

HEART  
OF THE CITY  
CHURCH  
OF THE HOLY CROSS  
IN WARSAW

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CROSS IN WARSAW

Renovation of the Church of the Holy Cross

in Warsaw

and the post-monastic buildings

as an important object

of the national cultural heritage:

# HEART OF THE CITY



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**Mazowiecka Jednostka Wdrażania Programów Unijnych**

[Mazovian Unit for the Implementation of Union Programmes]

# CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS IN WARSAW

From the Editors

■ This book, which highlights the Missionary Priests' time-honoured Holy Cross Basilica in Warsaw as a significant centre of religious life, Warsaw's historic venue for public-spirited activities, and the world-famous deposition site of Frédéric Chopin's heart, is also the first example in Poland of two publishing tasks creatively combined in one volume. In addition to being a collective-effort album of art photographs and documentary pictures accompanied by popular essays, it contains a scholarly section of thirteen novel papers devoted to the church and its precious antique furnishings.

■ The book would not have come into being without the financial support from the Mazovian Unit for the Implementation of European Union's Funds granted in 2010, the year of the bicentennial celebrations of Chopin's birth. The support has enabled a team of several dozen restorers and contractors, assisted by a group of art historians, all operating under Kazimierz Sztarballo's management, to accomplish a task with no precedent in Warsaw, that is, a multi-stage comprehensive restoration of church interiors and portions of external elevation. The team is also credited with efforts leading to the complete reconstruction of the church's Baroque altars destroyed in 1944 and 1945, in that the most precious, monumental transept altar for the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament, which bears the honorific title of the Fatherland's Altar. The reader will find detailed accounts of all the efforts and procedures later in the book.

■ Combined with the remarkably rich illustrative material in both the album proper and the scholarly section, the knowledge of Chopin scholars, Warsaw experts, and art researchers has found a worthy visual counterpart in the book's innovative design concept. It is the work of Professor Lech Majewski the outstanding Polish poster-, book- and graphic designer, and lecturer Eugeniusz Dominik Łukasiak, of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. Thus, besides serving as important evidence of, and touchstone for, the present-day potentialities of the community of Polish monument restorers, the book is also a fine object and its aesthetic expression, coupled with the quality of its semantic content, constitutes an essentially new value on the publishing market.

■ In their scholarly papers, Katarzyna Wardzyńska, Jakub Sito, and Michał Wardzyński benefit from access to previously unused Polish and foreign archival sources and previously unknown iconographic documentation, as well as introducing, for the first time on the Polish ground, an unprecedented share of references to West European literature. The resulting set marks a methodological breakthrough in the study of the history of Warsaw culture and art. The papers present a comprehensive and quite novel image of the honourable group of donors to the Missionary Priests' first monastery in the Polish Commonwealth and their magnificent church, with special stress on the highest dignitaries of the Church and the French resident on the River Vistula.

■ Evidence has been provided in support of the altered dating of the individual stages of the Church of the Holy Cross erection and its modern-time altar furnishings, at the same time identifying those contributing their creative minds and physical effort to the task. Of the several dozen artists and artisans of the Italian, Germanic, Dutch, French, and Polish origin, mention is due to the architects Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, Tilman van Cameren, Carlo Antonio Baio, Giuseppe Fontana II and Jakub Fontana, painter Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski, and outstanding sculptors Johannes Söffrens, Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, and Johann Georg Pleresch. In their papers, the authors also undertake a first reconstruction of the intricate semantic programme of the architecture and interior of the Holy Cross Church.

■ We hope that the book we now present to the reading public will encourage its members to acquaint themselves with Poland, an important European country boasting a rich, age-long international history, interesting Latin culture, and art multifarious in its provenance and beauty.

Kazimierz Sztarballo, Michał Wardzyński

Ladies and Gentlemen,

■ It is with great pleasure that we commit this album to your hands. The book documents the renovation of the **Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw**, one of the capital city's most representative ecclesiastical buildings and one known to the music lovers all through the world as the sanctuary for Frédéric Chopin's heart.

■ Thanks to the funds from the European Union, it has become possible to carry into effect, in an exemplary way, the comprehensive renovation of the church along with the Congregation of the Mission's monastic building. What was an unfeasible task soon after World War II when the church was being raised from ruin has become a reality. The church has been restored to its former splendour. With the arrears of over half a century made up for, the **Church of the Holy Cross** has become even more beautiful. All those walking along the Royal Route in Warsaw can see it for themselves.

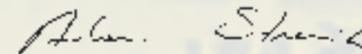
■ By no means has the renovation been limited to external retouching. Thanks to what has been accomplished in the Lower and Upper Church, the church will, from now on, perform its religious functions and, to a degree greater than before, operate as a cultural centre and national memorial. This will be also evident to the foreign tourist, until now identifying the **Church of the Holy Cross** mostly as a shrine to Chopin's heart.

■ It would be no exaggeration to say that before our very eyes a fine idea is becoming a reality: we can see a unified Europe's solidarity in support of Polish culture and learning. This is one of the numerous tangible benefits of our accession to the European Union.

■ It gives me great pleasure to highlight this as one of the first projects that the Mazovian Unit for the Implementation of Union Programmes has carried into effect in our region. Our philosophy behind the allocation of the European Union's grants is that, besides raising the residents' standards of living, they should also be instrumental in restoring buildings of architectural value and historical significance to their former splendour. The renovated **Church of the Holy Cross** is a palpable proof of the above.

■ Let me recommend this, an extremely interesting publication, to the public.

With best wishes for enjoyable reading,



Adam Struzik

Marshal

Region of Mazovia

In colloquial Polish we sometimes speak of someone 'having his or her five minutes'. The 'five minutes' is a symbolic reference to spells of particularly favourable circumstances, exceptionally good fortune, prosperity and the like. For all the differences and likely reservations, recent years in the history of the Warsaw Basilica of the Holy Cross may, in my opinion, be viewed in this peculiar context.

The work undertaken and carried into effect, comprising the restoration, repairs and renovation of the church as well as re-creation of some of the historic elements of its furnishings well deserves to be called exceptional.

The scope of the work completed is truly impressive and its importance to the preservation of the church for the future generations immense. And so it is from the viewpoint of the many and varied priestly, cultural, national, and patriotic functions that the church performs.

I perceive this accomplishment, which is in some measure described and documented in the present book, as a peculiar gift of Divine Providence, without whose care there would have been no coming together, in one place and time, of so many remarkable, co-operative people, competent institutions and agencies. Such is my deepest conviction.

As parish priest let me also avail myself of the opportunity that this personal foreword provides to express my gratitude to all those engaged in this large-scale project. My heartfelt thanks go to the research and designing teams, contractors, supervising bodies, institutions and agencies catering for the project, and to all those financing it.

My special thanks go to the Marshal of the Region of Mazovia Adam Struzik and to the Mazovian Unit for the Implementation of the Union Programmes, for which he is responsible. I am grateful to countless others, some preferring to remain anonymous, for donations coming from the bottom of their heart and for supporting the undertaking with prayer.

Marek Białkowski CM – Parish priest



JERZY ŻMUDZIŃSKI

# Glory through Fall to Freedom Church of the Holy Cross in the History of the Commonwealth of Two Nations and Warsaw

That each country can boast edifices of peculiar meaning to its cultural identity, whose significance does not only rest on their artistic value, most often quite unique, but also on their symbolic impact, is evident. In the case of Poland, this is certainly true of the two main royal residences, the castle on Wawel Hill in Cracow and the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Almost all other historic buildings that we may regard as ones best conveying the idea of 'Polishness' are churches (which comes as no surprise in a traditionally Catholic country). These include the Polish monarchs' Gothic coronation and sepulchral cathedrals at Gniezno and on Wawel Hill in Cracow, the national sanctuary of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, the Cracow 'burgher' cathedral, that is, St. Mary's Church, and certainly the parish church of the Holy Cross in the State's capital. Situated at a street called 'Krakowskie Przedmieście' on one of the city's main historic routes, it has the place of honour among Warsaw churches though, in terms of hierarchy, yielding precedence to the Warsaw cathedral of St. John (now the archbishop's see, until 1798 merely arch-collegiate church). Brought into focus in the church of the Holy Cross are highlights of Polish history and culture from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, making it one of the most important sites for the identity-seeking Pole of today to look at themselves as in a 'looking glass'. At that, it is an outstanding piece of architecture, the artistic class of which is equalled by the splendid furnishings. The Pole, and especially the resident of Warsaw, finds the cultural context of the church perfectly intelligible. Less familiar with the intricacies of Polish history, the foreigner may find the interpretation of the context more difficult. Fortunately, however, the history of the church, its erection, transformation and damage are wondrously intertwined with Poland's political and social history so that the explanation of the underlying problems may become somewhat easier.



The emergence of the Warsaw church of the Holy Cross in its present material shape goes back to the invitation to Poland of the Congregation of the Mission, an order of French origin founded in 1625 by St. Vincent de Paul. Besides acts of ministry and charity, it also acknowledged the education of priests as one of its main tasks. Invited by the Queen Marie-Louise (1611–1667) de Gonzaga, Duchesse de Nevers, the wife of John Casimir Vasa, the Missionaries arrived in Poland in 1651. Soon after that, in 1653, they were given the use of the parish church of the Holy Cross on the outskirts of Warsaw (Poland's capital city as of 1609). A modest church, it was inadequate for the needs of the Congregation of the Mission but could not have been replaced with a new building until after 1679. This was when the decision on the construction of the present church was made, a project proven feasible thanks to the considerable financial support



2 Marie-Louise de Gonzaga, Duchesse de Nevers, Queen of Poland and the Grand Duchesse of Lithuania, portrait by Daniel Schulz of Gdańsk / Danzig, about 1667, National Museum in Warsaw

3 John Casimir the Wasa, King of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, portrait by Daniel Schulz, 1660s, National Museum in Warsaw

from a fairly large group of donor-friends well disposed towards the Warsaw Missionaries. The period between 1651/1653 and 1679 is thus to be acknowledged as the initial, introductory stage in the history of the church and its protectors. It so happened that in Polish history those were crucial years.

At the moment of the Missionaries' arrival in Warsaw, Poland saw the rule of a third monarch from the Swedish Vasa House. Reigning in Poland between 1587 and 1668, the Vasa kings were related to an earlier Polish dynasty of Lithuanian descent, the Jagiellon House ruling in Poland between 1386 and 1572. From their predecessors, the Vasa kings inherited a huge, bipartite, multinational and religiously variegated Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, formed in the aftermath of a late fourteenth-century union between the two countries. It merged into one single organism in 1569 as a result of another union (called the Union of Lublin) prepared by the last Jagiellon king, Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572, r. 1548–1572). The political system of the Polish State was a rather unique blend of monarchy and democracy of the gentry. Playing the leading role in the country and afraid of the monarch's absolute rule, the Polish gentry (szlachta) was intent on the protection of its estate privileges and would admit no change to the form of government. The Polish kings, at that stage elected in 'free elections' by every single member of the szlachta, could by no means count on the establishment of hereditary monarchy and their political sovereignty was much curtailed by the Sejm, Poland's two-chamber parliament (composed of the Chamber of Deputies and Senate). Though elected to the Polish throne, the three successive Vasa kings, Sigismund III (r. 1587–1632) and his two sons, Wladislaus IV (r. 1632–1648) and John Casimir (r. 1648–1668), made up a kind of dynasty harking back to the Jagiellon tradition. Their successors between 1669 and Poland's loss of independence in 1795 were six monarchs, as many as four of whom were Poles from gentry families (strictly speaking, magnate ones) while two others came from the Wettin House of the Electors of Saxony. Making the country prone to processes of inner degeneration, this specific formation of the Polish political system, combined with the neighbour states' aggressive policies, was to lead to the fall of the Polish State at the end of the eighteenth century. Having lost independent statehood in 1795 as a result of partitions, the country remained in the condition until 1918.

At the moment of the Missionaries' arrival in Poland, however, no signs of the later disasters could be sensed despite, naturally, the country's temporary engagement in serious armed conflicts and despite the defeats suffered at the hands of foreign armies. Barely two years after the church of the Holy Cross was turned down to the priests in Warsaw, Poland's long wars with Sweden (1655–1660) began. These were later to spread to the other countries of the region to become what is known as the Great Northern War and, with reference to Poland, the 'Deluge', causing extensive damage, also to the city of Warsaw. In the seventeenth century, Sweden was one of Poland's traditional rivals though the Polish State's foreign policy focused on the East. On the one hand, the legacy of the Lithuanian State's orientation was crucial in this case, for Lithuania was at that time a key component of the Commonwealth of Two Nations. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania's eastern regions had been a bone of contention between Poland and Russia, which ended with Poland's defeat in the seventeenth century. 1686 saw the signing of an 'eternal peace' treaty with Russia (the so called 'Grzymułtowski Treaty') that put a stop to the long-waged wars depriving Poland of important territories in the East (with Kiev and Smolensk). From then on, Russia's interference with Poland's internal Polish affairs was to become more and more frequent. The other factor of importance to the country's foreign policy in the eastern direction was its adjacency in the south to areas subordinated by the very aggressive Turkey. This issued in a sequence of Poland's largely victorious wars and battles with the Tartars and Turks. As a player on the West-European policy arena, two powers, France and Austria, perceived Poland as an object of rivalry, which manifested itself especially during the reign of Louis XIV (1638–1715, r. 1643–1715). All through the period, Poland continued to be an object of France's endeavours aiming to divert the country from an alliance with the Habsburg Austria. Louis XIV sought to install French Prince on the Polish throne, but his attempts did not prove successful.

Thus the political and also cultural roots of civilisation in Poland were of dual nature. Though strong, the eastern influence, which revealed itself first and foremost in clothing, daily life settings and definite mentality traits, was second to Poland's bonds with Western Europe's Latin culture, primarily Italian and, in different periods with varying intensity, also French. In 1573–1574, Poland saw the short-lived rule of Henri de Valois, the later Henry III of France and one of the last Valois kings. The two most ambitious and politically active Polish queens in the seventeenth century, Marie Louise de Gonzague, wife of King John Casimir Vasa, and Marie Casimira, wife of John III Sobieski, came from French families. This characteristic modern-age 'split' of Polish culture did not always find an explicit resonance in the local art monuments. Otherwise so often referred to, echoes of the Poles' East-oriented tastes are in principle absent from the Warsaw church of the Holy Cross, a work of Western art in pure form, where the only direct references present are to Italian and French culture and art. This is naturally the result of the church's location in the capital of the State as well as the pro-Western orientation of the church donors and the French provenance of the Missionaries. Alongside the Nuns of the Visitation and Sisters of Charity, they were among the three orders invited from France to Poland by the Queen Marie Louise.

1 Map of the Commonwealth of Two Nations: Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Paris, c.1650.



The beginnings of the Warsaw foundation of the Missionaries in 1651–1679 coincide with a period in a sense crucial to the State's history. The 1668 abdication of the King John Casimir put an end to the rule of the Vasa dynasty in Poland, by this closing the Jagiellon tradition. Weakened after the ruinous mid-seventeenth-century wars (with Sweden, Russia, and the rioting Cossacks in the Ukraine, which region was part of the Polish State at that time), Poland became prone to the devastating Turkish assaults. These were not counteracted during the short reign of John Casimir's direct successor, the rather inept Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (descendant of a Polish magnate family, r. 1669–1673). Poland had to wait over twenty years until it could regain a position if not dominant, than of much importance in Central European politics. Credit for this goes to the outstanding military commander Jan Sobieski (1629–1696), Crown Hetman of the Polish Army, who defeated the Turks in the great battle of Chocim in 1673. Elected King of Poland in 1674, he ruled as John III. When the Missionaries set about building their monumental church of the Holy Cross, which happened in 1679, Sobieski had reigned for five years. His greatest military success in the battle of Vienna was to come four years later, in 1683. The fact of Poland's engagement in Austria's conflict with Turkey, whose armies were at this time besieging the imperial capital, resulted from a sequence of changes in Polish foreign policy. At first an ally of Louis XIV, then losing heart to France, John III Sobieski made an alliance with Austria and, at the head of the Polish troops, went to relieve the besieged Vienna. Pressures from the papacy were a factor of considerable importance. Largely Catholic, Poland was seen as the 'bulwark' of Europe against the invading barbarian peoples from the East. While relieving the imperial capital besieged by the Turks, the memorable battle of 1683 caused a lasting reversal of forces in South-Eastern Europe to the disadvantage of Turkey.

1696, the year of John III Sobieski's death, saw the completion and consecration of the Missionary Church of the Holy Cross. Both the King and the Queen had taken much interest in the construction of the edifice. John III was perhaps less involved (though he inspected the building site personally in 1690) than his wife Marie Casimira (1641–1716), born into the noble French d'Arquien family, her sisters and her eldest son Jakub Sobieski who, back in 1679, had laid the cornerstone of the church. The Queen was present at the consecration by Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, the King's relative and one of the donors to the edifice, well known as a Francophile. The Sobieski family, however, exerted no influence on the artistic shape of the church. The Missionaries must have resolved it by themselves, probably relying for advice on some of the donors to the collective opus, mainly those representing the French-oriented wing of the Polish political and cultural elite. Yet the church did not become a Parisian importation to the Polish ground. It was erected by the Italian architect Giuseppe Simone Bellotti according to the principally North-Italian Venetian patterns while some elements of the furnishings are credited to artists educated in Rome and Italy. For instance, the painting Crucifixion in the High Altar is the work of Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski the titled graduate of the famous Roman Accademia di San Luca and court painter to the King. At the same time, however, French inspirations and works of art commissioned in Paris, which were modelled on the architecture and furnishings of the Louis XIV Versailles residence, famous throughout Europe, played an important role inside the church. This made it an outpost and most excellent creation of the new style of classicising French Baroque not only in Warsaw but the Polish Commonwealth as a whole. Since the issue is dealt with in detail in several ample papers elsewhere in the book, it is not the right place to analyse it here. Let us just mention the participation of French artists with the talented art smith, the lay brother Nicolas Tetar/Teter. In turn, the architect and designer Tilman van Gameren of Utrecht and the sculptor Johannes Söffrens, likewise of the Netherlands, contributed a number of the latest Baroque and classicising patterns from the Gouden Eeuw period in Flanders and Holland to the five-strong set of wood-carved altarpieces. Most significantly, the church of the Holy Cross, the most imposing church endowment accomplished during the 'Sobieski era' in the Polish capital, or perhaps even in Poland, provides evidence of Western art patterns fully assimilated into local needs and carried into effect on the Polish ground in excellent artistic shape. To an elitist group of magnate and Church patrons oriented at French culture, it was to become an attractive pattern for imitation with numerous examples of the reception of the pioneering solutions employed in the church continuing all through the Commonwealth into the 1730s.

In 1696, at the moment of the church's consecration (coinciding with the death of the last of the great Polish monarchs), the façade was not yet quite finished though its main disposition had already been settled. It was to be completed in two phases in the eighteenth century. In 1725–1728 another Italian, Giuseppe Fontana II was put in charge of the building works. In 1745–1760 the cupolas of the towers were executed, the portal and the gable of the middle part shaped, and, finally, the decoration finished – all this to the design and under the supervision of Jakub Fontana. To put the finishing touch to the church's interior decorations and furnishings, a marble floor was laid inside in 1766–1767. Incidentally, this second stage of the building process was almost wholly completed during the reign of the two Polish kings of the Saxon Wettin House reigning simultaneously in Dresden as Electors of Saxony. They were Augustus II the Strong (r. 1697–1733) and his son Augustus III (r. 1734–1763). In Poland, the overall span of their rule (1697–1763) was called the 'Saxon era'. The interim saw the reign of Stanislaus Leszczyński the Polish magnate supported by Charles XII of Sweden.

4 Louis XIV de Bourbon, King of France and of Navarre, portrait by Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1701  
Paris, Musée du Louvre

5 Maria Casimira De la Grange d'Arquien, Queen of Poland and the Grand Duchesse of Lithuania, portrait by an unknown painter in the Court of King Jan III Sobieski, after 1685  
Warsaw, The Wilanów Palace Museum



6 Archbishop Teodor Potocki, Primate of Poland, anonymous lithography, XIXth c.

7 Casimir Jan Szczuka, Bishop of Chelmsza, alabaster portrait by Johannes Söffrens of Ellblag / Ellbing, 1697  
Chelmsza, cathedral church, bishops' tombstone

Stanislaus Leszczyński ascended to the throne twice: the first time in 1704–1709 during Sweden's war with Poland, in which the Swedes defeated Augustus II Wettin; the second time in 1733–1736 when Leszczyński was engaged in a war for the Polish throne with the would-be Augustus III. In the meantime Stanislaus Leszczyński stayed in France and, being father-in-law of Louis XV (who had married his daughter, Maria Leszczyńska) ruled over the Duchy of Lorraine. The history of Poland in the first half of the eighteenth century was very complicated indeed. When the Warsaw church of the Holy Cross had its floor laid with marble, Poland had been ruled for two years by its last king, Stanislaus II Augustus Poniatowski. Elected in 1764, he abdicated in 1795 in the immediate aftermath of the third and last partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

The Wettin monarchs were not engaged in the completion of the church of the Holy Cross. The façade, on which Bellotti had made a start, is in no respect typical of the architecture of the Saxon times (though part of the sculptural decoration comes from the best sculptors of the time, including Johann Georg Plersch). Erected in that period, the monuments to the Missionary Bishop Bartłomiej Michał Tarło (d. 1715) and Primate Stefan Michał Radziejowski (d. 1705) are of exceptional artistic class. Their splendid forms were born of the co-operation between the leading contemporary Warsaw architects with, primarily, Carlo Antonio Baio (who had studied in Rome under Andrea Pozzo the famous mathematician, art theorist and Jesuit painter) and the internationally renowned centre of stone masonry and sculpture at Dębnik near Cracow. It was there that the tombstones were executed and from where the Missionaries had them rafted down the River Vistula to Warsaw. The church of the Holy Cross is also an exceptional place of the meeting of, and interaction between, the outstanding works by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, Johann Georg Plersch, and an anonymous imitator of Matthias Bernhard Braun. The three artists represent the latest style in the early-eighteenth-century sculpture relying for influence on Bohemian Prague, imperial Austria, and papal Rome. Their presence for many years in the capital of Poland, while resulting in the utter change of the image of the late Baroque and Rococo sculpture, coincided with the supreme development of the fine arts throughout the country. As regards easel painting, the altars of the Holy Cross church provide a representative setting for the canvases by member of the Roman Academy Szymon Czechowicz, the leading eighteenth-century Warsaw painter and founder of the first private art school in Warsaw, and his gifted pupil and co-worker Łukasz Smuglewicz.

No major works were conducted in the church during the reign of Stanislaus II Augustus Poniatowski. And yet, the monumental Baroque two-tower church façade fitted in remarkably well with the landscape of what was one of the Central European metropolises in the eighteenth century. Perfectly depicted by Bernardo Bellotto called Canaletto (cf. his excellent 1778 View of the Krakowskie Przedmieście with the Holy Cross church façade), Warsaw's exceptional beauty, the numerous outstanding late-Baroque and neo-classical edifices, the Polish elite's supreme culture and ambitions disagreed with the disastrous condition of the State. During the eighteenth century, the huge organism composed of Saxony, Poland and Lithuania, cemented under the Wettins by the rule of one king, tended to function worse and worse. The Wettin kings used Poland as a means of strengthening their native Saxony. State organisation was subject to a process of inner decay caused by the crisis of the democracy of the gentry. Adopted by the Polish Sejm, the fatal liberum veto principle, which granted every individual deputy the right to reject the majority will, frustrated legislative procedures. The incompetent foreign policy and the Polish army's disastrous condition resulted in the country's endless engagement in wars, the unceasing occupation of the different parts of the country by foreign troops and, eventually, Poland's growing dependence on its powerful neighbours, especially Russia and Prussia. In this state of affairs, little could be changed by the rule of an enlightened and deeply cultured but weak and helpless king, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski (r. 1764–1795), whose ascent to the throne was in fact forced by the Empress Catherine of Russia. Attempts at reforming the State during the last years of the century and the passing in 1791 of a modern constitution (known as the 'Constitution of 3 May') had come to nothing. The three successive partitions (in 1772, 1793, and 1795) left Poland divided up among the three neighbour states, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and deprived of independent statehood until 1918. Known in Polish historiography as the 'partition years', the period between 1795 and 1918 saw a short spell of partial independence under French protectorate during the wars waged by emperor Napoleon I who instituted the Duchy of Warsaw (1807–1815). Later on, the Poles mounted two national uprisings against the occupying powers, one, known as the 'November Uprising', in 1830, the other, known as the 'January Uprising', in 1863, both suppressed. As a silent witness of all these events, there was the Missionaries' church, the capital city's foremost parish church. No change was introduced into its appearance in the second half of the eighteenth century. A symptomatic fact occurred in 1794, during the outbreak of the Kościuszko Insurrection (an uprising against Russia called from the name of the insurrection's dictator Tadeusz Kościuszko), preceding the country's final partition. It was then that the church of the Holy Cross lost precious ecclesiastic objects conveyed to it for the needs of the insurrection, originating mostly from the time of the church's foundation. Such was the church's symbolic entry into the partition period.



It would be simplified to some extent, however, to perceive the vicissitudes of the Warsaw church the Holy Cross always in direct connection with the history of Poland. On the other hand, one is tempted to adopt this peculiar perspective when looking at some events in the monumental building's history. Some of the important episodes in the edifice's material history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries evoke this kind of association. When Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, leader of the 'Patriotic Party' at the time of the Polish Sejm's passing the historic Constitution of 3 May in 1791, died in 1823, he was buried in a Holy Cross crypt. In this connection, the chapel situated in the chancel was so rebuilt to the design of the well-known Italian architect Enrico Marconi, as to contain Czartoryski's tombstone. The composition of its forms is patterned on those of an ancient Roman sarcophagus, credit for which goes to the well-known architect of the neo-classical period Hilary Szpilowski who worked on it in 1826–1836. Czartoryski, a relative of the last Polish king Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, was one of the foremost figures in the State's political and cultural life in the second half of the eighteenth century. His wife Izabela founded the first Polish museum to house Old Poland's memorabilia. With Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski's death, the world of an independent eighteenth-century Poland was irrevocably gone.

When the figure of Christ Carrying the Cross was being put up in front of the church in 1858, one could hardly predict that the statue would become one of the symbols of the nineteenth–twentieth century Warsaw or even Poland at large. Worked out compositionally by sculptor Andrzej Pruszyński and eventually wrought in bronze by the artist's pupil Pius Weloński, the Christ kept the people of Warsaw company during all of the most important events of that time. In 1861, soon after the statue had been put up, large-scale patriotic manifestations against the Russian occupier broke out in Warsaw, beginning with a celebration in the church of the Holy Cross, a prelude to the outbreak of one of the nineteenth-century suppressed national uprisings (the January Uprising of 1863). The statue was witness to the Nazi destruction of Warsaw during World War II in 1939, 1944, and 1945. In those times the church hosts, the Missionaries were likewise symbolic companions in the history of Poland. In 1864, after the fall of the January Uprising crushed by Russia (Warsaw was part of the Russian partition zone at that stage), the monastery building ceased to function as such. In 1918, when Poland regained independence, the Missionaries were reinstated in their charge of the church.

From the nineteenth century, the church of the Holy Cross served as the venue for ceremonies of not just religious nature. This, the close connection between Catholic faith and patriotism, is a specifically Polish feature. It is only natural to those remembering that both during the partition period (1795–1918) and under communist rule (1945–1989) the Church was the only legally operating social institution capable of offering support to the demonstration of desire for freedom, so much longed for by the Poles. This is why ceremonies in several Polish churches attracted unprecedented crowds in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is also why the altars in Wawel Cathedral in Cracow, the sanctuary of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, and the Warsaw church of the Holy Cross deserve the special title of Altars for the Fatherland, granted them as it were spontaneously in the different periods of Polish history.

The remarkable popularity of the Warsaw church and the scale of religious ceremonies held here, usually attended by thousands of the faithful, are worth remembering for yet another reason. 1879 saw a unique 'relic' embedded in the church wall, namely: the heart of the greatest Polish composer Frédéric Chopin who died in Paris in 1849. Brought to Warsaw by Chopin's sister Ludwika in keeping with his last will, it was subsequently enshrined in the church in a strictly private ceremony attended by barely a dozen friends and members of the Chopin family (a special epitaph was added to commemorate the site later on). So intense was the fear of an expected hostile reaction of the Russian authorities anxious to suppress all manifestations of Polish national life, which gives an idea of the socio-political situation in Poland in the nineteenth century and also a large part of the twentieth.

The church of the Holy Cross was to continue happily until 1939 along with its splendid furnishings originating for the most part from times not much distant from the church's foundation. It was damaged by the Nazis during World War II (mostly in the course of the 1944 Warsaw Rising and in the first days of 1945, just before the Soviet Army's entry). Though the rebuilding of the church was launched vigorously after the war along with the restoration of its surviving furnishings and the reconstruction of the destroyed ones, the process was not consistently brought to completion. Despite the authorities' evident determination to raise the capital city from ruin after World War II, ideological considerations coupled with financial difficulties precluded consistent reconstruction of Warsaw's all destroyed buildings along with their furnishings. This also applied to the church of the Holy Cross, where the reconstruction process was incomplete. The building had to wait for the collapse of communism in 1989, followed by the emergence of a fully democratic political system and the Polish accession to the European Union in 2004. In the wake of all these, Union funds have become available for the complete restoration of the church that could be reinstated to its pre-1939 condition. So far, it is the last 'grand-scale' historic event directly linked with the 'small-scale', local history of the Warsaw church's material structure. Just finished, the restoration has returned the country one of its most signifi-

cant modern-time architectural monuments in full splendour, as well as one of the unique memorabilia, accompanying the Poles in their vicissitudes so intricate as to sometimes impede understanding. As never before, they are now part of European history and cultural tradition.



8 Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, Primate of Poland, portrait by François de la Croix, 1702 Nieborów, Palace Museum, department of the National Museum in Warsaw

9 Jakub Fontana, royal architect and designer, drawing-portrait by Johann Christian Kametzter, about 1772 University of Warsaw Library, Print Room

10 Map of the Commonwealth of Two Nations: Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania, with the genealogy of Polish Kings and Princes and coat of arms of Polish, Lithuanian and Ruthenian lands, voivodeships and most important cities, Paris, after 1650

GRZEGORZ POLAK

## *The Holy Cross Church: in Warsaw, in Poland, in the World*

The Royal Route in Warsaw would be hard to imagine without the majestic mass of the Church of the Holy Cross and its two towers surmounting the Krakowskie Przedmieście Street. The capital city would be unthinkable without a church that compares with cathedrals in fame and meaning. Just after the country's most famous shrines (Wawel Cathedral in Cracow, the national sanctuary of Jasna Góra in Częstochowa, Gniezno Cathedral, and the church at Łagiewniki in Cracow), it is one of the churches best known abroad. As a palpable proof of the above, there are groups of foreigners and individual tourists stopping day in, day out, in front of the epitaph to Frédéric Chopin in the Church of the Holy Cross.

To the people of Warsaw, the church is not only a memento of the great composer. In their minds, the basilica of the Holy Cross is one of the capital city's treasures, the arena of meaningful historic events, tragic and joyful alike, and a prominent centre of religious life. The church has long acted as a cultural centre, and hence it was only natural that, back in 1987, it was within its walls that Pope John Paul II's meeting with the luminaries of Polish culture took place. The church is known throughout Poland for yet another reason. On 21 September 1980, when the communists were still in power, it was from here that the Polish Radio began to broadcast Holy Mass on Sunday mornings, in keeping with one of the demands of the newly instituted Independent Self-governing Trades Union (NSZZ) Solidarity. The broadcast has been continued to this day. The nearby Świętokrzyska Street, one of the city's main arteries, takes its name from the Holy Cross.

As the church's most familiar symbol, not only to believers, there is the splendid figure of *Christ Carrying the Cross* with the *SURSUM CORDA* [Lift up your hearts] inscription underneath. It was put up before the fronton, above the entrance to the Lower Church in 1858. When the statue was knocked down from the pedestal during the Warsaw Rising of 1944, Christ's right hand pointing the sky seemed to be saying 'Lift up your hearts!' Commemorated in a German photographer's famous picture of the ruins of a city almost totally destroyed by the Nazis, the gesture communicated to the Warsaw people a message that amounted to, 'There are grounds for hope against hope even in most dramatic conditions. Christ is always with His folk.' John Paul II pointed it out in his sermon in Warsaw's Plac Zwycięstwa [Victory Square, renamed Piłsudskiego Square] on 2 June 1979. 'Without Christ, a nation with a past as magnificent, and at the same time as painfully difficult, cannot be understood. Nor can Warsaw, Poland's capital city, engaging in unequal struggle against the occupier in 1944, then abandoned by the allied powers and buried under its ruins, be understood by those mindless of Christ the Saviour and His Cross being also buried in these same ruins in the Krakowskie Przedmieście.'

### **Where History Speaks**

In the Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, the passer-by can hardly remain insensitive to the transformation of the church of the Holy Cross. After general repairs conducted with the financial assistance of the European Union, the edifice has come out rejuvenated and beautified. The grant is also to cater for projects on completion of which the church's role as a centre of cultural life will expand.

All churches are first and foremost places of worship, but some also operate as national sanctuaries that shape the national awareness and memory of generations. One such church is that of the Holy Cross – as of recently a basilica.

The construction of the building in the second half of the seventeenth century was a grand event in the capital's life. At that time Poland was a powerful state with the seat of the Vasa House's court in Warsaw. Hence outstanding artists of the period were engaged to take part in the construction and no expense was spared to provide the builders with the necessary building materials. The Sobieski Royal House was likewise vividly interested in the project – the King lavished ducats from his funds while his eldest son Prince Jakub was the one chosen to lay the corner-stone in the absence of the King, the later victor in the (1683) Battle of Vienna.

Erected in place of a former church destroyed during the Swedish (1655) invasion known as the 'Deluge', the new Baroque building immediately became an embellishment to the city. The church towers crowned with Late Baroque cupolas are credited to Giuseppe Fontana II while the façade was built to his son Jakub's design.

The church is decorated with sculptures by Johann Georg Piersch: the statues of Sts. Peter and Paul are placed in the niches, the personifications of Faith and Hope upon the pediment of the portico, the putti, angels and the cross at the top. During the Warsaw Rising, the German 'Goliaths' (self-propelled dynamite-filled mines) exploding on 6 September 1944 reduced the building to ruin. The task of restoring the church back to its former splendour has been continued to this day.





2 Church of the Holy Cross from the Kopernika Street, archival photo, before 1929

3 Church of the Holy Cross from the square in front of the Copernicus Statue



On entering the church, we can barely resist the impression that we hear History the Great speak to us, that we encounter the shadows of the illustrious Poles either buried here or setting from here on their last journey to the Powązki Cemetery. This is the last resting-place of Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, leader of the Patriotic Party, and Stanisław Małachowski, Speaker of the Four-year Diet. For three years before it was laid in Wawel Cathedral, the coffin of the national hero Prince Józef Poniatowski remained in the vaults of the church. Besides a sanctuary to the heart of Frédéric Chopin, the church also boasts a built-in urn with the heart of Władysław Stanisław Reymont, winner of the 1924 Nobel Prize for literature.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Church of the Holy Cross played a role of importance even greater than that of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Warsaw's Old Town. On the eve of his coronation, Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski went to the Holy Cross to confess. He arrived at the head of a colourful pageant while the Treasurer Teodor Wessel who accompanied him would, in keeping with an old custom, now and then give out money to the crowds.

The Church of the Holy Cross had since become a site visited by the faithful from the social élite. In the vestibule, aristocratic ladies collected money for charity. 'During the reign of Stanisław Augustus, the Holy Cross had come to the lead of Warsaw churches,' a nineteenth-century chronicler wrote.

It was a point of departure for all the grand funeral processions on their way to the Powązki Cemetery. Since Poland lost independence, the church had acted as symbol of Polishness and resistance to the occupiers. Funerals of remarkable Poles created an opportunity for patriotic manifestations. This was the case with funeral Mass said for [Romantic poet] Antoni Edward Odyniec, who was friends with Adam Mickiewicz [Polish great national bard], or for composer Stanisław Moniuszko. The composer's cortège counted eighty thousand people all the way from the Holy Cross to the Powązki Cemetery.

It was from here that on 3 May 1792, on the first anniversary of the passing of the Third of May Constitution, a national procession left to thank God for the historic legal document, the first of the kind in Europe, by laying the foundations of the Temple of Providence.

The church could not possibly receive the crowds for services in celebration of patriotic events, the anniversaries of Tadeusz Kościuszko's death, passing the Third of May Constitution or the consecration of plaques and epitaphs to illustrious Poles, such as [famous historian and writer] Józef Ignacy Kraszewski (baptised in the church). On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Juliusz Słowacki [Romantic poet, another Polish great national bard], in expectation of the large numbers of those wishing to attend, the organisers let the public through the sacristy on presentation of tickets only.

It was in this peculiar church that the citizens of Warsaw would pray on behalf of the national uprisings: the Kościuszko Insurrection (1794), the November Uprising (1830–1831) and the January Uprising (1863–1864). The Church of the Holy Cross and environs were also the arena of dramatic events. During the patriotic manifestation on 27 February 1861, the Russian troops attacked defenceless crowds, killing five of the demonstrators. During the night their coffins were moved from the Europejski Hotel to the Holy Cross. Warsaw's industrialists and merchants donated yards and yards of pall to decorate the inside of the church with. For several days until the funeral, the citizens of Warsaw crowded in the church to pay homage to the fallen. 150 000 people took part in the funeral celebration, a remarkably high attendance considering that the population of Warsaw counted 380 000 at that time. Without a consolidating event like this, the January Uprising, which was Poland's last large-scale assault on independence, would not have broken out in 1863.

On 19 September 1863, an assassination attempt at General Feodor Berg, the Tsar's Viceroy was undertaken from the attic of Count Andrzej Zamoyski's house adjacent to the church. The inside of the house was plundered and a grand piano, formerly used by Chopin, thrown out of the window, an event commemorated by Cyprian Kamil Norwid with the phrase 'The ideal has reached the pavement' (in the *Chopin Grand Piano* poem).

With the occupiers' anxiety over the intensification of patriotic attitudes among the Poles, tsarist agents would more and more frequently turn up in the church. In spite of it, the Missionary Priests, hosts of the church and the parish, assisted the insurrectionists. One of the priests, the Reverend Franciszek Kamiński was banished to Siberia for providing the insurrectionists with weapons, clothing and forged passports. He spent twenty years there. The Tsar's government punished the Missionary Priests with a heavy fine for what was regarded as instigation of the people of Warsaw to rebellion. In the event, the government disbanded the order late in 1864, just like other orders operating within the borders of the former Kingdom of Poland. The church was turned over to the diocese priests who were left in charge of pastoral care until 1918 when, with Poland's recovery of independence, the Missionary Priests could return to the Krakowskie Przedmieście.

The church went through dramatic moments especially during the Warsaw Rising of 1944. Captured by the Germans and then recaptured by the Poles, it was eventually taken by the Nazi occupiers early in September. Afraid of further action on the part of the insurgents, the Germans had two self-propelled dynamite-filled mines called 'Goliaths' installed in the church. The detonation wrought great havoc and large part of the church was left in ruins. During their last days before leaving Warsaw in January 1945, the Germans caused further damage to the building.

The church was also witness to moments of joy. On 17 November 1918, a service of thanksgiving for Poland's independence was held, which was attended by 100 000. On 4 November 1956, the church heard a general sob of joy when Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński the Primate of Poland returned from imprisonment. People were crowding in the windows of all the neighbouring buildings, climbing car roofs and fences.

Over the centuries, a gallery of outstanding personages passed through the church. Monarchs, presidents and hierarchs of the Church arrived here to pray, the last-named including Nuncio Achille Ratti, the future Pope Pius XI, who showed a fondness for the Passion service *Gorzkie żale* (Polish: 'Arrive, bitter regrets, to permeate our hearts'). Here the Blessed Father Honorat Koźmiński was ordained. Here the Reverend Ignacy Skorupka, the later hero of the Polish-Soviet War of 1920, was ordained subdeacon. Passionate preachers of great merit to Poland would ascend the Holy Cross pulpit. In their number, mention is due to the Revs. Hugo Kollańtaj and Primate Jan Paweł Woronicz, and, in our time, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, who gave his famous 'Holy Cross Sermons' here, and to the Revs. Karol Wojtyła – future Pope John Paul II, Jan Zieja, and the Rev. Professor Józef Tischner.



Great artists were also celebrated in the church. 1900 saw a ceremony in honour of Henryk Sienkiewicz the (1905) Nobel-Prize winner to mark twenty-five years of his engagement with literature. After the ceremony, the crowds gathered in the church set out for the Town Hall where a deed of conveyance was handed to the writer to confirm the nation's gift of a manor at Oblegorek to Henryk Sienkiewicz.

### Art with a Capital 'A'

The church has also secured itself a place in the history of Polish religious culture. The parish of the Missionary Priests was the birthplace of the *Gorzkie żale* (Bitter Regrets) Passion service later spreading throughout the country to become very popular with the faithful. First published in 1707 by the Brotherhood of St. Roch operating at the church of the Holy Cross, it was the opening of a Lenten song collection translated from the Latin. The Polish title of the *Fasciculus Myrrhae* read *Snopek Miry z Ogrodu Gethsemańskiego albo żalose gorzkiej Męki Syna Bożego rozpamiętywanie* (Myrrh Sheaf from the Garden of Gethsemane or Bitter Recollection of the Passion of the Son of God). By no means merely a relic of devout literature, the *Gorzkie żale* service is still celebrated in almost unchanged form in the Holy Cross and other Polish churches during the Lent.

The parish of the Holy Cross has always taken much care to provide appropriate musical setting. The longest-lived Warsaw church choir has been in operation here since 1866. Excellent Polish operatic singers, such as Stefania Woytowicz and Bernard Ładysz, performed with it. Among the choir conductors mention is due to the outstanding composer Jan Maklakiewicz and Professor Feliks Rączkowski the virtuoso of organ music who worked here many years as titular organist, assisted by the well-known musicians and composers Augustyn Bloch and Marian Sawa.

To the Warsaw music-loving public, the Basilica of the Holy Cross has been long known for memorable artistic events, such as summer organ concerts initiated by Professor Wiktor Łyjak and Passion concerts conceived

4 Frontal view of the middle section of the Holy Cross façade, archival photo, before 1929

5 Façade of the Church of the Holy Cross by night from the direction of the Copernicus Statue





6 Panorama of the Krakow Przedmieście in the northern direction from the façade of Staszic Palace

by Stanisław Kurczewski the long-standing conductor of the Holy Cross choir. The church saw artists of the rank of Krzysztof Penderecki and Agnieszka Duczmal appearing as conductors. In 2002, Agnieszka Duczmal conducted the 'Amadeus' Chamber Orchestra at the inauguration of the first festival called 'Chopiniana', a due name for a church with a shrine to Chopin's heart.

As the latest meaningful musical event, there was the 17 October 2010 performance of Mozart's *Requiem* in liturgical version in celebration of the 171st anniversary of Chopin's death. The public gave a very warm acclaim to the foreign performers: the Orchestre des Champs-Élysées, the Collegium Vocale Gent and the Accademia Chigiana Siena choirs, and the soloists appearing under the direction of the famous Belgian conductor Philippe Herreweghe.

### Chopin's Heart: Not just a Polish Treasure

A peculiar national relic, Chopin's heart has a fascinating history that reflects the dramatic history of Poland. Before his death, the composer confided to his sister Ludwika Jędrzejowiczowa his desire to have his heart put to rest away from Paris, in the Russian-occupied Warsaw. He realised that, for fear of patriotic manifestations, Ivan Paskevitch the Russian Viceroy of the Kingdom of Poland resident in the city would grant the coffin with his body no access to Warsaw. After Chopin's death, his heart was removed from the chest and placed in an alcohol-filled jar. Before travelling to Poland, the jar was put in a wooden casket. Afraid of scrupulous customs control, Ludwika Jędrzejowiczowa concealed the casket beneath her dress. Early in January 1850, the heart arrived safely in Warsaw. Preserved for some time in the Jędrzejowicz household, it was turned down by Ludwika to the Church of the Holy Cross (situated very near Chopin's last Warsaw apartment). While there, it landed up first in the sacristy and then in the vaults, since the local priests did not agree to have it placed in the church proper on the grounds that it was not a saint's relic. Eventually, the precedent set in Wawel Cathedral in Cracow suggested a way out. Enshrined in the cathedral was the heart of the writer Klementyna Hoffmanowa née Tańska's, called the 'Mother of the Great Emigration' who, like Chopin, had died in Paris. Ludwika commissioned the sculptor Leandro Marconi to execute a monument above the shrine. A special public committee was instituted with a view to providing financial assistance. The monument was carved in Carrara marble. The plaque bore the inscription: *'Fryderykowi Chopinowi rodacy'* [To Frédéric Chopin from his compatriots] and an excerpt [in Polish] from the Gospel according to Matthew: *'Tam skarb twój, gdzie serce twoje'* [For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also] (Matt 6: 21). Encased in two caskets, one of lead, the other of wood, the composer's heart was bricked up.

It stayed there until 7 September 1944 during the Warsaw Rising, on which day the Germans plundered the church. A German chaplain called on the Missionary Priests offering to keep the heart in hiding and return it after the hostilities were over. The church hosts accepted the offer. By a happy coincidence, the urn with the composer's heart fell into the hands of the SS General Heinz Reinefahrt, a music lover very fond of Chopin, who in turn reported the fact to his superior General Erich von dem Bach. The latter decided to use the temporary possession of a Polish national relic for propaganda purposes by returning it in ceremony to the Church authorities. And so, in General von dem Bach's headquarters the urn was handed to the Chapter Vicar of the Warsaw Archdiocese Archbishop Antoni Szałowski and the whole ceremony was filmed. The heart was stored in various locations in Sochaczew and Milanówek for fear of the Nazis changing their mind and taking it back. After the war, via Żelazowa Wola, it returned to the Holy Cross to be enshrined in the original location in the pillar near the pulpit.

### Missionaries, The Holy Cross Pastors

In 1651, the priests of the Congregation of Mission, also called 'Lazarists' arrived in Poland on the initiative of the Queen Marie-Louise Gonzaga de Nevers, the wife of the King John Casimir. Two years later they were put in charge of the Warsaw Church of the Holy Cross, in which function they have remained to this day with an interval between 1864 and 1918 when the congregation was disbanded on the strength of the Tsar's *ukase* [edict].

In keeping with the charisma of the congregation founder, St. Vincent de Paul, since the very beginning they had performed acts of charity. They soon became famous for their commitment. On visiting the parish in 1931, Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski the archbishop of Warsaw recorded, 'Since early in the morning the Missionary Priests of the Holy Cross are busy in the confessionals so those anxious to confess are bound to have their confession heard at the Holy Cross of all places.'

During World War II, the Missionary Priests stood at their parishioners' side. St. Roch's hospital was located in the Lower Church where also many people sought shelter. In October 1939, the Gestapo put all the priests under arrest but they were soon released. Fate willed it otherwise. Of the twenty-one priests and friars put under arrest in February 1944, only seven of the latter were released. The rest were imprisoned in the Gross-Rosen



7 Topmost section of the epitaph to the heart of Frédéric Chopin with the composer's 1830 bust by Leandro Marconi

8 The towers and body of the church of the Holy Cross by night from the direction of the Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego Square





9 Panoramic view of the church of the Holy Cross and the former monastery of the Congregation of the Priests of the Mission from the eastern frontage of the Krakowskie Przedmieście



10 Perspective view of the façade with the SURSUM CORDA statue of Christ Carrying the Cross to Andrzej Pruszyński's design, cast in bronze by Pius Weloński in 1898





concentration camp. After the Warsaw Rising the other priests were scattered. On 18 January 1945, the Reverend Father Antoni Czaplak, who was the first to return, said Mass in the ruins of the Lower Church.

The years 1946–1953 saw the church intensively rebuilt but not everything was restored to its former splendour, a task only recently becoming feasible thanks to a European Union grant.

### The Founder Saint

As founder of two congregations, St. Vincent de Paul is one of the Catholic Church's most famous saints. To this day, he has remained paragon of sensitivity to human misery, as pointed out by Pope John Paul II observing that St. Vincent de Paul's charisma is still 'acutely topical'.

He was born into a poor peasant family in Pouy, France, on 23 April 1581. As a boy, he helped his father with his tasks. A gifted boy, he attracted the attention of a parish priest from the nearby Dax who assisted him financially in his education. On completing a course of theology at the University of Paris in 1600, he was ordained as priest. He spent some time working for a parish, and as chaplain to the noble Gondi family, which was when he became acutely aware of the depths of human misery, both in a spiritual and material dimension. 25 January 1617 was a crucial day in his life. His sermon on the subject of general confession was followed by numerous cases of conversion while Vincent himself began to preach in rural parishes, and his teaching sessions were later called 'missions'. In 1625, he founded the Congregation of the Mission to continue his task of preaching the Gospel to the poor as well as attending to the instruction of committed priests. Aware that poverty is an obstacle to the practice of religious life, he founded countless charity organisations. In 1633, with St. Louise de Marillac, he founded the Sisters of Charity, a congregation of women known all through the world. In Poland, they are called 'szarytki' from the French *charité*, charity.

Because of the great authority he enjoyed in French society, he sat on the Conseil de Conscience (Royal Council of Conscience), a body resolving on the nomination to higher ecclesiastic positions. Despite his numerous occupations, he never deserted the poor. St. Vincent de Paul's biographer writes that on hearing of his death, a crowd set off for the Missionaries' house in which 'the most illustrious names of France mingled with the poor in rags'.

Beatified in 1729, he was canonised in 1737. In 1885 he was named patron of all charitable groups active in the Catholic Church. His relics are enshrined at the Warsaw Basilica of the Holy Cross.

### The Altar to the Fatherland

During the 1981 renovation works in the church, an inscription scratched on the wall in 1792 was uncovered. It said, 'Polaku. Może będziesz miał to szczęście żyć w Ojczyźnie wolnej od Moskali (Pole, may you have the good fortune to live in a Muscovite-free country).'

The fall of communism has led to the opening of state borders, giving Poland independence and making her part of the European community. As a result, projects that could not have been earlier put into practice have become feasible. Today, thanks to the European Union funds, they are being carried into effect.

As a palpable proof of the above, there is the restoration of the Church of the Holy Cross with, inside it, the Altar to the Fatherland. There, the Pole, the 'late-coming grandson' of Cyprian Kamil Norwid's poem *The Chapin Grand Piano* may pray for Poland's well-being, and not, as he had for the past two centuries, for independence.

The Altar to the Fatherland was originally created in 1720–1721 from the endowment of the Tarło magnate family to the design of Tilman van Gameren, an architect from the Netherlands also known as 'Gamer-ski', a polonised version of his name. Before World War II, the altar standing here was dedicated to the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament. Suffering complete destruction in 1944 during the Warsaw Rising, it was very difficult to re-create because of its monumental scale and ample decoration. In 2004 parish priest Marek Białkowski CM resolved on having it rebuilt, which was followed by launching the 'Sursum corda' Foundation and, as its emanation, the Committee for the Reconstruction. The altar has been rebuilt on the basis of a photograph predating the restoration by over eighty years. The 24 March 2004 audience of the Committee with Pope John Paul II at the Vatican saw an unexpected turn. The pope suggested that because of the exceptional place that the Missionary Priests' Church occupies on the religious and national map of Warsaw and Poland at large, the altar should be dedicated to the Fatherland even though there was already one in Wawel Cathedral. This had slightly altered the rebuilding concept without, however, slowing the process down. At the same time a School of Civic Virtues was launched at the parish to provide intellectual foundations for the altar under restoration. Within the framework of the school, specially invited guests would for several years elucidate events from the history of Poland thus preparing the audience spiritually for the operation of the new altar.

12 September 2010 saw the consecration of the altar by Archbishop Tadeusz Gocłowski the Metropolitan of Gdańsk Emeritus, whose roots are in the Congregation of the Mission. It was the closing celebration of the 350th anniversary of the death of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Louise de Marillac.



13 Perspective view of the Altar to the Fatherland

14 The SURSUM CORDA statue seen through the main door from within the church





15 Perspective view of the main portal with the balustrade of the stairs and the SURSUM CORDA statue



35 16 Frontal view of the main portal, 1756, designed by Jakub Fontana

GRZEGORZ POLAK

# The Holy Cross Church Restoration from the European Union Funds

On entering the church of the Holy Cross today, its four foremost historic benefactors, Superior of the Warsaw monastery of the Missionary Priests Bartłomiej Michał Tarło the Bishop of Poznań, the Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski and Teodor Potocki, and Kazimierz Szczuka the Bishop of Chełmno, would be immensely surprised. After a lapse of over three hundred years, they would find the interiors almost unchanged, apparently resistant to the passage of time.

All this because of the project called the 'Restoration of the church of the Holy Cross and post-monastic buildings in Warsaw as a national heritage object'. Indeed, the church has benefited from Poland's accession to the European Union. Thanks to the Union grant of 16.36 mil-

lion Polish zlotys covering 85% of the total expense, the renovation team had access to the latest in technology and materials. The remaining contributions came from the Polish Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (2.2 million zlotys) and the Holy Cross parish (0.69 million zlotys). On completion of the project, the Basilica of the Holy Cross, which features on the register of monuments, is guaranteed to serve continuously as a place of worship and cultural centre for many years in future with no substantial repairs needed.

destroyed during World War II to their former glory did not feature prominently on the communist authorities' list of priorities. As a matter of fact, there had always been a shortage of funds from which to conduct even the most urgent repairs. The situation did not really change for the better with Poland's recovery of independence in 1989; the straitened state budget having to be so divided as to attend to the most urgent needs. Finance for the protection of monuments used to be chronically insufficient. There was much concern that the church, a fine monument to Polish and European culture might fall into disrepair. That the Missionary Priests in charge of the Holy Cross would not be able to cover the costs of works on a thus large scale from their own resources was no secret.

Poland's accession to the European Union has created remarkable opportunities, among other things, for applying for resources for the renovation of national monuments. Thus the Union has come to act as stimulant to the development of Polish culture while the grants allocated may well be regarded as a medium for equalising Eastern and Western Europe's opportunities.

Visiting the church with the sanctuary for Chopin's heart, the Westerner uncertain about European unity and the oneness of the Christian soul will find, that with numerous joint characteristics, a similarly high artistic level, and the same, recognisable cultural code, the Holy Cross compares with Europe's other celebrated ecclesiastic buildings.

As one of the largest-scale Union-financed projects in the region, and one of the most consistently carried into effect, the restoration of the Warsaw Church

was not complete, since the restoration of churches

of the Holy Cross was a precursory undertaking in Mazovia. The arrival at effects now admired by the people of Warsaw and large numbers of foreign visitors to the church was possible because of the fluidity of finance thanks to which the necessary tasks could be completed according to tight schedule.

As the father of the success, we may deservedly indicate the Holy Cross parish-priest, the Rev. Dr Marek Białkowski CM, who has created a team of outstanding experts. 'Always right in his decisions, keeping up our spirits, sparing neither effort nor time to restore his beloved church to its full splendour,' says art historian and monument restorer Kazimierz Sztarballo, co-ordinator of the project and supervisor of the restoration works in the church of the Holy Cross.

Kazimierz Sztarballo, who boasts experience of twenty-five years in the field of monuments conser-

vation, was the brains behind the project. The success could be as complete as it was thanks to his persevering and consistency in action combined with strenuous daily effort. The quality of the overall restoration and building works was the highest possible.

The success would not have been what it was without the experience of Sławomir and Małgorzata Musiela. Their Restaura Studio for the Conservation of Architecture, Painting and Sculpture based in the city of Toruń was general contractor of the restoration of the Holy Cross basilica.

## The Promise Was Kept

That the restoration of the church of the Holy Cross may be seen as a masterstroke is not only because of the use of unconventional techniques, of which later. During the restoration, the church was closed for no longer than six weeks and the works were not interrupted even when the presence of outsiders might have proved disturbing. The media reports that the basilica would be locked up upset the managers of tourist agencies whose clients, while on a sightseeing tour of Warsaw, always request for the church to feature on the list of highlights. There was no need for closure thanks to a solution found in advance by those in charge of the restoration who resolved to mark out a route to the Frédéric Chopin epitaph and receptacle for his heart across the scaffolds and repair positions.

## Thanks to Frédéric and the European Union

'If it had not been for the Chopin Year, there would have been no restoration. Our goal was to restore everything within the church to full bloom. At that, everything with the Union money, a fact of peculiar expression indicating that to restore a time-honoured church housing a receptacle for Chopin's heart is not only the Polish preoccupation,' Kazimierz Sztarballo explained at some point.

Indeed, the approaching bicentenary of the birth of Frédéric Chopin, the most Polish and, at the same time, the most European of our artists, proved an excellent excuse for embarking on the restoration. Even at that early stage, it was clear that on the occasion of the Chopin Year large numbers of lovers of the exceptional composer's oeuvre would visit the church. This is why the deadline for the most important



1 Warsaw, 9 Sept. 2010, 1.30 a.m., Kazimierz Sztarballo among the figures of the Fathers of the Church just before their being fixed in the structure of the Altar for the Fatherland, photo: M. Wardzyński



restoration tasks was set at February 21st 2010, the day on which Mass inaugurating the Chopin Year was to be said in the church by Archbishop Henryk Muszyński. And said it was.

The overall project had two goals, one being to conduct general repairs in the church and the adjacent monastic building, the other to complete the rebuilding of the church's sumptuous furnishings destroyed during World War II.

Quite an unprecedented pace and a double-shift system were adopted, and the promise was kept.



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2 Warsaw, June 2009, presentation of Zygfryd Gross' sculptural modello for the Archangel's figure, photo: M. Wardzyński

3 Leśnica Opolska, Dec. 2009, Archangel's finished figure in Zygfryd Gross' sculpture studio, photo: M. Wardzyński

## Tight-rope walking

'Nothing has been left untouched,' Kazimierz Sztarballo insists. Indeed, almost everything has been replaced or renewed in keeping with the twenty-first-century standards. Many changes like, for instance, the renovation of the entire church interior, can be seen with the naked eye. Few people are able to realise what cannot be seen on the outside, namely: that it was not just a matter of applying paint. The works

The stucco capitals and friezes were renovated, in some cases reconstructed, with much devotion. Everything was literally handmade, without resort to casts.

'The fruits of our efforts became clearly visible when the electrician turned on the light. Light you can't deceive. Ideal lines came into view on the friezes. The onlookers went dumb. It was evident that we had made a good job of it,' Krzysztof Makuch admitted with pride.



continued at a murderous pace between July and December 2009. Before painting proper, all layers of earlier coating had been thoroughly removed. Upon finding traditional methods ineffective, special types of gel were employed. Two coatings of thin-layer plaster were applied to arrive at fine uniform texture. These were polished with felt and later with latex smoothing trowels. 'The job was much like tightrope walking. Only people with a fine touch and muscular memory could do it, steering a middle course between smoothing too hard and too light,' said Krzysztof Makuch the owner of the Bayard firm who supervised this stage of works.

