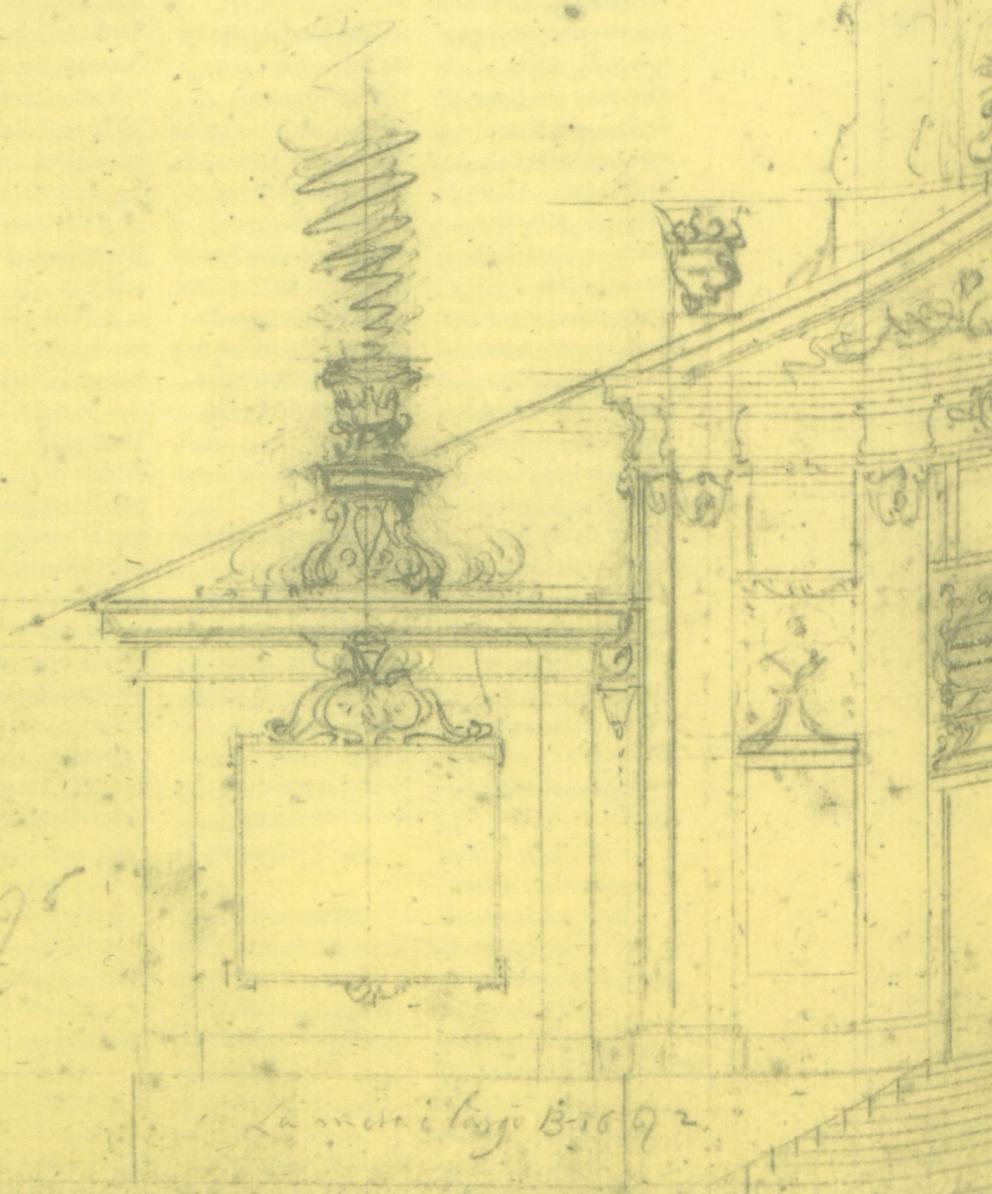


Chapter 2



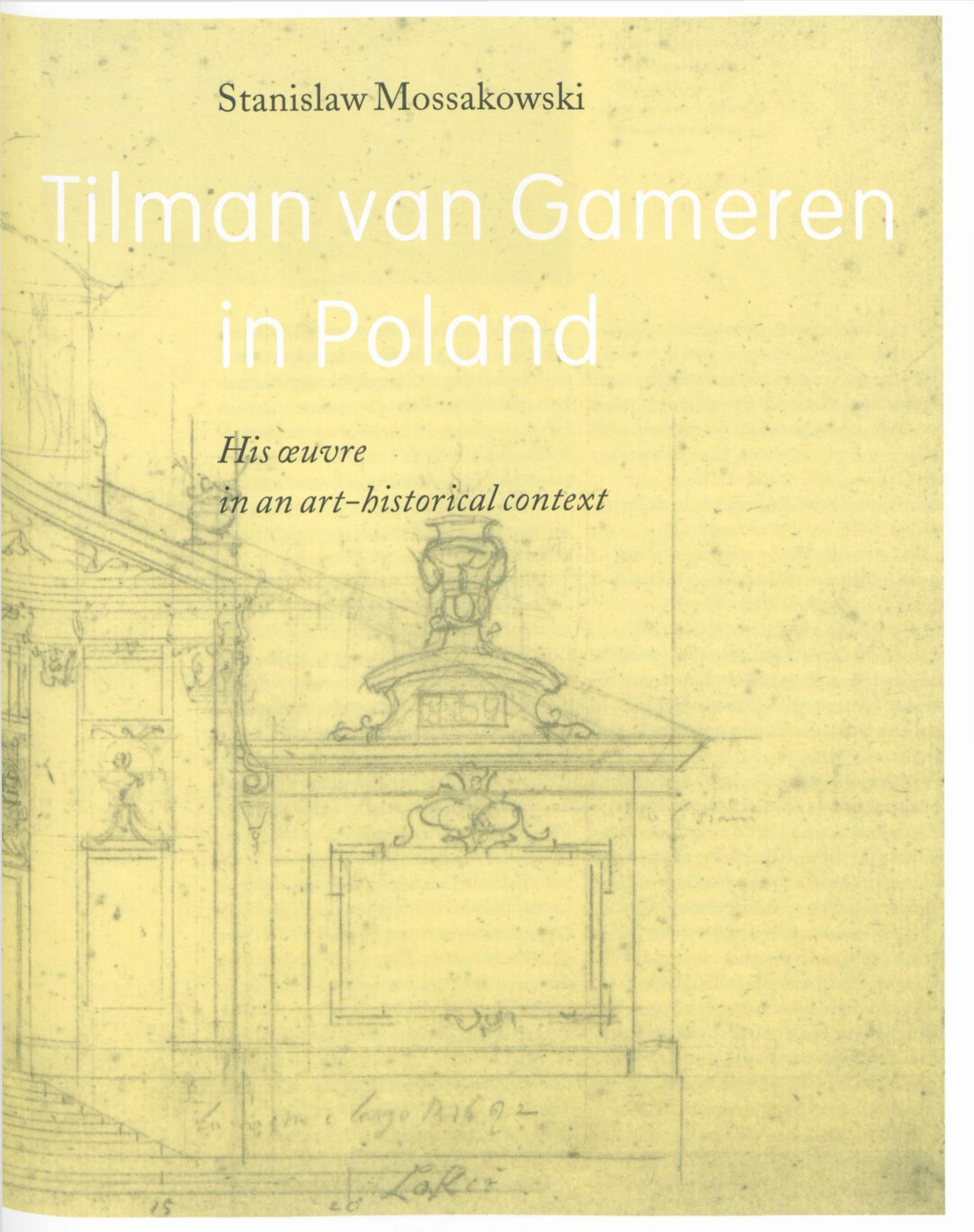
Le plan
du chœur B-99
Luce

La nef à large B-1092

Stanislaw Mossakowski

Tilman van Gameren in Poland

*His oeuvre
in an art-historical context*



1.
Tilman van Gameren explaining
the plan of the church in
Czerniaków to Stanislaw
Herakliusz Lubomirski. Fresco
painting in the choir of the
church.



INTRODUCTION

Tilman van Gameren (fig.1), one of the most prominent architects in Poland during the Baroque era, was born in 1632 as the son of a tailor and cloth merchant, Jacob Janszoon van Gameren of Utrecht, and his second wife Annechijn Willems van Aelten.¹ An official Polish document dated 1676 describes him as having spent most of his youth studying the humanities, geometry and military skills, and travelling in Germany, Italy and elsewhere. His studies covered a variety of subjects, and his wide-ranging interests are evident from the well-stocked library he later possessed in Warsaw, in which architecture and painting occupied a prominent place.²

We know that in 1660, Van Gameren was living as a painter in Venice. A poem by Marco Boschini entitled ‘Carta del navegar pitoresco’, published that year, refers to him as a renowned painter of battle scenes. Van Gameren’s paintings have never been found either in Poland or Italy, so that the only information concerning his talent and abilities as a painter comes from his designs for decorations and from the modest engravings Johann Georg Helwig executed after his drawings to illustrate Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski’s emblem book, *Adverbiorum moralium sive de virtute et fortuna libellus* (Warsaw 1688).

In 1661, Van Gameren left Venice for Poland at the invitation of Prince Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski (1616–1667), hetman³

and marshal to the Crown,⁴ who had studied in Leiden in 1633. His arrival in Poland was probably arranged through the mediation of Lubomirski’s son Prince Stanislaw Herakliusz (1641–1702), who was studying in Italy at the time (1661–1662). The two men may have met at the home of Baron Ottavio de Tassis, a friend of the young Lubomirski and a well-known Venetian connoisseur and collector of paintings.

The first record of Van Gameren in Poland dates from July 1664, when he was staying at the Janowiec castle of Hetman Lubomirski. He spent the rest of his life in the service of the Lubomirskis, one of the most important Polish magnate families, whose economic power and political influence allowed them on occasion to act in complete disregard of the weakened elective Crown. Thus, as commander of the artillery, Van Gameren took part in Hetman Jerzy Sebastian’s revolt against the Polish King John Casimir Vasa (1648–1668), and after a fratricidal battle at Matwy in July 1666, he accompanied the young Stanislaw Herakliusz to Italy. They spent a short time there, visiting Venice and Rome.

Van Gameren’s first designs in civil architecture are dated to the end of the 1660s, though he seems to have been primarily concerned with military architecture at the time. This work, coupled with the support of the Lubomirski family, boosted his career in Poland, which was constantly at war in those years. In 1672, the new king, Michal Korybut Wisniowiecki (1668–1673), appointed him, as

a man with experience *in arte architectura, belli pacisque tempore necessaria*, his court civil and military architect, and in 1676, during the celebrations of the coronation of the next elected monarch, John III Sobieski (1674–1699), he was dubbed a Knight of the Gold Spur, and thereby admitted to the Polish gentry (*szlachta*). In 1677, Van Gameren married Anna of Komorów, who was probably a member of the nobility. Apart from the Lubomirskis, Van Gameren's Polish patrons included King Michal Korybut, King John III, Sobieski's French wife Queen Marie-Casimire, and a large number of magnates and rich gentry.

During the 40 years he lived in Poland, Van Gameren designed several dozen architectural works. In principle, he prepared projects to be executed by other architects. Prior to 1939, over 1,000 folios of drawings by him were preserved in the Drawings Department of the University of Warsaw Library. About 200 were lost during the war. The extant drawings were recently used as a basis for studies of Van Gameren's art and work. Most were executed by Van Gameren himself, and nearly all relate to specific projects, some of which are difficult to identify. The numerous sketches he made for each work document the progress of his projects from the initial idea to the design ultimately intended for execution.

An increasing number of commissions and a growing clientele assured Van Gameren of a handsome income. His high social status was confirmed by a decree

issued by the Sejm (a parliament of the nobility) in 1685, formally acknowledging him as a Polish nobleman. By the time of his death in 1706, during the Northern War, Van Gameren was a wealthy and distinguished architect.

COUNTRY VILLAS, PALACES AND MANSIONS

In the 17th century the Polish State, known as *Rzeczpospolita* (literally: 'Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth'), comprising the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with its extensive Ruthenian lands, was highly decentralised, both politically and culturally. Whereas in Western Europe the royal courts, ducal palaces and towns were the main centres of culture, the situation was reversed in the Polish state, owing to the political and economic supremacy of the nobility. At the forefront were the country residences of magnates; the royal court and the towns were not of principal importance. Because the majority of Van Gameren's clients were members of the nobility, most of the secular buildings he designed were palaces and mansions, and most of them, even those in town, were in the typical rural style. They were one- or two-storeyed buildings of brick or wood, varying in size and grandeur, but they were all of the same architectural type, derived from the architecture of northern Italy and codified by the north Italian theory of architecture, i.e. the suburban and rural villa.

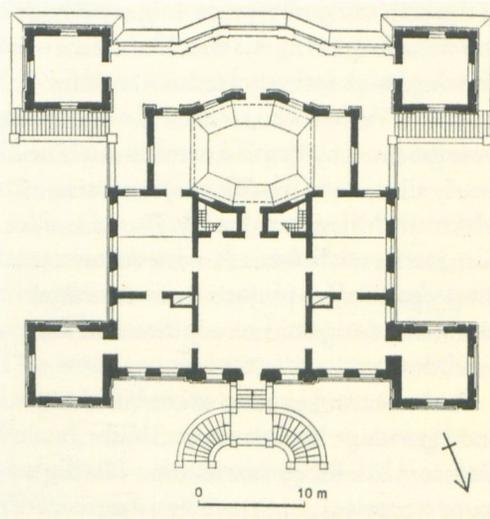
One of his earliest known projects, his design for the palace of Hetman Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski at Przeworsk dating to the mid-1660s, has the characteristics of a northern Italian residence scheme, with an arrangement of interiors connected *en suite*, and a high salon in the central section of the building, surrounded by lower, symmetrically arranged rooms. The corner pavilions of the palace were modelled on the pseudo-defensive towers of Polish residences from the first half of the 17th century. Other features not unknown in earlier Polish architecture were the ground-floor terrace opening on to a garden, and rooms with separate bed alcoves, the latter solution being French in origin. Without analogy in Poland is the design of the hall in the shape of a Greek cross, which brings the plan close to certain designs for villas by Palladio and Scamozzi. But the elimination of the inner corners of the Greek cross, based on the Hall of Orange in Huis ten Bosch Palace near The Hague, betrays the designer's Dutch origins.

The first villa-style palace constructed after a design by Van Gameren was the residence of Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski and his first wife in Pulawy (1671-1677). It was built on the edge of a high escarpment on the Vistula river (figs.3-4). Its originality lies in the terrace, which is an extension of the first floor of the two-storeyed building. Here, Van Gameren combined the traditional open terrace of the Italian villa with pseudo-defensive elements, such as the rusticated slopes and tower-like pavilions often

seen in contemporary French palaces.

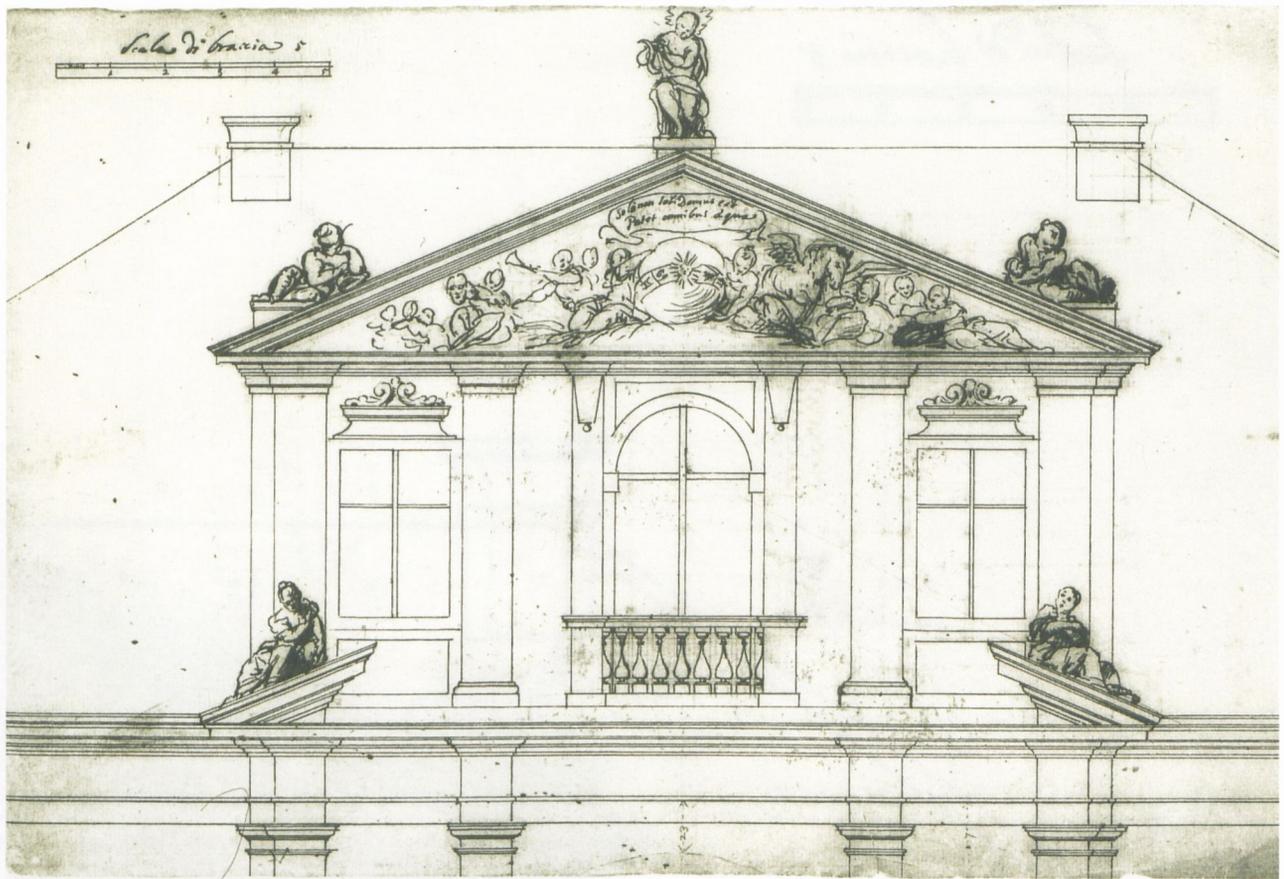
The living quarters of the building, which featured a Palladian arrangement of rooms, included a salon of unusual shape. The elongated rectangle set across the main axis of the building recalls the halls and vestibules of villas by Serlio and Palladio as well as the Mauritshuis in The Hague, but it widens in the middle to form an octagon, thereby betraying the influence of various French palaces. The combination of these models and the placing of the whole salon beyond the main corpus of the building are unprecedented solutions.

