

ROZPRAWY

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ROMAN ARTISTIC IMPORT TO WROCLAW. SCULPTURES OF ST. ELISABETH CHAPEL*

The artistic image of the Silesian art of the second half of the 17th century was significantly influenced by the artists from Como and Lombardy; architects, builders, stone cutters and stuccoers — “plasticatori”. Due to their professional and family connections in Austria, Bohemia, Moravia and the northern Hungary there were created the works that in their character and style presented the variations of the north-Italian formal repertoire.¹ An outstanding exception for the countries under the reign of the Habsburgs is St. Elisabeth chapel at the Wrocław (Breslau) cathedral.

The figural decoration of this chapel influenced significantly the style of the Wrocław sculpture of the first half of the 18th century. Having those exemplary works sculptors in Wrocław after the year 1700 had the opportunity to get acquainted with the works representative to the fully formulated Roman sculpture of the mid of the 17th century — that is with the style of Gian Lorenzo Bernini and Alessandro Algardi, also those who never had the chance to visit Rome to master their skills there.

St. Elisabeth chapel constitutes a unity of both a visual aspect and its contents. It is a typical baroque “Gesamtkunstwerk” — a complete composition, that is why discussing the figural sculptures separately from their spatial and thematic context, considering them exclusively within their stylistic contents would lead to oversimplification. The architecture of the chapel, its sculptural decoration as well as the form in which the commemorative and devotional contents are conveyed place the chapel within the most prominent baroque works of the 17th century in central Europe.²

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¹ E. Hempel, *Baroque Art and Architecture in Central Europe*, London 1965, p. 62-146; *Barock in Böhmen*, Hrsg. K. M. Swoboda, München 1964, p. 11 – 20; O. J. Blažiček, *Barockkunst in Böhmen*, Prag 1967, p. 14 – 46; J. Neumann, *Das böhmische Barock*, Praha 1970, p. 19 – 32; P. Voit, *Der Barock in Ungarn*, Budapest 1971, p. 15 – 21, 26 – 28; K. Kalinowski, *Architektura doby baroku na Śląsku*, Warszawa 1977, p. 33 – 53; K. Kalinowski, *Rzeźba barokowa na Śląsku*, Warszawa 1986, p. 86 – 89.

² K. Kalinowski, *Kaplica św. Elżbiety przy katedrze we Wrocławiu*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 1969, t. 15, nr 3/4, p. 273 – 295 complete bibliography and sources quoted. See also J. T. Petrus,

1. This Roman work of art came into being north of the Alps so far away, as a result of a founder's will, namely the bishop of Wrocław, Cardinal Frideric Landgrave of Hessen who was a man of culture; an intellectual of a sophisticated artistic taste.³ His political and church career was strongly connected with the pope's court in Rome. He visited Rome many times. Sometimes his visit there lasted a few years, some were even longer. He usually resided in palazzo Mellini-Cesi at Corso. It was there his artistic and aesthetic taste was formed during his lively social contacts and direct observations of the works made by Bernini, Borromini, Algardi and other artists that were active at those times.

During his first visit to Rome in the years 1636 – 1637 he made close friends with cardinal Francesco Barberini and cardinal prince Maurice de Savoya who supported him in his intention of conversion and whose affection and help he experienced when in poor financial state.⁴ Spending much time in the circle of Barberini Frideric must have got acquainted with Gian Lorenzo Bernini who was just finishing the construction of the family residence of his patron.⁵ Frideric's successive visits to Rome fall upon the years 1638, 1641 and the year 1652 when, owing to the emperor's support and some connections with cardinal Camillo Astali-Pampfili Frideric got the dignity of cardinal-deacon.⁶ After the death of Innocent X Frideric came to the conclave in January, 1655 and stayed in Rome for three years till the fall of 1658. He was one of the two cardinals who in the name of Alexander VII welcomed Queen Cristina coming to Rome in 1655.⁷ For many years, popular in Rome, *il Cardinal landravio* remained in close contacts with the Queen and belonged to her closest circle which constituted one of the most lively, interesting artistic and intellectual circles in the papal capital.⁸

The last cardinal's visit he paid to Rome was in the period between the years 1666 and 1676.⁹ The visit that lasted nearly ten years. The idea of erecting a chaple must have occurred to him then. A chaple that could serve a double function; of a mausoleum of the founder as well as a shrine of his rich collection of relics. The idea probably

Kilka uwag o wrocławskiej kaplicy św. Elżbiety (W związku z pracą K. Kalinowskiego. Kaplica św. Elżbiety przy katedrze we Wrocławiu). „Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej” 1973, t. 9, p. 81 – 86. Sculpture see also K. Kalinowski *Rzeźba barokowa...*, p. 121 – 124.

³ A. Räiss, *Konvertiten seit der Reformation*, t. 5, Freiburg 1867, p. 466 ff; Kratzinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Landgrafen Georg II und seines Bruders des Landgrafen Friedrich*, „Archiv für hessische Geschichte und Altertumskunde” 1870, t. 12, p. 161 ff; P. Buchmann, *Friedrich Landgraf von Hessen-Darmstadt*, Breslau 1883, p. 10 – 20; F. Noack, *Kardinal Friedrich von Hessen, Grossprior in Heistersheim*, „Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins” 1927, Jg. 41, p. 341 ff; F. Noack, *Deutschtum in Rom*, Stuttgart 1927, t. 1, p. 176, 744 – 746; t. 2, p. 187; W. Dersch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kardinal Friedrich von Hessen, Bischof von Breslau*, „Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte Schlesiens” 1928, Jg. 62, p. 274 – 281.

⁴ F. Noack, *Deutschtum in Rom...*, t. 2, p. 72.

⁵ R. Wittkower, *Art and Architectur in Italy 1600-1750*. London 1958, p. 70.

⁶ F. Noack, *Deutschtum in Rom...*, t. 2, p. 187; P. Buchmann, op. cit., p. 20. Titular church of cardinal Frideric was S. Maria Novae and later S. Agatha.

⁷ S. Stolpe, *Königin Christina von Schweden*, Frankfurt a/M 1962, p. 223.

⁸ R. Stephan, *A Note on Christina and her Academies*, in: *Queen Christina of Sweden. Documents and Studies*, Stockholm 1966, p. 365 – 371.

⁹ W. Dersch, op. cit., p. 280.

crystallized between 1671 – 1676 when the cardinal was appointed a bishop of Wrocław which took place in 1671.¹⁰

Since his conversion to catholicism Frideric especially worshiped St. Elisabeth from Thuringia. Alike all the members of the landgrave of Hessen family he reckoned himself as her descendant. Particular admiration of this saint was often stressed by the cardinal. He also intended to bring her body from Marburg and bury her in the Wrocław chapel to have her near as a companion of the eternal rest.

2. While staying in Rome the cardinal began the preliminary works connected with building of the chapel.¹¹ He commissioned the architectural design and chose the artist to whom the sculptural decoration was commissioned. He asked the service of Christopher Lucatelli whom he gave big sums of money in March and April 1676.¹² In the same time one of the Wrocław's canonicus — scholasticus — Jacob Brunetti informed the chapter in Wrocław about the cardinal's project.

