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## ANDREAS SCHLÜTER AND OTTO VAN VEEN: THE SOURCE, CONTEXT, AND ADAPTATION OF A CLASSICIZING EMBLEM FOR THE TOMB OF JAKUB SOBIESKI\*

On 21 August 1692, Agostino Locci the Younger, chief architect responsible for building construction at the royal palace of Wilanów near Warsaw, wrote to his employer Polish King Jan III Sobieski. He informed the King about various activities there and mentioned designs for funerary monuments enclosed with his letter:

“I sent to your Royal Majesty projects for epitaphs, with three Fame figures, each with a different coat of arms that would better satisfy his Royal Majesty and which would you kindly condescend to choose. I could find no better and appropriate Virtues, not merely simple (ones), but ducal Virtues like Courage as Fortitude and Vigilance in times of war.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Before World War II Locci's letters were housed in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv, Berlin (Rep. 141.D.7) but later lost. Fortunately, twenty-five letters dated between 1681-94 were transcribed and published beforehand. The letter cited includes the following excerpt: “...Posiłam WKMC Proiect Epitaphi, cum triplici Fama każda inaczej Herb representuiąca, który się spodoba lepiej to WKMC obrać raczysz. Virtutes ni mogłem lepszych, ex proprias, non Simplici Nulli ale Duci wynaleść iako Valorem iakoby Fortitudinem et Vigilantium circa Bellicas Expedit... W.Wil. 21 Aug. 1692.” J. Starzyński, “Wilanów, dzieje budowy pałacu za Jana III,” in *Studia do dziejów sztuki w Polsce*, 5(1933), and (2nd ed.) with commentary by A. Miłobędzki, Warszawa 1975, pp. 7, 106-107 and 109. Many thanks to Dr. Jacek Tylicki of Toruń for editing my English translation of this text.



1. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Jakub Sobieski*, (1692-94). Parish Church – Żółkiew, Ukraine. (Pre-war photograph)



2. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Stanisław Daniłowicz*, (1692-94). Parish Church – Żółkiew, Ukraine. (Pre-war photograph)

The commission arose from Sobieski's wish to renovate the tombs for his mother Teofila Sobieska née Daniłłowicz (d.1661) and his brother Marek Sobieski (d.1652) done previously by other artists in the Dominican Church at Żółkiew (Żolkwa), the King's family residence in the present-day Ukraine north of Lwów (L'viv/Lemberg).<sup>2</sup> These tombs were reworked since they apparently displeased the King who simultaneously ordered two additional tombs to be erected in the Parish Church honoring his father and uncle – Jakub Sobieski (d. 1646) and Stanisław Daniłłowicz (d. 1637)<sup>3</sup>. (Figs. 1-2).

Locci's correspondence named no other artists in connection with the projects implying that the designs were his own, according to Tadeusz Mańkowski.<sup>4</sup> On 15 June of the same year, account books from the court and royal properties in Żółkiew contained references to the sojourn there of a "...wood-carver by His Royal Majesty's command..." which Mańkowski postulated as referring to Andreas Schlüter (c. 1660-1714).<sup>5</sup> The artist (with the aid of assistants) must have executed the sculptures in Warsaw, completed them around July 1693, and supervised their installation,<sup>6</sup> for by August 1693 they had been transported from Warsaw along with cast bronze cannons from Danzig (Gdańsk) by boat on the

<sup>2</sup> This phase of the Dominican Church's tombs rather complicated history and their subsequent destruction by fire in the 18th century is discussed by Mańkowski, "Nieznane rzeźby Andrzeja Schlütera," *Dawna Sztuka*, 2(1939), pp. 219-222. The most current study, documentation, and history of both the Parish and Dominican churches in Żółkiew can be found in J. Petrus, *Kościół i klasztor Żółkwi*, Kraków 1994, pp. 15ff, especially 30-32 and 87ff, especially 102-104. For Sobieski's position as patron within the Polish "sarmatic milieu," see: M. Gębarowicz, *Szkice z historii sztuki XVII w.*, Toruń 1966, pp. 183ff, especially 211-212; and a history of the town in Sobieski's family and cultural patronage, see: T. Mańkowski, "Mecenat Jana III w Żółkwi," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, 9(1948), pp. 127-152, especially 142-143.

<sup>3</sup> Mańkowski, "Nieznane rzeźby," p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the Italian wished to suppress the names of other court artists associated with such projects and withhold that knowledge from Sobieski thus limiting the sovereign's approval to anyone but Locci himself? *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

<sup>5</sup> In 1939, these documents listing the accounts of royal expenses, were part of Dr. Aleksander Czołowski's collection in Lwów and later transferred to Warsaw's primary manuscript archive but with a new numbering system. The manuscripts are entitled: *Connotacya wydanych pieniędzy za assignacyami KJMci y pewnymi dokumentami itd. obejmujący okres czasu 1691-4* in the Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Main Archive for Historic Documents – hereafter AGAD), Warszawa. Zbiór Czołowskiego – Sygn. 403 and Microfilm 39010. Reported in the manuscript as: "1692 die 15 Junij. Snycerza przy KJMci będącego...Z ustnego KJMci rozkazania na strawi...fl 6" and cited as k. 30 by Mańkowski. *Ibid.*, p. 222. See also: *Connotacya*, p. 52 (revised AGAD pagination).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 224.

Vistula and San Rivers to Jarosław.<sup>7</sup> Finally, on 7 February 1694 – nearly two years after Locci's letter – the records indicate that Schlüter was paid 300 florins for work on tombs in the Parish and Dominican Churches.<sup>8</sup>

That Andreas Schlüter was creator of these monuments has been accepted by scholars since Mańkowski first published his findings in 1939.<sup>9</sup> As such, the document provides an invaluable archival source for any study of the artist's work as it establishes an important record of his presence in Polish territory.<sup>10</sup> Not only does it confirm his activity at Jan

<sup>7</sup> Again, cited by Mańkowski, from *Connotacya*, “1693 die 1 7bris. Furmanom żółkiewskim y jarosławskim od zwiezienia z Jarosławia dział spiżowych w Gdańsku lanych, szkutami sprowadzonych, tudzież nagrobków alias płazów marmurowych y innych w pakach y puzdrach ciężkich rzeczy z porachowania z P. Bieleckim, który najmował targował y po częściej płacił y wydawał, a to się mu potrafiło na co document iego, wydanych fl. 551.” *Ibid.*, p. 224. See also: *Connotacya*, p. 48 (revised AGAD pagination).

<sup>8</sup> The transcribed text: “1694 die 18 Februarii. Za ordinansem JW Imć Podskarbiego N. koronnego Andrzeiowi Szlichterowi, na robotę, wystawienia nagrobków, w kościołach farskim, y u OO. Dominikanów, wydanych fl. 300.” Quoted as k.39 by Mańkowski, *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225 and notes. See: *Connotacya*, p. 67 (revised AGAD pagination).

<sup>9</sup> All subsequent scholars discussing the tombs have concurred with Mańkowski including the following more recent post-World War II publications: H. Kondziela and W. Fijałkowski, “Die künstlerische Tätigkeit Andreas Schlüters in Polen,” in *Michelangelo Heute*, Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Sonderband, Berlin 1965, pp. 268, 282-283; G. Peschken “Neue Literatur über Andreas Schlüter,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 30(1967) nr. 2/3, pp. 230-231; M. Karpowicz, “Andrzej Schlüter w Polsce. Dzieła i inspiracje,” in *Rokoko. Studia nad sztuką I połowy XVII w.* Warszawa 1970, pp. 185, 187, 194, 196; and *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII w.*, Warszawa 1975, pp. 9, 30, 34, 75-6, 77; M. Kühn, “Andreas Schlüter als Bildhauer,” in *Barockplastik in Norddeutschland*, exhibition catalogue, J. Rasmussen (ed.), Mainz 1977, pp. 112-113; Z. Iwicki, *Der Hochaltar der Kathedrale in Oliwa: ein Werk von Andreas Schlüter*. Freiburg 1980, pp. 83, 84, 85, 88, 89, 94; V. F. Liubchenko, *Lwivska skulptura XVI-XVII stoletl.* Kyiv 1981, pp. 194-200, 213-214; M. Karpowicz, *Baroque in Poland*. Warszawa 1991, p. 73; Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, “Schlüter's Fate: Comments on Sculpture, Science, and Patronage in Central and Eastern Europe ca. 1700,” in *Künstlerischer Austausch: Akten des XXVIII Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte – Berlin 15-20 Juli, 1992*, T. W. Gaetgens (ed.), Berlin 1993, pp. 199, 200, 202, 203; and J. T. Petrus, *Kościół i klasztor Żółkwi*, Kraków 1994, pp. 30-32, 54, 59-60, 90, 102-103, 118-120.

<sup>10</sup> Certain documents record the artist's presence and activities in Poland. Many facts and sources surrounding his origins and activity remain, however, complicated and unclear. Documents actually mentioning the Andreas Schlüter being studied here include: Peter Schenk's copper engraving of Schlüter's 1698 project design for the Berlin Schloss renovation, considered verifiable proof of the artist's origins, has the dedicatory inscription “Ad Nobilis:(simum) SCHLVTERUM Gedan:(tiensem)...” and dates c.1702, Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten – Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, see: F.-E. Keller, “Triumphbogen in der Berliner Architektur,” in *Berlin und die Antike*, exhibition catalogue, W. Arenhövel (ed.), Berlin 1979, pp. 103-104. Payment receipts (destroyed in WWII) for work contracts

III's court, but it may also document what was perhaps among his last works executed there before entering the service of Friedrich III Elector of Brandenburg in 1694.<sup>11</sup>

The two surviving tombs in Żółkiew's Parish Church, heavily damaged and now restored,<sup>12</sup> are exceptional works in the sculptor's *oeuvre*. For they are verifiable evidence of the master's final endeavors in

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done on the "frontispisz" and "herby" in 1689, 1691, 1692, 1693, and 1694 on Jan Dobrogost Krasieński's Palace in Warsaw published by T. Baranowski, *Inwentarze palacu Krasieńskich później Rzeczypospolitej*. Warszawa 1910, pp. 66-69 and last examined by M. Kühn, *Berichte zur Studienreise nach Warschau vom 30. 5. bis 7. 6. 1944 und nach Krakau - Warschau vom 3. 7. bis 22. 7. 1944*, Anlage B - "Archivalien," B4, author's unpublished typed manuscript. That Schlüter and his wife Anna Elizabeth (née Spangenberg) had two children, Hedwiga Elizabeth and David, baptized in Warsaw's Holy Cross Church on 11 October 1690 and 3 January 1694, *Liber Baptizorum Ecclesiae Parochialis Sanctae Crucis Varsoviensis* (f.112 11 X 1690 and f.149 3 I 1694) was noted by K. Grundmann and A. Schellenberg (eds.) in *Warschau*. Krakau 1944, p. 123. The Żółkiew documents formerly in the collection of Dr. Aleksander Czołowski, Lwów known as *Connottacya wydanych pieniędzy za assignacyami KJMci y pewnemi dokumentami itd., obejmujący okres czasu 1691-4*, now Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (AGAD) in Warsaw Czołowski Collection, (Sygn 394-403, pp. 48, 52, and 67 and Microfilm 39001-39010). The artist's death in Russia is noted in a letter from his widow to Danzig's Town Council. She calls the city her "Vaterstadt" although she may not have necessarily lived in the city proper and possessed full rights of citizenship. See: Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku, (National Archive in Gdańsk - hereafter APG 300/52, p. 601), published by Z. Filarski in "List wdowy po Andrzeju Schlüterze w archiwum w Gdańsku," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 13(1975), nr 2-3, pp. 174-180.

<sup>11</sup> In the negotiations with his future employer Friedrich III (begun in spring 1694 and concluded in August 1694), Schlüter was to use his knowledge and experience as a sculptor to complete work in a variety of materials like. "...Stein, Marmor, Elfenbein, Alabaster und Holz..." and teach at the "Akademie von Bildhauern." K. F. von Klöden, *Andreas Schlüter. Ein Beitrag zur Kunst- und Bau-Geschichte von Berlin*. Berlin and Potsdam 1855, pp. 12-14; and H. Ladendorf, *Der Bildhauer und Baumeister Andreas Schlüter: Beiträge zu seiner Biographie und zur Berliner Kunstgeschichte seiner Zeit*. Berlin 1935, p. 113, note 38.

<sup>12</sup> After World War II, the tombs were vandalized and various parts of the sculptures were damaged or completely destroyed. The *Genius'* head on the Sobieski tomb and that of the allegorical figure of *Justice* at the left are lost. Heads of both allegorical figures on the Daniłowicz tomb have been reconstructed as well as the small putto at the lower left. Fortunately, the Sobieski urn relief has survived intact but the Daniłowicz grotesque mask, for example, has not. The conservation team was led by Janusz Smaza from the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts who generously supplied the author with technical information, archival photographs, and a plaster cast of the Jakub Sobieski Tomb relief. See: J. Smaza, "Konserwatorzy polscy na Ukrainie," *Biuletyn Informacyjny Konserwatorów Dzieł Sztuki* 3(1992), nr 1, p. 5; "Konserwatorzy w Żółkwi," *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, 1992, no. 6, pp. 15-16; and "Prace konserwatorskie w kolegiacie w Żółkwi," in *Ochrona wspólnego dziedzictwa kulturowego*, J. Kowalczyk (ed.). Warszawa 1993, pp. 179-193.



3. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Jakub Sobieski*, (1692-94). Detail: Figures of Justice, Fortitude and a Genius. (Pre-war photograph)



4. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Jakub Sobieski*, (1692-94). Detail: Urn with relief, front. (Pre-war photograph)



5. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Jakub Sobieski*, (1692-94). Detail: Urn with relief, side. (Pre-war photograph)



6a-b. Plaster cast of *Jakub Sobieski Tomb* urn relief – front and side

Warsaw,<sup>13</sup> and serve as a unique link between works created by him in the Polish capital and those done later on in Berlin. Although some observations on this key relationship were already noted, albeit briefly, by scholars like Mańkowski, Boeck, and Schellenberg,<sup>14</sup> a preliminary study and re-evaluation of the monuments has revealed further evidence of this significance. A case in point is the sculpted relief on the decorated urn from the *Jakub Sobieski Tomb*. (Figs. 3-6a-b).

In composition, theme, and iconography the relief clearly reveals not only an inherently rich imagination for *invenzione*, but also a distinctive approach to realizing an artistic conception tempered by the judicious use of a published engraving. Within the scope of this article we shall examine a heretofore unidentified, "classicizing," death-theme prototype for the relief that apparently drew its aesthetic inspiration from antique and contemporary sculptures known through published prints. It ultimately owed its composition to an illustration from Otto van Veen's widely-disseminated emblem book the *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata* and was subsequently used again in a relief from the façade of the Berlin Royal Palace or Stadtschloss,<sup>15</sup> certain interior decorations therein, and influential to other Berlin-period works.

Schlüter's use of printed sources, as suggested by the tomb relief, deserves further study and will increase our understanding of his working methods, reception to the antique, and hopefully begin to better clarify his position in the realm of northern baroque art. Of course, the international dissemination of compositions, designs, and models through contemporary printed graphic sources in the 17th century provided many European artists with a range of inspiration (including that of a "classical" nature) due to the large output of well-established and highly productive printmakers' workshops.<sup>16</sup> Italian and Netherlandish

<sup>13</sup> Prof. Dr. Goerd Peschken of Berlin emphasizes the fact Schlüter was, after many years in Warsaw, a decidedly mature artist at this stage in his career. Therefore any "documented works" in Poland, before his Berlin period, are more likely to be "by his own hand" than those of his large Berlin-period workshop productions and thus of singular importance. See: Peschken, "Neue Literatur," pp. 230-231.

<sup>14</sup> Mańkowski, "Nieznane rzeźby," pp. 227-231; W. Boeck, "Andreas Schlüter," *Die Jombsburg* 3 (1939), pp. 306-309; Grundmann and Schellenberg, *Warschau*, p. 119 and A. Schellenberg "Andreas Schlüter in Warschau," *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 3(1954), pp. 428-429.

<sup>15</sup> First proposed by the author in, "Andreas Schlüter in Poland," *Sztuka Polska i Antyki (Polish Art and Antiques) – Art & Business*, nr 11-12(1994), p. 53.

<sup>16</sup> A brief overview of major 17th century print-makers workshops and their productions is given by: J. Talbierska, "Główne ośrodki produkcji graficznej w Europie XVII wieku: Funkcje, artyści, produkcja," in *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce: Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*. Kraków, grudzień 1993, Warszawa 1994, pp. 103-123 and

graphic prints had already been an important source for wooden and stone sculpture in the late 16th and early 17th centuries throughout Germany and the Baltic region – especially the Mannerist-style and



7. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Stanisław Daniłowicz*, (1692-94). Detail: Urn with Grotesque Mask. (Pre-war photograph)

for a general survey of 17th century graphic art see E. Rouir, *Europäische Graphik im 17. Jahrhunderts*, Cologne 1977. For prints used to this purpose, see: P. Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich. Geschichte der Vorlagen des Kunsthandwerk seit dem Mittelalter*, Berlin 1920 and his *Das Barock, Meister des Ornamentstich*, vol. 2, Berlin (1923); R. Berliner/G. Egger, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, (2nd ed.), vols. 1-3, Munich 1981; G. Egger, *Ornamentale Variationen des Manierismus*, Vienna 1981; and E.-M. Hanebutt-Benz, *Ornament und Entwurf. Ornamentstiche und Vorzeichnungen für das Kunsthandwerk vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert aus der Linel Sammlung für Buch- und Schriftkunst*, Frankfurt/Main 1983. For the popular acanthus motif of the later 17th century, see F. Rothe, *Das deutsche Akanthusornament des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1938. And specific examples: F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Pour l'amour de l'antique: La statuaire gréco-romaine et le goût européen: 1500-1900*, (rev. French ed.), Paris 1988, pp. 30-69.

early Baroque classical architectural/ornamental pattern books and prints which also included useful figural types frequently used for decorating altars, baptismal fonts, epitaphs, and tombs.<sup>17</sup> So when Schlüter the sculptor created the Żółkiew tombs he continued this tradition and worked much like other Baroque artists who employed engravings for executing sculptural and decorative projects,<sup>18</sup> and he took advantage of



8. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Tomb of Stanisław Daniłowicz*, (1692-94). Detail: Putti Group. (Pre-war photograph)

<sup>17</sup> Patterns and motifs published during this earlier period by Wendel Dietterlin the Elder and Cornelis Floris, among others, proved to be invaluable for the wealth of ornamental and figural compositions they could provide sculptors in these regions, H. Rudolph, *Die Beziehungen der deutschen Plastik zum Ornamentstich in der Frühzeit des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1935, pp. 10-33 and 49-73.

<sup>18</sup> V. Loers, "Bemerkungen zur Manierismusrezeption in der süddeutschen Rokoko-plastik," and G. Lötstam, "Die Vorlagen der schwedischen Barockbildhauer," both articles in: *Studien zur Europäischer Barock und Rokokoplastik*, K. Kalinowski, (ed.), Poznań 1985, pp. 65-72 and 231-251 respectively. See also: E. Grosmane, "Zeichnungen und Stichvorlagen in der Praxis der Kurländischen Bildhauerwerkstätten zur Zeit des Barocks," and I. Schemper-Sparholz, "Barockbildhauer in Dienst der Klöster in Österreich – Zwischen Künstlertum und Handwerkerstand", again both articles in: *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis des Barockskulptur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, K. Kalinowski, (ed.), Poznań 1992, pp. 45-60 and 327-340 respectively.

this technique throughout his career in Warsaw, Berlin, and St. Petersburg.<sup>19</sup>

Such working methods indicate the sculptor's continued willingness and ability to successfully adapt two-dimensional printed sources for his projects in Warsaw-period projects like the reliefs from the Krasiński Palace and *Jakub Sobieski Tomb*. Indeed, in some instances the practice comes to the fore during his Berlin years,<sup>20</sup> and underscores the esteem the artist's patrons held for such antique-inspired art. A systematic research into potential sources for the artist's work and a study of his documented and attributed funerary monuments, towards which the present article will try to constitute a first step, is necessary to discover further instances of derivative images taken from available contemporary published graphic sources.