Also unprecedented is the exterior composition of the salon, with the higher three-sided central section crowned by a pediment, and the side sections topped by fragments of another broad pediment (fig.4), in the same way as Palladio's Venetian church façades.



2.

Tilman van Gameren. Design drawing for the Lubomirski Palace in Przeworsk. Lost in the Second World War. Photograph after Makowiecki.



3.

Tilman van Gameren. Design drawing for the decoration of the courtyard façade of Pulawy Palace. AT 98.

The whole building, composed on the basis of a central cubic corpus with four corner pavilions, was linked by a network of architectural divisions. The pilasters on the rusticated belts were pseudo-pilasters without capitals. That type of order, easy to execute in brick, was to be repeated in many of Van Gameren's buildings.

An entirely innovatory solution in Polish architecture were pediments covered with multi-figured bas-reliefs (figs. 3-4), an idea inspired by Jacob van Campen's Mauritshuis in The Hague and his Town Hall in Amsterdam. That decoration, probably executed by the North Italian sculptor Ambrogio Gatti of Lugano⁵ and complemented by sculptures standing on pediments, pavilion roofs and staircases, reflected an exquisite ideological programme.⁶

4.

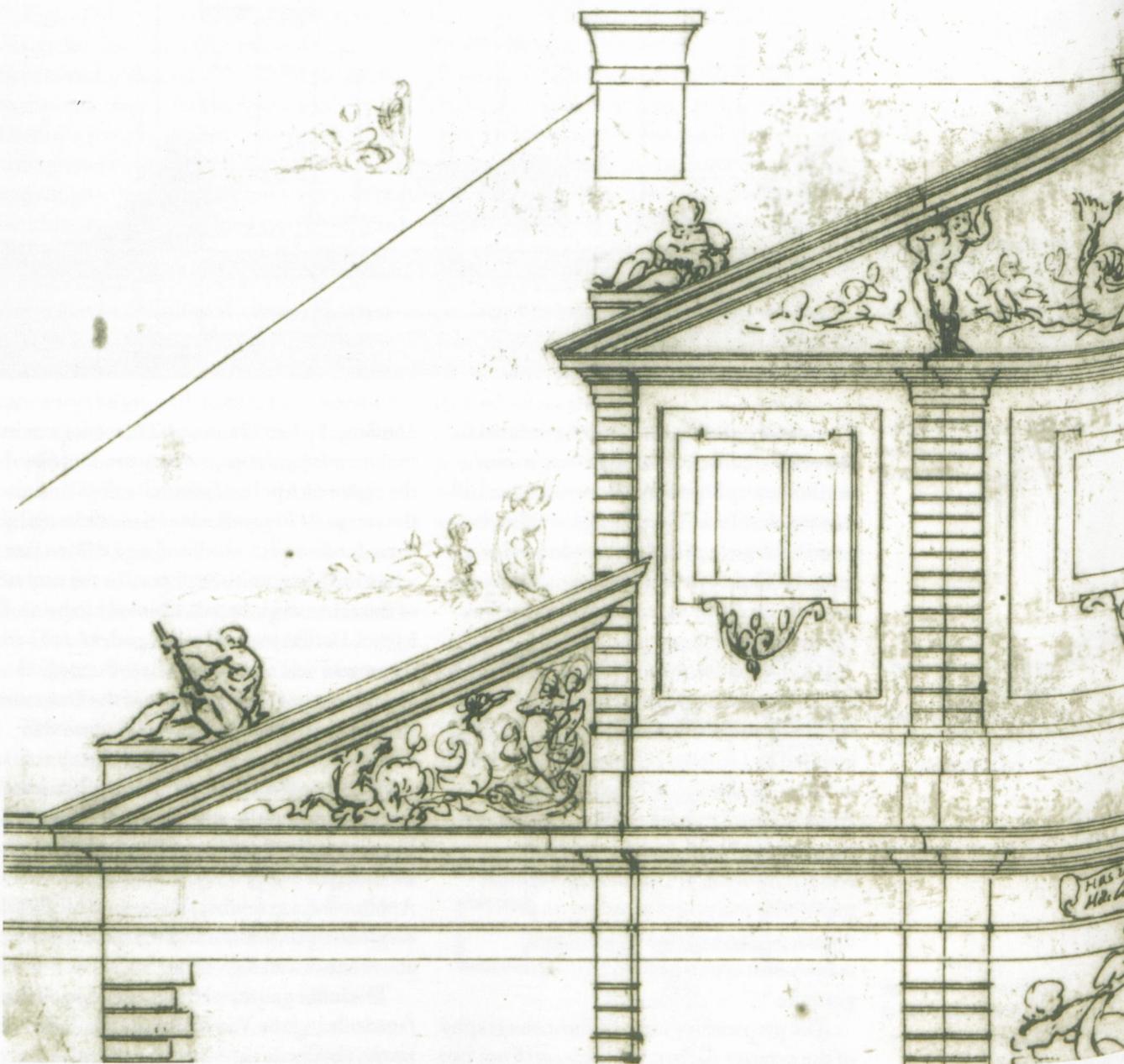
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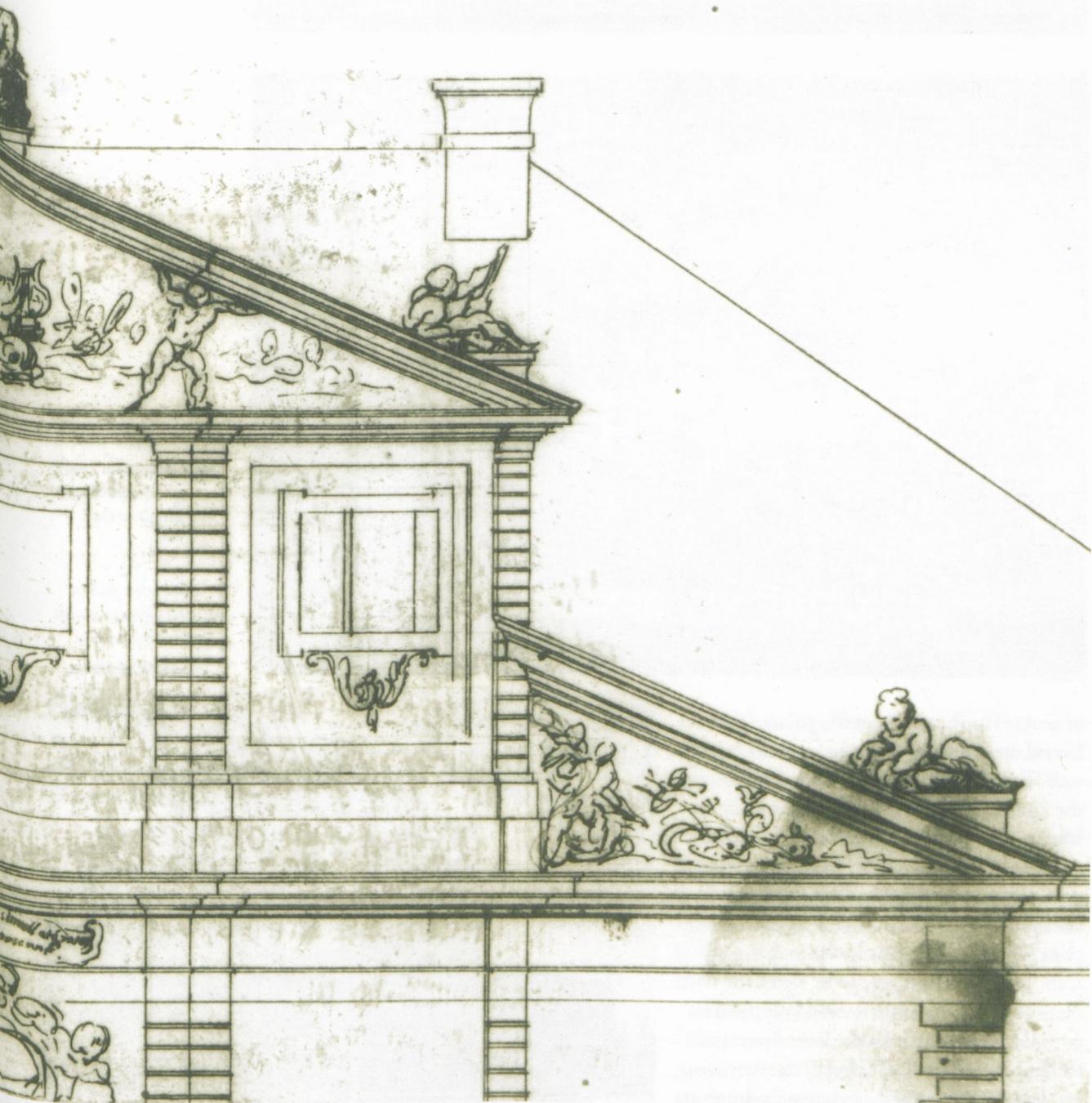
Tilman van Gameren. Design drawing for the decoration of the façade of Pulawy Palace, facing the Vistula. AT 99.

drawings by Van Gameren. The pediment in the court façade (fig. 3) was surmounted by the figure of Apollo Citharedos depicted as the sun god (*Phoebus*), as stressed beneath by the solar disc in the zodiacal sign of Leo (i.e. when the sun is at its brightest) in the centre of the celestial globe, surrounded by the nine Muses and Pegasus. The sun god, as *dux Musarum*, was represented here not only as an animator of the Harmony of the Universe (the nine celestial spheres were believed to be moved by Muses under the guidance of Apollo), but also as the protector of artistic and intellectual pursuits. As the sun's rays illuminate all, the palace in Pulawy was intended to be open to the followers of Apollo: *Soli non [mihi] soli domus est // Patet omnibus aequa*, announced the inscription above the celestial globe.

The iconography of the decoration of the façade facing the Vistula (fig. 4) alluded to water, obviously the Vistula, and to the coats

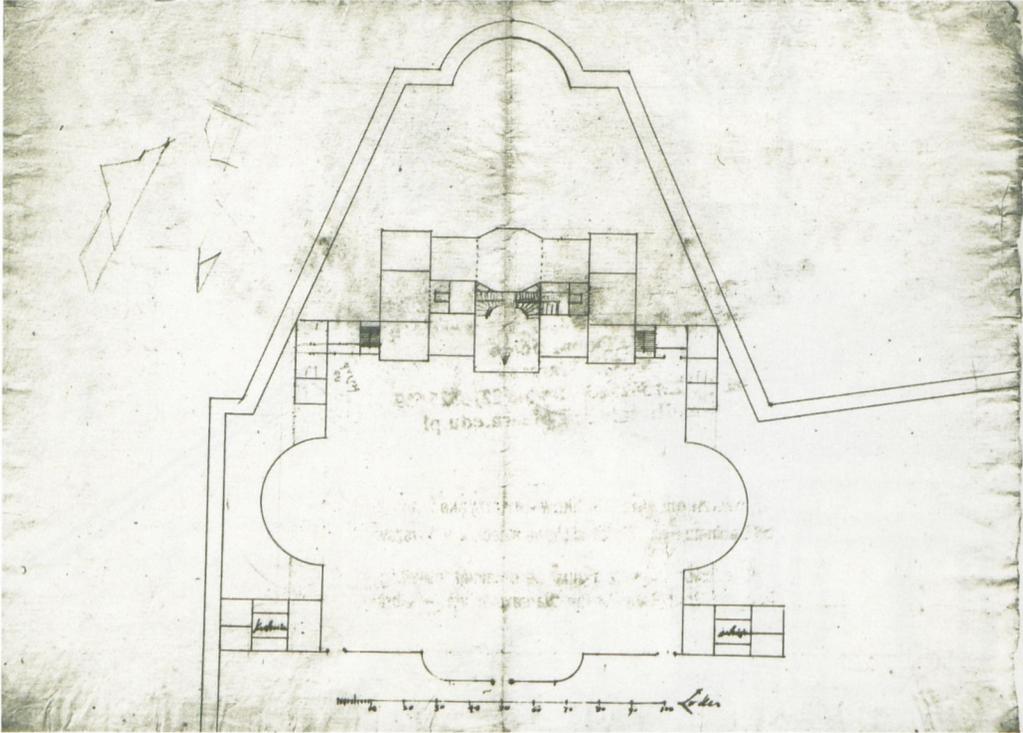
Scala di braccia 5







5.
Konskowola, parish church.
The tomb of Zofia Opalinska-
Lubomirska.



6.
Tilman van Gameren. Design
drawing for Gninski Palace in
Warsaw. AT 426.

7.
Warsaw, Gninski Palace.

of arms of both owners of the palace (the Szreniawa river of Lubomirski, and Lodzia – i.e. ‘Boat’ – of his wife, Opalinska). Hence the figures of the river gods and the boatmen, set alternately along the edges of the pediments. The statue of Proserpina with a goose at the top of the building referred to the mythological history of the origin of the river Herkyna in Beotia⁷ and to Lubomirski’s Szreniawa river, while Neptune with Amphitrite and Polyphemus with Galatea, visible on the lateral parts of the lower pediment, alluded to the two owners. Finally, Arion with his lyre on a dolphin,



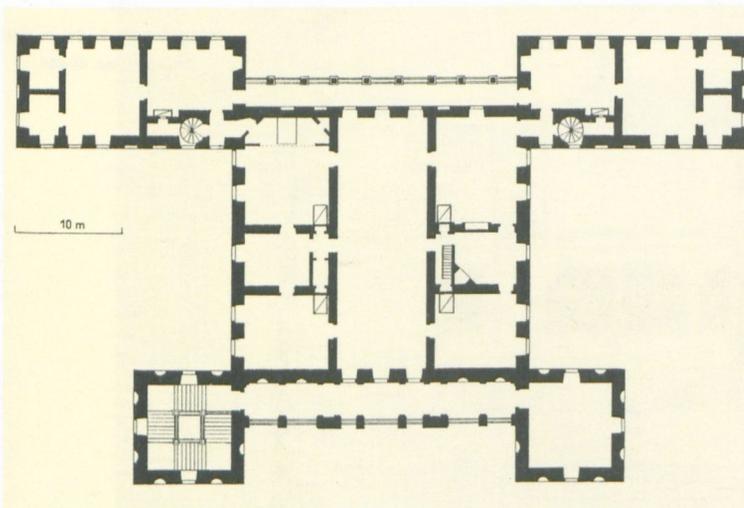
8.

Warsaw, 'Sandomierski' Palace.
From the Prospect von Warschau
1740 by F.C. Schmidt. Dresden,
LHA, Ingenieurcorps B III
Warschau 3.



9.

Warsaw, 'Sandomierski' Palace. Plan of the first floor.
Reconstruction after Mossakowski.



accompanied by Nereids and Zephyrs, represented in the centre of the pediment, was associated with the musical overtones of the court façade. The inscription *Has undas simul atque rates // Haec littora poscunt* should therefore be understood as relating not only to the Vistula and the coats of arms of the Lubomirskis (which it surmounted) but also to the intellectual pursuits of the couple and their guests.

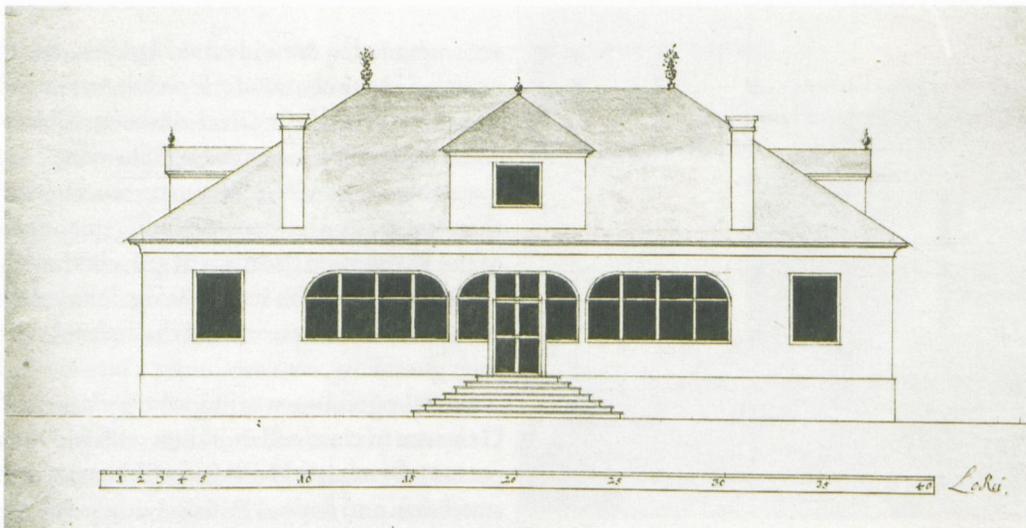
The programme was prepared by Van Gameren in close collaboration with his patrons: Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski, a statesman and famous Polish-Latin poet



and writer, and his first wife Zofia Opalinska (d. 1675), who was said to be the most learned and intelligent Polishwoman of her time. Her tomb, bearing a sophisticated Latin inscription composed by her husband, was designed by Van Gameren a few years later (fig.5).