In place of the post-war windows, new ones, with divisions patterned on those known from the paintings of Bernardo Bellotto called Canaletto, have been installed by the 'Flora' firm managed by Robert Olejnik. The new windows satisfy very demanding thermal norms. Each weighs three hundred kilos. The new underfloor wiring system took several kilometres of flex.

4 Warsaw, March–April, 2009, plastering and painting works on the chancel walls, photo: K. Makuch

5 Warsaw, November 2010, concrete laid over the chamber of the church interior ventilation system in the yard of the monastic home, photo: M. Wardziński

Finest detail has been attended to whereby to arrive at a correspondence with the original furnishings of the church. Since in-depth investigation of the lighting system revealed traces of gilding on the surface of two huge chandeliers, they have been covered with 23-carat gold. In accordance with the original state, a second row of candle-shaped lights was added. Quite unique, the ornamental Baroque chandeliers are among the few throughout Poland. Andrzej Krauzowicz's Legart firm conducted the restoration in collaboration with art historian Janusz Mróz.

The pews and the confessionals have been renovated while the foot-paces, for many years disfigured by cracks, substituted for new ones. The former and the latter task were competently attended to, outside the church, in the Janusz and Eugeniusz Kulak's professional workshop at Zbultowo near Radzyń Podlaski. The Robert Sak workshop at Sochaczew was in charge of the renovation of the oak-and-pine stalls while the Jakub and Karolina Bałtowski studio at Opoczno took care of the conservation of the nineteenth-century stall pictures. The organ was restored in the Marian Leśniczuk workshop at Korczew on the River Bug.

The team restoring the organ prospect (casing), operating under the joint management of Małgorzata Baliszewska-Kudelska and wood-restorer Władysław Roszkowski, used yards of gold flake for the gilding of the superbly fine instrument element. To the Varsovians, this peculiar stage of works was a memento of the church's, and the city's, tragic days in the summer of 1944. Several dozen mortar splinters, a memento of the mortar attack during the Warsaw Rising, were removed with the exception of one. The rest will go the currently created museum of the parish of the Holy Cross.

Not everything in the Missionary Priests' church has been left quite as it used to be. Since the former paintings of St. Geneviève and the Sacred Heart were of poor artistic quality, it has been resolved that new ones will be commissioned from the well-known painter Bogdan Warowny. Also, the altar for St. Roch has acquired a new picture by painter and restorer Oskar Rabenda, a pastiche of the former eighteenth-century piece destroyed during World War II.

A masterpiece of the Warsaw Baroque, the statue of Primate Radziejowski by Master Bartłomiej Michał

6 Warsaw, November 2010, master organist Marian Leśniczuk tuning the instrument, photo: M. Wardziński

7 Warsaw, September 2010, project information notices 'Renovation of the Warsaw Holy Cross Church and monastic buildings as an important object of the national cultural heritage; project carried into effect within the framework of the Regional Operational Programme of the Region of Mazowsze, 2007–2013' photo: M. Wardziński

Bernatowicz has returned to the church restored. It took weeks to complement the missing portions and to polish and gild the black marble quarried at Dębnik, Poland, of which the statue was made. The reconstruction was possible thanks to the painstaking efforts of Michał Wardziński, Ph.D. On the basis of archival research, the art historian of Warsaw University prepared designs for the reconstruction of the missing elements and supervised the whole undertaking. Our illusion of seeing it as an original work is to be credited to a team working under restorer Piotr Niemcewicz, Ph.D. of the Copernicus University in Toruń.

The supreme quality of the overall restoration procedures was due to the vast knowledge of Professor Maria Lubryczyńska of the Warsaw Academy of Fine Arts. An outstanding restorer and experienced expert on the art of the past, she headed a committee supervising the restoration. The body was also composed of Jakub Sito, PhD, of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Institute of Art, and Katarzyna and Michał Wardziński of the Warsaw University's Art History Institute plus art historian and restorer Kazimierz Sztarballo.

May the above suffice for the art with a capital A within the church. As for life unadorned, a bathroom and toilet for the disabled have been arranged in the Upper Church, a highly complex building operation.

## Upon the Educational Path

No pedestrian is likely to realise the degree of effort and competence accorded to the renovation of the church elevation, so beautiful today. To begin with, the surviving layers were removed, after which all cracks were deepened and filled with special substance, which – to guarantee durability – will later 'work' together with the wall. One-metre-length rods were used for the 'sewing up', quite in a tailor-like manner, of the deep cracks. 'Earlier invisible to the naked eye, they were legion. The chancel wall seemed reticulated like a cobweb,' Kazimierz Sztarballo reminisces. Thin-layer plaster was subsequently applied to the walls twice though not until the former operations were quite over. A highly difficult procedure, the plastering was performed simultaneously by a team of nine who, standing in a row, had to be ready within one single working day, lest the walls be marred with glaring traces. A layer of the best German Keim paint was applied as the finishing touch. During this stage, too, strict technological demands had to be obeyed.

The Lower Church was also renovated. As underlined by Kazimierz Sztarballo, it is to serve as important part of the tourist educational path leading to Frédéric Chopin's heart. The underlying intention is to employ the Holy Cross Church's entire monumental and historic potential and thus to secure the sight-seeing tours of the church against beginning and ending in front of the epitaph to the composer. 'The point is to demonstrate the phenomenon of the place, rang-

ing from the reconstructed necropolis in the Lower Church to the magnificent Baroque art in the Upper Church,' Kazimierz Sztarballo explains.

The Lower Church contains a unique set of memorial tombstones and epitaphs. Thanks to Grzegorz Świerczyński's efforts continued for several months, they were restored to their former glamour.

In the future, the Lower Church will become the seat of a multimedia museum devoted to the history of the church of the Holy Cross, highlighting, among other roles, that of the burial site of the great, and that of a Warsaw Rising redoubt. It will also do justice to Chopin and his family and, last not least, to the St. Vincent de Paul Order of the Missionary Priests. It may be well to add that the hosts of the church are



in possession of three hundred vestments of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and a set of historic parish books.

The restoration technique in the Lower Church was the same as in the Upper Church. Heating was conveyed and a ventilation system installed in keeping with the standards required for interiors visited by the public and ones intended for the display of collections.

## Walls forever

A complex procedure, the dehumidification of the monastic and church buildings took three years. 'With dry legs and a dry head, the building will last eternally,' Kazimierz Sztarballo says figuratively. The walls have been protected against the damaging effect of salt and against the dampening of the walls in the aftermath of ample rainfall.

The team engaged in the task also takes pride in the capital repairs conducted in the monastic building and equipping it with special facilities adapted for the disabled. The works included the stone tiling of the floor and the installation of a spacious elevator for the disabled, the latter task being a very difficult technical operation. It would not have been feasible without



the Missionary Priests' agreement to have their chapel dismantled and arranged anew, even more beautiful than the former, in the monastic attic. All these steps have been undertaken with a view to preparing the monastery's ground floor – after it has been provided with the necessary technical equipment – for educational, conference and cultural functions that it is to perform in the future in keeping with twenty-first-century demands.



The repair works in the monastic building were carried into effect with much professional expertise by the 'ODDO' firm under the supervision of Marcin Dutka and Wiesław Grom.

Credit for the professional accounting and supervision of the completion of the project in the initial period goes to Aleksandra Wałęsa and her team, followed at the second stage by the European Centre for Enterprise under Piotr Stefaniak and Jerzy Kwieciński.

### To Complement the Incomplete

The other goal of those engaged in the project was to finish the rebuilding of the church from war damage. The project stipulated for the reconstruction of the altar for the Fatherland, two Rococo patrons' logdes in the transept arms, and the marble monument to the Reverend Bartłomiej Michał Tarło CM the later Bishop of Poznań, who, back in 1682, initiated the erection of the present brick church. After the removal of the awkward plaster elements introduced during the post-war reconstruction, the Bishop's face on his tombstone emerged cleared up. The characteristic moles and a wart came into view as observed with approval by the 'Gazeta Stołeczna' daily in its coverage of the tombstone after renovation, complete with an inscription plaque.

Ranked among the most beautiful items of the kind in the capital city and the region of Mazovia, the Rococo patrons' logdes returned to their original location after an interval of sixty-five years. The altar for the Fatherland, until recently the only one in the church of the Holy Cross not subjected to the post-World War II reconstruction, now gorgeous in gold looks spectacular. Two hundred and thirty square metres of 24-carat gold were used for the task. The gilding is the work of the outstanding art restorers from Opoczno, Jakub and Karolina Bałtowski. All of the sculptured and carved detail has been reconstructed, in that the figural decoration of ten statues larger than life. Zygfryd Gross of Leśnica near Opole reconstructed the statues of Sts. Peter and Paul and the splendid statues of two archangels. The angels supporting the cross, the figures of the four Fathers of the Church, and a large part of the carved decoration are credited to a team under Mariusz Makowiecki from the 'Dom Sztuki' firm of Warsaw.

Architect Hanna Jung-Migdalska the chief designer of the overall building-and-restoration works has succeeded in clearing off the red-tape reefs and, thanks to her iron consistency, in bringing all of the tasks planned to fruition.

The altar for the Fatherland was consecrated on September 12th 2010. Archbishop Tadeusz Gocłowski, whose origins were in the order of the Missionary Priests, underlined that, "from now on, it will continue as object for the worship of God, gratitude for all His acts of grace to Poland's benefit, and, lastly, for the spiritual-patriotic formation of the generations to come."

### The Union Saints

The project has been carried into effect as a result of exemplary collaboration with Adam Struzik the Marshal of the Region of Mazovia under the patronage of Wiesław Raboszuk, head of the Mazovian Unit for the Implementation of Union Programmes. The Holy Cross restorers have referred to his team of co-workers as the 'Union Saints', a much telling title. And one much

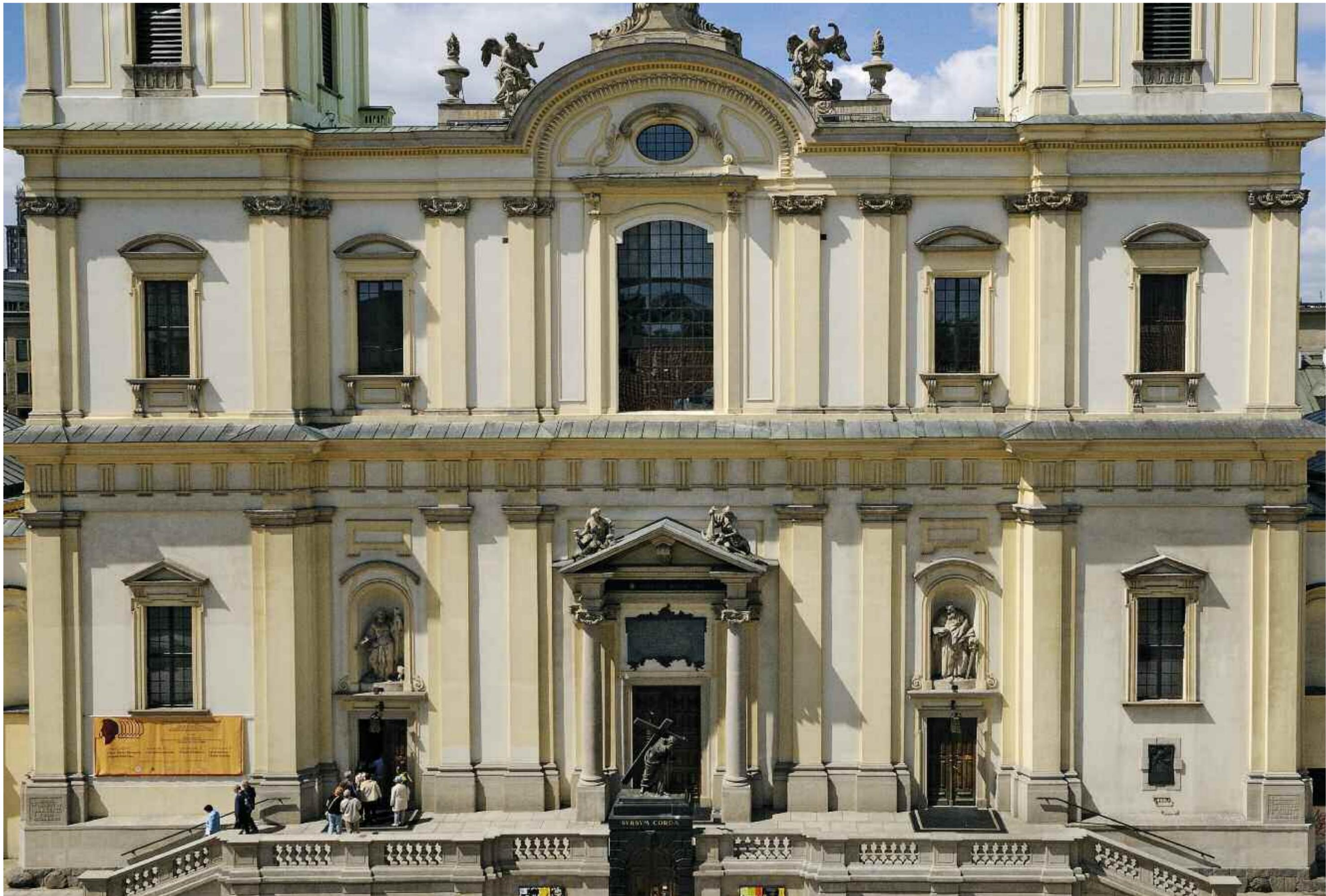
deserved first and foremost, by Joanna Romanowska whose advice and assistance have proved most valuable, especially at moments of the utmost difficulty.

All these people of good will have their share in carrying the project into effect according to plan while the quality of what they have achieved has been recognised by the people of Warsaw and Polish and foreign tourists.



8 Warsaw, 9 Sept. 2010, 2 a.m., joined forces of the Jakub Bałtowski and Karolina Niemczyk Bałtowska studio, and the Mariusz Makowiecki firm mounting gilded elements of the structure of the Altar for the Fatherland, photo: M. Wardziński

9 Warsaw, September 2010, panoramic view of elements of the architectural structure of the reconstructed Altar for the Fatherland, photo: M. Wardziński



1 Panoramic view of the of the lower section of the façade from the eastern frontage of the Krakowskie Przedmieście

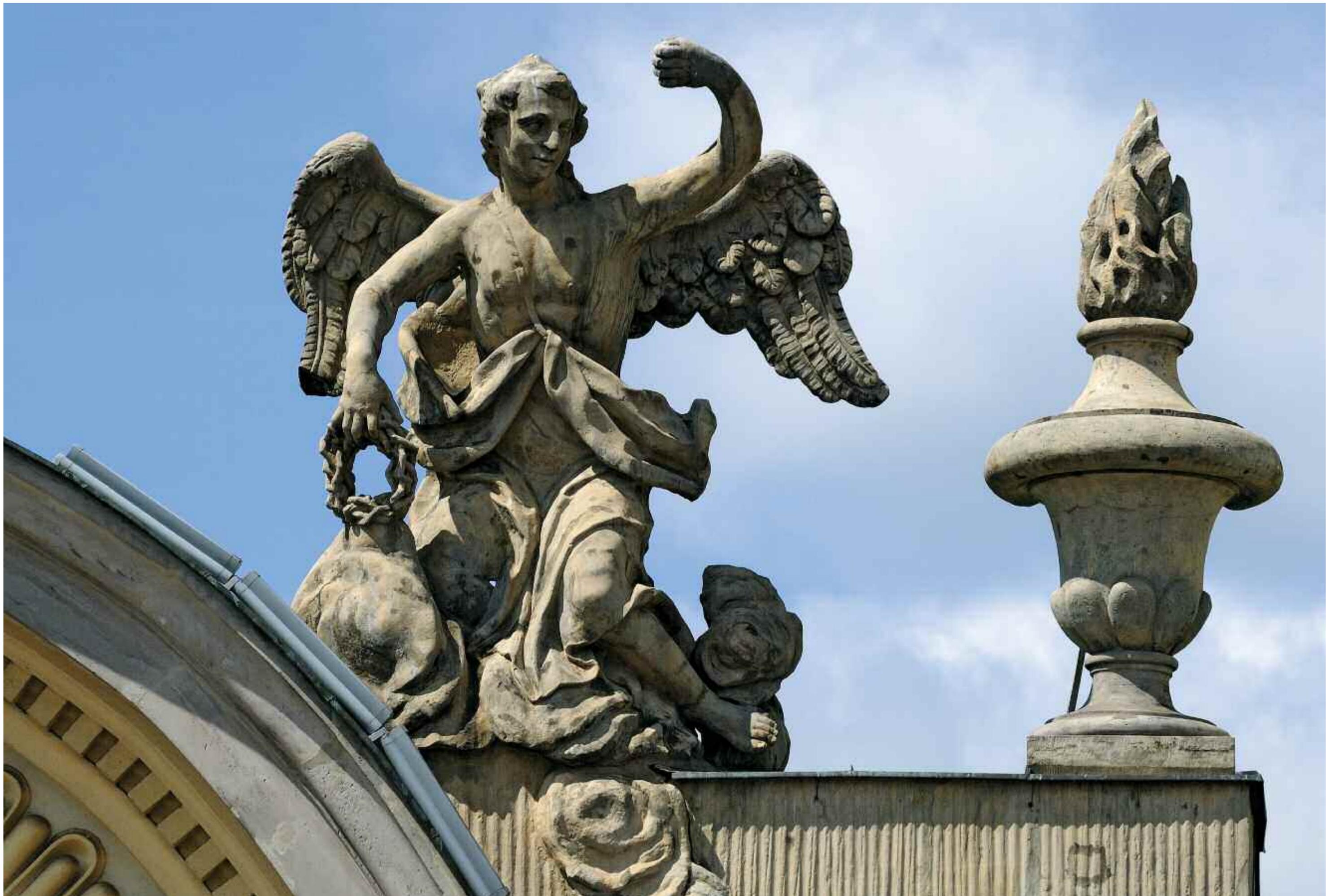


2 Pediment surmounting the middle section of the façade with the figures of angels handling the symbols of the Arma Christi and the Eucharist, 1756, executed by Johann Georg Plersch



3 Figure of the left-hand side angel and the burning vase on the façade pediment





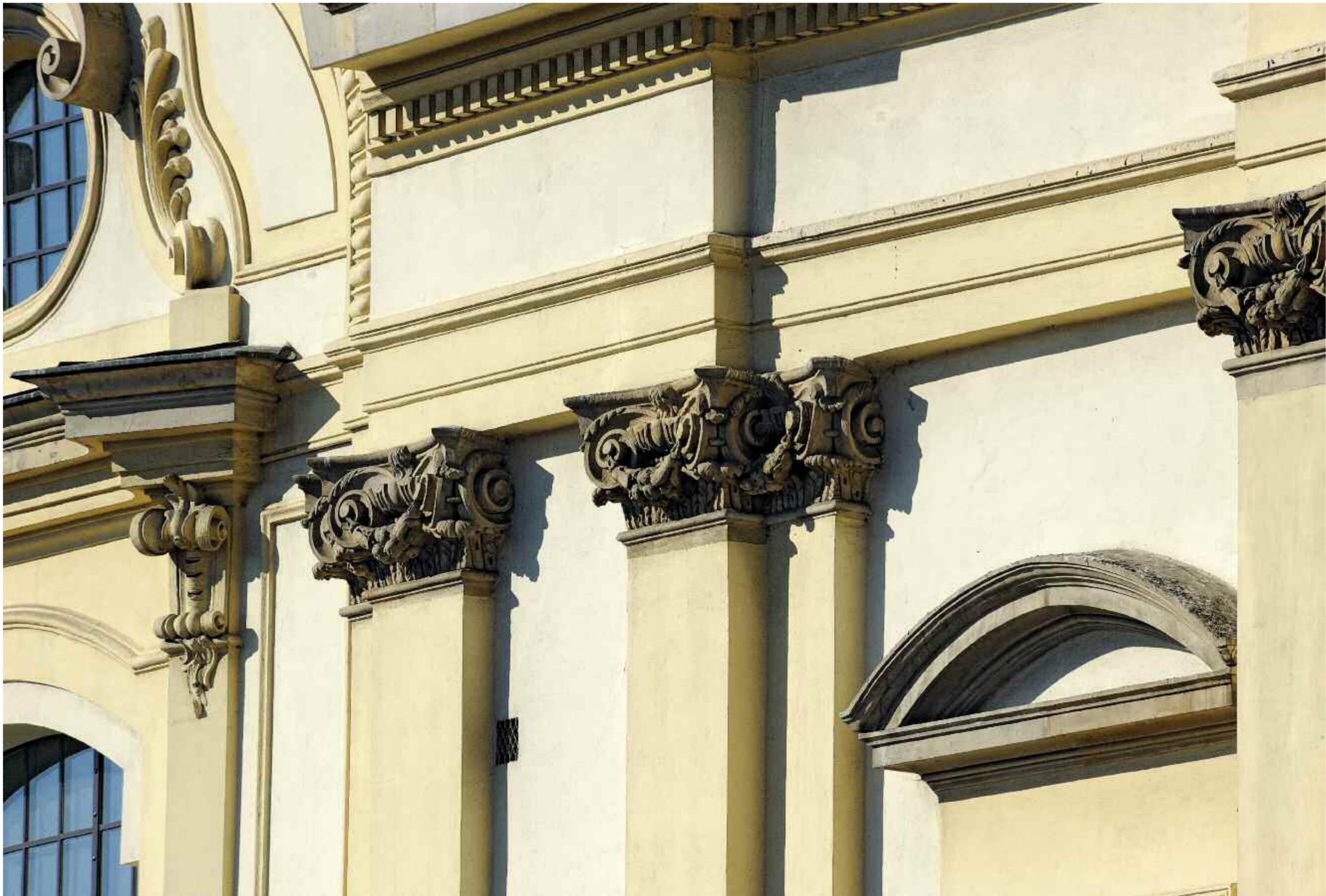
6 Figure of the right-hand side angel and the burning vase on the façade pediment



7 Cupola of the southern tower, before 1737, designed by Giuseppe Fontana II



8 Perspective view of the facade finial and the northern tower



9 Perspective view of the articulation divisions of the second storey of the façade

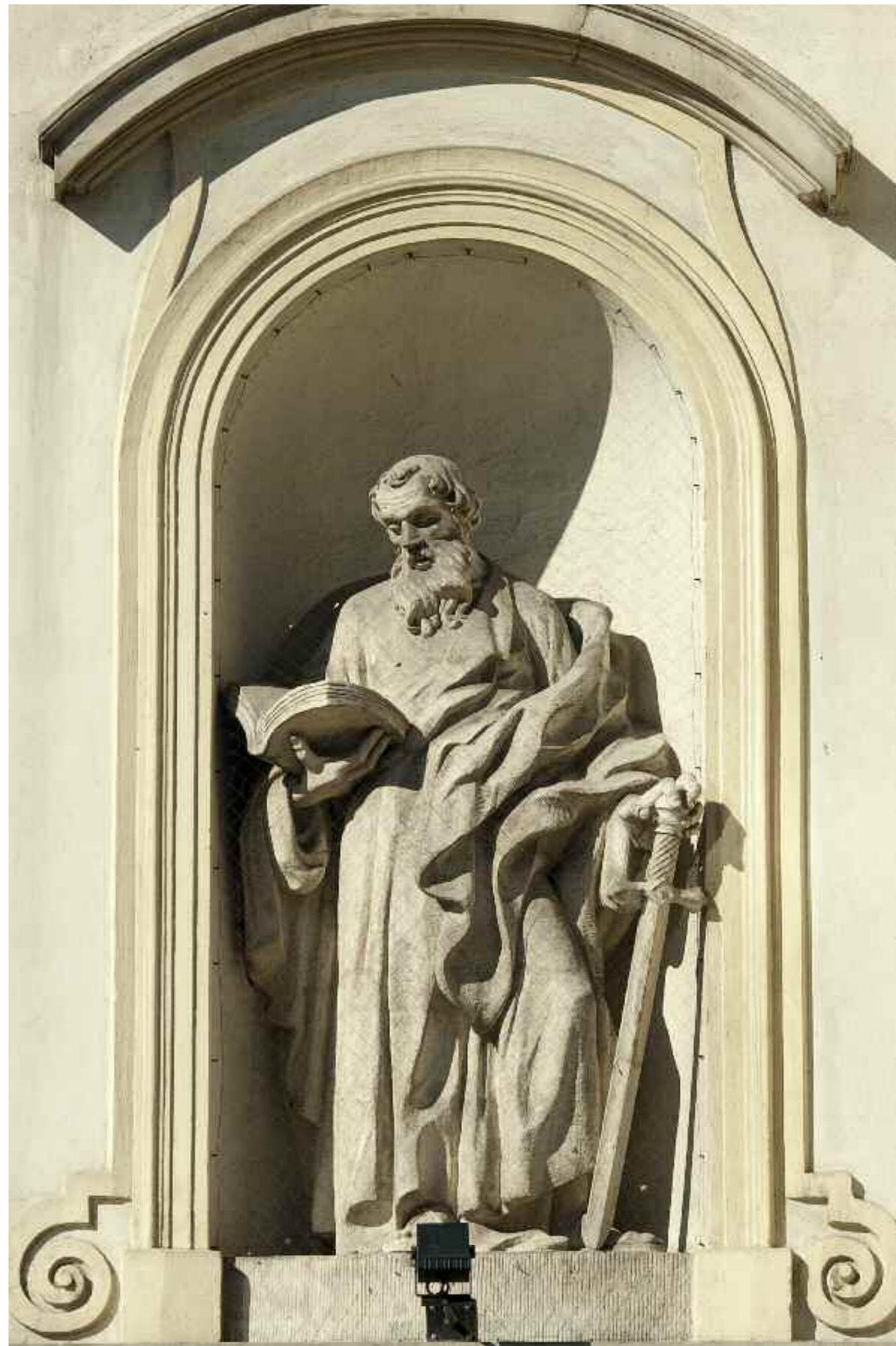


10, 11 Framing of the bell opening; Corinthian capital and entablature on the third storey of the southern tower, before 1737, designed by Giuseppe Fontana II

10



11



12, 13 Statues of Sts. Peter and Paul in the niches in the middle section of the façade, 1756, executed by Johann Georg Plersch, reconstructed 1951–3 by Adam Roman and Zofia Woźna

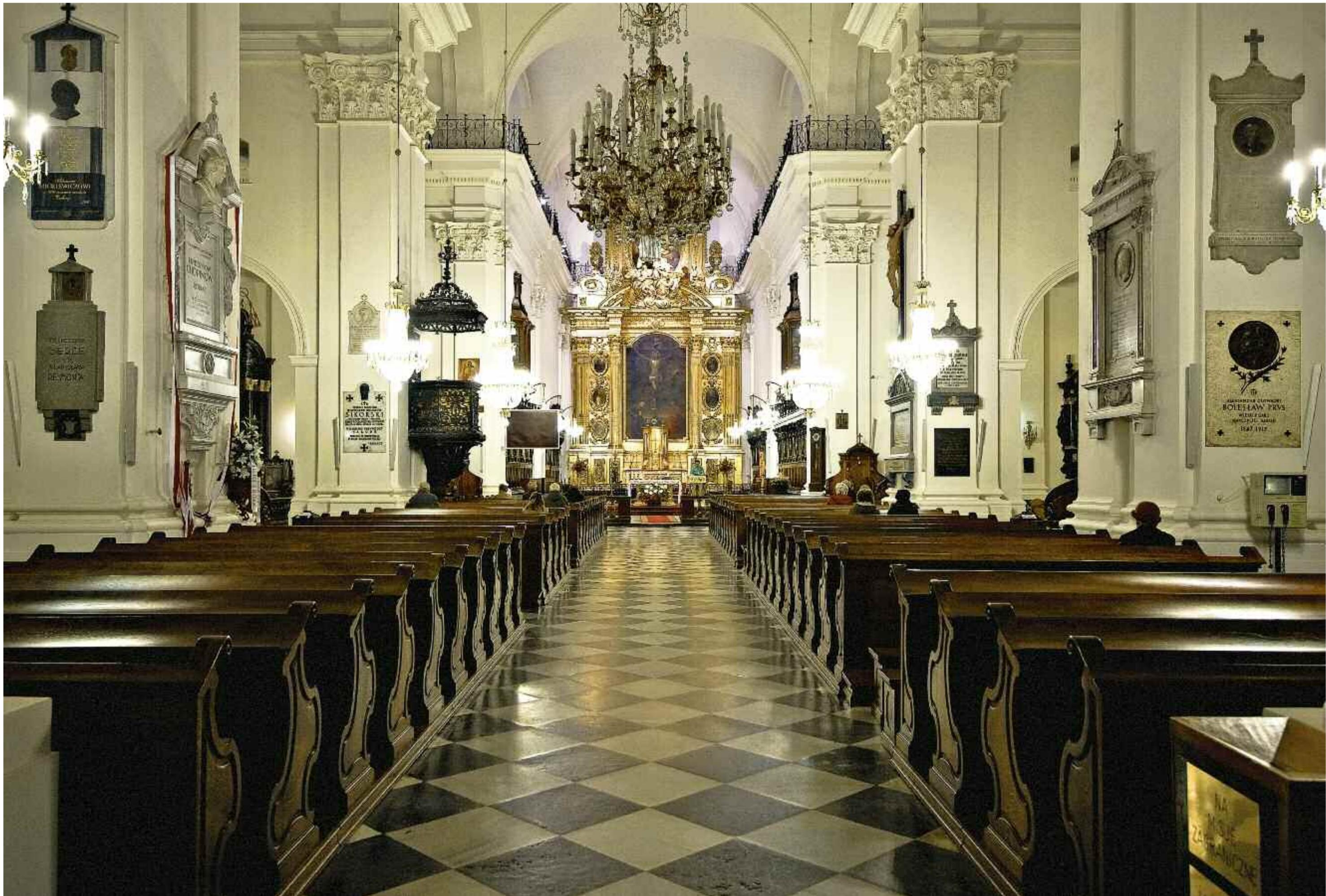


14 Statue of St. Vincent de Paul in the niche in the left façade bonding bar, 2010-11, commissioned by Paweł Pietrusiński after Pietro Bracci, 1754 (St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican)



61 15 Statue of St. Louise de Marillac in the niche in the right façade bonding bar, 2010-11, commissioned by Paweł Pietrusiński after Antonio Bertì, 1954 (St. Peter's Basilica in Vatican)

DEO A LIGNO REGNANTI  
TEMPLUM HOC  
SUB TITULO CRUCIS SALUTIFERAE  
JOANNE III REGE POL A FUNDAMENTIS ERECTUM  
DEMUM REGNANTE AUGUSTO III  
PIO PACIFICO MAGNANIMO  
REGIS OPTIMI AC PROCERUM SUMPTIBUS  
CONSUMMATUM  
ANNO R S CD DCC L VI



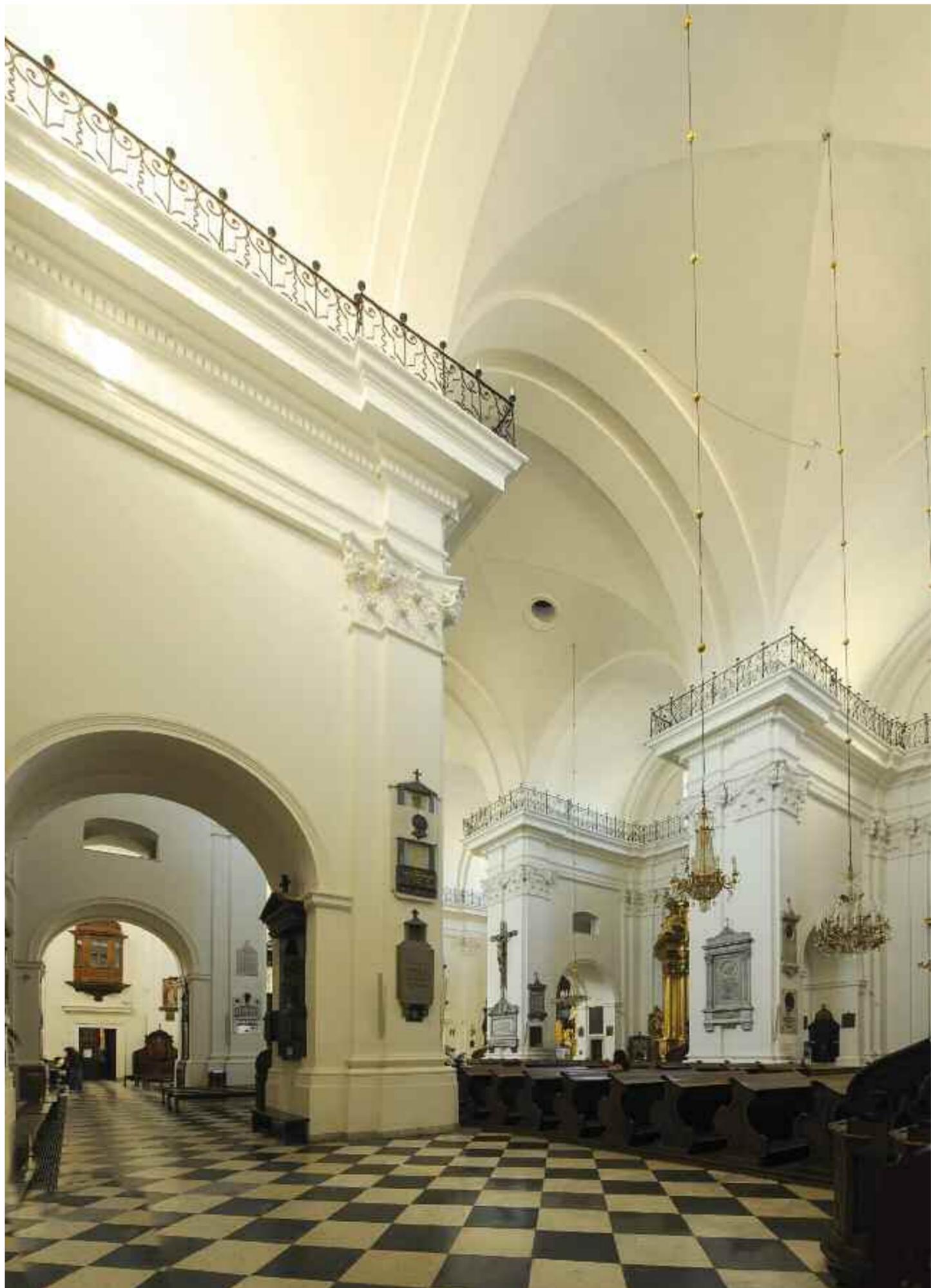
17 General view of the church interior by night from below the choir towards the chancel



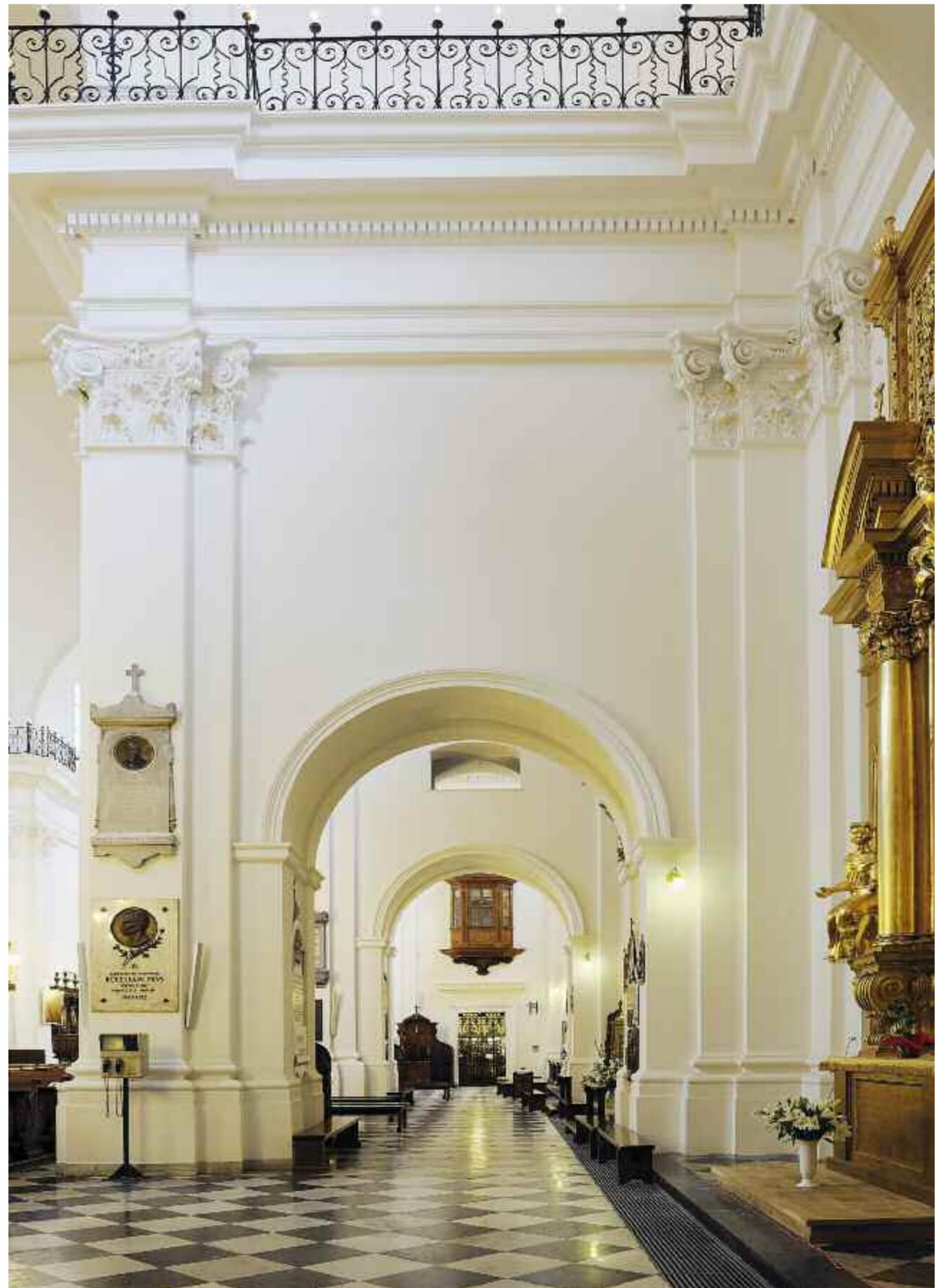
18 View of the pillar partitioning off the Chapels of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, and St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph)



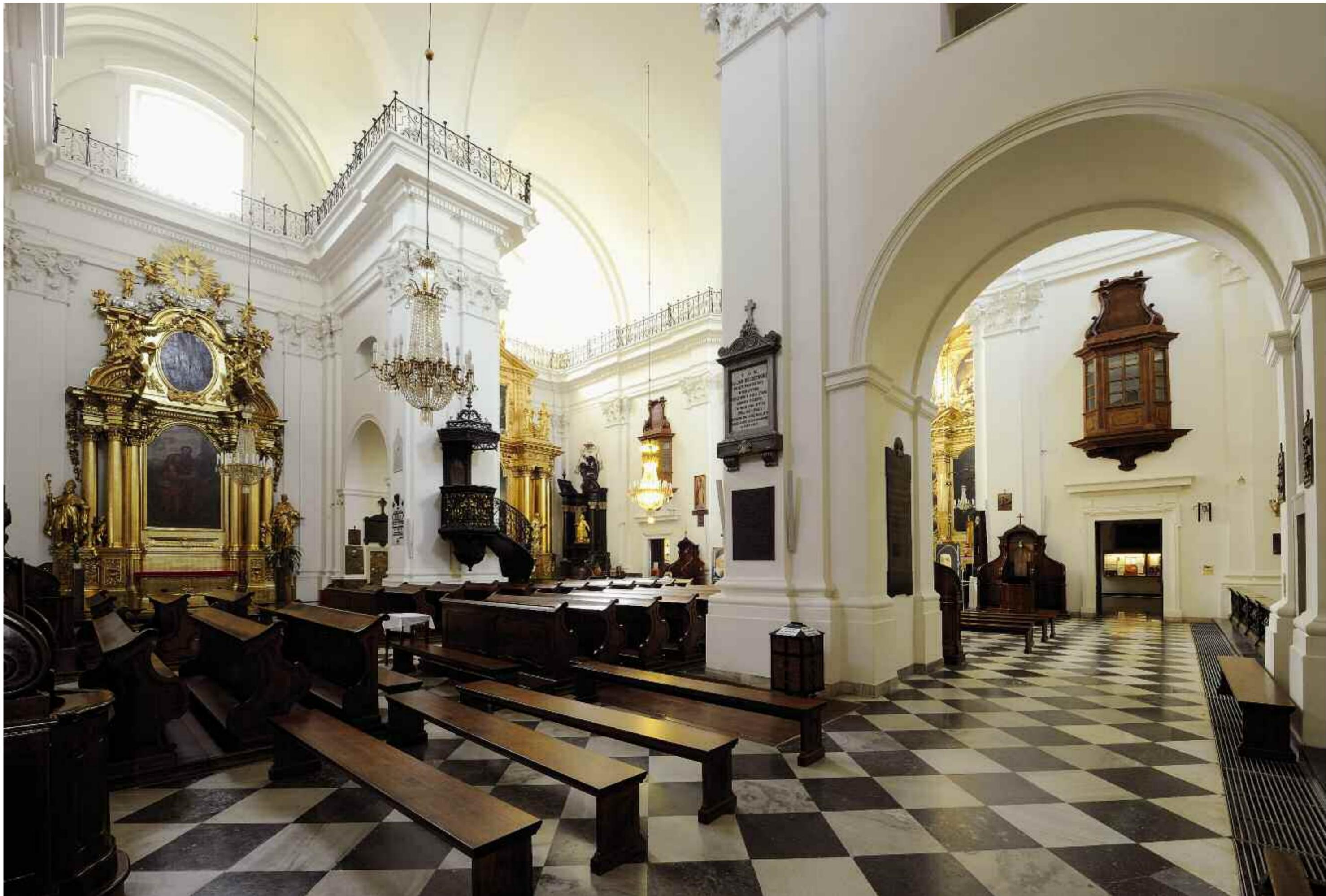
19 Perspective view of the northern chapels sequence from below the choir towards the sacristy



20 Panoramic view of the partitioning wall-pillar structure of the Holy Cross interior from the Chapel of the Archangel Michael



69 21 View of the northern sequence of chapels and pillars

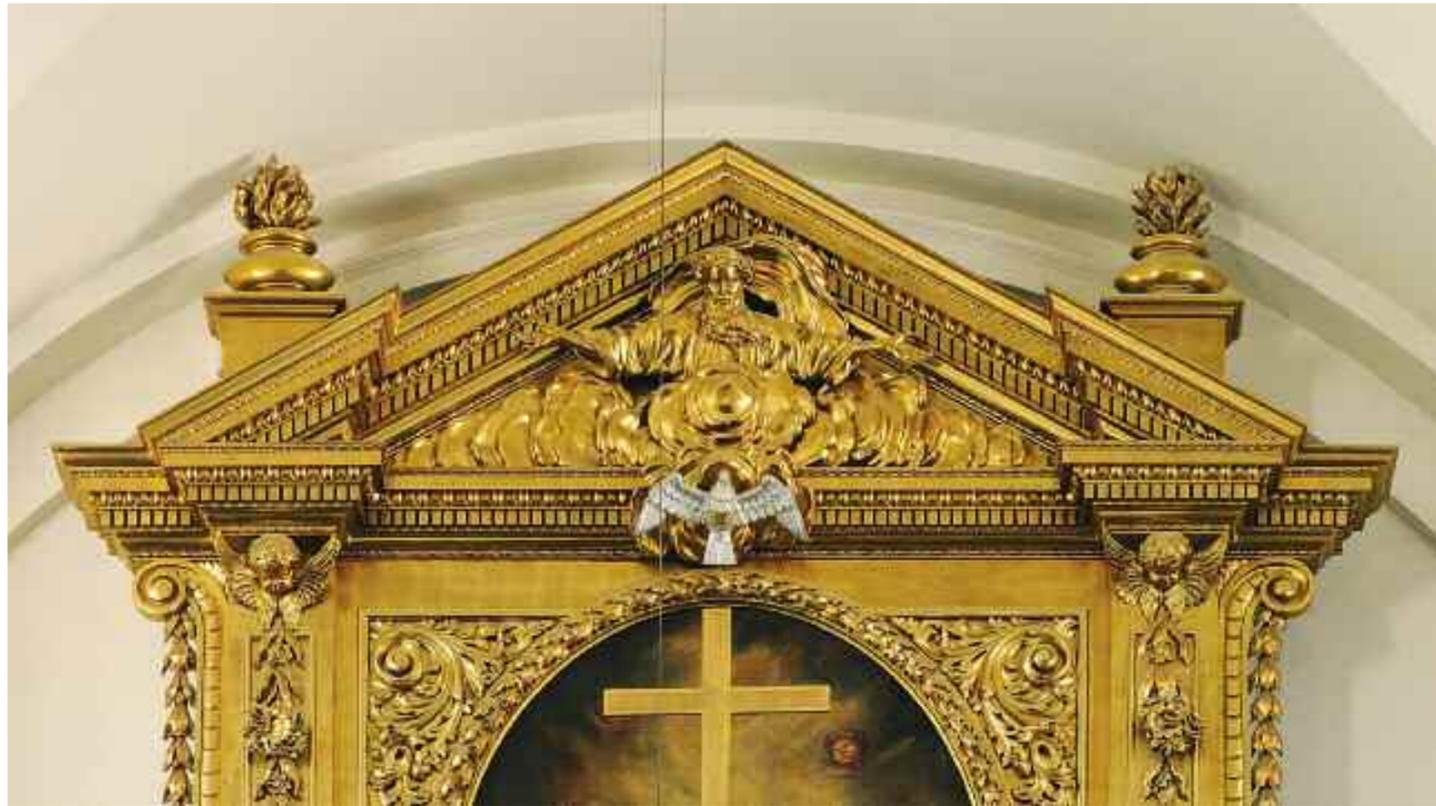


22 Panorama of the church interior from the Chapel of St. Vincent de Paul towards the transept southern arm





24 Panoramic view of the chancel from below the choir



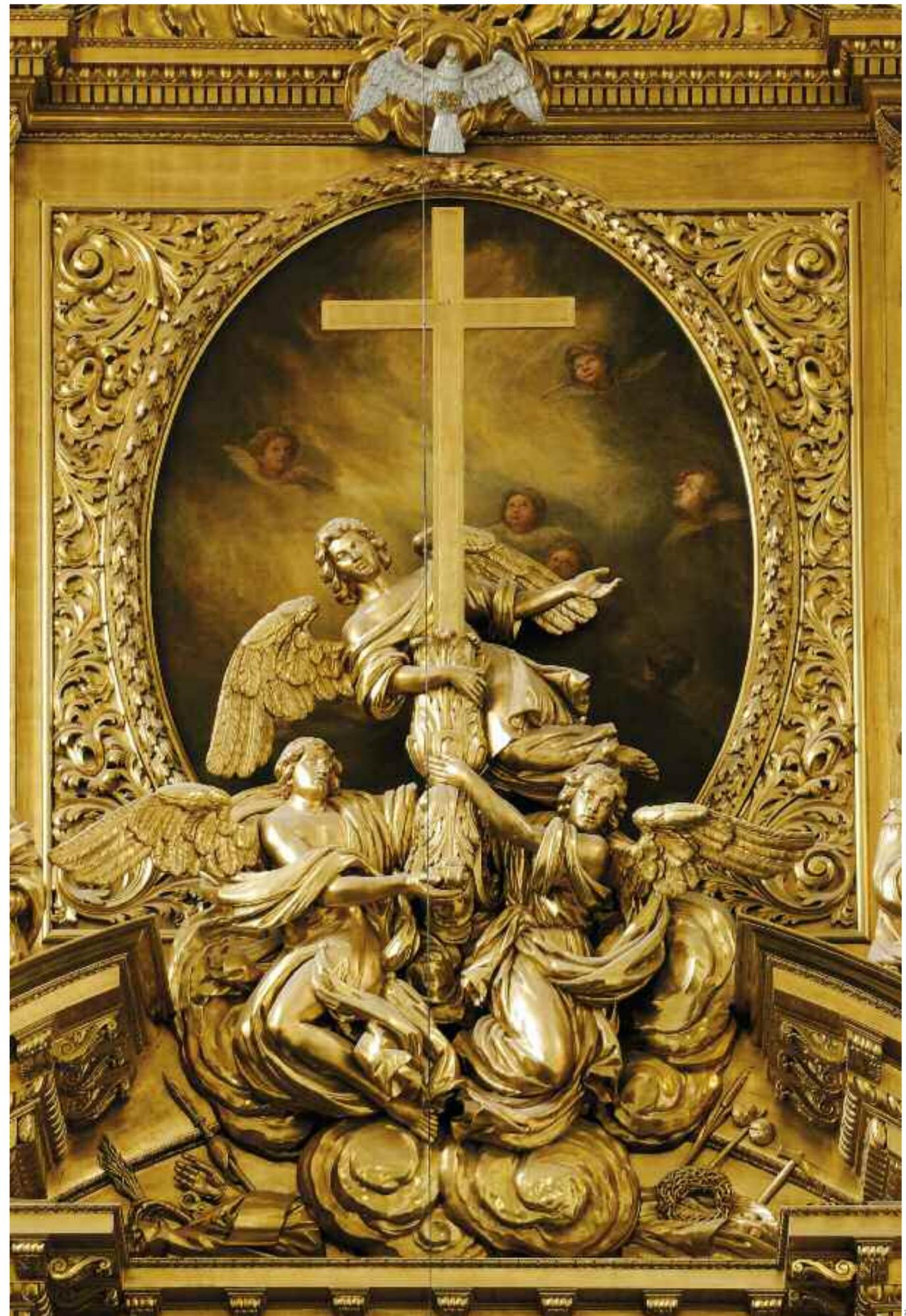
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27 Detail of the entablature of the High Altar's left-hand side column with the figure of Charity/Caritas, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Siffrens

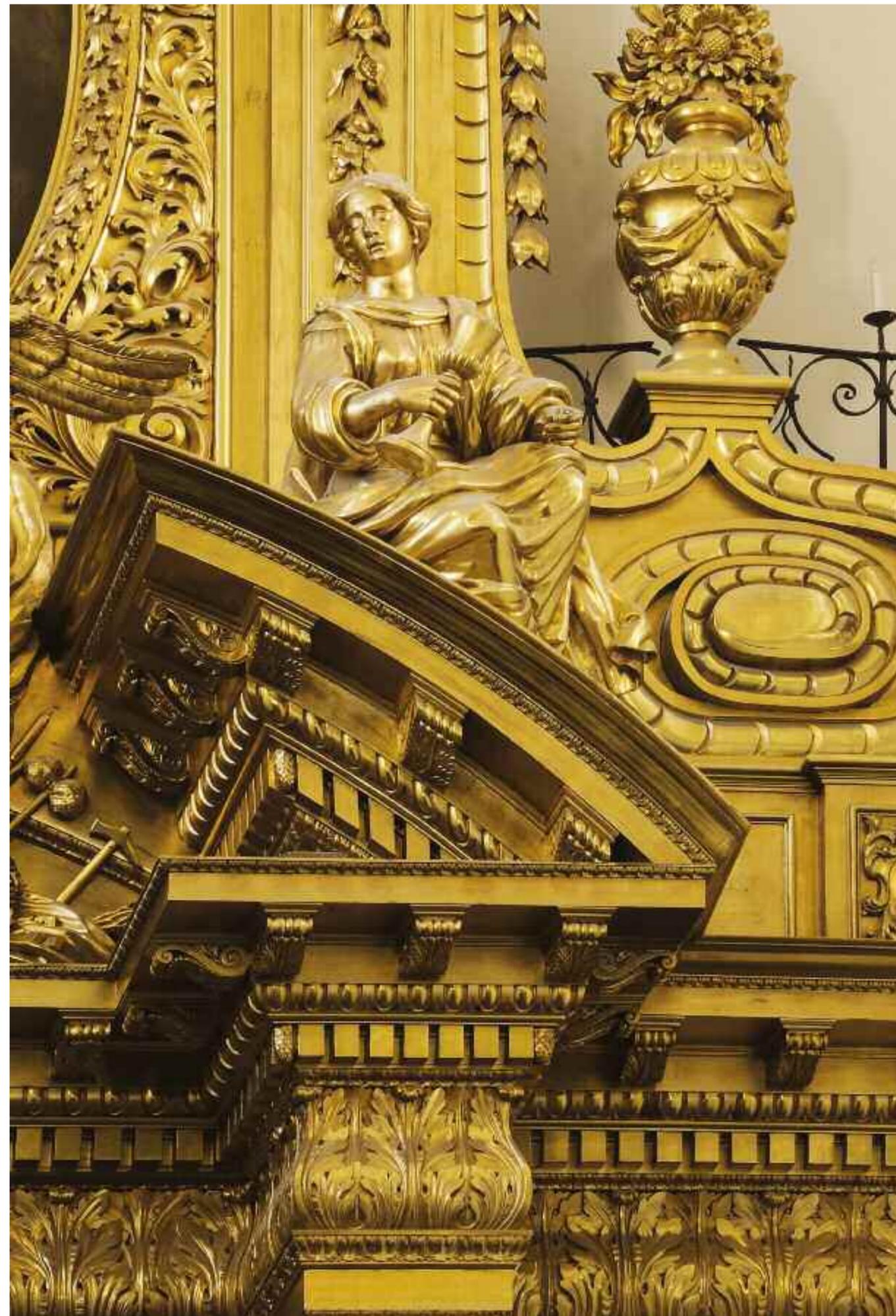


28 Sculptural group of the Holy Cross in Glory in the High Altar coping, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Siffrens



29 Crucifixion scene in the High Altar, 1968–70, painted by Stanislaw Korczak-Komorowski in collaboration with Maria Sloniowska-Ciechomska

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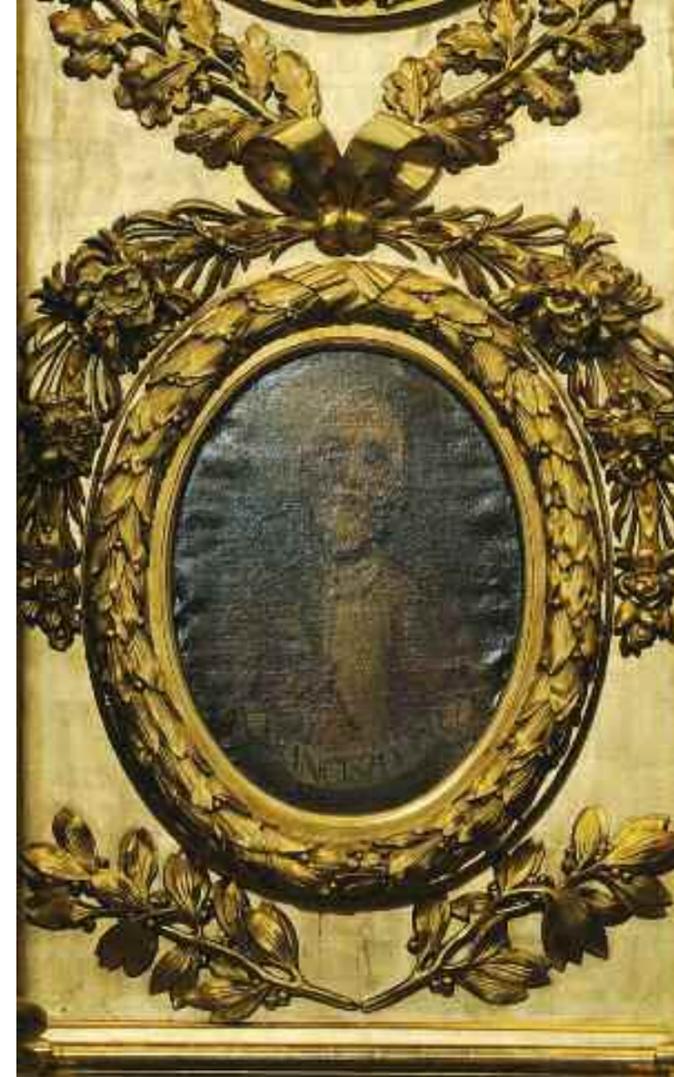


30 Detail of the entablature of the High Altar's right-hand side column with the figure of Faith/Fides, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Söflrens

