paintings by Giovanni Battista Pittoni, which can be found in Saint



2. Peter Paul Rubens and Workshop, *Deposition*. Formerly Saint Nicholas Church, Kalisz

The painting is an example of a direct commission given to a prominent foreign artist by a Polish patron.



Mary's church in Cracow, a series that was most probably commissioned by canon Jacek Łopacki in around 1750.

Both archival data and the surviving objects prove that works by Italian, Flemish, and Dutch painters enjoyed the greatest popularity. In the eighteenth century there was also demand for paintings by French masters as well as those representing other nationalities and those linked with the Dresden court, which mainly followed French patterns. The inventories of the royal and magnate collections frequently contain references, today impossible to verify, to works of great masters. In addition to originals by eminent artists or pictures passing for such works, purchasers did not hesitate to acquire copies of famous paintings. The paintings of the Rzewuski family from the castle at Podhorce, the only one among Old Polish collections in which, despite dispersal, its original character can still be read, are an amazing conglomeration of remarkable works, more or less successful copies, and third-rate local products. A likewise unequal value must have been present in other magnate or even royal art collections. Unfortunately, the Saxon kings of Poland did not contribute to the creation in Warsaw of a counterpart of the Dresden gallery.

The question of imports in decorative art appears different from the situation in other branches of art. First of all, it seems that the common mechanisms of international trade worked here in greater measure. There are some cases of giving large commissions abroad, excellently exemplified by the silver decorations of the altar in the chapel of Our Lady of Czestochowa executed by Augsburg artists to King Sigismund III's order. Here the main sources of importation differed from those predominating in painting. The gold- and silverware came for the most part from South German centers such as Nuremberg and Augsburg, while a considerable quantity of metalwork and textiles was imported from the Orient, mainly Turkey and Persia.

SUMMONING FOREIGN ARTISTS

In the face of the absence in Poland of any opportunities for the education of artists in accordance with modern European standards, frequently the only way of carrying out ambitious artistic plans was to bring an artist from abroad. As far as can be inferred from incomplete source material, foreign artists appeared in Poland in consequence of one of three possibilities. In most cases an artist was summoned on the initiative of a powerful patron in order to accomplish a specific task. Such a quest was not always successful, particularly in periods of great demand for highly qualified specialists in their native centers. Many of the thus-summoned foreigners remained in Poland for good as members of the court of the king or a magnate. Architects were frequently granted the rank of officer in the army. The second way of commissioning artists from abroad was through the international connections of religious orders. Here the principal role was played by the Jesuits whose churches were built and decorated in large measure by members of the order themselves, who were trained in various skills. When needed these specialists were moved from one country to another; there also operated the mechanism of recruiting foreign craftsmen to the Jesuit Order in Poland. The third possibility was the migration of craftsmen in search of work, this tradition going back to the Middle Ages.

Foreign artists active in Poland came from various countries. In the domain of architecture and architectural decoration the Italians predominated, the majority





3. Giovanni Battista Gisleni(?), *Facade*, Church of the Carmelite Nuns, Lvov, 1683–96

The purely Roman form of the facade was probably designed by Gisleni, one of a long series of Italian architects working in Poland in the Renaissance and baroque periods.

4. Giovanni Battista Gisleni, architect, and Francesco Rossi, sculptor, *Monument to Bishop Piotr Gembicki*, 1657. Cathedral, Cracow

Two Roman artists produced this excellent piece in Cracow, but after the most advanced Italian fashion.

5. Baldassare Fontana, *Holy Cross Altar*, late 17th century. Saint Anne's Church, Cracow

Fontana, a North Italian stucco master trained in Rome, brought to Cracow an art directly connected with the circle of Bernini.

coming from the north of the country, but generally, at least as regards more eminent ones, trained in Rome. In the seventeenth century Italian domination was absolute. Masters such as Giovanni Battista Trevano, Giovanni Battista Gisleni (fig. 3), Costante Tencalla, or Giuseppe Bellotti found but few rivals representing other nationalities of whom the Dutch architect (trained, however, in Venice) Tylman van Gameren was to the fore. In the eighteenth century, alongside the still-numerous Italians (Pompeo Ferrari, Giuseppe and Paolo Fontana, Francesco Placidi) an important role was played by the architects from the circle of the Saxon Bauamt. At that time also the presence of architects from the Habsburg countries became significant. In both periods the French appeared sporadically, often combining the profession of architect with that of military engineer (Guillaume de Beauplan, Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille).