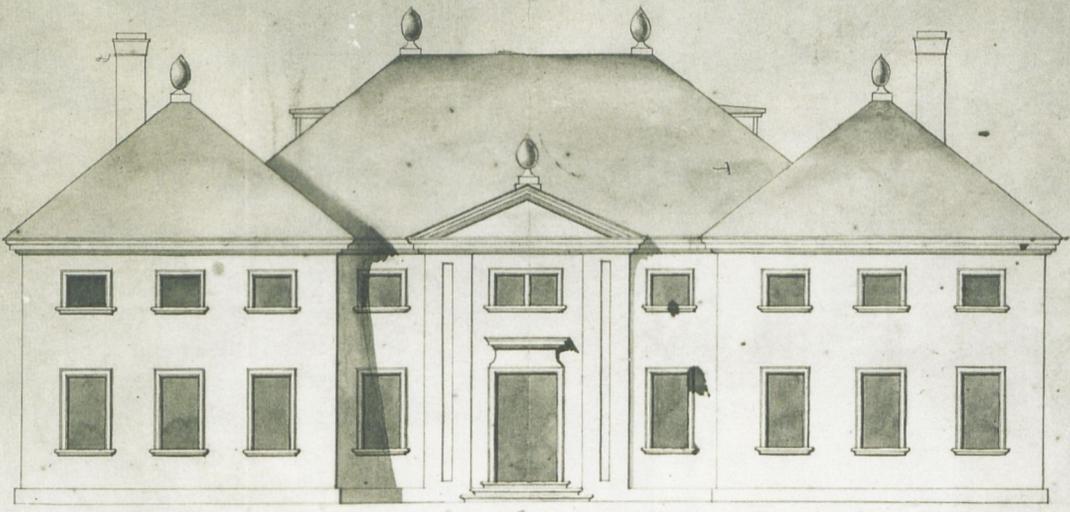
References to the villa in Pulawy can be seen in another of Van Gameren's projects, namely his first design for the Warsaw palace (early 1680s, fig.6) of the vice-chancellor of

the Crown, Jan Gninski (d. 1685). Here, reminiscent of the terrace at Pulawy, is the high pseudo-defensive walling of the Vistula slope on which the structure was to have been erected. The arrangement and shape of the hall and the salon were also taken from Pulawy, but the ingenious situation of the alcoves in the interior of the building was a new solution. The shape of the front courtyard shows that the architect was familiar with the plans of ancient Roman *thermae*, as

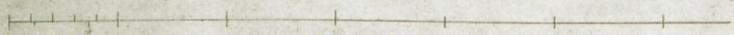
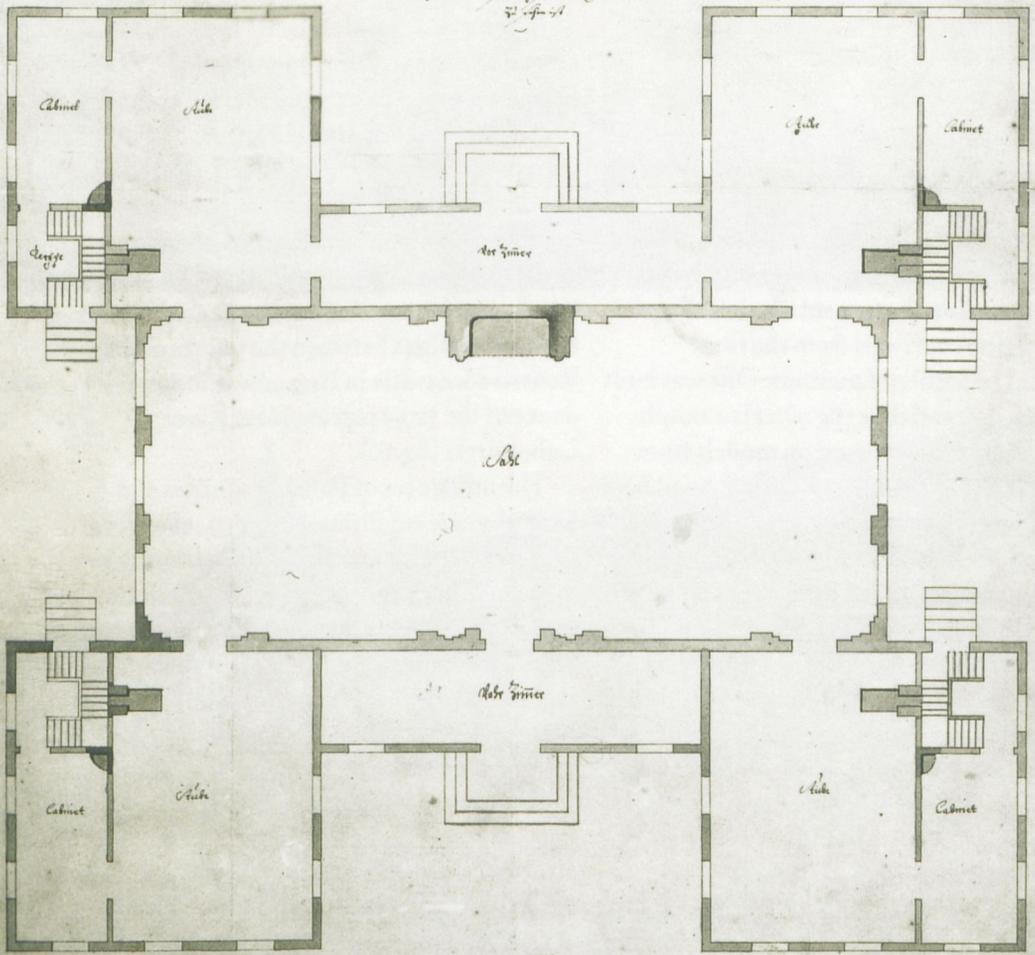


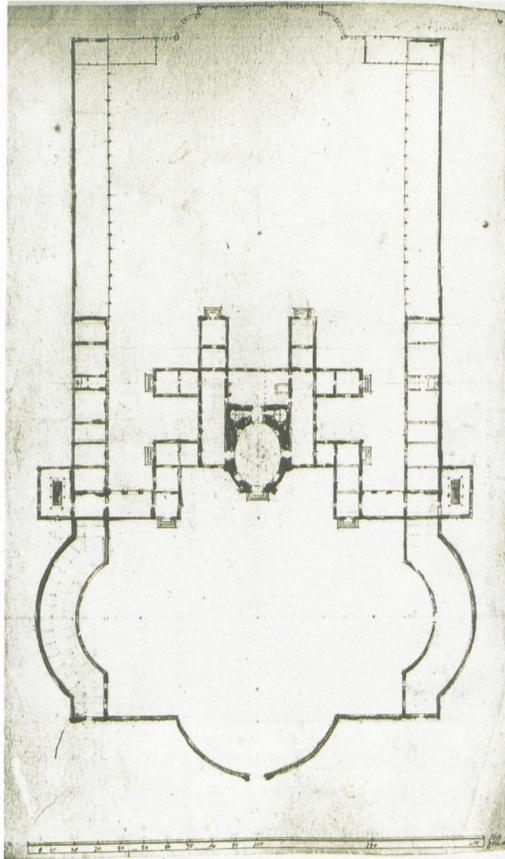
11.
(next page)
Czerniaków, Lubomirski wooden manor house. Plan and façade. Dresden, LHA VII 90, 34c.

12.
Design drawing for the wooden manor house. AT 405.



faciata van Gameren in Polen 1700





13.
Tilman van Gameren. Design
drawing for the wooden palace.
AT 481.

reconstructed by Palladio.

That splendid design was reduced, and in the new version the two smaller buildings flanking the courtyard from the front acquired residential functions. One was built between 1681 and 1684 (fig.7). It is a simple, three-storeyed villa based on models from Pietro Cattaneo's treatise *I quattro primi libri d'architettura* (Venice 1554, IV/2). The salon on the *piano nobile* was higher than the living rooms and accentuated from the outside by compositions repeating the Scamozzi scheme of a temple front motif intersecting the serliana of the window frames.

Some of Van Gameren's palaces were simply extensions of pre-existing buildings, one example being the so-called Sandomierski Palace in Warsaw, which was enlarged in the 1680s for the *starosta* (Lat: *capitaneus*) of Sandomierz, Prince Józef Karol Lubomirski (1638-1702, figs.8-9). To the earlier, almost square, two-storey building, Van Gameren added two corner pavilions, accommodating

the staircase on the left and the drawing rooms on the right. Between the pavilions was a loggia, the central section of which was composed as a temple front. The massive corner pavilions, separately roofed with decorative pinnacles, were a distinct reference to French architecture.

In the 1690s, Sandomierski Palace was extended further. On the garden side Van Gameren added two large pavilions containing four-roomed apartments in each of the three storeys. They were connected on the first floor by a narrow gallery supported by massive pillars on the rusticated ground floor. Van Gameren had previously incorporated a similar motif of a gallery based on rusticated pillars between the towers of the Renaissance castle in Baranów, another residence of the same patron, Józef Karol Lubomirski (fig.10).

The influences of Polish traditions and local physical conditions are particularly evident in his designs for mansions and palaces made of timber, though all of them imitate forms of brick architecture and refer to the plans of North Italian villas. Here I would mention Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski's villa at Czerniaków outside Warsaw (fig.11), whose plan recalls the famous Renaissance Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano, near Florence.

The functional solutions in some of Van Gameren's designs for wooden mansions are original and ingenious (fig.12). An outstanding example is his spectacular palatial building with the two courtyards of a French-

14.
(right)

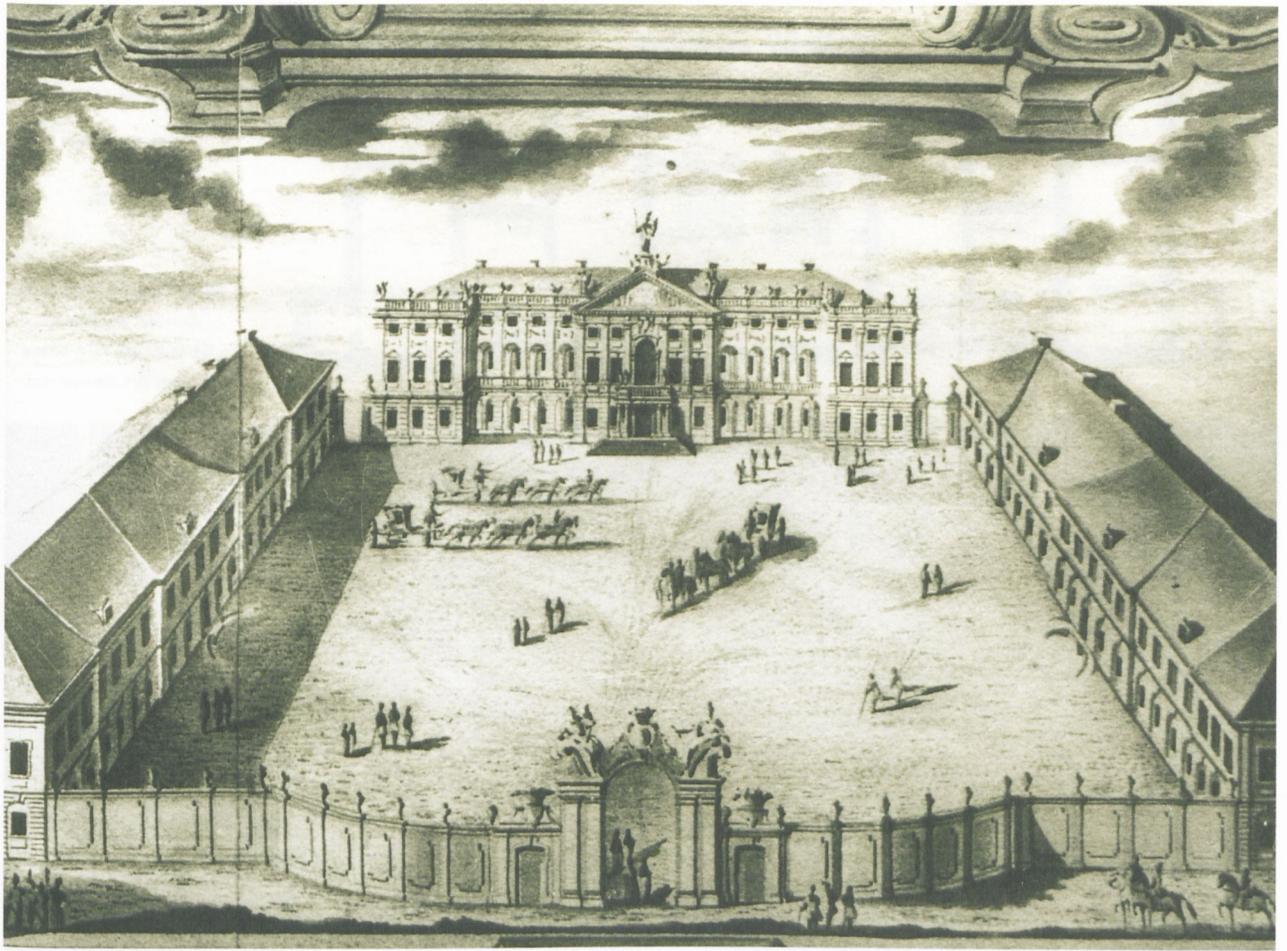
Warsaw, Krasinski Palace.
Ideal view. Vignette from the
Prospect von Warschau 1740
by F.C. Schmidt. Dresden,
LHA, Ingenieurcorps B III
Warschau 3.

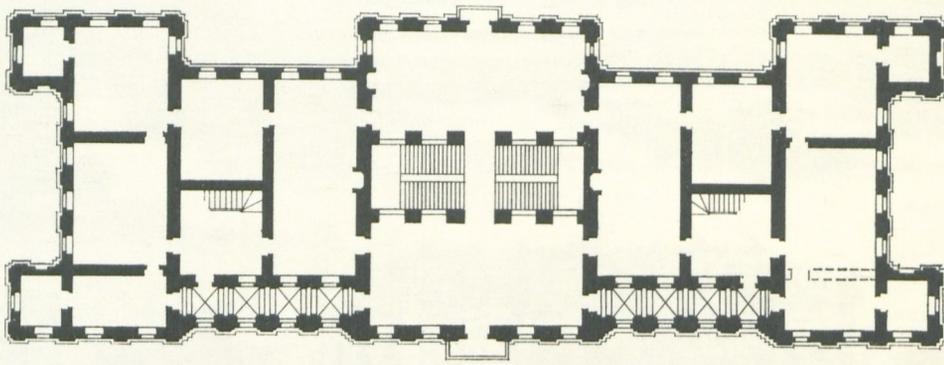
52

Tilman van Gameren

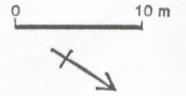
15.
(right)

Warsaw, Krasinski Palace.
Courtyard façade.

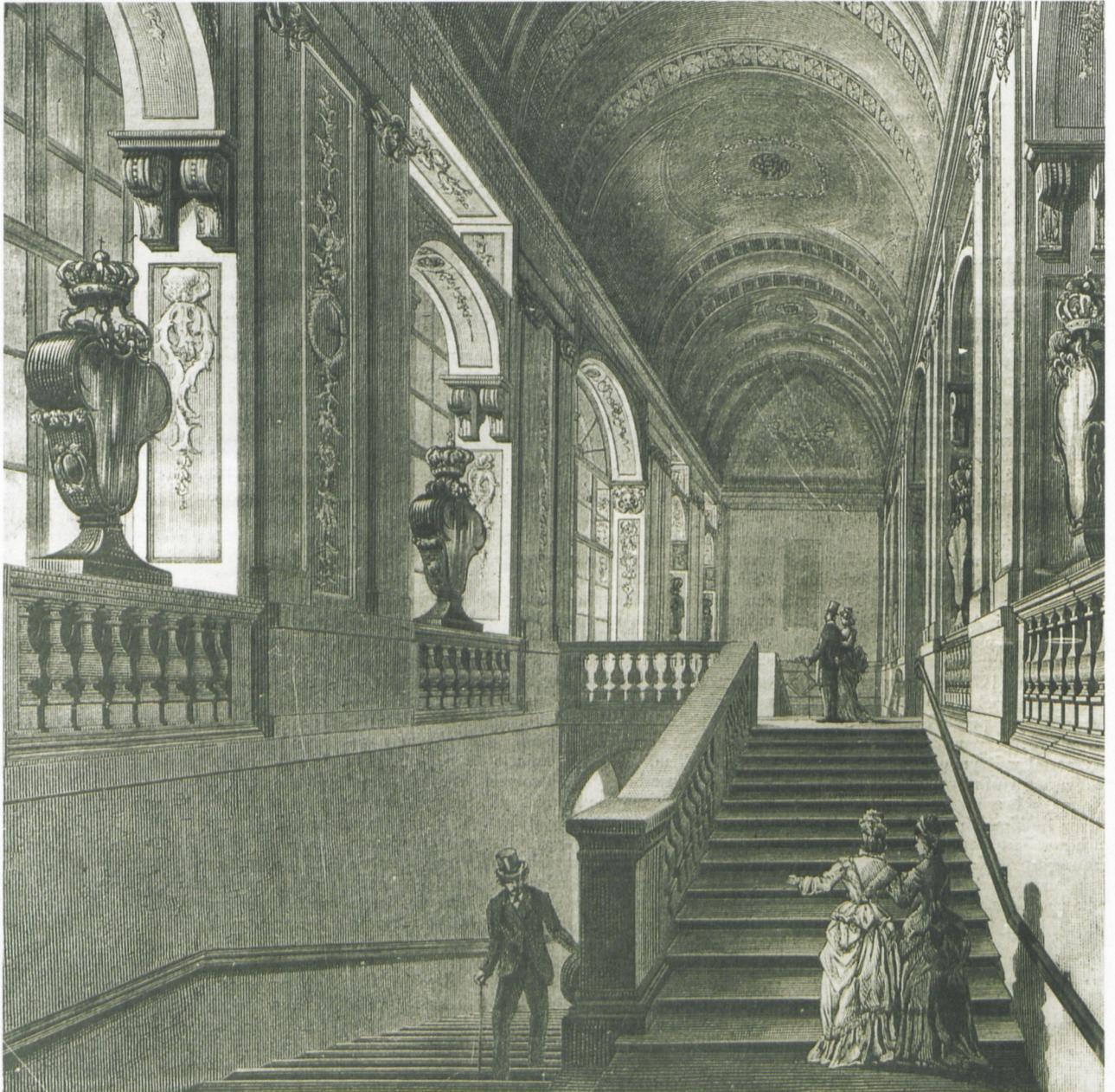




16.
Warsaw, Krasinski Palace. Plan
of the first floor. Reconstruction
after Milobędzki.



17.
Warsaw, Krasinski Palace. The
staircase. Woodcut by E.
Gorazdowski, 1876, after a
drawing by L. Dymitrowicz.



Warsaw, Krasinski Palace.
Pediment of the courtyard
façade. Photograph before 1939.



style residence. It was designed to be made of wood (only the octagonal hall was to be brick), and was built after 1697, probably for King August II (1697-1733, fig.13).