While reasonably high amounts of money began to be sent to agent in Rome the realization of the project was probably under way. On May 10, 1679 the cardinal, by good offices of Lucatelli signed a contract with Ercole Ferrata for carving a statue of St. Elisabeth.¹³ We can assume that the final version of the architectural design must have been ready by the end of 1679, presumably till April 1680, because the construction works began in the following season, and obviously some time must have been given to make construction plans and for establishing the measurements before commissioning the works to Roman sculptors.¹⁴

The construction began in March 1680 and was completed in November in the same year. Stuccoes and Marble lining of the walls were also completed.¹⁵ The progress of the construction was very fast since the founder could not wait to see the finish of his project. However, he did not live to see the completion of the decoration of the chapel. He died on February 19, 1682 and was buried, according to his will, in the newly built chapel-mausoleum.¹⁶

¹⁰ K. Kalinowski, *Kaplica...*, p. 275 – 276 also J. Jungnitz, *Die Reliquien der St. Elisabethkapelle an der Breslauer Kathedrale*, „Schlesisches Pastoralblatt“ 1909, Jg. 30.

¹¹ The design of the chapel was made 1676 – 1679 by an unknown Roman architect coming from Valera (or Valle, or Alle di Ostia). In the manuscript „Authentico relatio“ (The Archives of the archdiocese in Wrocław sign. IIIB4a) he is called „berühmter Architecto al Eresco“ (famous architect of Eresco) which is a distorted adjectival form of the place the architect came from, Val Eresco-Valeresco. Since the author of the leaflet *Würdiges Andencken* and the text *Authentico relatio* also misspells the name of Bernini changing it into Berenni and the name Ferrata appears there as Hercule Ferrati while the spelling of name of Giacomo Scianzi who supervised the construction was correct, we can deduce that the designer was not present in Wrocław.

The design was made under a dominating influence of works of G. L. Bernini in Rome and was realized in Wrocław by two masters from Como Giacomo Scianzi and Carlo Rossi.

¹² W. Dersch, op. cit., p. 301.

¹³ Archives of archdiocese in Wrocław, sign. IIIB4b a bill of a Wrocław marchant Christoper Roiss stating the sum 11458 Rth. for the years 1678 – 1680 B. Patzak, *Die Elisabethkapelle des Breslauer Domes*, Breslau 1922, p. 11.

¹⁴ K. Kalinowski, *Kaplica...*, p. 276.

¹⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 277.

Simultaneously with building the chapel in Wrocław the sculptures were made in Rome. At the beginning of 1680 considerable sums of money were paid regularly to the cardinal's agent in Rome — Stephano Liberti for the sculptures commissioned to Ferrata and Domenico Guidi.¹⁷

The greatest problems the executors of the cardinal's will had to face, was the transport of the sculptures from Rome to Wrocław because at the death of the founder they had not been finished, and what was more, there were still considerably high financial obligations that could not be fulfilled on time, although promised in the last will, but not paid by the late cardinal's brother. Still in January 1682 the sculpture of St Elisabeth was not finished. In that time Ferrata confirmed the receipt of 800 scudi in advance for the actual commission.¹⁸

The second artist — Guidi finished the sculpture of the cardinal and the two allegorical figures in April 1683¹⁹ and got the last part of the payment in July 1693, because, as it has already been mentioned the executors of the cardinal's last will were in a very difficult financial situation. Ferrata managed to finish the figure of St Elisabeth shortly before his death which took place on June 11, 1686.²⁰

Bringing the ready sculptures to Wrocław appeared to be rather difficult due to a law suit of Ferrata successors and a sequestrator. So the sculpture remained to Rome at the disposal of a judge until May 1696.²¹ Since 1695 a few attempts were made by the Roman agent Francesco Bardi to precipitate the shipment of the sculptures to Wrocław,²² but it was only in March 1699 when ready sculptures were shipped to Gdańsk and Silesia. When they reached Wrocław they were placed in the already renovated chapel, into the places originally meant for them. The solemn opening of the chapel with the finally finished decoration took place on the 5th of September 1700.²³

3. Thus the works made in Rome became the objects of material import in 1700 and joined with the architecture of the chapel erected in Wrocław. They were: 1. The sculpture of St Elisabeth and two adoring angels made by Ercole Ferrata in the years 1679 – 1686; 2. the statue of the cardinal, two allegorical figures (Veritas and Aeternitas), putti and some ornaments of the tomb made by Domenico Guidi in the years 1679 – 1683; 3. the bust of the founder also made in Rome (probably in late 1650's) and placed above the entrance to the chapel already in 1682.

Double function of the chapel; of a sanctuary of the saint and of a mausoleum of her descendant determined the design of its interior as well as decided upon formulating the program of the building and obviously influenced a form of sculpture. The main theme — glorification of the saint is combined with the sepulchral and commemorative

¹⁷ B. Patzak, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Ibidem*.

²² Archives of archdiocese in Wrocław, sign III B4a Bardi's letters to bishop Franz Ludwig von Neuburg and payments to Bardi for his mediation in bringing the sculptures.

²³ Archives of archdiocese in Wrocław, sign. III B4a Text „Authentico relatio”.

motives referring to the founder who similarly to his saint ancestor is presented as a man of greatest Christian virtue "pietas".

The two details significant for the contents of the interior; the altar and the tomb are situated on the longer axis. Architectural division of the altar apse which constitutes the background for the statue of the saint, is delicate and graphic. The background is standardized by gilding the whole surface of walls, divisions and vaults which gives the effect of a slightly chased background contrasting with the white statue of the saint. The statue is situated under a canopy supported by the columns. The canopy is an integral detail linking the space of the chapel with the altar apse. The front pair of columns supports the entablature of the walls, the second pair of columns situated inside the altar apse constitute a wing suggesting apparent spread of the canopy. Actually, the statue of the saint is not placed under a flat ceiling supported by the columns but it is situated inside the altar apse. That is why a rather shallow altar apse gives an impression that the altar mensa is situated inside the chapel and is a pendentive to the tomb. At the wall opposite to the altar there is a tomb of the founder. The frame of the tomb — freely standing columns support bent entablature of the wall. The frame corresponds visually and structurally to the frame of the altar apse. The statue of the cardinal is situated between the columns in the semicircular niche decorated with gilded acanthus ornament. Here also the use was made of the contrast of colours; of the golden background and of the white marble statue.

Colour plays an important role in the interior decoration of the chapel, stressing its function. Particular details are defined in space by means of various colours. Thus, the lower part of the interior is in dark blue and gray colour of the Silesian marble. The united colours of the main part of the chapel stay in contrast with the golden altar apse; the sanctuary of the saint and the cardinal's tombstone which are white and gold. The identical colours of both details suggest their close relation in the mausoleum. The gold and white stuccoes on the ceiling, made by Sebastiano Rossi and Giovanni Simanetti, also the bright colours of the paintings on the cupola, made by Giacomo Scianzi, define the upper zone of the interior — the heavenly space as a place of glorification of the saint.

The light concentrated in the central part of the chapel, together with the dynamic structure of the walls magnify the impression of the central interior. Dimly lit side vaults are contrasted with the light focusing on the statues of the saint and of the cardinal.

The figure of the saint situated above the altar mensa, a statue being a material object of devotion, to whom the building was dedicated, constitutes the main plastic detail of the program presenting the merits and glorification of St Elisabeth.

Strong side light with the source hidden to the eyes of an observer in combination with the golden background gives an impression of a visionary presentation. The saint, with her hands stretched out in a theatrical gesture is kneeling in the clouds. Her head is slightly inclined, her eyes looking in the direction of the cardinal kneeling opposite the altar.

The saint is accompanied by two adoring angels flying in the air. St Elisabeth is dressed in a habit of a Franciscan order and a princely coat finished with ermine and put around her shoulders, her head covered with a widow's kerchief is crowned with

corona radiata.²⁴ Putti at her feet hold a septer and a coronet, the symbols of her status and they seem to be a reference to her earthly dignity she gave up. There are also bread and a purse, all together symbolizing privileges, generosity and charity.