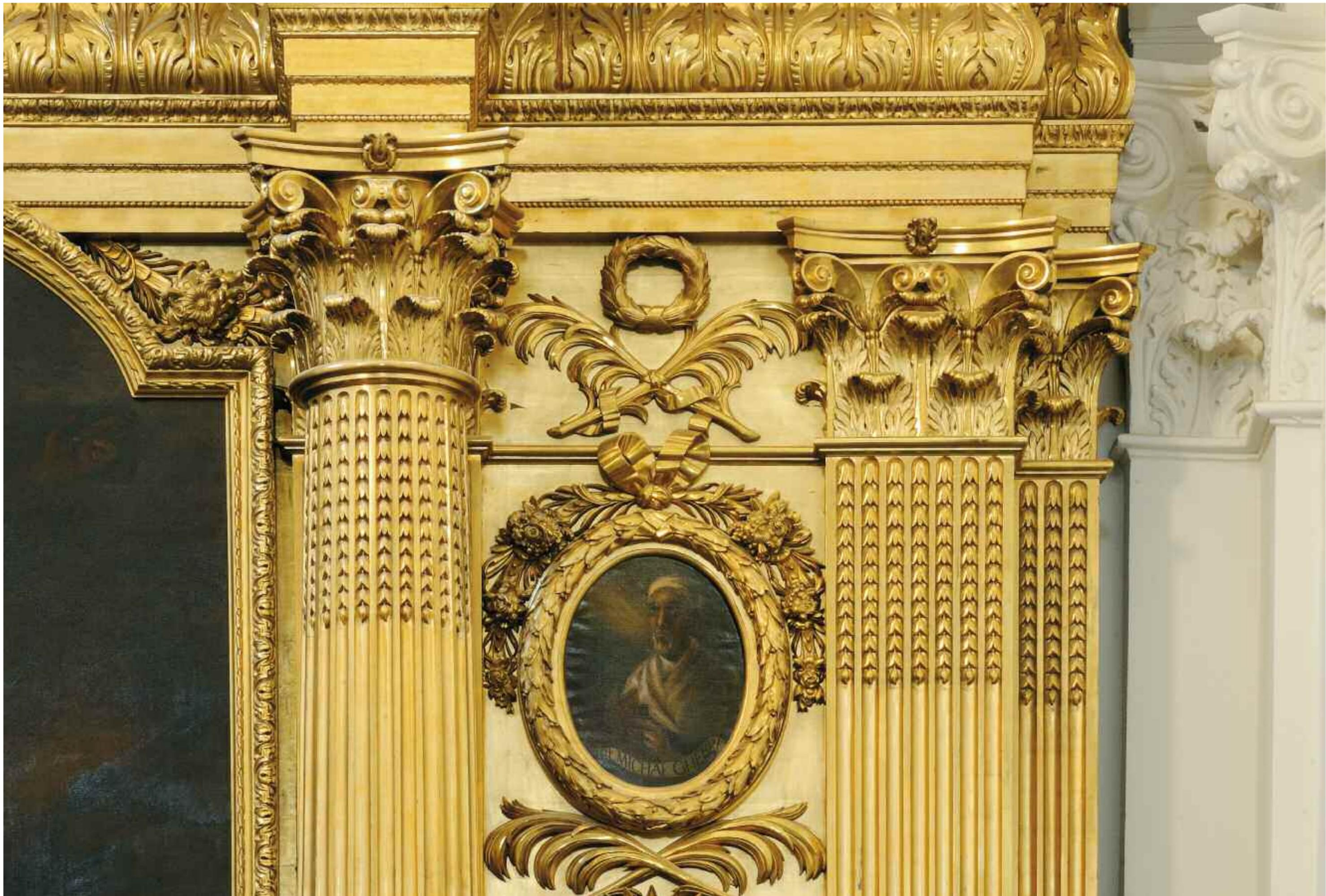
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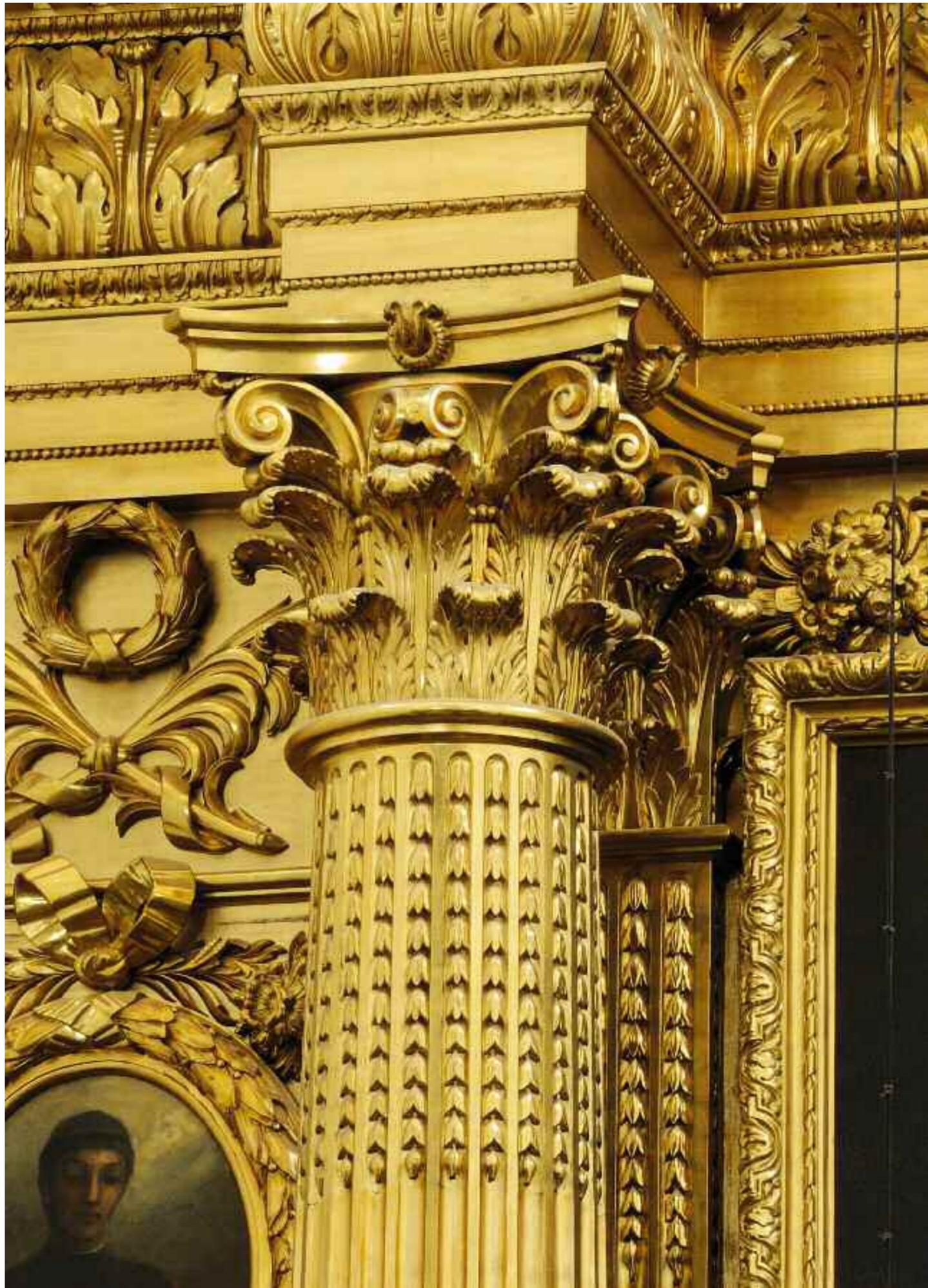
31 Set of three medallions in the High Altar's left-hand side bay, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Söffrens, with representations of the Saints of the Vincent de Paul Congregation of the Mission, painted 1968–70 by Stanisław Korczak-Komorowski in collaboration with Maria Słoniowska-Ciechomska



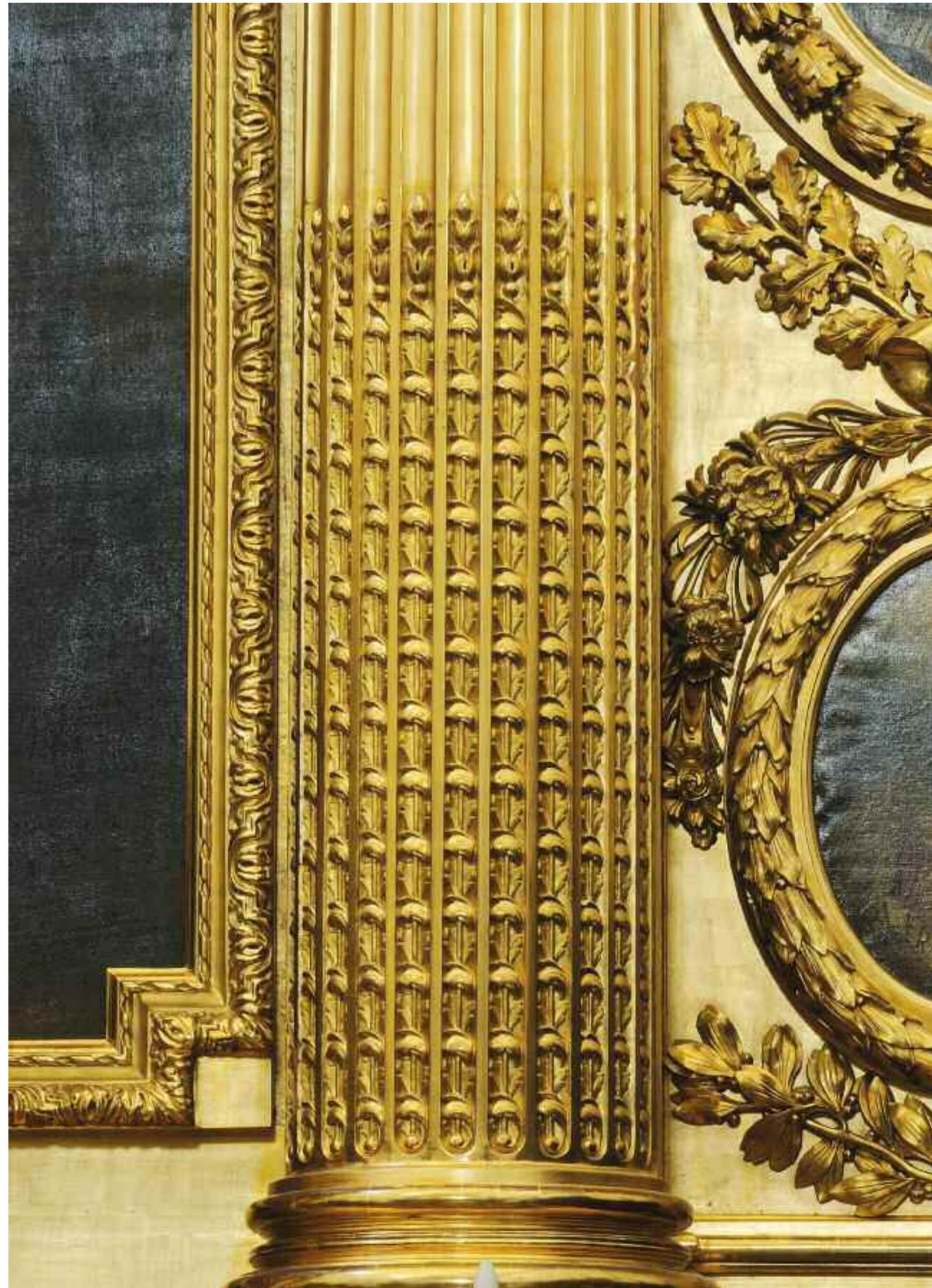
32 Set of three medallions in the High Altar's right-hand side bay, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Söffrens, with representations of Saints of the Vincent de Paul Congregation of the Mission, painted 1968–70 by Stanisław Korczak-Komorowski in collaboration with Maria Słoniowska-Ciechomska



33 High Altar detail with articulation in the right-hand side bay, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Söffrens



34 Corinthian capital of a High Altar column, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Söfrens



87 35 Fluting with decorative filling on the shaft of a High Altar column, 1699–1700, executed by Johannes Söfrens



36 Panoramic view of the chancel from below the High Altar towards the choir



39 Coping of the northern segment of the monastic/priestly stalls, 1700–05, supplementary works c. 1720, executed by Johannes Söffrens and Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz

40 Northern segment of the monastic/priestly stalls, 1700–05, supplementary works c. 1720, executed by Johannes Söffrens and Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz



39



40





42 Panorama of the church interior from the transept southern arm towards the northern sequence of chapels and the choir



**43** Side altar in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament – the Altar for the Fatherland, 1720–1, designed by Tilman van Gameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens in collaboration with Michael Brüse (Brösen), reconstruction 2004–10, executed by Zygfryd Cross and the workshop of Mariusz Makowiecki (figures and ornamental decoration), Jakub Bałowski and Karolina Niemczyk-Bałowska (gilding)

**44, 45** Archangels' figures in the lower tier of the Altar for the Fatherland, reconstruction 2009, executed by Zygfryd Cross

**46** Mensa of the Altar for the Fatherland, reconstructed 2006

**47** John Paul II's papal coat of arms of the mensa of the Altar for the Fatherland

**48** Detail of the ornamental decoration of the mensa of the Altar for the Fatherland



49 Figure of St Peter in the lower tier of the Altar for the Fatherland, reconstruction 2009–10, executed by Zygfryd Gross



49

50 Figure of St Paul in the lower tier of the Altar for the Fatherland, reconstruction 2009–10, executed by Zygfryd Gross



50



51 The Last Supper painting in the central panel of the Altar for the Fatherland, reconstructed 2007–8



52 Side altar in the Chapel of St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729–30, designed by Carlo Antonio Bay/Baio, executed by the Bartomiej Michal Bernatowicz workshop including an unidentified Warsaw sculptor, and Johann Georg Plersch



53



54

53 Putto in the coping of the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729–30, executed by Johann Georg Plersch

54 Figure of the left-hand side angel in the coping of the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729–30, executed by Johann Georg Plersch



55 Left-hand side angel herm in the coping of the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729–30, executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculptor

55



56 Right-hand side angel herm in the coping of the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729–30, executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculptor

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57



58

57 Statue of St. Jan Cantius in the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729-30, executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculptor

58 Hand of the statue of St. Joseph Calasantius in the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729-30, executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculptor

59 Figure of the right-hand side angel in the coping of the side altar for St. Vincent de Paul, c. 1729-30, executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculptor



59



60 Panoramic view of the northern arm of the transept and the sequence of chapels



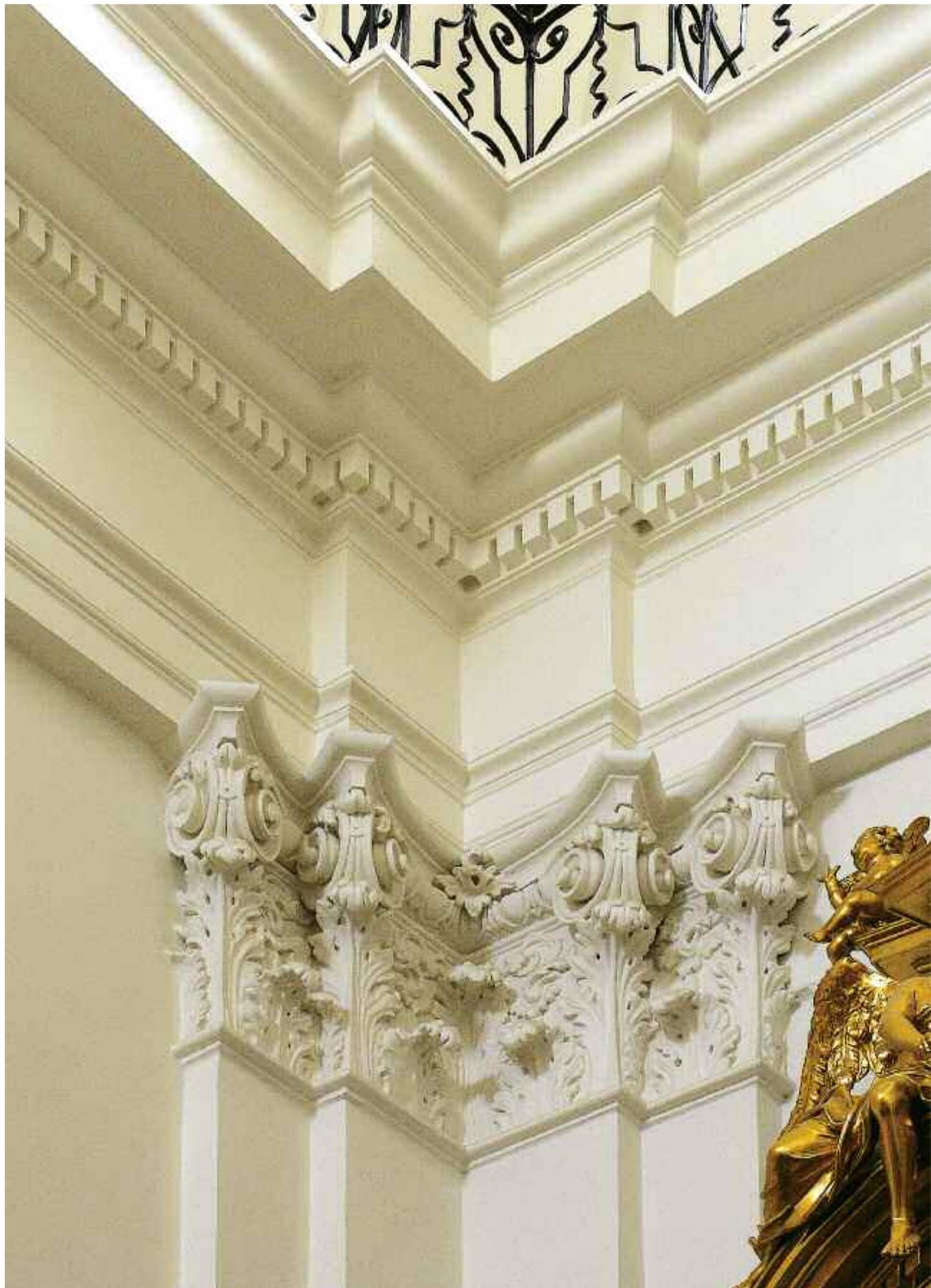
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61 Crucifix from the former iron partition lattice, 1729, executed by an unidentified sculptor of the Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz workshop

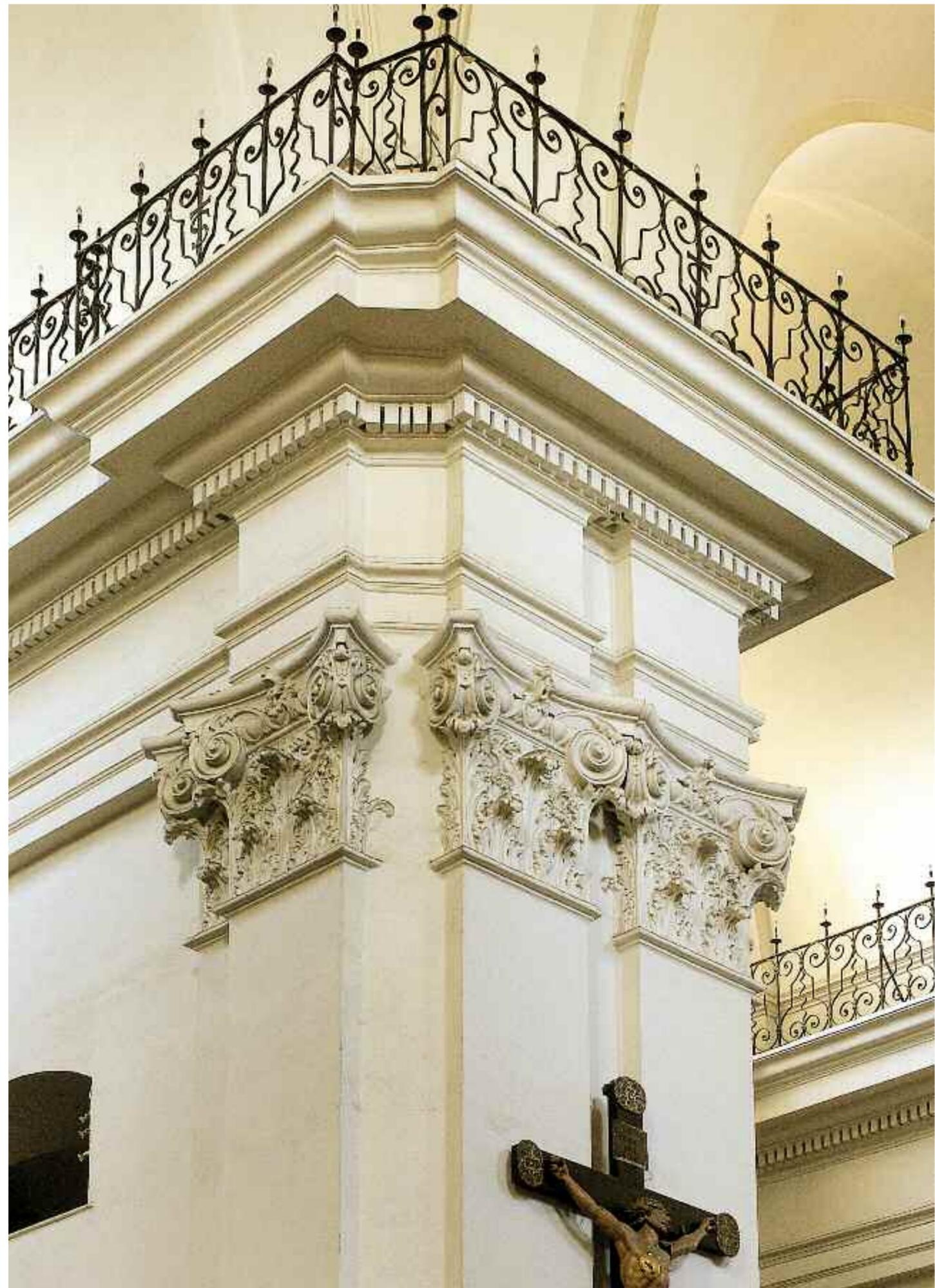


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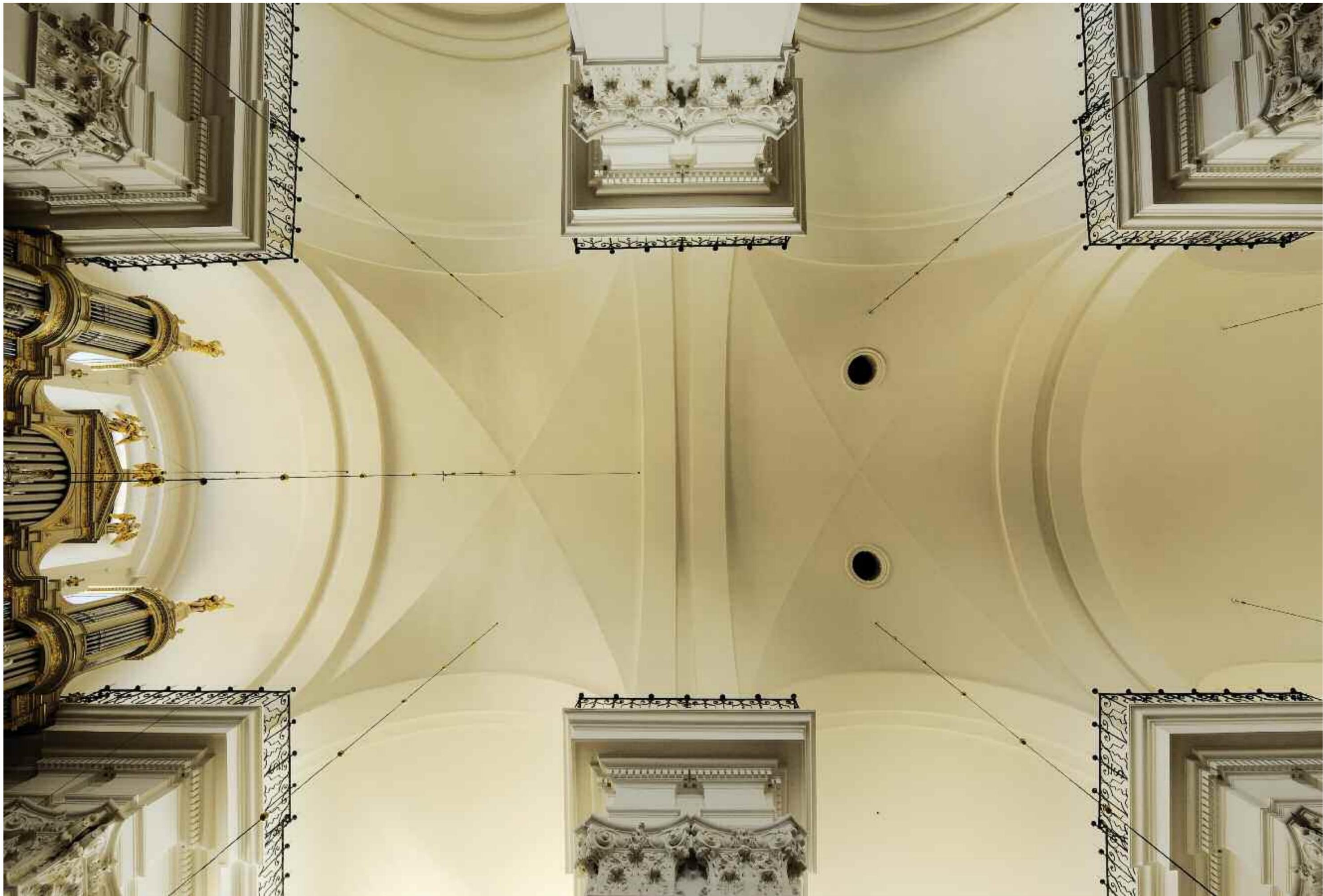
62 The dove of the Holy Ghost on the pull-up of the baptismal font lid, c. 1726 or end of the 19th c., executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculptor



63 Stuccoed Corinthian capital in the corner of the Chapel of St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph), 1690s, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti



64 Configuration of the stucco articulation of the projection of the nave pillar between the Chapels of the Blessed Sacrament and St. Vincent de Paul, 1690s, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti





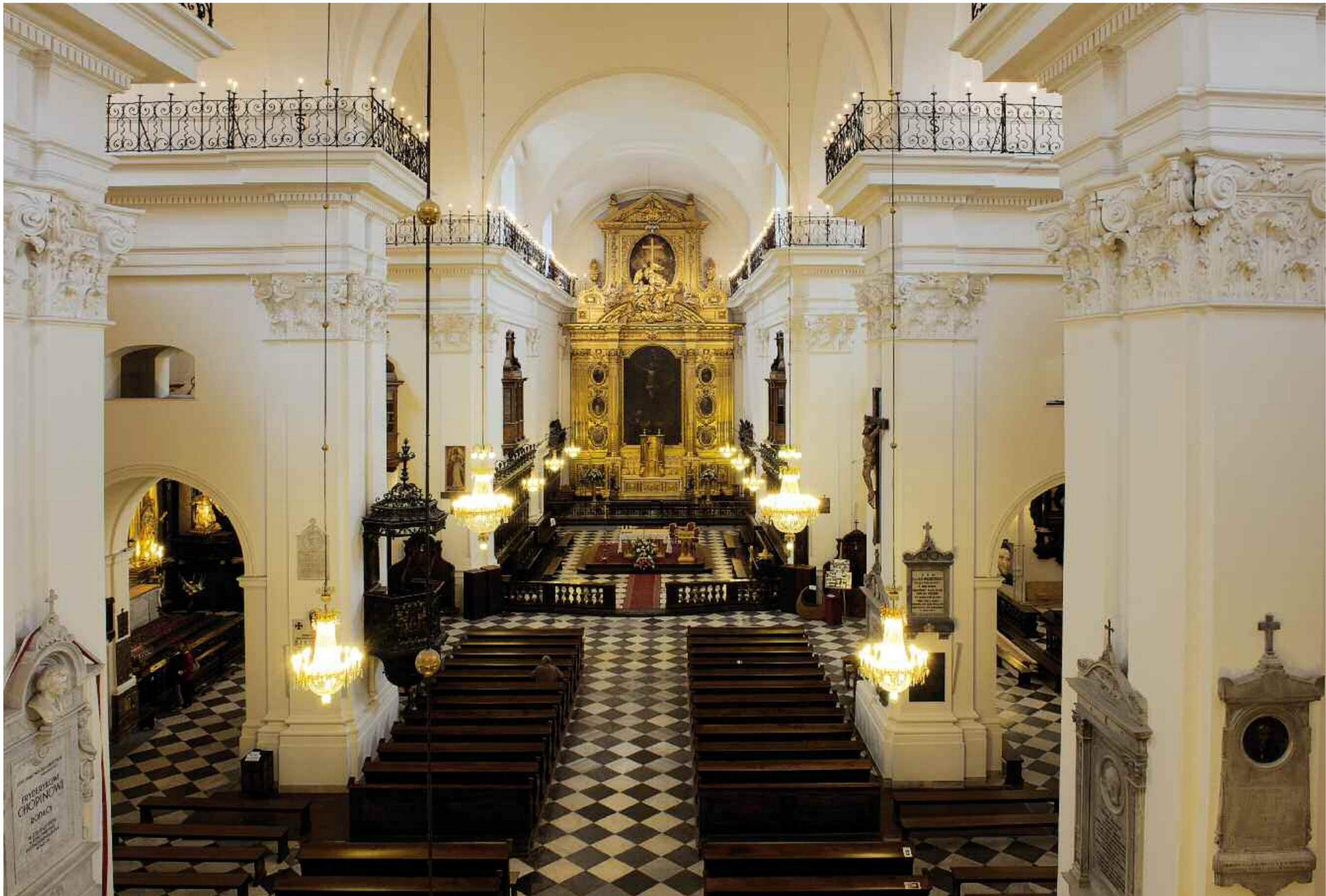
66 General view of the choir, 1850, designed by Enrico Marconi, with the organ built by Maurycy Robert Müller of Wrocław, reconstructed after 1960



67 Figures of angels playing music at the top of the organ prospect, 1850, designed by Enrico Marconi, restoration after 1960, and in 2010



119 68 Statue of King David on the finial of the right bass tower of the organ prospect, 1850, designed by Enrico Marconi, restoration after 1960, and in 2010

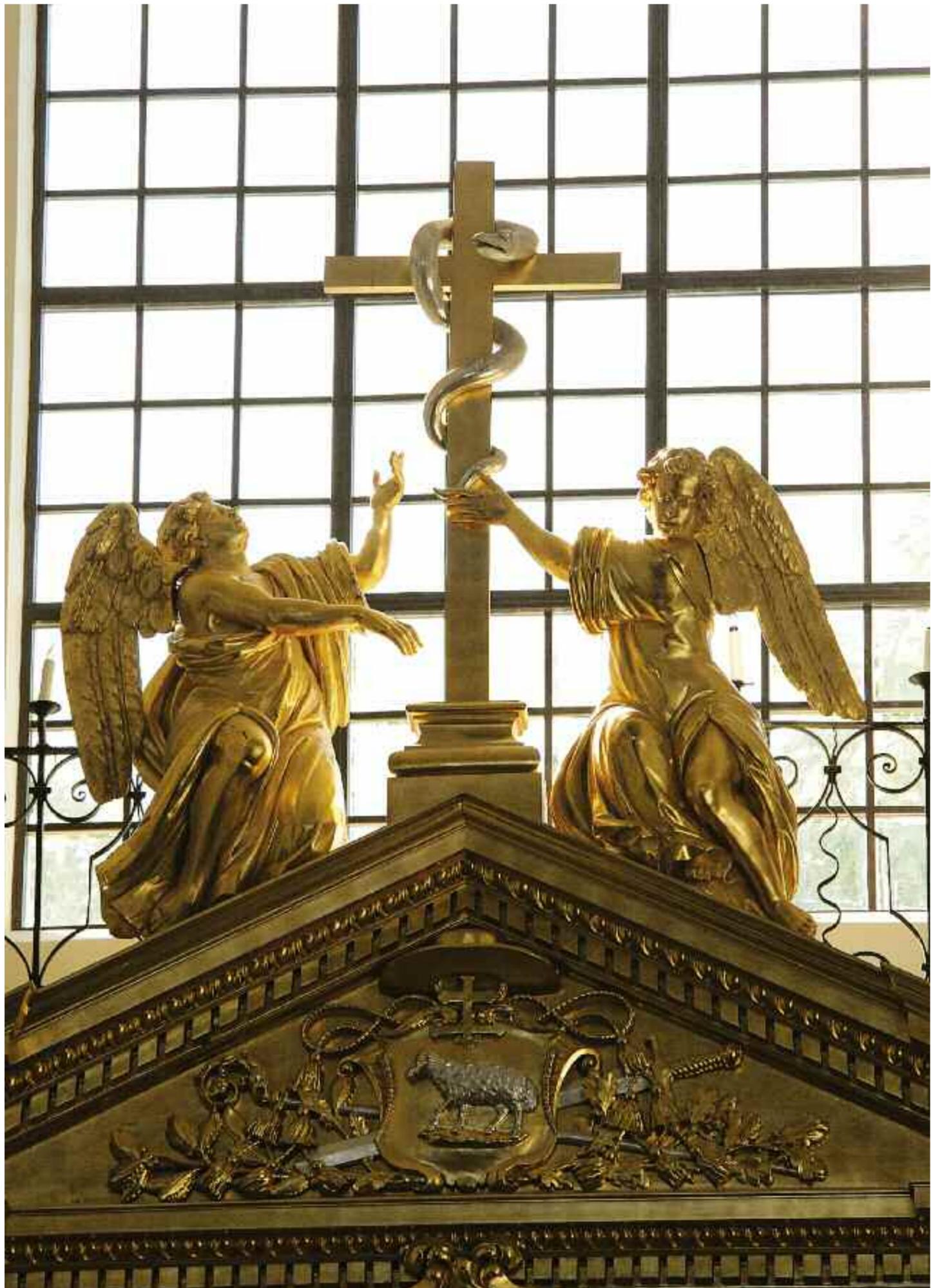


69 Panoramic view of the church interior from the balcony of the choir towards the chancel





72 View of the transept southern arm / Chapel of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève



125 73 Brazen Serpent in Glory above the 'Junosza' coat of arms of the donor, Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski at the top of the coping of the side altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, 1704, executed by Johannes Söffrens



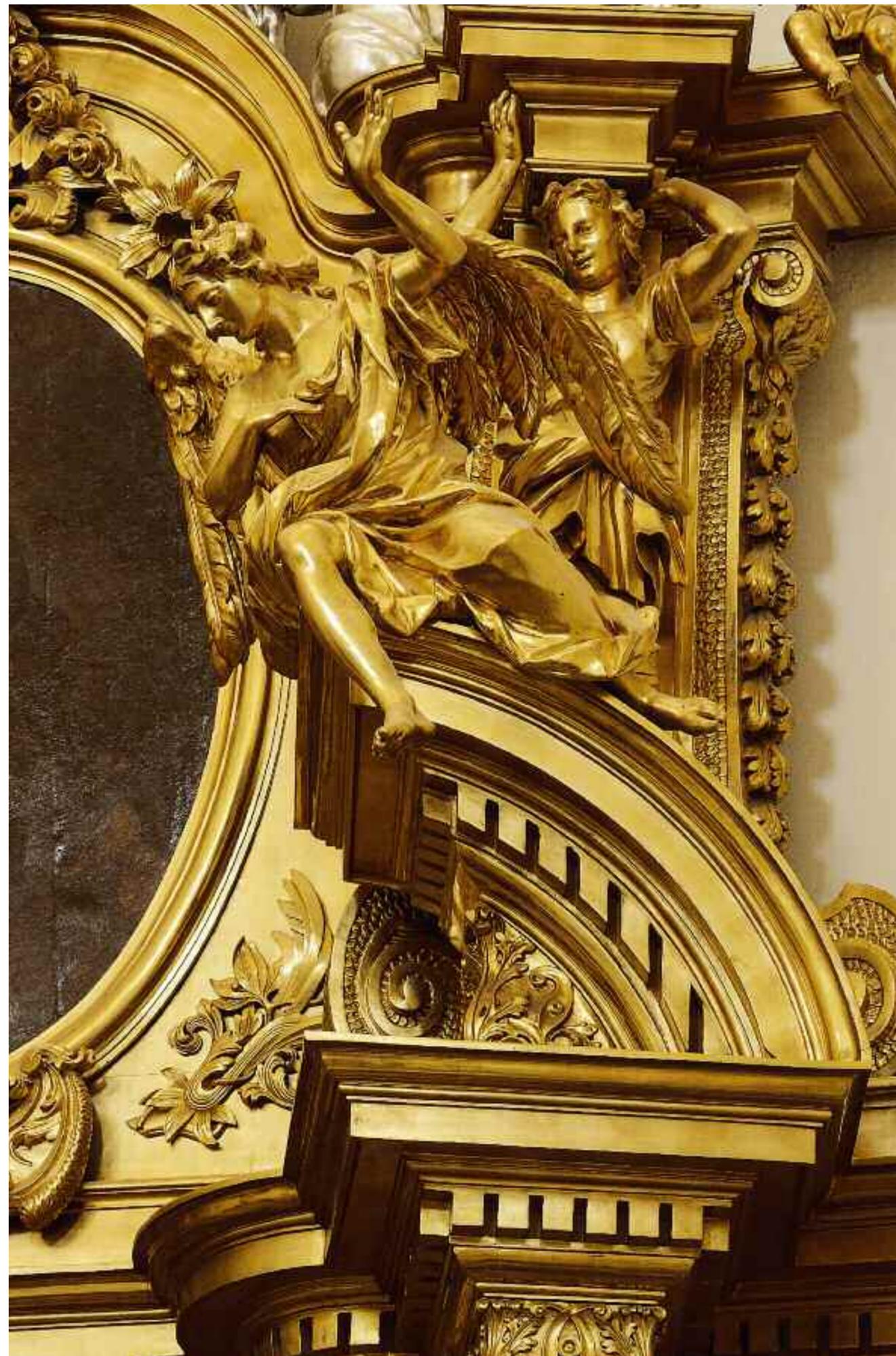
74 Figures of Sts. Agnes and an unidentified Virgin Martyr on the axis of the left-hand side bay of the side altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, 1704, executed by Johannes Siffrens



75 Statue of St. Barbara in the right-hand side bay of the lower tier of the side altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, 1704, executed by Johannes Siffrens



76 Side altar in the Chapel of St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph), 1723–4, designed by Carlo Antonio Bay/Baio, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz and workshop



77 Architectural detail and figures in the right-hand section of the side altar coping in the Chapel of St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph), 1723–4, designed by Carlo Antonio Bay/Baio, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz and workshop



78 Statue of St. Augustine in the altar for St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph), 1723–4, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz and workshop



131 79 Statue of St. John Nepomuk in the altar for St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph), 1723–4, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz and workshop





81 Side altar in the Chapel of the Archangel Michael and All Angels, c. 1705, executed by the workshop of Johannes Söffrens



82 Archangel Michael Trampling on the Defeated Lucifer, painting in the central field of the side altar for the Archangel Michael and All Angels, c. 1705, unidentified Warsaw painter



83 *Guardian Angel*, painting in the coping of the side altar for Michael the Archangel and All Angels, c. 1705, unidentified Warsaw painter



84



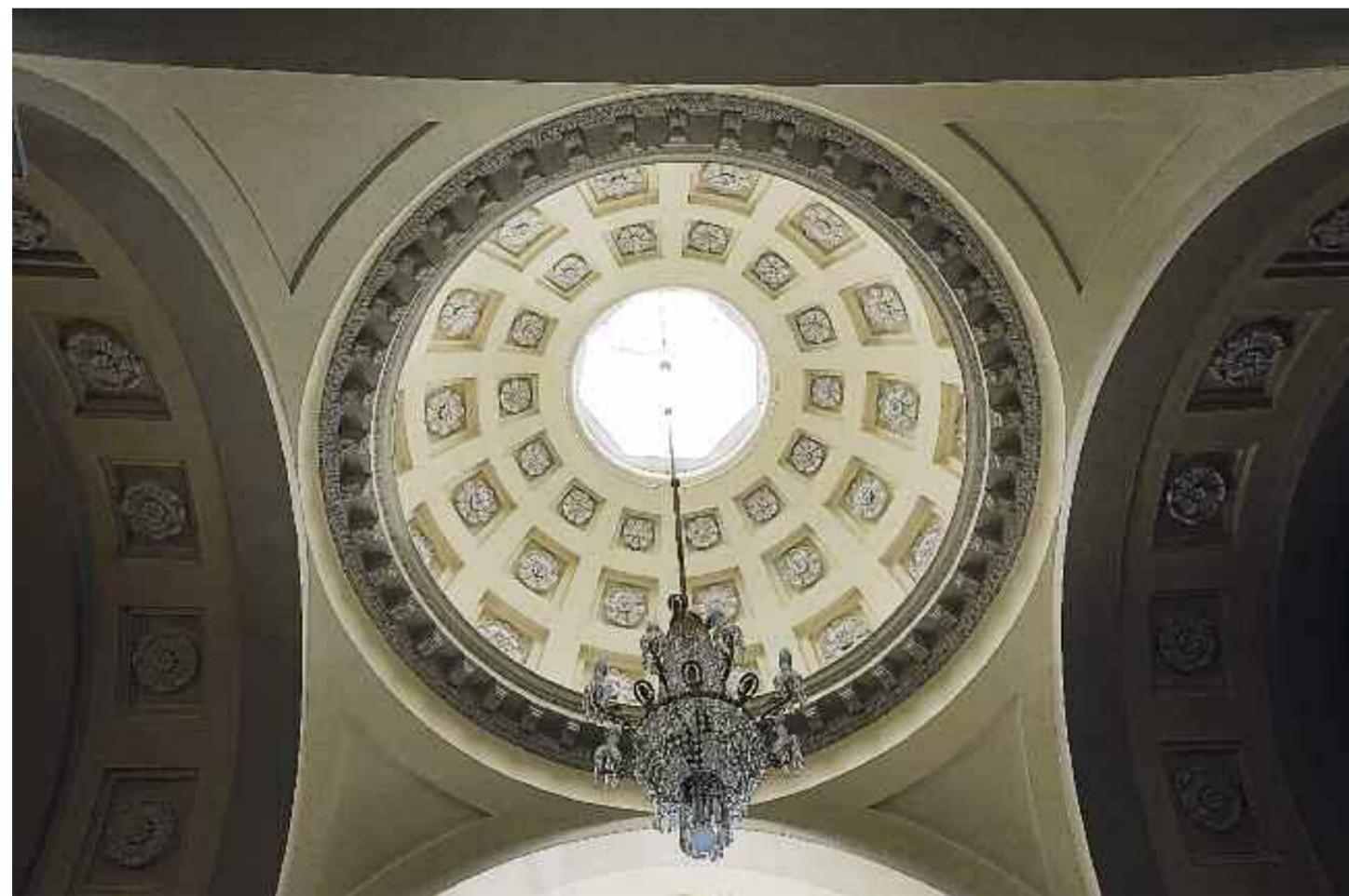
85

84 Figure of the Guardian Angel in the left-hand side bay of the side altar for Michael the Archangel and All Angels, c. 1705, unidentified Warsaw sculptor from the workshop of Johannes Söffrens

85 Figure of the Archangel Raphael in the right-hand side bay of the side altar for the Archangel Michael and All Angels, c. 1705, unidentified Warsaw sculptor from the workshop of Johannes Söffrens



86



87

**86** Panorama of the Chapel of St. Mary's altar section, 1700, remodelled 1825-6 to 1836, designed by Enrico Marconi

**87** Cupola above the Chapel of St. Mary's altar section, before 1836, designed by Henryk Marconi





89

89 Crypt under the St. Mary Chapel, burial site of the Czartoryski, Gozdzi, Tarlo and other families, view of the northern and western walls



90

90 View of the eastern wall of the crypt under the St. Mary Chapel



D.O.M.  
M. K. K. K. K. K.  
1839

D.O.M.  
Katarzyna Czarna  
1841

D.O.M.  
WALCOWA SZYBACZY  
1836

D.O.M.  
1837

D.O.M.  
1838

D.O.M.  
1839

D.O.M.  
1840

D.O.M.  
1841

M.  
Maryanna Lesniewicz  
Siostra Miłosierdzia, umarła  
20 czerwca 1836

D.O.M.  
1837

D.O.M.  
1838

D.O.M.  
1839

D.O.M.  
1840

D.O.M.  
1841

D.O.M.  
1842

D.O.M.  
1843

D.O.M.  
1844

D.O.M.  
1845

D.O.M.  
1846

D.O.M.  
1847

D.O.M.  
1848

ANDRZEJ PETTYN

## Chopin's heart

Many Warsaw residents and guests from abroad visiting the church of The Holy Cross are aware of the fact that, for years, it has been the place where the heart of Frédéric Chopin rests, however, few people realize how it was brought there and how turbulent Chopin's fate was in World War II. Let us try to trace it and, in order to do this, let us go back in time.

Paris. October 1849. Ailing Chopin – feeling the inevitably approaching end – says goodbye to his loved ones giving them his last wishes, including those concerning the funeral, during which on Chopin's request Mozart's Requiem was to be performed. On the eve of his death, Chopin makes his final request to his sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz, to repatriate his heart to Poland.<sup>1</sup> 'I know that Paskiewicz will not let you take me to Warsaw, so take my heart there, at least'. In the words of Chopin's sister – those were exactly the dying composer's words. Earlier, he had expressed the desire to be buried in the Powązki Cemetery next to his Father and his sister Emilia. 'His heart – writes in his book on Chopin Igor Belza was immersed in a container with alcohol, and the body was embalmed'.

Death occurs on October 17, 1849. In Chopin's Obituary, Cyprian Kamil Norwid puts the famous phrase: 'A Varsovian by birth, a Pole in his heart, and a citizen of the world by his talent'.

### The heart hidden in a jewellery casket under the gown

Jędrzejewicz fulfills all her brother's wishes with scrupulous care and two months after his death, in the first days of January 1850 – together with her daughter – she makes her way back to the country, by railway. Belza writes: 'While crossing the border, fearing the Customs examination she hid a small oak trunk under her gown. Inside the trunk there was a casket made of ebony wood, containing the precious vessel with Chopin's heart in it – the later Polish national memorial.' Such precaution, as it turned out, was absolutely necessary. During the journey, Chopin's sister experiences a moment of great tension when at the moment of crossing the border of the Austro-Hungarian Empire it comes to Customs control.

The vessel with the heart of the composer, however, reaches Warsaw safely. For a time it stands on the chest of drawers in the house of Kalasanty and Ludwika Jędrzejewicz. Then, the urn is transferred to the church of The Holy Cross and placed in the catacombs of the church located in close proximity to the last of

Chopin's Warsaw apartments. Somewhat later, the oak urn – the wall of which contained a miniature heart carved in silver – goes to the sacristy of the church.

### Cannons among the flowers

However, before the casket reaches the upper church, the clergy have to be convinced, which is a hard task since the owner was not a saint. The opponents are finally persuaded by the argument that there has already been a precedent in the Wawel Cathedral, where the heart of Klementyna Hoffman nee Tanska rests. Finally, the urn, with the support of the Parish priest of The Holy Cross, the Suffragan Bishop Antoni Fr. Sotkiewicz (1826-1901), the later Bishop of Sandomierz, found its place in the Upper Church. It was moved and placed there on March 1, 1879 in great secrecy, 'in the first pillar, on the left, from the main nave's side'<sup>2</sup> in the company of only a dozen or so friends and family members. Władysław Żeleński, the organizer of this event, reminisces about it: 'It was evening. The huge church was poorly lit... a group of people, lost in thoughts and prayers... spiritually united with their beloved master, to whom every one owed so pure and sublime experiences.'<sup>3</sup> Chopin's nephew Antoni Jędrzejewicz, the participant of the ceremony, mentioned that '... it happened in silence in the presence of only a few people. There were my wife and I, the canon priest Jakubowski, there was Stanisław Ornowski...'<sup>4</sup>

It was done so cautiously for fear that the news could reach the tsarist authorities and the precious family and national memorial could be commandeered. The fear resulted from the fact that Chopin's music was banned in the Russian partition, because – according to Tsar Nicholas I – it might put Poles in the dangerously patriotic mood. Chopin's works have been described by the Tsar as 'cannons hidden among the flowers'.

'When the hole in the wall where the casket had been inserted – recalled A. Jędrzejewicz – was sealed up, the family came up with the idea of having the appropriate monument erected in that place...'<sup>5</sup> Many years later Wł. Żeleński recalled, 'Some time later, a solemn service was held in the crowded church. The requiem mass by Moniuszko, Chopin's funeral march and the organ prelude of my composition were performed.'<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Igor Belza, *Fryderyk Chopin*, Warsaw, 1969; Kazimierz Wierzyński, *Życie Chopina*, Cracow, 1978, p. 372; Ferdynand Hoesick, *U siostrzeńca Chopina*, *Kraj*, no. 41/1899, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> *Echo Muzyczne*, no. of 1.12.1879.

<sup>3</sup> F. Hoesick, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>6</sup> Wł. Żeleński, *Pomnik Fryderyka Chopina w kościele św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, *Kraj*, no. 41/1899, p. 202.



1 Church of the Holy Cross, epitaph to the heart of Frédéric Chopin on the pillar between the Chapels of St. Charles Borromeo (St. Joseph) and St. Michael the Archangel, 1880, designed by Leandro Marconi, executed by Andrzej Pruszyński, photo: M. Wandziński, 2010

2 Gottfried Engelman, *Frédéric Chopin*, 1833, lithograph after a drawing by Pierre-Roché Vingeron

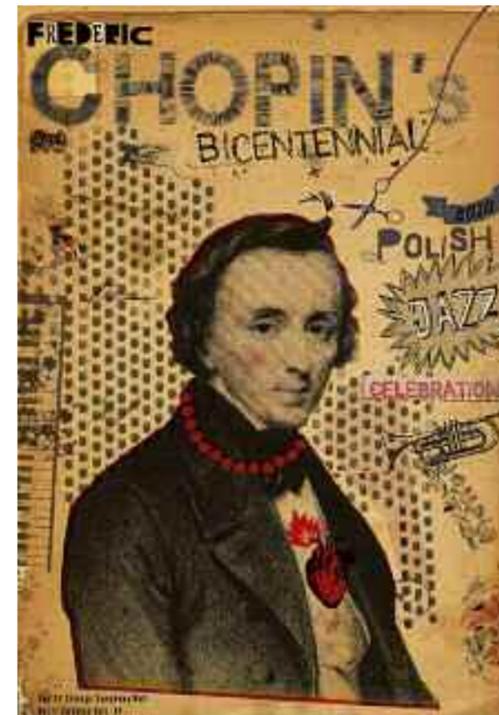


CROT TIGER i CHOPIN GŁODNEJ WARSZAWIE  
URODZYSTY WIECZÓR TEJ TRZESIA, W KTÓRYM PRZED OCEJNA WIEŻÓW PRZEDSIĘ SIĘ PRZY MIŁYSE CHOPINA ARCYDZIELA CROT TIGERA, ODSZCZĘ SIĘ W PONIEDZIAŁEK DNIA 18 B.C. W SALI TEATRU PRZEMISŁOWO WIERKOWIE. PRZYSZŁI BE LAURA PYTELNSKA MARA HORODZ WICE-SPECYJALNKA, PROF. DR KAZIMIERZ MORAWSKI DR ALFRED KAWICE, WADŁAW HORAWONSKI, MIE. DR. WŁ. ZIOMIŁY, DR CAT ZIANKA I MACIEJ SZURKIEWICZ.  
BILETY DO HANGRA W SASIETEATRU PO WODNIAŁYCH ODKROCH DRA WITW. ZŁ. WIDZYSTA/ MACEL. PRZYWIJAJE SIĘ NADDATKI.

Bronisława Rychter-Janowska



Lech Majewski



Justyna Czerniakowska

In 1880, above the sealed-up Chopin's heart there stood an epitaph, carved in the Carrara marble, which had been ordered by the composer's sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz in Lviv at the renowned sculptor Leandro Marconi. This was a project so expensive that the family's own funds were not enough. The social committee hastened with the financial help, organising a special benefit concert to raise the money. With the funds collected during the concert the family was empowered to place the inscription on the plaque: 'FOR FREDERIC CHOPIN – HIS COUNTRYMEN.'<sup>7</sup> The inscription beard also words from The Gospel of St. Matthew: 'Where your treasure lays, there your heart lies' and the plaque below reads 'Here lies the heart of Frederic Chopin'. Chopin's heart found its safe haven in The Church of The Holy Cross for over half a century, and even the First World War did not breach its peace.

### The immortal, enchanted in the statue

On November 14, 1926, in the few years after Poland regained its independence, the Frédéric Chopin Statue in the Royal Baths Park in Warsaw is being unveiled. It is a memorable sunny, autumn Sunday for the capital and the whole Poland.

Celebrations begin with the Mass at The Church of The Holy Cross, in which for over 70 years the composer's heart has rested – with the participation of the President of the Republic of Poland, Ignacy Mościcki, Cardinal Aleksander Kakowski, the highest state authorities, diplomats, domestic and foreign delegations.<sup>8</sup> During the ceremony, a speech is delivered by priest Antoni Szlagowski – called 'the preacher of Warsaw' because of his beautiful poetic sermons. He does not suspect yet that many years later, he will be the one to take care of the urn with Chopin's heart, in Warsaw's Milanówek. In 1926, Szlagowski says, among others:



*The immortal has risen. After a hundred years he, enchanted in the statue, has risen: I have risen and I am still with you, Warsaw, the longing of my soul, the urn of my heart. The Bard of tones and songs, and melodies returns, listening intently to the sounds of centuries past, staring at the appearing ghosts of nation's feelings and intuitions, he plunges into the depths of his own existence, he rises above everything that is human and earthly to reach infinity.*

*To all people he speaks Polish and all understand him, he speaks through the melody of mazurkas, polonaises; he creates poems as short as the cry of the soul, as unfathomable as the sigh of the swollen heart, and as incomprehensible as the pain and despair of the nation can be.*

*All our past sings in him, all our slavery cries in him, the beating heart of the nation, the great king of sorrows (...).*

Father of Polish music, ruler of Polish thinking, archangel of nation's philosophy, it is because of you that the Polish music rises to the peaks and does not lower its all-earthly flight. Because of you the nation's philosophy deepens its awareness and indicates the path of our destiny.

In that music we take the stigma of Polishness into ourselves. You, in the depths of our existence, wake the praeternal sense of racial belonging, revive what is the most human in us, and to each of those innermost secrets of our souls you speak differently – and everyone listens to you differently, feels differently, differently understands and teaches. Because it is in your music that people find their souls and it is with you that they relive what is untold yet felt in the moment of the mood. And your power will never end, as never changing is the character of the Nation, as never changing in its essence is the human soul.

You will be the inspiration to future centuries and remain the National Poet that animates our souls, and the Magician that holds our hearts captive.<sup>9</sup>

### Secret concerts despite the prohibition

After the morning mass at The Church of The Holy Cross, on the very same day at midday, the Chopin Statue, designed by Waclaw Szymanowski, is being unveiled and consecrated in the Royal Baths Park. Speaking on behalf of the Polish Government, Jan Skotnicki says, among others:

*The Polish Nation – erecting that monument wanted to at least partially repay a debt of gratitude to Chopin for the fact that he bore and will bear, for centuries, witness to the greatness of the Polish spirit and the strange poetry of the land. (...) After a great war and the gigantic struggle of the whole world Poland erects a monument not to its commanders, heroes of the army – but to the creator – the artist. What a strange nation.*

*Because the Polish nation, having wiped the blood off of its sword, yearning for peace and harmony, stood for creative work (...).*

*We have built a monument, on which Chopin listening intently to the music of nature, in ecstasy, creates a perpetual song, and the author of the statue, by placing it on the banks of the transparent spring, gave the symbol of the pure and crystal Polish soul.*

*Let this monument stand and bear witness to the magnitude of the crystal and pure soul of Chopin, his genius, his Polish identity, and let it speak well of those generations that have managed to feel and understand the sound of his noble and great speech.*

Certainly, neither of the members of twenty-five countries delegations that laid wreaths at the statue in homage to the great composer, nor any one of about fifty thousand participants of those events could have suspected that a dozen years later such a cruel fate will await both the statue, and the urn with Chopin's heart.

After conquering Warsaw in 1939, Germans closed the Chopin Institute, destroyed the statue in the Royal Baths, demanded the release of all his manuscripts and prohibited the performance of his music. The enemy closed the Institute, destroyed the monument, but was not able to annihilate the forces enchanted in his music. Despite the invader's prohibition, the music of Chopin is played at the numerous secret concerts in private houses.

### The name on the vessel read: Chopin

World War II comes to an end. On August 1, 1944, the Uprising begins in Warsaw. Bloody battles are fought around the Krakowskie Przedmieście, where The Church of The Holy Cross is situated. Germans capture the church, they remove the urn with Chopin's heart from the pillar of the main nave. A witness to that event is the priest Alojzy Niedziela,<sup>10</sup> who in April 2000 interview said:

*I came to perform my priestly service at The Holy Cross Church in wartime in 1943. During the Uprising in 1944 we walked from our basement, where the rectory was, to the church, which was then completely abandoned. With me there were two priests, none of whom is alive now. When, once again, I found myself in the semi-ruined church, a German chaplain approached me – and he introduced himself to me as Schulze.<sup>11</sup> And he says:*

*– It will probably come to fighting for The Holy Cross Church soon. I am, like many Germans the lover of Chopin's music. So if you agree, we would like this relic, the urn with the great composer's heart, not to be destroyed. We are ready to remove the urn, save it from destruction and to take it into a safe place.*



Eugeniusz Dominik Lukasiak



Stanislaw Chrostowski

*We were thinking about it a little, but after two days we gave a positive response. Germans arrived to the Church, so together with priest Schulze<sup>12</sup> they took the urn out and transported it to their headquarters, which were then located opposite the Visitationists in The House without Edges. Germans wanted the propaganda victory by transferring the urn to the Polish church authorities. In order to do this they established contact with Bishop Antoni Szlagowski, residing in Milanówek at that time. The Bishop, together with a companion arrived to Warsaw, to film the ceremony of transferring the urn. I was one of the witnesses to that event.*

Many years later, Heinz Reinefarth, called 'the executioner of Warsaw', in an interview given to Krzysztof Kąkolewski<sup>13</sup> says, among others:

I suffered from an attack of dysentery. I was lying in my quarters. An officer reported himself claiming that after lengthy battles his squad took the church, where they found a relic and he put a leather case in front of my bed.<sup>14</sup> On the case there was a small label with a name on it. I told him to put it on the cupboard. The Archbishop of Warsaw was outside Warsaw then and von dem Bach established contact with him, but the archbishop said that there was no saint of that name. Then I opened the case, and found a vessel inside. It turned out that the name on the case belonged to its manufacturer and was the advertisement of his company. The name on the vessel was 'Chopin'. In an instant, I remembered, since I had always been fascinated with music and I myself, play, the Chopin's last will and testament: The body in Paris, the heart in Warsaw. At his heart, Chopin remained a Pole.

### Erich von dem Bach's 'courtesy'

The commander of German armed forces suppressing the Warsaw Uprising, SS and Police general, Obergruppenführer Erich von dem Bach, was aware that the defeat of the Third Reich was imminent and that he would bear personal responsibility for war crimes committed during the Uprising. Having learned about the discovery of the urn (one can assume that the aforementioned priest Schulze played a part in this), von dem Bach decides on making a totally unexpected gesture aimed at reducing his own fault and present himself to the world in a more favorable light.<sup>15</sup> While his soldiers are brutally murdering insurgents and civilians of Warsaw and turning the historic buildings, temples, museums and libraries into ruins, von dem Bach shows the unusual at that time courtesy. He decides to cleverly make use of the unexpected war trophy. Bronisław Edward Sydow<sup>16</sup> a chopinologist living in Milanówek, in his report to the Frederic Chopin Society<sup>17</sup> written a few years later, will note down the actions of von dem Bach:

*(...) On the morning of September 9 he sent 18 two of his officers in the car to Milanówek with a summons for residing in the rectory, priest Archbishop Antoni Szlagowski, being in charge of the Warsaw churches. In the company of those officers, priest archbishop Szlagowski had to go to Warsaw.*

Mitra priest Stanislaw Markowski, at that time the personal secretary of Archbishop Szlagowski, remembering a surprise visit of the Germans in Milanówek said that after arriving at the rectory the officers told him that in the ruined walls of a church in Warsaw, our soldiers found the urn with Chopin's heart. We are aware that this is a great and very precious memorial to the Poles. We have decided to save it and we wish to return Chopin's heart into the most worthy hands, the Archbishop of Warsaw.<sup>19</sup> After a moment archbishop Szlagowski appeared and, having a brief conversation with German officers, he expressed his willingness to take the urn. Then it turned out that it had to be collected from Warsaw. Germans were ready for that, since an additional car was waiting for the archbishop and after a moment they set forth to Warsaw.

