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## THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH IN ZAMOŚĆ in the Context of European Architecture

The Collegiate church in Zamość (since 1992 cathedral of Zamość-Lubaczów Diocese, fig. 1.), has long been included in the canon of Polish architecture and considered as one of the most important 16<sup>th</sup> century sacral buildings in this country. The church is a basilica with rows of side-chapels, but without a transept or dome, built with classical orders. Jerzy Kowalczyk provided a detailed analysis in a thesis which is still relevant today, despite the passage of half a century<sup>1</sup>. However, it appears that in the light of newer views on early modern architecture, some new conclusions can be added, to put this church in the context of the two main trends in sacral architecture, consisting of either a continuation of local medieval tradition, or the application of new solutions of Italian origin.

Many buildings classified within the first group were recently discussed by Piotr Gryglewski, who in his book's title *De sacra antiquitate* stated that continuation of the local tradition was ideologically motivated<sup>2</sup>. However, it has to be stressed that in the vast majority of cases, the application of such traditional forms can be easily explained

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<sup>1</sup> J. Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata w Zamościu*, (1968).

<sup>2</sup> See P. Gryglewski, *De sacra antiquitate. Odwołania do przeszłości w polskiej architekturze sakralnej XVI wieku*, (2012).

by a lack of reflection on church architecture, since the medieval style was still applicable, even in Lesser Poland, and was widely open to Italian artistic influence. Its continuity can be tracked through the whole 16<sup>th</sup> century, both in Catholic (e.g. in Krzcięcice, 1531–1542<sup>3</sup>) and Protestant churches (Calvinist in Oksa, after 1554–before 1566<sup>4</sup> and Arian in Sobków, around 1560<sup>5</sup>). Moreover, whenever some innovative solutions were implemented, they did not disrupt the traditional look of the building's form. One example is the outstanding church in Chodel (founded in 1541 by bishop Samuel Maciejowski) – with its sequence of shallow niches cut into the nave's walls<sup>6</sup>, as well as church in Chroberz (around 1550) with a wall-pillar nave<sup>7</sup>.

Unfortunately, there are no specific records, which could clarify how such churches – continuing the medieval tradition – were seen in Poland at the turn of 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, their architecture undoubtedly evoked similar associations as in other central and western-European countries, so foreign literature may provide a clue. Worth recalling is the treatise of Philibert de l'Orme, who referred to medieval French architecture not as ancient, but modern, in contrast to the earlier style of roman antiquity<sup>8</sup>. Similar statements can be found in Netherlandish art theory, which viewed the sustenance of the local building tradition as the quintessence of modernity. This idea had already been expressed in *Architectura oder Bauung der Antiquen auss dem Vituvius* by Hans Vredeman de Vries<sup>9</sup>, and was clearly shown in his later engravings, published

<sup>3</sup> *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce, 3: Województwo kieleckie*, ed. by J. Z. Łoziński, B. Wolff, 3: Powiat jędrzejowski, (1957), p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> P. Krasny, *Zbór kalwiński w Oksie. Przyczynek do badań nad formą centralną w polskiej architekturze sakralnej wieku XVI*, in: *Magistro et Amico amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, (2002), p. 258.

<sup>5</sup> *Katalog zabytków*, (1957), p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> The church was consecrated in 1541 – see *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce, 8: Województwo lubelskie*, ed. by R. Brykowski, Z. Winiarz, 1: Powiat bełżycki, (1960), p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Gryglewski, *De sacra*, pp. 238–239, note 434.

<sup>8</sup> P. de l'Orme, *Premier tome de l'Architecture* (1567), fol. 107 r. This mention was noticed by Artur Kwaśniewski – see A. Kwaśniewski, *Retrospektywne tendencje architektury ziem królestwa czeskiego w dobie renesansu (1600–1650). Uwagi o sensie ideowym konwencji stylowych*, in: *Slezsko země Koruny České. Historie a kultura 1300–1740*, ed. by H. Dáňová, J. Klípa, L. Stolárová, (2008), p. 648.

<sup>9</sup> H. de Vries, *Architectura oder Bauung der Antiquen auss dem Vituvius*, (1577), fol. 5v.

in *Perspectiva* (1604) and *Architectura* (1606)<sup>10</sup>. It was also mentioned in *Architectura Moderna ofte Bouwinghe van onsen tyt* by Cornelis Dankerts and Salomon de Bray<sup>11</sup> – a treatise which refers to the first publication by de Vries in its very title (*The modern architecture – the buildings of our time*). It praises the works of Hendrick de Keyser and Cornelis Danckerts de Rij (co-author's uncle) – which are strongly rooted in the local building tradition. Architects were praised for designing according to national character, custom and tradition, as well as to the simplicity of Christian doctrine and its modesty<sup>12</sup>. Regarding the great influence of Dutch art, it seems highly likely that in Poland too the local building tradition was seen not as the expression of “the sacred antiquity”, but rather as an inherent component of modern architecture, while the forms adopted from Italian art appeared both archaic and foreign. As such, they could have been considered inappropriate for sacral buildings, even despite the deep fascination for antiquity.