The way of presenting St. Elisabeth as a young beautiful woman in her cloister robe and a princely coat is different from other, generally applied iconographical models of presentation of this saint. She was usually shown as a matron in a humble dress. Also the collection of all her attributes (but the model of a church and roses) is rather unusual. Some difficulties arise when one tempts to find a homogeneous interpretation of the three crowns that appear in the iconography of the saint since the second half of the 15th century. They are viewed as symbols of her holy life when she was a virgin, then a wife, then a widow. It can be also interpreted as an allusion to her purity, martyrdom and apostleship. Noteworthy is the multiplication of the attributes showing her social status: the ermine coat, coronet, septer, their significance becomes understandable only in a context of the program glorifying the family of landgraves of Hessen.²⁵

Ercole Ferrata's style, although close to the one represented by G. L. Bernini due to many year's cooperation of both artists, in the individual realizations seems to have more features in common with the creativity of Alessandro Algardi; for example the characteristic exaggerated idealization of a figure particularly noticeable in the sculpture in Wrocław. Soft and delicate modelling is also one of the features. Also the gesture of the hands and a turn of a slightly raised head belong to a constant repertoire of this artist. It can be compared with the sculpture of St Agnes from the St Agnes church at Piazza Navona in Rome.²⁶

The statue of St Elisabeth shows the characteristics for the Roman sculptors of Bernini's circle, masterly freedom in the application of plastic means, accuracy in depicting materiality of a robe and flesh. Ferrata does the modelling of folds in a soft chiaroscuro by means of which he obtains the effect of peace and certain classicism. The pair of angels flanking the saint in this composition can be compared with the angels carrying the frames of the altar paintings in the church in Castel Gandolfo, designed by Bernini (in 1658 – 1661) and in S Andrea in Rome (1658 – 1670).²⁷

The tomb of the founder, in its architectural shape, remains in a direct relation to the altar as its counterpart, although the program dedicated to the cardinal begins already at the chapel portal above which the cardinal's bust and his coat of arms were placed.

²⁴ F. Schmoll, *Die Heilige Elisabeth in der bildenden Kunst des 13. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Marburg 1918; K. Künstle, *Ikongrafie der Heiligen*, Freiburg 1926, p. 198 – 206; L. Reau, *Iconographie de l'art chretien*, t. 2, Paris 1958, p. 418.

²⁵ The glorifying character of the program of the chapel is clearly stressed by the title of a leaflet printed in 1700 on the occasion of bringing figures to the chapel „Würdiges Andencken von dem Durchleuchtigsten Stamm-Hause der Hl. Elisabeth Fürstin und Landgräfin zu Hessen wie auch Dero gantzen ..Familiae von der Hl Elisabeth an biss auff Friedericum...". The subject of the paintings decorating walls and the vaults of the chapel are devoted to the life, deeds and virtues of the saint, which, according to baroque symbolics are finally crowned by the glorification scene presented in the heavenly sphere — in the cupola of the chapel; see K. Kalinowski, *Kaplica ...*, p. 291 – 292.

²⁶ R. Wittkower, *Art...*, fig. 119A.

²⁷ R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini*, London 1955, p. 223 – 224, fig. 75, 79. Similar in style angel executed by E. Ferrate in the altar of St. Thomas of Villanova. Rome. S. Agostino, see J. Montagu, *Roman Baroque Sculpture. The Industry of Art*. New Haven-London 2 Ed. 1992, fig. 20.

The motif of eternal adoration was realized in the Wrocław chapel in a classical way emphasizing the ostentatious theatricality so characteristic of baroque.²⁸ What is different here is placing the object of adoration in front of the altar, on the axis of the chapel, not at its side, as found in most of the arrangements of that kind in Rome. Such an arrangement emphasizes a direct relation between the figure of the saint and the founder.

The figure depicts the cardinal in his choral vestment (rochet and cappa magna) kneeling on a richly decorated hassock. He is turning towards the altar with his hands put together in a praying gesture. Putti hold the attributes signifying the social status of the dead: cardinal's hat — a symbol of the church dignity, biretta — a symbol of priesthood, a crosier and sword at the coat of arms are the symbols of cardinal's ecclesiastical authority as a bishop of Wrocław, as a prince of Nysa and the subprefect general of Silesia. At the sides of the socle there are personifications of Veritas trading over Calumnia, which could be interpreted, in the spirit of counterreformation as Heresy;²⁹ and Aeternitas³⁰ expressing in a symbolic language a deep conviction that the truth about honourable deeds of the cardinal and his combat with heresy are everlasting. And the saintliness of his life and actions are the guarantee of eternal memory.

The commemorative inscription was put in a form of a symbolic door to the grave.³¹ Above the commemorative plaque is a tondo with the allegory of Faith³² and the cardinal's motto "Pro Deo et Ecclesia". Above the tondo is a motif of Vanitas — a skull in a crown and lions holding extinguished oil lamps — the allusion to passing of earthly dignities.³³ The Vanitas group and the door to the grave define the border line between the earthly life and the eternal life. Above that line the cardinal is depicted as raised from the dead, which is emphasized by a shell closing the niche; a symbol of rebirth.³⁴

²⁸ L. Bruhns, *Das Motiv der ewigen Anbetung in der römischen Grabplastik des 16. 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts*. „Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte“ 1940, t. 4, p. 360 ff; W. Tatarkiewicz, *Nagrobki z figurami klęczącymi*. „Studia Renesansowe“ 1956, t. 1, p. 274 – 328.

It was very common in French sepulchral art of 16th c. to show a dead man as an active kneeling figure in gesture of adoration, for example: the royal tombs in St. Denis of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Queen Ann, Francis I and his wife. Similar tombs could be seen in Spain, even earlier, of Charles V, Philip II and their families in Escorial. In France a kneeling figure of a dead was usually connected with an image of a dead „in transi”. Such a kind of presentation was spread in France, England and in the Netherlands. Other European countries followed the pattern of Rome: the tombs of popes. In Rome the image of a dead was not connected with an image „in transi”, see E. Panofsky, *Grabplastik*, Köln 1964, p. 83 – 91. An exceptional example of referring to French tradition is the Chaple of the Raimondi family by Bernini, where besides the portraits of the deads shown in the act of worshipping, turned toward the altar there are also presented as dead bodies in open coffins. Such a way of presenting the dead is explained by the connections the Raimondi family had with France, see A. Blunt, *Gianlorenzo Bernini: Illusionism and Mysticism*, „Art History” 1978, t. 1, nr 1, p. 73.

²⁹ C. Ripa, *Delle piu che novissima Ikonologia*, Padoua 1630, p. 309.

³⁰ Ibidem, p. 9 – 10.

³¹ J. Białostocki, *Symbolika drzwi w sepulkralnej sztuce baroku*, in: *Sarmatia artistica*, Warszawa 1968, p. 107 – 119; J. Białostocki, *The Door of Death. Survival of a Classical Motif in Sepulchral Art*, „Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen” 1973, XVIII, p. 7 – 32.

³² J. T. Petrus, op. cit., p. 83.

³³ J. Białostocki, *Vanitas. Z dziejów obrazowania idei 'marności' i 'przemijania' w poezji i sztuce*, in: *Teoria i twórczość*, Poznań 1961, p. 105 also bibliography ref. the above problem.