How might Schlüter have been influenced by the classical antique, contemporary prints (including emblemata) and the artistic taste of his patrons to produce work of this nature? The question is an important one when attempting to understand the artist's work and it has been raised by some recent scholars.<sup>21</sup> Undoubtedly his origins and training in Danzig could have served as a substantial foundation for his knowledge con-

<sup>19</sup> Use of published prints occurred throughout the artist's career and has been noted at the Krasiński Palace (1689-94), by Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 66-67. From the Berlin Palace inner court-yard is a sculpture whose designs were probably conveyed through a graphic print like the *Flora Farnese* discussed by M. Kühn, "Antikenverständnis am Berliner Hof," in *Berlin und die Antik*, p. 30 and ill. 25-26. For ornamental motifs derived from prints by Della Bella, Mitelli, Le Pautre, Berain the Elder, Ducerceau, and Marot in the Berlin Schloss interior decorations see also, Ch. Keisch, *Das Grosse Silberbuffet aus dem Rittersaal des Berliner Schloss*, Diss. Humboldt Universität, Berlin 1994, pp. 102-119 and now published as a book, *Das Grosse Silberbuffet aus dem Rittersaal des Berliner Schlosses*, Berlin 1997, pp. 71-90 and 94-122. A decorative, antique-like vase console with a classicizing motif from the Alte Post (c. 1700-01) was included in the catalogue *Barockplastik in Norddeutschland*, pp. 470-471. And finally, R. Kroll, "Andreas Schlüter und der Sommerpalast Peters I," *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte*, 17(1976), pp. 113-134 with plates 1-9, and DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," p. 201.

<sup>20</sup> A final example of classicizing through contemporary engravings done after antique art comes from a superb interior at the Berlin Schloss. See L. Wiesinger, "Der Elisabethsaal des Berliner Schlosses: Ein Beitrag zur Antikenrezeption in Berlin um 1700," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 24(1982), pp. 189ff and especially 205-223.

<sup>21</sup> A general inquiry and re-consideration of the artist's reception to the antique, use of prints, and the role of patrons was noted by DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," pp. 201-203, 205. The question regarding what particular influences emblematic sources from Danzig's artistic milieu may have had on the sculptor was justifiably raised by K. Cieślak, "Emblematyka w XVII-wiecznych wnętrzach kościelnych Gdańska", in *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce*, p. 218.

sidering the strength of antique classicizing trends,<sup>22</sup> Netherlandish art,<sup>23</sup> and published graphic prints in the town's artistic milieu.<sup>24</sup> The rich artistic tradition of this Baltic port city,<sup>25</sup> and its role on Schlüter's development does require further scholarly research and clarification.<sup>26</sup>

The town's major public monuments displayed some notable classicizing tendencies (in both Renaissance and Baroque styles but with marked Netherlandish overtones) in buildings like the Roman triumphal arch-like Golden Gate (1612-14) by Abraham van den Block,<sup>27</sup> or his façade for

<sup>22</sup> T. Grzybkowska, "Sztuka gdańska XVII wieku," in *Gdańsk XVII wieku: Materiały z sesji zorganizowanej przez Zakład Historii Sztuki Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego 8-9 września 1991 roku*, E. Kotarski (ed.) In publication.

<sup>23</sup> Various cultural and artistic contacts with the Netherlands are mentioned in: L. Thijssen, *1000 Jaar Polen en Nederland*, Zutphen 1992, pp. 12-14, 45-48, 81-82, 173-174, and J. Białoostocki, "The Baltic Area as an Artistic Region in the Sixteenth Century," *Hafnia: Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art*, 1976, pp. 18-19. For a brief overview of the distinctive forms and influences of Netherlandish art in the city, see: A. Gosieniecka, "Sztuka w Gdańsku. Malarstwo, rzeźba, grafika," in *Gdańsk. Jego dzieje i kultura*, F. Mamuszka (ed.), Warszawa 1969, pp. 298-308 and 336-346. For a survey of painting in this tradition c. 1600: A. Gosieniecka, "Ze studiów nad malarstwem pomorskim. Cz. 1, Przełom XVI i XVII wieku w malarstwie gdańskim," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 3(1981), pp. 9-38 and illustrations. For 16th century sculpture in Gdańsk and the region: L. Krzyżanowski, *Gdańska monumentalna rzeźba, lat 1517-1628*, unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Institute of Art History, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań 1966 and J. Pałubicki, "Rzeźba kamienna w Gdańsku w latach 1517-1585," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 3(1981), pp. 175-195.

<sup>24</sup> M. Wóźniak, "Uwagi o recepcji manierystycznych wzorników niderlandzkich w Gdańsku i Prusach Królewskich," in *Niderlandyzm w sztuce polskiej*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 225-248.

<sup>25</sup> A catalogue from the recent exhibition at the National Museum Museum, Gdańsk has attempted a long-overdue compilation and survey of Gdańsk's impressive art historical heritage and can serve as a guide to better understand the cultural milieu of Schlüter's early years. See: *Aurea Porta Rzeczypospolitej. Sztuka gdańska od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku*, essays and exhibition catalogue (2 vols.), T. Grzybkowska and J. Talbierska (eds.), Gdańsk 1997.

<sup>26</sup> General observations on Netherlandish art in this context are described by C. Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, Berlin 1891, pp. 11-12, 22-23, 26-27, while the influx of Netherlandish sculptors to Danzig and the Baltic region is mentioned by G. Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt/Main 1910, pp. 74-75; and Z. Hornung, "Gdańska szkoła rzeźbiarska na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku," *Teka komisji historii sztuki*, Toruń, 8(1959), nr. 1, pp. 103-132. Seventeenth-century Netherlandish art inspired by the antique and its influence in the town and thus on Schlüter is mentioned by W. Drost, "Andreas Schlüter und das Berliner Barock," *Westpreussen Jahrbuch*, 15(1965), p. 117-118; and DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," p. 201.

<sup>27</sup> Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur*, pp. 80-81 and E. Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Cologne and Vienna 1972, pp. 358-368, 370. For the newest guide see: J. Friedrich, *Gdańskie zabytki architektury do końca XVIII w.*, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 60-62. The Golden Gate, as a prominent monument in the town, with its antique pretensions was created in a classicizing although distinctly early Netherlandish Baroque form. Surmounting

the Arthur's Court (1616-17).<sup>28</sup> Another fine civic decoration was the *Neptune Fountain*, with its bronze figure probably done by the Flemish artist Peter Husen (1612-15), located in the Langen Markt before the Arthur's Court.<sup>29</sup> Works by Willem van der Meer, Hans Vredemann de Vries, Isaac van den Block, Simon Herle, Anton Möller, and Andreas Stech, in the Main Town Hall and Arthur's Court would have also provided any citizen ample opportunity to contemplate didactic images replete with venerable models of ideal antique civic virtue, Renaissance humanist philosophy, and moralizing Protestant Christianity; all lavishly represented in paintings and sculptures showing Roman history, mythological allegory, biblical scenes, and emblems.<sup>30</sup>

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the attic were eight allegorical figures of Virtues executed by Peter Ringering (c. 1648-49), after preliminary drawings by local sculptor Hans Caspar Gockheller (discovered by Janusz Palubicki in the National Museum, Gdańsk), that were engraved by Jeremias Falck. The figures show a rather eccentric local classical style in a mixture of "antique-like" and contemporary forms that recall the work of Artus Quellinus' *Justitia* from the Amsterdam Town Hall (1652). Ch. Theuerkauff, "Bildwerk der Zeit des Grossen Kurfürsten und Friedrichs I," in *Barockskulptur in Mittel- und Osteuropa*, K. Kalinowski (ed.), Poznań 1981, pp. 173, 174-175 and *Aurea Porta*, catalogue vol., pp. 230-234.

<sup>28</sup> Keyser, *Die Baugeschichte der Stadt Danzig*, pp. 366-368; Friedrich, *Gdańskie zabytki architektury*, pp. 179-191 and *Aurea Porta*, catalogue vol., pp. 71-75.

<sup>29</sup> For the *Neptune Fountain*, see: T. Hirsch, "Zur Geschichte Danzigs. Der Springbrunnen auf dem Langen Markte," *Neue Preussische Provinzialblätter*, 2(1852), pp. 161-169; G. Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur*, 81-82, and "Der Neptunbrunnen in Danzig – 300 Jahre Alt," *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 33(1934) nr. 2, pp. 30-37; H. Carl, "Der Neptunbrunnen auf dem Langen Markte zu Danzig," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 6(1937), pp. 147-150 and "Neues über den Neptunbrunnen," *Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 36(1937), nr. 1, pp. 13-16.

<sup>30</sup> The Main Town Hall is a prime example this complex blending of ancient myth, classical philosophy, and biblical doctrine using characteristic images and motifs in ideological decorative programs of the early Baroque. The ornamentation found in its principal rooms where the great stone fireplace, paintings and ceiling plafonds, and even the minor details of carved, wooden reliefs all play a role in the complicated iconography of the Town Council's assertion of its city's proud status. The interior painting and sculpture were studied by, E. Iwanoyko, "Interpretacja niektórych elementów wystroju Wielkiej Sali Rady w Ratuszu Gdańskim," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 2(1978), pp. 9-24 and *Apoteoza Gdańska: Program ideowy malowideł stropu Wielkiej Sali Rady w gdańskim Ratuszu Głównego Miasta*, Gdańsk 1976, pp. 25-83; T. Domagała, "Wnętrza reprezentacyjnego piętra ratusza głównego miasta na podstawie inwentarza z końca XVII wieku," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 2(1978), pp. 25-47; T. Labuda, "Program obrazowy komory palowej w gdańskim Ratuszu Głównego Miasta," in *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV-XVIII wieku w Europie środkowowschodniej*, J. Harasimowicz (ed.), Warszawa 1990, pp. 303-317. For an analysis of similar iconographic themes in the Arthur's Court interior, see: T. Labuda, "Sąd Ostateczny Antoniego Möllera z Dworu Artusa w Gdańsku. Problemy ikonografii," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 4(1985), pp. 69-78; K. Cieślak, "Wystrój Dworu Artusa w Gdańsku i jego program ideowy w XVII wieku," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 55(1993), nr. 1, pp. 29-48 and also in a revised version, *Porta Aurea*, I(1992), pp. 39-50; J. Friedrich, "O symetrii w *Orfeusza* Hansa Vredemana de Vries," *Porta Aurea*, I(1992), pp. 95-101.

Local churches were embellished with artworks by the aforementioned artists and other prominent sculptors – Willem and Abraham van den Block, Wilhelm Richter, Hans Caspar Gockheller, and Caspar Günter.<sup>31</sup> These ecclesiastical interiors, all with finely ornamented altars, pulpits, organs, tombs, and epitaphs, bore decorations very often dependent not only on international Netherlandish Mannerism,<sup>32</sup> but on the published prints by artists from that very region as well.<sup>33</sup> Emblematic images, usually derived from printed graphic sources, did prevail in church interiors from this period,<sup>34</sup> and fulfilled the need for Protestant Lutheran doctrinal instruction through such visual imagery.<sup>35</sup>

Danzig's vernacular architecture also displayed such antique and emblematic decoration. The proud, gabled façades of numerous patrician town-houses bore classical orders, motifs, sculpted figures and reliefs – the finest example being the so-called Golden House (begun 1609, façade 1616-18).<sup>36</sup> The interior decorations in private homes also reflected the

<sup>31</sup> L. Krzyżanowski, "Plastyka nagrobna Wilhelma van den Blocka," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 20(1958), nr. 3/4, pp. 270-298; J. Pałubicki, *Marmurowa rzeźba architektoniczna Prus Królewskich w XVII wieku. Ołtarze, nagrobki, epitafia i portale*, unpublished Master's Thesis, Institute of Art History, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań 1973 also, "Richter, Wilhelm," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 32/2, nr. 129, Wrocław, etc, 1988, pp. 284-285; and "Rzeźbiarz gdański Hans Caspar Gockheller," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 2(1978), pp. 121-140 with illustrations; and T. Bernatowicz, "Uwaga o XVII-wiecznych epitafiach z obrazami z terenu Gdańska," *Studia Gdańska*, 6(1986), pp. 139-177.

<sup>32</sup> C. Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur*, 74-89; K. Cieślak, "Ambona z kościoła św. Jana w Gdańsku. Przyczynek do twórczości Izaaka van den Blocka," in *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici*, Toruń, 25(1994) no. 280, pp. 35-44.

<sup>33</sup> K. Cieślak, "Pierwowzory graficzne epitafiów obrazowych w Gdańsku a problemy ich ikonografii," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 50(1988), pp. 201-224 and *Epitafia obrazowe w Gdańsku XV-XVII w.*, Wrocław, etc., 1993. For a socio-historical and cultural survey of Danzig epitaphs, cf. K. Cieślak, *Kościół – cmentarzem. Sztuka nagrobna w Gdańsku (XV-XVIII w.). Długie trwanie epitafium*, Gdańsk 1992 or the new German edition: *Tod und Gedenken. Danziger Epitaphien vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Lüneburg 1998.

<sup>34</sup> K. Cieślak, "Über Emblematic in Danziger Kirchen und ihren kirchengeschichtlichen Hintergrund," in *Zwei Hanseatische Städte – Bremen und Danzig im Laufe der Jahrhunderte*, Gdańsk 1994, pp. 73-96 and "Emblematyka w XVII-wiecznych wnętrzach kościelnych Gdańska," in *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 205-219; also in English translation Emblematic Programs in Seventeenth-Century Gdańsk Churches in Light of Contemporary Protestantism: An Essay and Documentation, *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Emblem Studies*, 9(1995), nr. 1, pp. 21-44; and "Luterańska sztuka kościelna w Gdańsku (1540-1793)," in *Protestantyzm i protestanci na Pomorzu*, J. Iluk and D. Mariańska (eds.), Gdańsk and Koszalin 1997, pp. 63-77.

<sup>35</sup> K. Cieślak, "Wittenberga czy Genewa? Sztuka jako argument w sporach gdańskich luteran z kalwinami na przełomie XVI i XVII w.," in *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa*, pp. 283-301; and "Życie religijne gdańskie luteran i ich recepcja sztuki kościelnej," in *Mieszczaństwo gdańskie*, S. Salmonowicz (ed.), Gdańsk, 1997, pp. 317-329.

<sup>36</sup> Compare: *Charakteristische Giebelbauten und Portale in Danzig aus der Zeit vom 14. bis 18. Jh.*, Westpreuss. Architekten und Ingenieurverein zu Danzig, (ed.), Danzig 1901 and K. Hauke, *Das Bürgerhaus in Ost- und Westpreussen*, Tübingen 1967, pp. 94-114

awareness of and favor given in daily life to moralizing emblems based on classical and biblical themes.<sup>37</sup>

The commercial and cultural relation the Baltic region enjoyed with the Netherlands during the 17th century brought with it an intensive export of various printed publications to Danzig.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the city was a lively and locally important book-publishing center, with rich public libraries like the *Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis* housed in the Gymnasium Academicum and those in the parish church schools; in addition to the private collections amassed by prominent, wealthy citizens.<sup>39</sup> The Gymnasium and the schools provided children with a classical education and, together with the libraries, allowed those required or interested an opportunity to read and study many authors and subjects.<sup>40</sup>

and plates 60-91. For the house itself, see: Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur*, pp. 83, 84; Friedrich, *Gdańskie zabytki architektury*, pp. 260-262; and J. Bielak, "Ikonografia złotej kamienicy na nowo odczytana. O związkach polityki, kultury i sztuki w Gdańsku początku XVII wieku", in *Mieszczanstwo gdańskie*, pp. 337-392.

<sup>37</sup> Contemporary examples were recorded, for example, in a manuscript written by Edward Bergmann of Danzig between 1650 and 1660 in which he noted "...Die Historie so in der große Stube in unserm Hause am Marckt abgemahlt ist aus dem 1. u. 2. Buch Samuelis wie folget...(and)... Im Hause bey der Thür ... Geschichte des Tobias...(and with)...Bacchus, Ceres, Mars, Venus, am Simse abgebildet." Also found were "...Unterschiedliche Biblische Historien u. Emblemata in dem Hause des Hl. Wettern Sehl. George Bergman in der JopenGaße ...(and)... Allerhand Emblemata nebst Wage in den Fenstern des Sommerhauses des Sehl. Eduardt Rudigers, Raht u. Cammer Herrn dieser Stadt, Garten aufm Newgarten Ao 1619 mit Farben gemacht. Darunter nachfolgende Nahmens Seiner Kinder undt gewisse Verse u. dicta stehen..." From a manuscript in the Biblioteka Gdańska – Polska Akademia Nauk (hereafter BGPAN) Ms. 1204, pp. 691 and 695-696. Thanks to Zenobia Pszczółkowska for her assistance in providing me access to this document shortly before the publication deadline.

<sup>38</sup> Today, the Biblioteka Gdańska – Polska Akademia Nauk (Gdańsk Library – Polish Academy of Sciences) formerly the Danzig Stadtbibliothek, still possesses an extremely fine collection of Netherlandish books from this period. See: J. Konst, "Nederlandse literatuur 1576-1756 in de Biblioteka Gdańsk," *Ntg*, In publication.

<sup>39</sup> See: Z. Nowak, "Gdańsk jako ośrodek drukarski i wydawniczy do końca XVIII wieku," *Rocznik Gdański*, 50(1990), nr 1, pp. 129-130, 135-145; M. Pelczar, "Nauka i kultura w Gdańsku," in *Gdańsk: jego dzieje i kultura*, pp. 510-524; M. Babnis and Z. Nowak (eds.), *Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademia Nauk: Dzieje i zbiory*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 12-25; P. Szafran "Z problematyki badawczej studiów nad mieszczańskimi księgozbiorami prywatnymi w Gdańsku XVII-XVIII w.," *Rocznik Gdański*, 31(1971), nr 1, pp. 73-90.