Italians are noted for outstanding achievements in seventeenth-century figural sculpture (Francesco Rossi [fig. 4], Pietro Perti, Baldassare Fontana [fig. 5]); beside them an important role was played by Germans, most of whom came from the regions bordering Poland (Hanus Pfister of Wrocław, Andreas Schlüter from Gdańsk, the city with a German-speaking population but belonging to Poland). The eighteenth century in turn saw an influx of eminent artists bearing German names; scanty documents and

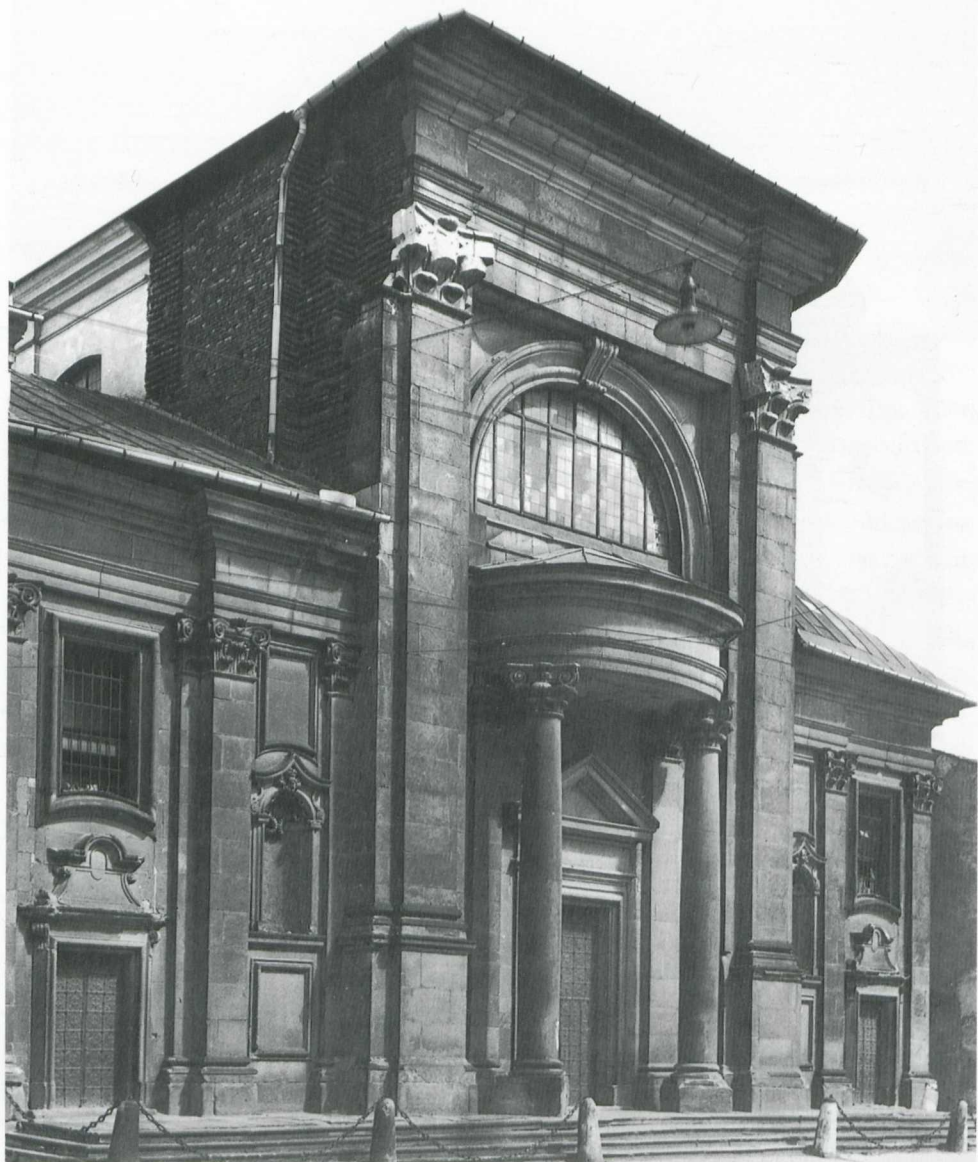


6. Johann Georg Pinsel, *Samson and the Lion*, c. 1758. Picture Gallery, Lvov

The eighteenth century saw a massive immigration to Poland of artists from southern Germany and the Habsburg countries. Pinsel's sculptures rank among the highest achievements of late baroque art in Central Europe.