### The spotlights went down in the most important moment

Stanislaw Podlewski<sup>20</sup> describes it in detail: Along with the bishop go priest Jan Michalski and priest dr Jerzy Modzelewski, a substitute for the rector of the parish in Milanówek remaining at Dachau<sup>21</sup> concentration camp at that time. On the way they were all tormented by the question of whether there is a 'Nazi surprise' awaiting them (...). Priests arrive at Wola, the district of Warsaw. Cars stop at a modern house at Wolska Street, where Römungsstab der Zivilverwaltung is situated.<sup>22</sup> There are honorary gun posts in front of the house and red flags with black swastikas hanging from the walls. The officers lead the bishop and priests to the hall on the first floor. A bright glaring beam of the spotlights floods the room, the movie cameras click. The Germans wish to give wide publicity to this event. When the moment of forwarding the urn with the heart arrives, suddenly all the spotlights fade, only the bulbs glow weakly. Fitters are not able remove the malfunction. The Bishop addresses the priests:

*Thank God. This time, the barbarians will not manage to use their propaganda gimmick.*

After long moments of waiting one of the von dem Bach's senior staff officers approaches the Bishop and says:

*In this war, The Great Reich always did everything that was in her power to protect the most valuable treasures of the universal culture from destruction and annihilation and preserve them for future generations. A German soldier in the east defends the old*

*Christian culture from destruction and barbarity... Fulfilling the orders from the Obergruppenführer and Police General von dem Bach, I forward the urn with the heart of holy Chopin, found by our soldiers, to His Excellency, the Bishop.*

After these words he gives the oak prism-shaped urn to the Bishop and he performs Hitler Salute. The Bishop deeply outraged by the cynical lies and arrogance of those barbarians – for a good cause utters only one word in Polish:

*Thank you.*

The emaciated face of the indomitable old man, the governor of the archdiocese during the most tragic period of the nation's history and the Polish Church, shows deep emotion. He presses the urn to his heart desiring to leave that place as soon as possible.<sup>23</sup>

In the same car and with the same escort the Bishop and his priests return to Milanówek.

### The bishop did not trust such generosity

Upon arrival to Milanówek, in the rectory, the protocol was drawn up as follows:<sup>24</sup>

*On September 9, 1944, at. 5.30 pm at Wolska St., in the Spolem building, German General von dem Bach, in the presence of the Governor of Warsaw – Fisher*

<sup>7</sup> Fryderyk Chopin's letters, vol. I, 1816-1831, Ed. Z. Helman, Z. Skowron, H. Wróblewska-Straus, Warsaw, 2009, p. 156, note 12.

<sup>8</sup> Waldemar Wojdecki, Serce Fryderyka Chopina, Gość Niedzielny, no. of 17.11.1996.

<sup>9</sup> Idem, Arcybiskup Antoni Szlagowski kaznodzieja Warszawy, Warsaw, 1997, (edition contains the full text of the sermon).

<sup>10</sup> Priest Alojzy Niedziela arrived at The Holy Cross Church parish on December 20, 1943 and ended his priest's services in 1960, in the meantime he suffered from persecution first from the Germans ('Pawiak'), and later the communist authorities; among others, he was imprisoned in such places of horror, like Rawicz, Wronki, and Mokotów.

<sup>11</sup> According to the relation of Sister of Charity Anna Jurczak (Peter Szarsza's documentary Serce Chopina, 1995), referring to the account of the Mother Klauudia, Superior of the Sisters of Charity, who described what was happening in the convent of the Visitationists at that time, priest Schulze loved Poles, regretted very much what was happening in Warsaw during the Uprising, and wanted to save what was possible from the church furnishings. It appears that his heart was filled with feelings of shame and grief and through his actions he wanted even in a small way to expiate guilt of his countrymen.

<sup>12</sup> Priest Schulze – as I was informed in an interview quoted by priest Alojzy Niedziela, on 15.04.2000 – was killed near Warsaw at the time when the Soviet offensive began.

<sup>13</sup> Krzysztof Kąkolewski, Generale Reinefarth, zna Pan swój przydomek, Literatura, no. 22 of 31.05.1973.

<sup>14</sup> It probably took place at night of 7 / 8.09.1944. – according to Zygmunt Sztaba. See idem, Tym żyła Warszawa, Stolica, no. of 19.03.1983.

<sup>15</sup> Stanisław Podlewski, Relikwie świętego Chopina, Za i Przeciw, no. of 16.09.1973.

<sup>16</sup> Bronisław Edward Sydow (1886-1952) since 1945 acting on the board of reactivated F. Chopin Institute (since 1950 TFCI) in Warsaw, in 1946 as its secretary, and since 1947 as a member of the board.

<sup>17</sup> Bronisław E. Sydow, account for Frédéric Chopin Society, Milanówek, 12.10.1951 (the original in archives of the Society, registered on 5.11.1951, copy in hands of the author).

<sup>18</sup> Quotation comes from a speech by priest St. Markowski in the movie Chopin's heart, 1995.

<sup>19</sup> S. Podlewski, op. cit.

<sup>20</sup> It regards priest Walenty Zasada, the parish priest of St. Jadwiga in Milanówek, arrested on 18.07.1940, imprisoned in Pawiak, and later transported first, to the concentration camp at Auschwitz, then to Dachau, where he lived to see liberation.

<sup>21</sup> Agency for the evacuation of cultural assets from the ruins of Warsaw.

<sup>22</sup> According to priest Stanisław Markowski's account. See idem, op. cit.

<sup>23</sup> Zofia Żuławska St. Jadwiga's Parish in Milanówek, Milanówek, op. cit.

and the Deputy Governor of Warsaw – Keller and priest dr Jerzy Modzelewski and priest Karol Milik, personally handed the heart of Frédéric Chopin placed in a glass vessel inside a black casket inside a wooden box to His Excellency, priest Antoni Szlagowski, being in charge of the Warsaw Archdiocese. The casket with the heart comes from The Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw. Signed: A. Szlagowski, priest dr Jerzy Modzelewski.

The urn with the heart of the great composer was under good care in Milanówek. In his report, Bronisław Sydow mentions that the Archbishop Szlagowski "however, did not trust the 'noblesness' of v. d. Bach and feared for the fate of the urn, thus, in the evening of the very same day, it was moved secretly to the house of prof. Antoniewicz in Milanówek, at Pine St., where it remained for some time, to be then transferred back to the rectory. There, it remained in the private chapel of Archbishop Szlagowski placed on the piano until the 17.10.1945."<sup>25</sup>

On 12–15 September 1944, priest Jerzy Modzelewski invited to the Milanów rectory Mr Antoni Nowak, the master of bridge construction. After the obligation of secrecy he was entrusted with the task of building of the bureau-box for keeping the urn containing Chopin's heart. Nicely polished, with external walls of it embellished with the wooden intarsia of southern trees pattern, it was used to store the urn until its return to the church of the Holy Cross.<sup>26</sup>

## Odezwa wśród ruin zburzonej Warszawy

Year 1945. On September 18 in Warsaw the Executive Committee<sup>27</sup> of the National Celebrations of the Return of Chopin's Heart to Warsaw is formed. The Committee and the Fryderyk Chopin Institute issue a proclamation to the inhabitants of the capital, in which we read among others:

*In the tragic days of 1944, when your walls disintegrated into nothingness of death, and your people driven away from their homes by a barbarous enemy went into the most horrible exile, what had to leave your walls as well was Chopin's heart. Held with profound reverence outside the city, on October 17, 1945 it returns in a 96-anniversary of Chopin's death, to its former place of rest in the walls of the Church of the Holy Cross. It returns the way thousands of other hearts have, driven by the most burning desire to build a new, more beautiful Warsaw. The day of October 17, 1945 will be the day of your tribute to the immortal genius of one of your sons. It will be a celebration of Warsaw – the city of Chopin.*

When, after years, the proclamation is read, one can sense the exaggerated pathos in it, yet at that time it was very appropriate, in fact it served to raise the spirits of the inhabitants of Warsaw, who read it out among the ruins of the tremendously destroyed

city. The intention of the organizers of the ceremony was that the proclamation be a signal of rebirth and popularization of culture, and the ceremony of the urn's return was to become, and became the patriotic and cultural manifestation in the ruins of the city. Chopin, initially admired mainly by upper class, after 1945 became the property of the whole society, which is fully proved by the subsequent popularization of his music.

## A big heart in a crystal jar

Before the return of the urn to Warsaw from Milanówek a lot of groundwork would be done. Living in Milanówek at that time Bronisław E. Sydow, a member of the Executive Committee of the National Celebrations of the Return of Chopin's Heart to Warsaw, remembers:

*When in May 1945, FCI<sup>28</sup> decided on a ceremonial return of Chopin's heart to Warsaw, delegated by the FCI Board, I visited archbishop Szlagowski to discuss and agree upon the matter. On that occasion, in order to check the condition of this national relic, I asked him to show me the urn.*

*The urn consisted of the exterior oak case, smooth, stained-wood dark, in which was situated the second casket of polished mahogany embellished with wooden intarsia. In the lid there is a silver badge in the shape of the heart, engraved with an inscription containing the date of birth and death of Frédéric Chopin. The casket has been surrounded by leaden plates for protection against moisture. Inside the casket there is a large crystal jar sealed hermetically, in which, in clear alcohol, a well-preserved Chopin's heart is immersed. What is conspicuous is the size of the heart, which, for the figure of average height, is incredibly big. Presumably, it is because of cardiac disease, which contributed to the early death of Chopin, next to tuberculosis.*

A detailed scenario of the ceremony of the urn's return to Warsaw has been constructed. Bolesław Bierut, the President of the Provisional National Council, a Polish quasi-parliament (Krajowa Rada Narodowa) at that time, wanted to use it as the propaganda in his favor. But he refused to come to Milanówek to the Church of St. Hedwig to take the heart from the hands of Bishop Antoni Szlagowski, drive it to Warsaw and pass it to the pastor of the Holy Cross parish. He chose a different variant with Żelazowa Wola en route. And only on that 'outside -the-church' ground did he appear. Journalist Zygmunt Sztaba<sup>29</sup> quotes the memories of Bronisław Sydow:

*On October 17, 1945, at 7 am, a delegation consisting of prof. Bolesław Woytowicz, priest (Leopold) Petrzyk, the parish priest of the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw and the undersigned,<sup>30</sup> after the solemn transfer of the urn with Frederic Chopin's heart by Bishop Antoni Szlagowski, in the courtyard*

*of the parish church in Milanówek, started to drive towards Żelazowa Wola, where the delivery of the national memorial to the President of the Provisional National Council, Bolesław Bierut was to take place in the home of birth of Frederic Chopin.*

## A silent guard of honour in Żelazowa Wola

Delivering the urn to the parish priest Leopold Petrzyk in the courtyard of the Church of St. Hedwig in Milanówek – immediately after the mass – Archbishop Szlagowski said:

*A year ago I took away the heart of the Great Pole from the burning Warsaw and for the whole year I have been the guardian of this national treasure, today I give it back to you, Venerable Archdeacon (Rector) of the Holy Cross Church in Warsaw, take it to its place. Let this noble pledge of a better future, again, be the image of the upper highs of the Capital, may it be a symbol of the indomitable spirit of our nation. Dixi.<sup>31</sup>*

The car with the delegation carrying the urn travelled from Milanówek to Żelazowa Wola, via Grodzisk Mazowiecki, and Blonie, then the Warsaw-Sochaczew route towards Paprotnia and Żelazowa Wola. Let us return to the memories of B. Sydow:

*We went, therefore, on the day of 17 slowly, carefully following the chronometer. Along the whole route houses were decorated with white and red flags, and along the streets, in cities through which he car with the urn drove, people formed a guard of honour – solemn and silent. In silence heads were bare and bent, from time to time someone ran out of the crowd and added their bouquet to the flowers which the car with the national relic was carrying.*

*Behind Paprotnia cars with representatives of the highest state authorities went past the car with the urn, but after driving a few hundred meters they stopped letting Chopin's heart go at the head of the column.*

*In Żelazowa Wola people have been waiting since early morning. Delegations have been waiting, hundreds of people who had come by trucks, carts, bicycles have been waiting...*

*Long speeches are not needed here. All those present are aware of the importance of the moment, of the fact that the heart which started to beat for the first time under the roof of the mansion entwined with vines 135 years ago, will rest here for a moment on the way to the capital.*

*Through small rooms with low ceilings made of beams the participants of the ceremony went to a larger room, where within the floral decoration, with Chopin's portrait in the background, the urn with the heart of the Great Composer has been already placed on a pedestal.*



Jerzy Czerniawski



Janusz Szanny

## The way from which he never returned

Parish priest of the Church of the Holy Cross, priest Leopold Petrzyk, forwards the urn to Bolesław Bierut, who then hands it to the President of Warsaw Stanisław Tołwiński, and he – to the delegation of students of the Warsaw Music Conservatory and the Music School. Right after that a short chamber concert of Chopin's music takes place. For more than a dozen honorary guests professor Henry Sztompka is playing Chopin's mazurkas, *Nocturn cis-moll* and *Polonaise in A flat major*.

From the accounts given, we learn that immediately after the concert the column of cars with the beautifully adorned with flowers and national flags car at the head of it, with the urn in the prominent place, embarks on a journey towards Warsaw. In the capital, people waiting by the road uncover their heads at the sight of the majestically moving adorned with flowers car. *I see* – says Zygmunt Sztaba<sup>32</sup> – *as a girl in an oversized plush coat, carried away by the solemn mood suddenly kneels on the edge of the road, and as she is gently picked up from her knees by her mother who is wiping her tears with the other hand...*

Cars stop at the old tollgate in Wola, at the corner of Chłodna and Okopowa, where in 1830, Chopin's circle of friends, Józef Elsner and the Conservatory Choir performing a specially composed for him farewell cantata<sup>33</sup> said their goodbyes to the composer and where for the journey from which he never returned, they handed him a lump of Warsaw's earth. The solemn mood, national flags everywhere, banners of social organizations, unions and associations accompany the place where the urn is welcomed. In his opening speech, the President of the National Council of Warsaw Wiktor Grodzicki says, inter alia:

*This heart started to beat for the first time 135 years ago, in the nearby town of Żelazowa Wola and it soon began to beat even more keenly at the sound of a folk song resounding from peasant huts, and when few years went by, the same peasant, Masurian song, magnified a thousandfold by the heart and genius of Chopin resounded around the whole of Europe, and today, after 96 years from the time when the heart stopped beating – it resounds around the whole world, bearing witness to the immortal values of our songs, our culture and our nation.*

## Music from the inspiration of Polish souls

A cavalcade of cars moves in the direction of the Church of the Holy Cross. Crowds thicken around the route. The car with the urn stops at Krakowskie Przedmieście at the Holy Cross Church. After a moment of welcome, the urn finds its place in the church and a solemn Mass begins. The uplifting sermon – according to information from priest Alojzy Niedziela – is delivered by a missionary priest Hieronim Feicht, a pro-

fessor of musicology (he taught at the Catholic University of Lublin and a few other universities of Warsaw and Poznań). Priest Feicht reminded everyone of the fact that the heart of a great artist, along with other souvenirs was brought from Paris to Warsaw by his sister, Ludwika Jędrzejewicz. Within the walls of this venerable church, under the care of the Missionaries, it survived until September 1944. The sermon – as reported by 'Życie Warszawy' daily<sup>34</sup> was a thorough analysis of artistic value of Chopin's music and insightful explanation of its role and influence on the music of other nations – a statement that the music born from the inspiration of the people's souls, was deliberately created by Chopin, as the national music, Polish music. A testimony to this sense of Chopin's works are his own words, in which he says: *I came to understand the national music...* After the sermon, the youth from music schools carry the urn to the pillar in the main nave, where – in complete silence of the crowds gathered in the church – takes place the sealing of the urn under a commemorative plaque engraved with a Biblical verse: 'For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.' A bust of Chopin sculpted by Andrzej Pruszyński is situated there.

## We could not focus, nor pray

The reporter of 'Życie Warszawy' daily at the end of his account of the solemn mass at the Church of the Holy Cross wrote: *Chopin's heart returned from the exile into the walls of heroic Warsaw, with his eternal presence attesting to the preacher's words that each tone of Chopin's music will teach the nations that Poland is and will be immortal.*

*The performance of the renowned Harp choir added splendour to the mass. A group of scouts from Milanówek also participated in the mass. Years later, in the diary of the female team, among other things, we find such a touching note: From a huge crater (after a bomb from the time of the Uprising) blows severe cold. The past horror seems to emerge from the depths of shattered foundations. – The mass begins. We could not focus, nor pray properly because our eyes wandered along the walls, paintings and sculptures of the temple. Here we see a charred piece of side altar, there again, a broken figurine of an angel. The walls around are damaged, cracked and black from the fire, with traces of bullets in them. And that demolished by the enemies interior has something intangible, invisible in it, but it is something palpable: a kind of some sorrow, seriousness and power is felt in these walls – the more because the destroyed and cracked walls of the temple remind the crucified Christ, as beaten and wounded as they are...*

<sup>3</sup> Napoleon Orda, *Żelazowa Wola*, lithograph in the *Album widoków historycznych Polski*

The article is illustrated with Chopin posters from the holdings of the Poster Museum at Wilanów.

## The timeless nature of Chopin's music

The celebration of the return of Chopin's heart from Milanówek to the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw ended. On the same day in the afternoon in the 'Roma' hall at Nowogrodzka Street Chopin's Academy was held with representatives of the then government, political party leaders and the artistic world. During the artistic part of it a distinguished actor Henryk Ładosz recited a poem 'Chopin's Piano' by Cyprian Norwid and during the concert part the most prominent interpreters of Chopin's music – Wojtowicz, Rabczewiczow, Żurawiew and Ekier performed several of the composer's compositions. The 'Chopin and Warsaw' exhibition was opened in The National Museum. In Paris at the grave of the great composer a wreath from the Polish Nation was laid. The Epitaph with the bust of Frédéric Chopin in the Holy Cross Church together with the placed beneath urn with the heart of the great composer still attract fans of his music visiting Warsaw, from the country and the whole world. This demonstrates the extraordinary versatility, vitality and timeless character of it, because it speaks to succeeding generations, and fascinated millions of circles of music lovers in the remotest corners of the world.

A moment of reflexion at His heart is a homage paid to the musical genius of the great Pole.

<sup>24</sup> Priest Karol Milik was a translator in the Metropolitan Curia.  
<sup>25</sup> According to Hanna Szczepkowska-Mickiewicz's account, in an interview granted to me, the urn was stored in the house of pianist Mary Findeisen at 12 Mickiewicz's Street. Both the information from H. Szczepkowska-Mickiewicz, and B. Sydow are plausible (eg B. Sydow refers to Archbishop Szlagowski), so it should not be excluded that the urn was kept for safety subsequently in two different places. This was confirmed by Hanna Szczepkowska-Mickiewicz in an interview given to me a few years before her death.

<sup>26</sup> According to the account of Zenon Nowak, son of Antoni.  
<sup>27</sup> Report of the Secretary of the Executive Committee of the National Celebrations of the Return of Chopin's Heart to Warsaw' 9.02.1946 (the original remains at Frederic Chopin Society in Warsaw).  
<sup>28</sup> Until 1950 Frederic Chopin Society, established in 1934, had functioned as Frederic Chopin Institute.

<sup>29</sup> Z. Sztaba, *Tym żyła Warszawa, Stołica*, no. of 19.03.1983.  
<sup>30</sup> Memories quoted here were written by B. Sydow, as previously quoted document.

<sup>31</sup> Waldemar Wojdecki, *Serce Fryderyka Chopina, Gość Niedzielny*, no. of 17.11.1996.  
<sup>32</sup> Zygmunt Sztaba, *Kiedy serce Chopina wracało do stolicy, Stołica*, no. of 19.03.1983.

<sup>33</sup> *Serce Wielkiego Polaka wróciło do Stolicy, Słowo Powszechne*, no. of 23.10.1970.  
<sup>34</sup> *Życie Warszawy*, no. of 18.10.1945, p. 2.



3

# The History of Endowment and Erection of the Holy Cross Church

The order of missionaries established by St. Vincent de Paul in 1625 in France was brought to Poland in 1651, on the initiative of Marie Louise Gonzaga, the wife of King Jan Casimir. The missionaries inhabited a house they received from the Queen, situated on the southern edge of Warsaw, near the Krakowskie Przedmieście. Thanks to the Queen's endeavours, in 1653 the missionaries were granted a large parish, which covered the whole southern outskirts of the capital, together with a small brick church of Holy Cross.<sup>1</sup> Soon, the missionaries were beset by the modesty of the temple. In addition, the 'Swedish Deluge' of 1655–1660 generated many damages; and thus, the missionaries began to think about building a new, bigger church.<sup>2</sup>

After the death of Marie Louise, another French-born spouse of the Polish monarch, Marie Casimire Sobieski née d'Arquien,<sup>3</sup> came to aid. Many sources suggest, that together with the Queen, and the whole royal family (especially the queen's sisters Maria Wielopolska and Louise Marie de Béthune,<sup>4</sup> and to a lesser degree King Jan III,<sup>5</sup> himself), the construction of the new church was supported by numerous Frenchmen living in Warsaw – courtiers (both, those of the deceased and the reigning queen) or diplomats such as Pierre Desnoyers, the secretary and treasurer of Marie Louise,<sup>6</sup> Charles Nollet,<sup>7</sup> the queen's secretary, Robert Le Roux Desneval,<sup>8</sup> Maria Pasquina Tack Dubuisson,<sup>9</sup> Marie Louise's lady-in-waiting ('singularis benefactrixhuius ecclesiae, in multis ornamentis et suppellectili praeciosa, saepius abundanter donata'),<sup>10</sup> envoys of Louis XIV on Polish court – François Gaston de Béthune<sup>11</sup> and Melchior de Polignac,<sup>12</sup> as well as Polish dignitaries politically, socially and culturally oriented towards France, mainly members of higher orders of the clergy – Michał Stefan Radziejowski, a bishop of Warmia, later the primate of Poland,<sup>13</sup> Teodor Potocki, another bishop of Warmia,<sup>14</sup> Paradyż abbot Kazimierz Szczuka ('singularis benefactor, amatissimus Congregationis Miss. Aestimator et promotor'),<sup>15</sup> Franciszek Prażmowski, royal secretary,<sup>16</sup> bishop Jan Malachowski, Subchancellor of the Crown,<sup>17</sup> Stefan Wierzbowski, the bishop of Poznań,<sup>18</sup> Jan Andrzej Morsztyn, Grand Treasurer of the Crown.<sup>19</sup> It should also be mentioned that the first – seventeenth century – generations of the missionaries themselves consisted almost entirely of Frenchmen,<sup>20</sup> and there were still many of them in the order in the first half of the next century.<sup>21</sup> Thus, the endowment of the new Holy Cross church which, from the end of the 1670's until the middle of the 18th century, mobilised numerous donors from the circles of the highest dignitaries, was a collective effort, which was quite unique, considering the scale, class and signifi-

cance of the building to the city, and even the whole country. At the same time engaged in the process were only members of the royal family and the elite of Francophile attitude. One can risk a thesis, that the Holy Cross church, situated next to the seat of the Queen, was supposed to be a centre gathering the Francophile part of the country's elite. In May 1679 there was a meeting of assembly which, supported with new conferment and further promises of the royal family, made the final decision to erect a new temple.<sup>22</sup> The same year, on the 24th of May, the cornerstone of the church that was to be erected was placed by Prince James Sobieski himself, and the celebration was conducted by Poznań bishop Stefan Wierzbowski, the ordinary of the place.<sup>23</sup> The designer and the constructor of the church was Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, a prominent Italian architect who was in royal service of Polish kings since the end of the 1660s.<sup>24</sup> His role in the creation of the church is undoubtedly indicated by the foundation plaque from 1696, which survived until today, placed in the right arm of the transept: 'Josephus Belotus totius fabricae Architectus'. Bellotti, who was born before 1650,<sup>25</sup> came from a family living in San Mamete in Valsolda on the Swiss-Italian border,<sup>26</sup> although, according to one of the sources, he was supposedly born in Milan.<sup>27</sup> At first, he learned to be a plasterer and his skills in the scope of stucco were proved many times later during his stay in Warsaw<sup>28</sup> for example in the interior decoration of Wilanów,<sup>29</sup> the Krasieński Palace<sup>30</sup> or the church of Warsaw Reformati,<sup>31</sup> thus – regardless of the project of the Holy Cross church itself – he is the author of excellent stucco composite capitals. Bellotti might have familiarized with the principles of architecture in Valsolda, in the neighbouring Lombardy, in Milan, or in Venice, where he supposedly stayed since the beginning of the 1660s.<sup>32</sup> Before coming to Poland, Bellotti practiced architecture in the Habsburg Empire, possibly in Passau,<sup>33</sup> and probably first of all in Salzburg.<sup>34</sup> Recreated here alleged itinerarium of Bellotti, in the 17th century constituted the traditional track of artistic journeys to earn one's bread of his compatriots from the Swiss-Italian border: The route from Milan through Venice to the Habsburg Empire (and in some cases further – to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) was typical for many Italians from the North of the country: constructors, stone masons, plasterers, sculptors, and painters. In the second half of the 17th century Italian workers were drawn like magnets to the huge cathedrals built in Salzburg and Passau. Traces of Bellotti's presence and activity as a disciple of construction art in both those places are visible in the shape of two-tower façade of the Warsaw church – very close in proportions, composition of the eleva-

tion and architectural detail to the façades of the two huge cathedrals.<sup>35</sup> Bellotti arrived in Warsaw probably at the end of the sixties of the 17th century. In 1671 he was registered as a godfather in the Holy Cross church, and in 1673 as a witness in the Warsaw Arch-collegiate church.<sup>36</sup> In our country, Bellotti became an entrepreneur who managed a huge team of constructors, with exquisite recognition and influence.<sup>37</sup> The apogee of his success came around 1700. He held the title of 'Aedilis S. R. M.' ('Architect of the Crown')<sup>38</sup> and conducted many church and palace 'workshops', mainly realizing projects by Tilman van Gameren; the most famous of which are the Palace of Krasieński family<sup>39</sup> and the so-called Sandomierz palace in Warsaw.<sup>40</sup> In spite of some opinions, the Italian's creational independence is to be emphasized. In 1682 he designed the chancel and the transept of the Cistercian Order in Łąd<sup>41</sup> – composed almost identically as the corresponding fragments of the church in Warsaw. In the years of 1690–1695 Leszczyński family



reconstructed the castle in Rydzyna in accordance with the 'dessein of Bellotti',<sup>42</sup> and after 1685 Bellotti made a project of bishop Jan Stefan Wydzga's chapel in Gniezno Cathedral.<sup>43</sup> He owned a professional library where one could find for instance the Palladio's treaty issued in 1642, which Bellotti sold later to Tilman.<sup>44</sup> Until World War II in the archive of the latter there were Bellotti's sketches.<sup>45</sup> The measure of his significance and status, the highest next to Tilman van Gameren, among Warsaw architects, was his marrying in 1688 Marianna Olewicka from the nobility, and building his own palace called Murano on the northern outskirts of Warsaw in 1693.<sup>46</sup> The architect died in 1708 during a plague which stopped the development of the city in the Sobieski era.<sup>47</sup>

Giuseppe Simone Bellotti – an architect, engineer, and constructor – not only, according to the information on the plaque – prepared the project of the Holy Cross church,<sup>48</sup> but also – according to the yet unpublished bills of the świętokrzyska 'building project' – he personally supervised the construction, supplied construction materials and settled accounts with craftsmen. And so, in 1682 'Mr Bellotti, the archi-

tect, received eight red domestic zlotys,<sup>49</sup> in 1689 and 1690 'Mr Bellotti was paid for a big brick'<sup>50</sup> and '60 zlotys for the stone carver',<sup>51</sup> finally, in 1691, for an undefined delivery.<sup>52</sup> It seems that in the light of the above, we can consider the Italian the creator of the Holy Cross church on all stages. Thus, Giuseppe Simone Bellotti would be the author of both, the so-called *idea prima*, and the detailed technical drawings for the contractors (bricklayers, carpenters, stone masons, etc.); we cannot rule out that he was also the author of the three-dimensional models of particular elements. The thing however, which influenced the high standard quality of construction workmanship was his personal supervision over the 'building project' and over its workers. This is how one should understand the phrase 'architectus totius fabricae'.

<sup>1</sup> The most important bibliography related to the church: M. Symonowicz, Opis historyczny kościoła parafialnego [Znalezienia] Św. Krzyża XX. Misionarzy w Warszawie, *Rozmaitości* (Warsaw, *Pismo dodatkowe do Gazety Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*), 1825, no. 2, pp. 12-13, no. 3, pp. 17-20; Ł. Cołębiowski, *Kościół Ś. Krzyża w Warszawie, Lwowianin*, vol. 5, 1837, pp. 65-66; J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym przez* [...] *Wizerunki kościołów i celniejszych w nich nagrobki rytował na drzewie Michał Starkmann*, Warsaw, 1855; J. Łukaszewicz, [Kościół Św. Krzyża]: *Krótki opis historyczny kościołów parochialnych, kościołów, kaplic, klasztorów, szkółek parochialnych w dawnej diecezji poznańskiej*, vol. 3.: *Archidjakołat Warszawski*, Poznań, 1858; F.M. Sobieszczański, *Kościół Sto-Krzyżki w Warszawie, Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, 1863, no. 216, pp. 440-442; Po dwustu latach, *Kościół Świętego Krzyża, Biesiada Literacka*, 1895, no. 13, pp. 200-202; *Kościół Św. Krzyża, Przegląd Katolicki*, 1895, no. 11, p. 166; [Remont kościoła Św. Krzyża], *Dzień*, 1909, no. 140, p. 2, no. 154, p. 2, no. 162, p. 2; *Kurier Warszawski*, 1909, no. 155 (7 VI, evening edition), p. 3; *Słowo*, 1909, no. 134, p. 2, no. 173, p. 2; Ł. Janczak, *Warszawa... kościoły. Encyklopedia kościelna*, vol. 30, Płock, 1910, pp. 250-326; *Kościół Św. Krzyża, Dzień*, 1910, no. 194, p. 3, no. 319, p. 3; W. Górzyński, *Przy-czynek do monografii kościoła Św. Krzyża w Warszawie, Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*, 1918, no. 5/6, pp. 274-281; J. Mrozowski, *Skarby artystyczne w Warszawie. Stare kościoły, budowle i pomniki*. (Z wrażeń cudzoziemca), *Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*, 1919, no. 7/8, pp. 189-194, no. 9, pp. 229-235, no. 10/11, pp. 264-272, no. 12, pp. 293-300; L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie, Warszawa, 1920*; St. Marzyński, *Kościół warszawskie w ruinie i odbudowie 1939-1945*, Warsaw, 1946, pp. 24-25; W. Knapieński, *Materiały do historii kościołów warszawskich*, Warsaw, 1949, pp. 113-120; F. Kurowski, *Pamiętki miasta Warszawy* (issued by E. Szwanowski from the manuscript), Warsaw, 1949, vol. II; Z. Rzewski, *Odbudowa kościoła Św. Krzyża, Stoicka*, vol. VIII, 1953, 49/311, p. 6; F.M. Sobieszczański, *Kościół Świętokrzyski. Warszawa. Wybór Publikacji*, Ed. K. Zawadzki, Warsaw, 1967, pp. 166-179; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha na fasadę kościoła św. Krzyża w Warszawie, Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* [further: *BHS*], vol. XXIX, 1967, no. 3, pp. 400-405; E. Kowalczykowa, *O genezie architektury kościoła św. Krzyża w Warszawie, BHS*, vol. XXX, 1968, no. 4, pp. 511-515; A. Bartczakowa, *Jakub Fontana – architekt warszawski XVIII w.*, Warsaw, 1970, pp. 160-169; J. Starzyński, Bellotti Józef Szymon: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. I, Cracow, 1935, p. 406; S. Kozakiewicz, Bellotti Giuseppe Simone: *Dizionario Biografico dei Italiani*, vol. 7, Roma, 1965, p. 794; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie. Monografia Architektoniczna, Rocznik Warszawski*, vol. X, 1971, pp. 5-46; St. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Garamen architekt polskiego baroku*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk, 1973; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975; M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII w.*, Warsaw, 1975, pp. 53-54, 195-198; A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII wieku*, Warsaw, 1980, p. 46; M. Karpowicz, *Artisti Ticinesi in Polonia nel '600*, Repubblica e Cantone del Ticino, 1983, pp. 129-134; J. Putkowska, *Architektura Warszawy XVII wieku*, Warsaw, 1991, pp. 216-219; M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża. Księga Pamiątkowa. Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie w trzecieście rocznicę konsekracji 1696-1996*, Ed. T. Chachuński, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 128-134; M. Karpowicz, *Artisti Valsoldesi in Polonia nel '600 e '700*, Menaggio, 1996, pp. 65, 176; idem, *Isidoro Affaitati (1622-1684). Architetto valsoldese in Polonia*, Comune di Valsolda, 2009, pp. 113-118.

<sup>2</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Cracow, Archive of *Nasza Przyszłość* Magazine, *Liber Eleemosynae pro Fabrica Ecclesiae S. Crucis Varsaviensis a variis benefactoribus* [further: *Liber Eleemosynae...*], p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> First parsons of Holy Cross parish: *priest* Mikołaj du Perroy, 1670-1674, *priest* Jakub Eveillard, 1674-1680, *priest* Paweł Godquin 1680-1682, *priest* Augustyn Madeils 1682-1685 (acc. to L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża...*, p. 39).

<sup>21</sup> Just to mention *priest* Antoni Fabri, or *priest* Gabriel Boudouin, the initiator of the Baby Jesus Hospital (St. Rospond, Rola kościoła Św. Krzyża w Warszawie w dziejach polskiej prowincji zgromadzenia księży misjonarzy w XVII i XVII-wiecznej Polsce: *Księga Pamiątkowa. Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie w trzecieście rocznicę konsekracji 1696-1996...*, p. 27-40).

<sup>22</sup> Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Cracow, Archive of the Province of Missionaries: *Catalogus Missionum in quibus laborum missionarum varsavienses et narrato fundationis nostrae* [...], p. 26. Older studies – based on vague sources – persistently indicated 1 April 1682 as the date of cornerstone placement.

<sup>24</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy...*, pp. 18-20, 53-54, 195-198; idem, *Artisti Ticinesi...*, p. 129-134; idem, *Artisti Valsoldesi...*, pp. 65, 176.

<sup>25</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Artisti Valsoldesi...*, pp. 65, 176.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 176.

<sup>27</sup> *Philomusa na Weselny Akcie Pana Józefa Belotego I. K. M. Architekta y Jeymości Panny Maryanny Olewickiej* [...]. *Prezentowana Roku Pańskiego 1688 w Warszawie*.

<sup>28</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy...*, pp. 195-198.

<sup>29</sup> In 1681 noted as a plasterer in Wilanów (J. Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy pałacu za Jana III*, Warsaw, 1933, p. 85).

<sup>30</sup> I. Baranowski, *Inwentarz pałacu Krasieńskich, później Rzeczpospolitej*, Warsaw, 1910, pp. 63-70; St. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Garamen...*, p. 65.

<sup>31</sup> A. Szeinke, *Kościół Świętego Antoniego i klasztor Franciszkanów -reformatów w Warszawie*, Cracow, 1990, pp. 58, 62, 72, 75.

<sup>32</sup> All authors focusing on Bellotti write about Venice as the place of his education. It is indicated not only by calling his Warsaw residence *Murano*, but also the knowledge of the principles of classical Venice architecture of Palladio, Scamozzi and Serlio or the references to the architecture of the Veneto region, i.e. Santa Giustina church in Padova (E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 37; A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska...*, p. 46).

<sup>33</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 16; A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska...*, p. 46.

<sup>34</sup> It would be indicated by the borrowings within the scope of the general composition as well as the language of forms of the façade which Bellotti used by patterning after the Salzburg cathedral. See E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 39.

<sup>35</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne...*, p. 133.

<sup>37</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy...*, pp. 53-54, 195-198.

<sup>38</sup> He was called so in a document dated 1689 (E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, pp. 16-17).

<sup>39</sup> St. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Garamen...*, p. 65.

<sup>40</sup> St. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Garamen...*, pp. 44-46; Z. Rzewski, *Pałac kanclerza Jerzego Ossolińskiego w Warszawie, Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 1956, set 1, p. 31.

<sup>41</sup> K. Malinowski, *Muratorzy Wielkopolscy drugiej połowy XVII w.*, Poznań, 1948, pp. 125-126.

<sup>42</sup> Kowalczykowa *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup> Warsaw, Archive of the Polish Academy of Science, *Teki Batowskiego*, portfolio 5, p. NaI.

<sup>44</sup> T. Makowiecki, *Archiwum planów Tylmana z Garamen, architekta z epoki Sobieskiego: Prace z Historii Sztuki Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego*, no. 4, Warsaw, 1938, pp. 5-6; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża...*, p. 17.

<sup>45</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> Mariusz Karpowicz is of the opinion that the co-creator of the church was Bellotti's uncle, Isidoro Affaitati the Elder, the author of the conversion of St. Ann church.

<sup>47</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 17. Bellotti left children: Wincenty Romuald and Marianna Krystyna. Petrzyk, on the basis of unknown sources, suggested that 'Bellotti gave the plans and supervised [the church building project] almost entirely free of charge' (L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża...*, p. 22).

<sup>48</sup> Recently, the issue of the authorship of the Holy Cross church, as well as the whole group of Warsaw churches, was treated differently from the previous literature by Mariusz Karpowicz, who attributed the project to Isidoro Affaitati (1622-1684), an architect from Valsolda who worked in Poland since 1654; he connected the realization of the project i.e. supervision of the construction with Bellotti (Cf Karpowicz, *Isidoro Affaitati...*, pp. 113-118).

<sup>49</sup> Cracow, Archive of Missionary Friars, *Livre journal des sommes recout par le procureur de le Maison de la Cong. De la Mission établie a Varsovie commeneam en* [...] 1679, *Expensa domu Warszawskiego poczynające się w roku Pańskim 1682* [further: *Expensa domu Warszawskiego...*], p. 15.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 182.

<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Francesco de' Rossi, sculpture portrait of Queen Marie-Louise de Gonzaga, Carrara marble, 1651 coll. Nationalmuseum in Stockholm photo after *Orzel i Trzy Korony. Szydłectwo polsko-szwedzkie nad Bałtykiem w epoce nowożytnej (XVI–XVIII wiek)*. [The Eagle and Three Crowns. The Modern-Era Polish-Swedish Neighbourhood on the Baltic (16th–18th c.)], Warsaw. Royal Castle], cat. no. II 67, ill. p. 174

Unfortunately, the history of the building process of the temple in the 17th century can be reconstructed only fragmentarily. Until today, it was possible on the basis of rudimentary information: only one letter from Kazimierz Szczuka, Abbot of Paradyż, dated 1679, a book of donations for the church which is full of obscurities, and commonly known information on the church's consecration.<sup>53</sup> The knowledge can be partly extended by the analysis of the architecture itself, but first of all, by the archives not known to the previous researchers, i. e. the mentioned above Holy Cross book of expenses from between 1682–1691.<sup>54</sup>

The aforesaid letter of abbot Szczuka to his brother, the subchancellor Stanisław Antoni, dated July 1679, described the beginning of the ‘building project’ in the following words: ‘the foundations of the chancel have barely risen from the ground and the missionaries lack funds to continue building the factory which this year, without waiting for November, was supposed to be ready in July.’<sup>55</sup> Further, the letter informs, that Michał Radziejowski, a nominee for the position of the bishop of Warmia, allocated 4000 *złotys* for the project ‘and then, upon God’s will, the first choir shall have its floor, and pro interim God’s grace can be conducted there, as the place is 30 ells lengthwise and 18 crosswise.’<sup>56</sup> Abbot Szczuka himself donated 132 000 Polish *złotys* and 100 gold Russian coins for the pillars of the Lower church.<sup>57</sup> This means, that initially, mostly in 1679 and probably also in 1680, the chancel of the Lower church was erected by building the walls, the pillars and arching the whole chamber, which was supposed to be a temporary temple before the Upper church was erected. Later, probably at the beginning of 1680’s, the transept was built integrally connected with the chancel. The difference in the floor level of this part of the Lower church and the part under the nave, which was situated much higher, as well as the reduction of the under-nave part to a narrow corridor with four crypts on the sides, probably proves that the works at the Holy Cross church were conducted in two stages. Possibly, the next stage included erection – over the ready Lower church – of the chancel and the transept of the Upper church, and only after erecting the underground crypts with a corridor, the builders start to construct the corpus. The method of building the chancel part and the corpus separately is also present in other Warsaw construction sites of the time.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, it is not possible to draw any more conclusions in terms of construction stages of the church by analysing the donation book entries (‘Liber Eleemosynae pro Fabricaa Ecclesiae S. Crucis Varsaviensis’), which were mostly not dated.<sup>59</sup> During the period of time described as the years between 1679 and 1688 there were, next to smaller or bigger entries, donations ‘in kind’ e. g. lime and wood worth 2000 Polish *złotys* offered by abbot Kazimierz Denhoff<sup>60</sup> or 10 000 bricks offered by Charles Nollet.<sup>61</sup> Warsaw Sisters of

Charity gave stone for the foundations,<sup>62</sup> while before 1700 Visitationists gave 30 000 bricks and 4000 *złotys* for the flooring.<sup>63</sup>

In the extensive Book of Expens (income and expenses of the monastery) from between 1682 and 1691,<sup>64</sup> during the first years (up to 1688) the topic of the construction of the church was hardly mentioned. In January 1682 some money was paid to carpenters and a blacksmith,<sup>65</sup> in October 1684 some money was spent on ‘Szydłowiec building stone,’<sup>66</sup> later in May 1685 expenses included a brickmaker and brick delivery,<sup>67</sup> however, these were all minor sums. There are, nevertheless, two interesting entries from that period of time. Firstly, it is a note from June 1682, which says that ‘Bellotti the architect received eight red domestic zlotys.’<sup>68</sup> Such an entry, indicating existence of domestic money may suggest that there was a separate factory account and separate accountancy related to construction works. It would explain the laconic information in the above mentioned book of expenses. Huge part of the sums must have been entered in the book entitled ‘Liber Fabricae’, which did not survive, and only minor sums, such as the ones presented earlier, were taken from the ‘domestic’ fund.<sup>69</sup> Soon it was about to change, and the ‘building project’ expenses started to be listed in the Expens book. Incredibly interesting information comes from July 1685, when the ‘carpenters working on the dome’ were paid 120 *złotys*.<sup>70</sup> In the 17th and 18th century the word ‘dome’ apart from its general meaning, also described a tower for a small bell placed on the roof ridge near the chancel. If we understand the entry this way, it would mean that in 1685 the roof over the chancel (and probably over the transept) was erected; thus, this part of the church, most probably with the exception of vaults which required that the roofs be ready beforehand was completed. In winter of 1688/1689 and in spring of the next year, much more serious amounts were paid for the construction materials, such as anchor-iron, roof tiles, lime and nails.<sup>71</sup> The above information and the lack of money paid for bricks at that period of time, as well as the presence of high amounts of money paid to carpenters and sawyers, can suggest the continuation of works on the roof built probably over the corpus and maybe partly over the transept. During 1689<sup>72</sup> and the next two years<sup>73</sup> we find – next to further payments for lime and wood – sums paid for bricks and regular wages of bricklayers, which constituted a significant amount of money. The latter were paid 2 789 *złotys* in 1689, while next year it was as much as 4 587 *złotys*, and in 1691, where the bills break off, the sum went down to 2 155 *złotys*. As we can see above, between 1689 and 1691 the works on the Holy Cross construction site must have been quite intense. As for the character of the works the sources do not give direct information, however, careful analysis of the archives can lead to specific conclusions.

First of all, we should pay attention to the expenses, low at the beginning but increasing over the time, for stone and stone carving which appear since the spring of 1689. The comparison for the three-year account period is as follows: in 1689 payments amounted to 380 *złotys*, in 1690 to 1116 *złotys*, and in 1691 to as much as 1436 *złotys*, i. e. the expenses for stone carving increased year by year. If we compare them to the dynamics of the expenses for bricks and bricklayers, it indicates that the apogee of bricklayers’ works took place in 1690, and of stone carvers’ works in 1691. Which part of the church was constructed at that time? The details of the entries in some of the analysed bills can help answer this question. At that time, money was paid to ‘stone carver: 200 zlotys for the deposit for capitals’ (in August 1689).<sup>74</sup> for ‘cart-load of Szydłowiec stone 123 zlotys’ (in May 1690), ‘for a cart-load of capitals from Szydłowiec 10 zlotys’ (in February 1691), to a stone carver ‘Zawadski for the heads of cornices 306 zlotys’ (in September 1691).<sup>75</sup> Neither the interior of the church, nor the elevations of the chancel, transept or the corpus have any stone detail. It appears in the façade and towers. Thus, the above mentioned expenses were connected with this exact part of construction. The ‘capitals’, ‘flat stones’ and ‘heads’ of cornices constituted its stone elements, partly constructional and partly aesthetic. It is sure that the latter were made by an ‘Italian stone carver’ who received 260 *złotys* in March 1691.<sup>76</sup> The initial processing of the whole material, as well as the simpler works, had to be done by ‘Zawadski stone carver in Szydłowiec’, listed from October 1690 to September 1691.<sup>77</sup> The information on expenses for ‘different iron for crosses and balls’ (June 1690), ‘for gold for crosses’ and ‘a ball for the cross’ (July 1690)<sup>78</sup> is also interesting. The latter almost certainly mean the crosses on the balls which crown the towers. The towers, only partially erected, and surely far from the height intended in the project, were temporarily roofed, covered with tiles or shingle (also mentioned in the bills in October 1690).<sup>79</sup> Together with the lower parts of the towers, also the middle part of the church façade must have been erected, at least in an initial state. Otherwise, the vault of the main nave in the first bay could not be constructed. Presumably, the vaults of the corpus were built at the end of the construction works of that particular period of time.

The Lower church was consecrated on the 20th May 1695 by Suffragan Bishop of Vilnius Jan Kryszpin Kirszenstein.<sup>80</sup> The consecration of the Upper church was carried out by parish priest of the Holy Cross church, Bartłomiej Tarło on the 1st April 1696, and its solemn consecration by cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski with the participation of Queen Marie Casimire was held on the 8th October 1696.<sup>81</sup> Before the date, the basic construction works of the 17th

century stage were completed. Later, in 1700, priest Bartłomiej Tarło built the chapel of Our Lady which is situated along the chancel.<sup>82</sup>

Summing up the above deliberations, we can systematize the building project of the Holy Cross church in the following way: around 1679-1680 the Lower church under the western part was built, the 1680’s witnessed the major construction works with the walls, first of the chancel and transept, next with the corpus, up to 1688 the western part was roofed, while in 1689 the corpus of the church was roofed; the same year, up to at least 1691, the façade with the towers were built, which were roofed in an unfinished state, and before 1696 the interior of the church was arched.

Here, we should focus on the issue of the dome which was supposed to be placed in the groin of the church, the issue which emerges since the beginning of the research on the Holy Cross church. The donation for building the dome in the amount of 10 000 of gold Russian coins was made by cardinal Radziejowski in his testament from 1705.<sup>83</sup> The dome however, was never built and the cardinal’s donation, upon the agreement of Rome and the bishop of the place, was allocated to develop the façade.<sup>84</sup> Architects collectively (ex iudicio architectorum) decided to abandon the idea of constructing the dome, due to too weak walls and foundations (ob metum ponderis murorum, fundamentalium stare non potuit).<sup>85</sup> The date of the decision is not defined; nevertheless, we can assume that it took place only after the Northern War and plague finished, i. e. after 1712, and maybe even later, closer to the next investment stage. Most authors were of the opinion, that the dome was planned by Bellotti from the beginning.<sup>86</sup> Is it possible, however, that a distinguished architect with the highest qualifications, that Bellotti undoubtedly was, would make such a reprehensible mistake in his calculations and would design too weak foundations? The analysis of the contemporary measurement clearly indicates that the pillars in the cross of the church were not able to support such weight in any way. Thus, it seems that the contemporary sail vault in the groin bay was not a temporary solution, as it was supposed, but it is exactly what Bellotti intended it to be, and Radziejowski, hoping to transform the church into his own mausoleum, wanted to commemorate it with a dome – a visible from the distance sign of the funerary function of the church.

On the threshold of the 18th century, the façade of the church was, as we remember, still unfinished. The iconography of that time partly indicates that the church lacked the third level of the northern tower and (both?) upper levels of the southern tower, while the middle part of the façade extended, as we mentioned before, under the roof must have been in an unfinished state.<sup>87</sup> The missionaries decided to continue with the construction only when they had access

to Radziejowski’s donation and after the unfortunate idea of building a dome was rejected. The works were started in 1725 and Giuseppe Fontana, a well-known Warsaw architect (in literature de-scribed as Józef Fontana II) who came to Poland in 1696 and cooperated with Giuseppe Simone Bellotti until the death of the latter in 1708,<sup>88</sup> was employed as a constructor.

<sup>[53]</sup> The best reconstruction of the history was done by E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, pp. 6-8 (compilation of hitherto existing literature).

<sup>[54]</sup> Cf note 48.

<sup>[55]</sup> Warsaw, Central Archives of Historical Records, Public Archives of the Potocki Family, sign. 163 a, vol.6, p. 335; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, pp. 7, 43.

<sup>[56]</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, p. 7.

<sup>[57]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>[58]</sup> The construction of the Holy Spirit church of Pauline Fathers that took place during the years 1707-1717 was organized that way, also by Italian architects Giuseppe Piola and Ceroni brothers (J. Sito, *Fabryka kościoła Św. Duchy paulinów w Warszawie*, in the press).

<sup>[59]</sup> Cracow, Archive of Magazine *Nasza Przyszłość: Liber Eleemosynae pro Fabricaa Ecclesiae S. Crucis Varsaviensis a varis benefactoribus* [further: *Liber Eleemosynae*…], passim.

<sup>[60]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*…, p. 15.

<sup>[61]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>[62]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*, p. 17.

<sup>[63]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*, p. 17.

<sup>[64]</sup> *Expensa domu Warszawskiego*…, passim.

<sup>[65]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>[66]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>[67]</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 71, 72.

<sup>[68]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>[69]</sup> Acknowledgements to Piotr Krasny, PhD, for consultations on this matter.

<sup>[70]</sup> *Expensa domu Warszawskiego*…, p. 74.

<sup>[71]</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-138.

<sup>[72]</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 133-149; [January 1689:] For roof tiles 966 zlotys, To X. Montteils for lime 600 zlotys, For lime to X. Montteils 107 zlotys; [February 1689:] To carpenters 54 zlotys, To sawyers 56 zlotys, For anchor-iron 333; [March 1689:] To X. Montteils for lime 477 zlotys, For anchor-iron 1290 zlotys; [April 1689:] For advance payment to bricklayers 18 zlotys, To carpenters 127 zlotys, To sawyers 136 zlotys, To stone carver, advance payment 66 zlotys, To Mr Perrot for advance payment for bricks 66 zlotys, For Dunajec wood 132 zlotys; [May 1689:] For Dunajec wood 84 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 440 zlotys, To carpenters 121 zlotys, To sawyers 127 zlotys, To brick carters 214 zlotys, To raftsmen who brought tiles 6.20 zlotys, To raftsmen who brought lime 190 zlotys, For nails 48 zlotys; [June 1689:] For lime 580 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 640 zlotys, To carpenters 180 zlotys, To sawyers 98 zlotys, For slacking and for beer to peasants 35 zlotys, For delivery of bricks 179 zlotys, To stone carver 40 zlotys; [July 1689:] To bricklayers and helpers 629 zlotys, To carpenters 156 zlotys, To sawyers 162 zlotys, To carters from Szydłowiec 103 zlotys, To stone carver 14 zlotys; [August 1689:] Priests from St. John for bricks 400 zlotys, To Mr Nolet advance payment for bricks 433 zlotys, To Mr Bellotti for brick 56 zlotys, To brick carters 229 zlotys, To bricklayers 634 zlotys, To sawyers 102 zlotys, To carpenters 75 zlotys, To stone carver advance payment for capitals 200 zlotys, (September 1689:) To Mr Nolet ad rationem 866 zlotys, To brick carters 229 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 428 zlotys, To sawyers 101 zlotys, To Mr Bellotti for stone carver 60 zlotys, To Mr Prut for bricks 2668 zlotys; [October 1689:] To priests from St. John for bricks 89 zlotys, To carpenters 34 zlotys. [November 1689:] To Mr Nolet for bricks 832 zlotys.

<sup>[73]</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 150-187; [February 1690:] For a pile of Szydłowiec stone 42 zlotys, To X. Monttull for lime 1410 zlotys; [March 1690:] To Mr Widon ad artionem of bricks 1000 zlotys, To one bricklayer advance payment of 10 zlotys, For Cracov wood to Cracov 49 zlotys, For Dunajec wood 40 zlotys, To sawyers 10 zlotys; [April 1690:] To bricklayers and helpers 404 zlotys,

<sup>[74]</sup> Cf note 74.

<sup>[75]</sup> Cf note 75.

<sup>[76]</sup> *Expensa domu Warszawskiego*…, p. 177.

<sup>[77]</sup> Cf note 75.

<sup>[78]</sup> *Expensa domu Warszawskiego*…, p. 157.

<sup>[79]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>[80]</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, p. 7. L. Petrzyk

<sup>[81]</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*…, p. 22) like previous authors as the date of consecration of the underground church indicate the year 1693.

<sup>[82]</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*…, p. 22; E. Kowalczykowa,

<sup>[83]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*…, p. 8.

<sup>[84]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*…, p. 26; E. Kowalczykowa,

<sup>[85]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>[86]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*…, p. 34; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, p. 9.

<sup>[87]</sup> *Liber Eleemosynae*…, p. 34.

<sup>[88]</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, pp. 26-27; A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska*…, p. 46; J. Putkowska, *Architektura Warszawy*…, pp. 216-219.

<sup>[89]</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*…, p. 8.

<sup>[90]</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.; A. Bartzakowa, *Jakub Fontana*…, pp. 13-21.


To carters for delivery of bricks 190 zlotys, To sawyers 40 zlotys, To carpenters 44 zlotys; [May 1690:] To Mr Bellotti for brick 24 zlotys, For a pile of flats from Szydłowiec 123 zlotys, To bricklayers 566 zlotys, To guardian in Solec 2 zlotys a few times, To Mr Dzionni advance payment for anchor-iron 830 zlotys, For nails and other iron 128 zlotys, For the way to smithies 20 zlotys, To Mr Nolet ad rat of bricks 666.20 zlotys, For three piles of lumber 97.15 zlotys, To blacksmith 150 zlotys, For lime to X. Monttull 100 zlotys, For lime 622.6 zlotys, For nails and barrows and hods 24 zlotys; [June 1690:] To helpers of bricklayers, to carpenters, to sawyers 1365 zlotys, To Mr Nolet who gave bricks 433.10 zlotys, For anchor-iron 533 zlotys, For stone from Szydłowiec 488 zlotys, For paint and painting gold 81.15 zlotys, To Brother Louis for lime 73 zlotys, To raftsmen for lime 193 zlotys, For slacking 78 zlotys, For bricks to missionaries 342 zlotys, To brickmaker of Mr Perut 18 zlotys, For various iron for crosses and balls 144 zlotys; [July 1690:] For paint and oil 42.19 zlotys, For gold for crosses 124.20 zlotys, For stone from Szydłowiec 234 zlotys, To Mr Perut for bricks 1333.10 zlotys, To tinsmith 13.10 zlotys, To sawyers 108 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 584.23 zlotys, To carpenters 133 zlotys, For carrying bricks and sand to carters 306.7 zlotys, For ball for cross 43.10 zlotys, To stone carver Zawadski 100 zlotys, To priests from St. Jafor advance payment for bricks 198.15 zlotys, To brazier for balls 56.20 zlotys, To Brother Louis for lime 66.20 zlotys; [August 1690:] To bricklayers and helpers 397.6 zlotys, To sawyers 122 zlotys, To carpenters 134 zlotys, To carters for delivery of bricks 306 zlotys, To priests from St. John for bricks 741.15 zlotys, To Mr Sidor for bricks 300 zlotys, To stone carver for grinding stone 20 zlotys, For crosses brother gave 43 zlotys; [September 1690:] To sawyers 137 zlotys, To carpenters 161 zlotys, To bricklayers 585 zlotys, To carters for delivery of bricks 172 zlotys; [October 1690:] To sawyers 122 zlotys, To carpenters 168 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 353 zlotys, For shingles 52 zlotys, To stone carver Zawadski in Szydłowiec 100 zlotys, To carters delivering bricks and tiles 76 zlotys, For lumber 44 zlotys, To brickmaker of Mr Peruta 9 zlotys, For nails 60 zlotys; [November 1690:] To sawyers 108 zlotys, To carpenters 201 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 217 zlotys, To Mr Nollet for bricks 700 zlotys, For cart of capitals 9 zlotys; [December 1690:] To Mr Perrot for bricks 1922 zlotys, To carpenters 104 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 106 zlotys, To sawyers 122 zlotys; [January 1691:] To Montell ad rationem of lime, To sawyers 22 zlotys, To Fathers Camaldolese for bricks 1800 zlotys, To Mr Perut’s brickmaker 20 zlotys; [February 1691:] To brickmaker for delivery of bricks 67 zlotys, For cart for capitals from Szydłowiec 10 zlotys; [March 1691:] To Mr Perut for bricks 1000 zlotys, To Italian stone carver 260 zlotys, To craftsmen for slacking 49 zlotys; [April 1691:] To Italian stone carver 433 zlotys, To Sekula for delivering bricks 22 zlotys, To stone carver Zawadski 98 zlotys; [May 1691:] To bricklayers, carpenters, sawyers and helpers 330 zlotys; [June 1691:] To bricklayers and helpers 277 zlotys, To carpenters 86 zlotys, To sawyers 94 zlotys, To stone carver Zawadski100 zlotys, For cart of stone 27 zlotys, To Italian stone carver 457 zlotys; [July 1691:] To bricklayers and helpers 317 zlotys, For delivery of sand and lime 64 zlotys, To carpenters 36 zlotys, To sawyers 35 zlotys, To blacksmiths 120 zlotys, For cart of stone from Szydłowiec 35 zlotys, To stone carver 22 zlotys, For Cracov wood 100 zlotys; [August 1691:] To carpenters 31 zlotys, To Mr Gerat for bricks 740 zlotys, For delivery of sand and bricks 348 zlotys, To Mr Montull for lime 333; To sawyers 23 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 441 zlotys, To stone carver 48 zlotys, To Mr Bellotti for 200 [tiles?] 33 zlotys; [September 1691:] Zawadski got paid for cornice heads 306 zlotys, For cart of stone from Szydłowiec 198 zlotys, To bricklayers and helpers 377 zlotys, To local stone carver 60 zlotys, For cart of stone from Szydłowiec 88 zlotys; [October 1691:] To bricklayers and helpers 413 zlotys, To local stone carver 44 zlotys, To carters for delivering bricks and sand 132 zlotys, To X Monttull for lime 600 zlotys, To carpenters 17 zlotys, for lime 210 zlotys; [November 1691:] To carpenters 16 zlotys; [December 1691:] To blacksmith 120 zlotys, To carpenters 87 zlotys, To sawyers 105 zlotys.