<sup>40</sup> Education was viewed as an essential element in the life of Danzig's citizens during the 16th and 17th centuries in light of the town's role in international commerce and trade. For comments on this aspect of the local attitude, see: M. Bogucka, "Mentalität der Bürger von Gdańsk im XVI – XVII Jh.," *Studia Maritima*, 1(1978), pp. 64-67. Local church schools in the town were the Lutheran St. Mary's, St. Catherine's, St. Bartholomew's and the Calvinist Sts. Peter and Paul's. The Town Council, convinced that the town's children should receive at least a basic education (e.g. even the poor received stipends to attend Sts. Peter and Paul's church school), officially regulated the local school program which

Mid-century educational reforms and the influence of a local scholar, historian, pedagogue, official, King's Secretary, and Gymnasium professor – Joachim Pastorius (1611-1681) promoted, through revised school curricula, the pedagogical theories and publications of Johann Amos Comenius. His popular *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (Wratislaviensis, 1667) was a veritable visual handbook that introduced young students to the language of emblematic imagery.<sup>41</sup>

Danzig authors and poets (often professors at the Gymnasium or erudite patricians) maintained a tradition of writing occasional poems and epigrams presented as heroic panegyrics, with allusions to mythology and ancient history, commemorating the coronations and military victories of Polish kings, as well as for the events and festivities honoring the town's mayors, councilors, and distinguished citizens.<sup>42</sup>

established a curriculum that was both Christian and classical. In addition to subjects of a distinctly religious nature, students obtained a knowledge of German, Latin, Polish, Greek, and Hebrew. Ancient history and philosophy as well as literary works by specified classical authors complimented the program and were required subjects. See: J. Maukisch, *Kurzer Begriff wie die Jugend Kunftig in Gymnasio und andern Schulen dieser Königlichen Stadt Dantzig in der Lateinischen und andern Sprachen auff gleichformige Art sol unterwiesen und gelehret werden. Auff Anordnung der ieszigen Herrn Scholarchen...*, Dantzig 1653, (BGPAN. Adl. 2 in Uph q. 2341 2<sup>o</sup>). For an overview of the town's most important educational institutions, see: P. Simpson, *Aus der Älteren Geschichte des Dantziger Schlulwesens*, Danzig 1903, pp. 1-23; E. Schnaase, *Die Schule in Danzig und ihr Verhältniss zur Kirche*, Danzig 1859, pp. 1-73; Th. Hirsch, *Geschichte der academischen Gymnasiums in Danzig*, Danzig 1837, pp. 24-51; Z. Nowak and P. Szafran (eds). *Księga wpisów uczniów gimnazjum gdańskiego 1580-1814*, Warszawa and Poznań 1974, pp. 6-25; P. Simpson, *Geschichte der Schule zu St. Petri und Pauli in Danzig: Die Kirchen- und Lateinschule, 1436-1817*, vol. 1, Danzig 1904, pp. 36-60; W. Faber, *Die Johannischule in Danzig vom Mittelalter bis zum Jahre 1824*, Danzig 1925, pp. 21-75 and 87-109; and more current: L. Mokrzecki, "Nauka i oświata w życiu gdańskich mieszczan. Wybrane zagadnienia z XVII-XVIII wieku," in *Mieszczanstwo gdańskie*, pp. 261-270. Many thanks to Jan Krzemiński – Biblioteka Gdańska for showing me the Gymnasium students' register publication and his continuing interest in my research.

<sup>41</sup> Among the highly visual didactic material presented are particular lessons with rudimentary multi-language texts for reading and interpreting selected common allegories and emblems. See: J. A. Comenius, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus. Hoc est omnium fundamentatum in mindorerum & in vita actionum...Latino-Gallico-Germanico-Polonico...*, Wratislaviensis 1667, pp. 277, 280-281, 284, 288, 290, 294, 296 and 300. For a background: L. Mokrzecki, "Pastorius ab Hirtenberg, Joachim," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 25, Warszawa etc., 1980, pp. 261-165; K. Kubik, *Joachim Pastorius. Gdański pedagog XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1970, pp. 149ff esp., 141-143, 146, 150 and L. Mokrzecki, "Jan Amos Komeński w Prusach Królewskich. Próba analizy," *Rocznik Gdański*, 53(1993), nr. 2, pp. 54-60. I thank Hans-Joachim Müller of Mainz for introducing me to Comenius' work and pointing out the connection with Pastorius.

<sup>42</sup> E. Kotarski, "Die Danziger Literatur im 17. Jahrhundert. Eine Übersicht," *Studia Germanica Gedanensia*, 2(1994), pp. 23-43 and *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku*, Gdańsk 1993, pp. 105-143, 152-188, 189-286, 287-302.

These literary traditions manifested in grand public celebrations with an “antique” flavor honoring the victories of Jan III Sobieski at Chocim and Vienna as well as the entry of the royal couple into Danzig. Ephemeral festival decorations like highly ornamented triumphal arches and spectacular fireworks with classical motifs and allegorical personifications were all enhanced by special emblematic ornamentation.<sup>43</sup> And amateur theatrical performances, like those presented by the local guilds for feast days, would engage in a consciously classical mood – complete with roles for allegorical personifications played by the members themselves.<sup>44</sup> Special illustrated prints, often with emblematic imagery, commemorated major events in the public and personal lives of the town’s prominent inhabitants – from marriages to funerals.<sup>45</sup>

Even surviving personal papers and mementos like the *album amicorum* or *Stammbuch* show a familiarity with this European custom in pages filled with copies of Latin inscriptions taken from public buildings or funerary epigrams from tombs, draft word-emblems, and lovely hand-drawn illustrations on classical, biblical, and *vanitas* themes that are fully allegorical and emblematic in nature.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Contemporary published descriptions of the celebrations, engravings, and even some original copper-plates of the decorations for Sobieski’s Victory of Chocim (1673), Coronation (1676), Entry into Danzig (1677), and the Battle of Vienna (1683) exist today in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The engraved emblems were illustrated and clearly identified along the margins around the main represented image. E. Kotarski, *Muza gdańska Janowi Sobieskiemu, 1673-1696*, Wrocław 1985, pp. 5-56. Thanks to Dr. Małgorzata Czerwińska, Gdańsk for sharing her knowledge and observations of the literary conventions and aspects regarding sources mentioned in this publication.

<sup>44</sup> An account of such an event is taken from a notebook (dated 1662-75) of Georg Schröder, a city councilman, and reads as follows: “Von der Schnitzker Fastnacht =Auffzuge...Den 17 Febr. A. 1670 habe die Schnitzker einen stattlichen Festnacht Aufzug gehalten. Für erst ist ein Capitain gegangen mit einem Plüßner Rock, deme seind gefolget 2 Wilde Männer mit einem außgekleidetem Bahren. Für andere ist die Stärcke kom(m)en mit allem Schnitzker gerattschafft. Hernach die Vier Jahres Zeiten, ein Schäffer und Schäfferinen die das Holtz gelobet. Fürs Dritte, ist die Justitia kom(m)en mit dem Lichte, und ist die Controversie ventiliret word(en) Ob die Gesellen bey Licht sollen arbeiten, und ist das licht verdampf word(en). Fürs Vierdte ist gekom(m)en die Hoffnung und Zuletz ist die rolle Bancke getragen worden, darauff der Baur behobelt word(en). Sie haben aber die ganze Woche gespielet in der Breit=Gaße in der Callenbachschen Hause, da sie ein Theatrum bereitet, und viel gelt eingenommen haben.” BGPAN, Ms. 673, p. 125 r.

<sup>45</sup> A. Kurkow, *Grafika ilustracyjna gdańskich druków okolicznościowych XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1979, etc., pp. 22-52, 53-133, 158-120.

<sup>46</sup> Very few of the undoubtedly once numerous examples still exist. Compare, respectively, manuscripts from the Biblioteka Gdańska like: Ms. Orthm. fol. 92a (late 17th century), pp. 1-2, 7-10; Ms. 673 (dated c. 1662-75), pp. 3v, 14r, 23v-34v; Ms. 1138 (dated c. 1672-84), pp. 65, 93, 159, 172-173, 178-179, 185, 187; and the *Stammbuch* of Salomon Möller – Ms. 2509 (c.1662-67), p. 197v. This last work was published by O. Günther, “Westpreussische Stammbücher der Danziger Stadtbibliothek,” *Mitteilungen des Westpreussische Geschichtsverein*, 8(1909), pp. 38-41. For the tradition of *alba amicora* and *Stammbücher*

Finally, the town had some rather interesting early private collections which continued the Town Council's tradition of artistic patronage. Because Danzig's patricians often travelled or were educated abroad they returned with their newly acquired knowledge, taste, and souvenirs which broadened and enriched their already international artistic sensibilities.<sup>47</sup> Although the precise contents of many collections is unclear, it seems inevitable that they contained minor objects or antiquities and classically-inspired contemporary works commonly purchased by travellers abroad.<sup>48</sup> Such works re-

in general, see P. Amelung, "Die Stammbücher des 16./17. Jahrhunderts als Quelle der Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte," in *Zeichnung in Deutschland: Deutsche Zeichner 1540-1646*, Stuttgart 1980, 2, pp. 211-222.

<sup>47</sup> For an overview of the educational travels of Danzig students, see: B. Nadolski, "Wyjazdy młodzieży gdańskiej na studia zagraniczne w XVII wieku," *Rocznik Gdański*, 24(1965), pp. 173-217 and K. Kubik, "Habitants de Gdańsk en Voyage d'Études Universitaires a l'Étranger au XVIIe Siecle," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, 88(1989), pp. 55-69. Contemporary travel diaries included practical and informative personal accounts of journeys taken by Danzig patricians. Mentioned only briefly by A.R. Chodyński, "Najdawniejsze zbiory dzieł sztuki w Gdańsku," *Gdańskie Studia Muzealne*, 3(1981), pp. 261-262, are the descriptions by Georg Schröder and Nathanael Schröder who traveled rather extensively throughout Europe in the mid-17th century. These contain specific notes on: the mode of transportation used, along with towns and cities visited, mileage and length of time required to travel, the art and architecture seen with exhaustive commentary on Rome and the Vatican that indicates a true knowledge and appreciation of the objects they observed. See, *Kurze Beschreibung einer volnbrachten Reisen durch Deutschland, Frankreich, Italien und Niederland, biß nach Danzig*, (MS. 925a) and *Fragmentum der Reise=Beschreibung Georgii Schröders Dantisciani*, in *Pastoria Consulij Ao 1703 d. fato functi*, (MS. 925). Both manuscripts are now in the Biblioteka Gdańska – Polish Academy of Sciences.

<sup>48</sup> An illustrative example, though somewhat later, is a certain Samuel Huwaerts. During his visit to Venice, Rome, and Naples in 1735 and 1736 he not only paid entrance fees to view the renown art treasures in churches, palaces, and gardens; but also purchased objects which he recorded in his travel log along with costs such as: "...alte Bücher, ... Estampe, ...4 Antique Schildereyen, ...Clavecin, ...ein aegyptischen Kopf, ...(books or prints of?) Roma antica ...(and)... moderna, ...marmora, ...ein geschnittene Stein in silber, ... 8 Messingene Idola und 2 Steine, ...ein Cupido von Helfenbein, ...2 Stück Jaspis, ... bey dem mosaique Arbeiter, ...ein Mahler vors Bild, ...Antiquitäten..." Selected popular graphic prints of the cities and monuments he visited are inserted between the pages of the books and include: the Arches of Constantine and Vespasian and several as yet unidentified prints of ancient reliefs. For these notations and the gentleman-traveler's thoughts on the benefits of travel: *Herrn Samuel Huwaerts aus Danzig Reise=Tabellen von Jahr MDCCXXV und MDCCXVI...Dem Wohl Edlen und Wohlgelehrten Hern Samuel Huwaert Juris Utruisque Studioso. Seinen unerwündet lehrbegierungen auditori und Liebreichen Reise=Gefährten übergiebt Diese Geographisch, Historisch, Oeconomische Reise=Tabellen zum geneigten Andencken und Kunfftigen Erin(n)erung des nutzbar geführten Reise*. C.G. Fischer, (BGPAN Ms. Uph. fol. 167 and 170), respectively, pp. 2rff; and pp. 21r, 24r-26r, 27r, 35r-v, 36v, 49, 50r, 50v, 51v, 52r, and 52v. The most locally celebrated work from antiquity, now in the Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk (Inv. nr. MNG/SD/237/RZ), a stone *Head of Apollo* or *Harpocrates*, (1st. cent. AD) may be typical of such "souvenirs" and is discussed in: *Aurea Porta*, catalogue volume, pp. 246-247.

flected the taste of the town's patriciate class, and if available to the artist, would have contributed to his knowledge of antique art.<sup>49</sup>

By the last quarter of the 17th century a new classicizing trend in art and architecture also became evident. The palace-like King's Royal Chapel, founded by Jan III Sobieski in 1678,<sup>50</sup> introduced a new style to Danzig's traditional Renaissance cityscape – Netherlandish baroque classicism.<sup>51</sup> The building's monumental proportions, central plan, and classical orders, recall structures by Italian architects like Vignola, Palladio, and Scamozzi; as well as the Netherlanders Pieter Post and Jacob van Campen.<sup>52</sup> The style was characteristic of Sobieski's Polish Catholic reign,<sup>53</sup> and diffused throughout Poland by the Dutch-born architect Tilman van Gameren (1632-1706),<sup>54</sup> who was once thought to have designed the Royal Chapel himself.<sup>55</sup> The sculptural decorations on this small, but

<sup>49</sup> For a survey of patronage, see: J. Wojtowicz, "Miejskie inwestycje kulturalne w Prusach Królewskich XVI-XVIII wieku," *Zapiski Historyczne*, 43(1978), nr. 2, pp. 31-33, 37-38; L. Krzyżanowski, "Rozwój nowożytnego mecenatu mieszczańskiego w Gdańsku w XVI w.," in *Funkcja dzieła sztuki: Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Szczecin 1970*, Warszawa 1972, pp. 185-192; and M. Bogucka, "Mieszczanin a inwestycje kulturalne (przykład Gdańska w XVI-XVII wieku)," *Zapiski Historyczne*, 43(1978), nr. 3, pp. 53-63. The influx of European culture and learning in Danzig, through travel and education, is discussed by: L. Mokrzecki, "Kontakty artystyczne i naukowe Gdańska z zagranicą w XVI-XVIII wieku," in *Rozprawy z dziejów XVIII wieku: Z dziejów komunikacji społecznej epoki nowożytnej*, J. Wojtowicz (ed.), Toruń 1993, pp. 79-90. For the collectors and collections: H. Sikorska, "Jan Speyman. Szkice z dziejów mecenatu gdańskiej sztuki XVI i XVII wieku," *Rocznik Gdański*, 27(1968), pp. 249-285; A.R. Chodyński, "Najdawniejsze zbiory," pp. 239-265 and again in, "Elitarność osobowości na przykładzie gdańskich kolekcjonerów XVI-XVIII wieku," in *Mieszczanstwo gdańskie*, pp. 413-418.

<sup>50</sup> Compare: R. Curicke, *Der Stadt Danzig. Historische Beschreibung*, Amsterdam and Danzig, 1687, (facsimile ed., Hamburg 1979), p. 321; B. Ranisch, *Beschreibung aller Kirchen Gebäude der Stadt Danzig*, Danzig 1695, p. 18; L. Redner, *Skizzen aus der Kirchengeschichte Danzigs*, Danzig 1875; and ks. S. Bogdanowicz, *Kaplica Królewska w Gdańsku*, Gdańsk 1992, pp. 4-24 and 75-78.

<sup>51</sup> C. Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, Berlin 1891, p. 15 and Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur*, p. 113.

<sup>52</sup> B. Luck, "Die Königliche Kapelle in Danzig," *Die Denkmalpflege*, 22(1920), nr. 5, p. 35; J. Wrabec, "Kaplica Królewska w Gdańsku. Rodowód, pokrewieństwa oraz wymowa form architektonicznych," *Porta Aurea Rocznik*, 2(1993), pp. 15-30; B. Noworyta-Kuklińska, "Kaplica Królewska w Gdańsku. Fakty i wątpliwości," *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 42(1994), nr. 4, pp. 165-174.

<sup>53</sup> A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1980, pp. 396ff and Th. DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1480-1800*, London 1995, p. 285.

<sup>54</sup> Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska*, pp. 349ff. The standard monograph on the architect, recently published in German, is: S. Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren. Leben und Werk*, Munich and Berlin 1994.

<sup>55</sup> The Chapel's attribution to Tilman was already suspect and recently re-questioned. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska*, pp. 423-424 and S. Mossakowski, "Nowe identyfikacje projektów rysunkowych Tylmana z Gameren (Puławy, Ujazdów, Łazienki) i domnie-

imposing, church have been traditionally attributed to the young Andreas Schlüter though without documentation.<sup>56</sup> In any case, motifs with putti often enveloped in florid acanthus-leaf garlands and foliage came to the fore,<sup>57</sup> like those in the Main Town Hall's painted ceiling, carved wooden portal, and spiral staircase in the *Main Staircase Hall* (c. 1680-85); the pulpit at St. Brigittes Church (dated 1696); and the later *Masons, Stonecutters, and Sculptors Guild Bench* in St. John's Church (c. 1700-10).<sup>58</sup>

Even the city's renown gold and silversmith craftsmen had taken up similar representations and perfected them to an outstandingly high quality on tankards, plates, and beakers. Among them were tankards with antique coin-like medallion portraits of Jan III Sobieski as a Roman emperor, acanthus-leaf motifs, "all'antica" relief scenes from classical mythology as well as ancient and biblical history, fashionable il Fiammingo-style putti, and emblematic designs often derived from printed sources.<sup>59</sup>

mane studia architektoniczne Tytusa Liwiusza Burattiniego," in *Między Padwą a Zamościem. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury nowożytniej ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Kowalczykowi*, M. and W. Boberski, et als (eds.), Warszawa 1993, pp. 211-212.

<sup>56</sup> Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, p. 15; Cuny, *Danzigs Kunst und Kultur*, p. 113; H. Kondziela, "Kaplica Królewska w Gdańsku i jej twórcy," *Studia Pomorskie*, 2(1957), pp. 323ff; W. Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig. St. Nikolai, St. Joseph, Königliche Kapelle, Hl. Leichnam, St. Salvator*, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1959, p. 185; and Kondziela and Fijałkowski, "Die Kunstlerische Tätigkeit Andreas Schlüters," pp. 271-272.

<sup>57</sup> Pałubicki, *Marmurowa rzeźba architektoniczna*, p. 47.

<sup>58</sup> The Town Hall's carved and painted decorations were a good example of this new trend. The style and execution of the portal (c.1680's) in the entrance hall were similar to the kind of classicizing themes and maritime motifs at the Amsterdam Town Hall popularized by the engravings found in H. Quellinus' *Van de voornaemste statuen ende ciraten, vant konstrijck Stadthuys van Amsteldam, tmeeste in maermer gemaect, door Artus Quellinus, beelthouwer der voorsejde stadt*, (2 vols.), Amsterdam, 1665-1668. Two carved doors and a window frame, remnants from the Constantin Ferber house in Langen Gasse, showed emblematic figural groups and ornamental motifs like Quellinus' Netherlandish baroque classicism. Later ecclesiastical examples show the pervasiveness (and variety in treatment) of the acanthus motif and its inclusion in local decorative schemes. Vernacular applications were once used on richly carved stone balustrades (from the Franzius-Hause Beischlag at Langen Gasse) and the staircase banisters in the house at Langen Markt 20 (after c. 1680). For the Danzig Town Hall, see: Domagala, "Wnętrza reprezentacyjnego piętra," pp. 44-45 and more on the Amsterdam Town Hall sculptures, K. Freemantle, *Beelden Kijken: de kunst van Quellien in het paleis op de dam*, Amsterdam, 1977. The church decorations were noted by W. Drost, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig: Sankt Johann in Danzig*, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1957, pp. 110-112 and illustrations; and for St. Brigittes see Drost's, *Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Danzig*, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1972, pp. 199-200 and illustration 170. And for other domestic, civic, and church interiors see, *Danziger Barock*, Frankfurt/Main 1909, plates 1-4, 7-9, 11, 14, 17, 19, 20 and 30; and *Deutsche Wohn- und Festräume aus Sechs Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt/Main 1912, plates 80, 104, 105.