7. Kacper Bażanka, *Church of the Lazarists Missionaries*, Cracow, 1719–32

Bażanka, a former student at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, combined in this church the ideas of two prominent Roman architects. The facade is inspired by San Andrea al Quirinale by Gianlorenzo Bernini, and the interior, Borromini's chapel of the Collegio di Propaganda Fide.



the character of these masters' oeuvre indicate that they came from the Habsburg and South German lands (David Heel, Johann Georg Plersch, Sebastian Zeisel, Thomas Hutter, Sebastian and Fabian Fesinger, Johann Georg Pinsel [fig. 6]).

Among the foreign painters of the seventeenth century a certain equilibrium was maintained between those who came from Italy (Tommaso Dolabella of Venice, Michelangelo Palloni of Florence), the Netherlands (Pieter Danckers), and France (Claude Callot, Henri Gascar, François Desportes). A particular role was played by Gdańsk artists, Polish subjects and at the same time representatives of truly western European art who were closely linked with the Netherlandish and North German centers (principally Daniel Schultz). What characterized the eighteenth century was the appearance of a whole group of fresco painters from the Habsburg countries, especially from Bohemia and Moravia (Franz Eckstein, Joseph Mayer).

As to decorative art, the ways of influx of foreign artists were analogous to the channels of importation of the works of art themselves. The Polish eastern borderland, Lvov in particular, was a place of settlement for numerous Armenian weavers and gold- and silversmiths whose products had the pure oriental forms of Persian and Turkish provenance. This production, enjoying great popularity in Poland (among its enthusiasts was King John III Sobieski), added a strong oriental accent to the panorama of Polish baroque art.

POLISH ARTISTS ABROAD

A trip abroad made as an apprentice was in late medieval Poland an obligatory element of the education of a craftsman, thus also of a painter or a sculptor. Unfortunately, the crisis of urban civilization, which started in the early sixteenth century, in large measure discouraged this practice. Such peregrinations did not take the form of modern artistic journeys to Italy, to which western European art owed so much. In Poland, native artistic production kept within the bounds of provincialism. The traditional methods of guild training were less and less adequate to meet the academic standards indispensable for the competent practicing of modern art. Attempts to form artists in a royal school of painting in the time of John III Sobieski could not significantly improve the situation.

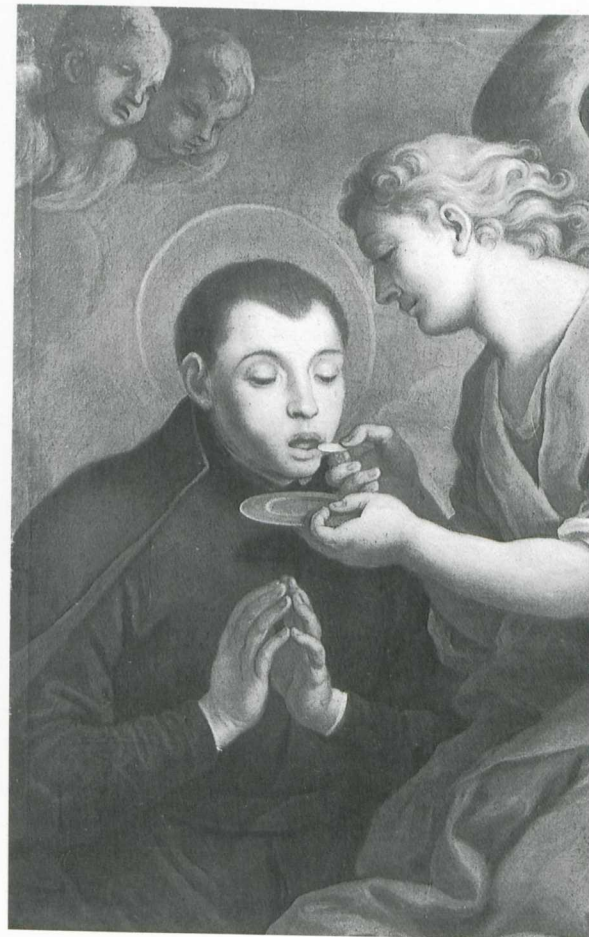
In the seventeenth century some efforts were made by Polish artists to restore direct contacts with European art. In the privilege granted the painter Jan Tretko by John III can be read that he studied in Gdańsk but also with Jordaens and Poussin. In the years 1649–56 a great artistic tour of Europe was made by the learned Jesuit Bartłomiej Waśowski, who recorded his observations in the form of sketches and notes. He subsequently used this material for writing a Latin treatise on art and for his own somewhat amateurish architectural activity.