Another reason for the reluctance regarding new solutions in church architecture could be their Italo-Roman origin, which might have been associated with a certain religious and political attitude, and understood as the founder's clear doctrinal declaration. Such phenomena in Czech architecture were recently discussed by Piotr Krasny, who affirmed that

<sup>10</sup> See. M. Gnehm, *Die “alte und neue manieir” in Vredeman de Vries’ Perspektive*, in: *Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Folgen. Ergebnisse des in Kooperation mit dem Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska durchgeführten internationalen Symposium am Weserrenaissance – Museum Schloß Brake (30. Januar bis 1. Februar 2004)*, ed. by H. Borggreffe, V. Lüpkes, (2005), pp. 190–197.

<sup>11</sup> S. de Bray, *Architectura moderna ofte bouwinghe van onsen tyt*, ed. by E. Taverne, (1971); K. Ottenheim, P. Rosenberg, N. Smit, *Hendrick de Keyser. “Architectura Moderna”. Moderne bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600–1625*, (2008). On the book's frontispiece there is only the publisher's name – Cornelis Dankerts van Seevenhoven, but a significant part of the text was written by Salomon de Bray. While not all chapters are signed, therefore the book's authorship was differently determined. According to Taverne, de Bray was the only author, while Ottenheim attributed the major part of the text to Dankerts. See E. Taverne, *Salomon De Bray's „Architectura Moderna”. Biography and Manifesto*, in: S. de Bray, *Architectura moderna ofte bouwinghe van onsen tyt*, ed. by E. Taverne, (1971), pp. 1–8; K. Ottenheim, *Tradycja a inwencja w ornamentach architektonicznych około roku 1600*, in: *Niederlandzcy artyści w Gdańsku w czasach Hansa Vredemana de Vriesa. Materiały z konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska i Weserrenaissance-Museum Schloß Brake Lemgo, Ratusz Głównego Miasta, Gdańsk, 20–21 listopada 2003 r.*, ed. by A. Bartetzky, (2006), pp. 45–50.

<sup>12</sup> Taverne, *Salomon De Bray's*, p. 1; Ottenheim, *Tradycja*, p. 47.

both Catholics and Protestants preferred the same style of late medieval origin, which indicated not only faithfulness to tradition – and thus indirectly the orthodoxy of each religious persuasion – but also the conscious rejection of Italian church architecture, associated with offensive counter-reformation and lack of religious tolerance. As a characteristic example, Krasny pointed out the similarity of the Lutheran church in Kralovice (1575–1581, built on the initiative of Florian Griesbeck), and the Catholic Church in Smečno (consecrated in 1587, founded by Jiří Bořita of Martinice). He also discussed the Catholic Church in Sobotka (1590–1596, founded by Oldřich Feliks Lobkowitz) and the foundations of Stanisław Pawłowski, bishop of Olomouc. Krasny stated that the forms of late medieval origin were also used in almost all churches built in Prague at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>13</sup>. Among them the most typical are the Catholic St. Roque (1603–1612), the Lutheran St. Salvator's (around 1611) and the Church of Unity of the Brethren (after 1616, later belonging to the Hospitallers of St. John of God)<sup>14</sup>. The tolerant attitude of Bohemian Catholics under the reign of Rudolph II obviously met with disapproval from the Italian clergymen, including papal legates, but on the other hand also ensured protection against social exclusion by Protestants. The scholar also pointed out that the reasons for the popularity of medieval forms in sacral architecture, noticeable in Bohemia, may also have been true for Poland, where around 1600 in sacral architecture motifs routed in the local medieval tradition also prevailed over those imported from Italy<sup>15</sup>.

Among Polish buildings of that type, the church in Czarnków is worth a special mention, built around the same time as the collegiate in Zamość. This has been recently discussed by Gryglewski as an example of a historicist style of building, which can be interpreted as a symbol of the founding family's antiquity, expressed in a manner known from

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<sup>13</sup> P. Krasny, "Jestem katolikiem, a nie papistą". Świadomość konfesyjna fundatorów a problem prowincjonalizmu architektury sakralnej w Europie środkowej około roku 1600, in: *Centrum, prowincje, peryferia. Wzajemne relacje w dziejach sztuki*, [ed. P. Gryglewski, K. Stefański, R. Wróbel], (2013), pp. 69–86.

<sup>14</sup> P. Kalina, *Praha 1437–1610. Kapitoly o pozdně gotycké a renesanční architektuře*, (2011), pp. 118, 163, 164.

<sup>15</sup> Krasny, "Jestem katolikiem", pp. 85–86.

Habsburg's lands<sup>16</sup>. It was built for Stanisław Sędziwój Czarnkowski (1526–1602), *referendarius regni* who was among the most active supporter of the Habsburgs during the double election of 1587, paid handsomely by Emperor Rudolph II. He fought for Maximilian Habsburg in the battle of Byczyna, after which he was taken prisoner. Czarnkowski was in close contacts with the primate Jakub Uchański, and it was Jan Zamoyski whom he hated the most in the world<sup>17</sup>. This could have been an additional reason for him to build a church in forms referring to the architecture of the Middle Ages, so extremely different from those used in the Zamość collegiate. Moreover, Czarnkowski placed in his church a monument to his ancestors, who held important offices in the 12<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, when the Zamoyski family had no political significance.