The gradual monumentalisation of the Italian villa, which in Van Gameren's designs increasingly came to resemble city palaces and then became part of the extensive residence, reached its finest expression in the Warsaw palace of Jan Bonaventura Krasinski

(1640-1717), palatine of Plock, who had studied in Groningen and Orléans (1656-1658), and as a *starosta* of Warsaw was obliged to live in the capital. That building, started in 1687, whose decoration was not completed until the end of the 17th century, was Van Gameren's supreme achievement in the field of secular architecture (figs.14-21).

The main body of the palace had a symmetrical arrangement of interiors along the



lines of the Poggio Reale scheme, but with some significant differences (fig.16). The centrally situated rooms, marked from the outside by projections, were connected in a highly original way by the staircase situated between them, which was lit through arcades opening onto the two first-floor salons. The result was a Baroque intensification of spatial and light effects (fig.17). Linked to that magnificent representational central space were two long antechambers, borrowed, so it would appear, from the theoretical *per il palazzo reale* design by Pietro Cattaneo (1v/2), and leading off from them were four three-roomed apartments. Interior vertical communication was facilitated by the wooden staircases in pairs of rooms, and communication at the same level by two-storeyed loggias in the courtyard façade: a traditional motif in North Italian villa-style buildings.

The arrangement of the palace interior was reflected in the composition of its main façades, which were dominated by central projections accentuating the most splendid part of the interior (figs.15, 18-19). Crowned by colossal relief-covered pediments, they betray the influence of the Amsterdam Town Hall. The walls were decorated in the Palladian manner by pseudo-rusticated belts on the ground floor and Ionian pilasters of the giant order on the piano nobile and mezzanine. The plinths in the attic, above the pilasters, were meant for vases or, as is evident from some of Van Gameren's drawings, statues. The idea was taken from Michelangelo's Capitol palaces, Sansovino's Venetian Library or Palladio's city palaces. In the central projections of both façades (courtyard and garden), the arrangement included motifs of the temple front intersected with the serliana of the window

19.

Warsaw, Krasinski Palace.
Pediment of the garden façade.
Photograph before 1939.

frames, based on villas designed by Scamozzi.

The composition of the magnificent courtyard façade (fig. 15), with the open arcades of a pillar loggia showing the frames of windows in the background, was developed on two planes, like the famous East Front of the Louvre. Over the arcades of the first floor, the architect left a free space under the cornice of the entablature for the small windows of the mezzanine. The frames of these windows were formed by 'splitting' the architrave after the model of Rome's Palazzo Madama. Of Roman origin too is the column portal connected to the balcony and the *porte-fenêtre* surmounted by a magnificent coat of arms.

The sophisticated composition of the Krasinski residence, in the manner of a monumentalised villa with the façade of a splendid urban palace, is explained by the rich ideological programme which, in accordance with the patron's wishes, is also reflected in the architectonic forms.

Like all European societies inspired by humanistic philosophy, the Poles of that period were fascinated by the artistic and political culture of ancient Rome. The apparent similarities between some institutions of the Commonwealth and those of the ancient Roman Republic appealed to the *szlachta's* vanity. Polish nobles start to trace the origins of their class to ancient times, looking for historical links with the Sarmatians who, allegedly by conquering local tribes, became the founders of the

Polish ruling class. Some aristocratic families even traced their ancestry to the senatorial houses of ancient Rome. The Krasinski family, for instance, which adopted the praenomen Korwin (*Corvinus*), considered themselves descendants of the Roman hero Marcus Valerius Corvinus, and claimed genealogical ties with the patrician Gens Valeria, who had held the highest offices in the Roman Republic.⁸ The figural decoration of the Warsaw palace thus alludes to the mythical ancient Roman genealogy of Van Gameren's patron, Jan Dobrogost Krasinski.

Stories associated with his fictitious ancient forefathers are the theme of the splendid bas-reliefs on pediments on both façades, the early works (1692-1694) of Andreas Schlüter (c. 1659-1714), a young German sculptor originally from Danzig (Gdansk), who later gained fame in Berlin and St Petersburg. The relief in the centre of the courtyard façade (fig. 18) represents the victorious duel between Marcus Valerius Corvinus and the leader of the Gauls in 349 B.C., while those on the sides depict episodes from his life: on the right, the pacification of the rebellious Roman legions in 343 B.C., and on the left, Corvinus' deeds as consul and *pontifex haruspex*. Above the pediment were statues of Marcus Valerius and the classical gods Minerva and Mars.

The theme of the relief on the garden façade (fig. 19) is the triumphant entry into Rome (27 B.C.) of another member of that patrician Roman family, Marcus Valerius Messala (c. 64 B.C. – 13 B.C.), a close friend of



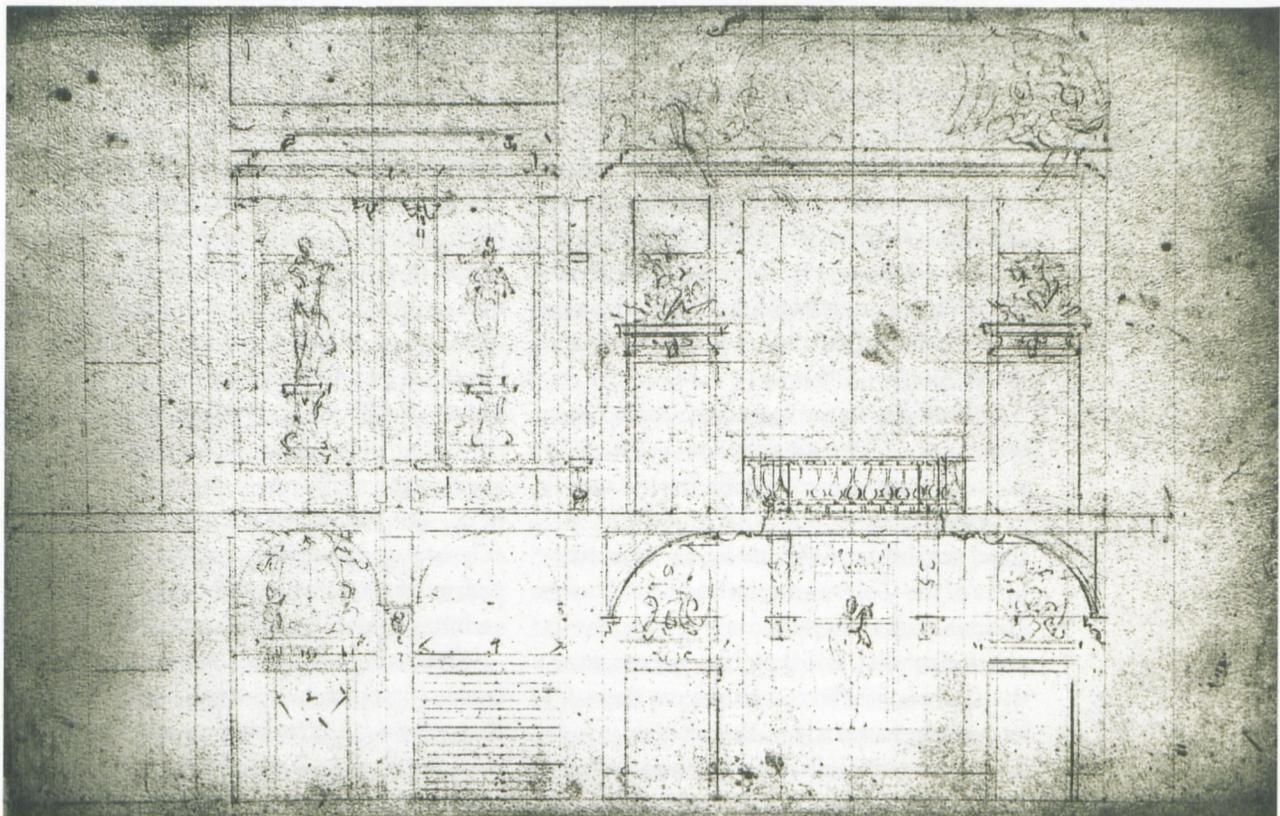
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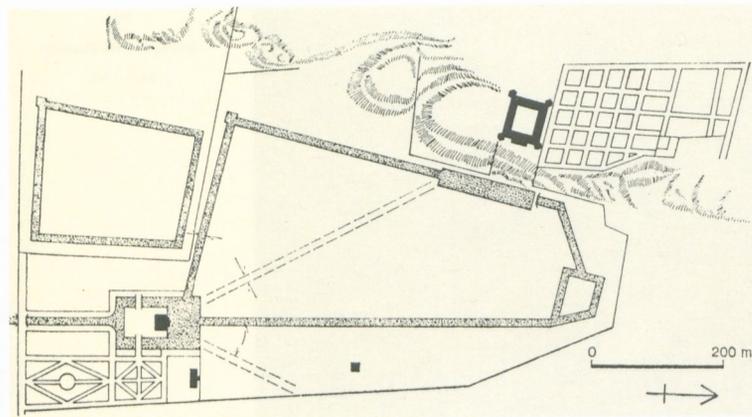
Warsaw, Krasinski Palace.

The vestibule. Photograph before
1914.

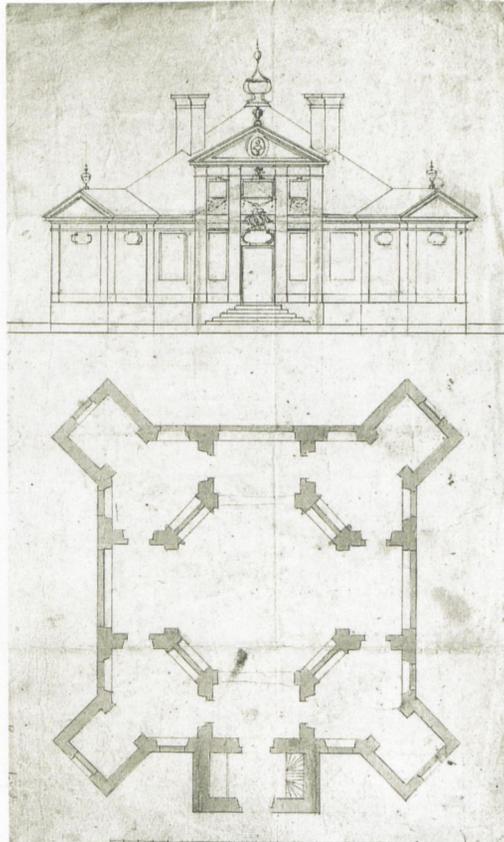
21.

Tilman van Gameren. Design drawing for the vestibule, drawing room
and staircase of Krasinski Palace. AT 597.





22.
Ujazdów, plan for the castle
garden, with paths and pavilions.
Reconstruction after Milobedzki.



23.
Tilman van Gameren. Design
drawing for the Arcadia pavilion
in Ujazdów garden. AT 101.

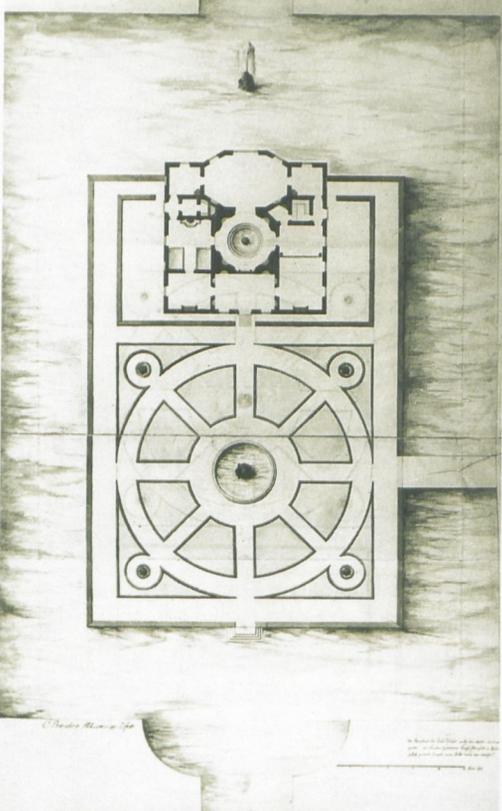
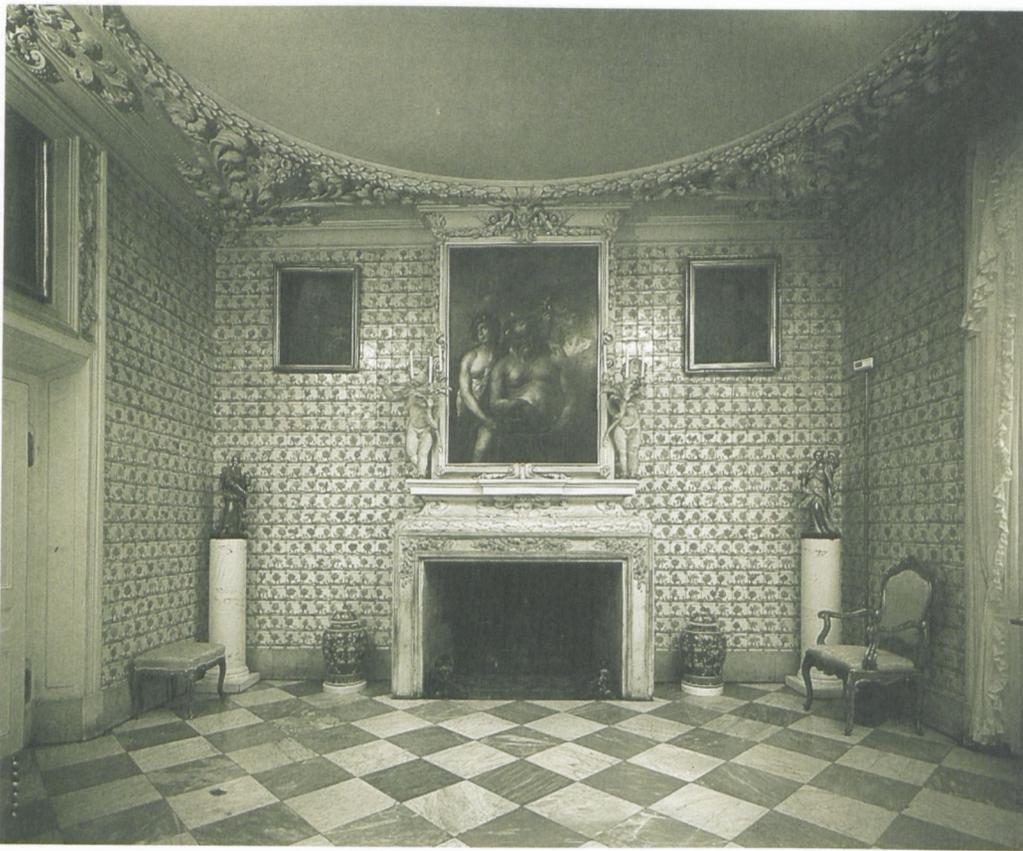
Augustus, orator and writer, patron of poets and artists, whose circle also included Tibullus and Ovid. On the left side of the relief the Roman goddess Victoria writes Messala's *gesta* on the shield held by Chronos (Time). The two young men on the right could be Horace and Maecenas, and the lean, aged figure on the celestial globe in the corner seems to be the famous geographer and Stoic philosopher Strabo. His young companion holding a scroll is the poet Tibullus, who praised Massala's triumph in one of his elegies (I, 7, 5-9). The three free-standing statues over the pediment represent Massala himself, flanked by the personifications of Victory in the left corner and Aequitas on the right.

The arrangement and details of both reliefs were based on classical works of art and were deliberately incorporated into the ancient motifs of the temple front and the triumphal arch (serliana). Pilasters of the giant order supporting statues of ancestors

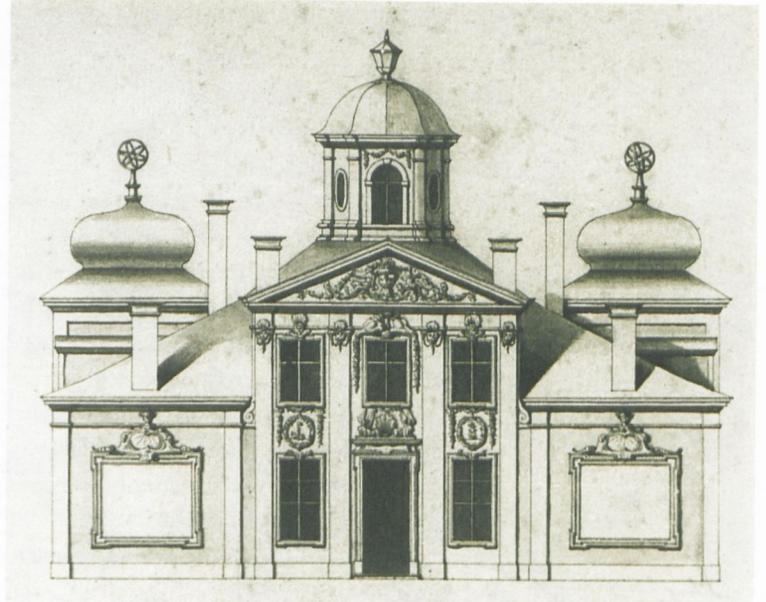
and vases – symbols of Fortune – were similarly intended as ideological equivalents of the triumphal and symbolic columns.