John III, in addition to taking steps toward the training of artists within the country, enabled Jerzy Szymonowicz and Jan Reisner to study abroad, mainly at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. Consequently Szymonowicz, though not very original, attained a level of technical expertise until then unknown among Polish artists. Moreover, his prestige as an academic painter facilitated his exceptional rise in society from Lvov burgher to gentleman and landowner.

The eighteenth century did not bring any dramatic changes in this respect. A few artists, such as the architect Kacper Bażanka (fig. 7) or the painters Szymon Czechowicz (fig. 8), Sylwester Mirys, and Tadeusz Kuntze (Konicz), succeeded in completing their studies in Rome, mostly with the help of their powerful protectors. It was not until the time of King Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski in the second half of the century that a large-scale campaign of this kind was undertaken. The artists educated abroad surpassed the others in professional skill and in knowledge of the current trends in European art.

CIRCULATION OF GRAPHIC PATTERNS

With the invention of the woodcut and then copper engraving, the circulation of works of graphic art became one of the most important channels of dissemination and exchange of artistic ideas. The sixteenth century saw the emergence of a wide range of publications of different kinds suited to the needs of particular branches of art. Thus even artists living in the provinces received invaluable help enabling them to bridge some gaps in their own inventiveness and acquainting them with the current situation of art in its large centers. Illustrated publications and separate engravings became an indispensable part of an artist's studio, used for teaching and for his daily work. Centers of graphic production gained the possibility of a much wider influence than the status of the art created there would suggest.