**2** Portrait of the Rev. Bartłomiej Michał Tarło, the Holy Cross Superior and Bishop of Poznań, before 1939 in the Missionaries’ House in Warsaw, photographer unknown, before 1929

It is no wonder that Fontana himself was entrusted with the realization of the artistic 'legate' of his old patron by the missionaries. In the main source i. e. 'Liber Expensarum Domus Missionariorum Sti Crucis Varsaviensis',<sup>89</sup> Fontana was described as 'our architect',<sup>90</sup> although – as it seems – he was building the church strictly according to the old project of Bellotti, more so that the façade was already completed without ornaments. We can find out what the project looked like by analysing a sketch from 1728 kept in the collection of the Domestic Saxon Archives in Dresden which replicates the old Bellotti's project in the main part with an addition of new ornamental and sculptural decoration only.<sup>91</sup> The project, known as 'delineatio emendanda', was prepared by the Order of the Missionaries,<sup>92</sup> partly 'by way of trial', by Joachim

Daniel Jauch, the main architect of the so-called Royal Bauamt in Warsaw. However, it did not win appreciation and was rejected, while Fontana continued his works undisturbed according to the old idea of Bellotti at least up to 1728. Here, the accountancy book breaks off. What was done during those three years (1725–1728)? First, in the winter of 1725/1726 according to Fontana's estimate of costs from October construction materials were gathered, particularly stone for architectural detail.<sup>93</sup> In accordance with Fontana's specifications, a necessary amount of stone was ordered in the quarry in Szydłowiec in February 1726. Sandstone from Szydłowiec was obviously chosen on purpose, in order to continue the undertaking from 1689–1691 when – as we remember – this sandstone was used in the architectural detail. The

<sup>95</sup> The contract with Fontana (certainly not the first one) was signed in December 1726.<sup>96</sup> It focused on building scaffolds and the third level of the northern tower of the church. The architect was responsible for employing craftsmen and financing their work for which he received 9 000 Polish *zlotys*. The convent bound itself to supply the necessary materials and tools. In December 1726, together with the architect, a master of carpentry was also employed – a certain Sadrina from Łowicz, who was to make the fleche for the church roof (campanila) and the tower spire of the northern tower.<sup>97</sup> Those works were supposed to be done in cooperation with Jakub Szulc 'sub-master of carpentry'. In January 1727 in Szydłowiec another contract was signed, with the aforementioned Jan Boczyński, to make '12 pedestals' which were not included in the former contract.<sup>98</sup> These were certainly the bases of pilasters; they were made in May and sent to Warsaw in June. In March the first consignment of the huge stones for cornice of the third level was delivered, next consignments were supposed to come consecutively. In June 1727 the missionaries paid Fontana and Sandrina the second instalment of reimbursement and concluded another contract with Boczyński, the stone mason 'pro cratibus ecclesiae nostrae'; most probably for delivery of huge stone balustrades for windows of the tower which was under construction at the time.<sup>99</sup> As soon as in August the balustrades were assembled in place. In July, copper necessary for covering the tower spire of the northern tower was purchased in Gdańsk, while in August a contract with a blacksmith was concluded to make gilded balls for both tower spires.<sup>100</sup> As early as in June 1727, iron and lead needed for lattices and bases of tower spires and for the crosses on spires were gathered.<sup>101</sup> They were made by friar Mikołaj Tetar who was famous for his artistic metalsmith works. In autumn, Fontana and Sadrina received the third instalment, and copper sheet metal was brought from Gdańsk again, which was used by a brazier called Dimer to cover the tower spire of the northern spire. At the same time, the works on the southern tower, which until then had only one level, begun. In order to construct the second level, stone was delivered from Szydłowiec as early as in July 1727, and then large amount of bricks were brought. The works must have been fast, since in autumn Jan Bernatowicz was employed for stone carving works on both (!) towers. Jan was surely a kin and a member of the workshop of Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, Warsaw sculptor connected with the missionaries at least since the beginning of the decade.<sup>102</sup> Jan Bernatowicz appears in the bills four times: in October 1727 and in January, February and June 1728 as the person who made 'opera necessaria pro turribus' and 'ornamentis circa fenestras turris'.<sup>103</sup> Apart from window frames, the mentioned works covered most probably the capitals of pilasters and decorative vases at the basis of

the tower spires. At the end of October 1727 bricklayers, upon completing the northern tower and building the second level of the southern tower, started to lay bricks in the middle part of the façade – 'inter-tectum et turrim'.<sup>104</sup> In November and December stonework was completed in the northern tower, while stone necessary for the flooring of the last level was ordered in Szydłowiec. Transport of the latter came in April 1728. Up to October 1728 some metal works were carried out with the participation of Dimer, the brazier. It is hard to say ex cathedra if those works concerned the tower spire of the northern tower or rather the tower spire of the second tower. However, the analyzed source does not mention building of the third level of the southern tower and another group of archives seems to confirm its non-completion directly. While it is true that a the view of the church on a sketch of Warsaw panorama by Friedrich Schmidt from 1737–1740 presented both towers with tower spires, completed and of equal height (!), however, most probably the drawing was based on a project which the missionaries made accessible to the drawer and did not depict the actual state of affairs.<sup>105</sup>

The façade in the form described here was not worked on for the next dozen or so years. There is actually no data from the 1730's and from the beginning of 1740's, however, all the authors – starting with the first half of the 19th century – writing about the Holy Cross 'building project', as well as the next specific records indicate half of the 18th century as the moment of commencing the works on the outside of the church. The handwritten note, kept in the so-called 'Teki Korotyńskich' in the City of Warsaw Archive, concerning construction works on the façade, which admittedly comes from the first half of the 19th century and which is partly a copy and partly a kind of analysis of the archives of the Holy Cross church from 1745–1760,<sup>106</sup> is a priceless source of information. It was most probably made by priest Paweł Rzymiski, an inspector during the years 1826–1833, at the request of one of the Warsaw historians (presumably Franciszek Sobieszczański or Julian Bartoszewicz). It gives detailed information about the works on the façade in 1756 and during the years 1759–1760 stated in the so-called 'Domestic Registers' and it also relates to earlier events – on the basis of not direct but allusive archives (mainly contracts with craftsmen kept in a Domestic Archive at that time). On the basis of this note we can recreate the history of the third stage of building the façade of the Holy Cross church. It took place in the years 1745–1760. The latter of the dates appears in literature mostly as the moment of the completion of all the works at the façade, as well as at the whole church, while the beginnings of the last stage were placed between 1754 and 1755.<sup>107</sup> However, it turns out that the works already started in 1745. A con-

tract worth 100 ducats (1800 Polish *zlotys*) to 'build the southern tower and finish the façade',<sup>108</sup> was concluded with Jakub Fontana, a well-known Warsaw architect, the son of Giuseppe Fontana who worked at the church earlier. It is worth mentioning here that the name of Fontana appeared in literature as the name of the architect (designer), nevertheless, it was only on the basis of formal analogies to his other works.<sup>109</sup> Currently, we have the certainty based on sources. In the light of the above it is almost sure that it was Jakub Fontana who was employed in the middle of the 18th century as a designer of all major works at the façade. Apart from completing the southern tower, he also had to transform the third level of the northern tower and provide new tower spires for both. He shaped – by dropping the gable built by his father – a completely new middle part of the façade with an amazing gable leaning on semi-elliptic arch decorated with stone sculptural ornaments, with a huge oval window with an oval transom window on the main axis. Most probably, it was Fontana who designed the main portal of the church and the incredible terrace with a driveway and stairs, both decorated with sculptures, and it was him who finally shaped the niches with floating figures of Sts. Peter and Paul. Such a wide range of works not only designed but also, according to the Holy Cross custom, led by one architect certainly must have cost more than the 100 ducats. Hence, we can suppose that the sum mentioned above relates to just one of many contracts conducted with Fontana since 1745, likewise, more than one contract was signed with his father, Giuseppe. It is possible, that there were separate contracts for the tower spires, the portal, and almost certainly for the terrace with the driveway and stairs, which constitutes a separate construction leaning to the elevation. The course of works – in the light of the analysed source – looked as follows. As soon as in 1745 Karol Logau,<sup>110</sup> was working on the stone detail of the last level of the southern tower i. e. on

ratione campanilis et unius ex turribus Ecclesiae nostrae Stae Crucis, ipsi quae pro utroque opere promissis duo milia tymphonum et centum, dico tymph 2100, ad quorum rationem eidem fabro lignario dedi eadem die tymphones 100, unde super sunt 2000 tymph. quae per partes eidem lignario quovis mente solventur ut operis qui sub ipso laborabunt solarium solvere possit'; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha*..., p. 402.

<sup>89</sup> *Liber expensarum Domus Missionariorum*..., p. 6; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha*..., p. 402.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 402.

<sup>91</sup> *Liber expensarum Domus Missionariorum*..., p. 8; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha*..., p. 402.

<sup>92</sup> *Liber expensarum Domus Missionariorum*..., p. 8; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha*..., p. 402.

<sup>93</sup> In the Holy Cross church M.B. Bernatowicz made the tomb effigy of cardinal Radziejowski and St. Charles Borromeo's altar, in Łowicz he made the figure of the Good Shepherd on the fa ade of the missionaries' monastery, and in the missionary church in Siemiatyce he was the author of the whole interior design.

<sup>94</sup> *Liber expensarum Domus Missionariorum*..., p. 8; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha*..., p. 403.

<sup>95</sup> *Liber expensarum Domus Missionariorum*..., p. 8; E. Karwacka-Kowalczykowa, *Projekt Jaucha*..., p. 403.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 404.

<sup>97</sup> State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw, *Teki Korotyńskich, Objasnienie względem odrobienia osób, które zdołają facytać kościola św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, [further: *Objasnienia*...], p. NaN.: 'Since the contract for making these persons is not in the domestic archives and other less important contracts are preserved faithfully, thus, a question to the domestic register must be settled. Under the year of 1756 it states: To a wood-carver who agreed to make two persons over the door of the façade (paid) – # 15. For hoisting two huge persons and vases I have paid – # 6 a wood-carver for correcting two huge persons on the top and for making clouds – # 4 A plasterer ibidem – # 4 To a painter for painting two stone persons – # 6 To a carpenter for hoisting columns and persons over the door (paid) zlotys 15. To a wood-carver for stone persons over the door I added # 27 The one who made them up I added # 2 The one who corrected the two huge persons on the top (I added) # 3 The one who made plaster figures of Apostles # 26 Under the year of 1759 it states: To Mr Jan Jerzy Pleisch with the contract for capitals to Mr Coudre for the model for plaster capitals zlotys 176. Under the year of 1760 to Mr Pleisz deposit for making four geniuses for the balustrade of the stairs – 400 silver coins. From what was said it seems that all the statues decorating the façade were made by Jan Jerzy Pleisch and the sculptor made them here in Warsaw. Proof. 1st, He was both a wood-carver and a sculptor (a. c. d. g. h. i. k.), 2nd The second proof that he was and was called a wood-carver is his contract from 1759 for making galleries with angels in the church, signed by his own hand. 3rd The comparison of the contract with the registers from 1759 (l, n), it is crystal clear that Mr Pleisch is both a wood-carver and a sculptor. 4th He made all the stone figures because at that time there was no other wood-carver and sculptor in one person, solely Mr Pleisch, as we can see in the original contracts. For at that time similar work was performed by Józef Grylic, however he is known to be a stone mason and he made only the stairs to the balustrade which is no longer there today. Michał Dollinger, who according to the contract was a stone mason, made the more difficult and delicate work at the balustrade and stone vases to stand on the balustrade. As manufacturing of four stone figures decorating the balustrade is concerned, the registers claim that the delicate work was done by Mr Pleisch. The cornices for the tower, the quins, bases, faces etc. made of stone were made by Karol Logau, a stone mason; however it was not later than in 1745, i.e. 10 years earlier. Other wood-carving, sculptural and stone carving works were not performed at that time, because the altars etc. were built 30 years earlier. Neither the contracts nor the registers mention any other artist equal with Pleisch, nor better than him, other than he himself. Thus, it is historically proved that there was no other wood-carver and a sculptor apart from Mr Pleisch and that he was the only one who did the most delicate work, hence, he must have made Sts. Peter and Paul and the emblems of faith and hope or love on the portal although, there is no original contract, solely the notes in the register. It states that the statues of Peter and Paul are made of plaster. We should be convinced. The architect of the church is Józef Belotus from Italy. Priest Malinowski said, which is supported by the silence of the registers, that he did not accept any gratification for 20 years of his work. Thus, he is rightly listed among our benefactors. The architect of the tower and the façade is Giuseppe Fontana, who agreed in 1726 for 9000 zlotys. The second tower on the left from Nowy Świat and the façade were finished by architect Giacomo Fontana between the years 1745-1752, agreed for 100 ducats'.

<sup>98</sup> This stage of construction of the Holy Cross church façade and Jakub Fontana's participation was mainly described by Bartczakowa, *Jakub Fontana*..., pp. 164-172 (ibid. older literature).

<sup>99</sup> *Objasnienia*, p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>100</sup> A. Bartczakowa, *Jakub Fontana*..., pp. 164-172.

<sup>101</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>102</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>103</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>104</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>105</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>106</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>107</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>108</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>109</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>110</sup> *Objasnienia*..., p. NaN., Cf note 105.



processing was done on the spot by a stone mason from Szydłowiec Jan Boczyński (Bocylski).<sup>94</sup> Significant quantity, i. e. as many as 20 carts of the processed sandstone from Szydłowiec were transported to Warsaw in June. Iron necessary for tools and shackles (anchor-iron) for the walls was ordered the same year in the steelworks of bishops of Cracow in Samsonów.-

<sup>3</sup> Anonymous court painter to John III Sobieski, portrait of Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, pastel, c. 1695–1700, reproduction after *Święto Baroka. Sztuka w służbie prymasa Michała Stefana Radziejowskiego (1645–1705)* [Feast of the Baroque. Art at the Service of Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski (1645–1705)], Museum Palace in Wilanów, cat. no. 26, ill. p. 131

the cornices, quoins, and bases. It means that the level was already erected at that time; however, it is difficult to establish the duration of works. A logical sequence involved construction of tower spires which are not mentioned by the sources. Likewise, the sources do not mention the conversion of the façade itself, which must have been completed before 1756, since at that time the finishing works were already conducted. The main portal with columns and sculptures was made and assembled, figures, clouds and vases were hoisted to the top of the façade, 'stone figures' were painted, and 'plaster Apostles' were made. Before the World War 2 a date '1756' was carved in metal sheet and a still unsolved signature of a brazier J. G. Kecker, Maun M. W.,<sup>111</sup> on the top of the cross in the gable of the church. Next information, which comes from 1759, refers to some unknown works on capitals. 176 *zlotys* were paid to 'Mr Coudre for a plaster model for capitals' and separately to 'Mr Jan Jerzy Pleisch for the contract for capitals.'<sup>112</sup> While the notes do not raise any doubt in terms of the authorship of the capitals, it is not certain where they were intended for. Although, they might have been designed for the main stone portal housing columns with exquisite Ionic capitals decorated with a festoon of flowers between the volutes. The columns were assembled as early as in 1726, thus, is it possible that constructors left space for unready capitals? Equally probably, they might have been almost identical Ionic capitals of the pilasters on the second level (together with the towers), probably changed by Fontana at that time, or maybe both. Here, the three stages of work on the capitals rise to the surface: the general project (most probably in the form of sketches) by Jakub Fontana, a plaster model prepared by Pierre Coudray, a French-Saxon sculptor who was working in Warsaw at that time, and finally the stone carving done by Johann Georg Plersch, the most famous Warsaw sculptor of the 18th century. In 1760 The missionaries paid Plersch 400 silver coins for 'making four figures for the balustrade of the stairs.'<sup>113</sup> The figures depicted stone putti which personified the four Evangelists situated, as we learn from Canaletto's painting depicting the Krakowskie Przedmieście, on the front balustrade of the terrace in front of the façade, on the sides of the decorative vases. The latter, as well as the balustrade itself, were supposedly made by Michael Dollinger, a renown Warsaw stone mason and decorator (and an entrepreneur), a regular work partner of Fontana and Plersch.<sup>114</sup> The stone stairs, which did not require such high skills, were made by another stone carver – unknown before Józef Grylic. For a long time literature has connected Johann Georg Plersch with the sculptures of Sts. Peter and Paul, the Apostles made in plaster floating in the niches over side portals of the façade (currently,

post-war stone copies). We must willingly agree with this attribution in the light of the form analysis as well as the above mentioned archival data. Undoubtedly, both female personifications from the main portal, Faith and Hope, were made by Plersch and were substituted by copies after the damages of the War. However, the history of the sculptures in the gable of the façade is more complicated. Plersch is certainly the author of the side pedestal with clouds and putti heads; nevertheless, the figures of angels on the sides seem less impressive, as if made by a different sculptor. It is indirectly indicated in the earlier mentioned bills from 1756; a wood-carver was paid twice for 'correcting two big figures on the top' and for 'making clouds'. The course of further notes proves that it was the same wood-carver who made the 'plaster figures of Apostles' and the 'stone figures over the door' i. e. – as we suppose – Plersch. Thus, the sculptor was supposed to make the clouds, and only to correct the 'two big figures' (angels). For the last job he was paid 7 ducats (126 *zlotys*) – if he had been to correct his own work he certainly would not have been paid a dime.

Basically, this was the end of construction works on the façade of the Holy Cross church. In 1757 a clock founded by Adam Rostkowski, worth 1100 silver coins, was mounted on the southern tower and in 1778 in the belfry of the same tower a bell-signature signed 'Varsoviae anno 1778, Johann Zaharias Neuberdt fecit me' was hanged up.

An investment which completed the almost hundred-year-old (started in 1679) building project of the Warsaw church was the flooring (the second flooring in the history of the church), for which the missionaries in 1766 concluded a contract with the Carmelites of Czerna near Cracow, owners of the so-called Dębnik marble, who 'through own masters and craftsmen' were supposed to deliver 640 pieces of panels made of Dębnik marble, as well as triple steps for the three altars: two in the church and one in the chapel of Our Lady. We can suppose that Jakub Fontana was also the author of the project. The current chess board flooring consists of black and white panels made of black Dębnik and white Carrara marble, and is probably a result of the subsequent conversion of the flooring which is mentioned in the contract.<sup>115</sup>

Upon completion of the towers, the façade and laying the flooring, the works at the church were basically limited to renovations – minor or more radical ones – or conversions of minor elements of the build-

ing. The most important of these conversions was unquestionably the liquidation of the incredible Fontana stairs situated on the front side of the façade, which were damaged by a bombardment during the Kościuszko Insurrection in April 1794. In 1818 the stairs were removed and the driveway for carriages was liquidated. New stairs were built – simple, with a stone balustrade, most probably according to the project made by Christian Piotr Aigner. Simultaneously, upon request of Grand Duke Konstanty Romanov, the façade was whitewashed and the tower spires were painted white. The next conversion concerned the Blessed Virgin Chapel. When in 1823 Prince Adam Czartoryski was buried in the crypt, his daughter Zofia Zamoyska nee Czartoryska ordered the conversion of the chancel part in order to create an appropriate setting for



4 Joachim Daniel Jauch, design drawing for the completion of the Holy Cross façade, 1728 (coll. Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Dresden), reproduction after K. Guttmeyer, 'Zespół pielgrzymkowy w Króinie koło Ornety...', *Rocznik Olsztyński*, vol. XVII, 1997, p. 50, ill. 10

the Prince's cenotaph. The renovation, most probably according to the project of Enrico Marconi, took place during the years 1826–1836. The two first bays of the chapel were demolished and a new chancel in the shape of a templum (central, on a plan of the Greek cross and covered with a dome) was built. In 1792 the northern tower was renovated and in 1836 the southern one. In 1861 and 1868 both were repaired again.<sup>116</sup> In the years 1833–1838 the interior of the church was renovated under the supervision of Alfons Idzkowski – walls were painted pearl and the altars were refitted.<sup>117</sup> In 1837 iron gutters on the church were made, outside walls were limed and whitewashed, while the altars of St. Roch's and St. Michael were renovated.<sup>118</sup> In the 1850's two major works were conducted at the church – first, in 1850 the music choir was widened according to the project of Enrico Marconi by putting an arcade pillar bay in the front.<sup>119</sup> New organs were made by Maurycy Robert Müller from Wrocław and his partner Rimmer in 1851, for the sum of 70 000 Polish *zlotys* (after several years they were repaired by Blomberg from Warsaw).<sup>120</sup> In 1858 a cement figure of Christ carrying a cross was put on the stairs in front of the façade – the work of Andrzej Pruszyński. In 1898 it was substituted by a bronze statue of Pius Weloński placed on a basalt plinth according to the project of Stefan Szyller, which survived until today.<sup>121</sup> In 1864 as a result of post-insurrection repressions the Missionaries' convent was closed.<sup>122</sup> Soon, the window in the chancel behind the main altar was bricked up in the same time destroying the original artistic idea.<sup>123</sup> In 1888 the façade was partly renovated – this date was carved on the stone cloud in the gable. Subse-

<sup>111</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża...*, p. 98.

<sup>112</sup> *Objaśnienia...*, p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. NaN., Cf note 105.

<sup>114</sup> A. Bartczakowa, *Jakub Fontana...*, passim.

<sup>115</sup> Cracow, Archives of Missionary Friars, *Kontrakt o marmury na Czerny z OO Karmelitami spisany 1766*.

<sup>116</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża...*, p. 99. The signature on the ball of the tower spire said: 'blacksmith Jan Jaworski 1861' (L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża...*, p. 100).

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121; E. Kowalczykowska, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 13.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>121</sup> E. Kowalczykowska, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, p. 13.

<sup>122</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża...*, p. 51.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 99.

<sup>126</sup> St. Marzyński, *Kościół warszawskie...*, pp. 24–25; Z. Rewski, *Odbudowa kościoła św. Krzyża...*, p. 6; E. Kowalczykowska, *Kościół św. Krzyża...*, p. 15.

quent renovations took place in 1908–1909 when the outside of the church was restored (all elevations got covered in cement mortar, damaged stone and sculptural elements were recreated in cement. Those works were supervised by: Roman Kowalski and Józef Czajkowski, plaster works by Kubaszewski, carpentry by Karol Bevense, bricklaying by K. Wasowicz, metal works by F. Rück)<sup>124</sup> and again in 1917 when the interior was renewed.<sup>125</sup>

The last war brought significant damage to the Holy Cross church. In 1939 vaults were damaged. The most severe blows fell on the temple during the War-

saw Uprising: as a result of bombardment and air strikes, the roof and tower spires as well as the altar of the Holy Sacrament were burnt down. Flooring and vaults were partially destroyed. In January 1945 Germans blew up the northern tower in order to take down the bells. The explosion led to the collapse of part of the façade and the northern chain of chapels.

As soon as at the end of 1945 reconstruction works were initiated. Recreating the architecture lasted until 1953, initially under the supervision of an architect Brunon Zborowski, and then architect Karol Szymański.<sup>126</sup>



5 Bernardo Bellotto, called Canaletto, *View of the Krakowskie Przedmieście from the South* (coll. Royal Castle in Warsaw), 1778, detail with the driveway in front of the Church of the Holy Cross

# Architecture of the Holy Cross Church

The Holy Cross Church with the two-tower façade facing east is basically a two-tier construction. The huge, Upper church rising with its impressive silhouette above Krakowskie Przedmieście, has a developed basement part which, in the western section, under chancel and transept, precisely replicates the plan of the temple, in consequence forming Lower church; while underneath the nave corpus there is a long corridor with irregular crypts on the sides.

The Upper church was built on the plan of a Latin cross. Its longer arm of 60 metres is a two-bay nave with pairs of spacious chapels on the sides, interconnected by large arcade passages, thus creating a kind of side naves, and analogical, elongated two-bay chancel. The shorter arm of the Latin cross is the transept, situated halfway of the length of the church. In the east, there is a visibly separated bay of the basement of the façade (choir façade bay) adjacent to the nave body. The bay contains the lower choir in the middle,



antechapels of side naves, and at the ends small tower chapels. By the southern wall of the chancel, there is an elongated, five-bay chapel of Our Lady, by the northern wall there is a hallway, and a spacious, rectangular sacristy in the west. The nave body, the transept and the chancel create an interior of equal height segments (with the exception of the choir-façade bay); outside they create a compact body covered with one ridge roof (however, the chancel and the arms of the transept are covered with hipped

1 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, façade, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, Giuseppe Fontana II, 1725–28, and Jakub Fontana, 1745–60, view from the south, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

2 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, view of the interior towards the High Altar, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

roofs). The plan of the church is a very unique solution in Poland, which was proved by Elżbieta Kowalczykowska's analysis in 1971. The length of the nave – without the choir bay – corresponds strictly with the length of the chancel; the length of the façade is almost equal to the double length of the nave or the chancel. The architect divided the interior of the church into square bays of approximately 10 metre long sides, which create a plan of a cross with alternately equal arms: two bays of the chancel correspond with two bays of the nave, separated by a groin bay and a pair of transept bays. The chapels of the body in turn have the width of half of the modular



square bay. This compositional scheme constituted the starting point for a more detailed design, which later, obviously, differentiated thickness of walls, width of buttresses, thickness and width of pilasters, etc.

The character of the interior is settled by the use of deep chapels flanking the main nave on both sides, and equalling it in height. Massive, high pillars embracing the main nave, and isolating the bays of side naves, were expanded with impressive transversal walls, joining them with lateral walls decorated with wide semi-circular arcades. This interior arrangement is described as a wall-pillar system. The pillars are decorated with a bunch of magnificent pilasters in a composite order, with fantastic capitals in the stucco – of even number in the front, singular inside the chapels, one-sidedly duplicated. The quoins of the chapels were accentuated with similar, duplicated pilasters, in offset order. This way, the body of the church was encompassed by an order which emphasizes the continuity and homogeneity of the interiors, in the same time underlining the autonomy of the chapels which assign rhythm of the transverse space units. The arms of the transept are a specially treated space unit. They are similar to the chapels, with an extension of one short bay isolated halfway of the transverse walls by one-sided duplicated pilasters. At the same time

pilasters separate bays and encompass the quoins of the long chancel. The integration of the interior is also completed by a homogenous, classically plain and straight entablature with block cornice, skirting the whole church: the nave with chapels, the arms of the transept, and the chancel. The crowning cornice is decorated with an iron balustrade – the work of Brother Mikołaj Tetar. The interior of the church was covered with three different vaults: a groin vault in



the main nave, in the chancel, and in the choir-façade bay, a barrel vault in the transept and in the chapels, and a sail vault in the cross of the church. The bays in the vault part are separated with offset buttresses corresponding with the arrangement of pilasters, which create semi-circular arcades joining the pillars and pilasters lengthwise and crosswise the church. The current music choir, designed by Enrico Marconi, dates back to the middle of the 19th century. The choir is tri-interlaced with semi-circularly closed arcades separated by a pair of composite columns in the front, and crowned with a banister balustrade. The church is luxuriantly and homogeneously lit with huge windows situated in circular walls (between the cornice and the vault) of chapels, the arms of the transept, and in the lunette of the chancel – rectangular, quarter-circularly closed with a segment of the cornice. Originally, such a window, walled up after

1863, was situated in the circular wall of the chancel, directing the light outright (through an oval opening cut out in the main altar) and optically integrating the interiors and shortening the distance. It corresponded with the large window preserved to this day in the circular wall of the music choir. Four portals of the original church design lead to the chapel of Our Lady and the sacristy corridor. Two of them were situated in the arms of the transept, the other two in

the first bay of the chancel. Made of brick and plaster floating, the portals are encompassed with a simple decorative bracket and crowned with a segment of entablature. The historic flooring of the church arranged into a chessboard and made of black Dębnik and white Carrara marble survived in major part (reconstructed in fragments after 1945).

3 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, view of passages in the walls of the chapels, photo: J. Sito, 2010

4 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, nave capitals, photo: J. Sito, 2010

5 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, choir capitals, photo: J. Sito, 2010

6 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, vault of the church's cross, photo: J. Sito, 2010

7 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, portal to the Chapel of St. Mary, photo: J. Sito, 2010



The chapel of Our Lady, adjacent to the chancel, and the lower church need to be treated separately. The former, built around 1700, was significantly modified in the second quarter of the 19th century, thus its shape was influenced by both: baroque and classicism. Today, it consists of four bays of a small nave and a bigger chancel bay separated from the body of the chapel. Its walls create semi-circular arcades with windows from the outside (south side) and niches from the side of the chancel (north side). Between the

lars are far from order correctness, and resemble the straight pillars on corbels, with strongly simplified capitals. The interiors are lit with single windows in gable walls of the chancel and transept.

The two-tower façade of the Holy Cross church – which, as we have shown in the historical chapter, was created in three stages: the baroque stages of around 1689, and between 1725 and 1728, mainly according to the design of Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, and the rococo stage in the years 1745–1760 according to the design of Jakub Fontana – is one of the most impressive front elevations of modern temples in Poland. The façade is 43 metres long (30 ells) and over 53 metres

leading to the pavement (in the parts of tower bays). The façade bays were composed in a variable order, wider and narrower alternately, corresponding with the arrangement of the interior of the church. The side tower bays are wide, the second and the fourth bays, corresponding with the rows of side chapels, are significantly narrower, while the middle bay, which corresponds with the main nave, is the widest and visibly dominates the composition. In order to weaken its dominance, the bay was additionally divided with pilasters into three axes – a wide middle axis and narrow side axes. As the second storey is crowned on the main axis with semi-elliptical gable by Jakub



arcades one finds single Tuscan pilasters, supporting the simple entablature of the interior. The square chancel is limited by four columns in the corners (replacing the nave pilasters) made of black Dębnik marble. The arcade of the deep niche of the chancel gable wall (from the west) is enriched with additional pair of black marble pilasters. The nave is covered with a buttresses vault, while the chancel is closed by a blind, coffered dome.

The Lower church is basically situated under the chancel and transept of the Upper church, replicating its shape, with additional crypts on the sides of the chancel (one of the crypts from the north is unavailable); while, a long corridor not corresponding with the main church, with crypts on the sides, entered from the street under the terrace in front of the church façade is solely situated under the nave body. Each of the three arms of the lower church is divided by densely arranged pillars into three naves; the middle one is wider, the side ones are narrower. Such an arrangement creates a triple hall covered with groin vaults. The character of interiors is coarse – the vaults have no buttresses, the bevelled corners of the pil-

high; it is basically three-axis and two-storey construction with additional wide bays of three-storey risalit towers. In front, there is a shallow terrace with an entrance into the Lower church, which was created in its current form in 1818 according to the design of Christian Piotr Aigner. The terrace stretches out on the width of three middle bays, with side-stairs

Fontana, it created an extremely decorative motif of two-storey serliana (a kind of triumphal arch) which clasps the whole composition in the middle. Each of

the bays was decorated with double pilasters on the sides (a pilaster with an adjoining half-pilaster), which corresponds, as we remember, with the arrangement dominating the interior of the church: in the chapels, transept and chancel (next to the second arrangement – double pilasters decorating the fronts of pillars). This way, by emphasizing the vividness of the supporting pillars, the surface of this very wide façade was diversified considerably. Its articulation was conducted in a classical way, in accordance with the superposition principle, i.e. – going upwards – from the simplest orders to more complicated ones, from the heaviest to the lightest. And so, the first storey, situated on a high ground course, is of Doric order with triple-spray frieze in the part of entablature. The next one is similar in character to the Ionic order – especially the capitals (with a festoon of fruit between the volutes), the trunks of pilasters remain plain, and the entablature is simple with block cornice. The upper storeys of towers, designed by Jakub Fontana, are most ornamental, decorated with in quoins composite pilasters, and crowned with entablature of prominent modillion cornice (consisting of small volute cantilevers). The superposition of orders in the façade harmonically balances the heights of individual storeys, as well as perfectly corresponds with the width of bays, because the higher storeys of towers get slightly narrower. The narrower the bay and the lower the height of the storey, the lighter the order according to the principles adopted by Vitruvius. Also, appropriate optic corrections were used in order to avoid the unfavourable impression of pyramidal shortening. Thus, pilasters of the second and third storey get slightly wider upwards, and in the same time slightly lean forwards. The same applies also to the façade wall. On the lower storey, on the axis of the middle bay there is an impressive stone portal designed by Fontana, with two Ionic columns, with a massive, triangular, gable discontinued at the bottom, where one can find the stone personifications of Faith with a chalice and Hope with an anchor, both being post-war copies of the original works of Johann Georg Plersch. The portal, exceptionally impressive, incorporates the whole surface of the bay; its height is particularly remarkable since it reaches the entablature of the first storey. Over the entrance, there is an inscription engraved on a black Dębnik marble plaque in a Rococo frame: 'Deo a ligno regnanti, templum hoc sub titulo Crucis salutiferae, a Joanne III Rege Poloniorum a fundamentis erectum, demum regnante Augusto III., pio, pacifico, magnanimo, Regis optimi et procerum



11 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, statue of Faith in the façade portal, 1756, executed by Johann Georg Plersch, reconstructed after 1950, photo: P. Janski, 2010

12 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, statue of Hope in the façade portal, 1756, executed by Johann Georg Plersch, reconstructed after 1950, photo: P. Janski, 2010

8 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, Chapel of St. Mary designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, c. 1700, Enrico Marconi (attributed), 1826–36, view of the chancel, photo: P. Janski, 2010

9 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, interior of the Lower Church, photo: P. Janski, 2010

10 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, façade, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, Giuseppe Fontana II, 1725–28, and Jakub Fontana, 1745–60, coping, photo: J. Sito, 2010



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sumptibus consummatum. Anno reparatae salutis 1756'. On the side axes of the façade there are, as if in contrast, quite modest, simple stone bracket portals in the shape we remember from the interior of the church. They are covered with a segment of cornice and joined with semi-circularly closed niches with post-war stone copies of figures of apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, originally made by Johann Georg Plersch in plaster coating. The next axes of the basement correspond with the towers, where one can find rectangular windows with bracket frame, triangular stone gable and coarse segment of stone windowsill. The windows of the upper storeys are of similar size (with the exception of a huge middle window), with partly stone detail, however, their processing is different. Thus, on the second storey the windows, likewise the lower rectangular windows with bracket frame, were crowned with quarter-circular gable and supported on a high windowsill enriched with pair of slender volute cantilevers. The Rococo windows by Fontana on the upper storeys of the towers are semi-circularly closed, crowned with quarter-circular segment of cornice with a key, while their windowsill has a sophisticated shape of a banister, openwork balustrade. The above mentioned middle window of the façade, together with the frame designed by Jakub



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13 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, façade portal, 1756, designed by Jakub Fontana, foundation plaque 1756, partly reconstructed after 1950, photo: J. Sito, 2010

14 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, statue of St. Peter on the façade, executed by Johann Georg Plersch, 1756, reconstructed after 1950 by Adam Roman, photo: J. Sito, 2010

15 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, statue of St. Peter, executed by Johann Georg Plersch, 1756, reconstructed after 1950 by Adam Roman, photographer unknown, before 1939

16 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, statue of St. Paul on the façade, executed by Johann Georg Plersch, 1756, photographer unknown, before 1939



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17 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, ground-floor tower window, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, Giuseppe Fontana II, 1725–8, photo: J. Sito, 2010

18 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, second-storey tower window, designed by Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, 1679–96, Giuseppe Fontana II, 1725–8, or Jakub Fontana, c. 1745–60?, photo: J. Sito, 2010

19 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, third-storey tower window, designed by Jakub Fontana, c. 1745–60, photo: J. Sito, 2010

Fontana, fills the whole surface of the assigned bay, *per analogiam* to the main portal. It is quarter-circularly closed and its delicate frame is adorned with oblique pseudo-pilasters with volutes in the place of capitals, and is closed with a stone segment of cornice. Above, in the semi-elliptical gable, there is a small oval fanlight of the middle window, decorated with side volutes and a stone volute ornament from the top. The whole second storey of the façade, together with the protruding gable, is crowned with the stone cornice with rich decorations, designed by Jakub Fontana. On its axis, there is a trapezoidal, corniced pedestal with a cross among clouds and angel heads; on the sides, next to vases of flames, there is a pair of angels



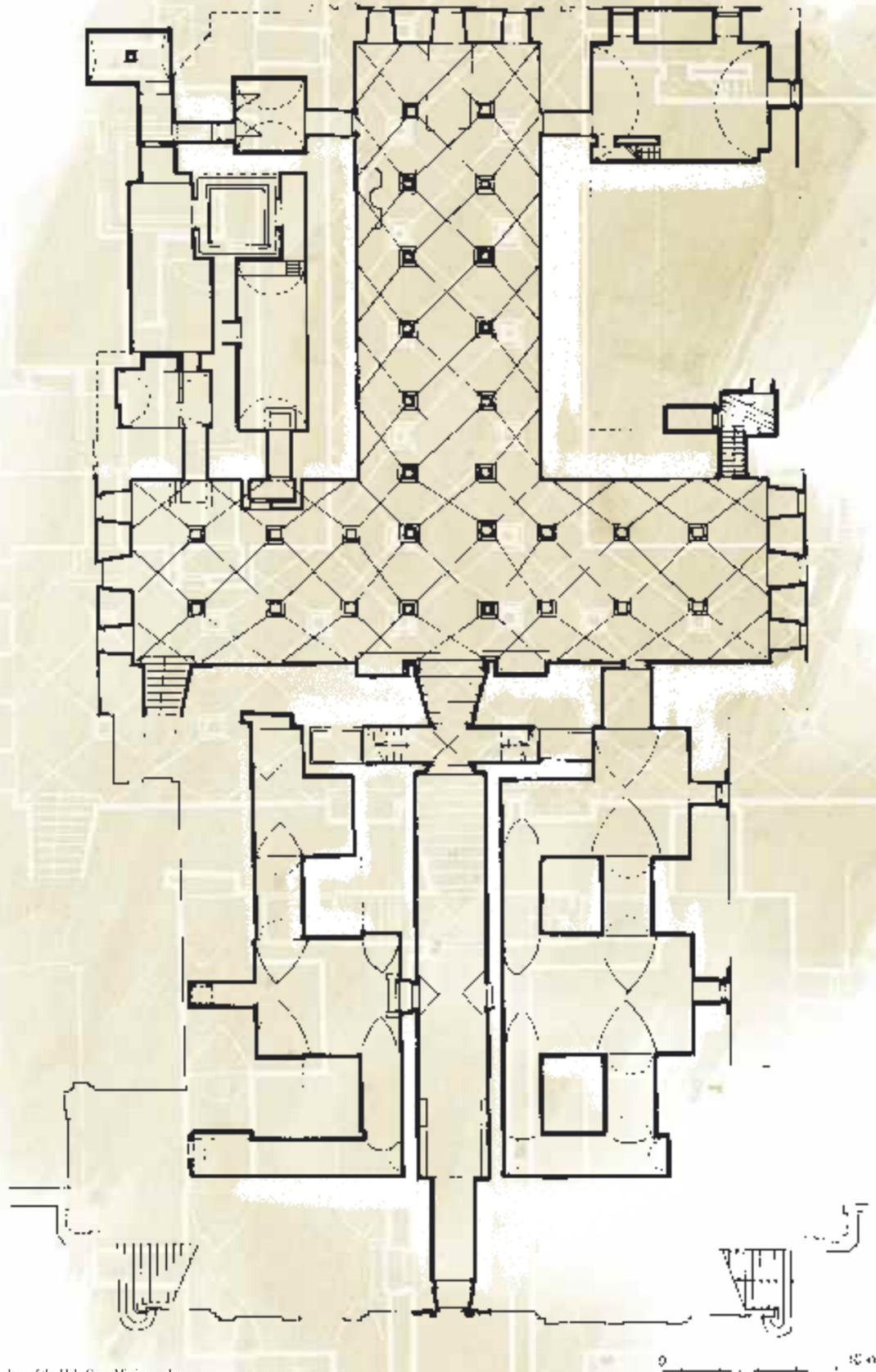
19

originally carrying the so-called Arma Christi, i.e. Weapons of Christ (probably a lance and a nail). The rich, elegant in form, high tower spires designed by Fontana, roofed with copper plate, are of the quadrilateral shape and in quoins are decorated with volutes; higher – divided by a prominent cornice protruding over the volutes – they support the octagonal, double offset diminishing domes with boldly bended surface, changing over to spires with a cross on a bowl.

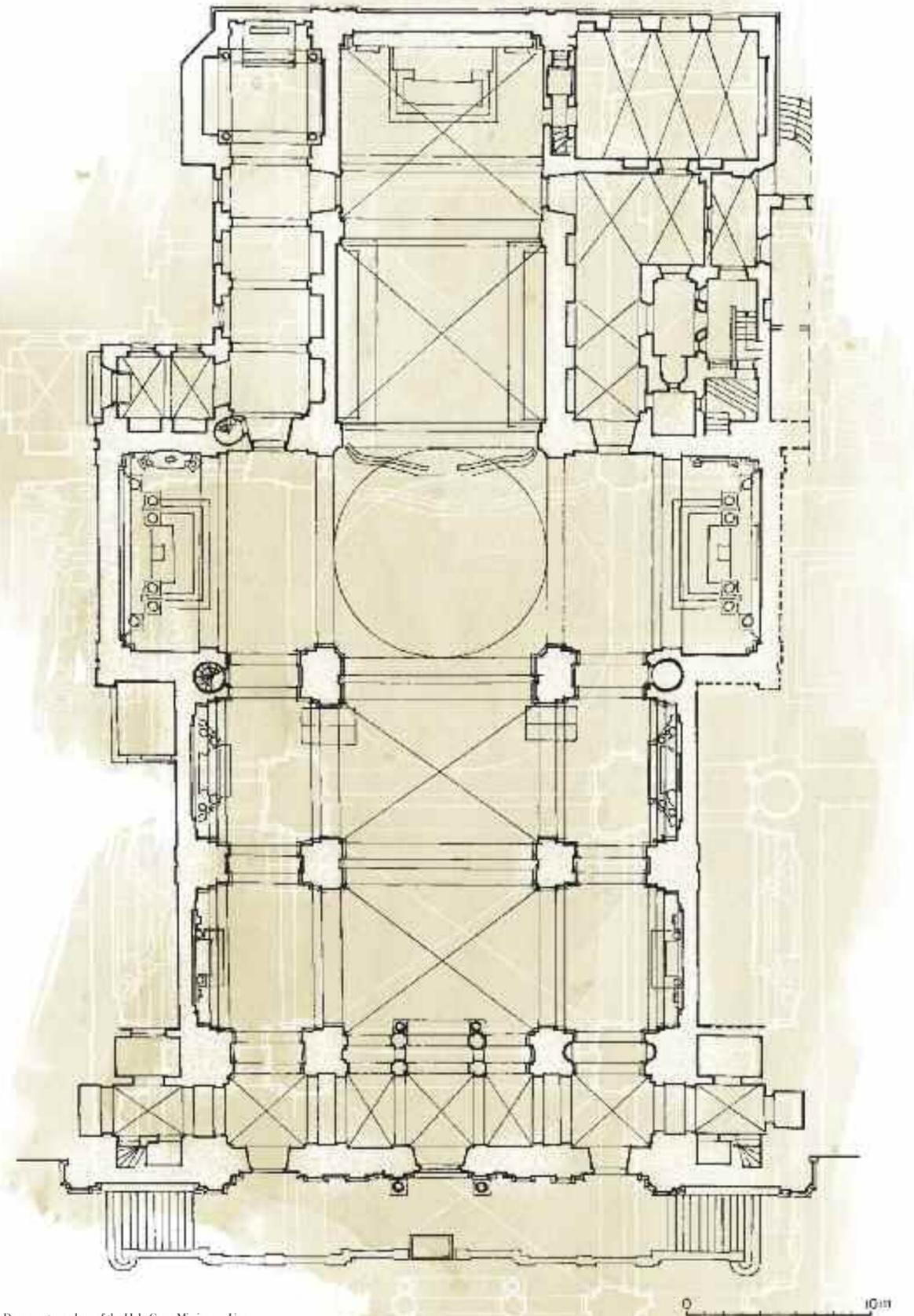
The side elevations of the main nave and the chancel are basically plain, decorated with pairs of pseudo-pilasters supporting the cornice in the quoins of the transept and the chancel; the windows of splayed niches have no frames. The roofs are covered with copper plate.

The Holy Cross Church in Warsaw is the most magnificent sacral interior of 17th century Warsaw: monolithically closed and its delicate frame is adorned with oblique pseudo-pilasters with volutes in the place of capitals, and is closed with a stone segment of cornice. Above, in the semi-elliptical gable, there is a small oval fanlight of the middle window, decorated with side volutes and a stone volute ornament from the top. The whole second storey of the façade, together with the protruding gable, is crowned with the stone cornice with rich decorations, designed by Jakub Fontana. On its axis, there is a trapezoidal, corniced pedestal with a cross among clouds and angel heads; on the sides, next to vases of flames, there is a pair of angels

The Holy Cross Church in Warsaw is the most magnificent sacral interior of 17th century Warsaw: monumental, standing out with its logically constructed space. The extremely consistent architectural ornamentation emphasized and underlined its structure, deliberately modelled with light. Here, one finds a rarely achieved consistency of the concept of Italian theatrical baroque with a calm, classical, even cool form. It is worth emphasizing that the onlooker's attention is clearly led towards the main altar with huge wings of walls created by the use of a wall-pillar system in the deep and high chapels, with the culmination in the middle bay of the transept. The swing, immense scale, as well as the particular kind of the interior arrangement, together with the power of the two-tower façade and its influence on the silhouette of the city, decided on the significance of the building. The masterly art of design and originality of the creation are proven by the system of proportions, well-considered order and the intertwining of daylight sifting through the windows hidden in deep side chapels into the structure of the building, constituting a significant step towards the baroque integration of the interiors. The advanced articulation, clustering of pilasters and buttresses, cornice intertwining place the building in the Baroque style to the extent not achieved by any of the Warsaw churches of the Sobieski era. Additionally, participation of Jakub Fontana in the designing process deserves highest attention and recognition. The architect gave the façade slenderness by using high, picturesque, although at the same time adequately monumental spires. Using the soft, semi-elliptical, French in spirit gable, Fontana joined the orders with a Rococo motif of serliana and gave the monumental Italian façade, in an absolutely extraordinary way, some French lightness. There is no doubt that the Holy Cross church constitutes a main achievement in terms of the works of its architects – Giuseppe Simone Bellotti and Jakub Fontana – as well as in terms of the whole Warsaw architecture of the 17th and 18th centuries.



20 Documentary plans of the Holy Cross Missionary Lower church in Warsaw, Faculty of Architecture Warsaw University of Technology, 2011, redrawn by R. Kunkel



21 Documentary plans of the Holy Cross Missionary Upper church in Warsaw, Faculty of Architecture Warsaw University of Technology, 2011, redrawn by R. Kunkel



1 View of the transept and chancel of the Church of the Holy Cross, Album in the Archive of the Periodical "Nasza Przyszłość", 1929

2 View of the chancel of the Church of the Holy Cross, Album in the Archive of the Periodical "Nasza Przyszłość", 1929

3 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, High Altar, 1699–1700, Johannes Söffrens (attributed) and Mathias Hankis, detail of the middle section of the main tier, State Archives of the Capital City of Warsaw, the Korotyński Coll., V. 45, card II 42, 1909

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*The Altars:  
High Altar  
1699-1700,  
Sts. Felicissima  
and Geneviève  
1704,  
Holy Trinity  
and Blessed  
Sacrament  
1720-1721*

JOHANNES SÖFFRENS  
AND HIS WORKSHOP,  
INCL. MICHAEL BRÖSE (BRÖSEN)  
AND MATHIAS HANKIS

**1. The History of the Décor of the Holy Cross Church**

*Introduction*

The altar décor of the Holy Cross church until the World War 2 composed of symmetrically planned complex of seven altars – high altar, two transept altars and successive two pairs of altars, set in chapels at the lateral naves. In the light of recent researches, it was realised in three phases. The first phase, after completion of construction of the church, covers the years from 1699 to 1705, under the rule of the priest Michał Bartłomiej Tarło (1685–1710), Warsaw superior and general visitor. At that time the high altar, the altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève in the left arm of transept, the stalls, the altars of St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels and Sts. Roch and Sebastian in the rear nave chapels were erected. After a pause caused by the Great Northern War, the décor was completed in the same stylistics and by the same artists in the times of the superior priest Giovanni Antonio Fabri (1715–1724). Then the altar missing in the right transept under the invocation of the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament was erected and the stalls were completed. Later in the twenties of the 18th century, two altars in the central chapels, not being a subject of this study, were built.

**The state of research. Literature and references**

Many times the artistic values of the Holy Cross works were a subject of researches of Mariusz Karpowicz who identified a design of the royal architect Tilman van Gameren for the transept altar of St. Felicissima (AT nr 837 *recto*).<sup>1</sup> In this context Stanisław Mossakowski published two more design drawings from among the *oeuvre* of Tilman (AT No. 845 and 852 *recto*).<sup>2</sup> The retable of St. Felicissima, the only one that survived the World War II in an original form, was assessed as a first-class monument of the small sacred architecture of the times of king Jan III Sobieski. Karpowicz expressed also distinctly his opinion on homogenous sculptural workmanship of the three most important altars, against the suggestions of source records, dating back in relation to the Eucharist retable to the twenties of the 18th century, hence an opinion prevailing so far that the author of the altars of the Holy Cross was Matys Hankis of Elbląg, recorded as the author of the high altar about 1699.<sup>3</sup> The attribution of the discussed sculptural works to Johannes Söffrens became possible thanks to the comparison of other realizations of this artist, acting in Elbląg in the years of about 1690–1721, found with-

in the area of the former Chelmno and Pomesania Diocese, i.e. historical Chelmno and Malbork Voivodeships, and in the Frombork Cathedral in the Warmia Diocese.<sup>4</sup> It is also possible to separate the elements made by Michael Bröse, disciple and later partner of Söffrens.

The history of the church and its equipment was a subject of the monographic study by Elżbieta Kowalczykowska who used source materials and numerous bibliographic references having been originated since the beginning of the 19th century till 1945,<sup>5</sup> especially valuable with regard to the loss of sources which were used by their authors. The most important published studies include the work of the parish priest Michał Symonowicz of 1825, the of 1863 published by Franciszek Maksymilian Sobieszczański who probably used the notes of Franciszek Ksawery Kurowski dated back to the forties of the 19th century, the paper of the parish priest Leopold Petrzyk of 1920 and other.<sup>6</sup>

One of the most important archival documents is *Księga Ofiar na budowę kościoła Świętokrzyskiego of 1679 – Eleemosynae pro fabrica Ecclesiae Santa Cru-*

<sup>1</sup>Warsaw, BUW [The University of Warsaw Library], Print Room, "Tilman's Archive" no. 837 *recto*, now in the Inventory of Ancient Holdings no. 6475; Mariusz Karpowicz, *Sztuka Oświeconego sarmatyzmu. Antykizacja i klasycyzacja w środowisku warszawskim czasów Jana III Sobieskiego*, Warsaw 1970 (cited below as Karpowicz 1970), pp. 84–85 (Ed. II., Warsaw, 1986, pp. 59–61); idem, *Sztuka Warszawy 2 połowy XVII wieku*, Warsaw, 1975 (cited below as Karpowicz 1975), pp. 98–103; Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy czasów Jana III Sobieskiego*, Warsaw, 1987, pp. 68–70; idem, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża: Księga pamiątkowa. Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie w trzecieście rocznicę konsekracji 1696–1996*, Ed. T. Chachulski, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 127–158 (cited below as Karpowicz 1996); *Święto baroku. Sztuka w służbie prymasa Michała Stefana Radziejowskiego (1645–1705)*, Pałac Museum in Wilanów, May–September 2009, [Bielsko-Biała 2009] (cited below as *Święto baroku* 2009), cat. pos. 106, pp. 298–301

<sup>2</sup>BUW [The University of Warsaw Library], Print Room, The Inventory of Ancient Holdings no. 6846 and 6842; Stanisław Mossakowski, *Tilman z Garamen, architekt polskiego baroku*, Wrocław, 1973 (further cited as Mossakowski 1973), pp. 28, 255–256, fig. 266–268; the same in: idem, *Tilman van Gameren. Leben und Werk*, München, 1994 (further cited as Mossakowski 1994), pp. 261–264, fig. 252–254; *Święto baroku* 2009, catalogue item no. 104 and 105, pp. 298–301.

<sup>3</sup>Karpowicz 1975, p. 100, 103; Hankis Matys, *Słownik artystów polskich i w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, Eds. J. Maurin-Białostocka and J. Derwojed, vol. 3, Wrocław, 1979, p. 24; Brojeń Michał: *Słownik artystów polskich...*, vol. 1, Wrocław, 1971, p. 249.

<sup>4</sup>Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino, *Budownictwo i architektura, rzeźba, malarstwo i rzemiosło artystyczne*, subchapter of the VIth chapter (Sztuka, literatura muzyka, teatr): *Dzieje Elbląga*, Ed. A. Groth, vol. 2, part 2, Warsaw, 1997, pp. 194–195; Elita Grosmane – recently: *Kurzes baroka tēlniecība 1660–1740*, (Uumava), 2002, pp. 62–64; Katarzyna Jarczyńska (Wardzyńska), *Prace snycerskie Jana Söffrensa z Elbląga dla Misjonarzy w Chelmnie i w Warszawie: Artyści włoscy w Polsce XV–XVIII w.*, Eds. J.A. Chrościcki and R. Sulewska, Warsaw, 2004, pp. 623–642.

<sup>5</sup>Elżbieta Kowalczykowska, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*. Monografia architektoniczna, *Rocznik Warszawski*, vol. X, 1971, pp. 5–46 (about the altars, pp. 8–9) (further cited as Kowalczykowska 1971); E. Kowalczykowska, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975 (about the altars, pp. 24–25, 74) (further cited as Kowalczykowska 1975).

<sup>6</sup>Michał Symonowicz, *Opis kościoła parafialnego S. Krzyża XX. Misjonarzy, Rozmaitości Warszawskie. Dodatek do Gazety Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, vol. I, 1825, 2, p. 12 ff.; 3, p. 17 ff. (further cited as Symonowicz 1825); Julian Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym*, Warsaw, 1855 (further cited as Bartoszewicz 1855), pp. 51, 53, 54, 60–61; Franciszek Maria Sobieszczański, *Kościół Świętokrzyski, Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, vol. 8, 1863, No. 216, pp. 440–442 (further cited as Sobieszczański 1863) (<http://www.biblioteka.warszawa1939.pl/tygodniki.php?rok=1863&numer=216>); reprint with errors: idem, *Warszawa. Wybór publikacji*, Warsaw, 1967 (further cited as Sobieszczański 1967); Franciszek Ksawery Kurowski, *Pamiętki miasta Warszawy*. The manuscript edited by E. Szankowski, Warsaw, 1949, vol. 2, pp. 75–78 (further cited as Kurowski 1949) (with reference to the Kurowski's notes edited by Sobieszczański Cf note A on p. 75); Leopold Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920 (further cited as Petrzyk 1920); *Księga pamiątkowa 300-lecia zgram. ks. Misjonarzy (1625–17 IV 1925)*, Cracow, 1925, p. 79 (further cited as *Księga Pamiątkowa* 1925).

*cis Varsaviensis*,<sup>7</sup> that was bought back from the Włocławek Chapter Archive by the priest Afions Schletz in 1950. Still before the war it was studied there by priest Wacław Górzyński who published information included in this texts as a contribution to the history of Holy Cross church,<sup>8</sup> just as it was done then by priest Petrzyk.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, an account book of the Warsaw Missionaries, however, having covered a period just since 1716,<sup>10</sup> survived. *Diariusz Prokury* is the record of receipts and payments from the purse, noted by the priest procurator with various precision. The book held in the Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw has not a documented provenience, according to the Archive's employees it comes from 'the vindication' carried out in the sixties and seventies of the 20th century, however, presumably it was taken over from the archive of the Holy Cross parish where the birth records of the modern period were kept. It can be supposed that detail information on the construction of the church and the initial phase of equipping the church given by the pre-war researchers came from the first volume of such *Diariusz*, from the contracts with the artists or from *Kronika klasztoru Misjonarzy w Warszawie od r. 1651 do 1719* the title of which was noted by Wojciech Korotyński. Before the World War 2 it could be held in the holdings of the Krasieński Estate in Warsaw.<sup>11</sup>

Only few and late diocesan descriptions survived and the oldest of them dates back just to 1779.<sup>12</sup> The next description was performed in 1825, after a general renovation of the church carried out by the then superior priest Symonowicz.<sup>13</sup> The description from the end of the 18th century mentions seven beautifully executed, sculptural altars: the high altar, completely gilt, the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, gold-plated with an impressive well protected tabernacle, the altar of St. Felicissima, not gold-plated with a relic of the saint and four further wooden, sculptured altars devoted to St. Vincent, St. Charles, St. Roch and St. Michael the Archangel, partially painted in various colours, partially gold-plated; furthermore, oak stalls set in the choir.<sup>14</sup>

## The war damages and reconstruction of the décor after 1945. Archival photographs.

The décor of the Holy Cross church survived the war only partially. The history of the damages was written down – up to date with the event – by the then parish priest Petrzyk.<sup>15</sup> On September 24, 1939, a huge bomb penetrated the church vault over the pulpit and damaged the nearest altars: its blast destroyed the picture of the Crucifixion in the high altar and the picture of the Last Supper in the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, crumpling them in the coils of rags so it was impossible to renovate them. Five years later, on September 6, 1944, two 'Goliaths' broke the façade of the church, the vault of the Lower church and the



flooring in front of the altars of St. Roch and St. Vincent collapsed. The altar of St. Roch disappeared, the altar of St. Vincent came apart, the high altar fell to ruin as well. It was possible only to extract the rests of pieces of sculpture of the altar of St. Vincent from under the wall rubble. The altar of the Blessed Sacrament burnt down to the ground. The high altar came apart and collapsed under impact of air shock caused by the blast of the tower of the explosion of 'Goliaths'. At the beginning of January 1945, the blasted tower entailed collapse of the lateral wall of the church along with the vault over the altar of St. Roch. Summing up, as a result of warfare, the altars in the right nave were completely destroyed, the high altar collapsed and smashed to pieces, while, all three altars from the left nave survived. The stalls in the chancel, i.e. wooden benches intended for the friars and seminars together with the celebrant's seat, as Priest Petrzyk noted, were burnt, however, the high backs resisted the flames.

The high altar was completely reconstructed using the original elements by Władysław Dziadkiewicz according to the design of Zbigniew Jezierski in the years of 1960–1972<sup>16</sup> the conservator's documentation, stored probably in the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage, could finally explain a grade of reconstruction of the carpentry and sculptural parts. In January 1969, after completion of three-year process of gilding it was consecrated by Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński. In October of the same year, the picture of The Crucified Christ by Maria Sloniowska-Ciechomska and Stanisław Korczak-Komorowski, in the main field, oval portraits of missionary saints in the lateral axes of the retable and, in the upper storey, the picture presenting angelic heads in the clouds were inserted.<sup>17</sup>

Enough numerous published photographs of the high altar are known, i.e. pre-war photographs and the photographs dated back to the times of the World War II, unfortunately, because of the huge size of the retable, these photographs do not allow to analyse the details;<sup>18</sup> an exception is constituted by a press cutting from the Korotyński holdings showing a central fragment of the main storey.<sup>19</sup> The appearance of the altar of St. Felicissima (1927)<sup>20</sup> and the altar of the Blessed Sacrament (1929) with the original painting décor was documented as well without pictures

<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, High Altar, 1699–1700, Johannes Söffrens (attributed) and Mathias Hanks, 1939–44 photo: M. Karpowicz coll.