The choice of classical or pseudo-classical architectonic and sculptural motifs was obviously intentional. They also occur in the decoration of the vestibule, where the statues of legendary ancestors in armour played an important role (fig. 20). The vestibule was modelled after the Palladian reconstructions of the *atrium* of a classical Roman house, and at one stage the architect even intended to cut a large opening into the ceiling (fig. 21), resembling the Roman house *impluvium* and openings used by Palladio, Longhena and several French architects.

The main block of the residence was part of an extensive design with a spacious court of honour set between the long wings and closed off by a decorated wall (fig. 14). Behind the palace was a large French garden. Given the scale of the design, though not fully executed, and the splendour of the

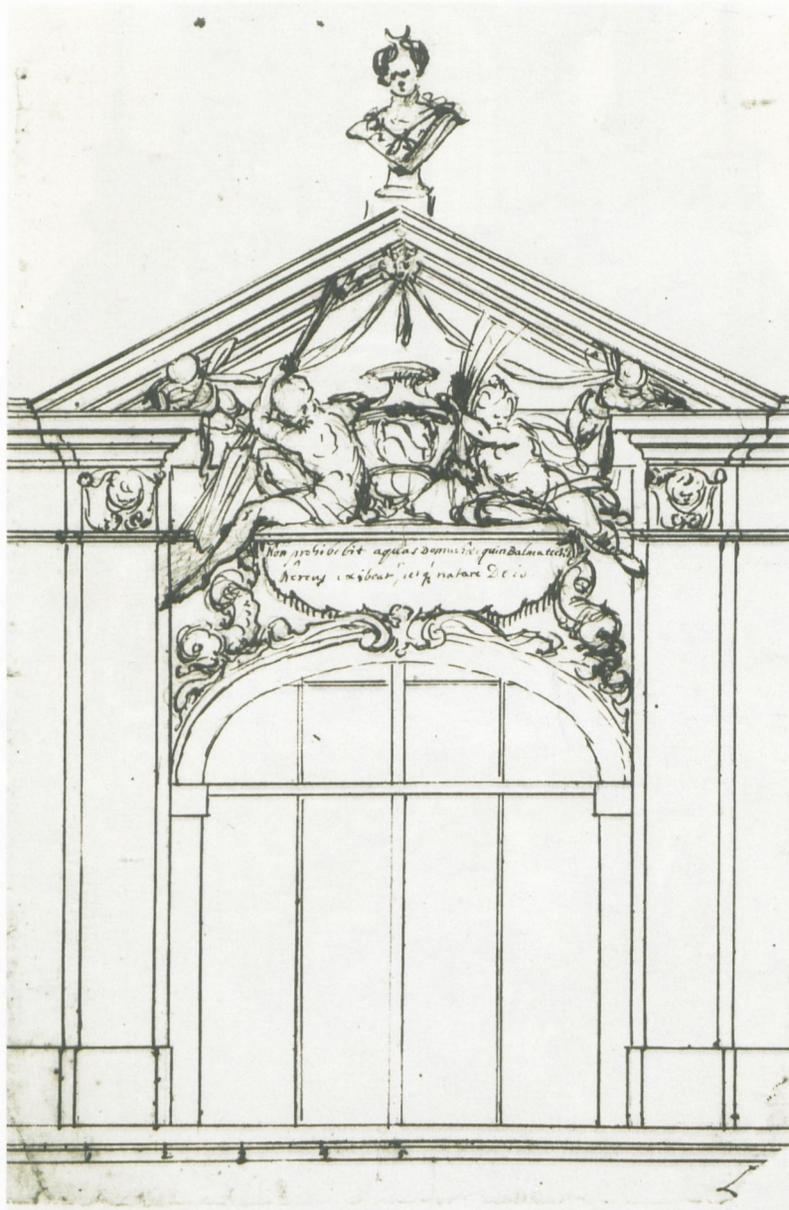


24.

Ujazdów, Bath Pavilion. Plan of
1698. Berlin, SMPKKupferstichkabinett, Ch. Ellester
Skizzenbuch Nr 21(23).

25.

Ujazdów, Bath Pavilion. The
façade in 1698. Berlin, SMPK
Kupferstichkabinett, Ch. Ellester
Skizzenbuch No. 22 (24).



26.

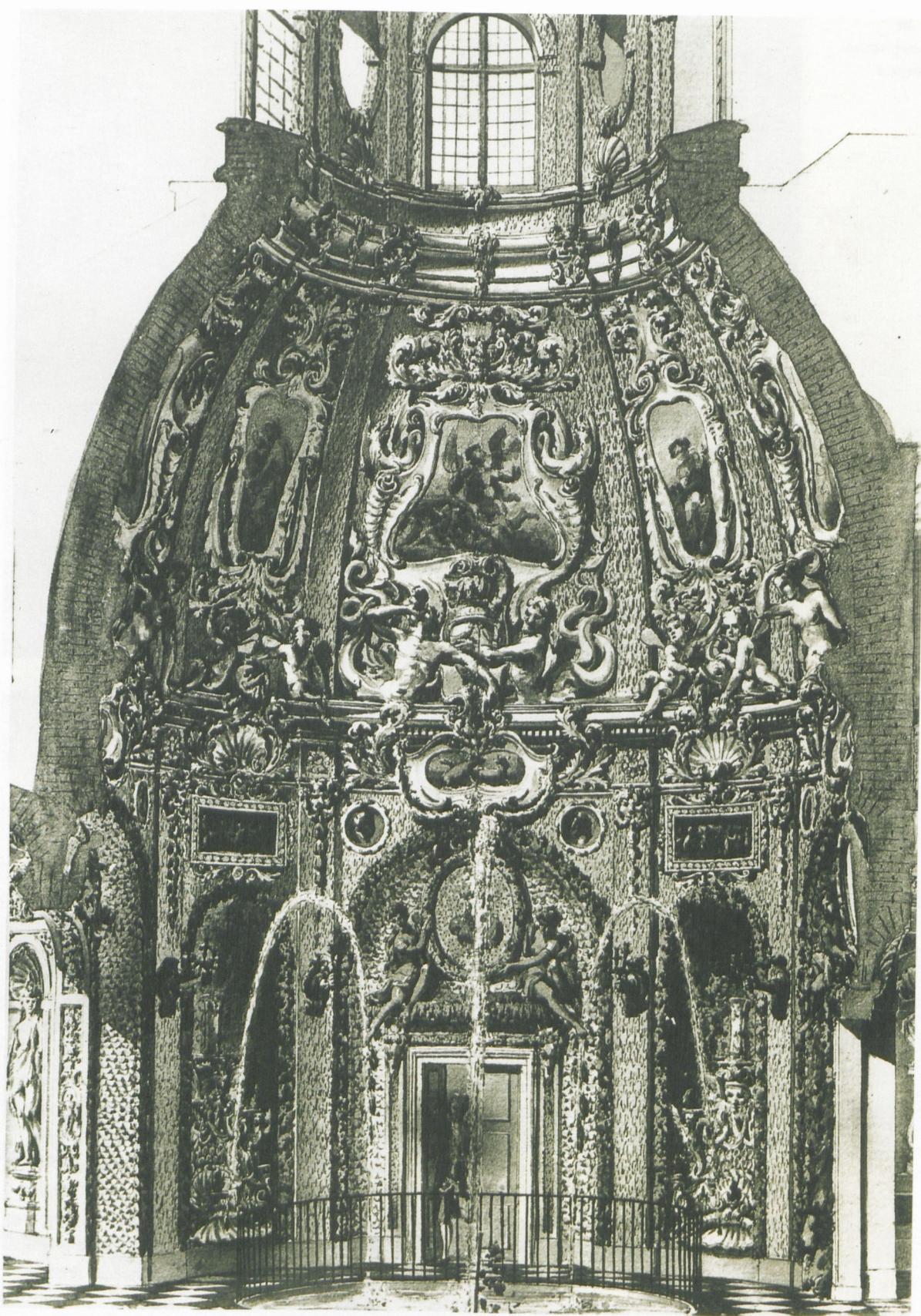
Tilman van Gameren. Design
for a window on the north
façade. AT 105.

architecture and decor of the *corps de logis*, this private Warsaw palace is a good example of the new type of secular building which might be called the sovereign's Baroque residence.⁹ Not for nothing were the courts of the Polish magnates of that era said to be as grand as the royal court.

Virtually all the palaces and mansions designed by Van Gameren were incorporated into larger spatial compositions set on an axis between the courtyard and a symmetrical garden. Several of his building designs included plans for gardens, complete with

decorative elements such as flower vases, fountains, grottoes and water features, all obviously inspired by contemporary French garden art.

Van Gameren's garden pavilions constitute a group of their own. Small and modest in architectonic form, mostly square or rectangular, they were based on the simplest schemes for villas designed by Serlio and Palladio. The main room of the building was often in the shape of a Greek cross, a popular configuration for villas of Venetian *terra ferma*.



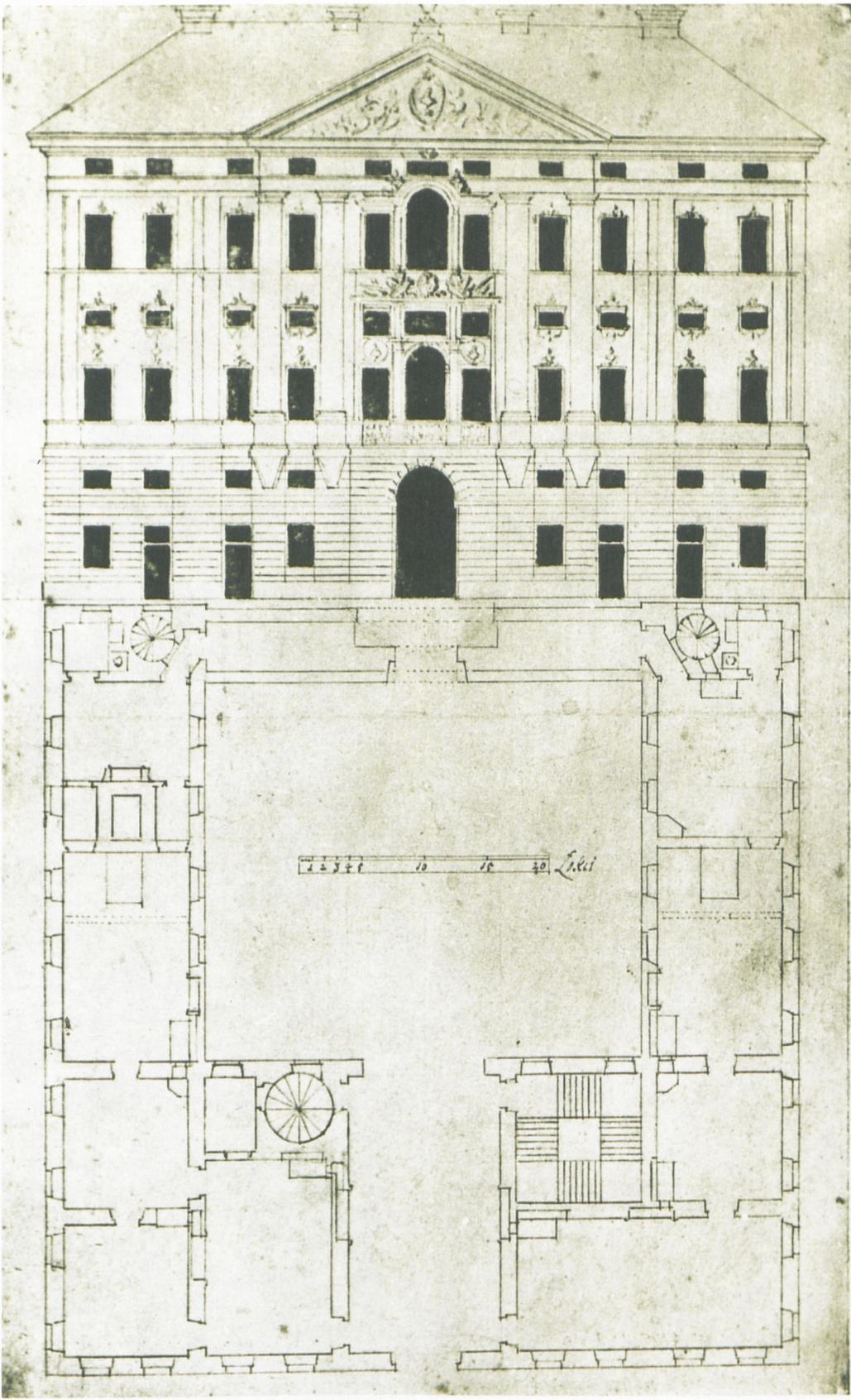
The most famous of Van Gameren's gardens was the landscape garden he designed in the late 1670s in Ujazdów, near Warsaw, for his principal patron Prince Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski who, as Great Marshal of the Crown, was required to be present at the royal court, and his second wife, Elisabeth Dönhoff, said to be the most beautiful woman in Poland. The garden was remodelled on several occasions in the 18th

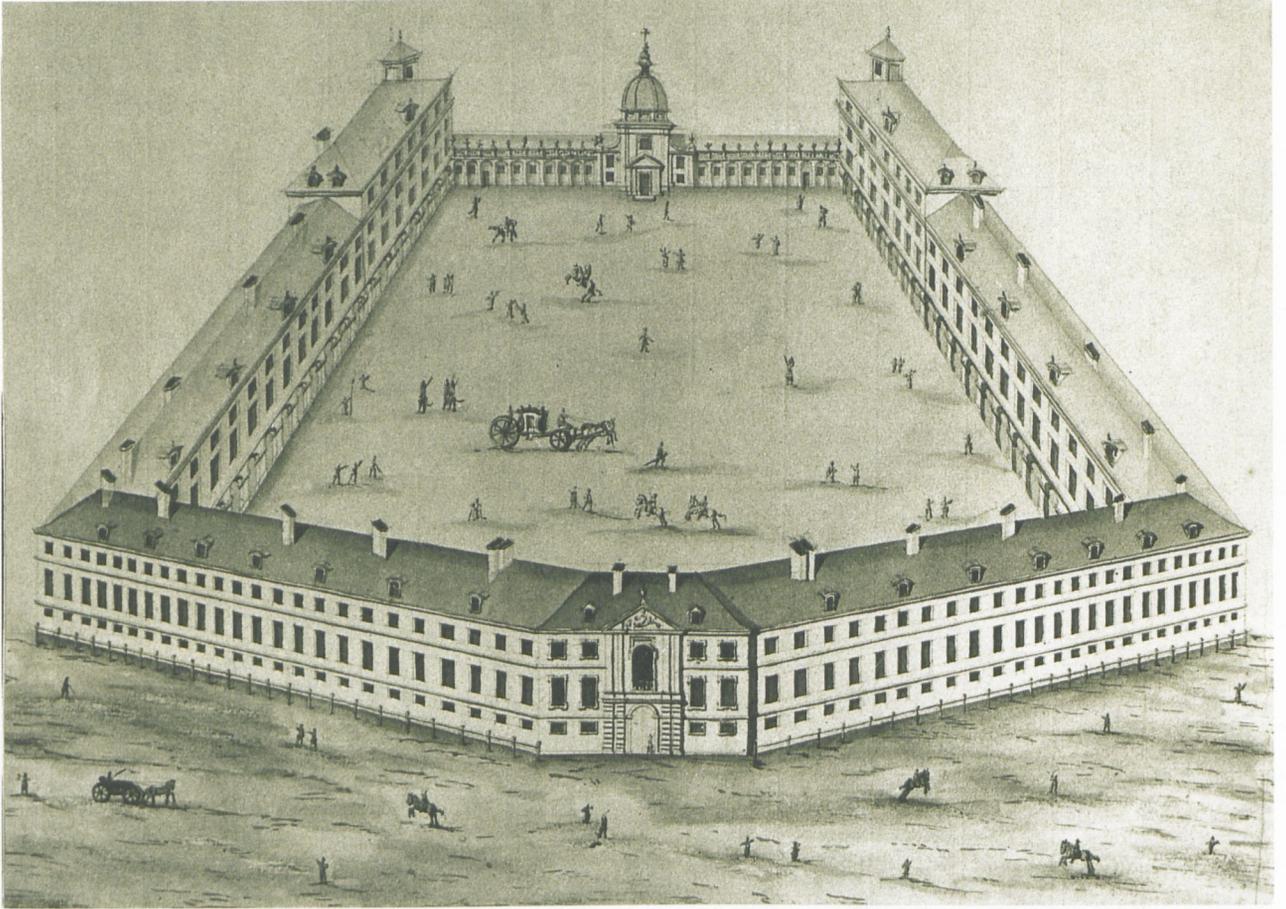


and 19th centuries and is known today as the Lazienki Royal Garden. Extending from the old Ujazdów Castle – Lubomirski's main residence – it comprised several pavilions scattered throughout the vast woodland estate (fig.22). The pavilions were visually connected by paths cut through the woods and canals surrounding the garden, and each was designed for a specific purpose. The Hermitage, for instance, was a retreat for religious study and meditation – Lubomirski translated the biblical book of Ecclesiastes into Polish and was a moderate follower of French Jansenism. Another pavilion, Arcadia, was intended for the patron's intellectual pursuits. The fairly original first design, with four small study rooms added on to the diagonal axis of a Greek cross (fig.23), resembles Serlio's *molino da vento* villa.