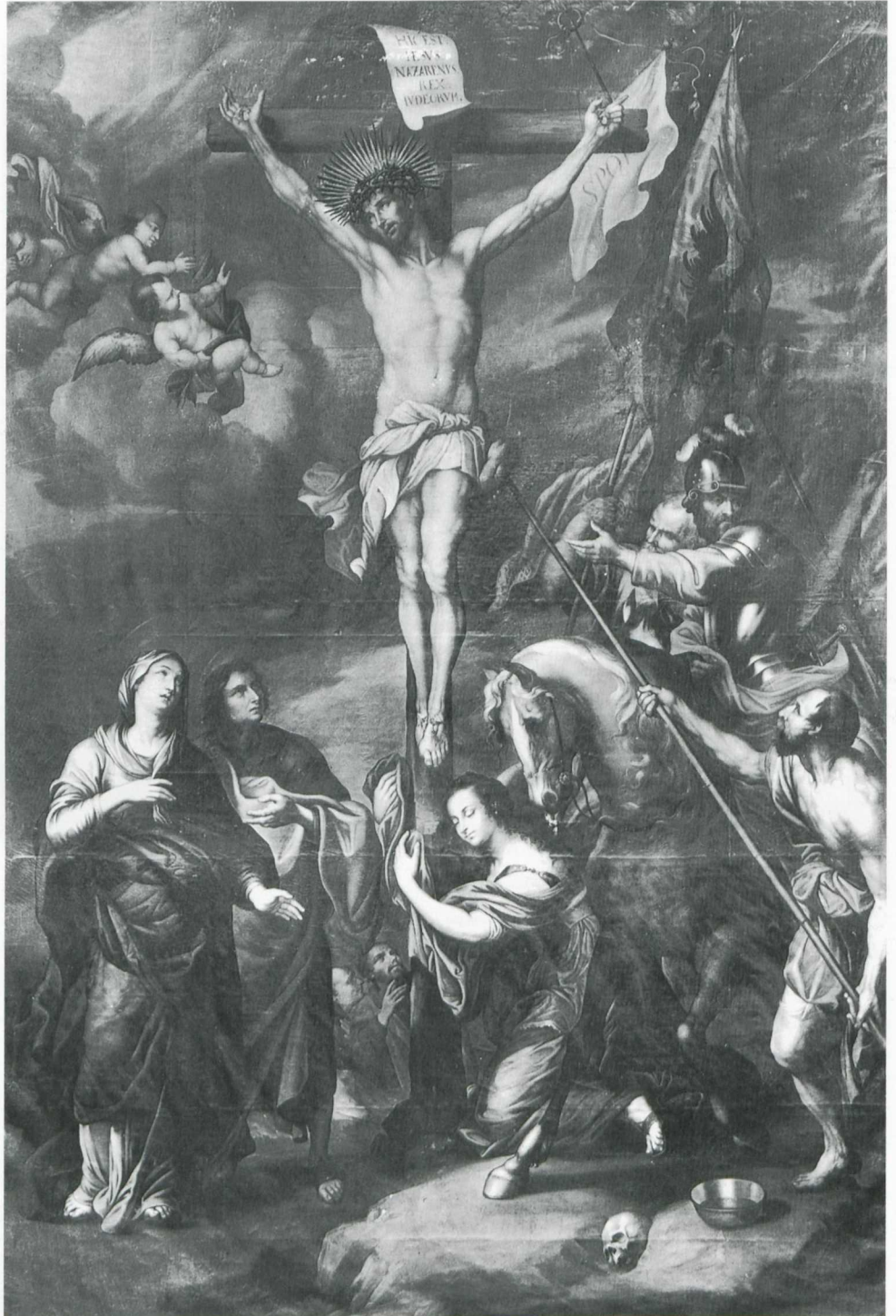


8. Szymon Czechowicz, *The Communion of Saint Stanislas Kostka*, c. 1750. Picture Gallery, Lvov

Czechowicz studied at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome. His art reflects the early eighteenth-century Roman style and is particularly close to that of Carlo Maratti. Stanislas Kostka, a young Polish Jesuit, was one of the most popular saints of the Counter-Reformation.

9. Franciszek Leleszycki, *The Crucifixion*, c. 1659–64. Bernardine Church, Cracow

A modest Franciscan painter was able to produce this monumental canvas thanks to an etching after a Van Dyck composition.



Foreign graphic patterns played a significant role in the development of Polish late Gothic painting and sculpture, and their importance did not decrease in the centuries to come. In the baroque period Flemish, German, and French pattern books were responsible for the shaping of successive vogues in ornamentation.

In architecture, the principal role was played by Italian treatises on architecture by Andrea Palladio, Sebastiano Serlio, Pietro Cattaneo, Giacomo Vignola, and Vincenzo Scamozzi. From these publications, ground plans of buildings were borrowed as well as designs of particular motifs such as fireplaces and door and window surrounds. Owing to its practical approach, Serlio's famous study enjoyed the widest influence, being of use to both outstanding architects and modest master builders. Andrea Pozzo's treatise on perspective had a tremendous impact on two kinds of eighteenth-century art, altar architecture and fresco painting. French treatises and pattern books by Jacques Perret, Pierre Le Muet, Jean and Jean-François Blondel, Jean Le Pautre, and Jean Marot were known in Poland. Netherlandish and German pattern books provided prototypes for details and ornamentation used in architecture and decorative art. As regards the latter sphere of artistic production, the regency and rococo periods saw the predominance of patterns of at least indirect French provenance.

Inspiration in painting came from slightly different directions, the widest influence being exerted not so much by the greatest artists as by those who specialized in mass production of engravings or compositional designs for printmakers. Among the Italians one should mention above all Antonio Tempesta, active in Florence in the second half of the sixteenth century, whose compositions were repeated throughout the next century. However, the most important role was played by the immense graphic output of Antwerp that ensured popularity to the compositions of Marten de Vos and later Rubens. In the eighteenth century the *quadraturisti* consulted not only the treatise by Pozzo but also Jacob Schübler's and Francesco Galli Bibiena's publications of similar kind.

In decorative art, the greatest importance was attached to pattern books of ornamental motifs, the fashions imposed by them being so rigidly followed that today these constitute a valuable aid in the dating of works of woodcarving or metalwork. Engravings serving artists as prototypes obviously enhanced the influence of the artistic centers in which they were created. Nevertheless, it seems that in the baroque epoch the provenance of those works was not clearly distinguished, nor did particular artists attach importance to the stylistic conformity of their source of inspiration with the tradition of their own heritage. The Venetian Tommaso Dolabella readily availed himself of compositions by Marten de Vos. The Dutchman Tylman van Gameren referred to Italian as well as French patterns. The fresco painters from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia were the main propagators of Pozzo's ideas.

Access to graphic models enabled even artists with little inventiveness or those with gaps in their education to undertake relatively complicated tasks. For many of them recourse to engravings was the basic method of work, this being well illustrated by the Bernardine painter Franciszek Lekszycki, author of huge reproductions of Rubens and Van Dyck compositions (fig. 9). Graphic patterns were undoubtedly a valuable bridge linking Polish art with Europe. All the same, their influence, though important, was obviously limited. Prints provided sufficient information on the composition and modeling of a painting but could say nothing about the colors of the original.