³⁴ A. A. Barb, *Diva Matrix*, „Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” 1963, t. 16, p. 205 – 207.

Guidi, as we may guess, had only a vague idea about the arrangement of the sculptures in the chapel, because of that fact the proportions and placing of particular figures in the chapel as well as the whole arrangement of the tomb hardly match within the frames defined for them by the architecture. The figure of the cardinal is too big. It is placed on a too high socle and is filling tightly the niche. The figure is covering the gold background so essential to the whole composition. The parts of the tombstone made in Wrocław by a local carver — Joseph Fischer do not constitute an integral unity with the Guidi's sculptures.

4. The origin of the spatial arrangement of the chapel, on the basis of an ellipse ground plan is rooted in Roman architectural tradition of the second and the third quarter of the 17th century.³⁵ The closest model was S. Andrea al Quirinale by Bernini erected in the years 1658 – 1670³⁶ where we can trace all the important details employed also in the construction of the St. Elisabeth chapel in Wrocław: the elliptical cupola situated transversal to the axis, installing the altar in a separate apse on a shorter axis of an ellipse and designing it as a scene separated from the rest of the interior by a pair of columns supporting the bent entablature. Viewing S. Andrea church as an index of forms seems to be unquestioned here, however, it is possible to point out some other works by Bernini that could have served the purpose: The Raimondi chapel at S. Pietro in Montorio, dating from 1642 – 1645³⁷ and Cornaro at S. Maria della Vittoria, dating from 1645 – 1652.³⁸ The Raimondi chapel served as a model for designing the frame of the altar and the way of independent illumination of the altar. In the Cornaro chapel we also come across a similar, stagelike design of a retabulum with a source of light hidden to the observer. Another work by Bernini, of a similar compositional design is the altar of blessed Lodovica Albertoni in the Altieri chapel in S. Francesco a Ripa in Rome (1671 – 1674).³⁹ The only difference between the chapel in Rome and the one in Wrocław is a transposition of the column motif and the stage apse with the light at its side. The light coming from the altar retable into the whole altar apse, the solution similar to the arrangement in S. Andrea church.

The chapels of the Cornaro and of the Raimondi and the Wrocław chapel are of a similar functional character; they are sanctuaries and mausolea, that is why the typical motif of eternal adoration of a founder is present in each of them. Frideric must have visited both chapels, since they were finished during his stay in Rome. Certainly they must have influenced the crystallization of his concept of the Wrocław sanctuary-mausoleum.

Not only the architecture but also the tomb itself shows the resemblance with the Roman works of G. L. Bernini and his works such as: the tombs of the pope Urban VIII

³⁵ We should mention here the earlier works of 16th c., see W. Lotz, *Die ovalen Kirchenraume des Cinquecento*, „Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte“ 1955, t. 7, p. 35 ff, also S. Andrea in via Flaminia (1551 – 1554), S. Anna dei Palafrenieri (1572 – 1616).

³⁶ R. Pane, *Bernini architetto*, Venezia 1953, p. 67 ff.

³⁷ R. Wittkower, *Art...*, p. 105.

³⁸ R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini...*, p. 207 ff.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 236 ff.



1. Wrocław. St. Elisabeth Chaple. Altar apse. (Phot. S. Arczyński)



2. Wrocław, St. Elisabeth Chaple. The tomb of cardinal Frideric. (Fot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



3. E. Ferrata. St. Elisabeth. 1679 – 1686. (Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



4. E. Ferrata. Angel. 1679 – 1686.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



6. E. Ferrata. Head of St Elisabeth.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



5. E. Ferrata. Angel. 1679 – 1686.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



7. E. Ferrata. St. Agnes from St. Agnes church at Piazza Navona in Rom. 1660
(Rep. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture* 119A)



8. D. Guidi. Tomb of cardinal Frideric. 1679 – 1683. (Phot. Archiv IHS)

9. D. Guidi. Putto. 1679 – 1683.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



10. D. Guidi. Putto. 1679 – 1683.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



11. D. Guidi. Veritas. 1679 – 1683.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



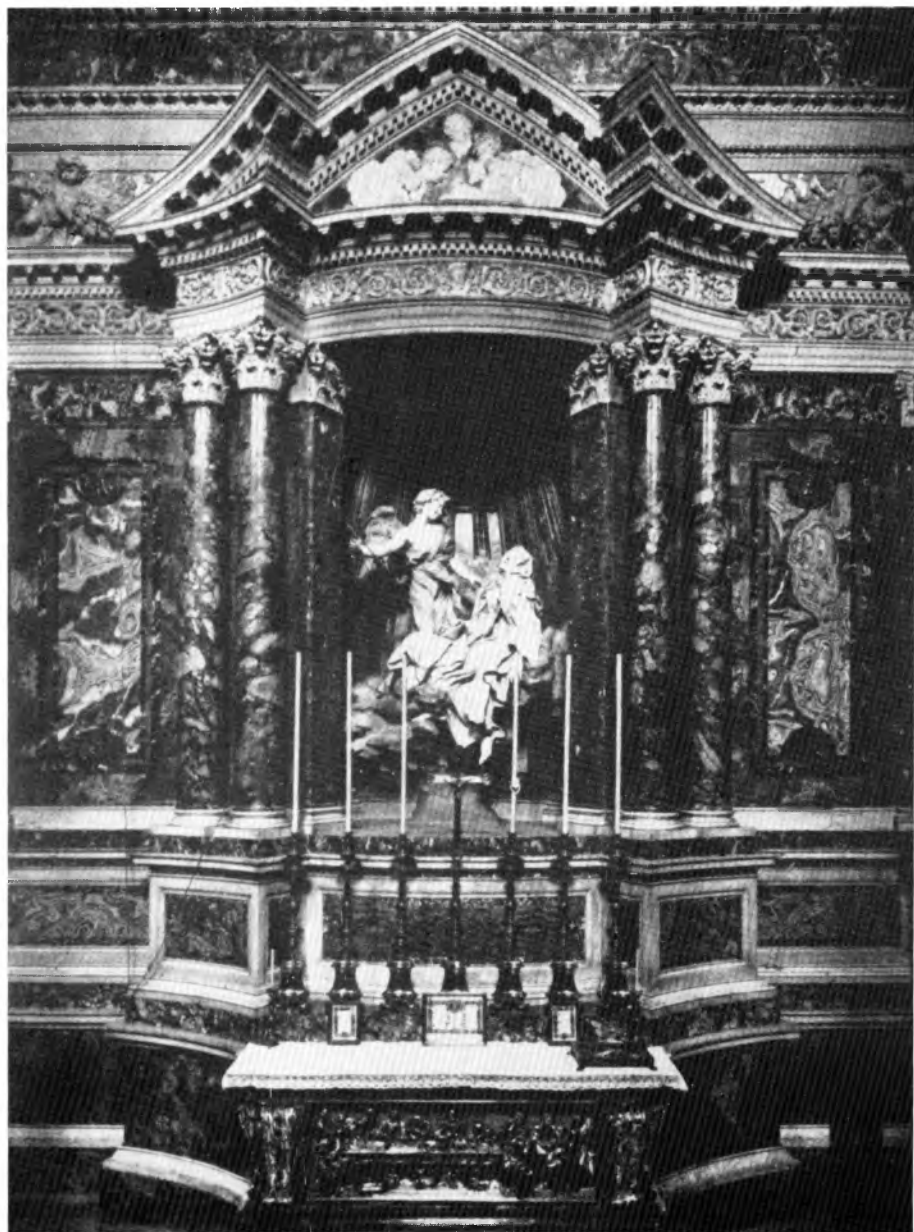
12. D. Guidi. Aeternitas. 1679 - 1683.
(Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