But the most spectacular of all Van Gameren's garden buildings was the Bath Pavilion (ca.1683-1689), parts of whose exterior walls as well as a few rooms have been preserved in King Stanislaw August Poniatowski's 18th-century Lazienki Palace (figs.24-28). The original building, erected on a rectangular island, was conceived as a combination of a French-style palace with a projected octagonal drawing room, and the Palladian scheme of a central villa with a round hall in the middle (fig.24,25). That hall was not a Palladian salon, but a grotto decorated with stones and shells (fig.27). The pavilion itself combined the functions of dwelling, bath and park grotto.

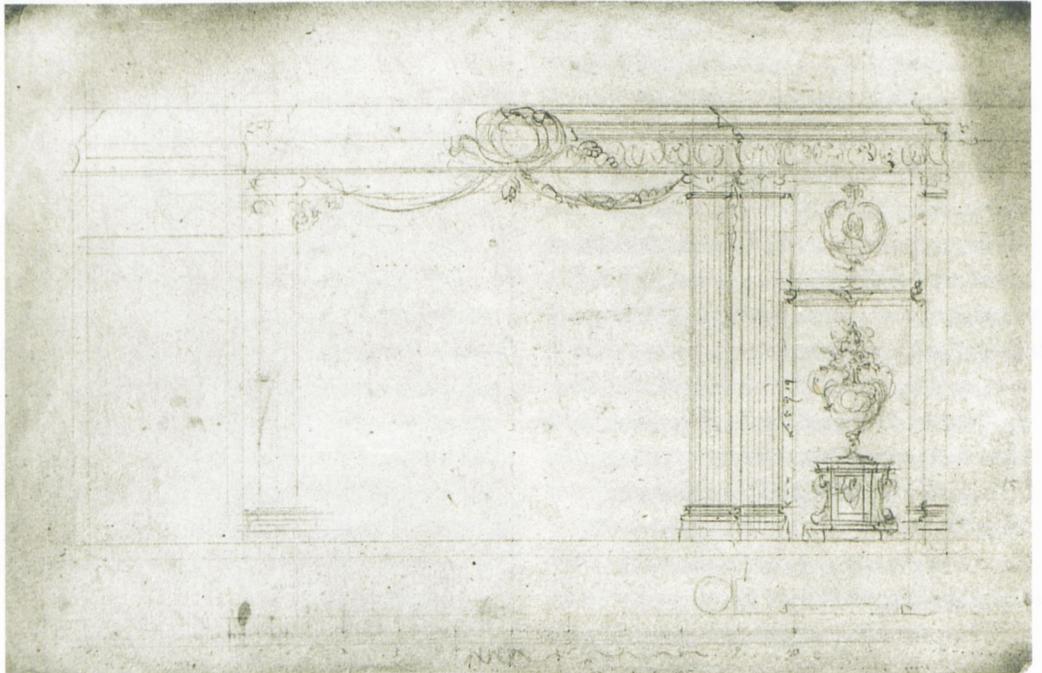
Tilman van Gameren. Design drawing for an apartment building. Lost in the Second World War.





31.

Warsaw, Marieville. 18th-century drawing.



32.

Tilman van Gameren. Design drawing for the wall in the interior of the palace. AT 614.



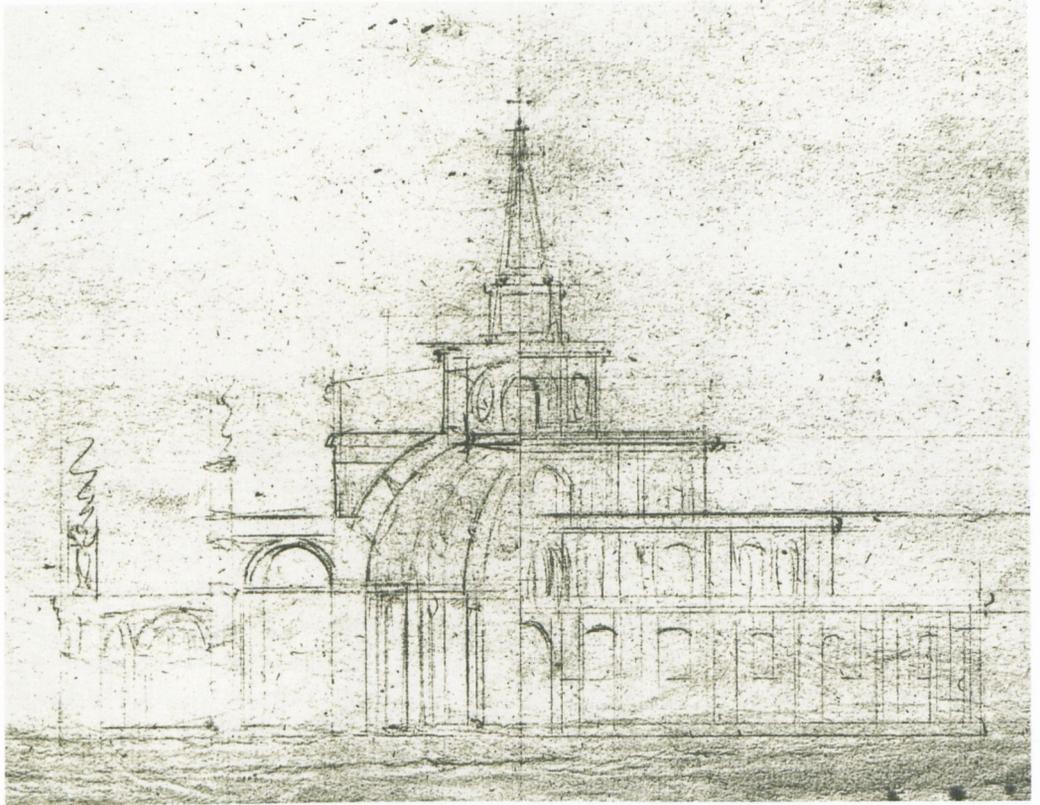
The owner named the building 'Hippocrene' and committed it to the protection of the gods Apollo, Mercury and Diana. The mottos inscribed over the entrance and the main window of the living room, and the richly stuccoed and painted decoration of the interior reflected a sophisticated programme relating to water, pleasure and love, with obvious allusions to the Lubomirski's heraldic river Szreniawa and to the owner's recent marriage to the beautiful Elisabeth Dönhoff. This is particularly evident in the decoration of the partly preserved bathroom, where two bathtubs were installed (fig.28).¹⁰

The prevailing social and economic conditions in Poland and the gradual decline of towns after the wars of the mid-17th century explain why Tilman van Gameren designed

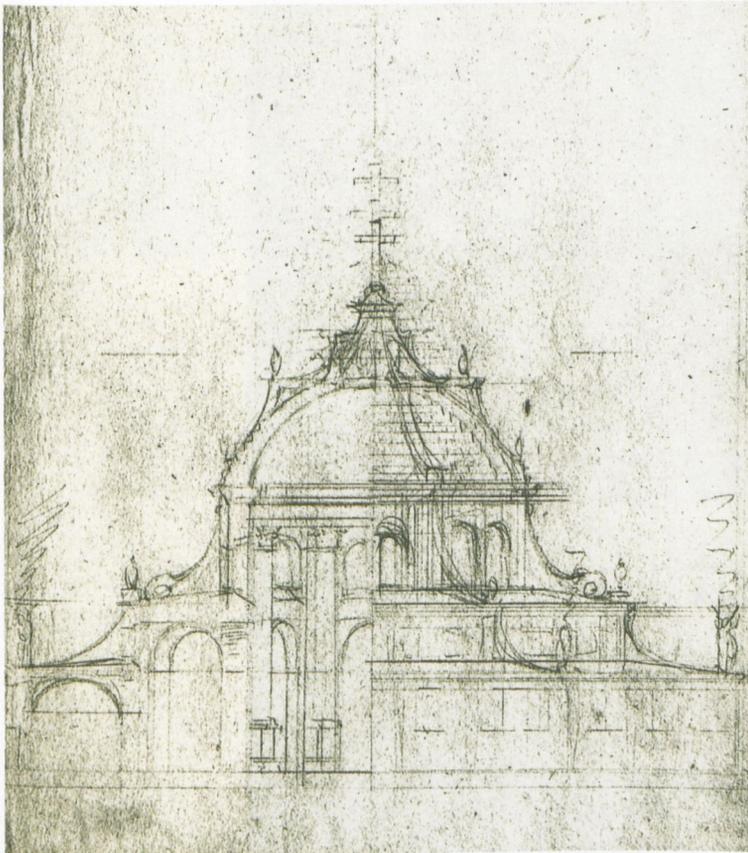
few urban buildings. Those he did were commissions not from townspeople themselves but from the court, the aristocracy and the landed gentry.

From a topological point of view, a design bordering between rural villa and town house was the Warsaw palace of the newly-created nobles Adam (d. 1693) and Malgorzata (1637-1690) Kotowska, built in the early 1680s. The interior resembled designs by Serlio and Palladio, and the building as a whole recalled the Venetian *terra ferma* and Elias Holl's Town Hall in Augsburg. The palace later became the convent of the Sisters of the Holy Sacrament (fig.29).

Van Gameren also used the Venetian motif of window frame serlianas, a prominent feature in the façade of Kotowski Palace, in an interesting design for an apart-

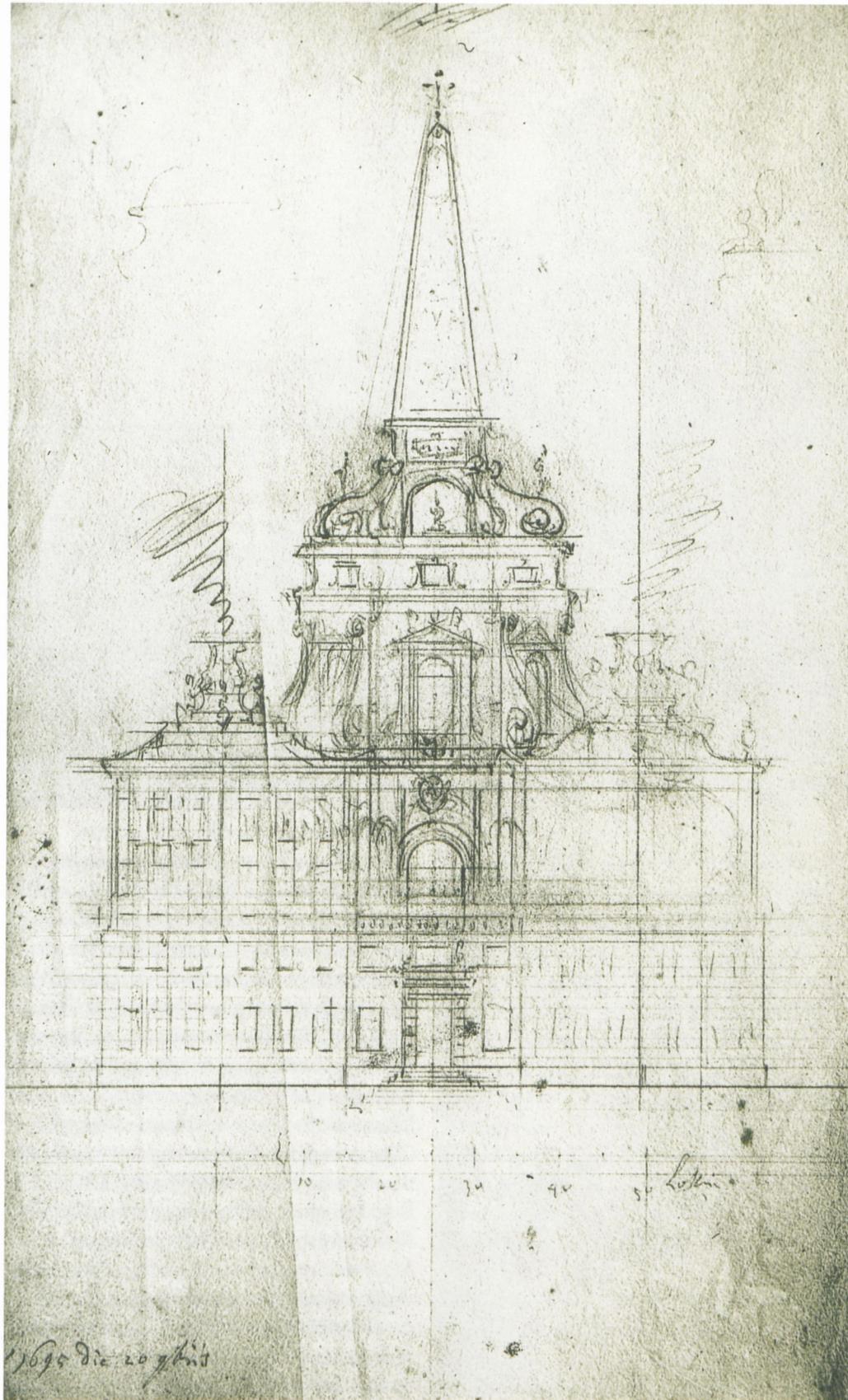


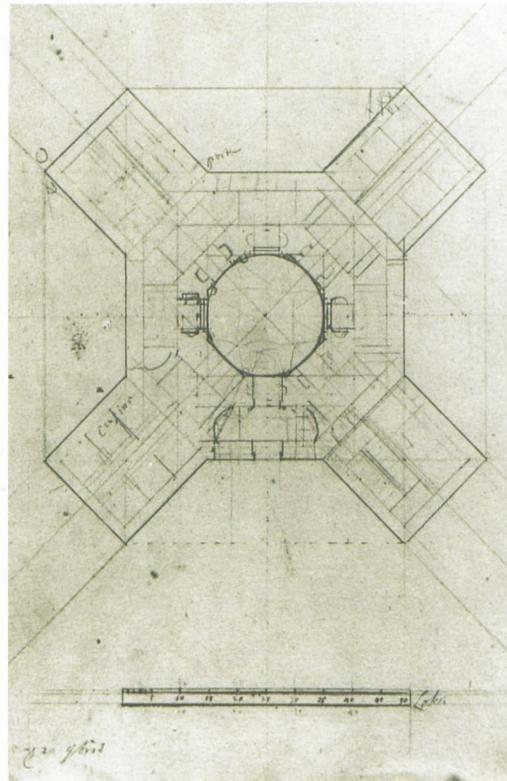
67



ment house, which was to be built in Warsaw (fig.30). Centring on an interior courtyard, the building resembles Scamozzi's Venetian palaces, while the monumental motif of the temple front recalls villa architecture.

Another of Van Gameren's urban projects was commissioned by Queen Marie-Casimire. It was a design for a splendid square in Warsaw, constructed in 1692-1695 to serve the needs of commerce. It was five-sided in plan, with a votive chapel to Our Lady the Triumphant in the centre, separate pavilions for the royal couple, and a garden at the back. The complex was named Marieville in Marie-Casimire's honour (fig.31). In spite of the obvious references to the Parisian Place Dauphine and Place Royale (renamed Place des Vosges after the Revolution), Marieville (polonised to Marywil) uniquely combined an elegant city shopping centre, a square for court ceremonies and open-air festivities, a country-style residence and a monumental religious establishment.





Van Gameren designed not only the decoration of the exteriors of his buildings but also that of the interiors, frequently while work was in progress in particular rooms, and sometimes several years after the building had been completed. Some of his designs were fairly general, while others included details of the stuccowork or even the compositions of paintings on wall panels.

He decorated salons, galleries and bedrooms, modelling them along the lines of the most splendid palaces, with pilaster arrangements (fig.32) and pairs of columns separating the bed alcoves in the bedrooms. He covered the ceilings with deep bed-mouldings, stucco and paintings. His decoration of *appartements de parade*, with ceilings covered with stucco and paintings, was mostly a metamorphosis of modern French models, which he would have known from engravings by Jean Le Pautre.

On the other hand, his park pavilions often featured classical Italian decorations in the form of illusionistic paintings of pergolas, plant ornaments, garlands, frolicking putti and animals, or pastoral scenes with a rural landscape in the background.

RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

After palaces and mansions, Tilman van Gameren was most prolific as an architect of sacred buildings, most of which were centrally planned. Even when patrons commissioned a longitudinal church, his first sketches generally reveal central solutions.

Having studied in Venice, the last major centre of Italian humanism, and having read the treatises of Alberti and Palladio, it seems that, for Van Gameren, the humanist theory of architecture had lost none of its actuality. And, according to that theory based on ancient Pythagorean and neo-Platonic ideas, a central temple covered by a dome reflected the uniformity, perfect proportions and harmony of the universe.

The most original of the central plan churches Van Gameren designed is the church of Sisters of the Holy Sacrament in Warsaw, built in 1688-1692 and endowed by Queen Marie-Casimire (fig.33). Constructed on the lines of a Greek cross with an octagonal core, the church is surmounted by a slender octagonal dome supported by a high tambour. What makes the building unique is the two-segment tambour and the composition of the windows, whose frames were diversified in the lower and upper segments, relating to the building's urban location. Certain analogies to the slender and compact mass of the church can



38.

Warsaw, Kotowski Chapel.