In conclusion, summoning artists from abroad was undoubtedly the most important among the four main channels of contact of Polish with European art. This concerns the quantity as well as the quality of the thus-created works. However, the close connection of the major achievements of Polish baroque art with leading European models does not exclude the originality of some local phenomena and processes. Foreign artists working in Poland had to take into account local conditions, to adapt their creations to the "Polish sky and custom." Consequently, in Polish art foreign inspiration invariably coexists with quite particular phenomena and a certain degree of provincialism, with originality resulting from the local component of the equation.

The factor of second importance is the use of foreign graphic patterns, one of the methods widely employed by representatives of all branches of art. Importation of original paintings or sculptures was not of such consequence because of its limited scope and the concentration of the majority of imported works in the hands of only a few private owners. On the other hand, there are examples of copies of foreign paintings being made in Poland.

Unfortunately, the funding of studies abroad of Polish artists came almost to nothing. The creation of a strong local milieu would have required a campaign on a much larger scale and the ensurance of proper conditions in Poland for acquiring and practicing artistic professions. Such functions should have been fulfilled by an academy of art which, however, despite certain projects in the time of Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, was not established until the end of the Polish kingdom.

The selection of sources of inspiration as a rule corresponded with the importance of particular centers in Europe. In addition to the traditional predominance of Italy, Polish baroque art reflected the flowering of Flemish and Dutch painting and the increasing appreciation of French art. It is also worth emphasizing the growth of the independence of the central European region from the early eighteenth century onward and the essential role at that time of the patterns coming from the Habsburg and South German territories. The role of particular foreign centers was fairly varied, depending on which center in Poland and which branch of art there was concerned. Thus until the end of the baroque epoch Cracow favored Roman prototypes. In Greater Poland an important role was played by its neighborly relations with Silesia. In the seventeenth century Lvov maintained close relations with the German-speaking centers of Silesia and Prussia and in the eighteenth with the territories of the Habsburg monarchy. The Saxon element was most pronounced in eighteenth-century Warsaw. In Vilnius and in the whole of Lithuania the eighteenth century brought the development of an architectural school that manifested striking analogies to the rococo architecture of Bavaria. A separate place is occupied by Gdańsk, lying on the frontier of Poland and an active cultural center fully western-European in character, linked by means of a network of ties with the entire northern cultural region along the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas.

Architecture, which in the seventeenth century followed mainly Italian models, in the next century extended its range of inspiration to French and central European ones.

Sculpture, predominately Italian in the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth veered dramatically and fruitfully toward Central European traditions. Painting was characterized by a certain balance of Italian and northern inspirations. In decorative art, strong German and oriental influences can be seen.

While viewing the problem of the relations of Polish baroque art with Europe in terms of their social background, the conclusion is inescapable that the main role was played by the patronage of the magnates, which fully corresponds with the oligarchic system ruling in Polish policy and social life. In view of the limited financial resources of the elected kings, royal patronage not only had no chance of outclassing the sum of magnates' initiatives, but many a time also yielded precedence to the foundations of individual persons. The magnates had the necessary economic means at their disposal and were genuinely interested in maintaining contacts with the West. Artistic patronage raised the prestige of that class not solely because of its scale and intrinsic value. The adoption of the style of living of the western European aristocracy together with its artistic setting was an expression of the magnates' anxiety to distinguish themselves from the Sarmatian masses of the gentry and to sanction their own supremacy.

The Church, apart from the role of the religious orders, participated in these processes in a relatively small degree. Of course, Polish art reflected the phenomena characteristic of the Church as a whole, such as the realization of the decisions of the Council of Trent and the introduction of the cult of new saints and new kinds of divine service. However, as an institution the Church was interested above all in the ideological aspect of these problems, as a rule not interfering in the details of their artistic manifestation. The patronage of bishops and other representatives of high-ranking clergy did not essentially differ from such activities undertaken by lay magnates.

It follows that Polish baroque art drew on European prototypes. On the other hand Poland was the easternmost region to have organically assimilated baroque culture, a variety of sources of inspiration and the specificity of local conditions combining to form a picture full of color and richness. Poland did not contribute any solutions that would steer the universal development of European baroque art. Nevertheless, in addition to numerous works of high artistic quality it did contribute original phenomena, if only to mention a very early introduction to baroque culture of oriental elements or specific types of portrait painting connected with Sarmatian funeral customs. In the panorama of European baroque such achievements may not be disregarded.

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