Certainly, there are many other examples of such medieval solutions in Polish church architecture, including from among Zamoyski's supporters and relatives, who were not willing to imitate the design of the Grand-Chancellor's collegiate. A significant example is the church in Zebrzydowice (1599–1602) founded by Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, husband of Dorota Herburtówna, Zamoyski's cousin. A Jesuit pupil and zealous Catholic, he decided to build in his family nest a temple clearly referring to the Middle Ages<sup>18</sup>, although in chapels of pilgrimage assembly in nearby Calvary, he applied antique forms in their Netherlandish interpretation, recalling the etchings of Frans Hogenberg, attached to several editions of the famous book by Christian Kurik van Adrichem<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Gryglewski, *De sacra*, pp. 282–287. The time of building the church in Czarnków is in this book determined variously, as: “about 1570–1580” on p. 283, and “about 1580” on p. 286.

<sup>17</sup> K. Lepszy 1938, *Czarnkowski Stanisław Sędziwój*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 4 (1938), pp. 221–225; S. Leśniewski, *Jan Zamoyski hetman i polityk*, (2008), p. 99; Gryglewski, *De sacra*, p. 285.

<sup>18</sup> The design of the church in Zebrzydowice was unjustifiably attributed to Giovanni Bernardoni by Adam Miłobędzki. See A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII wieku*, (*Dzieje sztuki polskiej* 4, 1, 1980), p. 130. Despite the lack of any basis for such an attribution, it was accepted in later literature – for example see J. Paszenda, *Bernardoni in Polonia*, in: *L'architetto Gian Maria Bernardoni sj tra l'Italia e le terre dell'Europa centro-orientale*, ed. by S. Graciotti, J. Kowalczyk, (1999), pp. 33–34.

<sup>19</sup> C. Adrichomius, *Ierusalem, sicut Christi tempore floruit, et suburbanorum, insigniorumque historiarum eius brevis descriptio*, (1584); the same, *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum historiarum*, (1590). About the significance of these works for development of devotion to the Passion of Christ and as a source of inspiration for Zebrzydowski, see:

As Gryglewski has noted, the connection between family history and the place, could be the reason for using medieval forms in the church of Łazany (1586–1590), founded by Sebastian Lubomirski. The temple, housing the graves of his father and brother, was built near the legendary family nest<sup>20</sup>. Lubomirski was Zamoyski's political supporter; in 1587 he supported Sigismund III, but he also maintained contact with the court of Rudolph II, from whom he received the title of Count of Wiśnicz in 1595. He was also close to the Hungarian nobility, because his mother was Hungarian and he was the overseer of Scepus – surrounded by Hungarian territories<sup>21</sup>.

A characteristic example of this phenomenon in Hungarian architecture is the church in Zboró, Sáros County (most likely, the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>22</sup>. Presumably, its construction started when the town was owned by Janusz Ostrogski (married to Lubomirski's daughter from 1597) who had gained it as a dowry from his first wife in 1582, and which he sold in 1603<sup>23</sup>. The unusual shape of this building, consisting of a nave and four longitudinal chapels arranged radially around its eastern part, can be interpreted as a repetition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century church in Pöstyén, built by the Knights Hospitallers of St. John<sup>24</sup>. Ostrogski was a great supporter of this order; should there be no male descendants, the order was to inherit Ostrogski's Family Fee Tail<sup>25</sup>.

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H. E. Wyczawski *Kalwara Zebrzydowska. Historia klasztoru Bernardynów o kalwaryjskich drózek*, (1987), pp. 24, 25, 58; Z. Bania, *Tak zwany wpływ Adrychomiusza na XVII-wieczne kalwarie polskie*, in: *Jerozolima w kulturze europejskiej*, ed. by P. Paszkiewicz, T. Zadrożny, (1997), pp. 257–260.

<sup>20</sup> Gryglewski, *De sacra*, pp. 276–278.

<sup>21</sup> J. Długosz, *Lubomirski Sebastian*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 18 (1973), pp. 40–42.

<sup>22</sup> J. Švec-Babov, *História farnosti v obci Zborov*, (1996): <http://www.zborov.sk/obec-zborov/historia/historia-farnosti-zborov.html>, (visited on 6.12.2013); M. Kurzej, *Kościół parafialny p.w. św. Małgorzaty Antiocheńskiej w Zborowie na Szaryszu. Przyczynek od dyskusji nad zjawiskiem postgotyku w Europie Środkowej*, "Modus", 5 (2004), pp. 10–12. A supposition about slightly later dating of the church, expressed there, seems to be wrong according to the present state of knowledge.

<sup>23</sup> T. Chynczewska-Hennel, *Ostrogski Janusz*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 24/3, 102 (1979), pp. 481–486.

<sup>24</sup> Kurzej, *Kościół*, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Chynczewska-Hennel, *Ostrogski*, p. 485.