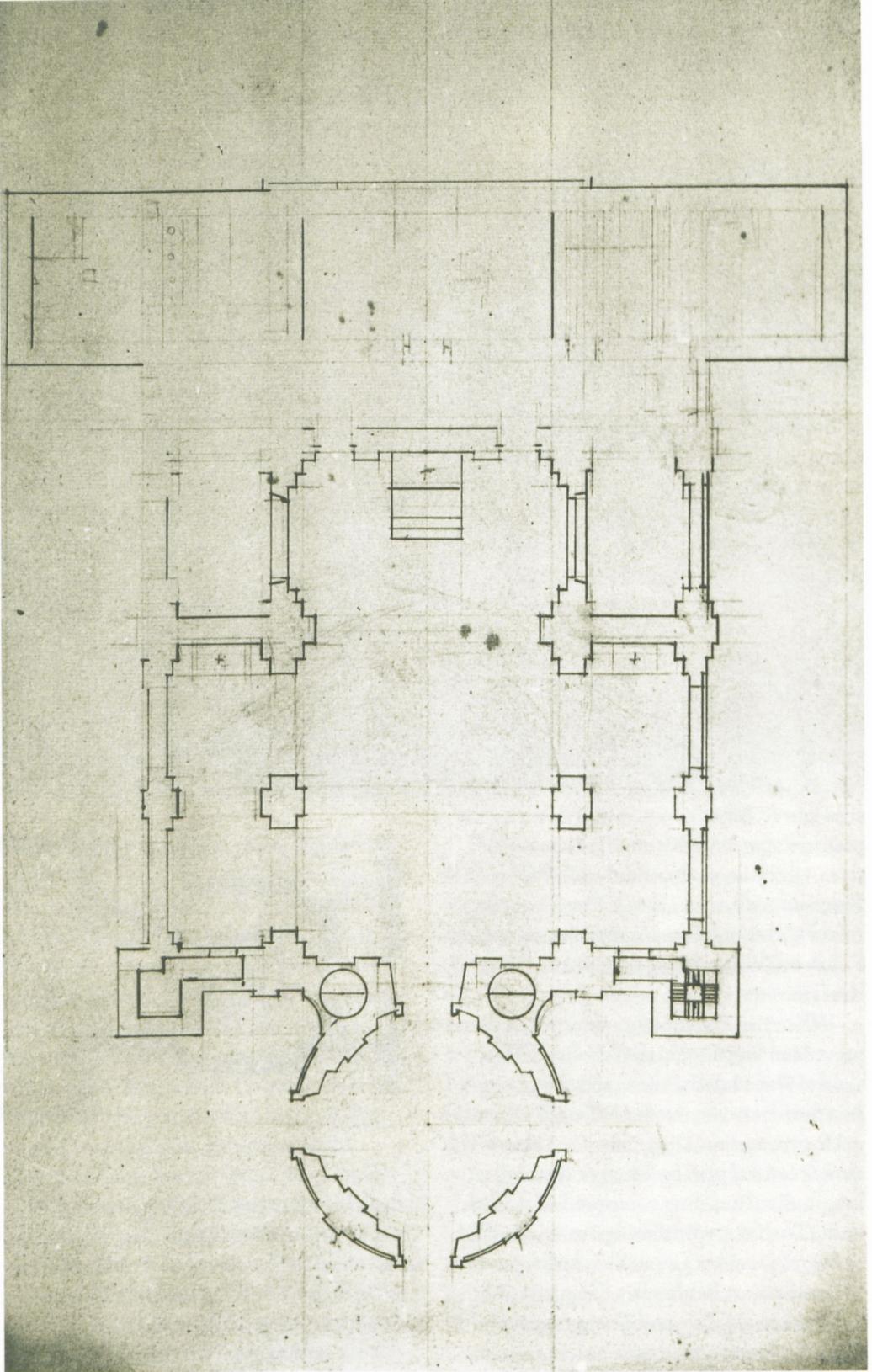
39.

Warsaw, Kotowski Chapel.
Interior.

be found among the architectural altar tabernacles in the form of a *tempietto*. Aspiring to design a church for a new order devoted to the adoration of the Holy Sacrament, but lacking any architectural tradition, Van Gameren presumably wanted to create a building that resembled a monumentalised eucharistic tabernacle.

The most interesting of his unexecuted designs is the series of projects for a central monumental church of circa 1695. In the first stage (fig.34), the building was to be based on three concentric circles, reminiscent of designs by Michelangelo. On this plan there was to be a mass, composed of four low cylinders stacked to form a pyramidal base

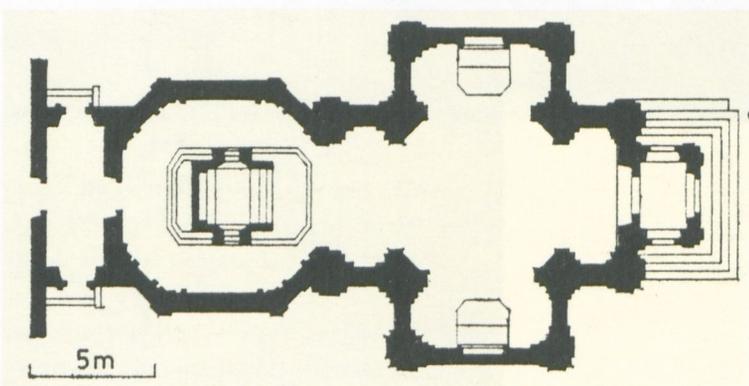
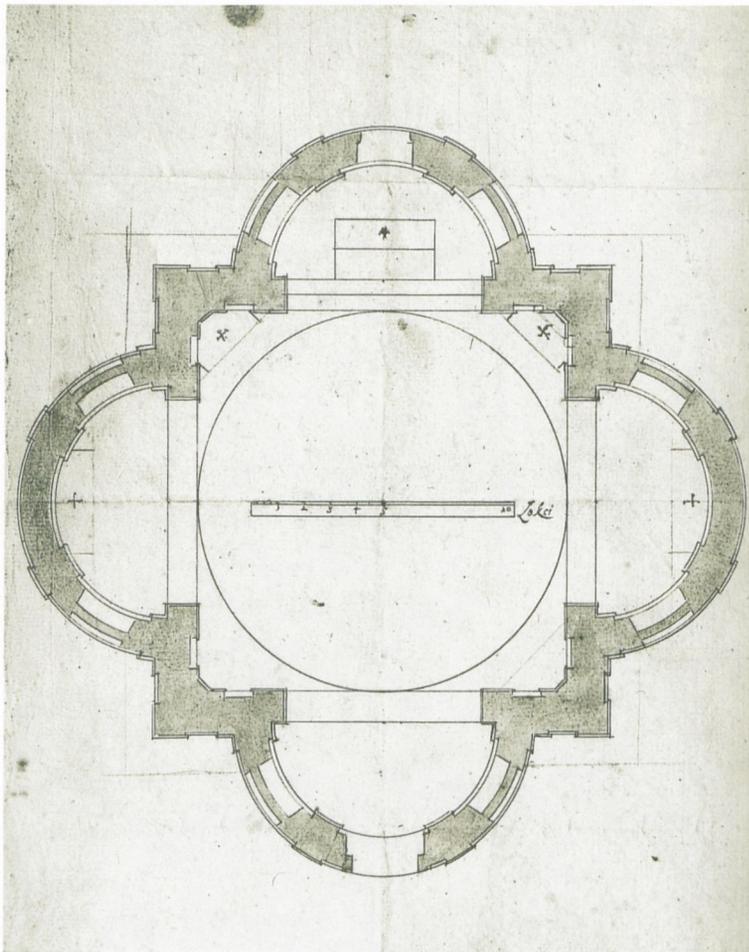
for an obelisk, which was unprecedented in the history of European architecture, notwithstanding some similarities to the woodcut of *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Another variant of the project (fig.35), with protruding cupola, betrays borrowings from Borromini's church of S. Ivo della Sapienza and Longhena's S. Maria della Salute, both of which Van Gameren transformed with considerable originality. The influence of that famous Venetian building, which Van Gameren knew so well, is also evident in the last stage of the design (figs.36, 37). Here, he reverted to a colossal obelisk at the top, and to the church's central core added along diagonal axes the four monastery wings,



bringing the building more in line with Serlio's *villa molino da vento*. This very interesting design for a building meant to serve as a church, monastery and imposing monument seems to have been intended for the Marywil centre in Warsaw, commissioned by Queen Marie-Casimire. It was probably meant to commemorate the famous victory of her husband King John III Sobieski over the Turks at Vienna (1683).

The traditional requirements of Van Gameren's patrons are clearly discernible in some of his works, such as the Kotowski chapel-mausoleum in Warsaw (1690-1693, figs.38, 39). Here, he used the scheme of a sepulchral chapel composition based on the plan of a square with a cupola on pendentives, which was very common in Polish Renaissance architecture.¹¹ The interior, inlaid with black Cracow marble, resembles Polish buildings dating from the first half of the 17th century.

When the site, function or other factors prevented Van Gameren from building a central plan church, he suggested midway solutions between the central and longitudinal forms, accentuating one of the axes of the almost central plan building or creating a longitudinal building composed of central units. The first type of design is represented by his project for a Capuchin church in Warsaw, commissioned by King John III Sobieski (c.1682, fig.40). Though never built, it was designed with a twin-tower façade similar to that of Luigi Arigucci's church of S. Anastasia in Rome. The long axis of the



42.

Czerniaków, Bernardine
church. Plan after
Mossakowski.

church is accentuated by a large circular vestibule, which had a predecessor in Polish architecture in the church of St Mary's Sepulchre (1611-before 1620) in Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, near Cracow.

The best example of the second type is the composition of the interior of the Bernardine church in Czerniaków, near



43.

Czerniaków, Bernardine church. Interior with the high altar.

Warsaw (1687-1693, figs.41-43), which was also built as a mausoleum for Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski. It is considered to be Van Gameren's finest achievement in fusing the central and longitudinal forms of a religious building. When Van Gameren's first designs for a central plan building (fig.41), resembling classical Renaissance solutions (S. Maria della Consolazione at Todi and some projects by Leonardo da Vinci), were rejected, he designed the church built on the plan of a Greek cross, adding a small vestibule and a wide octagonal sanctuary. At first, these two spatial entities were to be separated by an altar, and the section added was to be a choir only. In the design as it was executed (fig.42), the choir section was wide open, and became the mausoleum of St Boniface, whose body was laid in the crypt under the altar.

Despite analogies with some northern Italian churches, this kind of grouping together of two almost independent central units was a unique achievement. And the optical unifying of two parts of the interior by a scenic progression of pilaster arches was an original transmutation of the solutions applied in Palladio's del Redentore and Longhena's S. Maria della Salute in Venice. From the latter, Van Gameren also borrowed the idea of compositional linking of the altar with the well-lit music gallery behind the choir.

The rich decoration of the interior of the church at Czerniaków (fig.43) was executed by a team of artists, mostly of northern Italian origin, comprising the plasterer Carlo Giuseppe Giorgioli (1658-1709)¹² and the painters Francesco Antonio Giorgioli (1655-1725, frescoes on the dome and its drum

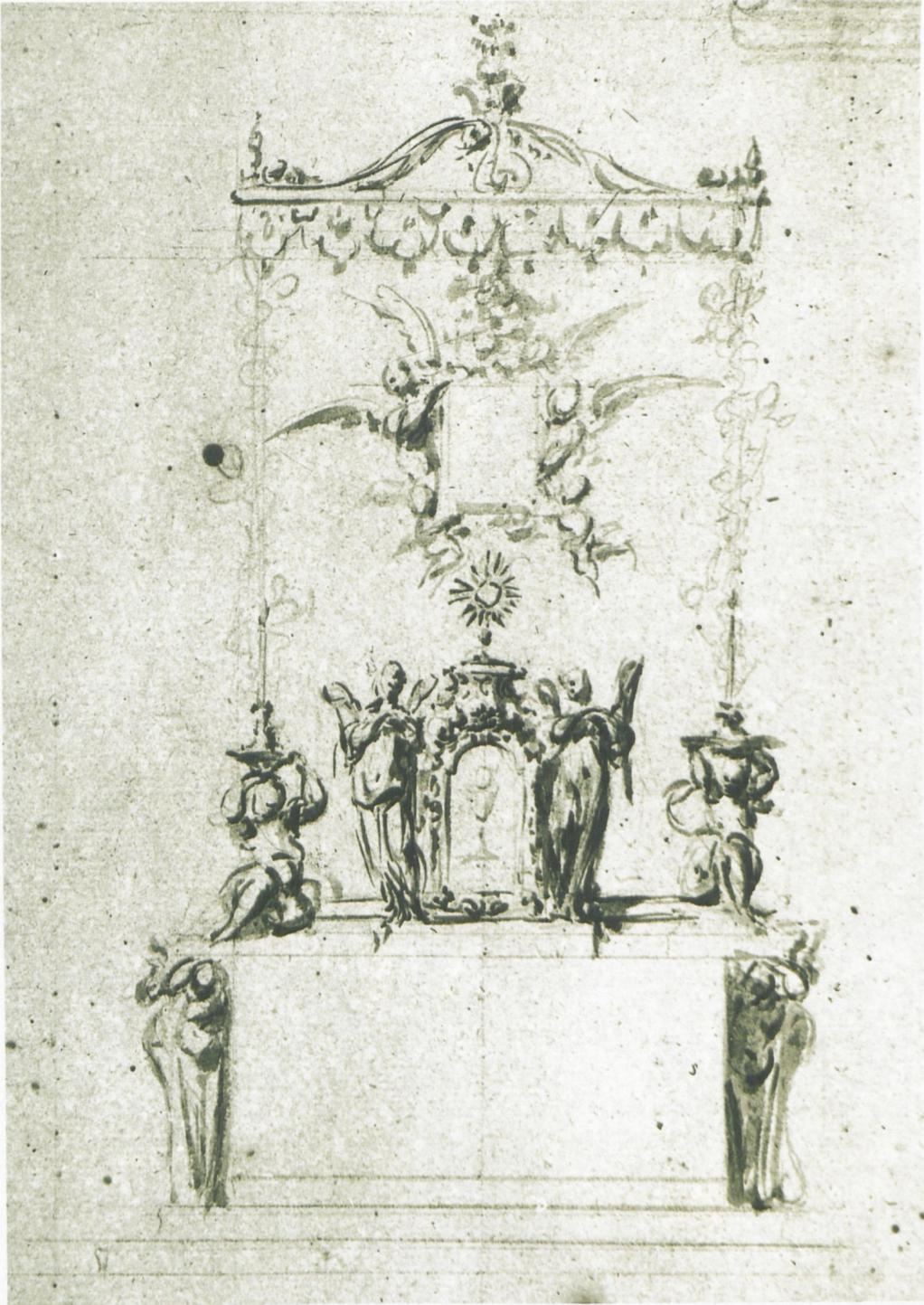




representing the glory of heaven and the music of angels), Giovanni Battista Colomba (1638-1693, frescoes of the personifications of four continents on the pendentives, and the glory of St Antony on the vault of the choir), Francesco Cipper named *il Todeschini* (1664-1736, frescoes on the walls of the nave depicting the life of St Antony)¹³ and probably Bartolomeo Rusca of Arosio (frescoes on the walls of the choir showing the story of a miraculous painting

of St Antony and depicting the construction of the church, fig.1).¹⁴ On Lubomirski's instructions, Van Gameren placed a small triptych of the Lamentation of Christ, painted by Pieter Coecke van Aelst the Elder (1502-1550), in one of the side altars (pag.124).¹⁵ Finally, the wooden angels in the high altar were probably executed by Andreas Schlüter.¹⁶

Local traditions and the requirements of his patrons sometimes compelled Van





46.
Tilman van Gameren. Design
drawing for the epitaph of Jerzy
Sebastian Lubomirski. AT 870.

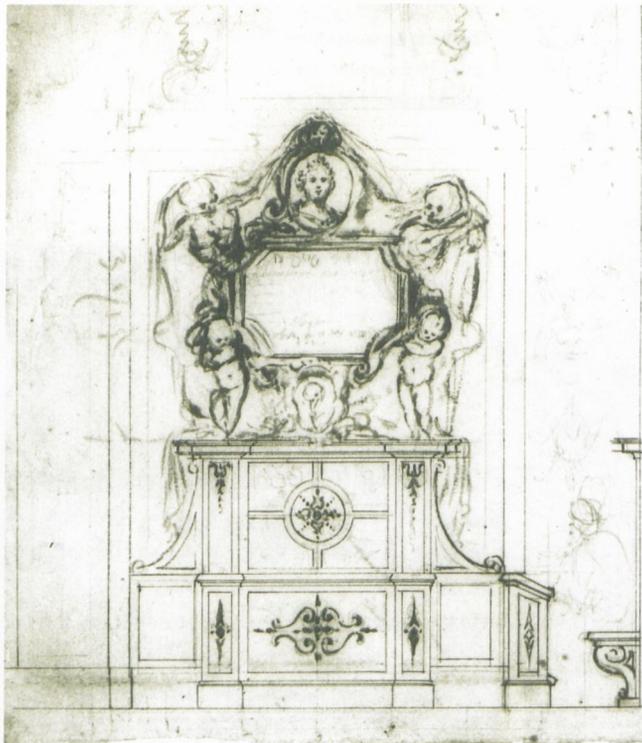
Gameren to design longitudinal churches. The history of the design of St Anne's at the University of Cracow (1689-1703, figs.44, 45) attests to his reluctance to design longitudinal religious buildings. The university's professors rejected his first design, modelled on the S. Carlo ai Catinari, insisting on a longitudinal building similar to the S. Andrea della Valle in Rome.

Van Gameren's building is indeed reminiscent of the latter, although he omitted the four round chapels situated near the pillars of the dome, created a rectangular presbytery, and linked the chapel aisles by means of wide arcades. Finally, to make the interior resemble a central plan building, he optically foreshortened the choir by lighting it frontally from a wide window, and accentuated the transverse axis of the building's main body by placing small cupolas over the chapels in the middle. Furthermore, by projecting the pillars of the dome and through the 'scenographic' composition of pilasters on these pillars (fig.45), he achieved, as in

Czerniaków, an effect reminiscent of Palladio's del Redentore church in Venice. But the real impact of the interior of the Cracow University church lies in the splendid decoration by Baldasar Fontana (1661-1733), whose fine Late Baroque stuccoes are totally unrelated to Van Gameren's designs.¹⁷

In longitudinal churches, it was the main façade in particular that required accentuation and decoration. Van Gameren used two types of church façade composition: the towerless *del Gesù* type and the façade with two towers. The best example of the latter is the beautiful façade of the Cracow University church (fig.44). It resembles Roman works of the High Baroque in its plastic treatment and the rhythm of architectural divisions gradually increasing toward the centre and accentuating the lower entry bay. The pairs of columns flanking the entrance, and the interrupted pediment above them, with a window frame in the interval, are highly original features; the pediment of that frame likewise embraced the small pedimented relief on the top. That composition, with only distant analogies in 16th and 17th-century Roman churches, is fairly unusual. The plastic composition of the façade of the Cracow church relates to the fact that, in its urban setting, the building was meant to be viewed at close range, from below or from the side. This work by Van Gameren is one of the first Baroque church façades to be found in Polish architecture.