<sup>59</sup> See, D. Nowacki, "Gdańskie złotnictwo XVII wieku – próba charakterystyki," in *Sztuka XVII wieku w Polsce*, pp. 233-248; T. Grzybkowska, "Antykizacja w złotnictwie gdańskim," pp. 249-264; and B. Tuchołka-Włodarska, *Danziger Silber: Die Schätze des Nationalmuseums Gdańsk*, A. Lohr (ed.), Bremen 1991, pp. 56-78.



9. After Andreas Schlüter or Workshop? *The Four Corners of the Earth – Asia*. Langen Markt 7/8, Danzig. (Destroyed)

François Duquesnoy's (il Fiammingo) beloved and internationally popular putti-prototypes may have been known in Danzig from copies, due to the port city's commercial and artistic contacts with the Netherlands, as evidenced by a silver tankard (c. 1680-1700) by Christian Pichgiel I with putti in a landscape (Fig. 10) much akin to Sobieski's own taste for the Duquesnoy-style putti decorating the stucco ceilings of his Wilanów palace, near Warsaw.<sup>60</sup> In Danzig proper, similar motifs once decorated a stucco ceiling (now destroyed) at Langen Markt 7/8 (Fig. 9) that emphasize the presence of Duquesnoy's Netherlandish classicism in

<sup>60</sup> Kondziela and Fijałkowski, "Die künstlerische Tätigkeit Andreas Schlüters," pp. 274-276 and M. Fabiański, "Trzy kopie płaskorzeźb Fiamminga w Muzeum Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Uwaga o sposobach recepcji działmistrza sztuce baroku," *Opuscula Musealia: Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, (1988) nr. 3, pp. 77-79; and Tuchołka-Włodarska, *Danziger Silber*, pp. 68-69. Schlüter's name was linked by Mańkowski to the Wilanów stuccos in the Great Hall and the King's Bedchamber although not without disagreement, cf: T. Mańkowski, "Prace Schlütera w Wilanowie," *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, 8(1939), nr. 1, pp. 151ff. and Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 166-180, especially 171ff; and DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schluter's Fate," p. 202.



10. Christian Pichgiel I. *Tankard with Putti*, (c. 1680-1700). Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk



11. Andreas Haidt. *Tankard with Scenes of the Persian Wars*, (c. 1680-1700). Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk



12. Ernst Kadau II. *Silver Beaker with Kephisos and Narcissus*, (before 1679). Muzeum Narodowe, Gdańsk

the city, have been attributed to Schlüter or after his design, and even compared to those at Wilanów.<sup>61</sup>

Antique histories on another tankard in the National Museum, Gdańsk (c. 1680-1700) illustrate the *Battle of Issus* and *Alexander at the Tent of Darius' Wife and Mother* that are masterful compositions created by Andreas Haidt (c. 1661 – after 1735). The themes are considered to be standard allegories of heroism, courage, virtue, and mercy taken from writings by ancient authors – but still within the moralizing tendencies of Protestant Danzig, and which were readily available from the curriculum at the Gymnasium Academicum.<sup>62</sup> (Fig. 11) Another vessel now in Castle Huis Doorn, Holland, bearing an extremely beautiful, antique-like figural relief by Haidt from about the same period has a scene of *Actaeon at the Bath of Diana* (1686-1700) taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>63</sup> And a similar classicizing scene on a beaker with *Narcissus and his Father the River God Kephisos* done by Ernst Kadau II (before 1679) is again from Ovid and is of a particularly fine quality. (Fig. 12) Might Schlüter have seen these works and been influenced by their strident antique-like manner? Most probably, yes. For "Oberbaudirektor" Schlüter called Haidt to Berlin in 1702,<sup>64</sup> along with Schlüter's alleged master

<sup>61</sup> The destroyed ceiling reliefs showing the *Four Corners of the Earth* were noted before World War II by Irmgard Koska who first forwarded the attribution and which was upheld by post-war scholars. Kühn supposed a dating to just before the artist's Warsaw period. Peschken compared the decorative elements and compositional similarities to ceilings from the Berlin Schloss. He suggested a later dating (c. 1700 or after) and this argument is among the most convincing. See: I. Koska, "Eine barocke Stuckdecke im Hause Langer Markt 7/8," *Weichselland: Mitteilungen des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, 37(1938) nr. 1, pp. 4-7; Kondziela and Fijałkowski, "Die künstlerische Tätigkeit Andreas Schlüters," pp. 268, 271 and illustrations 60-61; Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," pp. 107-109; G. Peschken "Beobachtungen zu Schlüter," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, 23(1978), p. 65.

<sup>62</sup> Tuchołka-Włodarska, *Danziger Silber*, pp. 67-68.

<sup>63</sup> H. Schadt and I. Schneider, *Kaiserliches Gold und Silber: Schätze der Hohenzollern aus dem Schloss Huis Doorn*, Berlin 1985, p. 56 and illustration.

<sup>64</sup> Haidt was born in Augsburg, came to Danzig c. 1685, and stayed until his invitation to Berlin. There, he created the *Fortuna* statue (after Schlüter's designs?) intended for the ill-fated Münzturm but which was later placed atop the cupola at Schloss Charlottenburg. Haidt was meant to execute copper reliefs for the Berlin Royal Palace Main Portal (Portal III) with historical reliefs and allegorical personifications and he finished the great silver chandelier in the Paradezimmer. He was also "adjunctus" at the Berlin Academy of Arts (1702-13). In 1712-13, he was paid for work on "...Schilderey-Rähme zu der neuen Kunst Gallerie" at the Palace (Pr.G. St. A.Rep. Gen.Dir. Kassen-Depart. Chatoulcassensachen 9). See: "Haid, Andreas," *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, U. Thieme and F. Becker (eds.), vol. 15, Leipzig 1922, p. 483; I. Rembowska, *Gdański cech złotników od XIV do końca XVIII w.*, Gdańsk 1971, p. 205. Documents from the Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (APG) include, for Haidt: Danzig goldsmiths guild records (APG 300,C/1965, p. 10) and cited by Rembowska. My own research includes: his *Bürgerbrief* dated September 1685 (APG 300,60/2581, Mikr. E-26818) and his citizenship record acquired 11 March

Christoph Sapovius (? – c.1710) who was himself related by marriage to a prominent local goldsmith's family,<sup>65</sup> to assist Schlüter in the Berlin Stadtschloss project for Friedrich III/I.<sup>66</sup>

1690 from the Danzig *Bürgerbuch, 1577-1732* (APG 300,60/5, p. 266). Haidt was also listed in the Wette Gericht records in 1690 for non-citizen status just two days prior to his obtaining citizenship (APG 300,58/10, p. 1113). He was a witness at a baptism on 15 II 1688 at St. John's church (APG 352/4, p. 507) and at St. Mary's on 9 IV 1690, (APG 354/320, p. 82).

<sup>65</sup> Sapovius, from the Pfalz ("palatinus" according to the documents) appeared in Danzig c.1680 where he is first recorded at Danzig's reformed church of St. Elisabeth. Nicolai and later writers claimed he was the young Schlüter's master. Sapovius was never a local guild member or master since he is not listed in the records there. He probably practiced his profession (even as a woodcarver?) outside this organization. Schlüter called Sapovius to Berlin, along with Haidt, to assist at the Royal Palace project, but no works by him are known today. When Sapovius' daughter Concordia was married in 1711, he was listed as "kgl. bildhauers" in the marriage records at St. Dorothea's, Berlin. He may even have been related by marriage to one of the Kadau goldsmiths (?) for his wife, Concordia, was born a "Cadau" according to the St. Elizabeth church books. Historian Erich Keyser published these records before the war but afterwards some disappeared and others were deposited in the Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin. Additional research into Sapovius' Danzig years will hopefully clarify this possible relationship. See: F. Nicolai, *Nachrichten von den Baumeistern, Bildhauern...und andern Kuenstlern...in und um Berlin*, Berlin and Stettin, 1786, p. 102; H. Ladendorf, "Sapovius, David/Johann/Christoph," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, U. Thieme and F. Becker (eds.), vol. 29, Leipzig 1936, p. 458; E. Keyser, "Alte und neue Beiträge zur Andreas Schlüter Forschung," *Altpreussischen Geschlechterkunde*, 2(1928), p. 53. For the Kadau family: D. Weichbrodt, *Patrizier, Bürger, Einwohner der Freien Hansestadt Danzig*, vol. 2, Klausdorf and Schwentine 1990, p. 477. Existing archival documents, published and unpublished, for Sapovius were noted by Keyser in the *St. Elisabethkirche Com[m]unicanten, 1684-1730* (APG 351/13), references including his wife on pages: 17, 26, 51, 185, 250, 271 and a baptismal record from the same church (APG 351/6) with a "Catharina Kadauen" as witness (p. 354). The other records, with references to Sapovius' origins and some daughters who were baptized, once found in Books 7, 10, and 12 are now missing or in the Evangelisches Zentralarchiv, Berlin. Before publication of this article, my own research in the Gdańsk archive yielded further, previously unknown, evidence of the elusive Sapovius' presence as an artist in Danzig. Preliminary investigation of the main town "Acta der E. Wette" shows a record of three men and "...Christoff Sapovius...(Bildhauers)...welche aller sich bey dieser Stadt nehmen, und aber keine Bürgere sind, mit bitte, sie deßwegen zustraffen; ...und...sind sie in die ordentliche strafe condemniret worden...Actum den 2 Martij Ao 1684." (APG 300,58/8, p. 404). Subsequent references to him occur in the same documents between 1686 and 1701. My further detailed investigation of these documents has uncovered more references to his presence in the town and will be published in *Morze zjawisk*, 2(1999).

<sup>66</sup> Ladendorf reported that both artists were issued passes in Berlin undersigned by Schlüter. (Preussisches Geheimes Staatsarchiv Rep. 9 EE. Personalpasse). They were noted as either working on the Berlin Schloss or listed together with Schlüter (and family) in baptismal/marriage records in local churches. Moreover, since the names of both Sapovius and Haidt appear in the Danzig city records beginning from about the years 1680/85 (see notes 64 and 65 above) Schlüter could have met them in Danzig around this time or later.

Even after having left Danzig for Warsaw – the capital of the Polish *Rzeczypospolita* – Schlüter would have been cognizant of the European classical tradition and familiar with many of its themes, images, and motifs. The capital's cultural milieu would have reinforced his understanding of the antique with its concentration of native Italian, French, and Polish masters who had been trained abroad. Among the Italian architects were Agostino Locci the Younger (Jan Sobieski's court architect), Giuseppe Simone Belotti, and Giuseppe Piola.<sup>67</sup> Italian painters conveying southern forms north of the Alps were Michelangelo Palloni from Florence,<sup>68</sup> and the Comasque Francesco Antonio Giorgioli.<sup>69</sup> Teams of stuccoists active at that time, often specialized in either figural or decorative work, count among them craftsmen such as Ambrogio Gutti, Carlo Giuseppe Giorgioli, Francesco Maino,<sup>70</sup> and a number of unidentified masters as well.<sup>71</sup> French artists like painter Claude Callot, nephew of Jacques Callot, decorated Wilanów and other royal residences between 1676-1686,<sup>72</sup> and engraver Carol de la Haye (1641? – after 1712) whose connections to Danzig, Sobieski, and Schlüter may be a very telling one.<sup>73</sup>

Significantly Schlüter either began and maintained or eventually established contact with these Danzig colleagues even after his Warsaw years. Ladendorf, *Andreas Schlüter*, pp. 5, 6, 7, 78, 111 (note 21), 112 (notes 29-31), 158 (note 110), 166-7, 168, 169-170 (notes 79, 81, 86, 89).

<sup>67</sup> For the Italians or Italo-Polish architects in Warsaw see: M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 53-59, 153-158.

<sup>68</sup> Palloni, who was extremely successful in Warsaw, painted in a style primarily following after Pietro da Cortona. M. Karpowicz, *Działalność artystyczna Michelangela Palloniego w Polsce*, Warszawa 1967, pp. 11-85, 97-114 and 142-159.

<sup>69</sup> Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 225-231.

<sup>70</sup> Some were relatives of other painters, like Francesco Antonio Giorgioli's brother Carlo. Others, like architect Giuseppe, also worked in stucco. *Ibid.*, pp. 163-165, 190-198.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 165-189.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 254-256.

<sup>73</sup> Highlights from De la Haye's professional career and mention of certain colleagues may prove worth recounting here. If he is the same artist who was born in Fontainebleau in 1641, he may have been in Rome where he met Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski who had been sent there to study by King Jan Sobieski. By 1682, the Frenchman was in Danzig. Here he collaborated with Andreas Stech and produced engravings for the *Prodromus Astronomiae* and *Firmamentum Sobiescianum* published in 1690 by Johann Hevelius. De la Haye appeared in Warsaw around 1689-91 according to documents and worked with Siemiginowski on various engraving projects after the painter's designs with Jan Sobieski as an antique hero: *Apotheosis of Jan III or Equestrian Portrait of Jan III at Vienna* (c. 1692) and *Portrait of Jan III in Antique Armor* (1692). He also engraved the title-page for B. Ranisch, *Beschreibung aller Kirchen-gebäude der Stadt Danzig*, Danzig 1695. See: *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, U. Thieme and F. Becker, (eds.), vol. 22, Leipzig 1928, p. 224 and A. Gosieniecka, "Haye de la... Karol," in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 9, Wrocław, etc. 1960-61, pp. 321-322. Karpowicz rightly pointed out that he maintained his Danzig contacts for he re-appeared there in connection with

Local artists like Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski and Jan Reisner sent to the Academia di S. Luca in Rome by Sobieski distinguished themselves among their foreign colleagues there before returning home.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, Netherlandish architecture in Warsaw was characterized by architect Tilman van Gameren's Dutch baroque creations,<sup>75</sup> and a partiality to Netherlandish classicizing sculptures by the Danzig artist Stefan Schwaner and other stylistically antique-like works at Wilanów either done by (or at least similar to) those from the workshops of Artus and Thomas Quellinus and/or Ludovicus Willemsens.<sup>76</sup>

Indeed, in the last quarter of the 17th century, Warsaw's noble patrons, painters, sculptors, and stucco artists had at least a fundamental knowledge of major ancient Roman monuments and sculptures. And while no extensive collections of antiquities existed in Poland at that time, except those contemporary but classically-inspired sculptures at Jan III Sobieski's Wilanów Palace near Warsaw,<sup>77</sup> the palace gate itself

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Barthel Ranisch in 1695. These contacts may prove significant. For on 3 January in the previous year, 1694, his second wife Catharina (née Colson) had stood as witness for the baptism of David, son of "...Andreas Slitter Sculptore et Elisabetha Spangen Bergrin..." in Warsaw's Holy Cross Church. See: Grundmann and Schellenberg, *Warschau*, p. 125; Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 142-149, especially 145, 148 and Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski: *Malarz polskiego baroku*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 22, 47-49, 135-137, 139-142. For Hevelius' interest in the arts and his illustrated publications, see K. Targosz, *Jan Heweliusz: Uczony-artysta*, Wrocław 1986, pp. 66-85; and the De la Haye Danzig and Warsaw prints: Kurkowa, *Grafika ilustracyjna gdańskich druków*, pp. 98-197; H. Widacka, *Jan III Sobieski w grafice XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 24-26, 111-114, (ill. 89-90); and I. Takimowicz, *Pięć wieków grafiki polskiej*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 31, 336, 395.

<sup>74</sup> These two artist both received first prizes in the competition of 1682. Siemiginowski for painting (in Class I) and Reisner for architecture (although he was studying painting). The former was a royal protégé and completed commissions for Sobieski's royal palaces like Wilanów between 1686-1696. Reisner's work is also found here and continues the academic classicism of later 17th century Italian and French painting. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 108-125; and Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski, pp. 14-22 and "Jan Reisner: Zapomniany malarz i architekt," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 21(1959), nr. 1, pp. 70-83.

<sup>75</sup> Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 41-52; Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska*, pp. 349-395; and Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, pp. 77-98, 99-154, 156-187, 203, 205-215, 218-228, 237-250, and 251-264.

<sup>76</sup> Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 82-97, 198-207; W. Fijałkowski, *Wilanów. Rezydencja króla zwycięzcy*, Warszawa 1983, pp. 11-15, 30-31, 38-39, 41-42, 46-46; S. Androssov, "Werke von Thomas Quellinus in Russland und Polen," in *Studien zur barocken Garten-sculptur*, K. Kalinowski (ed.), Poznań 1999, pp. 97ff, especially 108-116; and DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," p. 202. An overview of Schlüter's role within this milieu and enlightening observations on Polish art and culture during Sobieski's reign, seen from a European context, is discussed in: DaCosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister and City*, pp. 283-289.

<sup>77</sup> Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 82-97, 198-207; and S. Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, p. 298.

perfectly exemplifies this trend – complete with its trophy-reliefs and allegorical figures of Victory and Mars Ultor (the Avenger of his brother's and maternal grandfather's deaths at the hands of the Turks) that may have even utilized ancient coins to create this *porta triumphalis*.<sup>78</sup>

The Polish King also attempted to establish his own art academy at the palace, maintain a high artistic standard in the capital and, as was noted, send talented local artists abroad to Rome.<sup>79</sup> Whether Schlüter was, prior to or during his years in Warsaw, among those artists compelled to embark upon his own study abroad or selected by the court for travel to perfect his knowledge of ancient sculpture is impossible to determine without documentation. Certainly, such trips were undertaken by many artists who made the long journey to major art centers and it was so hypothesized for Schlüter.<sup>80</sup>

Sojourns abroad during the sculptor's pre-Berlin period were, however, neither a prerequisite nor especially vital for his mastery of antique and classicizing prototypes. And although the question remains about Schlüter's precise debt to Netherlandish Baroque classical models (either direct or indirect) like Duquesnoy and the Quellinus family or to Italian art like Bernini,<sup>81</sup> in this case an appropriate but difficult one, the current study intends to focus on the sculptor's general understanding of the style and more immediate means of acquiring themes and motifs rather than his assimilation of it. In any case, despite the lack of substantial

<sup>78</sup> M. D. Kossowski, "Tradycja antyku w Wilanowskiej 'Porta Triumphalis' czasów Jana III," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 57(1995), nr. 1-2, pp. 53-65, especially 61-62 and 65, note 68.

<sup>79</sup> T. Mańkowski, "Szkola malarska w Wilanowie za Jana III," *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Wydziału III Nauk Historycznych, Społecznych i Filozoficznych*, Warszawa 1950, pp. 5-9 and "Malarstwo na dworze Jana III," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 12(1950), pp. 201-288. For an overview of Italian artists at Sobieski's court, see: W. Fijałkowski, "L'arte e gli artisti italiani alla corte di Jan III Sobieski," in *Polonia - Italia: Relazioni artistiche dal medioevo al XVIII secolo. Atti del convegno tenutosi a Roma 21-22 maggio 1975*. Wrocław 1979, pp. 83-116.

<sup>80</sup> For Schlüter's conjectured early trip to France before the Berlin years, see: Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, p. 81. These hypothetical trips to Italy and France and their influence on the artist's works, mentioned by Benkard, Mańkowski, Ladendorf, Karpowicz, Peschken, and Kühn, are questioned in: DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," pp. 201, 202 and notes 11, 20. Practical information about possible travel abroad for the artist could be obtained from existing 17th century travel descriptions (cf. notes 47-48).