13. D. Guidi. Tondo. (Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



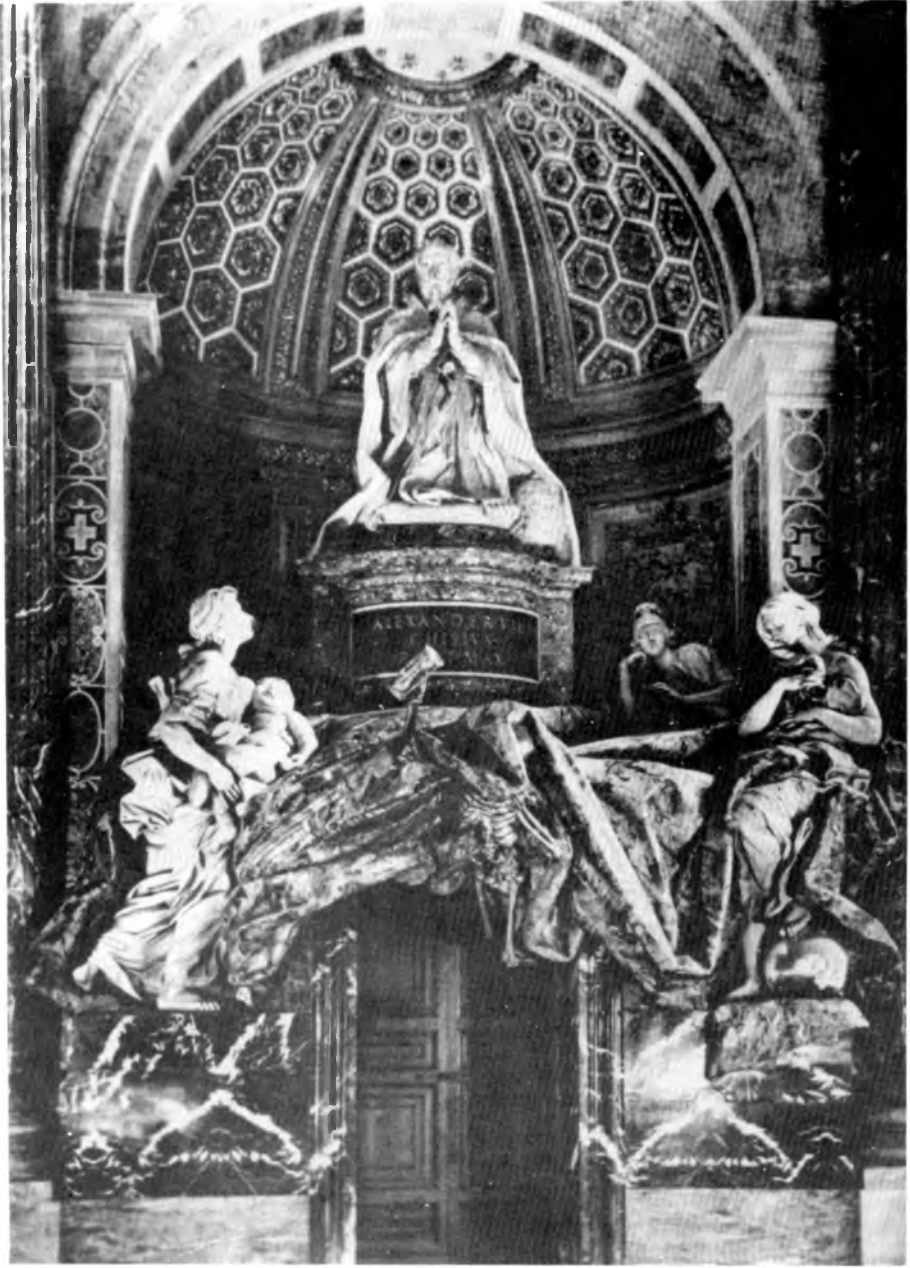
14. S. Andrea al Quirinale. Rome 1658 – 1670 Altar apse. (Rep. Wittkower, Bernini (tab. VII))



15. Cornaro chapel at S. Maria della Vittoria. Rome. 1645 – 1652) (Rep. Benkard, Bernini.: I. 24)



16. G. L. Bernini. Tomb of pope Urban VIII. 1628 – 1647 (Rep. Wittkower, Bernini..., fig. 45)



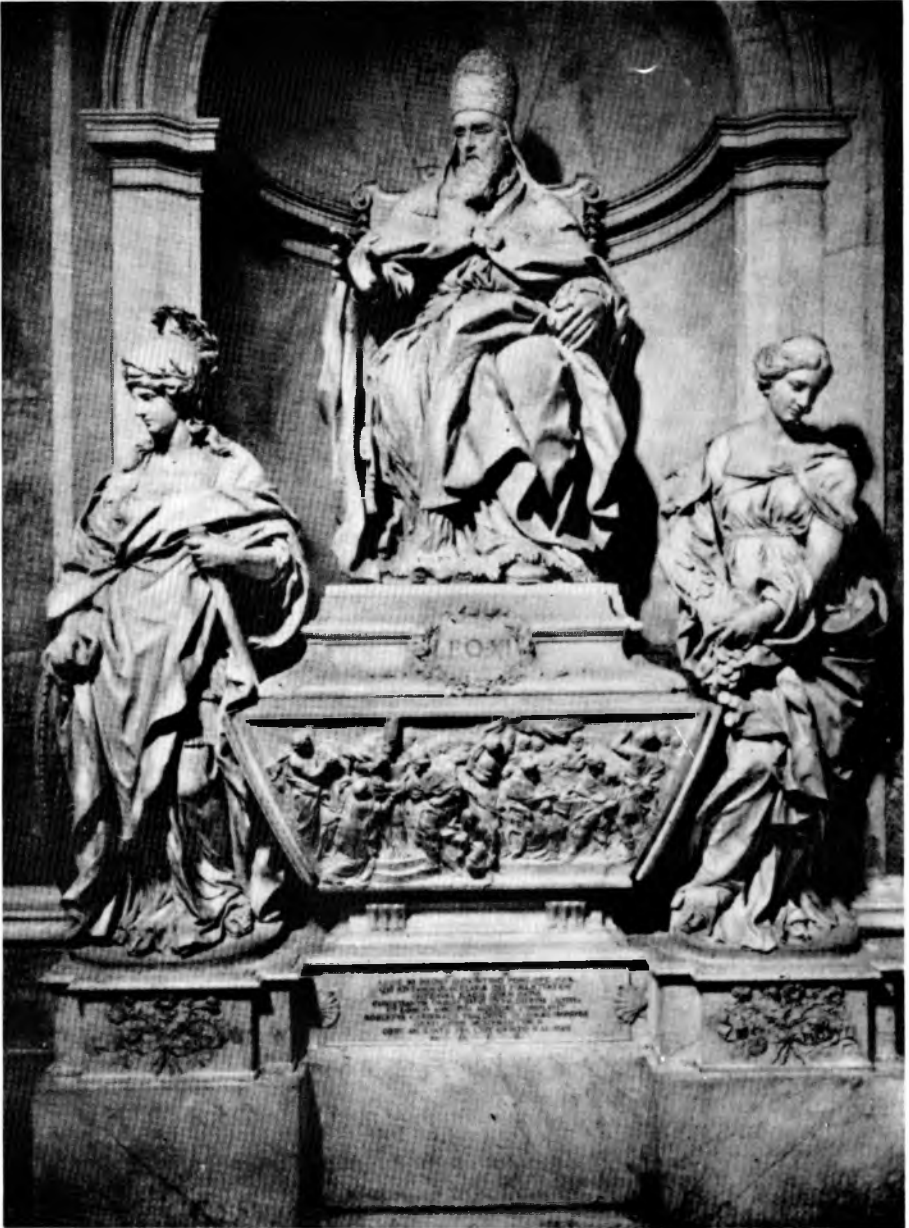
17. G. L. Bernini. Tomb of pope Alexander VII. 1671 - 1678. (Rep. Wittkower, Bernini..., fig. 118)