<sup>5</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed) and Michael Bröse, 1720–1, Album in the Archive of the 'Nasza Przeszość' Periodical, 1929

<sup>6</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed) and Michael Bröse, 1720–1, detail, after: *Kościół Warszawcy w ruinie i odbudowie*

<sup>7</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed) and Michael Bröse, 1720–1, condition c. 1939–44 photo: M. Karpowicz coll.

and with losses in the ornamental decoration after 1939.<sup>21</sup> In the years of 2003–2004, Ireneusz and Paweł Chmurzyński collected four comprehensive and several fragmentary photographs of the altar of Corpus Christi in various takes that served as the iconographic sources to reconstruct the retable by the Committee for Reconstruction of the Altar of Homeland.<sup>22</sup> As it has seemed so far, the altar of the Blessed Sacrament was completely destroyed, however, in April 2009 Jakub Sito identified two cherubs flanking the tabernacle which were secondarily used in the upper storey of the completely reconstructed altar of St. Roch.<sup>23</sup>

The photographs presenting individual elements of the church décor included in the 1929 album will be used in this study.<sup>24</sup>



## The history of formation of the décor of the Holy Cross church

After completion of construction of the upper church, it was consecrated together with the high altar stone by Primate Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski on October 14, 1696, what was commemorated by a plaque placed in the right arm of the transept.<sup>25</sup> The altar stones of six lateral altars were consecrated by Bishop of Livonia Mikołaj Popławski on October 28, 1696, what was commemorated on the next plaque.<sup>26</sup> in the right nave (at the side of the Epistle), the relics included in them in the altar of the Blessed Sacrament – *Sts. Maurii et Mutii*, in the subsequent two ones: *Sts Mauri et Perpetuae*, in the left nave (at the side of the Gospel), in the altar of St. Felicissima – *Sts. Mauri et Vincentii*, and in the two further ones – *Sts. Mauri et Valentinae MM*. Next year, on May 27, 1697, during the Election Seym, a ceremonial introduction of ashes of Early Christian Martyr Felicissima to the church took place.<sup>27</sup> This relic, excavated supposedly together with a gravestone from the Roman cemetery of Calepodius, was acquired from Pope Innocent XII by Cardinal Radziejowski – as Ryszard Mączyński reports – in a typical way as it was done for the needs of newly built churches and altars.<sup>28</sup> The inscription commemorating the consecration of the church indicates that the relics of St. Felicissima (and St. Martyr Abundius) were also included in the high

altar, therefore the saint was regarded as the patron saint of the church and the parish.<sup>29</sup> In 1825 she was adored on the second and third day of the Feast of Pentecost; the anniversary of the consecration of the church was celebrated on Sunday the nearest after the Feast of St. Matthew the Apostle, and the title of the church – the Discovery of the Holy Cross – was honoured on 3rd of May as well as on the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, i.e. on 14th of October.<sup>30</sup> The relics exhibited in openings in the lateral axes of the main retable belonged to St. Vincent the Martyr, St. Maurus, St. Helen, St. Philomena and St. Constance.<sup>31</sup>

The sermon of Przemysław Bishop Jerzy Albrecht Denhoff produced during the introduction of the relic was published.<sup>32</sup> Karpowicz stated on its basis that the wood-carver's retable of the altar of St. Felicissima had to exist already in 1697,<sup>33</sup> however, the text does not indicate such information.<sup>34</sup> Priest Denhoff referred to the virtues of the martyr as well as to the Feast of Pentecost celebrated that day – i.e. the Feast of the Descent of the Holy Spirit – building a concept of his sermon around the theme of the light, the light of the Holy Spirit, to help in making the right choice of the King of the Republic of Poland. Mączyński stated that the date of this celebration was correlated with the day of election, intending to make an unknown martyr its patron saint. Radziejowski could have further-reaching plans towards the founded work, the iconographic conception of which he was surely a co-author. The altar, outstanding with regard to its artistic values, erected in the church of the convent of French origin, devoted to the saint little-known to the Poles, but the most important French saint, patroness of Paris and France, St. Geneviève, would be – during 'the election campaign' – a remarkable element of propaganda of the Catholic pro-French party sup-

*Varsaviensis Supremus Regni Cancellarius obiit* [(1784 a.)]. *In fine posita sunt Visitationes a p.m. Excellmo et Rndo Dno Andrea Młodziejowski Eppe Posnaniensi Supremo Regni Cancellario expedita*, p. 777; *Visitatio Generalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Varsaviensis sub titulo S. Crucis Congregationi Presbyterorum Saecularium a Missionibus incorporata per Ill. Exc. Rnd. D. Andream Stanislaum Kostka Młodziejowski Eppum Posn. et Varsav. Supr. Regni Cancellarium Ordinum Aquilae Albae et S. Stanislaei Equitem Diae 17 Mai 1779 Anno inchoata et sequentibus diebus peracta*. (further cited as *Visitatio Generalis* (...)) *Młodziejowski* (...) 1779), p. 779.

<sup>13</sup> The Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw, signature I 2.5 (inventory number 891), *Visitatio Generalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Varsaviensis Sanctae Crucis sub reg. Praesb. Saec. Congr. Miss. per Illm. Exc. adm. Rev. Dnum Adalbertum Leszczyck Skarszewski Diae 6 Novembris*, p. 1; *Urbs Varsavia Ecclesia Parochialis S. Crucis. Responsa in articulis in Visitatione Generali 1825 propositos*, (further cited as *Visitatio* (...)) *Skarszewski* (...) 1825).

<sup>14</sup> *Visitatio Generalis* (...) *Młodziejowski* (...) 1779), p. 779.

<sup>15</sup> *Kościół Świętego Krzyża i jego dzieje* (Z Kroniki Kościoła Św. Krzyża w Warszawie w latach 1939–1949 ks. Leopolda Petrzyka), *Rocznik Parafii Św. Krzyża*, vol. 1, 1989 (further cited as *Petrzyk* 1989), pp. 29–51; *Kowalczykowa* 1975, pp. 49, 77, 79.

<sup>16</sup> *Kowalczykowa* 1975, p. 77.

<sup>17</sup> *Odbudowa kościoła Św. Krzyża po II wojnie światowej*, *Rocznik Parafii Św. Krzyża*, vol. 2, 1990/91, p. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Published photographs: A. Lauterbach, *Warszawa*, Warsaw, 1925, photo on p. 77; *Warschau*, hrsg. von K. Grundmann, A. Schellenberg, beitr. von G.W. Buchner, Krakau, 1944, Abb. 53 links; *Kowalczykowa* 1975, fig. 53.

<sup>19</sup> The State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw, The Korotyński Collection, vol. 45, card II 42, photograph, 1909.

<sup>20</sup> Photograph published in: *Księga pamiątkowa* 1996, photograph 93 on p. 202; *Święto baroku* 2009, catalogue item. 108, p. 304.

<sup>21</sup> Photograph published in: *Kościół warszawskie* 1956, right upper photograph on p. 83, photo by *Foto Arte*; *Karpowicz* 1975, fig. 40 on p. 99, auth. D. Kaczmarzyk.

<sup>22</sup> Jakub Sito, *Źródła ikonograficzne i ich rola w procesie odbudowy ołtarza Najświętszego Sakramentu (Ołtarza Ojczyzny)*, *Rocznik Parafii Św. Krzyża*, vol. 10, 2003/2004, p. 28.

<sup>23</sup> No information (e.g. in: *Odbudowa kościoła Św. Krzyża po II wojnie światowej*, *Rocznik Parafii Św. Krzyża*, vol. 2, 1990/91, p. 15).

<sup>24</sup> Cracow, The Archive of the Periodical 'Nasza Przeszość', The album presented to the superior and parish priest of the Holy Cross church on March 19, 1929.

<sup>25</sup> *Visitatio Generalis* (...) *Młodziejowski* (...) 1779), p. 781; *Petrzyk* 1920, p. 22; *Kowalczykowa* 1975, pp. 24–25.

<sup>26</sup> *Visitatio Generalis* (...) *Młodziejowski* (...) 1779), p. 781; F. K. Kurowski, *Pamiętki...*, p. 75.

<sup>27</sup> Cracow, The Archive of the Periodical 'Nasza Przeszość', *Catalogus Missionum in quibus laborum Missionarij Varsavienses et narratis fundationis nostrae in Polonia*, card 36v; *Bartoszewicz* 1856, p. 54; *Julian Łukasiewicz, Krótki opis historyczny kościołów parochialnych*, vol. 3, *Archidiałkonat warszawski*, Warsaw, 1863, pp. 142–143.

<sup>28</sup> *Ryszard Mączyński, Nowożytnie konfesje polskie*, Toruń, 2003, pp. 72–73, 128–129, 183, 239, 251, 258–259, 490–492.

<sup>29</sup> *Symonowicz* 1825, p. 18.

<sup>30</sup> Stanisław Kalla, *Parafia i kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie w r. 1825: Roczniki Obydwóch Zgromadzeń Św. Wincentego a Paulo*, vol. 36, 1933, no. 4, p. 375.

<sup>31</sup> *Petrzyk* 1920, p. 107.

<sup>32</sup> Warsaw, BUW [The University of Warsaw Library], Gabinet Starych Druków (Old Prints Department), signature Sd. 713.213, *Kazanie legomosci Xiędzia Jerzego Albrachta Biskupa Przemyskiego, Państwa Rzymskiego Xiędzia, Kanclerza Wielkiego Koronnego, Przy Solennej Introdukcyi Reliquij Świętej Panny y Męczenniczki Felicysmy Pod czas Elekcyi odprawującej się Roku 1697. dnia 27. Maja W Kościele Wielebnych X.X. Congregationis Missionis Varsawskim miane*, in Warsaw the I.K.M. Printing House in Coll. Schol. Piarum, Warsaw.

<sup>33</sup> *Karpowicz* 1987, note 99 on p. 69.

<sup>34</sup> The sentence on the card C2 reads: 'Padnijmy prze Ołtarzem na którym te Święte Kości deponowane, oplakujmy przed Panem Bogiem grzechy nasze, plorems coram Domino; a tak, nadzieia w Boga, kiedy sie do tey szczęśliwey Panny nowego gościa o szczęśliwość Państw naszych udawać będziemy, hec Ara tuebitor omnes.'

<sup>7</sup> Cracow, The Archive of the Periodical 'Nasza Przeszość', signature 4, *Eleemosynae pro fabrica Ecclesiae Santa Crucis Varsaviensis a variis benefactoribus*, 1679–1744.

<sup>8</sup> Wacław Górzyński, *Przyczynok do monografii kościoła Św. Krzyża w Warszawie, Wiadomości Archidiecezjalne Warszawskie*, vol. VIII, 1918, no. 5/6, pp. 274–281 (further cited as *Górzyński* 1918).

<sup>9</sup> *Petrzyk* 1920, the manuscript was described by him in the note 7 in detail.

<sup>10</sup> The Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw, signature III 4, 5 (inventory number 271), *Diarium Procura[e] Domus Varsaviensis circa quotidiana negotia p[rae]cipus in anno 1716 die 25 Aug[ust]i* [Connotatum, 1716–1745 (further cited as *Diarium Procura[e]*).

<sup>11</sup> Cf the State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw, The Korotyński Collection, vol. 45, card II 42. The manuscript was supposed to have an undecoded signature B Kr Rę N 3703 that can refer to the holdings of the Krasieński Estate Library – the manuscript number 3703. This signature is not included in any of pre-war publications on the collections which burnt down along with all catalogues and inventories in 1944. The next

signature – 3704 – is mentioned by Maria Homowska study dedicated to the manuscripts concerning the education system an it is an account of the visitation of the Piarists' school. Some items in this study relate also to the Warsaw Missionaries as having conducted a seminary. Thus both the form of the signature and the subject-matter of the manuscript fit to the character of the Krasieński Estate's holdings. An analogous situation concerned the Warsaw Carmelites Chronicle – *Liber fundationis conventus varsaviensis 1643–1718*, as far as it is known it was destroyed along with the Krasieński Estate's holdings (in this case the extracts published by Stanisław Lorentz survived – S. Lorentz, *Materiały do historii kościoła Karmelitów bosych na Krakowskim Przedmieściu*, *Rocznik Warszawski*, vol. III, 1962, pp. 26–74).

<sup>12</sup> The Archdiocesan Archive in Warsaw, signature I 2.2 (inventory number 871), *Visitationes Ecclesiarum Quas ipemet Excellmus et Rmus Dns Antonius Onuphrus de Okępcie Okęcki Episcopus Pomesaniensis et*

ported by Radziejowski. However, maybe due to the lost plans of the primate and his personal problems connected with this situation,<sup>35</sup> and then also due to the outbreak of the Great Northern War, the execution of the retable was moved till 1704.

### The high altar

The high altar was the first realized retable. The information of the pre-war researchers remains unconfirmed because of the loss of the sources used by them. Priest Symonowicz wrote: ‘the high altar is gold-plated in whole. It was executed by a wood-carver in Elbląg for 6300 Polish *zlotys*, and gilded by Pieleszyński, the Warsaw painter, for 10 500 Polish *zlotys*. The costs were covered by Prince Teodor Potocki, Archbishop and Primate in 1699.’<sup>36</sup> According to Sobieszczęński (and rather according to Kurowski), ‘the high altar, the work by Matys Hankis, the wood-carver of Elbląg, executed in 1700, cost 3700 Polish *zlotys*, except for gilding; whereas Paweł Pieleszyński, the Warsaw painter, gilded it for 10 000 Polish *zlotys*.’<sup>37</sup> However, The *Eleemosynae* book indicates that Chelmno Bishop Teodor Andrzej Potocki made a donation of 1000 gold Russian coins for construction of the high altar, while later, as Prince Bishop of Warmia, donated further 10 500 Polish *zlotys* for its gilding.<sup>38</sup>

There is no clarity with regard to the costs of execution of the high altar and therefore with regard to the participation of individual artisans in its execution. 1000 gold Russian coins constituted equivalence of 8000 Polish *zlotys*.<sup>39</sup> The lowered values given by the researchers, if they are not an effect of counting error, result presumably from summing the payments for the artisans noted in *Dianusz Prokury* or *Kronika* and support a hypothesis that Matys Hankis was not the only one and main author of the altar. A query is whether this sum included a commission of the painter Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski for the picture of Jesus Christ the Crucified, for the amount of 2560 *zlotys*, mentioned by Symonowicz,<sup>40</sup> then 5440 *zlotys* would be left for execution of the carpentry structure along with sculptural decoration.

*Dianusz Prokury*, conducted by Priest Turski, indicates that the retable was gilded by the Cracow painter Paweł Pieleszyński, within the period of May 1717 – June 1718. As the means were delivered by the Warmia Bishop, the money was sent to Pieleszyński to Cracow, from where he came with the books of gold to Warsaw where he worked *in situ*. Some settlements between Bishop Potocki and the Warsaw House took place still in 1721.<sup>41</sup>

Potocki, appointed by Augustus II the Strong to the Chelmno Bishop in 1697, was enthroned not until May 31, 1699;<sup>42</sup> and moved to Warmia on September 20, 1712. The fact that he funded the high altar is confirmed by his Pilawa coat of arms placed on the plinths of columns. The bishop was not a generous patron of his own diocese.<sup>43</sup> He was surely induced by prestigious motives to fund the high altar in the Warsaw church, just after this assumption of the dignity of bishop, and not in his own diocese, e.g. at the Missionaries, i.e. in the parish church in Chelmno (where the high altar as a foundation of Mayor Wilhelm Jordan and his wife Ann was erected only in 1709–1710).<sup>44</sup> The invocation of the high altar of the Holy Cross, perfectly corresponding with his heraldic badge, could be of essential importance for the founder. The identification of the Pilawa Family with the sign of the Holy Cross is expressed by the sermons published in honour of the Prince Bishop of Warmia and other members of this family.<sup>45</sup>

The high altar was restored at the beginning of the 19th century by La Chapelle,<sup>46</sup> the gilding was renovated in 1851.<sup>47</sup> In 1853 the Neo-Rococo tabernacle was erected as a donation of Amelia Łuskin (together with the antependium), known on the basis of pre-war photographs, replacing the earlier tabernacle, funded by Maria Lanckorońska née Świdzińska, the wife of the Castellan of Polaniec for 130 ducats in 1810.<sup>48</sup>

### The altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève

The wooden St. Felicissima retable together with pictures as a foundation of Primate Radziejowski was made for the amount of 6000 Polish *zlotys*. It was consecrated by Suffragan Bishop of Gniezno, Antoni Mdzewski, on July 10, 1704.<sup>49</sup> The date ‘1704’ was carved by an artisan at the back of the right volute in the coping in memory of completion of the work.

The paintings made by one artist were brought from France,<sup>50</sup> from Paris.<sup>51</sup> The descriptions mention ‘The Glory (*Fama*) of St. Felicissima’, in the main storey, constituting a background for the reliquary,<sup>52</sup> this picture presented angels throwing flowers at it.<sup>53</sup> The picture of St. Geneviève<sup>54</sup> by the same painter,<sup>55</sup> was placed in the upper storey. The initials of patron saints of the altar: *S*tanct*a* *G*lenev*e*l and *S*tanct*a* *F*l*e*licissima*l*, and the coat of arms of the founder and his decorative interlinked initial that can be decoded as composed of the first letters of words: *C*ardinalis *M*ichael *R*adziejowski *A*rchieppis*c*o *G*nesn*e*nsi, were carved on the cartouches on the plinths of columns. The coat of arms of the founder – Junosza – beneath the cardinal's hat, sword, pastoral stuff and two-arm archbishop cross was represented in the pediment on the coping of the altar as well.

The retable was not gilded in the primate lifetime or after his death (on October 5, 1705) because his inheritors did not donate the money destined for this purpose.<sup>56</sup> Still in the times of Symonowicz, the altar remained without gilding.<sup>57</sup> However, he did not write that the altar was whitewashed in 1823, just as the oak stalls in the chancel the next year,<sup>58</sup> and probably partially the altars of St. Roch and St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels as well, ‘partially made in white, partially gilded’. This white and gold colouring was surely more in the classical taste than the colour of raw wood contrasting with the other elements of equipment. Only in 1902 the altar of St. Felicissima was gilded together with the altar of the Blessed Sacrament by Władysław Twardo by means of ducat gold for the amount of 8200 roubles, whereas the altars of St. Michael and St. Roch were silver-plated and gold-imitated at that time.<sup>59</sup>

The French gold smith Guillaume Jacob's design (circa 1700) of St. Felicissima reliquary coffin decorated with the primate's coat of arms and a female figure lifted by angels<sup>60</sup> survived. The reliquary brought from France, worth 40 thousand Polish *zlotys*, was donated for the needs of the Kościuszko Insurrection in 1794.<sup>61</sup> Later the relics were exhibited ‘in a small glass coffin’<sup>62</sup>, till the outbreak of the World War II, when they were removed and their fate is unknown. The altar took over a function of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament – a tabernacle was set on the altar stone, and the picture of ‘the Sweetest Heart of Jesus’<sup>63</sup> was ordered in 1939. At that time, a pair of volutes located in the field of painting, below the overhung coping of the frame, was removed, and the area of this picture was extended down, eliminating decorative slats lying on the altar stone, similarly as in the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. The last preservation of the retable was performed in the years of 1979–1985 when huge damages caused by insects were stated and it was gilded.<sup>64</sup>

### The altar of the Blessed Sacrament

*Księga Ofiar* (Donators’ Book) indicates that the altar in the right arm of the transept under the invocation of *Sacratissimi Corporis Christi* was erected and gilded for the amount of 16 500 Polish *zlotys* by Helena Gozdzka née Tarło, the wife of Stężycza Starost.<sup>65</sup> Sobieszczęński, and Petrzyk basing on him, gave the names of two Elbląg wood-carvers, executing the altar in 1720, worded as follows: Jan Seffrens and Michał Brozen.<sup>66</sup> *Dianusz Prokury*, conducted in the twenties of the 18th century by Priest Orzechowski, mentioned many time the conferences, carried out with the wife of the Stężycza Starost (not mentioned by name), inhabited in Wola Tyrzenska (Wólka Tyrzyńska in Kozienice Poviat) and the funds donated by her for execution of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament. Doliwa – the Gozdzkis’ coat of arms and Topór – the Tarłos’ coat of arms, placed on the plinths of columns

points to the fact that it was Helena Gozdzka (Godzka), Stanisław's widow since 1693.<sup>67</sup> As early as in 1701 she made a donation of 10 000 Polish *zlotys* to the Missionaries in exchange for obligation to say anniversary masses for 40 years.<sup>68</sup> The works on the retable of the Eucharist altar had been conducted by ‘our wood-carver Jan Zephrens’ for two seasons, since May 1720 to August 1, 1721, when the money was transferred to Söffrens to Elbląg by post by the agency of Mr. Renard, Lieutenant Colonel of Warsaw – a considerable amount of 666 *tympfs*, i.e. 1000 Polish *zlotys*, one sixth of the whole cost of the altar.<sup>69</sup> A mention of gilding works was recorded in the ‘Diary’ (significantly less studiously conducted at that time) only in 1723.<sup>70</sup> Since July 1722 to February 1724 or 1725, the works on the altar of St. Charles executed by the sculptor Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz had been already documented. He received also 2 *red guldens* ‘for the pedestals under the Apostles for the Blessed Sacrament’<sup>71</sup>. This amount, constituting equivalence of 36 Polish *zlotys*, should be considered as a small one, so it could not be about the execution of these pedestals but some corrections, e.g. the reinforcement of the pedestals carrying monumental figures, to the work of which Söffrens or Brozen were not called on from Elbląg.<sup>72</sup> The *Dianiusz* does not precisely indicate what year this mention concerns – the previous page shows 1723, whereas the following one already 1726, therefore the researchers give even 1725 as the year of completion of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament by the sculptor Bernatowicz, but it is not possible to agree with that in the light of the above argumentation, considering 1721 as the year of completion of specific works on the retable by Söffrens and Brösen.

The paintings in the altar of the Blessed Sacrament presented ‘the Lord’s Supper’ and ‘the Holy Trinity’.<sup>73</sup> The picture in the main field was painted by Franciszek Smuglewicz, restored by the painter Józef Janowski in 1910.<sup>74</sup>

The altar together with the altar of St. Felicissima was gilded again by means of ducat gold by Władysław Twardo in 1902. At that time the altar stone was already made of white marble.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>[</sup> Jarocińska 2004, pp. 632-633.

<sup>[</sup> E.g. Fortuna in Virtutis & Honoris Templo avitis Crucibus insignito. [...] Theodoro Potocki [...] jurata. Ac [...] adorata, Thorunii 1699; Ara Crucis in auspaticissimo a Culmensi ad Varmiensem Cathedram Ingressu [...] Theodori Potocki [...] erecta a Coll. Brunsb. S. J [1712]; Pilawa Ad Salutem Populorum Exaltatus [...] Theodoro Potocki, Varsaviae 1724; Crux Europae, Ecclesiae Polonae & Reipublicae [...] Mors Celsissimi Principis Theodori Potocki [...] deplorata Anno Dei in Cruce Morientis 1738, Varsaviae; Cruciatu Sarmaticis in Regnis publicataseu dolorum ac suspiriorum exercitus [...] Theodoro Potocki [...] Anno Dei exercituum cruciferorum Ducis ac in Cruce Victoris 1739. Comp. Karol Estreicher, Bibliografia Polska, Part III, vol. 25, Cracow, 1913, pp. 174-175.

<sup>[</sup> Petrzyk 1920, p. 107.

<sup>[</sup> Sobieszczęński 1863, p. 442.

<sup>[</sup> Symonowicz, p. 17.

<sup>[</sup> Eleemosynae, p. 34; Catalogus Missionum, card 41; Górzyński 1918, p. 275; Petrzyk 1920, p. 22; Kowalczykowa 1971, p. 9; Kowalczykowa 1975, p. 79. In the text of the description of the Holy Cross church dated back to the end of the 18th century it was given only that on July 10, 1704, Kalamata Bishop, Canon and Gniezno Official Stefan Mdzewski consecrated the altar of St. Alexius, set in the Mother of God Chapel under the organ choir at the exit to the cemetery – the altar, determined as an ‘ancient’ one, wooden, partially painted, partially gilded, was – along with that high altar of Mother of God of the Snow – presumably moved from the old church. Visitatio Generalis (...) Młodziejowski (...) 1779, p. 780.

<sup>[</sup> Symonowicz 1825, p. 18.

<sup>[</sup> Sobieszczęński 1863, p. 442.

<sup>[</sup> Visitatio Generalis (...) Młodziejowski (...) 1779, p. 780.

<sup>[</sup> Sobieszczęński 1863, p. 442.

<sup>[</sup> Visitatio (...) Skarszewski (...) 1825, p. 4.

<sup>[</sup> Sobieszczęński 1863, p. 442.

<sup>[</sup> Eleemosynae..., p. 16; Symonowicz 1825, p. 18.

<sup>[</sup> Symonowicz 1825, p. 18.

<sup>[</sup> Visitatio (...) Skarszewski (...) 1825, p. 4.

<sup>[</sup> Petrzyk 1920, p. 119; W kościele warszawskim ś. Krzyża, Przewład Katołicki, vol. 42, 1904, no. 23, 27.05/9.06.1904, p. 363.

<sup>[</sup> Święto baroku 2009, catalogue item 107, pp. 302-303.

<sup>[</sup> Petrzyk 1920, p. 117; Mączyński 2003, p. 490.

<sup>[</sup> Symonowicz, p. 18; Sobieszczęński 1863, p. 442.

<sup>[</sup> Petrzyk 1989, p. 51; Kowalczykowa 1975, p. 82. Picture of the Julia and Wiktor Cichocki’s foundation is a copy of the painting of the Basilica of the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Paris, by J. Wiśniewski.

<sup>[</sup> Odbudowa kościoła Św. Krzyża po II wojnie światowej, Rocznik Parafii Św. Krzyża, vol. 2, 1990/91, p. 15.

<sup>[</sup> Eleemosynae... , p. 12; Symonowicz 1825 p. 17; Petrzyk 1920, p. 23, 114; Kowalczykowa 1971, p. 9; Kowalczykowa 1975, p. 82.

<sup>[</sup> Sobieszczęński 1863, p. 442; Petrzyk 1920, p. 22.

<sup>[</sup> Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego S. J. powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopismów, dowodów urzędowych, Ed. J.N. Bobrowicz, vol. IV, Leipzig, 1839, p. 254-255; Adam Boniecki, Herbarz Polski, Part 1: Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich, vol. VI, Warsaw, 1903, p. 169; Urzędnicy województwa sandomierskiego XVI-XVIII wieku. Spisy, prepared by K. Chłapowski and A. Falińska-Gradowska, Kórnik, 1993 [Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XVII-XVIII wieku. Spisy, Ed. A. Gąsiorowski, vol. IV, book 3], no. 1147-1150.

<sup>[</sup> Catalogus Missionum, card 37v.

<sup>[</sup> Diarium Procura[e], cards 23v, 27v, 29v, 29v, 31, 32v.: Augustus Ima. [1721] Expediowałem przez pocztę do Helbląg Snycerzowi naszemu Janowi Zephrenowi złotych pruskich 1000 który czyni tyfn.666 y gr: 2 ato per Cambium ktore wziął na Się [Imc] Pan Renard Oberszteyflynthant z Warsz(awy). The researchers interpret the amount as 1000 Prussian zlotys, however, an official rate of exchange of the tympf (per cambium) amounted to 38 groszes at that time, so the equivalence of 666 tympfs constitute 843 Polish zlotys, i.e. about 420 Prussian florins.

<sup>[</sup> Diarium Procura[e], card 39v.

<sup>[</sup> Diarium Procura[e], card 40.

<sup>[</sup> Karpowicz 1975, p. 101, note 98; Karpowicz 1996, p. 153.

<sup>[</sup> Visitatio (...) Skarszewski (...) 1825, p. 4. None of researchers mentions Szymon Czechowicz as the author of ‘The Holy Trinity’ in the coping, only: Jerzy Z. Zieliński, Atlas dawnej architektury ulic i placów Warszawy: Śródmieście historyczne, vol. 7: Krakowskie Przedmieście, Warsaw, 2001, pp. 58-59.

<sup>[</sup> Petrzyk, p. 110; Księga pamiątkowa 1925, p. 79.

<sup>[</sup> Petrzyk 1920, pp. 119 and 114.

<sup>[</sup> Jarocińska 2004, p. 639-642, ibid the compendium of up-to-date literature and status of research (mainly works of Elita Grosmane and Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino).

<sup>[</sup> Bernard Schmid, Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Marienburg, Heft 1: Die Städte Neuteich und Tiegenhof und die ländlichen Ortschaften (Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen, Band III), Danzig, 1919, pp. 1-2, fig. 1.

<sup>[</sup> He came from Stade in Bremen archbishopry, since 1645 a part of Swedish province Bremen-Verden-Wildeshausen; was granted Elbląg town citizenship in 1687, died in 1700. See: Rynkiewicz-Domino 1997, pp. 192-194.

<sup>[</sup> Jarocińska 2004, p. 640, note 68.

and on its order the lateral altars of St. George, 1696 Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon, circa 1697,<sup>80</sup> and the epitaph of Canon Andrzej Józef Zagórny (after 1697?) were erected.

Probably, 'an artistic agent' of the Chełmno Chapter who called its attention to the artist newly arrived in Elbląg, was the Chełmno Provost and Elbląg Archpriest Tomasz Szulc Prątnicki who – according to the sources – ordered two wooden altars for the only Elbląg Catholic church under the invocation of St. Nicholas, including the altar of St. Michael the Archangel (?)<sup>81</sup> in 1690. The retables, as a foundation of Suffragan Bishop of Chełmno Tomasz Bogoria Skotnicki, were erected in Mszano near Brodnica, Zwierzno in Żuławy and Przeczno near Chełmża, accordingly between 1694 and 1700, 1696–1700 and around 1699. The second 'discoverer' of Söffrens was the superior of Chełmno Missionaries, Priest Giovanni Antonio Fabri (and his successors) who employed the sculptor to execute the décor of the Chełmno parish church, since about 1694–1695, when Söffrens made the altar of Corpus Christi in the chapel, the lateral altars of St. Michael the Archangel (1697) and St. Barbara (1698), and the altar and of the opposite Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel (1699)<sup>82</sup>. In 1699 Söffrens realized the high altar in Miloradz,<sup>83</sup> for Pomesania official Kazimierz Krefft, in the same year the artist made the epitaph of Mayor Andreas Cnöffelius for Malbork Lutherans, and in 1701–1702 he erected the altar of St. Stanislaus Kostka for the Society of Jesus in Malbork.

Therefore the second half of the nineties of the 17th century was an extremely laborious, initial and also peak period of Söffrens' career with an impressive number of approximately twenty altars, epitaphs and portals made for ten places. Söffrens needed to have an efficient workshop and employ and train apprentices who propagated stylistics of his works within the whole diocese till the thirties of the 18th century. Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz,<sup>84</sup> whose stay in Elbląg was confirmed with success, a Catholic and independent wood-carver of Lubawa since about 1706 to about 1737, was one of Söffrens' apprentices, the other one – Mattes Rodte who as a master signed the high altar of the Chełmno parish church, made in cooperation with Söffrens and probably according to his design in 1710,<sup>85</sup> the next one – Michael Bröse who independently made a marble altar of St. Joseph in Frombork, signed by himself, in 1713<sup>86</sup>, and cooperated with Söffrens in execution of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament in Warsaw. Thus Söffrens must be determined as the most important and the most influential sculptor within Pomerelia (excluding Gdańsk) in the end of the 17th century and in the first tierce of the 18th century.

<sup>80</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, High Altar, 1699–1700, Johannes Söffrens (attributed) and Mathias Hankis, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

## The high altar – description, architecture analysis, authorship

The effect produced by the high altar of the Holy Cross church is expressed the by pre-ware photographs bringing its plasticity and spatiality out in the best manner. A monumental columned aedicular, constituting a frame of the main painting presentation in the altar, put aside before the altar wall face, comes to the foreground. Behind it, the three bay altar storey



was dismembered by Corinthian pilasters into three axes. The support on the plinth passing through the whole width of the altar and the entablature running through its whole width imitate a general composition and divisions of ancient triumphal arch.<sup>87</sup> The wider central axis is completely filled with a rectangular picture frame closed from above by an arc that encroaches on the architrave zone. It is comprised at the sides of that pair of Corinthian columns, put aside before

the face, bearing above the broken entablature an interrupted segmental pediment in the interruption of which a full-plastic sculptural angelic group with the cross is located. The coping of the retable is receding a little, set on a low plinth, in the form of pilaster aedicular, composed within the square outline, including an oval picture frame, topped with the cornice and high broken triangular tympanum, made of segments of the cornice. It is comprised at the sides of strong-

ly coiled, flattened volutes with vases. The circular and oval forms prevail in the abundant decoration of the retable and this effect is intensified by the segmental pediment and softly bellied entablature frieze.

Stanisław Mossakowski defined the altars of the Holy Cross church as representing 'a traditional three bay, columned type, with a wider central bay, settled as an aedicular with the retable. The pictures are placed in the central bay and in the retable; the sculp-

tures are located in the lateral bays, between the columns for the most part.'<sup>88</sup> Not prejudging the architect's authorship, Mossakowski pointed at existence of the designs similar to the high altar of the Holy Cross church, among the drawings by Tilman van Gameren, in which a segmental interrupted pediment, accenting a central columned aedicular, was added to the described scheme, and the coping field is filled with a characteristic oval. However, because these real-



<sup>9</sup> Węgrów, Church of Sts. Antony of Padua and Peter of Alcantra (post-Reformati), High Altar, before 1693 or 1706–11, photo: M. Wardziński, 2009

izations are known only in a designing sphere they have not provoked so far to carry out comparative researches and a deepened analysis of architectural form of the high altar of the Holy Cross church.

They include a transept altar under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Warsaw Discalced Carmelites Church at Krakowskie Przedmieście dated back to 1691 (vol. 168 *recta*),<sup>89</sup> its storey was composed in a scheme of four column triumphal arch with

a wider central axis filled with a high arcade of the picture, accented by an interrupted segmental pediment, fastening an internal pair of columns, with a dynamic oval of the picture filling the coping field. The statues arranged in the lateral axes and above the entablature and a pair of angels adoring the cross on the top tympanum make this transept retable, smaller in terms of scale, similar to the altar of St. Felicitissima of the Holy Cross church. It is necessary to emphasize that this altar was realized according to the design by Tilman before 1701 what means that this work was known the contemporaries, surely to Söffrens as well. It was replaced with a currently existing altar at the end of the twenties of the 18th century. It is possible that in spite of renowned design and expensive execution (carving itself, apart from erecting, cost 2000 *zlotys*) the realization was of such a low class as the high altar in Klementowice, made according to the unpreserved design of Tilman in 1694 by the first carpenter and wood-carver of the King of the Republic of Poland, having his workshop at the Royal Castle, Wilhelm Bartsch (died 1697 or later).<sup>90</sup> The next mentioned example is a non-existent four column altar with the pediment in Łańcut, realized for the Lubomirskis before 1691.<sup>91</sup>

The equally majestic forms of architecture based on the great Corinthian order are represented by the altar, erected at the similar time and in the similar place, in the Reformati Church in Węgrów, a church built in the years of 1693–1705 by Carlo Ceroni as a foundation of Jan Dobrogost Krasieński (the owner of the palace designed by Tilman van Gameren). A dominant of the storey of reduced lateral axes in the Węgrów retable is constituted by a columned aedicular, advanced before the face and topped with segmen-

<sup>80</sup> *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce [KZSP], Seria Nowa, vol. II: Woj. elbląskie*, Eds. Marian Arszyski and Marian Kutzner, fascicle 1: *Braniewo, Frombork, Orneta i okolice*, author's compilation by M. Arszyski and M. Kutzner, Warsaw, 1980, p. 64, fig. 176; Jan Obłąk, *Katedra we Fromborku*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Frombork, 1980, pp. 19–20.

<sup>81</sup> Mieczysław Józefczyk, *Parafia św. Mikołaja w Elblągu u schyłku XVII wieku za czasów proboszcza Tomasza Prątnickiego*, *Studia Elbląskie*, vol. 8, 2007, pp. 12–13. The issues connected with invocations of the altars and time of the work composition require still further research. The photographs of the works that should be attributed to Söffrens are published in: Alfons Steffen, Gerhard Reifferscheid, *St. Nicolai, Elbing, erste Kirche in Bistum Ermland*, Köln, 1995, fig. 67 (altars of St. Anthony of Padua and the altar in the north nave), fig. 60 (altar of St. Mary the Egyptian).

<sup>82</sup> Jarocińska 2004, pp. 624–633.

<sup>83</sup> Schmid 1919, p. 174.

<sup>84</sup> Józefczyk 2007, p. 11.

<sup>85</sup> For more information on Dąbrowicz and some Rodte's realizations Cf. Katarzyna Wardzińska, *Altarz główny i luk tęczyowy kościoła pw. św. Jakuba w Toruniu – nieznanne dzieła Johanna Antona Langenhana i Jerzego Judy Tadeusza Dąbrowicza. Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojakubskiego w Toruniu (Dzieje i skarby kościołów toruńskich, vol. 4) Toruń, 2010, pp. 330–335, 337–338; on Rodte's works in Chełmno – Jarocińska 2004, pp. 632–633.*

<sup>86</sup> *KZSP, SN*, vol. II, fascicle 1, Warsaw, 1980, p. 66.

<sup>87</sup> Franciszek Stolorz, *Główne typy kompozycyjne drewnianych ołtarzy w Małopolsce po roku 1600: Sztuka około roku 1600*, Ed. T. Hrankowska, Warsaw, 1974, p. 340.

<sup>88</sup> Mossakowski 1973, p. 88.

<sup>89</sup> Mossakowski 1973, pp. 213–215, 256, fig. 265.

<sup>90</sup> Dariusz Kaczmarzyk, Barsz (Barszcz) Wilhelm: *Słownik Aartystów Polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*, vol. 1, p. 93; *ibid.*, the hitherto literature, Mossakowski 1973, pp. 195–196.

<sup>91</sup> Mossakowski 1973, pp. 88 and 256, fig. 288; J.T. Frazik, *Wielki ołtarz kościoła parafialnego w Łańcutie – zaginionie dzieło Tytmana z Gameren*, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 33, 1971, no. 1, pp. 91–93.



The Wars: Holy Ann 1699-1700. St. Felicissima and Genevieve (The Holy Trinity and Blessed Sacrament) (2014, 120)

tal interrupted pediment, constituting a frame of an effigy of the Crucified as well. According to the monastic rules, the Reformati altar is more modest decorated, deprived of ornamentation of the frieze, however, a similar separation of lower one third of height of the supports was applied. Mossakowski defined a composition of the altar consecrated in 1711 as almost repeating the aforementioned designs by Tilman and regarded it, similarly as a building of the church, presumably as an effect of modifications of some designs by Tilman made by Ceroni.<sup>92</sup> Karpowicz originally attributed the altar to Tilman on the basis of the drawings Nos. 844 and 868,<sup>93</sup> dating it back to the years of 1688–1690,<sup>94</sup> however, recently the shifted the responsibility for the form of structure onto the wood-carver's workshop that executed the altar.<sup>95</sup> Just as the altar of the Holy Cross, he assessed it as far from – preserved and known – restrained, linear, classicising architecture designed by Tilman van Gameren. The Węgrów altar is innovative to some extent as it imitates for the most part a work designed by Alessandro Algardi of the Roman San Nicola da Tolentino church of 1655, known e.g. on the basis of Joachim van Sandrart, *Altaria et sacella... Romae*, published in Nuremberg in the years of 1669–1670.<sup>96</sup>

Contrasting full haughtiness, antiquising architecture with a dynamic, visionary, narrative, full-plastic figural piece of sculpture is primarily a characteristic feature of both the Roman original and the altar of the Holy Cross. In the altar of the Holy Cross, the sculptural groups were moved from the recessed fields of both storey to the more exposed sphere of interrupted pediment and to tympanum what must be regarded as a successful modification referring to the way of arrangement of sculptural glories in interrupted pediments of single-storey altars, as from the breakthrough Bernini's works.<sup>97</sup> The discussed retables represent a more traditional two-storey type with the architectural coping. However, it included the other fantastically thought solution in the altar of the Holy Cross, deriving also from the most avant-garde realizations of the Roman art of the second half of the 17th century. This issue was raised by Karpowicz pointing that the description prepared by Sobieszkański indicates that the oval opening in the upper storey of the altar of the Holy Cross did not include a picture but an effigy of 'the Divine Providence', sculptured in the openwork manner (surely, the Eye of Providence among beams and clouds) through which a stream of sunlight, fallen in from a window existing in the wall behind the altar, brightened up the cross lifted by an angelic group, as if the cross itself was a source of supernatural light.<sup>98</sup> Today we can only imagine as impressive this phenomenon was. In the times of Priest Petrzyk the window was already built up and a painting with the analogous representation was put into the opening.<sup>99</sup> The form of the oval window is derived from the Vatican altar *Cathedra Petri* by Gianlorenzo Bernini

(1657–1665) in which the same act of sanctification of the relic, its assumption into heaven – acceptance by the Divine Providence was illustrated engaging natural factors. Then the light lighting directly from a similar opening was used by Bernini in the glory of the retable in Capella Alaleona in the Roman church of Santi Domenico e Sisto (1649), additionally, placing a figure of angel with the cross against its background. The altar of the Holy Cross constituted, according to Karpowicz, a pioneering work in this part of Europe, after the high altar and other ones in the University Colle-

Tilman, in his own works within the scope of small sacred and funerary architecture, survived to a little extent, is also known as an expert at the newest avant-garde solution in this field.<sup>102</sup> In the Bernardine church in Czerniaków nearby Warsaw, erected as a foundation of Jerzy Herakliusz Lubomirski, the high altar, anti-architectural, completely sculptural, composed in the central space under the dome, was made by Andreas Schlüter the Younger in the years of about 1693–1694.<sup>103</sup> The Czerniaków group composed of two small angels presenting a miraculous effigy of



giate church under the invocation of St. Ann in Cracow (1695–1696), being a direct transfer of Roman art achievements onto the Polish ground by Baldasare Fontana,<sup>100</sup> and after – presumably also containing the openwork in the bas-relief of the coping formerly – the high altar of the Reformati church in Węgrów.<sup>101</sup> It would be difficult to indicate other examples of making a light opening the coping of the retable of traditional architectural form.

<sup>10</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, High Altar, 1699–1700, Johannes Söffrens, group of angels with a cross, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>11</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Genevieve, 1704, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), group of angels with a cross, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>12</sup> Czerniaków, parish church of St. Boniface (post-Bernardine), High Altar, designed by Tilman van Gameren, executed by Andreas Schlüter the Younger, c. 1693–4, photo: M. Wardziński 2010

<sup>92</sup> Mossakowski 1973, pp. 102–103.

<sup>93</sup> M. Karpowicz, review: Stanisław Mossakowski, Tylman z Gameren, architekt polskiego baroku. *Kronika Warszawy*, vol. 3/23, 1975, p. 73, fig. 26. These two designs were only mentioned by Mossakowski as similar to the altar in Klementowice. See Mossakowski 1973, p. 196.

<sup>94</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Medytacje przed franciszkańskim ołtarzem: idem, Piękne nieznanym. Warszawskie zabytki XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warsaw, 1986, p. 115.

<sup>95</sup> An undetermined Pomeranian workshop as the executor, and Andreas Schlüter the Younger as the author of crucifix and designer. See Mariusz Karpowicz, *Cuda Węgrowa*, Węgrów, 2009, pp. 107, 110, 115, fig. NaN on pp. 108, 111, 114–115.

<sup>96</sup> Karpowicz 2009, p. 110, fig. NaN on pp. 108 and 109.

<sup>97</sup> Among others, high altar of San Andrea all'Quirinale, 1665, confession of St. Francis Xavier in Il Gesù, about 1672. This issue is discussed by Mariusz Karpowicz, *Baltazar Fontana*, Warsaw, 1994, p. 38; idem, Gianlorenzo Bernini autore dell'altare sepolcrale di san Francesco Saverio nella chiesa del Gesù a Roma: *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Maria Luisa Gatti Perer*, Milano, 1999, pp. 333–342.

<sup>98</sup> Sobieszkański 1863, p. 442.

<sup>99</sup> Petrzyk 1920, p. 110.

<sup>100</sup> Karpowicz 1994, pp. 57–59.

<sup>101</sup> Karpowicz 2009, pp. 111, 113, fig. Nan on p. 111.

<sup>102</sup> Mossakowski 1973, p. 97.

<sup>103</sup> Mossakowski 1973, p. 90.

St. Anthony constitutes an analogy to the group of angels with the cross, located in the pediment of the altar of the Holy Cross, because despite a different artefact, a conception of the presentation of the saint by the angels is the same, and it is realized in the way formed by the great sculptors of Rome of the 17th century.<sup>104</sup> The designer could also find a direct inspiration for a flying angelic figure lifting the Lord's Cross in the art of Rome, e.g. which was placed in the interrupted pediment of columned aedicula of the main retable of S. Maria dei Miracoli church (design by Carlo Fontana, pieces of sculpture by Antonio Raggi) dated to 1681,<sup>105</sup> or in the mentioned altar of the Aleona Chapel.

entries to the Czerniaków church,<sup>107</sup> similarly made by Italian stuccoers, were presented in a natural, not strained pose what is characteristic for Italian sculpture of the 17th century among which an example of a stronger body twist was not found. The similar pairs of angels that sit on the slant arms of tympanums and whose upper part of the body is turned in the direction of the adored cross, placed between them, were many times designed by Tilman for the copings of the altars and portals, e.g. for the altar of St. Felicissima. However, on the drawing identified with the altar for Łańcut (AT No. 827), the angles simply support the topping cross, therefore the sculptural group realized by Söfrens theoretically could be designed by the architect.

ly the most similar to the Czerniaków work of Schlüter by a way of coming into contact with the viewer and a balanced configuration of the outstretched hand in one direction and a wing – in the other direction. This piece of sculpture is also closest to the ideal beauty of cheerful angelic face, youthfully, almost childish chubby, rounded one in Schlüter's version, and characteristically diminished and elongated one under Söfrens' chisel. The angel is clothed in the long garment, tied up by a piece of cord in the waist, having a neckline exposing an arm of the hand outstretched upwards and a rolled sleeve at the same time; its trunk is widely encircled by a flying mantle lap. The other figure, staring at the cross, basically repeats



In the Schlüter's work, the poses of the angels, that sit and basically face the viewer and whose upper part of the body is turned in the direction of the lifted effigy, are original, unprecedented, on a scale of invention of this distinguished artist, apt at converting in wood the most sophisticated composition designed by Tilman. The angels which gracefully raise their arms looks like figures on the sample-cards of the most famous French decoration designer of that period, Jean II Lepautre, and Tilman possessed his prints in his library.<sup>106</sup> However, the figures drawn by Lepautre are more symmetrical and presented in the standard body configuration, derived from the Italian art, as the most of his ideas. The pairs of the angels-holders of the Lubomirskis' coat of arms and the inscription cartouche above the

The composition of angels in the altar of the Holy Cross is more dynamic than any independently figure made by the Elbląg sculptor in his whole *oeuvre* and it needed to be imposed on him by a drawing design. However, after a closer examination it can be stated that individual figures, in a 'fleecy' group of three angels on the clouds, composed within the oval outline, characterises the calm of the pose and face expression, so typical for Söfrens, despite a maximal twist of the trunk, leant back for counterbalance against the load carrying in outstretched arms. The angel on the right, that faces the viewer, whose trunk with the outstretched hand is turned in the direction of the carrying object and whose loins and legs are turned definitely in the opposite direction, is relative-



the same body configuration in a mirror image, Söfrens achieved diversity by a different composition of the garment: a highly reaching slit exposing one knee, fastened by a spherical brooch, a half-naked trunk encircled by a mantle lap, also fastened in a similar way. The angelic figures, in a full twist of the trunk, the same as in Warsaw, hovering in air, fulfilling a function of 'the holders' of the frame of the adored picture of Our Lady of Sorrows, were sculptured by Söfrens in the altar of the Missionaries church, i.e. in the Chełmno parish church; many times mentioned in this study;

13 Rome, Sta Maria dei Miracoli, High Altar, 1681, Carlo Rainaldi, coping, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

14 Chełmno, parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, altar for the Virgin of Sorrows, Johannes Söfrens (attributed), 1699, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2004



of the first tierce or the first half of the 17th century, the epoch of Jérôme Duquesnoy the Elder, Robrecht and Jan Colyns de Nole, and their successors, André Colyns de Nole,<sup>108</sup> Hans and Cornelis van Mildert or the great 'classicists', François Duquesnoy and Artus Quellinus the Elder.

The female figures, static, motionless, placed on arms of the pediment of the altar of the Holy Cross, are not so excellent pieces of sculpture in contrast to the angels, excellently sculptured, maintaining full correctness of anatomical forms despite unusually complicated body configurations. Perhaps this is caused by their too large scale what is visible especially in comparison with analogous, small figures of the high altar in Przeworsk. The first one of them, personifying

15 Przeworsk, parish church of the Elevation of the Holy Cross, High Altar, Johannes Söfrens (attributed), 1718, photo: M. Karpowicz, 2003

a virtue of Charity, is indifferent in relation to the little child sliding down at its breast because of the lack of support, there is no interaction between the figure and the children, so characteristic for the Italian work imitated in the parish church in Przeworsk – *Caritas* by Domenico Guidi of the headstone of Cardinal Pimentel in S. Maria Sopra Minerva church.<sup>109</sup>

A solution similar to the upper part of structure of the altar of the Holy Cross is presented by two early designs of the altar for the Czerniaków church, not taken into consideration so far, especially, No. 846 *verso*, and also No. 840,<sup>110</sup> which show a high architectural *retabulum* in the form of aediculae with the finial, where the figures are placed on the arms of the interrupted pediment, and the oval with a rich frame, flanked by the angels, is exposed between them in the finial. The oval appears also in the designs of the altar, No. 856<sup>111</sup> and No. 859,<sup>112</sup> where it is situated in the entablature area, and finally above the entablature of



the temple, at the place of a blind window, surrounded by the crowd of angles from which two ones sound their trumpets. In this case, the angels undoubtedly constitute a sculptural continuation of the glory emanated from the oval, in the likeness of the high altar of the Oliwa Cistercian Church in Pomerania or the obvious prototype – *Cathedra Petri*. Because below on each of the designs there is a sculptural scene of lifting the effigy of St. Boniface by the angels. Perhaps this is a key reason in support of the fact that an idea of the light window, made in the coping of the altar in the Holy Cross church under favourable circumstances, was created on the Tilman's drawing-board.

The existence of Tilman's designing drafts with a characteristic theme of an oval medallion in the lateral axes above the altar gates to the Bernardine church in Czerniaków (AT No. 856 *recto*)<sup>113</sup> or axially accumulated frames of different shapes in decoration of secular interiors, e.g. in the Bath pavilion in Ujazdów (today Warsaw) (AT Nos. 599 and 611),<sup>114</sup> must be taken into consideration within the scope of the ornamental decoration of the high altar. These designs refer

to Claude Perrault and Lepautre's graphic patterns,<sup>115</sup> in which the abundant decoration 'à la romaine', 'à l'italienne', characteristic for this designer, is composed using a round or oval picture or niche<sup>116</sup> both in case of altars, chapel and choir partitions, stoups and sconces, fireplaces, friezes and *panneaux* of candelabrum configuration of decoration for palatial interiors. They consist of floral themes of ancient origin but in a luxuriant Italian Baroque edition – succulent wreaths, garlands, festoons, laurel branches, oak



104 Mossakowski 1973, pp. 88-89.

105 Ferrari, Papaldi, p. 293.

106 Mossakowski 1973, pp. 90-91, fig. 354 and 396.

107 Mossakowski 1973, fig. 159.

108 Cf e.g. the altar of St. Ann in St. James in Antwerp (1643), authorship by André de Nole or Sébastien de Nève and Jacques Couplet. See Paul Philippot, Denis Coekelberghs, Pierre Loze, Dominique Vautier, *L'Architecture religieuse et la sculpture baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la Principauté de Liège 1600-1770*, Sprimont, 2003, fig. 2 on p. 210.

109 I would like to thank Prof. Mariusz Karpowicz for pointing to Italian patterns. About the headstone: O. Ferrari, S. Papaldo, *Le sculpture del Seicento a Roma*, Roma, 1999, p. 274.

110 Stanisław Mossakowski, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. XI, 1966, book 2, fig. 44 and 45 on p. 151.

111 Mossakowski 1973, fig. 168.

112 Mossakowski 1966, p. 149, fig. 41; Mossakowski 1973, p. 185, fig. 11.

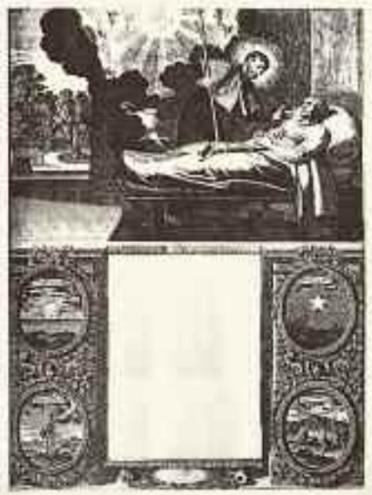
113 Mossakowski 1973, fig. 168.

114 Mossakowski 1973, fig. 69 and 70.

16 Dzierżoń, Greek Catholic Church of the Holy Ghost (post-Reformati), group of angels with a cross on the rood arch, Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz (attributed), c. 1724, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2005

17 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, High Altar, 1699-1700, Johannes Söfrens (attributed) and Mathias Hankis, reliquary openings, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

ornamental, plaiting and floral strips, i.e. all these elements which are part of the decoration of the high altar. In particular, two engravings from among Lepautre's works that are close to the decoration of reliquary openings of the altar of the Holy Cross can be pointed to. The first one is a design of calendar-almanac where the oval medallions within the frame in the form of wreath, comprised of laurel branches and garlands,<sup>117</sup> are hung, one under another, on small flanking pilasters, the other one is the *all'antica* triumphal gate, containing four portrait medallions, at each side, hung on the band between the columns in the lateral axes.<sup>118</sup>



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Therefore the altar of the Holy Cross seems to be a compilation composed of several calques. The designer found inspiration primarily in current Roman and Flemish Baroque art and French pattern-designing that modified the calques. A relative simplicity of the architectural design and its artistic and Baroque Italian character, unknown in other realized works of the architect, testify against a thesis of Tilman's authorship. However, the above review of designs and altar realizations of Tilman van Gameren shows that each of elements being a part of the composition of the discussed work appeared among conceptions of the archi-

tect, working on several orders for altar retables in the nineties. This question still cannot be decided decisively.

Söffrens used experiences of cooperation with the most distinguished architect of his epoch, *nota bene* with a countryman from the Netherlands, in his later independent realizations, building the altars connecting the elements derived from the aforementioned Tilman's designs and realizations. A scheme of four column triumphal arch, without a pediment but with figures placed above the columns, was used by Söffrens twice, in Jasna<sup>119</sup> and in Chelmo (both 1709), however, the medallions were positioned in the lateral axes in Jasna and the statues in Chelmo. Furthermore, the Chelmo altar possesses the cartouches



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placed on the entablature whose composition is similar to the compositions drawn in the design for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, No. 836 *recto*<sup>120</sup> apart from a series of statues. In Przemyska (1718) Söffrens executed a columned aedicula topped with the interrupted pediment with the statues of virtues set on the arms and of lateral axes of the main storey reduced to the pilasters articulating the wall, so in a way similar to the Węgrów realization where the figures were placed on slantwise fastened volute pedestals, the same as drawn in the design for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, No. 852 *recto*<sup>121</sup> (similar consoles appear in a frontal arrangement in the design for Łańcut).

This hypothesis is difficult to prove but it seems that Johannes Söffrens needed to become acquainted thoroughly with not only the existing Tilman's realization but also with various conceptions leading the architect to the final versions of altars designed by him, oscillating around several mentioned and still repeated schemes. Maybe, as the executor he was a witness and participant of the discussion on a final form of the decoration of the altar of St. Felicissima, designed probably still before 1697, in connection with a planned introduction of the relic. Therefore, such a

detail as the festoons suspended below the angelic heads on the small pilasters of the coping of the altar of St. Felicissima appeared already in 1699 on the high altar. A dynamic Baroque Corinthian aedicula topped with the interrupted segmental pediment (the altar of St. Michael the Archangel, 1697), and then a



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18 Jean II Lepautre, print representing a design for an almanac with St. Francis Xavier, after Maxime Préaud, Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre (première partie), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Inventaire du fonds française. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 11, Paris, 1993, no. 257

19 Jean II Lepautre, print representing *Arc triomphal à l'occasion de la paix de Pyrénées*, 1659, after Maxime Préaud, Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre (première partie), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *Inventaire du fonds française. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 11, Paris, 1993, no. 233c

20 Jasna, filial church of the Holy Trinity, High Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1709, photo: M. Wardziński, 2009

21 Chelmo, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, altar for St. Michael the Archangel, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1697, photo: M. Wardziński, 2009

22 Chelmo, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Corpus Christi Altar, Johannes Söffrens, c. 1694-5, photo: M. Wardziński, 2009

theme of the picture lifted by the angels (the altar of Our Lady of Sorrows, 1699) had appeared in the Söffrens' realizations for the Chelmo Missionaries since 1697. So far (in Elbląg, in the foundations of Prątnicki and Skotnicki) the sculptor had converted in wood the traditional architectural structures typical for the 17th century Elbląg and Gdańsk stone carving or equally traditional type of multi-storey panel 'Konigsberg' altars with the luxuriant acanthus decoration, represented by the earliest altar of Corpus Christi in Chelmo.<sup>122</sup> In successive years the initiative within this scope had to be taken by the Chelmo Superior, Priest Giovanni Antonio Fabri, trueborn Roman, showing a great artistic sophistication. If Tilman was not a designer of the high altar of the Holy Cross church or the altar of Our Lady of Chelmo, equally dependent of Italian art, so they could be designed by Söffrens after graduating from 'the Tilman's school' and 'the Fabri's school'. It is certain that he introduced a part of ornamental themes and individually interpreted figural sculpture.

Mariusz Karpowicz put forward a hypothesis that the painter Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski's contribution to the design of the altars of the Holy Cross, due to the unusually high royalty paid to him for the Crucifixion picture destined to the high altar<sup>123</sup> was possible. The other person who could design the high altar of the Holy Cross church was the architect of the church, Giuseppe Simone Belotti.

<sup>115</sup> Identical medallions decorated the triumphal arc of Louis XIV, erected in 1670, in St'Antoine near Paris. See: J. Sito, *Warszawska architektura ołtarzowa XVIII wieku wobec grafiki francuskiej. Inspiracje grafiką europejską w sztuce polskiej*, Ed. K. Moisan-Jabłońska and K. Ponińska, Warsaw, 2010, p. 147, note 21, fig. 143, 145. Cf Mossakowski 1973, fig. 354 and 396.