<sup>81</sup> Gurlitt was among the first to point out the influence of Netherlandish and Italian classicism on the art of Schlüter's milieu, Gurlitt, *Andreas Schlüter*, pp. 16-27. Among the more current post-war literature on this aspect see: E. Redslob, "Andreas Schlüter und die Plastik der Niederlande," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 11(1955), nr. 1-2, pp. 89-96; Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," pp. 108, 110, 112-113; and DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," pp. 201-203.

collections containing Greek and Roman antiquities in Warsaw, local foreign-trained artists might have easily obtained images of them through engravings copied after originals or published illustrations of contemporary sculptures done in the antique manner like those at Versailles.<sup>82</sup> It is very probable that most antique-inspired sources for sculpture in Warsaw came predominantly from prints.<sup>83</sup> Influence and use of such printed sources was known in the Polish capital and artists like Schlüter, who himself had a large library by the end of his life,<sup>84</sup> could have readily consulted their own engraved books, prints, and drawings or perhaps those of their colleagues and patrons.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Warsaw artists need not have necessarily made pilgrimages to Rome or Paris to acquire a knowledge of such ancient originals and modern, classically-inspired prototypes.

Such creative resourcefulness and its resultant application is found in the *Jakub Sobieski Tomb's* allegorical personification of *Justice*. (Fig. 3) In this figure, Margarete Kühn perceived Schlüter's familiarity with Roman art, not only through knowledge of 16th and 17th century contemporary printed sources and a "maniera greca," but also in a style found in his female types recalling those like Duquesnoy's *St. Susanna* (1630-33) in S. Maria di Loreto, Rome.<sup>86</sup> Certainly, "il Fiammingo's" widely popular classical style had already been noted by Mańkowski in the Żółkiew tombs with, for example, their paired putti groups.<sup>87</sup> (Fig. 8). It was an influence noted by Boeck with regard to later Berlin works,<sup>88</sup>

<sup>82</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu: Antykizacja i klasycyzacja w środowisku warszawskim czasów Jana III* (2nd ed.), Warszawa 1986, pp. 22-44 and *Sekretne treści warszawskich zabytków*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 30-41, 50-74; and Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, p. 298.

<sup>83</sup> Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, pp. 22-49 and especially 30-49.

<sup>84</sup> Reference to Schlüter's library is found in Z. Filarski, "List wdowy po Andrzeju Schlüterze w archiwum w Gdańsku," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 13 (1975) nr. 2/3, p. 175.

<sup>85</sup> Tilman van Gameren possessed a fine library specializing in works on architecture. S. Mossakowski, "Księgozbiór architekta Tylmana z Gameren. Komunikat," *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej*, 13(1961), nr. 2, pp. 25-32 and *Tilman van Gameren*, pp. 294, 298-299, 303-307. Many thanks to Prof. Jerzy Kowalczyk, Polish Academy of Sciences – Institute of Art in Warsaw for kindly showing me the article.

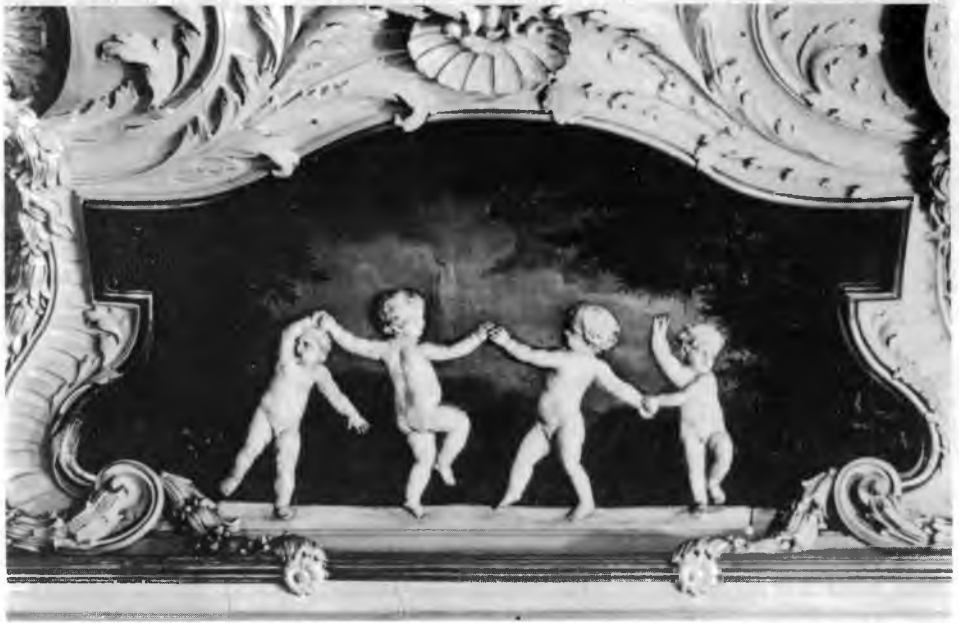
<sup>86</sup> However, the art historian also invested this stylistic similarity as verifiable evidence of the artist's travel abroad. Kühn, "Andreas Schlüter als Bildhauer," pp. 112-113.

<sup>87</sup> Mańkowski, "Nieznane rzeźby," pp. 230-231.

<sup>88</sup> The pulpit with alabaster reliefs, paired angels, canopy decoration from Berlin's Church of St. Mary (1703) and a putto group (attributed) formerly at Schloss Charlottenburg were given as examples of "Schlüters Kindertypen." W. Boeck, "Studien über Schlüter als Bildhauer," *Jahrbuch des Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 55(1933), pp. 52-53.

emphasized by DaCosta Kaufmann as typical for all Schlüter's royal patrons – being well within the realm of standard central European Baroque court taste,<sup>89</sup> and available to the artist without study-trips abroad.<sup>90</sup>

In this instance, the original Netherlandish Baroque works in Warsaw could have played a part in Schlüter's acquisition of the classical language. For Jan Sobieski's own taste for the putti of Duquesnoy may have arisen not only in the decorations created locally for his Wilanów palace



13. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Relief with Dancing Putti*. Detail from the *Königin Elisabethkammer – Rotes Empfangszimmer*, (c.1702). Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)

previously mentioned, but perhaps also directly in commissions from the Amsterdam sculptor Bartholomaeus Egger. For an inventory from 14 November 1687 lists among the works in the artist's workshops, "...4 stucken marmer tot vier Kinderen voor d'Heer Mollo... (Francisco Mollo, the Polish King's agent)..."<sup>91</sup> Already some six years earlier, in

<sup>89</sup> DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," pp. 200-203.

<sup>90</sup> The opinion that Schlüter need not have travelled to Italy and France, at least with regard to il Fiammingo's influence, is expressed by DaCosta Kaufmann. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202.

<sup>91</sup> A. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare. Urkunden zur Geschichte der Holländischen Kunst des XVIIten und XVIIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 2, The Hague 1916, p. 719.



14. Claudine Bouzonnet Stella. *La Dance*, from *Les Jeux et plaisirs de l'enfance*. Engraving after Jacques Stella, (1657). Plate 49. Kupferstichkabinett – Staatliche Museen, Berlin

another letter of 3 October 1681 from Agostino Locci the Younger to Sobieski, the architect referred to an unnamed “statuarius” who executed a portrait-bust of the king's youngest son in the manner of the “fiamingowe dzieci” (Fiammingo children) that has been taken by some scholars to be none other than Andreas Schlüter himself.<sup>92</sup> And we should remember that this predilection extended to a later Schlüter patron Friedrich III/I of Brandenburg-Prussia who also possessed comparable works by Duquesnoy and Eggers.<sup>93</sup> Indeed, Schlüter-designed putto reliefs (like those in Danzig – Fig. 9) were done for Friedrich III/I in the so-called *Rotes Zimmer* of the *Elisabeth-Kammern* at the Berlin Schloss (c.1702) and one of them compared closely to an emblematic print from an ex-

<sup>92</sup> Mańkowski first suggested this connection which was recently discussed again by DaCosta Kaufmann, “Schlüter’s Fate”, pp. 201-202.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203. Incidentally, from the same 1687 inventory of Eggers workshop are listed portrait busts of the Great Elector of Brandenburg (1620-88) and his son Friedrich III/I. In a later inventory from 2 April 1692 is yet another portrait-bust of the latter Hohenzollern. Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare*, pp. 710 and 720.

tremely popular series done after Jacques Stella (1596-1657), the *Jeux et plaisirs de l'enfance* published posthumously in 1657.<sup>94</sup> (Figs. 13-14).

In Warsaw, the Krasinski Palace tympanum reliefs (1689-94) executed under architect Tilman van Gameren's direction are the only other documented Schlüter works in Poland, and were contemporary with the Żółkiew tombs.<sup>95</sup> (Figs. 15a-15b) They provide a good example of such working methods employing adaptations from printed graphic sources. The court-façade relief, designed by Tilman,<sup>96</sup> is visually rather 2-dimensional and "painterly,"<sup>97</sup> than its more "sculptural" garden façade counterpart.<sup>98</sup> The busy architect probably had time to design only the more important court-façade for he merely stipulated the iconographic program of the less prominent garden-façade in writing on the reverse of an existing preliminary drawing,<sup>99</sup> thus allowing Schlüter more freedom

<sup>94</sup> This relief and others from this room are very antique in representation and were compared, together with those from the *Blaubart Zimmer*, to antique cameos. G. Peschken and H.-W. Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, (2nd.ed.) Frankfurt/Main and Berlin 1992, pp. 497, 498. The engraved series, done by Stella's niece Claudine Bouzonnet Stella (1636-96) was very popular following their creation. The images were derived from Stella's drawings after antique sarcophagae seen during his sojourn in Rome in the 1620's and 1630's and may have been further inspired by his colleagues Poussin and, of course, Duquesnoy. J. K. Dabbs, "Not Mere Child's Play: Jacques Stella's 'Jeux et Plaisirs de l'Enfance,'" *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 71(May-June 1995), pp. 303-312. The emblematic aspect for both the print and relief is in keeping with contemporary putti representations and obviously stems from the tradition of such motifs established by Poussin and Duquesnoy; themselves influenced by the literary conventions found in antique and baroque-period lyric poetry and epigrams. See Chapters 1-3 from: A. Colantuono, *The Tender Infant: Invenzione and Figura in the Art of Poussin*, vol. 1. Diss. Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, 1986.

<sup>95</sup> These records were published early in this century but later destroyed during World War II. See: Baranowski, *Inwentarze pałacu Krasinśkich*, pp. 66-69. The reliefs were studied and compared to the tombs by, T. Mańkowski, "Rzeźby Schlütera w pałacu Krasinśkich w Warszawie," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 13(1951), nr. 2-3, pp. 118-137.

<sup>96</sup> A lightly sketched composition for the relief was indicated by Tilman on his preparatory drawing of the court façade tympanum (AT 162 recto) now in the Warsaw University Library, Cabinet of Prints and Drawings – discussed and illustrated in Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, pp. 162-3. See also: Peschken, "Neue Literatur," p. 234.

<sup>97</sup> Peschken, "Neue Literatur," p. 234. The court – façade relief's central dueling group is closely dependent on Cavalière d'Arpino's fresco, *Battle of the Horatii and Curii* (c.1600) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, p. 66.

<sup>98</sup> Peschken, "Neue Literatur," p. 234 and Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," p. 119.

<sup>99</sup> Tilman van Gameren's existing preliminary drawing for the court-façade has, on its reverse side, a written specification for the iconography of the garden-façade's tympanum relief (drawing AT 162 verso), "...fama, honor, Gloria, judiza, Tempo..." on the existing preliminary drawing (Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, p. 17 – note 19 and p. 293). Fewer antique prototypes were used here, but printed sources are again involved. The Virtues are related to works by 17th century artists, notably Rubens, while the attic figure at left compares well to allegorical representations from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. Compare the representations of "Vittoria i Fama," in the 1611 edition on pp. 546-7 and 154

in the final execution.<sup>100</sup> This flat effect seen in the court-façade relief is not so surprising since much of the whole composition appears to have been conceived from an extensive use of printed graphic sources. Indeed, many figural compositions and details of the palace's tympana sculptures (and even the original interior stucco herm decorations – now copied) are replete with quotations from ancient and contemporary models derived from various published sources like: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, (Padua, 1611), Pietro Santo Bartoli, *Colonna Trajana* (Roma, 1673),<sup>101</sup> François Perrier, *Icones et segmenta illustrium e marmore tabularum quae Romae adhuc extant* (Roma, 1645), and Girolamo Teti (Tetius) *Aedes Barberinae* (Roma, 1642); while possible 17th century French sources originating from Versailles were, e.g. François Girardon, Martin Desjardins, and Le Brun – the last whose works were engraved by Jean-Baptiste Tuby.<sup>102</sup> Patron Jan Dobrogost Krasiński himself is believed to have researched and established the iconographic program and influenced the final outcome by consulting writings of ancient authors and engraved archeological books found in his library,<sup>103</sup> and of which Schlüter evidently availed himself.<sup>104</sup>

(Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, p. 293). A figure of a winged female figure writing on a shield borne by Chronos comes from a related figure of "Victoria Dacica" from Trajan's Column, recalling Ripa's image, and was published as an engraving by Pietro Santo Bartoli in *Colonna Trajana* (Roma, 1673), plate 58. Plate 37 of the same edition has a second version on this figural theme. The single-entrance triumphal arch with coffered vaults recalls the Arch of Titus in Rome before its early 19th century reconstruction. The soldier restraining the fiery horses comes from two known Roman works: a Hadrianic-period tondo relief showing a *Rest After the Hunt* from the Arch of Constantine and the famous colossal Quirinale *Dioscouris*. Both were known through engraved sources. The tondo comes from plate 35 of Perrier's previously cited publication and the Dioscurii were published in A. Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* published in Rome c. 1575. (Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, pp. 297-298). The two standard bearers wearing lion skins were also influenced by the Bartoli publication, especially plates 19, 25, 38, and 97 and numerous details also look strongly dependent upon these engravings.

<sup>100</sup> In correspondence, Peschken emphasizes the court-façade's greater importance in relation to the garden-façade and how the architect understandably permitted Schlüter more responsibility for the latter façade's realization. See, Peschken, "Neue Literatur," p. 234 and Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," p. 119.

<sup>101</sup> An edition of this publication may have once been in Tilman's library. Mossakowski, "Księgozbiór," pp. 30, 31.

<sup>102</sup> For a complete discussion of antique literary sources and illustrated prototypes pertaining to the palace's sculptural iconography, decorative program, and conception, see: Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, pp. 283-301 and especially 285, 287, 289, 294-297 and 301.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 294, 298-299. More on these kinds of publications illustrating antique architecture, coins, medallions, gems, painting, sculpture, and reliefs, e.g. by Bartoli, Perrier, and others, see: M. Daly Davis, *Archäologie der Antike. Aus den Beständen der Herzog August Bibliothek, 1500-1700*, Wiesbaden 1994, pp. 63-141; especially 117-118, 124-125 and 126-127.

<sup>104</sup> Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, pp. 300-301.



15a. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Krasinski Palace*, court-façade relief (c. 1689-94). Warsaw. (Pre-war photograph)



15b. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Krasinski Palace*, garden-façade relief (c. 1689-94). Warsaw. (Pre-war photograph)



16. Andreas Schlüter. *Krasinski Palace*, detail from the court-façade relief. Group of Dignitaries



17. Andreas Schlüter. *Krasinski Palace*, detail from the court-façade relief. Pair of Slaves



18. Andreas Schlüter. *Krasniński Palace*, detail from the court-façade relief.  
Head of a Slave

In terms of style, a pervasive Hellenistic quality in the bearded dignitaries and soldiers with long noses, deeply-set eyes, heavy brows, and upturned heads gives a facial expressiveness to these figures (Figs. 16, 18-20, 23-24) comparable to the *Dying Warrior* keystone reliefs (begun 1696)



19. Andreas Schlüter. Head of Chronos, Formerly *Krasiński Palace*, garden-façade relief. City History Museum, Warsaw

on the Berlin Zeughaus.<sup>105</sup> (Figs. 21-22) Strongly classical elements found in these *Krasiński Palace* tympanum reliefs,<sup>106</sup> even extend to

<sup>105</sup> Kühn drew attention to similarities between the facial features on male figures at the *Krasiński Palace* with the Berlin *Dying Warriors*. Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, p. 301.

<sup>106</sup> Kühn, "Andreas Schlüter als Bildhauer," p. 120.



20. Andreas Schlüter. *Krasiński Palace*, detail from the court-façade relief. Head of a Gaul

minor details like helmets, armor, and decorated shields.<sup>107</sup> On the court façade a superb figure of a youthful bound slave has flowing hair and pathetic features recalling a bust of the so-called *Dying Alexander the Great* in the Uffizi. (Figs. 17-18).

This marked affinity with Hellenistic art could support the theory that sculptures like the *Laocoön* – or perhaps published engravings after it like those by Jan de Bisschop or Gerard Audran,<sup>108</sup> influenced Schlüter's art in masterpieces like the Berlin *Dying Warriors*,<sup>109</sup> stucco

<sup>107</sup> Compare Bartoli plates 33, 49, and 67.

<sup>108</sup> See: J. de Bisschop, *Paradigmata Graphices Variorum Artificum: voor-beelden der Teken-Konst van verscheyde Meesters*, (Hagae-Comitis), 1671, plates 16 and 17 in the section entitled "Signorum Veterum Icone" and Gerard Audran's copper-plate engraving in *Les Proportions du Corps Humain mesurées sur les plus belles Figures de l'Antiquité*, Paris 1683. See also J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost, *Jan de Bisschop and his Icones & Paradigmata: Classical Antiquities and Italian Drawings for Artistic Instruction in Seventeenth Century Holland*, Doornspijk 1985, pp. 102-106.

<sup>109</sup> H. Ladendorf, *Antikenstudium und Antikenskopie: Vorarbeiten zur einer Darstellung ihrer Bedeutung in der Mittelalterischen und Neueren Zeit*, Berlin 1953, pp. 42 and 106 (note 18).

figures from the *Elisabethsaal* in the Berlin Schloss (c.1700), and one of the slave figures from the *Equestrian Monument to the Great Elector* (c. 1702-04), as well as those from his Warsaw period works. Figures from the court-façade tympanum relief have a marked resemblance to the Berlin keystones and the *Laocoön* in the characteristic features with deeply set brows and expressive pathos. So does the surviving fragment of a *Chronos Head* (Fig. 19) from the Palace's garden-façade salvaged from post-World War II ruins and now in the Warsaw City History Museum (Inv. Nr. 15648). Other Warsaw period works showing these traits may support this premise as well.



21-22. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Dying Warriors*, (1696). Arsenal, Berlin. (Pre-war photographs)

An unusual wooden *Crucifix*, (Fig. 25) recently “re-discovered” in a Polish private collection has a distinctively similar, and perhaps “print-inspired” physiognomy. If one can associate it with Schlüter’s circle (c.1689 or before?),<sup>110</sup> then it may be a contemporary example of a classi-

<sup>110</sup> Compare also the attributed wooden *Crucifix* at the Reformed Church at Węgrów near Warsaw published by Karpowicz, “Andrzej Schlüter w Polsce,” pp. 192-193; *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 79-81; *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, pp. 57-58; Kühn, “Schlüter als Bildhauer,” pp. 116-118; and Peschken, “Beobachtungen zu Schlüter,” p. 66.