18. D. Guidi. Tomb of count Caspare Thiene in S Andrea della Valle in Rome. 1676 – 1678.
(Rep. Bruhns. fig. 316)



19. D. Guidi. Tomb of Giovanni Battista de Luca in S Spirito dei Neapolitani. Rome 1683.
(Rep. Bruhns, fig. 318)



20. A. Algardi. Tomb of pope Leo XI. 1634 – 1652.
(Rep. Wittkower, *Art and Architecture...*, fig. 97A)



21. D. Guidi. Tomb of cardinal Lorenzo Imperiale in S Agostino, Rome 1673.
(Rep. Bruhns, fig. 281)



22. D. Guidi. Cardinal Frideric.
(Phot. Archív IHS Poznań)



23. D. Guidi. Cardinal Frideric.
(Phot. Archív IHS Poznań)



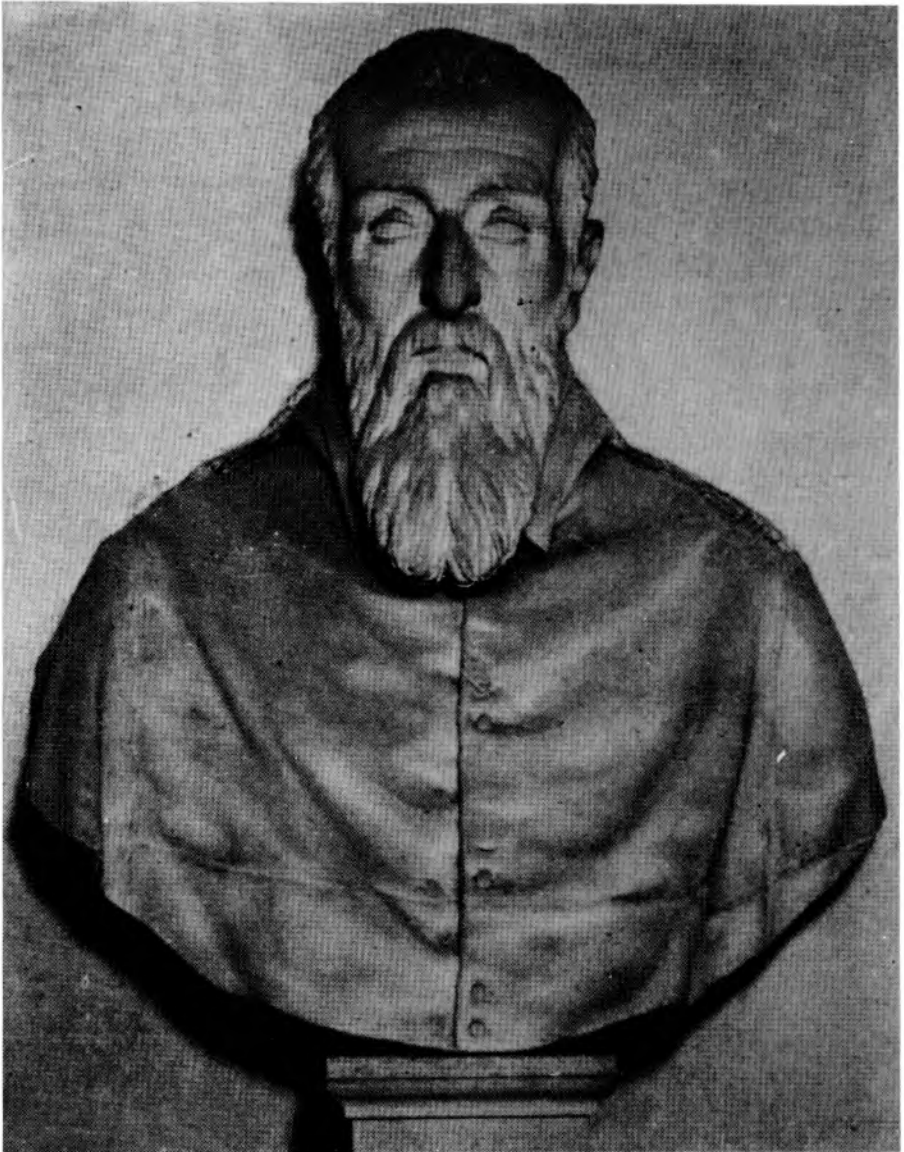
24. D. Guidi. Tomb of Philip de la Vrilliere. Chateauf — sur — Loire. 1680.
(Rep. Schlegel fig. 96)



25. G. L. Bernini. Bust of cardinal Frideric. 1655 – 1658. (Phot. Archiv IHS Poznań)



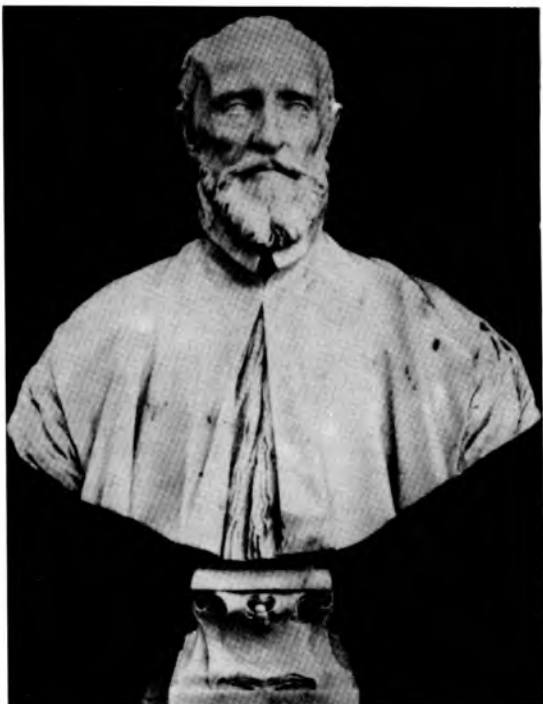
26. G. L. Bernini. Bust of cardinal Borghese. 1633. (Rep. Wittkower, Bernini, fig. 34 p. 195)



27. G. L. Bernini. Bust of cardinal Pietro Velier. 1627. Venice Seminario
(Rep. Wittkower, Bernini, p. 178 fig. 10)



28. G. L. Bernini. Bust of cardinal Agostino Velier. 1627. Venice Seminario
(Rep. Wittkower. Bernini p. 178 fig. 11)



29. G. L. Bernini.
Bust of Francesco Barberini.
1625 Samuel H. Kress Collection.
National Gallery Washington.
(Rep. Wittkower, Bernini...
p. 189 fig. 27)



30. G. L. Bernini. Bust of cardinal
Alessandro Montalto. 1622 - 1623.
Kunsthalle Hamburg.
(Rep. „The Burlington Magazine“.
Jan. 1985 fig. 37)

(1628 – 1647) and of the Pope Alexander VII (1671 – 1678).⁴⁰ The design of the lower part of the tomb follows the pattern of Urban VIII's tomb but with some reasonable modifications. Instead of a sarcophagus situated in the centre a large equilateral plaque with an inscription was introduced; the plaque is crowned with the twisted volutes adapted from the crowning (copestone) of Urban's VIII sarcophagus. Between the volutes, instead of a skeleton, there is a skull in a crown; a motif of similar message. Also situating the allegorical figures at the sides of the plaque imitates the composition of the Roman monument. However, particular details do not constitute, as in their original model, an integral unity. The figures and extended bordering of the epitaph with the tondo and putti sitting on the volutes do not remain in any compositional or emotional link, neither with each other nor with the statue of the dead.