Ostrogski also chose late-medieval forms for the church in Zasław (begun in 1599)<sup>26</sup>. The Dominican's church in Jazłowiec (1583–1590<sup>27</sup>) was also similar, founded by Hieronim Jazłowiecki, Ostrogski's son-in-law, a convert and fervent Catholic<sup>28</sup>. Such forms of medieval origin were prominent in Ruthenia and Podolia at that time, not only in Catholic, but also in Orthodox churches and synagogal architecture<sup>29</sup>.

In the background of such traditional church buildings, rare examples of imitation Italian architecture can be interpreted as a manifestation of attachment to Roman Catholicism. This was observed by Krasny, who pointed to the Jesuit church in Nieśwież<sup>30</sup> (1586–1599), which was adorned with a transept and a dome on the explicit demand of the founder, who intended to imitate the Vatican St. Peter's Basilica<sup>31</sup>. Approximately at the same time, those forms were also chosen for the church of this order in Cracow<sup>32</sup>. In 1597 the patronage of this building was taken by King Sigismund III, who in this way clearly demonstrated both his religious attitude and artistic taste<sup>33</sup>.

It is highly likely that the elements indicated by Radziwiłł – the transept and dome – became a distinguishing feature of Roman Catholic Church buildings in his times<sup>34</sup>. These were also adopted by Stanisław

<sup>26</sup> M. Kurzej, *Nowożytna architektura kościelna na Wołyniu do czasów wojen kozackich*, in: *W kręgu Hadziacza A.D. 1658. Od historii do literatury*, ed. by P. Borek, (*Biblioteka Tradycji*, Seria 2, 74, 2008), p. 277.

<sup>27</sup> The church in Jazłowiec was most likely built in the years 1583–1590. See Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego [Jagiellonian University Archives], PhD thesis in the Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University: T. Zaucha, *Tradycja gotycka w architekturze sakralnej ziem ruskich Korony od końca XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, (2010), p. 46.

<sup>28</sup> R. Żelewski, *Jazłowiecki Hieronim*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, 9/1, 48 (1964), pp. 120–121.

<sup>29</sup> See K. Blaschke, *Inwencja i repetycja. Powtarzalność planów w architekturze kościelnej na Rusi Czerwonej*, (2010), pp. 31–60.

<sup>30</sup> Krasny, "Jestem katolikiem", p. 86.

<sup>31</sup> T. Bernatowicz, *Miles Christianus et peregrinus. Fundacje Mikołaja Radziwiłła "Sierotki" w ordynacji nieświeskiej*, (*Historia Artium* 1, 1998), pp. 41–55.

<sup>32</sup> A. Małkiewicz, *Theoria et praxis. Studia z dziejów sztuki nowożytnej i jej teorii*, (*Ars Vetus et Nova* 2, 2000), p. 203.

<sup>33</sup> Małkiewicz, *Theoria*, p. 153.

<sup>34</sup> The transept and the dome were frequent components of eminent churches built in several states of Italy in the last quarter of 16<sup>th</sup> century. Their popularity was well-established by such temples as S. Giustina in Padua (begun 1532), cathedral in Mantua (after

Żółkiewski, a fervent catholic and royalist, who defeated the rebellion of Zebrzydowski near Guzów<sup>35</sup>. In the newly constructed city of Żółkiew he founded a collegiate (1606–1618), conceived as a family mausoleum, which in terms of function is a clear imitation of Zamość<sup>36</sup>. Despite this, the church in Żółkiew has a different shape with a cross ground plan and a dome, which became a prototype for a number of buildings performing the same function – for example, the burial places of Ligęza in Rzeszów (1624–1627), Opaliński in Sieraków (1624–1629), and Sapięha in Kodeń (founded in 1631)<sup>37</sup>.

A singularity of the Zamość collegiate is clearly visible only against the background of those two trends in church architecture. Its design, with rich antique-like articulation shows no similarities to medieval architecture, yet neither has a known prototype in Italy, while – as Kowalczyk stated – it stands out against Italian architecture with the lack of transept alone, as well as the strange formation of the side-walls, which are similar to palace facades<sup>38</sup>.

The circumstances surrounding the collegiate's design are unknown, but it must have been conceived no later than in 1587 when construction started. Its authorship is not attested by archival source, but it is commonly believed that the designer was Bernardo Morando<sup>39</sup>. However probable it

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1540), Il Gesù in Rome (1568–1580), or S. Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (begun. 1566). See. W. Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1500–1600*, (1995), pp. 81, 117–118, 149, 162.

<sup>35</sup> L. Podhorodecki, *Wielki hetman Rzeczypospolitej. Opowieść o Stanisławie Żółkiewskim*, (1987), pp. 4–6.

<sup>36</sup> Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 188.

<sup>37</sup> P. Krasny, *Krzyżowo-kopułowe kościoły-mauzolea w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, "Zeszyty Naukowe UJ. Prace z historii sztuki", 20 (1992), pp. 25–31. The collegiate in Żółkiew is probably the first parish church of this type, except one early and quite mysterious example, which is the church in Dąbrowa Zielona, built in 1554. For more information, see Gryglewski, *De sacra*, pp. 230–235. The Cross-dome layout was also applied in Franciscan's church in Święta Anna near Przyrów (1609–1617). See Archiwum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Master thesis in the Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University: K. Migalska, *Architektura bernardyńskiego kościoła w Świętej Annie koło Przyrowa*, (2009).