23. Andreas Schlüter. *Krasiński Palace*, detail from the court-façade relief. Head of a Dignitary



24. Andreas Schlüter. *Krasiński Palace*, detail from the court-façade relief. Head of a Dignitary

cizing adaptation from popular graphic sources.<sup>111</sup> Christianized baroque pathos based upon *Laocoön* types were created since the ancient masterpiece was considered a suitable model for representing Christian martyrs during the Counter-Reformation.<sup>112</sup> Schlüter's later Berlin colleague,

<sup>111</sup> It has been recently determined that the crucifix may have originated from north-eastern Poland. An examination of the sculpture shows it to be a work of high quality (though damaged) and certainly of some significance. The author's attribution of this crucifix to Schlüter's Warsaw period was initially put forward in a paper given at the 4th International Emblem Conference – Catholic University – Leuven, Belgium (August 1996) and at the Plattenburg Seminar "Andreas Schlüter und das Schloss zu Berlin" – Schloss Plattenburg, Germany (November 1996). Many thanks to Dr. Jakub Sito of the Katalog Zabytków – Polska Akademia Nauk – Instytut Sztuki, Warsaw for bringing the existence of this sculpture to my attention and photographing the work.

<sup>112</sup> P. P. Bober and R. Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, Oxford 1986, p. 153. See also S. Schlutz, "Antikes Vorbild in barocken Pathos: Berninis Daniel in der Löwengrube," in *Antikenrezeption im Hochbarock*. H. Beck and S. Schlutz (eds.), Berlin 1989, pp. 173-191, cf. pp. 180-181 (note 21). A crouching *Atlante* or *Turkish Slave* (?) figure, probably from a catafalque, in the Archdiocese Museum, Warsaw, though not exceptionally masterful, exhibits a twisting pose and features conceivably within Schlüter's circle and additional evidence of classical influences in Warsaw art of the period.



25. Andreas Schlüter? *Crucifix*, (c. 1689?).  
Detail of Head. Polish Private Collection



26. Augustin Terwesten. *Head of the Laocoön*. Engraving (after 1678). Rijksprentenkabinet – Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Augustin Terwesten, did a series of engravings of antique sculptures (after 1678) probably influenced by Anthony van Dyck's models.<sup>113</sup> One print taken from the *Laocoön* (Fig. 26) shows how readily prints could be employed for works like this little-known wooden crucifix. Certainly, the expression and passion seen in the garden-façade *Chronos Head*, Gaul wounded by Corvinus from the Krasiński court-façade dueling scene, and

<sup>113</sup> The prints were perhaps connected with Terwesten's share in the founding and instruction at the Academy of Art in The Hague. And although it is unknown whether Schlüter knew of this particular Terwesten print during his early years, the ancient sculpture's pervasive influence on artists during the period is extensive. Its use as a model (in a plaster cast) in the education of young artists at the Berlin Academy of Arts (and in whose foundation both artists participated) is demonstrated by the *Laocoön's* prominent location in the Academy's "Aktsaal" shown in a contemporary engraving by Christoph Weigel. See: C. Rehorst, "Confrerie Pictura and Haagsche Teekenacademie. Zur Geschichte der akademie in Den Haag" and Liselotte Wiesinger, "Augustin Terwesten und die Gründung der Königliche Akademie der Künste – Zu Neuerwerbungen von Akademiezeichnungen Terwestens," in *Götter und Helden für Berlin: Gemälde und Zeichnungen von Augustin (1649-1711) und Matthäus Terwesten (1670-1757). Zwei niederländische Künstler am Hofe Friedrichs I. und Sophie Charlottes*, R. L. Colella (ed.), Berlin 1995; pp. 24-5, 62-68 with ill. 6, and Colella's catalogue entries, pp. 192-196.

the crucifix (Figs. 19-20, 25) focus attention on a Hellenistic pathos and death theme evident throughout the artist's career.<sup>114</sup>

In this regard, we can compare the *Jakub Sobieski Tomb* urn with its remarkable relief done "all'antica" that demonstrates a most interesting aspect of a death theme in Schlüter's art,<sup>115</sup> visualized through a contemporary graphic source (Figs. 3-6a-b). First noted by Mańkowski, it depicts a group of two warriors and three women confronting swift-footed death; represented here as a winged Chronos, or Thanatos figure,<sup>116</sup> with a scythe and accompanied by a cloaked skeleton holding out an hour-glass in its palm. These terrible figures run directly toward the frightened mortals. The first man, a soldier, is dressed in a short tunic, cuirass, and mantle – falls backwards supporting himself on his left arm, holding the other one up to shield himself in defense, while he looks helplessly upwards overwhelmed by his pursuers' onslaught.<sup>117</sup> Beneath him is another warrior who has already fallen and lies face down upon the ground. A fine, crested helmet and another unidentifiable piece of head gear or weapon (?) lies next to him and beneath the women's feet. One female figure, shown in a quarter-view profile, wears a flowing dress and cloak; while the other is bare-shouldered and looks back fearfully. Both women flee across the scene to the right. They run toward a seated figure who appears startled and only just aware of the impending danger.

The relief's compositional design, technical quality, and artistic virtuosity are remarkably high. A skillfully drawn, almost sketch-like quality seen in reliefs like the Krasiński Palace tympana and *Jakub Sobieski Tomb* urn seems to have been inherently absorbed by the artist from graphic prints and transferred to the three-dimensional forms which he rendered. It should also be mentioned here that one can actu-

<sup>114</sup> Contemporary emphasis on the depiction of facial expressions is directly in keeping with those of Charles Le Brun's *Conférence sur L'Expression...*, Paris, 1698. See: J. Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: The Origin and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur L'Expression générale et particulière*, New Haven and London 1997, pp. 58-64, 70, 75-77, 78-79.

<sup>115</sup> W. Boeck, "Tragische Haltung im Schaffen Andreas Schlüters," *Die Völkische Kunst*, 1(1935), pp. 339-343 and 348; W. Korf, *Die Vorstellung vom Tode im Schaffen von Andreas Schlüter. Versuch einer Interpretation*, unpublished Semesterarbeit, Kunstgeschichte Institut – Humboldt-Universität, Berlin 1964; and C. Keisch, "Zur Todesikonographie bei Andreas Schlüter," *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Forschungen und Berichte*, 13(1971), pp. 39-47 and illustrations.

<sup>116</sup> Mańkowski, "Nieznanne rzeźby," p. 229. The winged Chronos or Time figure was mentioned only in general terms with regard to later Berlin works by Alfred Schellenberg, "Andreas Schlüter," *Der Göttinger Arbeitskreis*, 14(1951), p. 11.

<sup>117</sup> Mańkowski first noted the similar facial expressiveness between the Żółkiew tomb relief and the Berlin Zeughaus *Dying Warriors*, "Nieznanne rzeźby," p. 228.

ally observe a very effective, almost “sculptural” rendering in the execution of these and many other 16th and 17th century prints which demonstrates how useful such two-dimensional works could be to sculptors like Schlüter. Here again, one might recall how persistently reminiscent the Sobieski relief is in its compositional approach and surface treatment to those classicizing figural reliefs on the silver vessels done by Schlüter’s Danzig colleagues Pichgiel, Haidt and Kadau. (Figs. 10-12) And the sculptor’s use of a contemporary graphic source on the funerary urn, together with a grotesque mask as on the *Stanisław Daniłowicz Tomb* (Fig. 7) for a classicizing effect, would be used again later in the now-destroyed Berlin Schloss interiors and for a relief on a decorative antique-like vase ornament (c. 1700-01) that survives from the demolished War-tenburg Palais or Alte Post in Berlin.<sup>118</sup> (Fig. 27).

Yet, it is the image’s genesis which is of special interest here. A dramatic feeling of human vulnerability in the face of tragedy is clearly conveyed in these lines taken from Otto van Veen’s (Vaenius), *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*. An emblem on plate 29 bears a *subscriptio* for the engraved illustration (Fig. 28) *Time Subduing Hercules and Mercury* and an original *scriptio* in Latin “Aeternum Sub Sole Nihil,” translated in the first German edition by Kornelis Dankers (Amsterdam, 1656) into “Alles unter der sonnen vergehet mit der zeit” and the *subscriptio*:

“Was zeitlich ist/Schwindt mit der zeit/dem vielfrass aller irdschen Sachen. Es Gehet die vergaenglichkeit durch alles hin/was menschen machen. Was wunder ist es dan/dass wier den hohen blitz der schoenen frauen/die Koenigs-pracht/und Redners-zier im blik der zeit verschwunden schauen?”<sup>119</sup>

Conceivably this emblem’s figures of Hercules Gallicus,<sup>120</sup> Mercury, and the Three Graces – symbolizing Strength, Eloquence, and Beauty – originated as both the idea and compositional inspiration for poses of

<sup>118</sup> The piece has a faun mask and relief with Neptune, tritons, naiads, and a winged Amor taken in part from an engraving by Pietro Aquila done after Agostino Caracci’s fresco the *Triumph of Galatea* in Rome’s Palazzo Farnese (1597-1600). *Barockplastik*, pp. 470-4. The use of a grotesque mask as a decorative for the vase is also found on the *Stanisław Daniłowicz Tomb* at Żółkiew. Other examples were found in the ornamentation of the *Rote Adler Kammern*, *Schwarz Adler Kammern*, and *Prinzessin Marie Kammern* at the Berlin Stadtschloss – according to documentary photographs.

<sup>119</sup> The emblem’s Latin title, verses, and explanation (in German) is given on the opposite page. Philip von Zesen, *Moralia Horatiana: Das ist die Horazische Sittenlehre*, Amsterdam, 1656, (facsimile edition), vol. 2, Wiesbaden 1963, pp. 56-7.

<sup>120</sup> J. Banach, *Hercules Polonus: Studium z ikonografii sztuki nowożytnej*, Warszawa 1984, p. 140.



27. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Decorative Console*, (c. 1701-04). Formerly Alte Post. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg

several figures from Schlüter's tomb relief. A winged Mercury helmet is included in the putti group below and is perhaps a eulogizing reference to Sobieski's father? The overall visual effect and philosophical content do compare rather well with the engraving and its text,<sup>121</sup> especially if we can consider the relief's three draped figures as being derived from

<sup>121</sup> The page preceding the engraving has the following... "Erklaerung der neun und zwanzigsten Bild- und lehr-tafel. Die zeit hat in denen tafeln/die wier gesehen/nichts anders getahn/als gedreuet. In dieser richtet sie ihre dreuungen zu werke. Wan sie siehet/dass man sie mit guhtem nicht wil ziehen lassen/so wil mit boesem weg/und ueber gewalt in ihrem gefaengnues/sie zermalmet und schlaeget zu boden alles/was sie aufhelt/ja brauchet alle ihre grausame und sieghafte waffen gegen dasienige/was sie am meisten geliebet. Sie machet ihre eben so viel opfer/als fuertrefliche dinge in der welt seind. Die tapfermuehtigkeit der Helden; die beredsamkeit der Redner; ja die uebertreflichsten Schoenheiten des Frauen-zimmers haben eben so wenig liebes-entzueffende kraft diese oeffendliche seindin zu ueberwinden/als die kronnen/reichs-stuehle und andere abgoetische dinge der klein-muehtigen. Alles mus sich unter diese wuehterin beugen; alles ihrer

## Die Sitten - lehre.

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29. Alles unter der sonnen vergehet mit der zeit.



ÆTERNUM SUB SOLE NIHIL.

Was zeitlich ist / schwindt mit der zeit /  
dem vieltraß aller irdischen sachen.  
Es gehet die vergänglichkeit  
durch alles hin / was menschen machen.

Was wunder ist es dan / daß wir  
den hohen bliß der schönen frauen /  
die Königs-pracht / und Redners-zier  
im bliß der zeit verschwunden schauen?

30. Ve.

28. Otto van Veen. "Aeternum Sub Sole Nihil," *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*. (Amsterdam, 1656). Plate 29

the three nude Graces found in the emblem's background. The emblem book itself was first published in Antwerp in 1607, and in later editions throughout Europe,<sup>122</sup> (nearly always including the same original engraved emblems by Hieronymus Verdussen), and also Poland in the 17th century.<sup>123</sup> Even the sculptor's colleague, architect Tilman van Gameren possessed a 1612 edition of the book.<sup>124</sup> Horace's literature and van Veen's engravings were presumably well-known and played an influential role in iconographic programs of Warsaw's cultural milieu, since the "Aeternum Sub Sole Nihil" emblem itself even appears as a full-scale wall mural in a cycle from the so-called Hall of Horace (dating from the 1680's) at the Bieliński family palace in Stary Otwock near Warsaw.<sup>125</sup> (Fig. 29)

grausamkeit weichen. Es hilfet alhier kein bitten. Die macht vermag hier nichts; ja sie wird auch so verwegen/gleichsam/als were sie mit unsrem untergange noch nicht genug gesaettiget/dass sie unserer/ueber alle ausgeuebte grausamkeiten/dass sie uns peiniget/noch darzu in die zaehne spottet. Sie entbietet das alter zu ihrem entsatz/dessen sie doch nicht benoethiget/und lesset uns dasselbe/als eine solche buerde/deren wier uns anders nicht/als mit dem verlust unsers lebens/entbrechen und verlustig machen koennen/mit einem hoehnischen lachen sehen; ja sie schwoeret noch ueberdas spots-wetse/dass wier uns in einer so weisen und ergetzlichen geselschaft sehr wohl befinden werden." Von Zesen, *Moralia Horatiana*, pp. 56-57.

<sup>122</sup> Attesting to the book's widespread popularity are the numerous bi- and multi-lingual editions in which it appeared, e.g. Latin, German, Spanish, French, Italian, and Dutch. M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, (2nd ed.), Rome 1964, pp. 523-4. For a standard survey of these numerous editions see: M. Sabbe, "Les 'Emblemata Horatiana' d'Otto Venius," *De gulden Passer/Le Compas d'or*, 3(1935), nr 1-14. A very enlightening study regarding the book's didactic nature and intended audience is explained in: I. Gerards-Nelissen, "Otto van Veen's Emblemata Horatiana," *Simiolus*, 5(1971), pp. 20-49. I am grateful to Dr. Joanna Tomicka of the Department of European Prints at the National Museum in Warsaw for bringing this article to my attention.

<sup>123</sup> The book was so popular that it even appeared in local Polish editions of *Emblemata Horatiana* edited by Stanisław Lochowski as *emblemata nuda*, i.e. without the accompanying illustrations! J. Pelc, "Old Polish Emblems," *Zagadnienia rodzajów literackich*, 12(1970), nr. 2/23, pp. 38, 40 and *Obraz - Słowo - Znak: Studium o emblematach w literaturze staropolskiej*, J. Pelc, (ed.), Wrocław 1973, pp. 157-162. The influence of Netherlandish engraved emblem books and the Polish *Horatii* editions emphasized a distinctive futility in man's ability to confront the whims of Fate. P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, "Związki polskich książek emblematycznych z emblematyką niderlandzką," *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, 15(1985), pp. 221-229.

<sup>124</sup> This copy of van Veen's book from the architect's library is now in the collection of the Warsaw University Library. Mossakowski, "Księgozbiór," p. 28.

<sup>125</sup> The entire room is decorated with ten large fresco paintings *en grisaille*, attributed by Karpowicz to the so-called Master of the Hall of Horace, copied almost exactly from the Vaenius emblem book. The connection between the emblem book and the Bieliński frescoes was first noted by Z. Rewski, "Wspomnienie o bibliotece Tylmana z Gameren," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, 10(1948), nr. 3/4, p. 356. For illustrations and an analysis of these decorations, see: M. Karpowicz, "Sala Horacego' w Starym Otwocku. Z rozważań nad antykizacją treści," in *Muzeum i twórca. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury*,



29. Fresco painting from the *Hall of Horace*, (late 17th century), Bieliński Palace. Stary Otwock near Warsaw

Schlüter's choice is more easily comprehended when we remember the emblem book's main purpose as didactic instruction admonishing appropriate examples of conduct for the princely and aristocratic classes.<sup>126</sup> This admired emblematic collection of images with maxims based upon ancient authors presented a highly moralizing, philosophical, and intellectual view of a rigorous, ethical neo-Stoicism very characteristic and representative of Baroque literary reception to the antique.<sup>127</sup> Furthermore, they were closely related to the interests of Jan Sobieski himself who owned a French edition of the Horace emblem book and writings on Stoic philosophy.<sup>128</sup> And a presumed Schlüter patron, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, wrote an emblem book *Adverbiorum moralium sive de virtute et fortuna libellus* (Varsaviae, 1688) and had one of his own palaces decorated with reliefs copied from a van Veen emblem book.<sup>129</sup>

Warszawa 1969, pp. 327-347 and *Sztuka Warszawy*, 249-254. Other Warsaw palace interior decorations indebted to ancient writers included Livius at the Krasiński Palace and Virgil at Jan Sobieski's Wilanów. These and the Bieliński palace are all discussed in Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu*, pp. 70-138 and for van Veen especially 123-130 and 135-137.

<sup>126</sup> Gerards-Nelissen, "Emblemata Horatiana," pp. 26-39.

<sup>127</sup> Van Veen's *Horatii* emblem book is analyzed with regard to contemporary Polish Baroque literature and philosophical thought in: T. Bieńkowski, *Antyk w literaturze i kulturze staropolskiej (1450-1750): Głównie problemy i kierunki recepcji*, Wrocław 1976, pp. 128-129.

<sup>128</sup> An inventory of Sobieski's library lists *La Doctrine des Moeurs tirée de la philosophie des Stôiques représentée en cent tableau et expliquée (par Gomberville)*, Paris, 1646 and *Dionysii Lambini in Q.-Horatium Flaccum Commentarius*, Francof. 1596. See: J.T. Lubomirski, *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque du Serenissime et très puissant Roi de Pologne, par la grâce de Dieu, Jean III, heureusement regnant, fait en l'an 1689*, Cracovie/Varsovie 1879, pp. 20 and 24.

<sup>129</sup> A Lubomirski commission may be the main altar in the Church of St. Anthony of Padua in Warszawa-Czerniaków attributed to Schlüter by Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy*, pp. 70-75. For the magnate's patronage see also, M. Karpowicz, "Sztuka Warszawy czasów Lubomirskiego," in *Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski: Pisarz – polityk – mecenas*. W. Roskowska (ed.), Wrocław 1982, pp. 77-88; especially 81. Another notable reception to van Veen emblems occurs in the Łazienki Palace. Formerly Lubomirski's Bath Pavillion, the so-called Bathing Room has stucco tondo reliefs showing scenes with putti taken from van Veen's *Amorum Emblemata*, (Antwerpiae, 1608). See Karpowicz, *Sekretne treści*, pp. 41-47. Lubomirski's own emblem book, illustrated with engraving done after designs by Tilman van Gameren, published again in 1691, is discussed in its various literary and artistic aspects in: C. Hernas, *Historia literatury polskiej: Barok*, K. Wyka (ed.), Warszawa 1980, pp. 476-478; J. Pelc, "Wokół *Adverbiorum Moralium*," in: *Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski*, pp. 123-135; and E. Piołunowicz-Ptaszyńska, "Adverbia Moralia – Emblematyka w twórczości Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego," *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 34(1986), nr. 4, pp. 109-132. For the Neo-stoic aspects regarding the *Adverbia Moralia* as well as the Hall of Horace in the context of later 17th century Warsaw art, see Karpowicz, *Sekretne treści*, pp. 197-226.



30. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. Portal I façade, (c. 1700), Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)



31. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. Detail of the parapet from Portal I, (c. 1701). Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Pre-war photograph)



32. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. Fragment of the relief with male figure from Portal I, (c. 1701). Skulpturensammlung – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

For the image itself, van Veen's figure of Time (or Chronos),<sup>130</sup> and the falling warrior are especially notable compositional devices related to the *Jakub Sobieski Tomb* at Żółkiew. In fact, the warrior figure appears as a motif again, in this author's opinion, on a recently re-discovered fragment from a sandstone relief or small cartouche originating from the parapet on the Schlossplatz Façade (Portal I) at the Berlin Stadtschloss and dated c. 1701.<sup>131</sup> (Figs. 30-32). It shows a horseman with two nude

<sup>130</sup> The Chronos figure also appears again among the other emblems: plates 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 31. Note the second occurrence of an image with a similar "running pose" in plate 53.