<sup>116</sup> Maxime Préaud, *Jean Lepautre* (deuxième partie), Bibliothèque Nationale de France: *Inventaire du fonds française. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 11, Paris, 1999, nos. 2016, 2024, 2035, no 257.

<sup>117</sup> Maxime Préaud, *Antoine Lepautre, Jacques Lepautre et Jean Lepautre* (première partie), Bibliothèque Nationale de France: *Inventaire du fonds française. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. 11, Paris, 1993, no 257.

<sup>118</sup> Préaud 1993, no. 233.

<sup>119</sup> The high altar in Jasna along with other elements of the décor was erected as a foundation of the Pomesania official and Malbork dean, Priest Jan Kazimierz Krefft in 1709. Cf Bernard Schmid, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler Pomesaniens*, Heft 3: *Kreis Stuhm* (Heft XIII der Gesamtreihe) (*Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen*, Band III, Danzig, 1909), p. 284 (Lichtfelde), Beil. 16.

<sup>120</sup> Stanisław Mossakowski, *Kościół Sakramentek w Warszawie. Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 26, 1964, no. 2, fig. 23 on p. 242. The designs for the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament had been presumably created in the 1690s, as since in 1692 the building had been under construction, however, finally, the consecration of the church with other realized décor took place as late as in 1715.

<sup>121</sup> Mossakowski 1964, fig. 29 on p. 248; Mossakowski 1973, fig. 256.

<sup>122</sup> Jarocińska 2003, pp. 626-627.

<sup>123</sup> Karpowicz 1974, pp. 146-147, 160-162.

<sup>124</sup> Karpowicz 1996, p. 134.

<sup>125</sup> Warschau 1944, Abb. 53 links.

## The analysis of sculptural groups, patterns and analogies

The authenticity of figural decoration of the high altar, completely reconstructed in the sixties of the 20th century within the scope of carpentry structure, have been questioned so far, with the exception of one figure of the angel from among the figures supporting the cross and two Virtues placed on the pediment.<sup>124</sup> However, it is necessary to state that except the highest-situated elements therefore most of all exposed to shatter in case of altar collapse, i.e. a group of God the Father with the Dove of the Holy Spirit and the head itself of the upper angel from among the group lifting the cross, it seems to be authentic, just as a part of ornamental decoration. The photograph taken in 1944<sup>125</sup> presents the high altar still standing but with damages caused in 1939, especially within the coping – the figure of God the Father and the Dove, acanthus flagellum around the picture that fell out, and leafy and flowery festoons hung on the small pilasters (and the left group of *arma Christi* in the pediment) are missing. The current figure of God the Father makes an impression to be too stiff and symmetrical what is strik-



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ing especially in comparison with an analogous piece of sculpture by Söffrens, that is freely and naturally tilted forward, constituting an original (moved later) coping of the altar from the Our Lady of Sorrows Chapel in the Chelmo parish church. Although it looks so just hieratic and symmetrical in the pre-war photographs of the altar of the Holy Cross, Söffrens would give it more expression even through a slight head bow; furthermore, the present piece of sculpture lacks subtleness and majesty in the features of too young face. The oval and ascetic male faces with elongated nose lines, close-set eyes and moving small lips visibly marked in the facial hair are one of the signs of recognition of the Söffrens' works. In case of the pieces of older men, church Fathers and bishops (discussed below in the context of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament), the heads take shape of a narrow cylinder, extended still by the form of beard and mitre or tiara.

23 Chelmo, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, sculpture of God the Father, original coping of the altar in the Chapel of the Virgin of Sorrows, 1699, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), photo: M. Wardziński, 2009

24 Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew, altar for St. George, right-hand side ornamental 'ear', Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1696, photo: M. Wardziński, 2008

The mentioned photograph shows still original festoons hung at the sides on the volutes – more succulent than now which surely also were reconstructed, just as bunches composed of 'flamingly', sharply, and the same hardly finessing shaped, almost unfinished leaves and relatively large flowers. However, the vases themselves set on the volutes, decorated with roundly finished acanthus leaves and plaiting identical as on the shaft of the cross lifted by the angels are definitely the type of Söffrens. The examples of succulent leafy festoons can be indicated in the frame of



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the adored picture of Our Lady of Sorrows in Chelmo or even in the central frames of reliquary openings in the altar of the Holy Cross itself (here, alternatingly the calyxes of laurel and oak leaves, separated by beads of laurel and acorns). The acanthus flagellum surrounding the opening in the upper storey was doubtlessly a display of Söffrens as a specialist in the acanthus ornament and up to this day despite that it was reconstructed it maintained – characteristic for his early works – an arrangement of leaves in the form of fleur-de-lis-calyxes sprouting from a spiral roll an example of which are lower parts of the wings of the altar of St. George in the 'Polish' Chapel of the Frombork Cathedral (1696), sculptured in w marble and alabaster. In the altar of the Holy Cross, four such 'fleur-de-lis' were arranged symmetrically in four corners around the picture.

The roughly shaped, corrugated volutes comprising the finial were not made by Söffrens. They can be an effect of cooperation with Matys Hankis whose relatively considerable share in the altar costs would show his role in execution of the high altar carpentry. Söffrens drew smooth, ribbon, slightly flattened volutes covered by acanthus and decorated with suspended chain made of gradually decreasing, succulent, full calyxes of laurel leaves, comprising the finial of the marble altar of Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon in Frombork (circa 1697), with extremely greater finesse.



The similar volutes comprise the coping of the altar of St. Felicissima therefore it can be assumed that the Tilman's design gave the sculptor a free hand within this scope to a certain extent.

The conservators made many mistakes fastening ornamental elements whereas partially they made them again – e.g. heads in a frontal and symmetrical depiction, cockades less spatial and almost without corrugating, palm branches with too stiff and straight stems. The bunches were reconstructed or their places were changed in the corners above the picture. First thing, the frames of openings for the relics were turned by 180 degrees therefore all garlands of laurel or oak leaves, originally growing upwards – dangle downwards. The laurel branches down the lateral axes

<sup>25</sup> Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew, altar for Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), c. 1697, photo: M. Warzyński, 2006

<sup>26</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, designed by Tilman van Gameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1704, photo: M. Warzyński, 2010

were not connected by a knot (ribbon) and a free place below the Crucifixion picture was not filled with a composition of oak branches, furthermore, two decorative levels easing passage from a vertical wall of *retabulum* to the altar stone were not reconstructed what in case of a contemporary tabernacle, economical in the forms, makes this zone grossly empty, just as in the altar of St. Felicissima.

### The composition of high altar

The philosophy of composition of the high altar is devoted to the apology of saving sacrifice of Jesus Christ and the Holy Cross as an instrument of salvation. In the main field, there is a representation of Jesus Christ on the Cross, mourned by His Mother, Mary Magdalene and St. John. The columned aedicula, comprising it, with a pediment is like a portal in the façade of the church, which resembles the architectural two-storey altar retable. The symbolism of the Christ's words, comparing his role to 'the gate of salvation': 'I am the gate. Whoever enters through me will be safe' (John 10,9) was included in its form. A sculptural group composed of three angles carries the Lord's Cross and presents it to the faithful gathered in the church, raised from among other abandoned tools of the Passion, represented in the field of segmental pediment whose shape recalls Golgotha mountain. In the triangle tympanum topping the structure, presenting still a symbol of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, showed in half-figure, accepts the sacrifice of His Son, spreading arms and sending the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The sunlight pouring inside through the window against the angelic group symbolized just this acceptance by the Heavens.

An additional thread is created by numerous reliquaries distributed in oval openings in the lateral axed of the main storey of the altar, richly decorated with symbolic themes of palm branches, royal crown and laurel, oak and floral garlands, symbolizing the martyr's glory and 'the crown of salvation'. The laurel in an expression of victory and triumph taken from the ancient traditions; the laurel woven in a garland was put on the victor's head.<sup>124</sup> In case of funerary iconography, the symbolism of garland (Latin *corona*) refers to the last things and points to receiving the Eternal Life according to the Bible's words: 'Remain faithful until death and I will give you the crown of life (garland of life)' (Acts 2, 10). The symbolism of full-blown flowers explains a quotation from the Epistle of St. Paul: 'Thanks be to God, who unfailingly leads us on in Christ's triumphal train, and employs us to diffuse the fragrance of his knowledge everywhere! We are an aroma of Christ for God's sake, both among those who are being saved and those on the way to destruction; to the latter an odour dealing death, to the former a breath bringing life' (1 Cor 2, 14-16). The decoration of reliquaries ensures that the saints have obtained eternal life.

Additionally, two female figures, personifying two Theological Virtues with the attributes: Caritas – Love, with two children and Fides – Faith, with a chalice of the Eucharist, without a missing cross in the other hand were sited on the arms of the pediment<sup>127</sup> (that it was a cross, it can be argued on the basis of comparison with its twin to the altar of the Holy Cross, made by the workshop of Thomas Hutter in Rzeszów).<sup>128</sup> They are not, therefore, as a trinity of virtues of Faith, Love and Hope (including the symbol of the cross lifted by the angels), as it was captured by Sobieszczański. Petrzyk interpreted the significance of figures of virtues as love of Christ to the people – the maternal and the Eucharistic.<sup>129</sup>

### The altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève

The altar, designed by Tilman van Gameren, made in 1704, is a work belonging to the canon of baroque art in Poland. Karpowicz drew attention to the particular fidelity to the principles of classical architecture, particularly in capitals and entablature outline, and the French connotations of two-column porticos added to the face of the façade. He considered the work of Tilman (also within the scope of the figural decoration)



primarily in terms of belonging to the classicising trend of art of the times of king Jan III Sobieski – to the works representing perfection, harmony and clarity of form (*concinnitas*), achieved according to the model of ancient works.<sup>130</sup> The form of structure, French in origin, was analysed in the context of pro-French benefactors of the Order of Missionaries.<sup>131</sup> The sim-

<sup>124</sup> J. Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum*, Basileae, 1567 pp. 635-638 (*Liber L. De Lauro: Victoria and Authoritas Imperialis & triumphalis honos*); Dorothea Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej. Leksykon*, Warsaw, 2001, pp. 177-178 (Laurel) and pp. 435-440 (Wreath and crown).

<sup>125</sup> Ewa Zapolska, *Cnoty teologiczne i kardynalne*, Cracow, 2000, pp. 33 and 41-60.

<sup>126</sup> Jakub Sito, *Thomas Hutter (1696-1745), rzeźbiarz późnego baroku*, Warsaw-Przemysł, 2001, pp. 185-187.

<sup>127</sup> Petrzyk 1920, p. 110.

<sup>128</sup> Karpowicz, Cf literature in note 1.

<sup>129</sup> Kowalczykowska 1975, p. 74; Karpowicz 1993, p. 137.

<sup>130</sup> Frédéric Cuisinier, *Le Saint des Saints. Maîtres-autels et retables parisiens du XVIIIe siècle*, Aix-en-Provence, 2006, pp. 124-131; Sito 2010, pp. 147-148, fig. 146-148.

<sup>131</sup> Mossakowski 1974, fig. 266-268; *Święty baroku 2009*, catalogue items 104-105, pp. 298-301.

<sup>132</sup> Mossakowski 1964, fig. 23 on p. 242.

<sup>133</sup> A design no. 852 *recto* was published by Mossakowski without comments in the article on the church of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (Mossakowski 1964, fig. 29 on p. 248), however, he included it later to the group of designs connected with the Holy Cross church.

ilar *retabula* relatively flat with a classical articulation and simple decoration and antiquitising statues of saints were set during the 17th century in the churches of Paris and France, and their images were disseminated by engravings of Jean Marot, Abraham Bosse according to the drawings by Jean Barbet of 1633, Antoine Pierretz and others.<sup>132</sup>

The retable of the altar of St. Felicissima is of two-storey type. A wider central field of the main storey, filled in whole with a huge arcade of the picture, is comprised of two risalits in the form of two-column aediculae added to the altar wall, and the halves of corresponding aediculae recessed in relation to the



wall of *retabulum* on the edge of the retable. The columns carry the sections of entablature, but the only prominent cornice passes over all of the main storey. In the background, behind the slender Corinthian columns, the wall is articulated by doubled imposed pilasters. Between the columns the female figures are standing in long robes. The finial of the altar, preceded by a series of four figures of women, situated on the colonnade, contains a wide picture field in the shape of a standing rectangle, is included in the form of doubled imposed small pilasters, volutes, vases and topped with a triangular tympanum, that the vertical elements act for the benefit of impression of grandeur and not interrupted – especially in the central axis of

the altar – movement upwards, towards the crowning cross – adored by two angels - with a copper snake visible against the window.

So far three design drawings of Tilman van Gameren have been analysed, but only two of them should be taken into account, showing slight differences in the structure of the altar, primarily in the number and spacing variants of columns.<sup>133</sup> Ultimately, a five axis version of the retable, inscribed in the outline of the transept wall of Holy Cross church, Figure No. 837 *recto* was not implemented because after its magnification so that it could reach the crowning cornice of the temple by the cornice, the extreme axes (almost



full, because comprised the columns – the whole and three-quarter one) had to be reduced to a single column. The execution of deep spatial four-column aediculae, placed on a projection of quadrilateral, were considered in turn in a variant of this design on the right side of the card. Thus, unlike it was previously

<sup>27</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, designed by Tilman van Gameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1704, left-hand side section of the entablature and vase, photo: M. Warzyński, 2010

assumed, the final version is closer to the design No. 845, showing the existing arrangement of columns and accordingly wider coping, which received enriched articulation, corresponding as to the spacing with the supports of the main storey. The statues in none of the analysed designs do not fit between the columns, and therefore probably they received plinths, though ultimately not so high. However, the design No. 837 *recto* is closer to the realized retable in one, fundamental issue (ignoring such a detail as a rectangular rather than circular shape of the painting in the finial) – slenderness of proportions and cross-scale of human figures and architecture bring it closer to monumentalism of the building rather than to the altar retable.

A design placed on the card No. 852 *recto*, hitherto regarded as the third version of the altar of St. Felicissima, is characterized just by small proportions of the columns in relation to the figures and the tabernacle drawn on the altar stone. In addition, a number of elements such as simplified articulation of the main storey – no pilasters against the columns, no attic in the upper storey, i.e. a plinth of the statues, which were replaced with cartouches, the figures moved beyond the retable to the pedestals merged with a plinth zone, and finally the presence of the tabernacle in place of reliquary, these are all features similar to the design of the altar of the church of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, No. 836 *recto*,<sup>134</sup> suggesting, however, that the design of the card 852 *recto* refers to the temple of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, the cupola and tambour of which were drawn by Tilman on the back.<sup>135</sup> Therefore there is no a condition to believe that the architect designed simultaneously the altar of the Blessed Sacrament opposite to the altar of St. Felicissima.

<sup>125</sup> J. Pierio Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum*, Basileae, 1567 pp. 635-638 (*Liber L. De Lauro: Victoria and Authoritas Imperialis & triumphalis honos*); Dorothea Forstner, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej. Leksykon*, Warsaw, 2001, pp. 177-178 (Laurel) and pp. 435-440 (Wreath and crown).

<sup>126</sup> Ewa Zapolska, *Cnoty teologiczne i kardynalne*, Cracow, 2000, pp. 33 and 41-60.

<sup>127</sup> Jakub Sito, *Thomas Hutter (1696-1745), rzeźbiarz późnego baroku*, Warsaw-Przemysł, 2001, pp. 185-187.

<sup>128</sup> Petrzyk 1920, p. 110.

<sup>129</sup> Karpowicz, Cf literature in note 1.

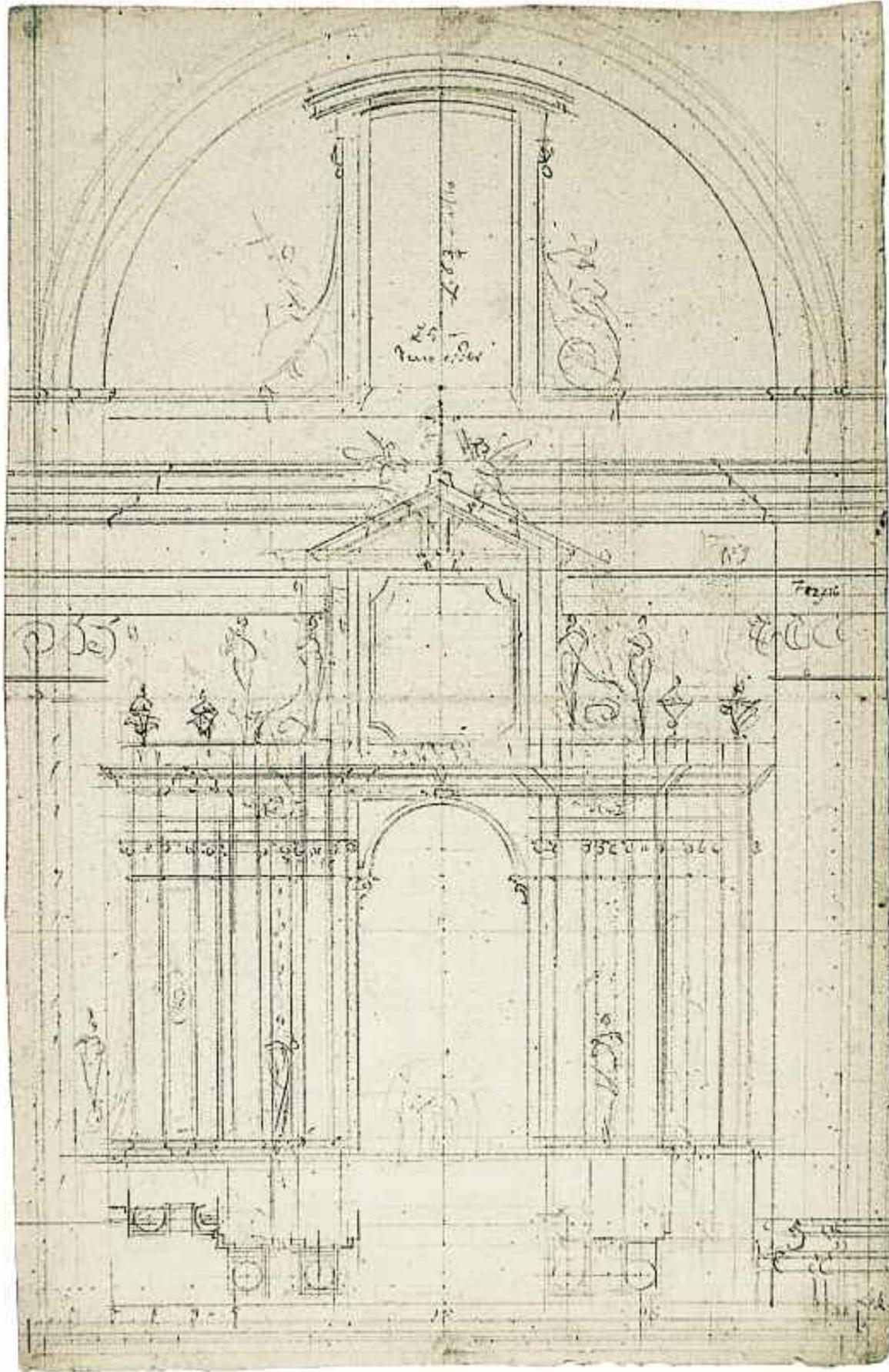
<sup>130</sup> Kowalczykowska 1975, p. 74; Karpowicz 1993, p. 137.

<sup>131</sup> Frédéric Cuisinier, *Le Saint des Saints. Maîtres-autels et retables parisiens du XVIIIe siècle*, Aix-en-Provence, 2006, pp. 124-131; Sito 2010, pp. 147-148, fig. 146-148.

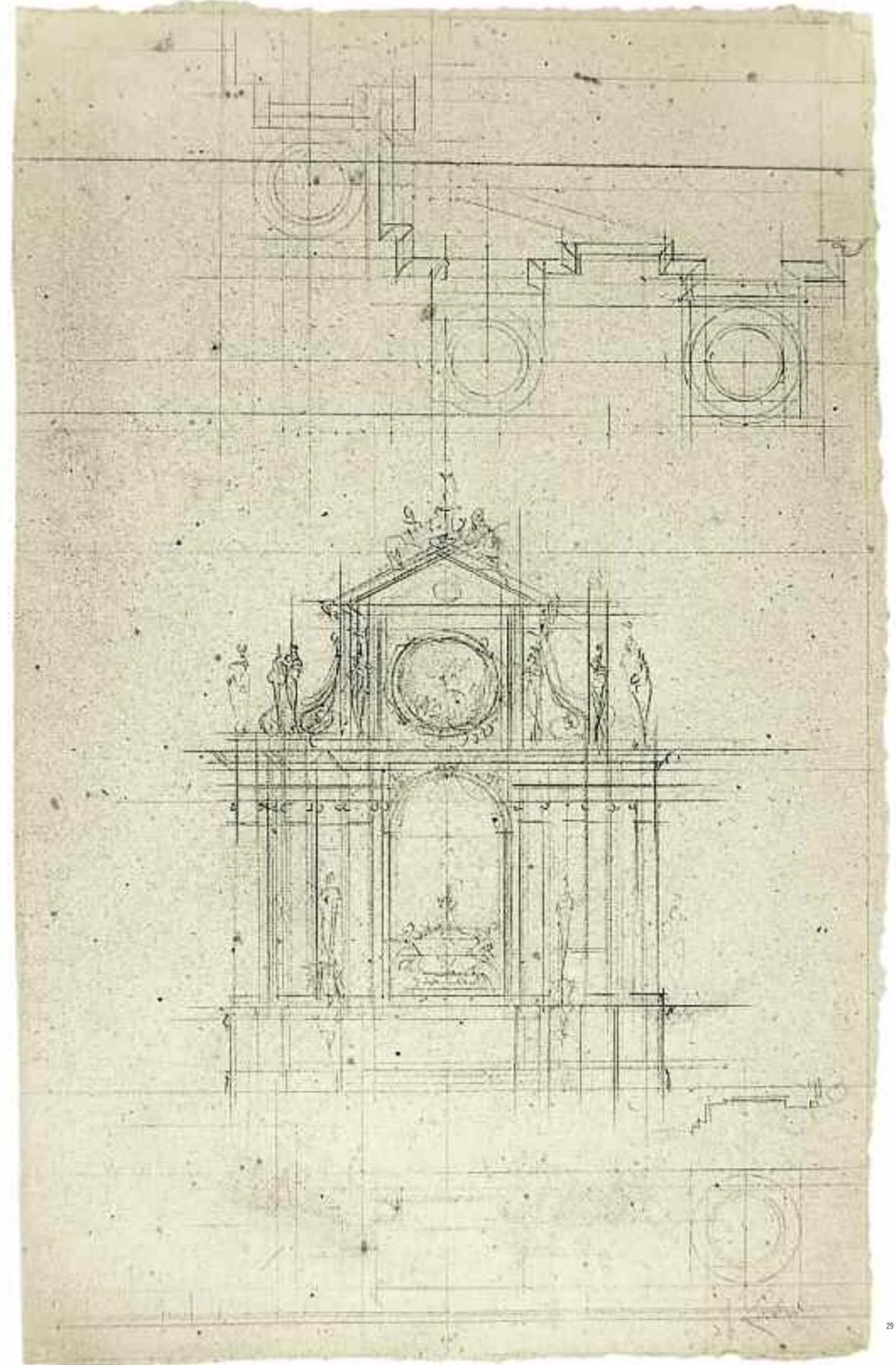
<sup>132</sup> Mossakowski 1974, fig. 266-268; *Święty baroku 2009*, catalogue items 104-105, pp. 298-301.

<sup>133</sup> Mossakowski 1964, fig. 23 on p. 242.

<sup>134</sup> A design no. 852 *recto* was published by Mossakowski without comments in the article on the church of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament (Mossakowski 1964, fig. 29 on p. 248), however, he included it later to the group of designs connected with the Holy Cross church.



28 Tilman van Gameren, design for the altar for Sts. Felicissima and Genevieve in the Church of the Holy Cross, AT No. 837 *recto*, Warsaw University Library



29 Tilman van Gameren, design for the altar for Sts. Felicissima and Genevieve in the Church of the Holy Cross, AT No. 845, Warsaw University Library



30

### The program of the altar of St. Felicissima – figural and ornamental decoration

An ultra-classical form of architecture of the altar of St. Felicissima, being a display of knowledge of the principles of ancient architecture, has its reasons in an ideological significance of the altar, which is the shrine of the relics of early Christian Roman martyr Felicissima.<sup>136</sup> A main storey of the retablo constitutes the scenery of a place of her death – and 'glory', as transferred from ancient Rome. The angels, presented on the painting in the main storey, throwing flowers in the direction of a true reliquary coffin set on the altar stone, and the holy women-martyrs: Barbara, with the tower in the palm, and Catherine, supported by a wheel, witness the admission of Felicissima to the congregation of saints.

Due to the presence of the sacred virgins, it is appropriate to repeat several times in decoration of the retablo a theme of conch, whose symbolism is interpreted in the sense of 'honour as an armour of virtuous woman'.<sup>137</sup> The conches, included at the sides in the form of artistically shaped sections of *acanthus flagellum*, do not appear in the independent works of Söffrens, in the altars of the Holy Cross, they are certainly an invention of the designer, Tilman van Gameren. He used the same theme in the design of ceiling decoration of the Ujazdowski Palace (AT No. 636).<sup>138</sup> The Tilman's authorship does not need to be proved here, but it is worth mentioning that the same vases, as set over the extreme columns of the retablo, appear in turn in the drawings presenting the putti with a vase destined for the church in Czerniaków (AT No. 882).<sup>139</sup>



31

The whole retablo is a pantheon of virgins who had suffered martyrdom for the faith, and under the aegis of St. Geneviève (also a guardian of Paris and France), presented on the painting in the upper storey. In a series of statues (the places of two statues in the right axis were changed as compared to the state in 1927, possibly during the conservation in the eighties of the 20th century) we can recognize – because they have clear attributes – St. Agnes with an angel, giving a basket of flowers, and St. Dorothy with a lamb. A decoratively finished container lying flat on the palm of the third of the women reminds a book binding, but possibly it could be a container with eyes – an attribute of St. Lucy or breasts – St. Agatha, with pliers and language – St. Apollonia, which are not shown directly, because veritism would disturb *decorum* of the altar. The fourth woman with her hands moved forwards should represent St. Margaret the Helper, however, she does not have an attribute (the dragon), perhaps also because of the afore-mentioned reason.

The another element unknown to luxuriant and spatial character of the Söffrens' ornamentation is an *acanthus flagellum* on the frieze of entablature of the altar of St. Felicissima, formed no doubt to the designer's dictation according to the ancient model – dry, schematic, arranged evenly in regular circular weaves. However, Söffrens interpreted it in his own way – as simply underdeveloped, immature; in fact, he represented the flagellum with still curled leaves and only germinating tips. In addition, the acanthus leaves decorating the altar are pervasive, albeit restrained – they entwine cartouches, conches, picture frames. Undoubtedly, some graphic patterns of acanthus ornament influenced the works of Söffrens (and Tilman)

<sup>136</sup> Mączyński, 1993, p. 183.

<sup>137</sup> Karpowicz, 1974, p. 130. Cf. S. Petrasancta, *De symbolis Heroicis Libri IX, Antwerpiae*, 1634, pp. 63 and 335.

<sup>138</sup> Mossakowski, 1973, fig. 47.

<sup>139</sup> Mossakowski, 1994, fig. 118.

<sup>140</sup> Johann Conrad Reuttimann, suite of ornament, 1678.

<sup>141</sup> Matthias Echter, *Raccoltà di varij capriccij et nove inventionij di fogliamij romane*, Graz, 1679.

but not a decisive way. As examples may serve engravings showing an oval frame with acanthus decoration by Johann C. Reuttimann of 1678<sup>140</sup> – the type of wing of the altar of St. George in Frombork, and by Matthias Echter<sup>141</sup> – which could serve as models for the cotyledon in the key of the picture of *The Glory of*



32



33

30 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, designed by Tilman van Gameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1704, figure of St. Margaret (?) and shell in acanthus, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

31 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, designed by Tilman van Gameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1704, entablature of the columnar portico, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

32 Johann Conrad Reuttimann, design for an acanthus raised frame element with a wreath-shaped frame, 1678, reproduction: M. Wardziński, 2006

33 Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew, altar for Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon, left-hand side ornamental 'ear', Johannes Söffrens (attributed), c. 1697, photo: M. Wardziński, 2008

*St. Felicissima*. A conch among the acanthus ornament is presented by a frieze of the Wrocław series of Matthias Steinle of 1684.<sup>142</sup> The type of decoration workmanship, especially in stone masonry works of Söffrens, however, points primarily to the knowledge of the best examples of similar decorations in Antwerp and Mechelen, made by the leading Antwerp masters of the seventies of the 17th century: Artus Quellinus the Younger, Hendrick Francis Verbrugghen and Sébastien van den Eynde.<sup>143</sup>

The round, tight bunches, strung on a ribbon and gradually decreasing, consisting of mixed ordinary flow-

combined with the most different floral and animal elements, and with objects dependent on the illustrated subject, constituting the main decorative theme of the interior of the town hall of Amsterdam. A set of engravings based on the creations of Artus Quellinus the Elder, copied by his brother Hubertus in the years of 1650–1657,<sup>144</sup> had a tremendous reception, although it had often happened they were copied without an understanding of the presented form, hence



that 'fish scale' commonly encountered in the Pomeranian and Prussian decoration art in the times when the acanthus and floral ornamentation was applied. Söffrens usually avoided repeating pattern schemes literally, showing an excellent knowledge of presented floral themes and trying to express them in a naturalistic way, but he repeatedly carved 'the fish scale' of schematic arrangement of blunt-ended leaves in connection with the bouquets, as a comple-

<sup>142</sup> Matthias Echter, acanthus-contained frame, *Raccolta di varij capricij et nove inventionij di fogliumij romane*, Graz, 1679, repr. M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>143</sup> Matthias Steinle, acanthus frieze with a shell, Wrocław, 1684, repr. M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>144</sup> Hubertus Quellinus, garland, Amsterdam, 1659, repr. M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>145</sup> Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew, altar for St. George, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1696, pair of angels in the pediment of the central field, photo: M. Wardziński, 2008

<sup>146</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, designed by Tilman van Cameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1704, left-hand side angel from the mensa, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

mentary decorative theme, among others, in some of Chelmo altars.

The winged angelic heads are also a rarity in the works of Söffrens. The exception are the heads on the panels of the plinth of the altar of Corpus Christi in Chelmo, circa 1695, and in the rectangular haunches over the picture in the altar of Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon in Frombork (1697). The sculptor was closer to the realism of the holistic form of the winged infant, according to the type of *putti fiamminghi*,<sup>145</sup> or angelic heads as an element of the glory, emerging from the clouds, and not as a purely decorative element. The putti in the previous independent works of Söffrens, particularly in the stone altars and epitaphs, personified the younger children – chubby infants, such as e.g. in the altar of St. George in Frombork (1696), while in the altar of St. Felicissima there are 'several-year-old' kids, including the angel giving St. Agnes a basket of flowers.

### The analysis and analogies of figural sculpture

The Söffrens' female pieces of sculpture from the altar of St. Felicissima belong to the calmed, classicising trend of Baroque sculpture. Karpowicz noticed a clear reflection of the form of statues from the times of the Roman Empire in the figures of the altar of St. Felicissima, despite the fact that the specific models for the pose and drapery of the robes were not found among the graphic patterns.<sup>146</sup> However, the term 'realistic piece in the antiquising costume' – quite massive, statuary but of the living gestures and physiognomies fits best to figures sculptured by Söffrens. The characteristic features of figural sculpture of Söffrens include: a calmed, vertical posture of the body in a balanced, discrete contrapost, linear arrangements of drapes flowing towards the ground, retaining the full logic and consistency of clear arrangement of individual folds, characteristic 'Greek', idealized, physiognomic traits, especially, in the lower part of face and neck (solid line of the shoulders, cylindrical, full, long neck, merging into an elongated, oval face, narrow jaw, small, highlighted mouth above a small, round, protruding chin, elongated line of nose, close-set eyes), antiquising women's dress and hairstyles, as well as the type of men's full, round-trimmed beards.

<sup>142</sup> Konstanty Kalinowski, *Rzeźba barokowa na Śląsku*, Warsaw, 1986, pp. 44, f.

<sup>143</sup> The closest affinity in, e.g., the Communion balustrades in the church of the Norbertan Sisters of Lilliedal, Mechelen (1678, Artus Quellinus II, now in the cathedral) and in series of scenes originally intended for the balustrade or predella of the Coopers' Guild in Antwerp Cathedral (1672–3 to 1678, Sébastien Van den Eynde, Ludovicus Willemsens and Willem Kericx I) and the local St. Mary's Church (1686–7, H.F. Verbrugghen). Cf. K. Wardzińska, M. Wardziński, *Plastyka flamandzka a rzeźba 2. połowy XVII w. w Gdańsku i Rzeczypospolitej*, *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka*, special Netherlandish issue (in the press).

<sup>144</sup> Juliane Gabriels, *Artus Quellinus, de Oude: Kunsttyck belhouwer*, Antwerp, 1930, pp. 164–166, 176–178, figs. 31–37.

<sup>145</sup> Wardzińska, Wardziński, *Plastyka flamandzka...*, (in the press).

<sup>146</sup> Karpowicz 1986, pp. 59–61.



<sup>39</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, designed by Tilman van Cameren, executed by Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1704, figure of St. Catherine, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

The repeatability of arrangements of draperies in the works of Söffrens, the same both in the female and male figures, shows that he used a limited set of prints or his own copies presenting similar *togatae* forms. The best example is the robe of St. Catherine, namely her mantle, covering the only one shoulder and passing under it on the opposite hip in the form of an apron, like in the figure of St. Agnes in the second storey of the altar. It was draped in the same way in the statues of St. Catherine of the altar of St. Michael the Archangel in Chelmino (1697), St. Elizabeth with little Mary, St. Peter and St. John of the coping of the altar of St. Barbara, in the same place (1698), St. Paul in the high altar in Chelmino (1709), Christ

*Salvator Mundi* and St. Matthew on the pulpit basket in Jasna and St. John the Evangelist on the rood beam, in the same place (circa 1709), St. John the Evangelist in the high altar in Stare Pole (1711) and on the pulpit, in the same place (1719), Christ *Salvator Mundi*, St. Matthew and St. John the Evangelists on the pulpit in Postolin (1716), St. Matthew on the pulpit basket in Przewmark (after 1718). The 'apron' of the mantle is upheld by hand by St. Peter in the high altar in Zwierzno (between 1696–1700), St. Catherine in Przewczno (circa 1699), its extended end is suspended at the belt of St. Joseph in the altar of St. George in Frombork (1696), but in another figures, it is knotted and inserted behind the belt: St. Peter in

prospectus in Przewczno refers to St. Catherine and St. Margaret. For the described way of mantle drapery on the figure clothed underneath in the robe tied in the waist, there is an enormous amount of analogies in sculpture deriving from the legacy of antiquity.<sup>147</sup> The another theme the original of which cannot be pointed out is the way of supporting the attribute (the book) through a lap of the mantle gathered in the hand, as it is done by the unidentified saint with a book (container) on the palm, what was repeated by Söffrens in the figure of St. Barbara in Przewczno (circa 1699) and in the lateral altar in Jasna (circa 1709); also the infant *Caritas* rests on the abundant accumulated cloth in the altar in Przewmark (1718).



<sup>147</sup> E.g. the 15th-c. *Paolo Romano* statue in the Vatican collection. Cf. Susanne Evers, *Monumentale Stuckfiguren in römischen Dekorationsystemen des Cinquecento*, Frankfurt-on-the-Main, 1996, fig. 10.

<sup>40</sup> Stare Pole, filial church of St. Mary the Queen of Poland, High Altar, Sewrentz of Elbląg (Johannes Söffrens), 1711, detail – figure of St. John the Evangelist, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008

<sup>41</sup> Chelmino, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, High Altar, designed by Johannes Söffrens, executed by Mattes Rodte and Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1709–10, figure of St. Peter, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2009

<sup>42</sup> Zwierzno, parish church of St. Michael the Archangel, High Altar, designed and executed by Johannes Söffrens, 1696–1700, figure of St. Paul, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2009

the high altar in Chelmino (1709), St. Matthew in the high altar in Stare Pole and St. Paul in the high altar in Przewmark (1719). In the case of pieces of John, half-naked, without the robe underneath, the mantle assumes particularly abundant forms. It was draped in the most successful way in the case of St. Margaret (?) of the altar of St. Felicissima where it is slid from the arm right up to the forearm and looped around it in vast folds. A similar arrangement was realized by the sculptor in the figure of St. Paul in Zwierzno (1696–1700), and later: St. Jude Thaddeus on the pulpit in Stare Pole (1711) and St. Paul in the altar of the Blessed Sacrament (1720–1721). Also a workshop piece of the unidentified saint in the organ

A number of superficial similarities connects especially two pieces of sculpture of the main storey of the altar of St. Felicissima with the famous female statues of the Roman church of S. Maria in Loreto of 1630–1633, (among which there is *Santa Susanna* by François Duquesnoy). Their images could be shown to Söffrens as an idea of figures matching up to the altar designed by Tilman van Gameren. These similarities are manifested in the features freely chosen from individual statues and integrated in new compositions. It seems that the arrangement of St. Cecilia's hand, resting on an attribute, with an abundantly folded lap falling from the shoulder, was repeated by Söffrens in the figure of St. Catherine. A non-understandable ges-

ture of her other hand resting (probably because of damage) around the waist, instead of the heart, must be a not very successful invention of Söffrens; this figure is lacking in tying in the waist what would determine the proportions of the whole body, but the sculptor wanted to diversify the figures appearing in one altar, both in terms of poses and clothes. St. Barbara's garments are more decorative and consist of a dress and surplice imposed on it, decorated – at a rectangular neckline and the edges – with a wide border of embroidery, in which the attire of St. Flavia (authorship by Domenico de' Rossi) is imitated. In addition, the unidentified saint with a book / container has a necklace fastened by a ball-shaped brooch, the same



as worn by Sant'Agnese, and a sleeve of her dress is fastened at several points by similar buckles, as in the dress of St. Cecilia.

<sup>43</sup> Rome, S. Maria di Loreto, figure of Sta Susanna, 1627–33, François Duquesnoy, photo: K. Jarczyńska, 2001

<sup>44</sup> Antwerp, church of St. James, altar for St. Anne, André de Nole or Sébastien de Nève and Jacques Couplet, 1643, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2006



## The altar of the Blessed Sacrament

The altar of the Blessed Sacrament is known only from archival photographs and requires a precise descriptive reconstruction. Some fragments remain illegible.

### Description

The retable is of wall-side, architectural and two-storey type. A central field in the main storey is included at the sides in the form of risalited pairs of columns linked by a common entablature, placed against pilasters dismembering the wall. At the edges of the storey there are recessed half-axes – the halves of analogous porticos (composed of a column carrying a section of entablature, set against the wall dismembered by a pilaster). A wide central field of the main storey is filled with an arcade in the shape of standing rectangle topped with a straight overhung curve, containing the picture of *Last Supper*, presumably by Franciszek Smuglewicz, in a smooth, profiled frame. In the corners above the picture, in a slightly recessed panels, there are full-plastic pieces of angels, half-naked, girdled with a cloth; the right one is presented in profile, flying, with a raised right little hand; the left one – in the pose of resting, leaning on his elbow, with crossed little legs. A cartouche in the shape of lying oval of turned-inside-out edges with a winged angelic head in the key, included at the bottom in the form of palm branches, with a painted inscription *Deoque-Hominique* (Latin: to God and the Man) is placed centrally on the cornice of the main storey, above the picture. The empty *predella* in the shape of lying rectangle in the frame of a smooth half-roll and three stairs of concave profile (two of them decorated with tracery, and the lowest one – with ornament of acanthus leaves) are located below the picture. Whereas a freestanding tabernacle is set on the altar stone.

cloth whose end flutters at the back. The left angel, with his left hand propped on the side, held the attribute in the right hand raised before himself; the right one – having the trunk twisted to the right held the attribute in his right hand before himself at the level of the chest, the left hand was rejected aside.

In the part of plinth of the main base storey there are separated pedestals of all six columns with panels which contain heraldic cartouches with floral dec-



oration: in turn from the left: a monogram of intertwined letters 'SS' (*Sanctissimum Sacramentum*) and the Tarlos' coat of arms – Topór [Axe] (an axe with a half-moon and three stars); on the right of the altar stone – the same cartouches in a reverse order and presented in the mirror image.

45 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament Altar, Johannes Söffrens and Michael Bröse, 1720–1, left-hand side section of the entablature of the columnar portico, detail of ill. 5

46 Left-hand side angel figure, detail of ill. 5

47 Right-hand side angel figure, detail of ill. 7

48 Figure of St. Peter, detail of ill. 7

49 Figure of St. Paul, detail of ill. 5

At the edges of the plinth at both sides you can see fastened, overhung pedestals in the form of volute covered with acanthus, beneath the figures of the apostles: St. Peter on the left and St. Paul on the right. St. Peter is presented as a mature man, with a higher forehead, bearded, clad in a long, heavily folded robe whose edge is upheld by the right hand, his trunk is strongly twisted to the right, a mantle on the shoulders, fastened over the right arm, the keys in left hand. St. Paul is of slimmer proportions, with a long beard, clad in a robe with folds flowing straight downwards, with the right knee revealing through the fabric; the mantle is dropped on the shoulders, interleaved under the left arm and inserted behind the belt, the right hand rests on a long sword (of the height of man).



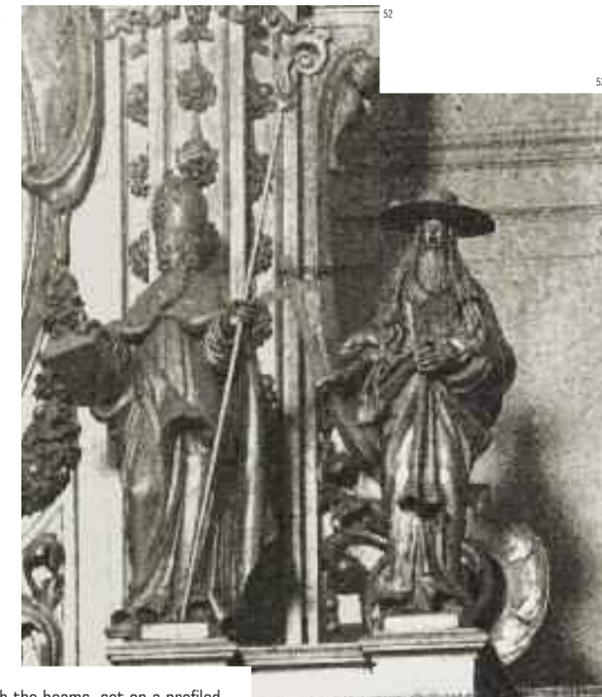
Four statues of the Fathers of the Church are placed above a cornice of the main storey on a broken plinth, on the axes of columns of the lower storey; from the left: St. Gregory the Great, pope, with the pontifical cross and book, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, bishops, with the book and crosier; St. Jerome, cardinal, with the cross and book.

The narrower coping of the retable is of one-field type, comprised at the both sides of imposed doubled pilaster strips and volutes; topped with the interrupted, reduced entablature and triangular pediment



open from the bottom. The festoons of floral bouquets strung on a ribbon hung under the 'lily' of acanthus leaves are put on the pilaster strips; higher up, the conch is placed on a plain frieze of the entablature. The volutes are openwork in the form of a band covered by the acanthus leaves, with a profiling winged angelic head under the upper corner.

The coping field integrated with the pediment field is filled with an oval *The Holy Trinity*, a picture by unknown author, modelled after the painting by Szymon Czechowicz, from the high altar of the parish church in Tykocin, in a smooth profiled frame, comprised in the upper half of two volutes covered by acanthus leaves, with the conch in the key. In the lower part over the frame, there are two floral garlands slung by the ribbons and centrally suspended bouquet. The field below is filled with acanthus and ribbon ornament. The retable is topped with the cross of arms



ended by a trefoil with the beams, set on a profiled pedestal, flanked by full-plastic sculptures of angels sitting on the pediment in the position of a strong twist of the body with the hands outstretched towards the cross. The angels with the heads surrounded by short locks of hair, with large wings, are clothed in long, highly folded garments. The flaming vases, smooth, partially decorated with humping are placed at the edges of the pediment and at the edges of the cornice of the lower storey.



The hexagonal tabernacle set on the altar table is of two-storey type in the structural terms - a cabinet for the Eucharist is in the lower part, higher up, a six-sided body decorated in a sculptural manner, topped with a little dome. Its front wall is topped with the arched cornice, decorated with a bas-relief depicting a chalice with the Host within a ring of clouds, floral garland, and the radial glory. The full-plastic herms in the form of angelic heads are imposed on the volute decorated with a strip of sequins on the visible four lateral sides. At the front of the little dome there is

an angelic head with a suspended scarf among the clouds; but the hexagonal support is placed on the top. On one of the archival picture shows a small statue of the Risen Christ standing on it.

Two preserved pieces of sculpture of kneeling angels in the bow, putting the left hand on the chest are set on the altar table at the sides of the tabernacle.



50 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament Altar, Johannes Söffrens and Michael Bröse, 1720–1, figure of St. Gregory the Great, detail of ill. 5

51 Figure of St. Augustine, detail of ill. 5

52 Figure of St. Ambrose, detail of ill. 5

53 Figure of St. Jerome, detail of ill. 5

54 Tabernacle, detail of ill. 5

55 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament Altar, Johannes Söffrens and Michael Bröse, 1720–1, figure of the left-hand side angel by the tabernacle, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

**The differences in relation to the altar of St. Felicissima. The program of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament and its place among the three retables of the Holy Cross church. The ornament and figural sculpture – their position in the works of Söffrens and Michael Bröse**

Both the transept altars have the same architectural structure, i.e. the outline of the entirety, dimensions of the altar wall and the nature and dimensions of architectural elements dismembering it – pilasters and columns carrying the entablature – are the same. The differences affecting the significant visual distinction between the two altars were realized only in a level of lists and profiles imposed on an appropriate carpentry structure and they do not affect the construction of the retable. There are two fundamental differences. The first one is the implementation of a different type of entablature – the decorative elements of Corinthian order were abandoned both in the storey as well as in the coping, and most ornamental annulets (including the frame of the picture in the main storey) were replaced by the smooth items of concave-convex profile. The second basic difference is in solving the finial of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, which in its entirety, including the field of the tympanum (whose sides are not broken), open from the bottom, is filled with a richly decorated oval picture field. Therefore, the architecture became more modern, and a decorative accent was shifted in the area of the coping field.

The form of coping of the *retabulum*, with an oval comprised of floral decoration, refers to the analogous part of the high altar, as well as the painting presentation of the Holy Trinity included in it constitutes the ideological equivalent of the Divine Providence of the high altar. The theme devoted to the saving sacrifice of Jesus Christ – to a specific event – the Crucifixion – in the high altar, and in the altar of the Eucharist – to its announcement and the institution of the sacrament of the Eucharist by Jesus Christ at the Last Supper, links both retables. The inscription: *Deoque – Hominique* placed on the cartouche hung on the entablature is derived from the Scriptures (Mt 2:11) and it concerns the submission of gifts – myrrh, gold and frankincense – to the newborn Child by the Magi, symbolically referring to the divine and the human (and also royal) nature of Christ, being an announcement of His sacrifice as well. This sentence is a bridge between a scene of earthly life of Jesus Christ depicted in the painting in the main storey, and his Divine Person of the Holy Trinity in the higher part of the altar. From the beginning the Cross of the Lord in three scenes is a planned symbol connecting significance of the three most important altars of the Holy Cross church: as a tool of the Passion exposed in the centre of the high altar, its Old Testament prediction –

a cross with a copper snake in the coping of the retable of the early Christian martyr, Felicissima, and finally – a cross of the Son of Man topping the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, constituting the sign of the fulfilment of the Divine plan of salvation.

It is difficult to suspect the hidden symbolic meanings enriching this program in the ornamentation of the altar. The flaming vase, symbolizing the God's love, appear in all three retables. The presence of putti and winged angelic heads is characteristic for both transept altars. A theme of bouquets hung on small pilasters of the finial and acanthus flagellum surrounding the oval of the picture in the coping and decorating the frieze of entablature, though in a slightly different acanthus and ribbon edition, unifying all the three main retables of the Holy Cross church in the formal terms, were repeated. In the significant parts, the ornament on the altar of the Eucharist is different from the two other realization of the Holy Cross church, goes beyond the repetitive repertoire of themes used by Söffrens and it is made slightly differently than in his works, and additionally it is really from the twenties, and not from the beginning of the eighteenth century. The detail differences arise from a significant contribution of Michael Bröse. As an apprentice of Söffrens, being inferior to him in relation to the talent, he carved human figures and ornament in the manner of his master, but with characteristic individual features: in the field of ornamentation, they are manifested in the other selection of themes, and in the human figures – especially in the specific physiognomies.

The only known work by Brösen, that can be compared to the altar of the Eucharist, is the Frombork retable of St. George of 1713, carved in marble and alabaster, (co-funded by Teodor Potocki, the then bishop of Warmia), however, even it contains, as it turns out, the themes representative for the sculptor, which can be found on the Warsaw altar, and which include the form of cartouche and the use of floral and fruit garland in particular. Many times in the decoration of Frombork the altar – in the coping, 'ears' and cartouches – Bröse presented very lush, heavy garlands and bouquets, suspended on 'hangs' masking the stems. With the angelic head, frontally presented, they gives the coping of the altar of St. George a very Flemish character. The pairs of garlands are suspended symmetrically under the cartouches on the plinth of columns, and hanging bouquets – in the coping on the ends of the garlands. The same elements enclose the picture of the Holy Trinity of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament from the bottom, but the garland



is carved with such precision and careful differentiation of the thickness of the weave, that Söffrens must be, however, probably recognised as its author.

The cartouches of the Frombork altar are decorated by prominent, rising humping, also very Flemish in its organic nature, which is a reminiscence of the comb of cartilage and auricle ornament, occurring commonly in conch and cartilage editions of the seventeenth-century Baroque cartouches. The identical single roundings form the edges of *Deoque-Hominique* cartouche, by the side of thickly cut small volutes. The 'hangs' at the garlands and bouquets were made in the same manner – where in case of Söffrens (in the altar of St. Felicissima), finely wrinkled, stretched fabric was expressed realistically. The ends of the bands enclosing the picture of the Holy Trinity are similar to the drops cast in gold. The humping decorates the vases of the retable of the Eucharist. Even the acanthus, carved in the manner of Söffrens, but with more elongated and less fragmented leaves, in places where it is spherically rolled, approaches to this abstracted

56 Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew, altar for St. Joseph, Michael Bröse, 1713, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008

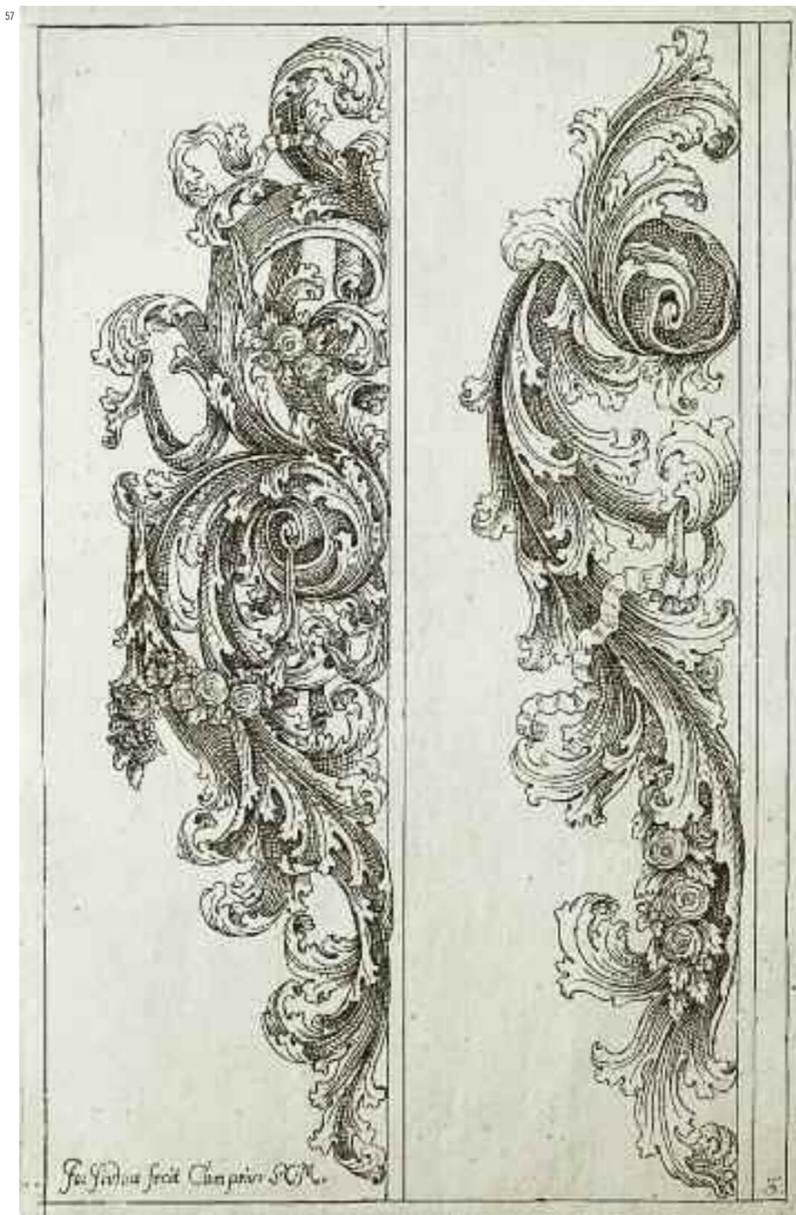
57 Johann Indau, design for a raised frame element, *Neue Romanische Zierathen*, Augsburg, c. 1687, repr. M. Wardzyński, 2010

58 Francesco Bedeschini, design for a frame with acanthus, Aquila, c. 1672–83, after Irmscher, 2000, Abb. 19

form of the drop (in the ornamentation of the field of the coping, in the volutes capturing it, and in the volutes under the figures of the apostles and leafy supports for the flowers). A separate issue is a completely different form of the little-leaf acanthus in the wings of the Frombork altar realized by Brösen, depending

on the specific graphic design, derived from *Neue Romanische Zierathen* by Johann Indau (published in Augsburg, circa 1687).

A new element, which is a sign of stylistic transformations, taking place in the decoration art in the twenties of the eighteenth century, is a corrugated



band, appearing in place of the acanthus flagellum, covered by acanthus leaves on the frieze of the entablature and in field below the picture in the upper storey. A densely corrugated ribbon, evenly placed in the C-shaped arrangement, and at the extreme sections of the frieze almost broken, in the form of clamp, having relatively equal dimensions compared to the leaves, is an early example of the application of regency band-clamp ornament, which was applied by the artists of next generation, by an apprentice, Jerzy Dąbrowicz (at the earliest in the high altar of the parish church of Lubawa, 1723), or by a Warsaw wood-carver, Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz. The graphic patterns of this ornamentation by Jean Bérain and Paul Decker, appeared only in 1710 and 1711.<sup>148</sup>

Also, the bands, that enclose an oval picture in the upper storey, lined inside with acanthus leaves, are a theme unprecedented in the *oeuvre* of Elbląg sculptors. These bands which should be qualified as elements of the cartouche, appear primarily in conjunction with the acanthus ornamentation in the engravings by Francesco Bedeschini from around 1685, and first of all they were used for demarcation of the picture fields in the Italian stucco decorations.<sup>149</sup> Lepautre used them in his cartouches in the form of acanthus leaves' lining.<sup>150</sup> The elegance and subtlety of the decoration filling the field of the finial of the altar, differing from the entire *oeuvre* of Söffrens and from the own composition of Brösen in Frombork, where the retable was overwhelmed by a massive detail, make us to believe that its design, referring partly to the altar of St. Felicissima, was watched over by someone else. This is only a hypothesis, that this person could have been Benedykt Renard, an architect and diplomat, laureate of the Academy of St. Luke in Rome, around 1720, designer of numerous palace interiors in Warsaw who was engaged in sending the payment for the altar of the Blessed Sacrament to Söffrens to Elbląg in 1721.<sup>151</sup>

A form of figurative sculpture was decided by the eldest from among the sculptors who designed the figures according to typical patterns for himself, but probably he ceded the greater part of their execution to Brösen. It should be remembered that the altar of the Blessed Sacrament is the last known realization associated with the name of Söffrens, at that time

<sup>148</sup> F. Bleibaum, *Bandelwerk (Laub- und Bandelwerk): Reallexicon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, hrsg. von Otto Schmitt, vol. I, Stuttgart, 1937, cols. 1429–1436.

<sup>149</sup> Georg Irmscher, *Acanthus. Zur Geschichte der Ornamentform, Barockberichte, Informationsblätter des Salzburger Barockmuseums zur bildende Kunst des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts*, Heft 26/27, 2000, p. 484, fig. 19.

<sup>150</sup> E.g. on two covers of suites of ornament *à la moderne*, Præaud 1993, nos. 1603, 1659.

<sup>151</sup> Described as 'Oberstleutnant', i.e. Lieutenant Colonel. About 1720, he was a cavalry captain while his brother, Jan Baptistysta was already general. M. Zgómia, Renard Benedykt. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 31, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1988–1989, pp. 104–106; idem, Renard Jan Baptistysta. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 31, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków, 1988–1989, pp. 106, f.

already a 60-year-old artist, who undertook to execute it jointly probably due to the acquaintance – lasting a quarter of a century – with Priest Superior Giovanni Fabri, who had to care about maintaining a stylistic consistency of the three most important retablings of the Holy Cross church.

Only two angels adorning the tabernacle in a kneeling position appear to be the independent works of Brösen. They substantially differ from the figures of

angelic worshippers made by Söffrens (and his then-collaborator, Mattes Rodte) for the Chelмно portals which would be undoubtedly copied here by Söffrens. These figures comparable with the statue of St. John the Evangelist and an angelic head in the coping of the altar made by Brösen in Frombork, characterised by not very correct proportions, poorly expressed folds of the garments and identical locks of hair surrounding the face of specific, as if slightly swollen, almost

the Renaissance grotesque ornament. Bröse made a keystone of the coping of his Frombork altar out of a similar head decorated with a garland. However, previously, Söffrens located such a head on a nodus of the monstrance topping the Chelмно altar of Corpus Christi. The putti over the picture in the main storey and the winged heads on the volutes of the coping are hardly visible, however, the smaller heads, smaller volume of the body and more elongated proportions, i.e. the features which are possessed by all the figures carved here by Bröse under the supervision of Söffrens, certainly distinguish them from the works of Söffrens.