<sup>38</sup> See Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 165–169. This scholar has only pointed on the similarity of the Zamość collegiate to the Roman church of Santa Maria della Consolazione (Martino Longhi the Elder, 1583–1606) admitting that due to the datation, it could not have played the role of the prototype.

<sup>39</sup> Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 28. There the review of older literature.



may seem, one must remember that he drew the church plans according to the founder's detailed instructions<sup>40</sup>. Kowalczyk proved that the Grand-Chancellor was keenly interested in architecture, and had collected an extensive book collection on this filed<sup>41</sup>. He also used to participate in the execution of his artistic investments, and meticulously monitored projects of even minor architectural details<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, it is Zamoyski that is to be regarded not only as the creator of the ideological concept of the church, but also the co-author of its architecture, and the one who decided on its form. So, reasons for this choice can be explained through his cultural formation, as well as his religious and political attitude.

There are many indications that Zamoyski wasn't a particularly zealous Catholic, as he viewed religion from a political rather than a theological point of view. He certainly did not approve any hostility towards the Protestants, a tendency manifested by a significant section of the Roman Catholic clergy. His position on this issue was clearly expressed in the famous statement directed to the dissenters: "If only this could happen that you all became papists, I would give for that a half of my health, to enjoy this saint unity with the second half. But if anyone forces you to this, I'll give all my health by your side, not to watch this slavery."

Such an attitude displayed by the Grand-Chancellor was clearly motivated by his own biography and family relations. His father Stanisław and uncle Florian were Calvinists, Jan himself having abandoned this

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<sup>40</sup> The hypothesis that it was Bernardo Morando, who made plans for the church, however commonly accepted, has no justification in archival sources (see Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 26), so there is no evidence that he created its architectural concept. On the contrary, there are some clues showing Morando as the executor of Chancellor's ideas. One of them is their correspondence, which does not relate to artistic matters, but only to construction works. See J. Kowalczyk, *Morando e Zamoyski. La collaborazione tra un architetto veneto e un mecenate polacco nella creazione della città ideale*, in: *Italia, Venezia e Polonia. Tra umanesimo e rinascimento*, ed. by M. Brahmaer, (1967), pp. 338–339, 341, and J. Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury dworu Jana Zamoyskiego*, (1980), p. 39.

<sup>41</sup> Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 158, 162. There is a copy of Vitruvius's tractate with Zamoyski's glosses, which proves that he not only collected books on architecture, but also used to read them carefully. About the decisive role played by the founder in shaping a building see Z. Bania, *Od fundatora do wykonawcy. Twórcy architektury XVII–XVIII wieku w Polsce*, in: *Architekt – budowniczy – mistrz muratorski. Materiały z sesji naukowej Instytutu Sztuki PAN, Warszawa, 23–24 listopada 2004 roku*, ed. by H. Faryna-Paszkiewicz, M. Omilanowska, J. Sito, (2007), p. 48.

<sup>42</sup> Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury*, p. 17.

confession as an adult, during his studies in Padua. He was twice married to Protestants, one of whom – Gryzelda Bathory – never converted to Catholicism<sup>43</sup>. Moreover, he married his niece Anna Oleśnicka to a Lutheran – Jan Dulski. Many Protestants remained at Zamoyski’s court<sup>44</sup>, and one of them – David Hilchen – was accepted to his coat of arms. As one of the authors of Union of Brest, the Chancellor had also a positive approach towards those of Eastern beliefs, which he demonstrated by allowing Greeks and Armenians to settle in Zamość<sup>45</sup>.

Zamoyski’s religious attitude is the key for interpreting his tombstone, whose shape he clearly described in his will. It is a simple floor-plate with a short inscription “Hic situs est Ioannes Zamoyski”, the date of death, coat of arms, symbols of his offices as Chancellor and Hetman, framed by a panoply decoration. Kowalczyk considered the frugality of this monument as the manifestation of modesty, intended to express deep religious feelings of the commemorated. Kowalczyk found this manifestation to be insincere, while the whole splendid basilica had been designed for Zamoyski’s commemoration<sup>46</sup>. However, without denying the relevance of this interpretation, it must be concluded that Zamoyski simply did not want any religious symbols on his tomb, because he did not like ostentatious piety. It is also worth mentioning that the tombstone’s design corresponds to the Calvinist eschatology, which forbids any religious symbols

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<sup>43</sup> W. Sobieski, *Nienawiść wyznaniowa tłumów za rządów Zygmunta III*, (1902), pp. 50, 51; Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 126. Due to Gryzelda’s confession, nuncio Alberto Bolognetti forbade the Bishop of Cracow Piotr Myszkowski to bless the marriage, and he extended this ban to all the priest of the diocese. The marriage was celebrated by the Bishop of Kamieniec, Marcin Białobrzski. The nuncio and the Bishop of Cracow, however, were present at the wedding. (Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury*, p. 120). Mixed marriages were also condemned by nuncio Germanico Malaspina, who recognised them as incompatible with the canon law. (*Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, ed. by E. Rykaczewski, 2 (1864), p. 90).