<sup>131</sup> L. Lambacher, "Wiederentdeckung im Depot: Ein Relieffragment vom Portal I des Berliner Schlosses," *Museums Journal*, 7(1993), nr. 3, pp. 52-54.

warriors to the left and right. The mounted soldier charges toward the warrior at the left subduing him as he falls helplessly backwards. A comparison of the warriors' expressive physiognomies on both the Berlin and Żółkiew reliefs also reveals an affinity to the "sketchy" treatment, deep-set eyes, and knitted brow reminiscent of Warsaw's Krasiński Palace reliefs. (Figs. 16-20, 23-24, 32)

The Berlin Stadtschloss portal and its relief-sculpture undoubtedly held some iconographic significance.<sup>132</sup> It represented a kind of Roman triumphal arch for the Schlossplatz façade as Elector Friedrich III, who had been recently crowned in Königsberg as King Friedrich I of Prussia, made his triumphant royal entrance into the palace.<sup>133</sup> The "antique" quality perceived in this carved ornament owes much, as Peschken has observed, to the relief's conception as a kind of visual panegyric like those of Jan Sobieski "Subduer of Turks" images which must have remained in the artist's imagination on into his Berlin years.<sup>134</sup> The Portal I entrance does convey much the same idea for Friedrich I as a triumphant ancient hero battling against barbarian hordes.<sup>135</sup>

<sup>132</sup> The relief once located on the "King's Portal" is described by Lambacher. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53; L. Wiesinger, *Das Berliner Schloss: Von der Kurfürstlichen Residenz zum Königsschloss*, Darmstadt 1989, pp. 1-2, 137; and G. Peschken, *Das königliche Schloss zu Berlin. Erster Band: Die Baugeschichte von 1688-1701*, Munich and Berlin 1994, pp. 302-303.

<sup>133</sup> Although Portal I represented a kind of triumphal entry on the palace faade, the new king's Crown Procession actually went through the forecourt or later Portal II entrance. However, the procession did turn before Portal I as a sign of deference as it passed through a provisional arch constructed for the occasion. See G. Schiedlauský, "Berliner Ehrenportalen 1701," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Kunstsammlungen*, 56(1935), nr. 3, p. 132; Peschken and Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, p. 439 and Peschken, *Das königliche Schloss*, pp. 329-330 and ill. 278.

<sup>134</sup> Representations of Sobieski as an ancient hero and slayer of Turks in printed graphic sources were numerous. Compare, for example, Romeyn de Hooghe's etching of the 1683 Battle of Vienna published by N. Visscher in J. van Ghelen's *Relation succinte et véritable de tout ce qui passé pendant la siège de Vienne...*, (Bruxelles, 1684) and an illustration by N. Cochin published in C. Ch. Patin's *Tabellae selectae ac explicatae...*, (Patavii, 1691) showing such battle scenes. For the prints, see: Widacka, *Jan III Sobieski w grafice*, pp. 77-78, (il. 43) and 73 (il. 37) respectively and for the Schloss relief: Peschken, *Das königliche Schloss*, vol. 1, p. 302.

<sup>135</sup> Peschken, *Das königliche Schloss*, p. 302. The occurrence of this "falling" pose motif as seen on the Berlin Schloss relief, its implications of subjugation, and its debt to antique art, has been observed in another context as well. The same central focus on a figure with an extremely similar pose has been compared in a print by Étienne Delaune showing the *Conversion of St. Paul* (1567), Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and a painting by Ludovico Carracci on the same subject (c. 1587-88) Pinacoteca, Bologna to that of a Roman sculpture done after a Hellenistic-period, *Falling Gaul* now Museo Archeologico, Venice. The work was in Rome until 1523 and influenced a number of contemporary artists like Albertinelli, Perin

The entrance Portal's program was ultimately underscored by Schlüter's magnificent interiors, like the Great Staircase Hall.<sup>136</sup> Given the hall's ceremonial function its *Battle of the Giants* theme was especially fitting. It consisted of *Jupiter Hurling Lightningbolts* (Fig. 33) showing the god sitting astride his eagle – as seen in Hendrick Goltzius' print *Venus and Mars Surprised by Vulcan* from 1585 or Jan Sadeler's print of *Hercules at the Crossroads* from 1590 – which was an extremely well-known motif.<sup>137</sup> (Fig. 34). The pendant *Minerva Battling the Giants* group (Fig. 35) with plunging figures resembles the circular prints of the so-called *Disgracers: Tantalus, Icarus, Phaeton, and Ixion* (c.1588), engraved by Hendrick Goltzius after Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem.<sup>138</sup> (Fig. 36). The overall composition, shape of the ornate frame, and figural groups are also quite similar to an engraving by Susanna Maria Sandrart on the frontispiece (Fig. 37) for *Nouveaux Ornaments ou Plafons inventer par Jean lepotre, et ce vendent a Norimberg chez Iacques Sandrart* (c.1660). Such works together may have inspired a sketch for a ceiling design with

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del Vaga, Peruzzi, Raimondi, and Titian whose own interpretations on the theme undoubtedly further disseminated it throughout Europe. Compare the commentary by: H. Keazor, "Ludovico Carracci – Ausstellung," *Kunstchronik*, 47(1994), nr. 7, p. 359 and ill. 4a-5.

<sup>136</sup> Wiesinger, *Das Berliner Schloss*, pp. 158-162 and ill. 77-81. Although the Great Staircase, as it existed until 1945, was not yet planned in 1701 (and the *Jupiter Group* first appeared as an alteration to the plans after 1704) the thematic intentions are in keeping with such a conception. Many thanks to Prof. Dr. Georg Peschken for relaying this information taken from his recently published *Das königliche Schloss zu Berlin. Zweiter Band: Die Baugeschichte von 1701-1706*, Munich and Berlin 1998, pp. 129ff. and especially 162.

<sup>137</sup> This Jupiter motif itself repeats earlier ones in the Goltzius and Sadeler prints which may have been indebted to Nicolas Beatrizet's *The Combat of Lust and Reason* engraved after Baccio Bandinelli. In sculpture, Alessandro Algardi did a bronze pair *Jupiter and Juno* with an identical pose. And even Balthasar Permoser made a small version in ivory (1690-94) now in Dresden's Grunes Gewölbe. Incidentally, this well-known pose was used in an apotheosis with Jan III Sobieski on the frontispiece of R. Curicke's, *Der Stadt Dantzig historische Beschreibung...*, (Amsterdam and Dantzig, 1688). The copper-plate engraving and etching is an allegory with Sobieski in antique dress holding a staff and shield while being borne aloft to the heavens by an eagle. Illuminated by heavenly light beaming from open clouds through which hands appear holding the royal attributes of crown and scepter. Below are allegorical personifications of the city of Danzig holding a large print with a view of the town while Truth (Veritas) holds a human-faced sun. See: Widacka, *Jan III Sobieski w grafice*, Warszawa 1987, p. 102 and ill. 77.

<sup>138</sup> These stories of mortal hubris were recounted in: Pindar, *Olympus*, (1.56), Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (4.457), Horace *Satires*, (50.1) and Hygin *Fabula* (82). See F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. 8, Amsterdam 1954-1985, p. 103 and *Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617): The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*, vol. 2, W. L. Strauss (ed.), New York 1977, pp. 354-355 and 444-451.



33. Andreas Schlüter and Giovanni Simonetti. *Jupiter Hurling Lightning Bolts*, (after 1704). Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)



34. Jan Sadeler. *Hercules at the Crossroads*, (1590). Engraving. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw



35. Andreas Schlüter and Giovanni Simonetti. *Minerva Battling the Giants*, (after 1704). Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)

the *Battle of the Giants* (c.1700) preserved in Berlin and ultimately determined the hall's final decorative program.<sup>139</sup> (Fig. 38)

In the same palace's *Erste Paradekammern*, designed by Schlüter beginning c. 1699, is the so-called *Drap d'Or Kammern*; the first chamber in these suites. It has ceiling reliefs with allegorical representations of Prussian kingship including "Rebellion" shown as a falling muscular youth being subjugated by Minerva,<sup>140</sup> similar to those found in the Great

<sup>139</sup> The 496x360 mm gray-brown pen-and-ink drawing (Hdz 5800), Kupferstich-Kabinett – Berlin, utilizes some Roman characteristics in the coffer, rosettes, and trophies, but the figural disposition and frame recall the Le Pautre design. In: E. Berckenhagen, *Barock in Deutschland: Residenzen*, Berlin 1966, pp. 90-91. An association with the Terwesten drawing and Schlüter's designs seems conceivable yet remains uncertain. See: L. Wiesinger, "Berliner Maler um 1700 und die Gründung der Akademie der Künste," in *Berlin und die Antike*, pp. 84-86. An interesting 18th century print by Antonio Baratti (1724-87) entitled *Superbia* (and with accompanying verses) done after the Venetian painter, Vincezno Scozia, depicts a similar composition with falling figures based on this moralizing theme of downfall caused by excessive pride.

<sup>140</sup> Peschken and Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, p. 463, 474.



36. Hendrick Goltzius. *Fall of Tantalus*, (1588). Engraving, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw

Staircase Hall, Krasinski Palace court-façade, and the *Sobieski Tomb*. (Fig. 39).

From the same suite, the *Kurfürstenzimmer* (Apartment of Friedrich I), we find the King's bedchamber done after Schlüter's designs,<sup>141</sup> with yet another motif that stems from an emblematic source. Above the fireplace is an architectonic ornamental mirror frame. A kind of perspectival inner frame focuses on a shallow, sculpted relief placed over the mirror-glass itself. The objects are carefully composed: an elegant table with curved legs and a cushion upon which rests the royal regalia of crown and

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 502.



37. Susanna Sandrart. Ceiling design after Jean Le Pautre, (c.1660). Engraving. Biblioteka Gdańska – Polska Akademia Nauk, Gdańsk



38. Augustin Terwesten. *Jupiter Battling the Giants*, (c.1700). Pen and ink wash on cardboard. Kunstbibliothek, Berlin



39. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Drap d'Or Kammern*, (after 1699). Detail of Ceiling Relief. Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)

scepter. (Fig. 40) The static almost “iconic” quality of this group was a popular motif during the time of Friedrich I’s preparation for his coronation in Königsberg and appeared on a commemorative medal and in occasional publications.<sup>142</sup> (Fig. 41) It is an image that has also been traced to an incomplete and unpublished emblem book prepared by a Berlin lawyer, Andreas Günther, to commemorate the first anniversary of Friedrich I’s coronation in Königsberg.<sup>143</sup> Thus, when the king looked into the

<sup>142</sup> A silver medal struck for the event clearly shows this motif but with a stone altar decorated with double eagles now kept in the Münzkabinett – Staatliche Museen, Berlin. See, *Kunst in Berlin 1648-1987*, exhibition catalogue, Berlin 1987, p. 81. A contemporary title-page engraving showing this same design and with the inscription: “Incrementum Domus Augustae – Regia Dignitate illat familiae. MDCCI,” was published by M. D. H. Kemmerich, *De Corona Borussiae Frederico Regi et Electori, A Deodata commentarius Borussicum pro illustranda divina Providentia, in Domus Augustae Incrementis Conspicua. Quem in Memoriam Coronationis Publice Exponit M. Dieter. Herm. Kemmerich, Marchius Respondente Christiano Osten. March. Seculi XIII Anno IX d. XIII Januar. Ipso Coronationis die.* Leipzig 1701.

<sup>143</sup> The manuscript contains a series of royal emblems sketched by hand in ink and with accompanying handwritten mottos or *scriptio* and explanations or *subscriptio*. The

mirror he could regard his own reflection as well as those symbols of his office. While the juxtaposition of Friedrich's own image with the royal attributes emphasized his achievement of kingship, one might also understand the *vanitas* of a mirror as an emblematic *Fürstenspiegel* or a reminder of his moral obligations as a ruler and, ultimately, of his own mortality.<sup>144</sup>

Further examination of van Veen's book-engravings shows cadres of frightful skeletons wearing shrouds and carrying scythes as they conduct various macabre deeds.<sup>145</sup> Plate 38, for example, entitled "Cunctos Mors Una Manet" (Fig. 42), and in German "Dem tode seind wier alle gleich," reminds the reader that Death conquers all men, from the most humble to the most elevated:

"Der tod leufft auf mit einem fusse die burg/als wie des betlers kaht; und giebt dem Schuhster gleiche musse mit dem/der in dem hoechsten staht sein hoch-er-

images or *icons* have either a crown and/or scepter resting on stool, pedestal, or canopied throne, e.g. (Sheet 7a) "Nec Prece, Nec Pretio," (Sheet 13) "Vi Temperata," (Sheet 14) "Habuit, Cui Deferor, Ante," (Sheet 23) "Impatiens Consortis Erit," (Sheet 42) "ConUta ConDI Deo." The lengthy dedicatory title, abbreviated somewhat here, is: *B.C.D! Augusta Borussiae Brandenburgicae Transformatio Quam Serenissimo et Potentissimo Borussorum Rege Friderico Primo S.R. J. Archicamerario et Electore, Plurimarum Amplissimarum Provinciarum Principe ac Domino in Orbis Terrarum Gentium ...Regiomonti Borussorum D. XIIX Jan. Anno MDCCI feliciter coronato, Variis conceptibus Symbolicis...ea qua par est, observatia inscriptis adumbrare, atq. sub ipsis Sacrorum Inauguralium Votis anniversariis primis. qui erat D. XVIII Jan. N. MDCCII...Andreas Günther Jur. Cultor*, (Ms. Boruss. Fol. 206) Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, Likewise, in Danzig, a manuscript there showed a similar emblem designed by local painter Heinrich Duwen, for an unexecuted commemorative medal honoring the newly elected King Jan III Sobieski in 1674. It presents a table with a Turkish carpet upon which rests a shield and crown with the motto: *Servavi et mervi*. See: E. Iwanyko, "Emblematyczne Sobiesciana Gotfryda Peschwitz," *Artium Quaestiones*, 2 (1983), pp. 236 and 237. For the Berlin examples, I am extremely grateful to Dr. Liselotte Wiesinger of Berlin for kindly bringing the mirror decoration and the Günther manuscript from her unpublished text on the Berlin Schloss – *Erste Paradekammern* to my attention.

<sup>144</sup> The combination of a scepter and mirror, a motif associated with the virtues for the "ideal prince," and connected with the twelve virtues of Hercules or Hercules as the good prince, originate in the emblematic traditions of Andreas Alciatus, *Emblematum Liber* (Paris, 1542), e.g. Emblem VI "Concordia" and Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, *Idea principis christiano politici*, (1640). Peter Daly, *Recent German Contributions of the Characterization of the Emblem Genre*, Neudeln/Lichtenstein 1979, pp. 82-3 and W. Harms, "Die emblematistische Selbstdarstellung des Auftraggebers in Pommersfelden," in *Ausserliterarische Wirkungen barocker Emblembücher: Emblematik in Ludwigsburg, Gaarz und Pommersfelden*, W. Harms and H. Freytag (eds.), Munich 1975, p. 150.

<sup>145</sup> Note especially plates: 8, 22, 34, 37, 38, 39, and 42 in the 1656 Danckers edition.



40. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Kurfürstenzimmer*, fireplace (after 1699). Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)

64

DE  
CORONA BORUSSIÆ  
**FRIDERICO**  
REGI ET ELECTORI,  
A DEO DATA  
COMMENTARIUS HISTORICUS  
IN NUMISMA BORUSSICUM  
PRO ILLUSTRANDA DIVINA PROVIDENTIA,  
*IN DOMUS AUGUSTÆ INCREMENTIS CONSPICUA.*



QVEM IN MEMORIAM CORONATIONIS PVBLCICE EXPONIT  
M. DIETER. HERM. KEMMERICH,  
MARCHICVS  
RESPONDENTE  
CHRITIANO OSTEN, MARCH.

Seculi XIX. Anno IV. d. XIX. Januar. Ipso Coronationis die.

LIPSIÆ, Literis JOH. CHRISTOPH. BRANDENBURGERI

## Die Sitten - lehre.

75

38. Dem tode seind wir alle gleich.



CUNCTOS MORS UNA MANET.

Der tod leufft auf mit einem fusse  
die burg / als wie des betlers fahr ;  
und giebe dem schuhfter gleiche muße  
mit dem / der in dem höchsten stah

sein hoch-erhobnes heupt lest schauen  
im blitz vom finkerndem metall.  
Er schlägt die hügel samt den auen /  
ja alt und jung / mit gleichem fnall.

‡

39. Mortis

42. Otto van Veen. "Cunctos Mors Una Manet," *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*. (Amsterdam, 1656). Plate 38

hobnes heupt lest schauen im blitz vom finkerndem metall. Er schlaegt die huegel samt den auen/ja alt und jung/gleichem knall."<sup>146</sup>

Skeleton and Chronos or Time figures appear together in a number of the *Quinti Horatii* illustrations.<sup>147</sup> These characteristic, emblematic death-representations are one demonstration of how Chronos evolved into a sort of "death's cohort" during the period.<sup>148</sup> However, the horrific and ubiquitous skeleton, like that found on the *Jakub Sobieski Tomb*, became an almost obsessive Schlüterian motif employed among others in a number of his Berlin works.

Among the artist's other masterful representation of the grim reaper, dependent upon contemporary sculptures and printed sources, is doubtless the brilliant and dramatic *Daniel Männlich Tomb*, Nikolaikirche, Berlin (1700) his next major tomb project.<sup>149</sup> (Fig. 43) It probably owes its

<sup>146</sup> The follow excerpt clarifies the text and image: "Erklaerung der acht und dreissigsten Bild- und lehr-tafel. Vielleicht were demselben/den der tod itzund aus seiner Eh-liebsten armen gerissen/bescheidener begegnet worden/wan er die ahnen seines alten adels/oder die merkzeichen seiner wuerde vorzeigen koennen? mit nichten. Allenthalben/wo der tod hin kommet/ist er gleich kuehne/gleich gewaltig/gleich volmaechtig. Hat er die verwegenheit den elenden und armen das leben zu nehmen; ist er so uebemuechtig wider die niedrigen; so stark wider die schwachen: so wird er auch gewis mit eben denselbigen waffen die glueckseligen/die stoltzen/und die starken selbst aufreiben. Alhier rennt er mit dem fusse auf ein mahl die tuehres eines hohen turnes auf/darinnen sich ein Koenig verschlossen/seinem wuehten zu entgehen. Diesem befiehlt er alsobald vollgewaltig/als ein unbarmherziger anschauer der kroehnen/dass er sich herunter begeben solte; ja/als er nur einwenig verzuegert seinem begoht zu gehorsamen/da stuertzet er ihn vom obersten des turnes herunter/damit er ihn durch solchen fall dem armen Schuh-Flicker; der unten am turm in seiner buden arbeitet/gleich machte. Ich sehe es ihnen an den augen an/dass sie sich bestuertzt befinden; und ihren weg wohl lieber einstellen wolten. Aber sie muessen sich bei zeiten daran gewoennen/was sie doch/es sei frueh oder spaete/ausstehen muessen. Dieselbigen/so die leuen speisen und mit ihnen staetig uemgehen/machen sie durch ihren taeglichen uemgang zahm: Eben also kan es auch mit dem tode sein. Wan wier uns mit ihm koennen gemein und bekant machen; und durch angewonheit/des Schroekkens/das uns seine haesliche gestalt einjaget/entschlagen; so wird er uns so angenehm und so anmuhtig duenken/dass wier von Stunden an einen rechtmaessigen ekel laenger zu leben bekommen werden." Von Zesen, *Moralia Horatiana*, pp. 74-75.