Van Gameren frequently designed the



interior decoration and furnishings of his churches, as he did with his secular buildings. The best examples are the Bernardine church in Czerniaków and the Kotowski chapel in Warsaw. His designs for the interiors of religious buildings reflect the balance between architectural, sculptural and painted elements that was characteristic of High Roman Baroque.

Many of his drawings were designs for altar retables, the basic element of a church interior. He designed them not only in traditional forms, such as picture frames, pilaster or column *aediculae*, or three-bay column retables, but he also introduced new Baroque ideas to Poland, such as the retable with a free-standing group of sculptured figures and no architectural frame (e.g. Czerniaków). His prodigious knowledge of recent trends in Roman and Venetian Baroque altar architecture is evident from his numerous design sketches for the main altar at Czerniaków (fig.45). In some instances he also used the models of the French architect Jean Le Pautre, as he did, for example, for the side altars of the

Czerniaków church.

Besides altars, Van Gameren also frequently designed epitaphs and sepulchral monuments. The earliest known, dating from the 1670s, is an epitaph to Hetman Jerzy Lubomirski. It is in the traditional Polish style of the first half of the century and combines elements of Dutch Mannerism (forms of framing) with Baroque (fig.46). His splendid design for the sepulchral monument of the hetman of Lithuania, Pawel Sapieha, dating from about 1687,¹⁸ is an original composition in the style of the great works by Bernini, while his design for the tomb of King Jan III Sobieski (after 1696, fig.48) was modeled on the catafalque of Duke François de Beaufort, designed by Bernini in 1669. Van Gameren also designed *castra doloris*, which were much in demand in Poland. The best example is that of Princess Gryzelda Wisniowiecka of 1672 which, in keeping with the Polish sepulchral tradition, has a portrait of the deceased on the coffin (fig.49).

THE PLACE OF VAN GAMEREN'S WORKS
IN THE HISTORY OF ARCHITECTURE

In order to appreciate the work of Tilman van Gameren and his place in the history of Polish and European architecture, we need to understand the circumstances in which he lived and worked. The factors that shaped his creative work were the early experiences of his youth and education in his native country, where a new classicist trend was emerging in architecture around the middle of the century, represented by the works of Jacob van Campen, Pieter Post and later Philip Vingboons. That trend, strongly influenced by humanistic aesthetic theories, transformed northern Italian architecture as represented by Palladio and Scamozzi and the Early Baroque Classicism of neighbouring France. The architecture of his native country gave the young Van Gameren direction. It took him to France, where François Mansart and Louis Le Vau had developed a type of residence – distinctly recognisable in his later palaces – characterised by calm classicist divisions and decorations, the dismembered mass of the corpus flanked by the wings of rear buildings, and the extensive *entre court et jardin* design. And from there to Italy, and the Venetian *terra ferma* in particular, with its Palladian villa architecture.

Van Gameren's artistic personality matured during his stay in Venice. His visit gave him an opportunity to study the churches of Palladio and the new palaces along the Canal Grande with their majestic

façades and distinctive serliana window frames. Above all, he learnt more about the rural *terra ferma* villas, which were ideally suited to the lifestyle of Venetian noblemen and were later adopted by the Polish gentry. The lessons he learnt from North Italian Palladianism and Scamozzianism became the guiding principles of his own creative work, while his introduction of the forms of Venetian religious and villa building was his great contribution to Polish architecture.

Besides the works of Palladio and Scamozzi, Van Gameren may also have spent some of his time in Italy studying the treatises of Vitruvius and Alberti, which found their way into his library in Warsaw. While pursuing his interest in humanism, which he probably acquired in Holland, he may have continued to study the Renaissance theory of architecture in Venice, the last major centre of Italian humanism. These doctrines confirmed his belief in the principles of good architecture, and inspired his predilection for solving problems similar to those posed by humanistic theory and Renaissance architectural practice.

The theme of a central plan temple was to inspire him all his life, and his quest to achieve 'perfect' compositions, almost to the point of abstraction, is likewise evident in his secular buildings, such as the manor house at Czerniaków (fig. 11). Most of the villas and palaces he designed reflect rationalism, logic, simplicity and symmetry. Though these principles were not entirely alien to



earlier Polish architecture, Van Gameren was the only architect to apply them consistently.

The style of his architectural drawings betrays a leaning towards classicism. Although he was also a painter, Van Gameren made no use of perspective.

Nearly all his drawings are accurate orthogonal geometric projections of plans, façades and sections. That method of composition, which dictated the geometric style of his works, was introduced into modern architecture by the Raphael school. Another prominent exponent was Palladio, whose designs are distinctly echoed in work by Van Gameren. That type of design is particularly characteristic of architects who think in terms of proportion in the plane, since it enables them to express the very essence of their concepts.

The drawings Van Gameren executed on small sheets of paper, frequently in ink and pencil and sometimes traced over in Indian ink, were intended not for craftsmen but principally for professional architect-builders. He was above all a designer, putting forward ideas. The distinction between designer and builder was quite clear by the 16th century, owing to the Mannerist theory of art with neo-Platonic undertones. The view formulated by Vasari, concerning the superiority of a drawing over the finished work, was soon adopted by architectural theoreticians. For Scamozzi, for example, the real work of architecture was the idea of the building, conceived in the artist's mind and

expressed in drawings. In Serlio's words, the builders '*sono i semplici traduttori dei disegni*'. It is but a single step from this formulation to the modern distinction between the architect-designer and the architect-builder. In Poland, that distinction found full expression in the work of Tilman van Gameren.

Van Gameren's humanistic and Renaissance aesthetic convictions did not close his eyes to all that was happening in contemporary Italian and French architecture. In Venice he met Longhena and was inspired by his works, particularly his *opus magnum*, the church of S. Maria della Salute. He was also familiar with Roman architecture and had an affinity with the solemn style of the late 16th and early 17th centuries (Giacomo della Porta), which gave him ideas for some of his church façades. However, it would be mistaken to assume that he knew nothing about the architecture of the High Roman Baroque. The façade of St Anne's church in Cracow was one of the first mature Baroque church façades in Poland, and the influence of buildings by Bernini (S. Andrea al Quirinale) and Borromini (S. Ivo alla Sapienza) is also evident in some of his designs. Van Gameren's decorations for church and palace interiors were usually High Baroque. His altar retables, epitaphs

and tombs introduced Bernini's bold concepts – in some cases unprecedented in Polish art – while his splendid decorations for large palace apartments are related to models of the pompous interiors designed for King Louis XIV of France.

But Van Gameren's art was not shaped solely by the literature he read or his travels in Holland, France and Italy. It was also the product of Polish skies and manners.¹⁹ His works were strongly influenced by economic factors and the nature of Polish society, by the rural lifestyle of the Polish nobility, by Catholicism and finally by earlier traditions in Polish architecture. They were dictated by the requirements of his wealthy patrons, who commissioned mansions and rural palaces, who fostered local traditions and expressed this in what they demanded of the architect.

Before Van Gameren's day, the main factors in Polish architecture, and particularly secular architecture, were durability and comfort. Lavish exterior decoration was rare, if only because it would not have withstood the harsh climate. But there was also a lack of suitable materials and qualified craftsmen in Poland, and Van Gameren was forced to adapt his designs for decoration to the prevailing conditions. This accounts for his pseudo-pilasters, pilaster-strips and frame divisions, his simplified entablature and modest profiles of moulds, the absence of columns and rich *decorum*, his use of brick and plaster, and only rarely stone or marble. And for the same reason, he imitated stone

structures in buildings made of wood.

His patrons' wishes were influenced by the outstanding buildings erected in Poland before Van Gameren's time. This explains why his designs include plans for a residence in the style of a *palazzo in fortezza*. And it also accounts for the Counter-Reformational black marble interior of the Kotowski mausoleum, whose architectural form harks back to the old Renaissance-style Polish burial chapel.

The aesthetic tastes of the aristocratic elite were shaped by French art and culture, an influence strengthened during the reign of King John III Sobieski, when the traditions of the court of Louise-Marie Gonzague de Nevers (1646-1667) were fostered by another Frenchwoman on the Polish throne, Marie-Casimire de la Grange d'Arquien (1674-1716). Many Polish noblemen married women from France who had arrived with the Queen of Poland. The country remained under the spell of the court of Louis XIV and the culture, art and lifestyle of *la ville enchantée*. The marked French influence in Van Gameren's designs reflected not only his own erudition but also the wishes of the elite who commissioned them.

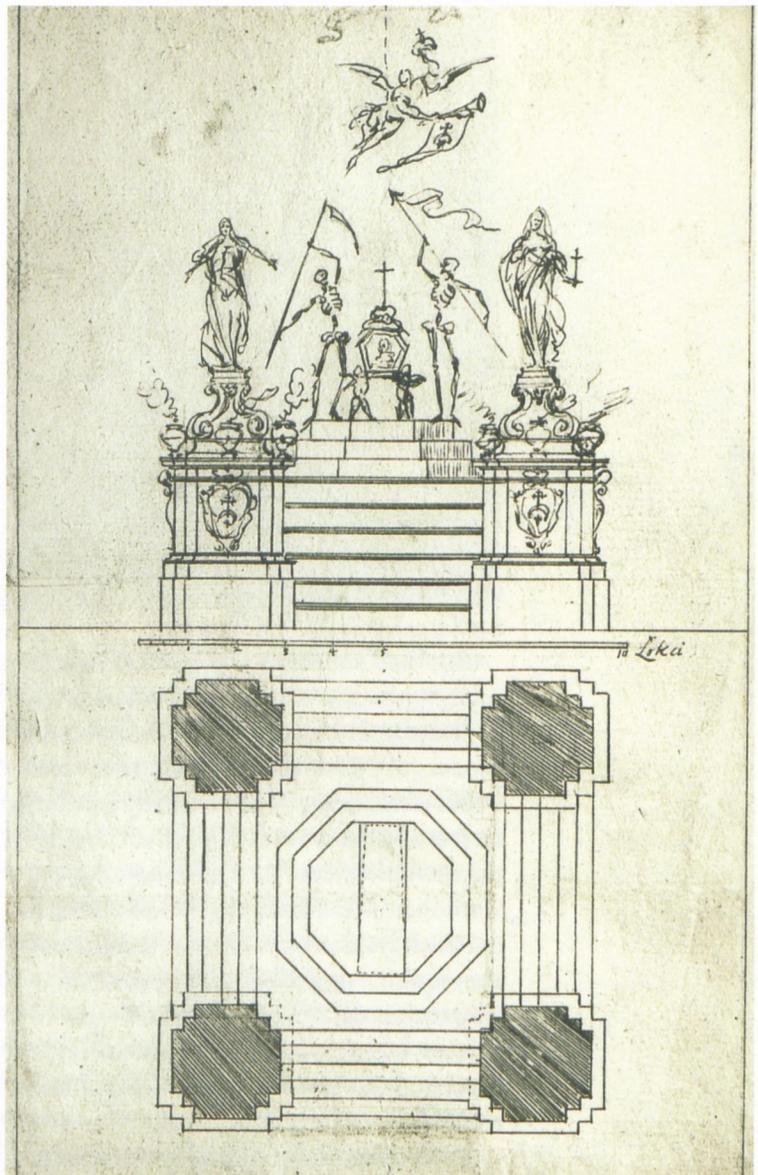
The fact that Van Gameren was working in a Catholic society also had an impact on his art. The triumph of the Counter-Reformation in Poland, the surge of religious sentiment in the mid-17th century after the war against Protestant Sweden, the emergence of new religious orders, and the

belief in Poland's mission as *antemurale christianitatis*, crystallising in its struggle against the Turks, all helped to foster religious architecture. And in designing churches for a Catholic country, Van Gameren obviously had to take account of the traditional ties between Polish religious architecture and the architecture of papal Rome.

Van Gameren's creative work, shaped by such a variety of factors, inevitably differed from that of his European contemporaries. However, his originality was not only a result of his experience before coming to Poland or the conditions in which he worked there, but it also reflects the power of his talent.

Drawing on the accomplishments of classical and contemporary architecture, Van Gameren always managed to put the stamp of his own individuality and ingenuity on the models he chose. Moreover, in the light of the aesthetic ideals of his time, his work is of a high artistic standard. He was exceptionally prolific and his rich creative imagination enabled him to make several entirely different variants of a design, as in the case of the Bernardine church in Czerniaków.

Although he was not a revolutionary artist, Tilman van Gameren occupies a prominent place among the representatives of the classicist trend in Baroque art in the history of European architecture. Many of his ideas were well in advance of architectural solutions adopted in the 18th century, and the high standard of his designs was widely



appreciated by Polish and foreign artists, including Andreas Schlüter in Berlin and St Petersburg, and Christoph Marsellius in Düsseldorf and Copenhagen.²⁰ It is no wonder, therefore, that his art had great appeal and an enduring influence far beyond Poland. The impact of his work in Poland was especially strong in the second half of the 18th century, during the reign of King Stanislaw August Poniatowski (1764-1796), when the Palladian revival was accompanied by a return to the classicist forms of the previous century.

1. See preceding article by K. Ottenheym, and A. Meeder, 'Tilman van Gameren: Hollandi cunas, Itali videre iuven-tam; over de Hollandse invloed in het werk van deze Utrechtse barokarchitect', unpublished MA thesis, Department of Art History, Utrecht University 1998.
2. For this and other information concerning his life and activities, see S. Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren. Leben and Werk*, Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1994.
3. Military commander in chief.
4. Head of the Home Office and Master of Ceremonies.
5. Cf. M. Karpowicz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nel '600*, Agno-Lugano, Bernasconi S.A., 1984, pp. 158-160.
6. Studied by S. Mossakowski, 'Palac Stanislaw Herakliusza Lubomirskiego w Pulawach' (with Italian summary), *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 28, 1966, no. 1, pp. 21-26.
7. Cf. V. Cartari, *Le imagini degli dei degli antichi*, ed. Padua 1608, pp. 220, 222.
8. Studied by Mossakowski, 'Die plastische Dekoration des Krasinski-Palastes', in *Tilman van Gameren, op. cit.*, pp. 283-301.
9. On this type of building, see I. Lavin, 'L'immagine berniniana del re sole' in *Il Barocco romano e l'Europa*, a cura di M. Fagiolo, M.L. Madonna, Rome 1992, pp. 21, 23-24.
10. Programme studied by M. Karpowicz, *Lazienka St. Herakliusza Lubomirskiego. Pierwowzory graficzne i próba interpretacji treci* (with French summary: *Le Pavillon des Bains de Stanislaw Herakliusz Lubomirski. Modèle du décor et essai d'interprétation de son contenu*), *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 31, 1969, no. 4, pp. 393-403. Cf. also M. Mroziska, 'Pierwowzory graficzne azienkowskich stiuków figuralnych', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 15, 1953, no. 2, s. 33-47.
11. Cf. S. Mossakowski, 'Bartolomeo Berreci à Cracovie: la chapelle Sigismond', *Revue de l'Art*, 1993, no 101, pp. 67-85; J. Z. Lozinski, 'Die zentralen Grabkapellen in Polen (1520-1650)', in *Actes du XVIIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art, Budapest 1969*, Budapest 1973, pp. 667-676; J. Bialostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe. Hungary. Bohemia. Poland*, Oxford 1976, pp. 35-44.
12. See M. Karpowicz, *Artisti ticinesi, op. cit.*, pp. 162-163
13. *Ibidem*, pp. 171-172; *ibidem*, Francesco Antonio Giorgioli a Varsavia', *Bolletino Storico della Svizzera Italiana*, vol. 90, 1978, no. 3, pp. 112-117; The same, 'Giovan Battista Colomba e Giacomo Francesco Cipper a Varsavia', *Arte Lombarda*, vol. 120, 1997, no. 2, pp. 66-72.
14. Cf. Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren, op. cit.*, pp. 93, 96.
15. M. Topinska, *Ko_ció_czerniakowski* ('Zabytki Warszawy'), Warsaw 1977, pp. 80-82.
16. M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej po_owy XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 70-73 (2nd ed. Warsaw 1987, pp. 52-53); K.E. Kandt, 'Andreas Schlüter in Poland', *Art and Business*, no. 11-12, 1994, pp. 51-52.
17. See M. Karpowicz, *Baldasar Fontana, 1661-1733. Un berniniano ticinese in Moravia e Polonia*, Lugano, Fondazione Ticino Nostro, 1990, *passim*, ill. 1-4, 26-100.
18. New identification of the person, see S. Mossakowski, 'Projekty Tylmana z Gameren na pomnik nagrobny hetmana Pawla Jana Sapiehy', in *Kultura staropolska - kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznice urodzin*, Warsaw 1997, pp. 425-433.
19. From the title of an anonymous Polish architectural treatise: *Krótka nauka budownicza dworów, pałaców, zamków podcug nieba i zwoyczaju polskiego*, Cracow 1659. 20. Cf. K. E. Kandt, 'Andreas Schlüter and Otto van Veen: The source, context, and adaptation of a classicizing emblem for the tomb of Jakub Sobieski', *Artium Questiones*, vol. 10, Poznan 2000, pp. 35-117; T. DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Schlüter's Fate: Comments on Sculpture, Science, and Patronage in Central and Eastern Europe ca. 1700', in *Künstlerischer Austausch. Artistic Exchange. Akten des XXVIII. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte Berlin, 15.-20. July 1992*, ed. T.W. Gaeltgens, Berlin 1993, vol. 2, pp. 199-212; H. Langberg, *Christof Marselis i København*, 'Architectura. Arkitekturhistorisk Årsskrift', vol. 16, 1994, pp. 89-100.