<sup>44</sup> Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p. 50; A. Kossowski, *Protestantyzm w Lublinie i na Lubelszczyźnie w XVI–XVII w.*, (1933), pp. 86–87; Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 126, 127; Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury*, p. 183.

<sup>45</sup> J. Kowalczyk, *Kultura i ideologia Jana Zamoyskiego*, (2005), pp. 127, 163–164.

<sup>46</sup> Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury*, pp. 258–261; J. Kowalczyk, *Płyta nagrobna i stiuki w kaplicy hetmana Jana Zamoyskiego przy kolegiacie w Zamościu*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 24/2 (1962), pp. 230–234.

on tombs<sup>47</sup>. This doctrine was obviously well-known to Zamoyski, and could have remained close to his heart even after his formal conversion.

The Chancellor's attitude towards religion was criticised by Italian clerics of his time. Orazio Spannocchi, residing in Poland as the Secretary of Nunciature, has noted that Zamoyski was known as a moderate Catholic and one of his speeches in defence of the Protestants "gave a worse example than any other deed of a person of small faith and little devoted to the true religion"<sup>48</sup>. Supposedly, these opinions on Zamoyski were shared by the nuncios themselves. They are sometimes quoted in literature anonymously mentioning Zamoyski as "the chilly Catholic" (*freddo catolico*)<sup>49</sup>, or stating that "although he admits to Catholicism, he is one of those Catholics who are called political"<sup>50</sup>. It should be remembered that Zamoyski was put in opposition to the Church yet by his reluctance to Maximilian Habsburg who was the pretender for the Polish throne advocated by Rome. Zamoyski gave great support to his competitors – first Stephen Báthory, and later Sigismund Vasa.

In the light of those clues, the splendour of the Zamość collegiate should rather be interpreted as a result of the Chancellor's secular ambitions than his ardent piety. He focused his attention and money on this building, while he realised other religious foundations very sparingly, generally without going beyond the usual duties<sup>51</sup>. Even the idea

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<sup>47</sup> See P. Krasny, *Dulcis imago Zofii Lubomirskiej na nagrobku w kościele farnym w Końskowoli, czyli wizja śmierci jako zbawczego snu, zaadaptowana z holenderskiej sztuki sepulkralnej*, in: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, 10: *Programy ideowe w przedsięwzięciach artystycznych w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. by I. Rolska-Boruch, (2010), p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> Spannocchi was particularly outraged with Zamoyski's public statement advising the king to accept the Arian's oath, which was inconsistent with the existing formula. In the nuncio's words "Zamoyski si e lasciato conoscere in molte occasioni poco feruente Catolico, e particolarmente quando nel giudizio del Re in Cracovia consilio publicamente, ch'uno Ariano potesse legitimamente guirare fuor della forma unica di quel regno proscritta, e stampata, ne mai immutata per tempo alcuno, cosa per certo di tanto cattivo essemplio, quanto altra mai fosse fatta da persona poco devota e poco osservante della Religione". See H. Spannocchi, *Discorso dell'interregno di Polonia dell'anno 1587*, in: P. Honorius, *Thesaurus Politicus*, (1617), p. 441; *Relacje nuncjuszów*, 1, p. 464. Zamoyski also stood in defense of Protestants at parliament's assembly in 1598 (Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, pp. 53–54).

<sup>49</sup> Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury*, p. 258.

<sup>50</sup> Sobieski, *Nienawiść*, p. 50.

<sup>51</sup> Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 126. It is worth mentioning that in Zamoyski's rich col-

(finally not implemented) of making this church the new Cathedral for the Bishopric of Chełm<sup>52</sup> was most likely motivated by the desire to raise the rank of Zamość as the capital of the region.

Kowalczyk indicated the depth of ancient inspirations in the collegiate's architecture and proved that the reference to the antiquity was for Zamoyski an obvious choice. By using the Doric order the church conformed to the antique temples of Mars – the god of war, which corresponded with panegyric comparisons of the Chancellor and Hetman with the victorious commanders of antiquity<sup>53</sup>. However, in his times, the image of ancient architecture could not have been based on a direct cognizance of the preserved buildings, so prints were of primary importance, especially etchings, which – unlike the vague and imprecise literary descriptions – could have been used as models for new constructions.

The most prestigious ancient buildings were those counted among the Seven Wonders of the World whose artistic renderings enjoyed wide popularity in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The author of the most famous of them was the Netherlandish painter Maarten Jacobszoon van Heemskerck (1498–1574), who in 1570 made a series of drawings, based not so much on the analysis of texts, as on the acquaintance of ancient remains he studied while in Rome. Two years later his compositions were published as a series of chalcographies by Philips Galle, which quickly gained great recognition. Together with designs by Hans Vredeman de Vries, ornamental prints by Cornelis Floris and architectural treatises by Pieter Coecke van Aelst, they belonged to the most important factors shaping the image of antiquity in the Netherlands<sup>54</sup>, influencing also Germany, Poland and other European countries<sup>55</sup>.