The idea of situating the statue of a kneeling cardinal on a high socle and his gesture of eternal adoration directed to the altar was adopted by Guidi from the tomb of Alexander VII.⁴¹ Following the arrangement of Bernini Guidi clearly referred in his elaboration of details to the creativity of his teacher — Algardi. Like in the works by Algardi, the allegorical figures are situated in such a way that they remain only in a loose relation to the rest of the monument. Guidi's work lacks also the definite colour dominanta towards the centre of the composition; the effect that was so characteristic of the works by Bernini. The Wrocław tomb reveals some motives so characteristic of Guidi's works and originate from the works by Algardi. Thus, Aeternitas is a successive variation of a type of figure characteristic of Guidi's creativity. For example: Prudentia of the tomb of count Gaspare Thiene in S Andrea della Valle in Rome (1676 – 1678)⁴² or the statue of the tomb of Giovanni Battista de Luca in S Spirito dei Napolitani in Rome (1683).⁴³ Both repeat the model of Algardi — the figure of Temperantia of the tomb of Leo XI in S Peter (1634 – 1652).⁴⁴ Also the way of arranging the figure of the cardinal in his pose of eternal adoration follows the pattern of the tomb of Alexander VII. It had been exploited before, in the seventies by Guidi in the tomb of cardinal Lorenzo Imperiale in S Agostino in Rome.⁴⁵

Situating the Wrocław tomb in the way characteristic of the Roman elaboration of motives of eternal adoration, assuming the link between the altar and the statue of the dead, and owing to the architectural design of the chapel, gained a great intensity of coexistence of objects situated on the same axis. The objects that are the climax of the program and whose correlation was emphasized by the stage architecture. It is worth mentioning here some earlier compositions of a similar content — of the eternal adora-

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 193 ff; 238 ff.

⁴¹ Similar arrangement of a kneeling figure of the dead presented in profile Bernini applied in the design of a tomb of cardinal Domenico Pimentele, 1653, in S. Maria sopra Minerva in Rome, see R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini...*, p. 217.

⁴² I. Faldi, *La scultura barocca in Italia*, Milano 1958, p. 128, fig. 42; L. Bruhns, op. cit., p. 394, fig. 316.

⁴³ L. Bruhns, op. cit., p. 397, fig. 318.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 358; Faldi, op. cit., p. 111 – 112, fig. 28; M. Heimbürger-Ravalli, *Alessandro Algardi Scultore*, 1973, fig. XXIV, p. 82-84.

⁴⁵ L. Bruhns, op. cit., p. 359, fig. 281; the gesture of hands slight turn of the body is similar to figure of cardinal Roberto Bellarmine (1622 – 1624) in the church Il Gesu in Rome, see R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini...*, p. 182 – 183, fig. 7.

tion, in the original never realized design of a tomb of cardinal Oliverio Caraffa in a crypt of the cathedral in Naples (1503 – 1508).⁴⁶ The statue of the dead kneeling in front of the confession of St January.

The Wrocław project was realized simultaneously with two other big realisations by Guidi; with the tomb of cardinal Lorenzo Imperiale and the tomb of count Caspare Thiene so, it is not surprising that the style of sculptures in all these realisations is similar. In contrast to free arrangement of the allegorical figures the statue of the cardinal is rigidly posed and differently elaborated. Allegorical figures have decorative robes of clearly broken surfaces and deeply cut folds which brings about the effect of massive silhouette and chiaroscuro effect on their surface. The figure of the cardinal has a compact closed line, the folds are not cut so deeply and the surface is not so much differentiated. The face resembles the type of a veristic portrait without an attempt at presenting the psychological characteristics of a model.

The Wrocław sculptures prove a very high level of the artist's skills. The elaborating of figures as well as of the details is very precise and gives evidence to mastering the technology and subduing the material by Guidi and by his collaborators (apprentices). Allegorical figures are characteristic of their correct anatomical proportions, natural and dynamic poses and pictorial line of the figures. The emphasis put on motion and differentiated positions of the heads in relation to the legs give an impression of fluency and dynamics. Richly decorated robes do not hide, they underline the differences of poses and gestures. In contrast to the sharply cut folds of the robes with the effect magnified by chiaroscuro, the faces and the naked parts of their bodies are smoothly polished and softly elaborated with the feeling of flexibility of the tissue. Similar technique of polishing putti brings about the effect of softness of their naked bodies. The life-size figure of the cardinal in a conventional pose of the eternal adoration was modelled similarly to the allegorical figures with sharp cuts of a chisel strenghtening the effect of light. The closed contour and the emphasis on the vertical rhythm of the folds give the figure a monumental and calm character. Owing to clear modelling and to revealing the mimic (there are seen deep wrinkles and muscles of the face), the portrait of the cardinal is realistic and full of vitality. Only the working of the hair, shown in schematic series of curls, lacks subtlety. The sculpture in Wrocław shows a great resemblance in working out the details, to the portrait of Philip de la Vrillière in Chateaneuf-sur-Loire of the 1680.⁴⁷

Uneven level of the masterly touch of particular details is undoubtedly a result of participation of other employees of the workshop in the process of creation. The names of two of Guidi's assistants are known from the bills paid in the year 1683. They were: Michele Maglia (active in Rome in 1676 – 1707) and Filippo Carcani (since 1678 a member of the St. Luca Academy).⁴⁸ The tomb in Wrocław, despite some minor faults

⁴⁶ L. Bruhns, op. cit., p. 269 ff.

⁴⁷ D. Ostowska, *Rzeźba portretowa na Śląsku od połowy XVII do połowy XVIII wieku. „Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej”* 1979, t. 12, p. 35, 45; U. Schlegel, *Die italienischen Bilderwerke des 17 und des 18 Jhr. Die Bilderwerke der Skulpturengalerie Berlin*, Bd. I, Berlin 1978, p. 42-46 fig. 96 (bozzetto kat. nr 14, fig. 24).

⁴⁸ B. Patzak, op. cit., p. 17 both make their appearance in the studio of Bernini, see R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini...*, p. 40; Maglia carved a coupe with embroidery of the statue of Alexander VII by Bernini, see J. Montagu, *Roman baroque sculpture...* p. 94, 114, 147; Carcani, see p. 4, 96 – 97, 147.

in composition, resulting very often from reasons beyond the artist's control, can be recognized as one of his best works.

5. The figure of the cardinal situated between two ideal spheres — the earthly and the heavenly ones was included, together with his tomb by liturgy into functioning of the sanctuary. Rich liturgical program defined in the act of foundation,⁴⁹ completed and enriched the program expressed by the plastic means. In the liturgical program of the chapel, apart from the cult of the patron there was also a liturgy of the dead and the cult of the Holy Cross. The liturgy of the dead consists of "Officium defunctorum", "Commemoratio S. Elisabeth", "collect" for the founder, psalms "Miserere" and "De Profundis" and absolution.