<sup>147</sup> See van Veen, *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*, (Frans Foppens editions, Bruxelles, 1683), plates 165, 181, 185, 189, 194, 195, 197 and 201 which also appear in the Danckers edition.

<sup>148</sup> E. Panofsky, "Father Time", in *Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*. New York and Evanston 1962, pp. 82-3.

<sup>149</sup> Männlich (1625-1701) was goldsmith to the Berlin court and his wife Anna Catharina (1636-1698) were among Schlüter's few "middle-class" patrons. The two men had professional connections dating back to 1698 when the artist is thought to have provided a design for a "Resting Deer" executed in silver by Männlich. *Barockskulptur*, pp. 467-469 and *Grabmalkunst aus vier Jahrhunderten: Epitaphien und Grabdenkmäler in der Nikolaikirche zu Berlin*, Märkisches Museum Berlin (ed.), Berlin 1994, pp. 67-68.



43. Andreas Schlüter. *Tomb of Daniel and Anna Catharina Männlich*, (1700). Detail. St. Nicholas, Berlin

form both to notable contemporary sculptures and the *Sobieski Tomb*. Featuring a decorative funerary urn as the compositional center, the relief element is now suppressed in favor of an antique-like medallion with a double-portrait of the deceased couple.<sup>150</sup> The death theme manifesting in both the Żółkiew and Berlin tombs was duly noted by Mańkowski.<sup>151</sup> One could add here that the *Sobieski Tomb* vase-relief's death figure has literally burst forth into full-life in all its Baroque theatricality: Schlüter's horrified youth witnesses this frightful death figure clutching its hour-glass and seizing the fleeing child.<sup>152</sup> It was perhaps influenced by a woodcut *Death and the Child* by Hans Holbein the Younger

<sup>150</sup> Ibid. The portrait medallion was conceived almost as an antique gem or coin. The bronze(?) original has been lost since World War II but replaced with a gilt plaster copy. See also: Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," pp. 169-171.

<sup>151</sup> Mańkowski, "Nieznanne rzeźby," p. 229.

<sup>152</sup> The artist's youngest son Gotthardt died early in the year 1700 and it has been suggested the tragedy influenced the *Männlich Tomb* sculpture. See E. Hempel, *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe*. Harmondsworth 1965, p. 214 and Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," p. 171. The record of his burial is given in Ladendorf, *Andreas Schlüter*, p. 112 (note 24).

(1538),<sup>153</sup> or another printed source may be discerned in Stefano della Bella's etching *Death and the Child* (c. 1648-49).<sup>154</sup>

On the magnificent *Sarcophagus of Queen Sophie Charlotte*, Berlin Cathedral (1705) a shrouded death records the beloved Queen's name in the book of eternity while a winged scythe-wielding skeleton with a vase motif is found on a side-relief. (Figs. 44-45) Two striking precedents(?) for this skeleton may be a cowed *Death* image taken from the East Portal of the Bürgersaal of the Amsterdam Town Hall engraved after Artus Quellinus,<sup>155</sup> and an *Epitaph of Johann Jacob Pantzer* in Leipzig's Pauline Church (dated 1673) attributed to Johann Caspar Sandtmann.<sup>156</sup>

Influence from contemporary Italian and French funerary monuments on the Queen Sophie Charlotte sarcophagus and on the *Sarcophagus of King Friedrich I* (1713) was observed in François Girardon's *Tomb of Cardinal Richelieu* and Bernini's striking skeleton motifs from the *Tomb of Urban VIII* and *Tomb of Alexander VII*. Generally, both Berlin monuments clearly demonstrate a general arrangement, figural disposition, movement, and gestures recalling works by Girardon and Antoine Coysevox. Indeed, all these important models were readily adapted by the sculptor.<sup>157</sup>

On Friedrich I's sarcophagus a weeping female figure and an innocent child blowing soap-bubbles symbolize the tragic fragility and brevity of human life – an established *vanitas* motif.<sup>158</sup> (Fig. 46) The group itself is directly inspired by Bernini's *Tomb of Cardinal Domenico Pimentel* in S. Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome (mid-1650's).<sup>159</sup> Bernini's tomb group

<sup>153</sup> First noted by W. Hager, "Andreas Schlüter zum 250. Todestag," in *Dauer und Wandel der Geschichte: Aspekte Europäischer Vergangenheit – Festgabe für Kurt von Raumer*, R. Vierhaus and M. Botzenhart (eds.), Münster 1966, p. 321.

<sup>154</sup> Keisch, "Zur Todesikonographie," p. 42 and ill. 9,2. Della Bella's Polish connections could also be noted here when we consider that he was responsible for detailed drawings of Polish diplomatic envoys like that of Jerzy Ossolinski who entered Rome in 1633 as well as Krzysztof Opalinski and Wacław Leszczyński who entered Paris in 1645. Only the former procession was ever realized as six large etchings. See M. Paskiewicz, "Polonika w szkicownikach Stefana Della Bella we florenckich Uffizi," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 39(1977), nr. 2, pp. 164-176. One might also return to Della Bella's series of engravings (dated c. 1648) showing Death's assault on individuals of all ages and which are characterized by an upside-down pose while the skeleton shoves his victims head-first into the grave. See A. F. Tempesti, *Mostri di incisione de Stefano Della Bella*, Florence 1973, pp. 98-100 and ill. 58-59 and 92-94.

<sup>155</sup> Redslob, "Andreas Schlüter und die Plastik der Niederlande," p. 94 and ill. 9 and 10.

<sup>156</sup> Keisch, "Zur Todesikonographie," p. 45 and fig. 10,2.

<sup>157</sup> Kühn, "Schlüter als Bildhauer," pp. 161-3.

<sup>158</sup> An examination with examples of this motif is discussed by B. Lyman, "Sic Transit Gloria Mundi: Ein Glasgemälde mit Seifenblasenden als Vanitassymbol im Schnutgen-Museum," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 42(1981), pp. 115-132.

<sup>159</sup> E. Benkard, *Meister der Plastik: Andreas Schlüter*, Frankfurt/Main 1925, p. 23.



44. Andreas Schlüter and Johann Jacobi. *Sarcophagus of Queen Sophie Charlotte*, (1705).  
Detail: Figure of Death. Cathedral, Berlin



45. Andreas Schlüter and Johann Jacobi. *Sarcophagus of Queen Sophie Charlotte*, (1705). Detail: Relief with Skeleton. Cathedral, Berlin

shows, at the right, a prototype which Schlüter appropriated for his Berlin sarcophagus and ultimately transformed in his final execution. Schlüter ingeniously altered the child's pose and gesture into a *memento*



46. Andreas Schlüter and Johann Jacobi. *Sarcophagus of King Friedrich I*, (1713). Detail: Mourner and Putto. Cathedral, Berlin



47. Hendrick Goltzius. *Allegory of Transitoriness* (1594). Engraving. Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw



48a-b. Andreas Schlüter and Workshop. *Roten Samt Kammer*, (c. 1699-1700). Detail: Ceiling Decoration. Stadtschloss, Berlin. (Destroyed)



49. François Perrier. A Funeral Procession, *Icones et segmenta*, (Romae, 1645), Plate 22. Engraving. Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw

*mori* motif of mankind's ephemeral existence,<sup>160</sup> and skillfully adapted Hendrik Goltzius' image of the *homo bulla* or *Allegory of Transitoriness*, (1594),<sup>161</sup> into a three-dimensional sculpture. (Fig. 47) Incidentally, the Goltzius print was even influential in Poland for as late as the 18th century we find an illustrated emblem based upon this same composition with a scythe-bearing skeleton included.<sup>162</sup> The Berlin sculptures were probably adaptations from printed sources which continued earlier practices learned during the Warsaw period, and should be studied further within the context of the artist's Polish funerary monuments as well. But in a somewhat unknown example from the Berlin Schloss interiors we again discover a *memento mori* in keeping with the spirit of the Żółkiew tomb.

The *Roten Samt Kammer* ceiling, from the Berlin Schloss *Paradekammern* suite, was once ornamented with decorations done presumably after Schlüter's designs, under his supervision,<sup>163</sup> and dated c. 1699-1700.<sup>164</sup> (Fig. 48 a-b) Documentary photographs illustrate a complex iconography that existed between the painted ceiling with the *Times of the Day* and an architectural frame with an intriguing depiction of death.<sup>165</sup> The painted grotesque frieze above an allegorical repre-

<sup>160</sup> E. Mühlbacher, *Andreas Schlüter und die Plastik Seiner Zeit*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Skulpturensammlung, (ed.), exhibition catalogue, Berlin 1964, p. 26.

<sup>161</sup> The term "homo bulla" is derived from an ancient saying that "Man is like a (soap) bubble," mentioned by the writer Marcus Terentius Varro in his *Rerum Rusticarum*, (Libri III) later popularized as an allegorical representation during the Renaissance. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122. The Goltzius copper-plate engraving shows a soap-bubble blowing child resting upon a skull and an inscription "Quis Evadet?" and has the following poem: "Flos nous, et verna fragrans argenteus aura/Marcescit subito, perit, ali, perit illa venustas./Sic et vita hominum iam nunc nascentibus, eheu,/Instar abit bullae vanique elapsa vaporis." F. Estius. *Die Sprache der Bilder: Realität und Bedeutung in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Braunschweig 1978, pp. 175-177, especially 177. Many thanks to Dr. Maria Kluk, National Museum in Warsaw, for acquainting me with this publication. See also, W. Stechow, "Homo bulla," *Art Bulletin*, 20(1938), pp. 44ff. and Y. Mori, "The Iconography of *homo bulla* in Northern Art from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Homo Ludens: Der spielende Mensch*, 6(1996), pp. 149-176. Thanks go to Dr. Mori for sharing her article with me.

<sup>162</sup> The woodcut entitled "Sic Omne Perit," is illustrated in A. Barszczewski, *Transport złotego Abdanku...Jana Skarbka arcybiskupa i metropolity lwowskiego....* Lwów 1734. J. Chrościcki, "Castris et Astris," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 30(1968), nr. 3, pp. 393-4 and ill. 6.

<sup>163</sup> L. Wiesinger, *Deckengemälde im Berliner Schloss*. Frankfurt/Main and Berlin 1992, pp. 162, 182, 198 (note 20), 205, and ill. 123-124, 132-133.

<sup>164</sup> Peschken and Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, pp. 480-481 and ill. 124-125.

<sup>165</sup> Since it was the final room in the *Paradekammern* enfilade located just before the *Alte Kapelle* the iconographic significance may have been especially important. Wiesinger, *Deckengemälde*, pp. 182, 183.

sentation of *Night* was suitable for a bedchamber and iconographically in keeping with references to sleep and death.<sup>166</sup> The frieze itself is notable for its scythe-wielding skeleton (with drapery shroud?) who advances toward a group at a funeral procession. The backward-glance and running pose of the two nude women certainly recalls the Żółkiew tomb-relief. Also similar is the scene's temporal narrative development with a compositional movement from death's encroachment upon its imminent victims, to the unsuspecting ones like a man carrying the body of a deceased youth and the mourners. They are all oblivious to their own impending doom. The whole event was adjacent to a Dionysian theater-scene, on the right, with a crouching figure holding a large grotesque mask mounted on a stick.<sup>167</sup> The dead youth is borne feet-first on the back of another one while his left arm hangs down limply to one side. This pose is very similar to a composition seen in an engraving done after a Roman relief showing a *Funeral Procession*, illustrated in François Perrier, *Icones et segmenta* (Roma, 1645), plate 22, a publication known, as we have seen, to Schlüter from his Krasiński Palace project.<sup>168</sup> (Fig. 49)

In this context, among the compositional details in the Berlin relief is a bearded man in a toga who stands before the large mask and directly behind the busy skeleton. His contemplative gesture observing this death-scene suggests a philosopher according to Liselotte Wiesinger,<sup>169</sup> and this seems a most correct interpretation. For this image forms a compelling analogy with the emblem on plate 30, "Vera Philosophia Mor-

<sup>166</sup> Originally, the room may have been used as a bedchamber located next to the palace chapel. See Peschken and Klünner, *Das Berliner Schloss*, p. 480. The room's use and the relationship between the painting and the decorative relief was pointed out by Wiesinger, *Deckengemälde*, pp. 182, 183. (See also note 165 above).

<sup>167</sup> Interesting to compare with is an antique metal goblet from Boscoreale similar scenes of skeletons. A smaller skeleton holds an oversized theater mask as does the figure from the Roten Samt Kammer ceiling. See: S. Reinach, *Répertoire des Reliefs Grècs et Romains*. Paris 1909, p. 87. However, the occurrence of such a skeleton motif in antiquity is somewhat rare. See J. Białostocki, "The Image of Death and Funerary Art in the European Tradition," in: *Arte Funerario: Coloquio Internacional de História del Arte*, vol. 1, (n.d.), p. 26. Many thanks to Małgorzata Polakowska, Warsaw – Muzeum Narodowe, for verifying my citation of this source.

<sup>168</sup> Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren*, p. 296.

<sup>169</sup> Notably, in the Berlin ceiling relief, the philosopher's concerted meditation on the event is contrasted by the figure of a relative, perhaps wife or mother (?), whose face is covered in grief. The philosopher's pose harks back to ancient examples of philosopher portraits, for example, those shown in S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*. Paris 1930, pp. 510-515. Wiesinger, *Deckengemälde*, p. 183.

## Die Sitten - lehre.

59

30. Die Kunst wohl zu sterben wissen / ist die beste weisheit.



VERA PHILOSOPHIA MORTIS EST MEDITATIO.

In hoffnung / sorge / furcht und schrecken  
gedenke / daß hier ieder tag  
dein wallfahrts-ziel im nun entdecken/  
und zur erlösung dienen mag.

Die stunde kommet / eh wiers meinen/  
die uns macht lachen / wan wir weinen.  
drum denk' an diese jüngste zeit /  
und halt dich stärs darzu bereit.

31. Varia

50. Otto van Veen. "Vera Philosophia Mortis Est Meditatio," *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*. (Amsterdam, 1656). Plate 30

tis Est Meditatio" from van Veen's *Quinti Horatii*.<sup>170</sup> (Fig. 50) The engraving, with the German title, "Die Kunst wohl zu sterben wissen ist die beste weisheit," bears the following text:

"In hofnung/sorge/furcht und schrecken gedenke/dass dier ieder tag dein wal-fahrts-ziel im nun entdekken/ und zur erloesung dienen mag. Die stunde kom-et/eh wiers meinen/die uns macht lachen/wan wier weinen. Druem denk an die-se juengste zeit/und halt dich staets darzu bereit."<sup>171</sup>

Indeed, if Schlüter or his colleague(s) who designed and executed the *Rote Samt Kammer* ceiling were familiar with van Veen's book depicting a "true" philosopher – wisely meditating on the effects of death – it would have been an appropriate choice. This philosophical outlook may also be another indication of the artist's suggested erudition,<sup>172</sup> perhaps arising from an association with learned circles like those in the Danzig society of his youth.<sup>173</sup> In fact, what was presumably a painted representation of

<sup>170</sup> The Latin motto and verses, with an accompanying German explanation: "Er-klæhrung der dreissigsten Bild- und lehr-tafel. Die gemeine Weisen bilden ihnen ein/dass sie den nahmen eines Weisen wohl verdienet/wan sie nur die veraenderung der dinge betrachten/gleich wie wir sie betrachtet haben/und ihrer letzten stunde erwarten/ob sie sich schon in ihrem tuhn und wesen darzu nicht gefast halten/oder einige gedanken haben den tod zu betrachten. Aber der Ernst-sittige/das ist der volkomne Weise/fraget sich selbst/wohin ihn sein alter leitet; und schauet gleichsam als durch einsern-glas in den himmel selbst/sich der geheimnuesse des verhaengnuesses zu erkundigen. Ja er macht bei zeiten kundschafft mit dem tode. Er erinnert sich/dass er den grossen Zeno wohl hundert-mahl sagen hoeren/dass des auf weisheit geflissenen leben nichts anders/als eine staetige ueberdenkung des todes/sein sol. Sie sehen ihn auch alhier mitten unter so vielen verleitenden und verwuerrenden dingen so andaechtig und so wohl befriedigt sitzen/dass ihn weder hofnung noch furcht verleiten kan. Er hat alle seine gedanken auf diese so gerechte/als unerbitliche hand gewendet/welche dort oben aus dem himmel kommet/und mit einer schaeren unsern lebens-faden ab zu schneiden pflaget; ja er helt augen und gemueht/damit er nicht etwan unversehens ueber-raschet wuerde/unverwant und unauf-herlich darnach zu/zu sehen/wan sie das toedlich werk-zeug/das ihn seiner dienstbarkeit befreihen sol/zukneupen wil." Von Zesen, *Moralia Horatiana*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>172</sup> The hypothesis that the artist, owning a sizable library and having presumed associations with learned circles, was possibly a kind of universal man in the Renaissance meaning of the term was forwarded by, DaCosta Kaufmann, "Schlüter's Fate," p. 205. And for a similar opinion, see: M. Kühn, "Das Berliner Schloss Andreas Schlüters – eine Metropole in der europäischen Kunstlandschaft," in *Die Zukunft der Metropole*, vol. 2, Paris–London–New York–Berlin 1984, p. 236.

<sup>173</sup> If Schlüter's library (note 84) was extensive it may indicate that he was indeed an artist with intellectual proclivities, since most 17th century artists from both northern and southern Europe usually owned few books. They were more often book-dealers themselves, than true bibliophiles. Compare, J. Białostocki, "Doctus Artifex and the Library of the Artist in the XVIth and XVIIth Century," in *De Arte et Libris: Festschrift Erasmus, 1934-1984*. Amsterdam 1984, pp. 11-22.

this very emblem once decorated a wealthy Danzig patricians' townhouse located in the Joppen Gasse.<sup>174</sup> For van Veen's engraving of the "True Philosopher," in any case, it is interesting to note a youth at the right looking on, horrified, as he sees the shears which are about to cut the thread of this pensive and serene man's life. One is reminded of the horror expressed by Schlüter's *Männlich Tomb* youth who observes Death's grip on the doomed child. (Fig. 43). The philosophical outlook conveyed by this emblem seems to summarize Schlüter's understanding and acceptance of this universal question and typified his interpretation of this great theme in his art.

Andreas Schlüter's *Jakub Sobieski Tomb* in Żółkiew is a unique, yet insufficiently researched, tomb serving as a link between works executed in the sculptor's early and later career. An exceptional example among his entire production of known and attributed funerary monuments, it exemplifies the artist's profound awareness and conceptualization of death by means of a unique artistic visual representation. The influence and facile utilization of contemporary printed graphic sources for such a composition, motifs and iconography derived from the antique and Otto van Veen's *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata*. Yet it was transformed through an intentional classicizing style which characterized Schlüter's artistic imagination already developed within Warsaw's cultural milieu and brought to fruition in Berlin. It would typify an approach to producing art throughout his career and remain with him until his last projects for Peter I in St. Petersburg.

#### PHOTO CREDITS

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<sup>174</sup> In the mid-17th century, George Bergmann's house, filled with emblematic decoration, once included what may have been at least one or two of the *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata* emblems "...Auf dem Saale. Emblemata 7 ... Virtus invidiae Scopy...(and) ...Vera Philosophia mortis est meditatio..." BGPAN, Ms. 1204, p. 695.

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