Among the buildings presented by Heemskerck, there is one which resembles the Zamość collegiate. It is the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus

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lection (according to an inventory from 1583) there were only two religious paintings. See Kowalczyk, *Kultura*, p. 98.

<sup>52</sup> Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 116.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 128, 129.

<sup>54</sup> L. Duclaux, *Dessins de Martin van Heemskerck*, "La Revue du Louvre", 30 (1981), pp. 375–380; C. Weissert, "Nova Roma". *Aspekte der Antikenrezeption in den Niederlanden im 16. Jahrhundert*, "Artibus et Historiae", 29, 58 (2008), pp. 174, 178.

<sup>55</sup> See for example T. DaCosta Kaufmann, *O rozpowszechnianiu się sztuki niderlandzkiej*, in: *Niderlandzcy artyści w Gdańsku*, (2006), pp. 13–21.

(fig. 2) – the only sacral building in this set. Both temples have a basilican form, a five-axis facade, walls divided in bays with supports (columns in the temple, pillars in the church) on high pedestals, bearing Doric entablature, and windows framed with arcades. Of course, there are also some differences: the building on the etching is twice longer (considering the number of bays), one storey higher, and has a richer sculptural decoration, with statues in the niches of the facade's bays – where in the church there are windows. Yet the chalcography can be considered as a model for shaping the church as a basilica without transept or dome, especially since nothing more similar could be found among existing buildings.

It is almost certain that Zamoyski knew this etching, presenting the Temple of Ephesus, through his erudition and the deepest interest in the antiquity<sup>56</sup> as well as his contacts with Netherlandish humanists. Gelle's prints have short descriptions, which are stanzas of the poem by Adriaen de Jonghe (1511–1575) known as Hadrianus Junius. In 1568 he published the epigrams of Martial, one of which is dedicated to the Wonders<sup>57</sup>. Later among those present in Zamoyski's court was Georg van der Does (in Poland called Dousa), the author of an enthusiastic description of Zamość and its founder – the Chancellor<sup>58</sup>. Georg was the son of Jan (1545–1604), the heroic defender of Leiden during the Dutch Revolt, a humanist and Junius' friend. One of the signs of this friendship was a panegyric for Junius written by Jan van der Does and published as a supplement to a later edition of Junius' works – the same, which contains the poem about Wonders, earlier partially printed by Galle on his chalcographies after Heemskerck<sup>59</sup>. Georg van der Does was only one of many people linking the Chancellor to the Netherlandish culture. Among them was also his Danzig correspondent – diplomat Tiedemann Giese (1543–1582),

<sup>56</sup> See. Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 129; Kowalczyk, *Kultura*, p. 16.

<sup>57</sup> I. Veldman, *Maarten van Heemskerck and Hadrianus Junius. The Relationship Between a Painter and a Humanist*, "Simiolus", 7/1 (1974), pp. 35–54; Weissert, "Nova Roma", p. 177.

<sup>58</sup> A fragment of this description was used in *Theatrum orbis terrarum* by Georg Braun. See Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 21, 129, 136.

<sup>59</sup> H. Iunius, *Poëmatum Hadriani Junii Hornani Medici liber primus. Continens pia et moralia carmina, quorum indicem post encomiastica carmina reperies, iamprimum in lucem prolata ab authoris Nepote*, (1598), pp. 177–178. The volume also contains van der Does's congratulation for Albert Verlanus, Junius' grandson, who has contributed to its publication.

who advised him in matters of art, and mayor Johann von de Linde, who helped Zamoyski in ordering Flemish tapestries, importing Belgian marble and engaging musicians for his court ensemble<sup>60</sup>.

In this context the Temple of Artemis appears to be for Zamoyski's church an understandable model, fully expressing the founder's ambition. The ancient Wonders on Heemskerk's drawings were shown in the exactly same way: as examples of the founder's imperishable fame. In the foreground, before the Temple, the artist placed King Croesus observing the scene, with the architect Chresiphron supervising the stonemasons's work<sup>61</sup>.

Accepting the conclusion that Zamoyski wanted his collegiate to be built in a form similar to the Ephesian Temple according to the vision of Heemskerk, we can assume that determining its internal disposition was problematic, because the small ground plan, shown on the etching is not enough precise for application. Then the Chancellor could have indicated the church of Biecz, which was an obvious model, as the newest splendid parish built in Lesser Poland<sup>62</sup>. If so, the architect's task was primarily to match those two elements – external shape and plan. Morando could have also determined some minor architectural solutions, as proportions of internal orders and ornamentation details<sup>63</sup>. In this case, he did not need to be a genius creator gifted with extraordinary ingenuity and imagination, but merely a skilled and proficient craftsman.

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<sup>60</sup> Kowalczyk, *Kultura*, pp. 23, 24, 73, 74. Execution of the collegiate's main altar was also meant to be entrusted to Netherlander – Wilhelm van den Blocke, who was invited to Zamość in 1605 by bishop Jerzy Zamoyski, who supervised works in the church after Chancellor's death. See Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 34.