All those prayers sang or pronounced in the name of the cardinal by the beneficiaries of the chapel became an earnest request of a suffering soul and an expression of hope for God's mercy.⁵⁰

With the help of St Elisabeth Frideric hoped to get forgiveness and eternal life. The tomb was included in the liturgy of the dead in such a way that, on the will of the founder, the absolution was given to him in front of the tomb on every anniversary of his death.⁵¹ The oil lamps, in their shape resembling candle sticks placed in the lions' paws meant to hold lit candles during the funeral rites, suggest that the tomb served a function of "castrum doloris" on such occasions.⁵²

In this baroque "theatre" operating inside the chapel the dead founder mediates between people and his canonized ancestor, showing the way to salvation through the faith (the burning heart at the socle) — constant and true, good works and "virtue".

The church of St Elisabeth in Wrocław was in that time a protestant church, so the foundation of the bishop compensated, in a sense, the catholic church the loss of a cult place of the saint so popular in Silesia. Actually it was an antireformational act on the part of a catholic official, which is shown not only by the figure of Veritas treading over Heresy but also by the extended cult of the Holy Cross as a symbol of victory which becomes an "instrument to believers, a banner in the battle against the evil, wisdom for barbarians."⁵³

6. Before the year 1700, in the Wrocław chapel there appeared one more remarkable piece of Roman sculpture — the portrait bust of cardinal Frideric which was situated above the entrance to the chapel in the year 1682.

⁴⁹ W. Dersch, op. cit., p. 327–330.

⁵⁰ L. Eisenhofer, *Totenoftizium*, in: *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, t. 10, 1938, p. 228–229; J. Wierusz-Kowalski, *Liturgika*, Warszawa 1958, p. 405–407.

⁵¹ W. Dersch, op. cit., p. 329.

⁵² J. T. Petrus, op. cit., p. 84; J. Chruścicki, *Pompa funebris*, Warszawa 1974 passim; see ef. of similar function are fully plastic hands holding candlesticks in the set of epitaphs in Ligota Górna of the beginning of the 18th c., see catalogue of Monuments of Art in Poland, *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, t. 7, *Województwo opolskie*, z. 4, *Powiat kluczborski*, T. Chrzanowski, A. Ciechanowiecki, Warszawa 1960, p. 34, fig. 106.

⁵³ M. Nowodworski, *Encyklopedia kościelna*, t. 11, Warszawa 1878, p. 472.

The work was probably made during cardinal's stay in Rome in the years 1655-1658.⁵⁴ Contemporary sources as well as other literature attribute this work definitely to Gian Lorenzo Bernini (mentioned in "Authenthico relatio" as "Cavaliere Berenni"). Only since the beginning of the 20th century, in some publications following Nickel's survey⁵⁵ have there appeared some doubts whether Bernini executed it himself or rather the work was only created in his workshop about the year 1668.⁵⁶

In the light of recent studies upon workshops of baroque sculptors in general and of Gian Lorenzo Bernini's workshop in particular, such considerations lose their evaluating significance.⁵⁷ No doubt the work is a distinguished work of art created by Bernini in his Roman workshop.

It represents a characteristic type of portrait busts by Bernini followed later by other baroque artists. The portrait of the cardinal represents a psychological image of a portrayed person, so characteristic of Bernini's creativity. It is also worth noticing that a line of slightly parted lips became typical since the portrait of cardinal Borghese (in the year 1633).⁵⁸ Soft modelling of the bust has a rich, full of nuances surface animated by contrasts of smooth, subtly differentiated planes. The elicit face with cleanly cut eyebrows and wrinkles around the eyes and the mouth. The image strikes with adequate characteristics. Also modelling of hair, that fall in loose curls, as well as modelling the garment with full feeling of the texture is analogical to other works by Bernini of which the most similar are the bust of cardinal Borgia from palazzo Venezia in Rome,⁵⁹ the bust of cardinals Pietro and Agostino Velier (1627),⁶⁰ the bust of Francesco Barberini (1625) in the National Gallery in Washington (Samuel H. Kress Collection),⁶¹ the bust of Domenico Ginnasio (1632 – 1633)⁶² or the bust of cardinal Alessandro Damasceni-Peretti-Montalto (1622 – 1623) in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg.⁶³

The compact composition of the bust of a peaceful closed contour, outline of the arms shown by slight vertical foldings of the garment, delicate surface plane modelling avoiding deep penetration of the material, the way of modelling of beard and moustache shows a close link between the bust in Wrocław and a group of early sculpture bust portraits created by Bernini in the third and the fourth decades of the 17th c.

⁵⁴ D. Ostowska, op. cit., p. 35, 45 kat. nr 8, also earlier bibliography. Ostowska dates the bust for ab. 1668.

⁵⁵ W. Nickel, *Die Breslauer Steinepitaphien aus Renaissance und Barock*, Strassburg 1924, p. 30 – 31, 47 – 49.

⁵⁶ J. Białostocki, *Dwugłos o Berninim*, Wrocław 1962, p. XII; K. Kalinowski, *Rzeźba...* p. 52.

⁵⁷ See texts in: *Entwurf und Ausführung in der europäischen Barockplastik*, Hrsg. P. Volk, München 1986; *Studien zur Werkstattpraxis der Barockskulptur im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert*, Hrsg. K. Kalinowski, Poznań 1992, J. Montagu, *Bernini Sculptors not by Bernini*, in: G. L. Bernini. *New Aspects of his Art and Thought*. A. Commemorative Volume. sup. I. Lavin, Pennsylvania-London 1985, p. 25 ff. Montagu, *Roman baroque sculpture*.

⁵⁸ R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini...*, p. 15, 194 – 195.

⁵⁹ D. Ostowska, op. cit., p. 45.

⁶⁰ R. Wittkower, *G. L. Bernini* 190 – 191, fig. 10-11.

⁶¹ U. Middeldorf, *Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European schools XIV-XIX c.*, London 1976, p. 80 – 81, kat. nr K 1828.

⁶² E. Benkard, *Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini*, Frankfurt 1926, p. 43, fig. 71.

⁶³ I. Lavin, *Bernini's Bust of Cardinal Montalto*, „The Burlington Magazine” January 1985, CXXVII, p. 32 – 38.

It also helps dating the Wrocław sculpture for the time of cardinal Frideric's visit in Rome in 1655 – 1658 where he belonged to a circle of the Queen Cristina. The sculpture is of a private, informal character, a portrait meant for a private apartment. It sometimes happened that portraits of that kind were placed in churches as epitaphs of a portrayed person.⁶⁴

Employing three different Roman artists such as G. L. Bernini, E. Ferrata and D. Guidi at making particular details of the figural decoration of the St Elisabeth chapel resulted in creating a kind of "vademecum" for the local sculptors not only introducing a new style but also — of no less importance — the repertoire of forms and sculpture techniques.

The sculptures that were created 20 years before they were placed in the Wrocław chapel, represented, in the year 1700 already outdated style formula, nevertheless, they not only established the Italian orientation of the Wrocław artists but also decided upon a long tradition of post-Bernini style in Wrocław sculpture in the first half of the 18th century.

Translated by I. Sankiewicz-Kalinowska

⁶⁴ We can observe similar cases of two other Italian imports in the Wrocław cathedral: the bust of the suffragan Jan Baltasar Lisch von Hornau (d. 1681) and a canonicus Caspar Henry Oberg (d. 1679), see K. Kalinowski, *Rzeźba...*, p. 51 – 52.