<sup>61</sup> Weissert, "Nova Roma", pp. 177, 178, 183.

<sup>62</sup> The similarity of floor plans of churches in Biecz and Zamość was noticed long ago. The first consist of an earlier presbytery and a nave with two aisles and rows of side chapels, added to it in 1515–1521. The second was described by Kowalczyk as quite traditional, and therefore not worthy of appreciation. This scholar doubted that church in Zamość could have been modelled after the one in Biecz. He claimed that it is hard to believe that Morando was inspired by the local Gothic architecture (Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 176, 181, 182). However this argumentation must be rejected, by assumption that it was the customer who determined the shape of the church.

<sup>63</sup> As it has already been pointed out in the older literature, they have some prototypes in the architecture of the Venetian Republic, from which came the architect. See Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 168–175.

Even though the inference that the Zamość collegiate is an imitation of a drawing by Heemskerck can only be treated as hypothesis (however justified by the circumstances described), it indicates a need to change the way we view the building and clears the way for some new research postulates. The first of them is to analyse Polish early modern architecture in the context of not only Italian, but also Netherlandish architecture; the second is to include in comparative studies not only real buildings, but also imaginary visions of never-existing constructions. In the context of church architecture of that time, the Zamość collegiate appears to be an example of “the third way” of shaping a sacral building – the result of an inspiration from Antiquity, but in the form much different than those common in Italy. It is possible that it was its difference from the architectural mainstream that meant that its shape was rarely imitated<sup>64</sup>, while some of its minor artistic solutions (especially the ceiling decorations)

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<sup>64</sup> Only Franciscan’s churches in Lemberg, Lublin and Dubno can be considered as remarkable exceptions. This series was most likely started by the church in Lemberg (1600–1611) designed by father Bernard Avellides. Its similarity with Zamość collegiate was noticed by Adam Miłobędzki. See A. Miłobędzki, *Zarys dziejów architektury w Polsce*, (1963), p. 126 and Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 187. About the authorship of this church see M. Kurzej, *Kościół p.w. Wszystkich Świętych i klasztor PP. Benedyktynek*, in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. by J. K. Ostrowski, 1: *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, 19: *Kościół i klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego (1)*, (2011), p. 138. In the latest monograph of the church Andrzej Betlej admits that the church design had most likely been created in the monastical environment, but also mentions Paolo Romano as its author. See A. Betlej, *Kościół p.w. św. Andrzeja Apostoła i klasztor OO. Bernardynów*, in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. by J. K. Ostrowski, 1: *Kościół i klasztory rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, 20: *Kościół i klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego (2)*, (2012), p. 57. However his assertion that it was Paolo Romano who designed the Franciscan’s church in Lemberg seems to be based on the misspelling of an excerpt from Latin chronicle by Bartłomiej Zimorowic. Its key passage reads: “[Avellides] adhibitis in consilium machinalis scientiae doctoribus, ideam futuri aedificii primum concinnavit, deinde conquisitis undique fabris caementariis tignariisque Paullum architectum, patria Romanum, eis praecepit”. See *Józefa Bartłomieja Zimorowicza pisma do dziejów Lwowa odnoszące się*, ed. by K. Heck, (1899), p. 350. Betlej (p. 17) quotes it wrongly by changing the last word to *perfecit*. About the Lublin church – see J. Kowalczyk, *Kościół pobernardyński w Lublinie i jego stanowisko w renesansowej architekturze Lubelszczyzny*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, 2/2 (1957), p. 135 and Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, p. 192. About church in Dubno – see M. Kurzej, *Nowożytna*, p. 279.

soon became quite popular<sup>65</sup>. Due to astonishing courage of its architecture, the Zamość collegiate can surely be considered unique not only in Poland, but also in the whole of Europe.

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<sup>65</sup> Władysław Tatarkiewicz claimed that the collegiate's ceiling decoration was a model for the architecture of the region. See W. Tatarkiewicz, *Typ lubelski i typ kaliski w architekturze kościelnej XVII wieku*, "Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki", 7 (1938), s. 23–58. Kowalczyk disagreed, considering vaults of Franciscan's church in Lublin as the most innovative. Stucco decorations of the collegiate's ceilings he regarded as added later – after 1620. See Kowalczyk, *Kościół pobernardyński*, pp. 137–138 and Kowalczyk, *Kolegiata*, pp. 35, 189. His opinion was later denied by Ziń, who considered all ceiling decorations of the collegiate as contemporary with its architecture. See W. Ziń, *Kościół uchański jako ogniwo kształtujące architekturę sakralną Lubelszczyzny na przełomie XVI i XVII w.*, (*Zeszyt Naukowy – Politechnika Krakowska. Architektura* 1961), p. 20. The last inference seems correct, while besides Ziń's argumentation, it can be justified with practical reasons: easy to make stucco decorations, composed of strips and plaques, were usually executed as a part of plastering works. Their later addition would be extremely impractical, due to the necessity of re-scaffolding.



## Illustrations



1. Collegiate in Zamość, seen from the south west. Photo: M. Kurzej, 2005



2. Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, engraving by Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck (photo in author's collection)