The four Fathers of the Church were presented in the upper storey. This group essentially repeats the patterns of figures imagined on the balustrade of stairs



of the pulpit in Jasna (circa 1709), and three of them, placed on the altar of St. Michael (?) in Elbląg. First from left to right, Pope Gregory the Great holds an open book in the left hand, and the pontifical cross in the right hand, he has a tiara with three crowns on the head, he wears a surplice and stole on the robe, and the mantle falls straight and symmetrically from the shoulders on both sides, his long beard flows down to the chest. A similar straight and symmetrical figure of the bishop topped the altar of St. Michael the Archangel (?) in Elbląg; a figure of St. Augustine on the high altar in Jasna (1709) and St. Augustine

mongoidal, clearly marked upper and lower eyelids. The same physiognomic features characterised the angelic head in the *Deoque-Hominique* cartouche on the entablature of the altar of the Eucharist, as well as the heads on the dome of the tabernacle, expressed exactly frontally and with a suspended scarf, making an impression of an archaic element, derived still from

the pulpit there is similarly clothed, though a bit more sinuously elongated, however, the representation of God the Father (in Chelмно on the high altar of the Holy Cross church) are analogous to the part of head. The next statue is a bishop in a mitre – St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, clothed in a robe, on which he wears a surplice with very large sleeves. A similar figure on the pulpit in Jasna holds a flaming heart in the hand, i.e. an attribute of St. Augustine. The bishop on the

altar of the Blessed Sacrament has a crosier in his right hand, and the left hand is covered by a rapidly thrown-over lap of mantle, he presses a book against his body. This figure is the exact analogy to the statue on the altar in Elbląg (a piece of sculpture over the right column). These two figures are closest to the works of Söffrens with regard to proportions and details, and they can be considered as its own realizations within the framework of the altar of the Blessed Sacrament.

The other bishop (probably St. Ambrose) has a more slender silhouette due to the lack of surplice and girdling, as in Jasna, a this effect is enhanced by an elongated outline of the leg, shown here under the robe – it is a specific feature of Warsaw pieces by Bröse. Its pose is strained: he is stiffly erect, the elbows held close to the body, despite he keeps the attributes in his both hands, especially a large book placed upright – based on his hip and supported only by fingertips. A chalice form of rolled lap of the mantle, pressed by the book (and in the original it is pressed by forearm or elbow) was copied from the statue of St. Alexander in Przewno, St. Stanislaus on the high altar in Jasna and Our Lady of the rood beam



there. The fourth statue is St. Jerome with the cardinal's hat, having a cross in his hand, standing straight and taking the clothes centrally with one hand. This figure is made according to the double-repeated pattern: on the altar of St. Nicholas in Elbląg and the pulpit in Jasna (circa 1709), it entirely loses a realistic volume characteristic for Söffrens, the proportions are excessively elongated, the head is too narrow, shoulders of sloping line, as in the adjacent figure of bishop.

Two figures of the Apostles are arranged at the edges of the main storey. St. Peter is similar to the *oeuvre* of Söffrens, especially with regard to the head and massive posture, although, in the part of legs, the



61 Elbląg, church of St. Nicholas, non-surviving altar for St. Michael the Archangel (?), Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1690, photo: Deutsche Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte-Bildarchiv Foto Marburg

62 Jasna, church of the Holy Trinity, High Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1709, figure of St. Augustine, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2009

63 Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew, altar for Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), c. 1697, figure of St. Jude Thaddeus, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008

64 Mława, parish church of St. Michael the Archangel, High Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1699, figure of St. Peter, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2005

59 Chelмно, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, portal of the Chapel of the Virgin of Sorrows, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1699, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2009

59 Jasna, church of the Trinity, pulpit, c. 1709, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008

figure again narrows and gets longer. The garment repeats frequently used pattern of drapery known in the figures of St. Simon from the altar of Sts. Jude Thaddeus and Simon in Frombork (1697), St. Peter on the high altar in Miłoradz (1699), an unknown apostle from the altar of Mary the Egyptian in Elbląg and St. Mark on the high altar in Stare Pole (1711). The mantle is asymmetrically fastened over the right shoulder; one lap flows down through the chest on the left hand, while the saint presses a book against his body with his right hand and at the same time he gathers the second lap and the robe in the hand in front of him, exposing the leg as if in preparation for a dancing return to the right, the direction in which he turns the head. Basically the same arrangement of the mantle, but with the other arrangement of hands, appears in the following statues: St. Joseph on the

folds, with a simultaneous twist of the head in the opposite direction, is crucial for the dynamics of this figure, and refers to the composition of the most famous statue carved by François Duquesnoy – Santa Susanna from the church of Santa Maria di Loreto (1627–1633),<sup>152</sup> as well as to its numerous travesties – the statue of St. Peter on the pier of the cathedral of Sts. Michael and Gudula in Brussels by Cornelis van Mildert (1638)<sup>153</sup> or St. Peter by Jérôme Duquesnoy the Younger (1644)<sup>154</sup> in the same place. Perhaps the groups of statues of the apostles placed

on the piers, so typical for Flemish churches, were an inspiration for Söffrens, e.g. a statue of St. Thomas by André de Nole of 1635, from the cathedral of Saint-Rombaut in Mechelen,<sup>155</sup> could serve as a model for the above-discussed figure of St. Ambrose and its related pieces of sculpture.

St. Paul, as mentioned when discussing a piece of sculpture of St. Margaret (?) from the altar of St. Felicissima, belongs to the figures of a greater volume of the mantle, draped in a manner similar to the figure of this saint from the altar in Zwierzno (between 1696–1700), however, the material made by Bröse is very finely crimped, but in the stacked parts, the folds run in a completely chaotic way, in contrast to the prevailing linear parts and parallel cuts of folds falling down to the feet. The lack of skills in the execution of drapery of the figure in large scale makes us to see an author of the figures from the lower storey and a significant contribution in the realization of two

figures of the Fathers of the church in the right axis of the altar in Bröse. A characteristic enhancement of the outline of a very elongated leg under the robe and a described moulding of drapery distinguishes also two standing angelic figures in the main storey. Their clothes were stylized for the benefit of decorativeness of a figure, especially in a calyceal extension of the lower edges of the robe of two lengths. The gestures of the hands and the arrangement of the wings would show that the places of figures were swapped,

because the angels should indicate the tabernacle and the picture of the scene of the Last Supper, however, the direction of a look aimed at the viewer-believer standing or kneeling before the altar is correct. These inconsistencies need to be considered as an error of the sculptor, like an excessive reversal of the statue of St. Peter on the outside.

Both the figures of the apostles were copied in 1728 by an undetermined imitator of Söffrens and Bröse in the high altar of the parish church in Grudziądz.<sup>156</sup>



high altar in Jasna, St. Mark on the pulpits in Jasna, Postolin and Przewmark, and St. Peter on the altar in Przewmark, however, a gesture of the hand gathering the clothes, and following the course of the mantle

A tabernacle, in the form of *tempietto*, with a dome, decorated with an arched cornice and an oval relief on the front wall, depicting the Eucharistic chalice, surrounded by a floral garland, refers to the patterns of Tilman and Lepautre.<sup>157</sup> A small statue of the Risen Christ showing the wounds on the hands (probably depending on the liturgical season) was set on the tabernacle.<sup>158</sup> The same figure is in the coping of the altar of Corpus Christi in Chelmino (1694–1695), which was compared to 'the presentation from the seal' in the chronicle of the Chelmino house written down by Priest Fabri.<sup>159</sup>

### Conclusion

Due to the number of issues related to the history and artistic form of three high altars of the Holy Cross church, it was impossible to discuss all objects exhaustively, some of them were just mentioned. The authorship of the high altar seemed to be the most important question; its execution, and probably also its design, can be related with the Elbląg sculptor, Johannes Söffrens, one of the best Pomeranian sculptors,<sup>160</sup> who thanks to the artistic initiatives of the Missionaries also played an important role in the artistic environment of the capital, as – addition to Andreas Schlüter the Younger – a worthy implementer of the concept of Tilman van Gameren, the executor of the altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, according to his design. The main retable of the Holy Cross church reconstructed after the World War II is a completely unique conglomeration of elements of avant-garde Roman Baroque and the present, classicising French designing combined in the form of monumental architectural altar retable, constituting a kind of sensation across the Republic of Poland. The recent discoveries of previously unknown photographs of the church before the cataclysm of 1944 allow reconstructing the altar of the Eucharist by Johannes Söffrens and Michael Bröse, the destruction of which during the Warsaw Uprising has made an irreparable loss for the Polish artistic heritage.

<sup>65</sup> Brussels Cathedral, figure of St. Peter, 1638, Cornelis van Mildert, photo: M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>66</sup> Mechelen, Saint-Rombaut Cathedral, statue of St. Thomas, 1630s, André de Nole, photo: M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>67</sup> Grudziądz, parish church of St. Nicholas, High Altar, 1728, unidentified Pomeranian workshop, figure of St. Paul, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>68</sup> Chelmino, church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Corpus Christi Altar, Johannes Söffrens (attributed), 1694–5, figure of Christ in the coping field, photo: M. Wardziński 2008

<sup>152</sup> M. Boudon-Machuel, *François du Quesnoy 1597-1643*, Paris, 2005, pp. 120, 124–129, 237, f., cat. no. G. 34, figs. 118, 125 a-f, 139.  
<sup>153</sup> M. Casteels, Cornelis van Mildert: *La sculpture au siècle de Rubens dans les Pays-Bas Méridionaux et la Principauté de Liège. Musée de art ancien, Bruxelles, 15 juillet 2 octobre 1977*, (Ghent, 1977) p. 246; Philippot, Coeckelberghs, Loze, Vautier 2003, p. 789, fig. (unnumbered) on p. 788.  
<sup>154</sup> Philippot, Coeckelberghs, Loze, Vautier 2003, pp. 825, f., fig., p. 829.  
<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p. 788.  
<sup>156</sup> *KZSP*, vol. XI: *Województwo bydgoskie*, Eds. T. Chrzanowski, M. Kornecki, fascicle 7: *powiat grudziądzki*, compiled by R. Brykowski, T. Żurkowska, Warsaw, 1974, p. 11, figs. 60 and 147.  
<sup>157</sup> Mossakowski 1973, fig. 396.  
<sup>158</sup> *Kościół warszawskie* 1956, Photo: Foto Arte, top right, p. 83.  
<sup>159</sup> Jarocińska 2004, p. 626.  
<sup>160</sup> Wardzińska, Wardziński, *Plastyka Namandzka...*, (in the press).

# Altars of Saints Roch and Sebastian and St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels 1705

JOHANNES SÖFFRENS' WORKSHOP  
(ATTRIBUTED)

The St. Roch Confraternity, devoted to the patron saint protecting people from the plague, was introduced and approved at the time of the Bishop of Poznań, Stanisław Wierzbowski, in 1668.<sup>1</sup> The patrons of the St. Roch Confraternity included Saint Benedict, Saint Florian, Saint Sebastian and Saint Rosalie.<sup>2</sup> According to Rev. Symonowicz, the altar of the confraternity was ready in 1705.<sup>3</sup> The opposite angelic retable, which represents exactly the same type of architectural structure, must have come into being at the same time.<sup>4</sup>

Probably in 1823, the altar of St. Roch and altars of St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels were partially whitewashed, except for the gilded parts (the completely non-gilded altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève was whitewashed in this period, whereas oak stalls in the chancel were whitewashed in the following year),<sup>5</sup> although previously they had been colourful, apart from the gilded parts. The description from 1825 confirms, that the altar was renovated by the confraternity in 1804,<sup>6</sup> while according to Rev. Leopold Petrzyk – in 1870.<sup>7</sup> In 1902 the altars of St. Roch and St. Michael were plated with silver and treated to imitate gold.<sup>8</sup> The altar of Sts. Roch and Sebastian was totally destroyed during the World War 2, and it was only partially and inefficiently renovated in the 1970s.

As it was observed by Mariusz Karpowicz, on the basis of archival photographs one can assume, that the ornamental parts and probably the carpentry structure were made according to the identical design by the same Pomeranian workshop that had carried out works on the opposite altar of St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels.<sup>9</sup> The photographs of the altar of St. Roch have never been published, and the statues placed in its main storey have not been the subject of any analysis.

The retable was equipped with a shutter painting of St. Roch interceding with God; the main painting portraying this saint was located at the bottom, whereas Saint Sebastian was depicted in the upper storey.<sup>10</sup> According to Petrzyk, the author of images of St. Sebastian and St. Roch was Jerzy Eleuter Symonowicz-Siemiginowski, but in 1806 they were completely repainted by a certain Krzeczkowski and in 1863 were replaced with other paintings.<sup>11</sup> According to Zygmunt Batowski, the painting of Saint Sebas-

<sup>1</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for Sts. Roch and Sebastian, 1705, executed by Johannes Söffrens and workshop, archival photo, before 1939

<sup>2</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels, c. 1705, executed by an unidentified workshop collaborating with Johannes Söffrens, archival photo, before 1929

<sup>3</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008



tian is authentic, only the paintings in the main storey were changed (to be exact, the one mentioned by him is 'Saint Roch's Intercession', that is, the shutter painting).<sup>12</sup> Karpowicz is inclined to attribute to at least the upper painting of Saint Guardian Angel in the opposite angel altar to Siemiginowski.<sup>13</sup>

the entablature zone in the form of widely splayed, moulded frames, whereas in the walls there are shallow niches closed with suspended arches, containing statues of – respectively – St. Florian and an unidentified martyr (St. Rosalie?) and transposed statues of the Guardian Angel and Raphael the Archangel, placed



The both retables were built on the basis of one common architectural design, whereas the set of ornamental details used there was only slightly modernized. These are aediculae enlarged by flat and narrow side walls whose articulation is formed by composite columns resting on plinths and slender moulded consoles (with capitals decorated with garlands), redoubled on both sides by similar pilasters. They support a canonically formulated entablature softened on its axes of support, with a pulvinated frieze covered with alternately arranged palmettes with slit leaves and acanthus sprouts. It is finished with a broken segmental pediment with the same decor. In the main fields there are rectangular picture frames that reach

on special cuplike, three-sided plinths enclosed by acanthus sprouts. The copings take the form of flat, rectangular raisers surrounded by cornice and enclosed by external double pseudo-pilasters and extended volutes. In the hollow surface there are oval paintings enclosed by leaf-shaped frames. On the pediment segments we can find kneeling and adoring figures of angels that face the paintings, whereas under the frames there is a strip of clouds with pairs of angels supporting the frame and winged angel's heads. On the cornice of both raisers there are widely arranged clouds in which we can find groups of statues; in the altar of St. Roch there is an unidentified group consisting of at least two angel figures flying

away, in the angelic retable we can see Michael the Archangel sending Satan to hell, and in both these places they are supplemented with angel's heads among the clouds.

The ornamental decoration of both the retables is made up of a number of themes. In the plinth, on the axes of column pedestals there are stylized cartouches with their edges turned up like volutes, enclosed by laurel branches, with monograms of saint patrons entwined in the cross; whereas in the plinths of the walls there are bigger cartouches with distinctly fleshy, indented volute edges of the 'loops' in the field of which there are small three-sided corbels. On the axes of the paintings large volute cartouches are applied to the entablature and they are enclosed by interwoven ribbons and palms and crowned with *espagnolette*-type women's masks, whereas in the side walls there are long campanule (inside) and paillette ornaments (outside) at the sides, whereas above the niches we can find compositions of crossed laurel branches and palms with wreaths or crowns; in the line of capitals there are – respectively – compositions made of antithetically arranged acanthus leaves

<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Archdiocesan archives, AAWa, call number I 2.2 (inv. 871), *Visitationes Ecclesiarum Quas ipemet Excellimus et Rmus Dnus Antonius Onuphrius de Okecie Okecki Episcopus Pomesaniensis et Varsaviensis Supremus Regni Cancellarius obiit* (1784 a.). *In fine posita sunt Visitationes a p.m. Excellmo et Rndo Dno Andrea Młodziejowski Eppo Posnaniensi Supremo Regni Cancellario expedita*, s. 777; *Visitatio Generalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Varsaviensis sub titulo S. Crucis Congregationi Presbyterorum Saecularium a Missionibus incorporata per Ill. Exc. Rnd. D. Andream Stanislaum Kostka Młodziejowski Eppum Posn. et Varsav. Supr. Regni Cancellarium Ordinum Aquilae Albae et S. Stanislai Equitem Diae 17 Mai 1779 Anno inchoata et sequentibus diebus peracta*, p. 838.

<sup>5</sup> Stanisław Kalla, *Parafia i kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie w r. 1825, Roczniki Obydwóch Zgromadzeń św. Wincentego a Paulo*, vol. 36, 1933, no. 4, p. 383.

<sup>6</sup> M. Symonowicz, *Opis kościoła parafialnego P. Krzyża XX Misjonarzy, Rozmaitości Warszawskie. Dodatek do Gazety Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego*, vol. 1, 1825, no. 3, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, Warsaw, 1975, pp. 103, 105, fig. 45; idem, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża: Księga Pamiątkowa. Kościół Świętego Krzyża w Warszawie w trzecieście rocznicę konsekracji 1696-1996*, Ed. T. Chachulski, Warsaw, 1996, p. 139.

<sup>8</sup> AAWa, call number I 2.5 (inv. 891), *Visitatio Generalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Varsaviensis Sanctae Crucis sub reg. Praesb. Saec. Congr. Miss. per Illm. Exc. adm. Rev. Dnum Adalbertum Leszczyc Skarszewski Diae 6 Novembris, s. 1 Urbs Varsavia Ecclesia Parochialis S. Crucis. Responsa in articulis in Visitatione Generali 1825 propositis*, p. 4: *Chorus cum scamnis ex lignis quercinis deceneri formae extructis et vernice coloris albi anno 1824 tinctum est, cum duabus Cameris [supra] ipsum chorum*.

<sup>9</sup> AAWa, call number I 2.5 (inv. 891), *Visitatio (...) Skarszewski (...) 1825*, p. 4: *[Altare] Gum P. Rochi archiconfraternitate eiusdem extructum et anno 1804 renovatum. Imago P. Rochi alia est exterior P. Rochum pro pestiferis Deum exornantem alia interior eumdem P. representant. Supra vero imago est P. Sebastiani, M. Patroni Confraternitatis posita*.

<sup>10</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> L. Petrzyk, *op. cit.*, p. 119; *Przegląd Katolicki*, 1904, no. 23, p. 363: *The altars of St. Felicissima and Sanctissimum have been recently covered with pure gold, and the altars of St. Roch and St. Michael have been plated with silver and treated to imitate gold, whereas before they were white and gold*.

<sup>12</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, pp. 103-104; M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża*, p. 139.

<sup>13</sup> *[Altare] Gum P. Rochi archiconfraternitate eiusdem extructum et anno 1804 renovatum. Imago P. Rochi alia est exterior P. Rochum pro pestiferis Deum exornantem alia interior eumdem P. representant. Supra vero imago est P. Sebastiani, M. Patroni Confraternitatis posita*. See *Visitatio (...) Skarszewski (...) 1825*, p. 4.

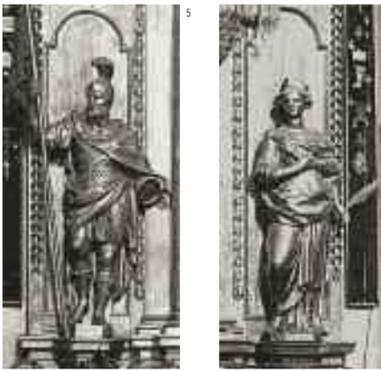
<sup>14</sup> F.M. Sobieszkański, *Kościół Św. Krzyży w Warszawie, Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, vol. 8, 1863, no. 216, p. 175; L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 116; E. Kowalczykówna, *Kościół św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975, p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> Z. Batowski, *Kto jest autorem obrazu "Chrystus na krzyżu" w kościele św. Krzyża w Warszawie. Dawna Sztuka*, vol. 1, 1938, no. 2, p. 131.

<sup>16</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża*, pp. 139, 142, fig. 55.



Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels, figure of the Archangel Michael, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010



5 tied together with shells in the altar of Saint Roch, and bunches of fruit and flowers hung on festoons in the angelic retable. In the shafts of raiser supports there are similar paillette and leaf-shaped ornaments whose arrangement imitates that of ornaments designed for decorating column fluting in the high altar, whereas in the upper corners of panels containing paintings there are fruit and flower ornaments decorated with ribbons and made up of three circular or oval bunches put together, as well as similar bunches suspended on diagonal garlands. In the altar of St. Roch, in the line of the quasi entablature these decorations are supplemented with a shell and two similar oval bunches. The bands in the volutes are covered with indentation, whereas the volute edges were covered with additional floral ornaments. Furthermore, antiquising vases of flames as well as low and round-bellied vases with bunches of flowers are placed on the low plinths, volutes and axes of pseudo-pilasters.

6 The architectural structures of both these chapel altars – to a much lesser degree and, therefore, with the reduction of a number of details – clearly imitate the monumental architecture of the high altar of the Missionary church from 1699-1700. In order to adjust the proportions of retables to narrow gable walls of chapels, the traditional plinths were increased by an upper level with sculpturally arranged consoles, whereas the side bays – after removing outermost pilasters – took the form of small, narrow walls whose general division and corbels introduced instead of traditional niches were properly adjusted in order to display sculptural values of statues in the best possible way, like in the case of the other altars made by Söffrens that could be viewed from many sides. The shapes of cartouches in the plinth as well as vases and flowerpots were also properly reduced and simplified.

7 The formal genesis of the original form of the flat raiser of the copings, unprecedented in Warsaw, is quite complex. In its basic layer it is a simple repetition of divisions of the upper storey of both the transept retables of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève (1704) and the Blessed Sacrament (1720-1721), however, the very shape of their flows and volutes clearly repeats the contour of similar details in the coping of the high altar. It should be remembered, however, that such a special form of the coping supplemented exactly with very close volutes appeared as early as in the 30s of the 17th century in France, in designs made by Jean II Lepautre, which were popularized in the form of printing and based on classicizing Roman solutions.<sup>14</sup> The copings identical in shape, albeit different in respect of articulation, were also designed by Söffrens himself before 1700, using them e.g. for the Missionaries in the altar located in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the parish church in Chelmino (1695), or in the main retable in the parish church in Miloradz near Malbork (1699), and just after finishing the first stage of work in the

capital city, the artist also used them in Stare Pole in Żuławy (1711) and in Szywald near Łasin (1719).<sup>15</sup>

8 Taking into consideration the identified design activity of Johannes Söffrens in the field of stone and wood-carving small architectural forms for altars and headstones, it can be assumed that the design of both structures of the above-mentioned altars by him was not beyond his qualifications and capabilities. However, one should be circumspect about drawing final conclusions because of the presence of some anti-architectural elements in both the retables, such as the group of clouds with suitably displayed sculptural groups. The elements of purely Roman origin appeared



9 in the sculptor's works only in 1699-1700 in the neighbouring high altar whose design was associated with Tilman van Gameren.

10 In respect of figural sculpture and ornamentation these retables differ from sculptural works made by Johannes Söffrens in the church of the Holy Cross that are confirmed by source documents and attrib-

9 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for Sts. Roch and Sebastian, coping, archival photo, before 1939

10 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels, coping, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

uted to him. The set of angelic figures in both these altars was made by an unidentified wood-carver of unknown provenance that was identified by Karpowicz, without a more comprehensive commentary about sources of the style, as Pomeranian.<sup>16</sup> The preliminary analysis made by Katarzyna Wardzińska regarding the circle of sculptors of Royal Prussia and Duchy of Warmia from the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, which was dominated at that time by stone workers and wood-carvers with clearly Flemish and North-German artistic features, such as Andreas Schlüter the Younger from Gdańsk and Hans Caspar Aelschmann and those associated with Söffrens, namely Mattes Rodte, Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz and Michael Bröse, as well as minor sculptors from Königsberg, Warmia and Toruń,<sup>17</sup> seems to show that the author in question did not come from that region. It can be admitted that he might have had connections with the social elite of Warsaw, but at the present stage of research we do not have enough reliable information on this subject. It should be emphasized that the canon of slender archangelic figures as well as the unique structure of their robes clearly differ from angelic figures in the side altar of Our Lady of the Scapular dated around 1700 in the church of Discalced Carmelites at Krakowskie Przedmieście in Warsaw<sup>18</sup> or the altar equipment in Klementowice near Lublin (1688-1689), which was made by the royal wood-carver Wilhelm Bartsch or Barsz,<sup>19</sup> who received an order from Adam Kotowski, not to mention excellent wood-carving works made by Schlüter.<sup>20</sup> Besides, these statues do not share any common features with those postulated by Karpowicz as the closest analogies, namely accompanying and angelic figures that can be found in the high altar in the church of the Reformats as well as the *tempietto* tabernacle in the parish church in Węgrów, created at the beginning of the 18th century, which was ordered by Jan Dobrogost Krasieński.<sup>21</sup> Thus, in the case of the pair of altars of the Holy Cross we can talk about a new wood-carver specializing in figures engaged by Söffrens, who was not able to face up to dimensions of this Warsaw order, only to finish the figural decoration of both these altar structures.

This can be proved by two statues present in the retable, which were carved by the master from Elbląg himself and belong to the main trend of his artistic work that is Flemish in its origin. The excellent statue of St. Florian that adorned the altar of St. Roch until 1944 and is one of the best in the artist's whole oeuvre, precisely copies – like a mirror image – an important element of the figural decoration of the southern gallery of the most significant work made by Flemish sculptors in the 17th-century Holland – the Town Hall in Amsterdam – namely the relief depicting Mars, which was invented by Artus Quellinus I and sculptured by Rombout Verhulst (1653) – in its pose (except for a slightly modified position of the hands, which was connected with changing the attributes), posture,

physiognomic type and details of the antiquising attire and armour. The classical model for Quellinus, who had a great knowledge of Roman art due to several years of experience in the local studio of the outstanding artist François Duquesnoy, was provided by a marble statue of Mars Ultor (2 AD) that was exhibited in the collection of the Capitol Museum.<sup>22</sup> The same formal connection can be found in the neighbouring figure of an unidentified martyr dressed in an antiquising robe and crowned with a diadem (St. Rosalie?), holding a palm in her right hand, which is a bit more loose interpretation of the antiquising bronze statue of Iustitia designed by Quellinus and located on the top of the tympanum of the façade of the same building (1665).<sup>23</sup>



The ornamental decoration of both the altars is a creative transformation of forms and themes previously used in the high altar and in the altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, as well as priestly and seminary stalls. Forms of decoration different from the previous ones were applied in the case of both the friezes, where apart from acanthus ornaments there were stylized palmettes with distinctly simplified and geometrical leaves heralding the new early-Régence stylistics; the cup-shaped corbels under the statues were shaped in the similar way.

It should be emphasized that around the middle of the 1720s the former ornamental decoration of both the retables was partly supplemented. At that time

11 Amsterdam, Stadhuis, southern gallery, figure of Mars, after Katherine Fremantle, *The Baroque Townhall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959

12 Amsterdam, Stadhuis, southern gallery, modello for the figure of Iustitia, after Katherine Fremantle, *The Baroque Townhall of Amsterdam*, Utrecht, 1959

the complicated acanthus and ribbon plaiting ornaments enriched with shells were applied onto the profiles of the painting frames in the main fields and, in addition, similar decorations were used in the upper strips of the side walls in the altar of the confraternity. All of them are clearly dependent on details from the early period and the height of Régence in the other altars; those of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, the Blessed Sacrament, St. Vincent de Paul and St. Charles Borromeo, which were made at the same time by the workshop of Michał Bartłomiej Bernatowicz.



14 M. Préaud, *op. cit.*, p. 287, item cat. 2026.

15 K. Wardzińska, Johannes Söffrens – rzeźbiarz elbląski przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku: *Sculpture in Royal Prussia. materials of 3rd edition of conference Art and Culture in Royal Prussia*, Gdańsk, 18-19.09.2009, Ed. J. Kriegseisen, Gdańsk, 2011 (in the press).

16 M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII wieku*, pp. 103, 106; idem, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża*, p. 139.

17 K. Wardzińska, *Ołtarz główny i luk łączący kościoła Benedyktynek p.w. św. Jakuba w Toruniu. Nieznane dzieła Johanna Antona Langenhahna Starszego i Jerzego Judy Tadeusza Dąbrowicza: Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojakubskiego w Toruniu*, Ed. K. Kluczwajd, Toruń, 2010, pp. 330-335.

18 J. Sito, M. Wardziński, *Recepcja twórczości graficznej Jeana Lepautre'a w sztuce sakralnej Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku: Francusko-polskie związki artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, Eds. Andrzej Pieńkos and Agnieszka Rozales-Rodriquez, Warsaw, 2010 (in the press).

19 D. Kaczmarzyk, *Projekt Tylmana z Gameren drewnianego kościoła w Klementowicach, Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. VI, 1961, no. 4, pp. 346-347, fig. 7; idem, Barsz Wilhelm: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających*, vol. 1, Ed. J. Maurin-Białostocka, Warsaw, 1971, p. 93.

20 See the latest works: K.E. Kandt, Andreas Schlüter and Otto van Veen: the source, context, and adaptation of a classicizing emblem for the tomb of Jakub Sobieski, *Artium Quaestiones X*, 2000, pp. 35-117; idem, Andreas Schlüter and his Circle: *New Archival Contributions to the Biographies of Danzig Artists active for the Berlin Court circa 1700: Morze Zjawisk*, the magazine published by the Faculty of Languages and History of the University of Gdańsk, vol. 2/3 (2003), pp. 127-179; K. Wardzińska, M. Wardziński, *Putti fiamminghi François du Quesnoya a rzeźba figuralna Andreea Schlütera II w Rzeczypospolitej: Polska i Europa w dobie nowożytnej. L'Europe moderne: nouveau monde, nouvelle civilisation? Modern Europe – New World, New Civilisation? Prace naukowe dedykowane Profesorowi Juliuszowi A. Chrościckiemu*, Warsaw, 2009, pp. 561-570.

21 M. Karpowicz, *Cuda Węgrowa*, Węgrów, 2009, pp. 63, 65, 107-113, figs. NaN pp. 63, 64, 108-115.

22 M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu. Antykizacja i klasycyzacja w środowisku warszawskim czasów Jana III*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, updated and supplemented, Warsaw, 1986, pp. 33-34, figs. 25-27.

23 J. Gabriels, *Artus Quellinus de Oude 'Kunsttyck Belhouwer'*, Antwerpen, 1930, pp. 109, 110, 112, 118, 120, 146-147, charts XIV, XXVII, XXX, fig. 23; E.J. Gossens, *De Rol van de beeldhouwkunst: Jacob van Campen. Het klassieke ideal in de Gouden Eeuw*, Eds. J. Huysken, K. Ottenheim and G. Schwartz, Amsterdam, 1995, pp. 215-216, 219-220, figs. 217e, 223.

5 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for Sts. Roch and Sebastian, figure of St. Florian, archival photo, before 1939

6 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for Sts. Roch and Sebastian, figure of St. Rosalie (?), archival photo, before 1939

7 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels, figure of the Archangel Raphael, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

8 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, side altar for St. Michael the Archangel and All Angels, figure of the Guardian Angel, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

*Reception of the  
Altars in the  
Warsaw Church  
of the Holy Cross  
in the Art of the  
First Half of the  
18th Century  
in the Polish  
Commonwealth  
(except Royal  
Prussia and Duchy  
of Warmia)*

The set of five altars contributed to the Warsaw Church of the Holy Cross by the Elbląg workshop of Johannes Söffrens and Michael Bröse, aka Brösen, ranks among the most significant art projects of the late-seventeenth / early-eighteenth century in the lands of the Polish Crown. As such, it inspired several remarkable cases of imitation in the following decades. The problem has not found due resonance in art historical research so far.

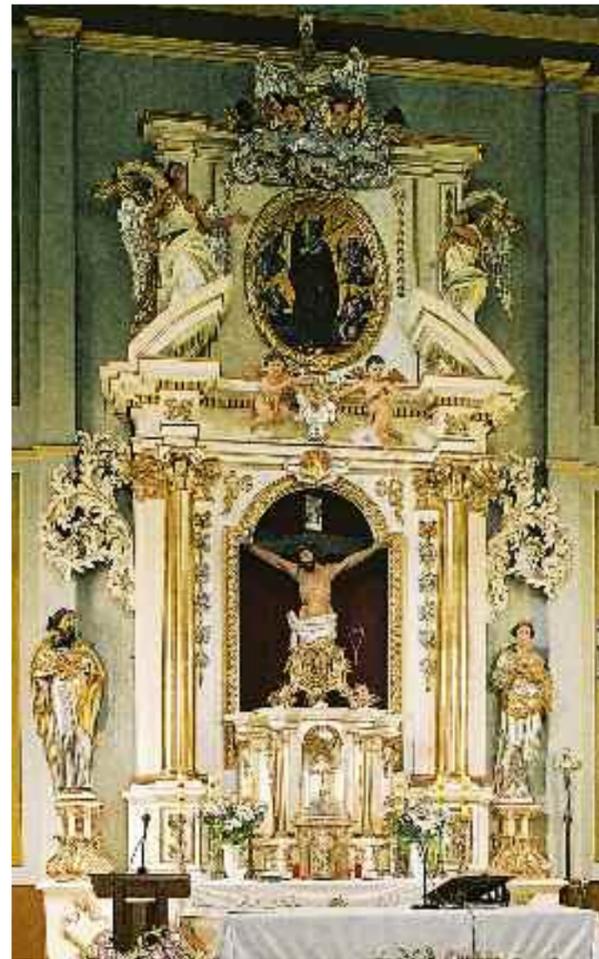
Because of the monumental size and dynamism of the sculptural programmes of the main and two transept altarpieces, the less affluent non-Warsaw clients were initially much more interested in the architectural models and solutions employed in 1705 in the two Holy Cross lateral altars dedicated to St. Roch and St. Michael the Archangel.

The present High Altar in the parish church erected in 1766 at Przesmyki near Łosice in the region of Podlachia<sup>1</sup> comes from the first half of the 1710s. Of unidentified provenance, the altarpiece stands out for the high quality of its sculptural elaboration. Clear references to the latter of the above-mentioned Warsaw Holy Cross altarpieces feature both in the Przesmyki altar's structure (despite the reduction of the lateral walls and extreme pilasters, and of the voluted profiles in the coping) and the number of its figures and ornamental details. The side figures at Przesmyki, which represent Sts. Paul and Barbara, are mounted on detached quadrilateral vase-shaped pedestals, amply decorated with dry acanthus in the corners and coating. In the figures of St. Michael the Archangel and both kneeling angels in the coping, and the St. Barbara statue it has come to literal repetition of the corresponding figures of, respectively, the coping of the Warsaw St. Michael altarpiece and the right-hand side of the St. Roch altarpiece opposite.

Additionally, there are grounds for associating three other altarpiece structures elsewhere with the oeuvre of the same, as yet unidentified Warsaw sculpture workshop (probably composed of Söffrens's anonymous assistants employed in the capital) credited with the Przesmyki altarpiece. Among these three other altarpieces, which repeat the same architectural and sculptural layout, there is the pair of rood-adjacent altars to the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Holy Cross – previously believed to be cases of the nineteenth-century neo-baroque style – in the parish church of Gorzków near Krasnystaw. The town-owners, the

<sup>1</sup> Przesmyki, parish church, High Altar, c. 1710–15, Johannes Söffrens's unidentified pupil or imitator, active in Warsaw, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2005

<sup>2</sup> Gorzków, parish church, rood arch-adjacent left-hand side altar for the Blessed Virgin Mary, c. 1715–20, Johannes Söffrens's unidentified pupil or imitator, active in Warsaw, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008



Sobieski family, were collators of the church as of after the 1650s, followed by the Mniszech family in the second quarter of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The third structure, the main altarpiece in the nearby Siemianówka parish church, belonged to the outfit of the Lwów Arch-See's Vicars College. The Siemianówka church was endowed in 1720–1721 by the then Voivode of Smolensk Aleksander Jan Potocki and Teresa née Tarlo, the daughter of Aleksander the then Castellán of Zawichost. Partly modified in the nineteenth century and destroyed after 1952, it is known in original form only from iconographic evidence.<sup>3</sup>

In 1719–1721, an unidentified inferior workshop, likewise from Warsaw, built in the Primate Collegiate Church in Łowicz a set of for rood-adjacent and pillar altars. Their structure yet again imitates in a simplified manner the architecture of the two Söffrens altar-



Sts. Peter and Paul, was added. The talented maker vested the figures with qualities of mature works of the same, at that time leading Warsaw sculpture workshop.<sup>4</sup>

In a later period, wood-carver Łukasz Paweł Grzegułkowski (Grzegółkowski) active at Drohiczyn in the Podlachia in the 1720s–1740s took up the same Warsaw Holy Cross patterns, which he later travestied, compiled or enriched with additional architectural elements. His 1727 High Altar for the nearby Knychówek parish church commissioned by Chamberlain of the Drohiczyn district Wiktoryn Kuczyński shows the same strong formal-stylistic dependence.<sup>5</sup> Also the pair of lateral Przesmyki altars and the main Milejczyce altarpiece near Siemiatycze (c. 1720–1730) by his workshop imitate the Warsaw patterns.<sup>6</sup>

During the same period altars similar in form though of poorer artistic quality began incidentally to crop up in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, e.g. at the Calced Carmelites' at Kołesniki in the former Wilno province



pieces in the last pair of chapels in the Warsaw Holy Cross. Much simplified, their structures emerged without due understanding of the intricate artistic origin of the archetypes while ornamental details, evidently too large and elaborate, indicate that the Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz workshop's contemporary commissions served as the source of inspiration. In 1723, one more pillar altarpiece, dedicated to

<sup>3</sup> Przesmyki, parish church, High Altar, figure of St. Paul, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2005

<sup>4</sup> Przesmyki, parish church, High Altar, figure of St. Barbara, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2005

<sup>5</sup> Gorzków, parish church, rood arch-adjacent right-hand side Holy Cross Altar, c. 1715–20, Johannes Söffrens's unidentified pupil or imitator, active in Warsaw, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2008

<sup>6</sup> Siemianówka, parish church, High Altar, c. 1720–1, Johannes Söffrens's unidentified pupil or imitator, active in Warsaw, photographer unknown, 1924, via Andrzej Betlej

<sup>7</sup> Siemianówka, parish church, High Altar, photo before 1939, via Andrzej Betlej

(today Lithuania, before 1714). From there, probably after 1838, via Ejszyski, they reached the parish church at Raduń near Lida (today Belorussia).<sup>7</sup>

There is another, just as early example of deliberate references – either made by Warsaw wood-carvers or commissioned by their wealthy magnate donors – to concrete architectural and decorative solutions in the Warsaw Holy Cross altarpieces, this time of the High and the transept altars. It embraces two distinctive lateral altars in the parish churches of Janowiec on Vistula and Radzyń Podlaski, with which art historians have not been as yet closely acquainted. The Janowiec altar<sup>8</sup>, dedicated to St. Antony, was purchased in Lublin along with the High Altar in 1715 or 1718 (?) from the endowment of the collators Jerzy Dominik Lubomirski and Magdalena née Tarło, daughter of Stanisław the Voivode of Lublin. The Radzyń

altarpieces, with pilasters doubled on both sides, campanula-shaped voluted ornaments and, instead of the capitals, three Flemish-styled winged cherub heads, are a quotation from the copings articulation in the three Söffrens altarpieces mentioned above.

The reception of the architectural structure and major ornamental elements of the Warsaw Holy Cross High Altar is an issue of equal importance. Around 1720–1721, an unidentified, probably Warsaw workshop erected three altars in the Plock Bishops' Collegiate Church in Pultusk. These were the rood-adjacent altars to the Holy Trinity and the Virgin Mary, and the altar to St. Stanisław Kostka at the northern nave termination<sup>10</sup> whose details are evident small-scale renderings of an arrangement featuring in the Warsaw Holy Cross High Altar. The solution imitated is the vertical sequence of three oval medallions in the lateral bays, originally for storing the reliquaries.



Podlaski altarpiece<sup>9</sup> (before 1710 or rather c. 1715–1720) was endowed by Stanisław Antoni Szczuka or Konstancja Maria [Szczuczyna] née Potocka. The specifically approached vertical divisions of the two

The first, and to date the only identified example of a relatively faithful copy of the whole monumental Holy Cross altar is the 1728–1729 structure of the altarpiece to the miraculous figure of the Blessed Virgin of Rzeszów in the transept southern arm in the local Bernadine Church. Endowed by the owner of the city, Prince Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski, it was the work of the outstanding Bavarian Thomas Hutter.<sup>11</sup> Here the donor and the sculptor have preserved the complete architectural programme of the original, in that by then long abandoned acanthus detail. Therefore Hutter must have actually seen the Warsaw altar.

<sup>8</sup> Milejczyce, parish church, High Altar, c. 1720–30, executed by Łukasz Czregółkowski of Drohiczyń (attributed), photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>9</sup> Radzyń Podlaski, parish church, side altar for the Virgin Mary, c. 1715–20, executed by an unidentified sculptor's workshop of Lublin, photo: M. Wardziński, 2008

<sup>10</sup> Łowicz, Collegiate Church, side altar for St. Nicholas, 1719, executed by an unidentified sculpture workshop of Warsaw, photo: M. Wardziński, 2009

<sup>11</sup> Janowiec, parish church, side altar for St. Stanislaus, 1715 or 1718, executed by an unidentified sculpture workshop of Lublin, photo: M. Wardziński, 2008



12



At the present, introductory stage of research, the varied examples of formal influence exerted by the excellent set of five High Baroque altarpieces in the Warsaw Church of the Holy Cross certainly do not exhaust the entirety of the complex problems involved. This is because of major deficiencies in our knowledge of the sculpture of the late seventeenth century and the first quarter of the eighteenth. The general conviction that all artistic creation suffered decline and was long suspended during and after the Great Northern War is a shadow not really dispelled to this day.

The key to the origin and authorship of the group of altarpieces discussed is likely to be found in the Tarło, Szczuka, Lubomirski, and Potocki donors' direct family links with the Warsaw church of the Congregation of the Mission's foremost administrators and donors during the construction and furnishing process.



<sup>7</sup> A. Oleńska, *Kościół parafialny p.w. Matki Boskiej Różańcowej w Raduniu: Kościoły i klasztory dawnego województwa wileńskiego*, vol. 1, Ed. M. Kalamajska-Saeed, Cracow, 2005 (= *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, scholarly Ed. J.K. Ostrowski, part III, vol. 1), pp. 194, f., 2002, fig. 510.

<sup>8</sup> KZSP, vol. III, fascicle 6, Warsaw, 1958, p. 8; J. Stoch, A. Szymanek, *Parafia w Janowcu nad Wisłą. Karty z przeszłości (XIV–XVIII w.): Parafia regionu Wisły Środkowej w XII–XIX w. (= IV Janowieckie Spotkania Historyczne)*, Janowiec, 2003, p. 223; M. Parfianowicz, *Altarze kościoła parafialnego w Janowcu w kontekście twórczości Tylmana z Gärneren, Notatnik Janowiecki*, no. 13, 2003–2004, p. 155–157, fig. 6–8. Cf. also J. Gierowski, Lubomirski Jerzy Dominik: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XVIII/1, fascicle 76, Wrocław-Warsaw-Cracow-Gdańsk, 1973, p. 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Szkiecy z dziejów Radzyna Podlaskiego i byłego powiatu radzyńskiego*, Radzyń Podlaski, 1995, pp. 36, 50.

<sup>10</sup> KZSP, vol. X, fascicle 20, Warsaw, 1999, pp. XXXI, 40, 42, fig. 85–87.

<sup>11</sup> J. Sito, *Thomas Hutter (1696–1745) rzeźbiarz późnego baroku*, Warszawa-Przemysł, 2001, pp. 72, f., 103, 283–285, cat. no. B 7, figs. 16–19.

<sup>12</sup> Pultusk, Collegiate Church, rood arch-adjacent left-hand side Holy Trinity Altar, 1720–1, executed by an unidentified sculpture workshop of Warsaw, photo: M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>13</sup> Pultusk, Collegiate Church, rood arch-adjacent left-hand side altar for St. Stanisław Kostka, 1720–1, executed by an unidentified sculpture workshop of Warsaw (?), photo: M. Wardziński, 2006

<sup>14</sup> Rzeszów, Bernadine Church, side altar for the miraculous figure of the Virgin of Rzeszów, 1728–9, executed by Thomas Hutter, photo: M. Wardziński, 2008

# Monastic and Seminary Stalls 1702–1705, complemented c. 1720

JOHANNES SÖFFRENS  
JERZY JUDA TADEUSZ DĄBROWICZ (ATTRIB.)

As a complement to the original furnishing of the chancel, there are four stall segments placed by the lateral walls. The first two, neighbouring the monumental High Altar on the floor dais, originally served the celebrant, deacons, and the Congregation of the Mission priests while the pair in the second bay was intended for the seminarians and local seminary priests.

The exact dating of the whole set is still unknown. According to the Reverend Michał Symonowicz, the non-surviving archival material suggests origin coinciding in time with the Superior Fathers Bartłomiej Michał Tarło's and Giovanni Antonio Fabri's terms in office, 1687–1709 and

regarding the stalls as a neo-baroque style monument, she dates the paintings after the mid-19th c.<sup>4</sup> Her conclusions are unreservedly accepted by Mariusz Karpowicz.<sup>5</sup>

The twin priestly stalls, reduced after the mid-19th c. to the backs alone plus coping, had details of their ornamental decoration partly replaced in the second half of the 19th c. and after 1945. In their current form, they constitute tall, seven-bay wainscot with a pedestal section that has two more bays in width, and a three-bay middle section singled out by a projection. There is no articulation in the pedestal section; instead, rectangular panels single out the fields of the individual bays while pseudo-pilasters with conspicuous, S-shaped volute consoles, decorated with



1715–1721, respectively.<sup>1</sup> According to the archival material, in 1824 the sedilia where whitewashed. Franciszek M. Sobieszkański describes them generally in 1863 as belonging to the Renaissance style.<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Leopold Petrzyk records in 1920 that the colour of natural oak, in which they were carved, has been restored to them. He also writes of the original images of Christ, the Apostles (in oval fields) and events of the New Testament (inside rectangular frames) being replaced with new canvases by the well-known Warsaw painter Alfred Schuppé, which he finds artistically disappointing.<sup>3</sup> Elżbieta Kowalczykowska declares a different position. While

appliqué-work acanthus leaves and campanula festoons, separate the backs. The consoles carry conspicuous entablature with a cushion frieze decorated with a classicising plaited band ornament with regularly arrayed openings filled with rosettes and acanthus palmettes along the division axes. A wide segmentary pediment is spanned above. Rectangular frames with auricular side 'ears' and moulding fill the fields of the backs, supported in the corners by small acanthus consoles, alternating with oval medallions framed by laurel or oak leaves intertwined with ribbons or bands. To complement the ornamental decoration of the fields, there is an alternating sequence of, in the frames, small shell-fastened campanula garlands spanned between the lower consoles and, on the moulding, irregularly cut-out empty cartouches with ample fruit-and-flower clusters falling sideways, and, round the medallions, of antithetical, notched-band

ooges at the bottom, covered half-length and on the upper scrolls with twisted acanthus sprigs, with, at the top, festoons suspended at two points, with fruit-and-flower clusters attached in the centre and to the festoons. The edges of the backs are held within similar, elaborate acanthus consoles plus, added above, voluted profiles covered with acanthus sprigs. Along the axis of the fields of the pediments, there are voluted cartouches with bound monograms alluding to the dedication of the church, the Latin Cross with, slung round it, the Brazen Serpent. To fill the remaining space, there are antithetically arranged, lush ramified acanthus sprigs (not re-created after 1945). Small altar crosses, with bases richly shaped in imitation of

the lower row to enable free passage. Elements of the vertical and horizontal articulation and the arrangement of the fields in the backs have remained unchanged. On the other hand, vases like those described above, this time totalling twelve, are present as extensions to the axes of division between all bays.

Analysis of the construction and ornamental detail of both parts of the Holy Cross stalls, whose simplicity combines with considerable design elegance and a classicising trait in their High Baroque artistic expression, suggests origin coinciding with the utmost intensity of the Missionary Church furnishing process. It also indicates clear formal-stylistic links with other

as, for instance of the pedestal cartouches for new ones. Thus the only original elements left, are both types of the framing of the fields and ornamental and figural detail.

Almost all of the surviving original detail of the Holy Cross stalls may be set against Söffrens's oeuvre as a stone- and wood-carver in the Duchy of Warmia, the former provinces of Malbork (German: Marienburg) and Chełmno, and the capital city of Warsaw. Very similar consoles with *repoussé* backs with a lush acanthus and campanula covering and identically decorated band ooges feature elsewhere. Cf. the altarpiece and voluted side profiles of the lateral marble-alabaster altar to Sts. Simon and Jude Thaddeus (1696–1697),



Baroque gold-work, feature centrally on the moulding, flanked by half-reclining winged angels in relaxed, 'stirred' poses. Dressed in robes with references to antiquity, the angels previously handled non-surviving props, most probably the *Arma Christi*. Burning vases with *repoussé* bellies decorated with festoons feature as an extension to division lines between two extreme bays.

Identical in composition, with an identical layout of pedestals and backs, the seminary stalls segments have been designed as eleven-bay structures, with two rows of seats fixed stepwise with an interval in

works of Johannes Söffrens employed by the Congregation between 1695 and 1722 in Chełmno and Warsaw.<sup>6</sup> The erroneous, very severe view of their 19th-century origin is to be attributed to major transformation to which the stalls were then subjected. It resulted in the removal and substitution of some seats for new ones, the latter often very simplified in form, and the substitution of the overall panel arrangement in the pedestals, backs and pediments, as well

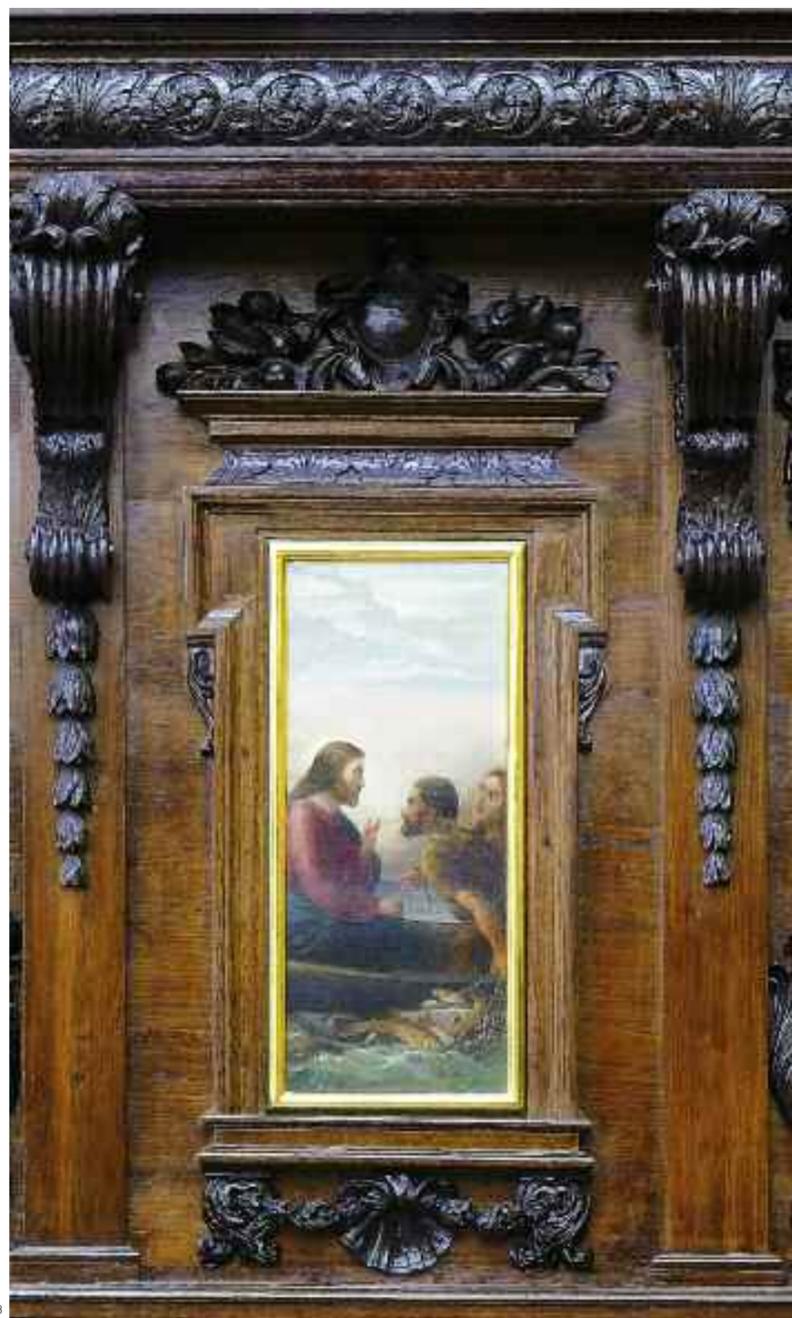
<sup>1</sup> M. Symonowicz, *Opis kościoła parafialnego S. Krzyża XX Misjonarzy, Rozmaitości Warszawskie. Dodatek do Gazety Korespondenta warszawskiego i zagranicznego*, vol. 1, 1825, no. 3, p. 17.  
<sup>2</sup> F.M. Sobieszkański, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie, Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, vol. 8, 1863, no. 216, p. 443.  
<sup>3</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 111, fig. p. 112.  
<sup>4</sup> E. Kowalczykowska, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975, p. 100.  
<sup>5</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła Św. Krzyża: Księga pamiątkowa – Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie w trzecieście rocznicę konsekracji 1696–1996*, Ed. T. Chachulski, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 127–158.  
<sup>6</sup> K. Jarocińska (Wardzyńska), *Prace snycerskie Jan Söffrensa z Elbląga dla misjonarzy w Chełmnie i w Warszawie: Artyści włoscy w Polsce XV–XVIII wiek*. Papers presented to Professor Mariusz Karpowicz, Eds. J.A. Chrościński and R. Sulewska, Warsaw, 2004, pp. 623–642.

**1** Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, southern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, c. 1700–05, complemented c. 1720, oak, general view, photographer unknown, before 1929  
**2** Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, southern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, c. 1700–05, pediment with figural decoration, photographer unknown, before 1929

Frombork Cathedral, and, patterned on it, the almost twin main altarpieces, one (1711) in the Stare Pole (German: Altfelde) near Elbląg Lutheran church, the other (c. 1713–1717) in Szywnald near Łasin, former Chelmno Province, featuring analogous voluted profiles.<sup>7</sup>

marble altar to St. George (1693–1694) in the Polish Chapel, Frombork Cathedral, and in the ornamental wood-carved coping of the altar (1695) in the Chapel to the Blessed Sacrament in the parish church of Chelmno, administered by the Missionaries. Söffrens was employed there by his main protector in the

These were the lateral bays of the neighbouring High Altar (1699), the coping and extreme axes of the main altarpiece (1701) in the filial church at Jasna, district of Żuławy (mouth of the Vistula), and the Lutheran



3 As for the oval medallions within laurel and oak leaves, the artist used them twice in his two other early altarpieces. They featured in the auricular 'ears' of the

Congregation, the Reverend Giovanni Antonio Fabri, later Superior in Warsaw.<sup>8</sup> Mention is due to analogous medallions, a detail Söffrens particularly liked and widely used, present in the same or slightly richer repertoire of floral ornament in several other works.

<sup>3</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, northern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, raised framing of a stall back picture, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, southern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, oval medallion with a picture on the back of a stall, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, northern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, voluted profile of the back of a stall, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010



church at Przewmark (German: Preussisch Markt) near Elbląg (1718). Medallions feature next in the framing of the main fields in a series of anti-architectural lateral altars in the said Jasna; in Mszano near Brodnica (1695–1700); parish churches in Malbork (1701) and Szywnald near Łasin (after 1717); and a pair of altars (1717–1724) in the Dzierżoń Reformati Church, former diocese of Pomesania.<sup>9</sup> In the Warsaw

church, besides the main altarpiece, Söffrens used the motif twice, occasionally enriching it with other decoration. It features in the frames of the oval pictures in the copings of the pair of altars to St. Roch and St. Michael the Archangel.

The remaining detail: festoons, garlands and other fruit-and-floral suspensions are part of the repertoire of common decorative forms in Flemish, Dutch, French, and Pomeranian 'small' architecture. The origin of most of those featuring in the current edition of the Warsaw stalls is to be traced back firstly to pattern-books, primarily the Hubert Quellinus *Voor-naamste Statuen ende Ciraten van het konstrijk Stadthuys van Amsterdam...* (Latin title: *Prima pars Praecipuarum effigierum ac ornamentum amplissimae*

sprigs shooting from the fleurons decorating the framing and auricular 'ears' in the Frombork, Chelmno, Jasna, Stare Pole, Szywnald and Przewmark altars, that in the console and ogee decoration and, in more complex arrangements, in the pediment fields, is much drier. The individual shoots no longer tend to twist and creep like new lush sprigs do. On the other hand, this peculiar acanthus type comes formally closer to that used by Söffrens in the side consoles, entablature friezes and coping fields of the neighbouring pair of transept altars to Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève (1704) and the altar to the Blessed Sacrament (1720–1721). Let us also point out that only in the last-named work, one confirmed by the sources, did the sculptor first adopt a new edition of sashes and

hairstyles, and a denser, more powerfully hewn modelling of the robes, different from that characterising the master's hand. In the light of the acknowledged oeuvre of Söffrens's workshop and at least three of his putative pupils, Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz of Lubawa (recorded 1697–1737), Mattes Rodte aka Brösen of Elbląg (recorded 1713–1721)<sup>12</sup> credit for the execution would go to the first. The Warsaw angels show considerable similarity in physiognomic type and body treatment to the analogous figures in the best altars in the artist's oeuvre. These are the pillar altar to St. Joseph (1708) in the Nowe Miasto Lubawskie parish church and the main altar (1729) in the former church of the Benedictine Nuns in Chelmno.<sup>13</sup>



*curiae Amstelodamensis...*) after drawings by Jacop van Campen and Artus Quellinus the Elder, published in Amsterdam by Frederick de Witt in 1665.<sup>10</sup> The other source is Söffrens's workshop experience. In the 1780s, the artist travelled to Holland and the Spanish Netherlands, most probably visiting Amsterdam and The Hague as well as Antwerp, Mechelen, and Brussels.<sup>11</sup>

The type of acanthus ornament used in the stalls, which is somewhat different from that used by Söffrens in works predating 1700, deserves a little more attention. In contrast to the lush, ramified acanthus

bands complementing it in the extreme consoles and the inner segments of frieze bands with early-Regency grooving and reeding.

The set of four angel figures is not to be associated with Söffrens himself, but with an assistant figure sculptor, perhaps the most gifted in his workshop. They are distinct for their slim build bordering on emaciation, the relatively summarily elaborated bodies and

<sup>6</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, northern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, right-hand side angel figure, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>7</sup> K. Wardzińska, Johannes Söffrens – rzeźbiarz elbląski przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku: *Rzeźba w Prusach Królewskich*. Proceedings of the 3rd Sztuka i kultura w Prusach Królewskich scholarly session, Gdańsk, 18–19.09.2009, Ed. J. Kriegseisen, Gdańsk, 2011 (in the press).

<sup>8</sup> K. Jarocińska (Wardzińska), op. cit., pp. 624–633, 636, figs. 1, and 2–6.

<sup>9</sup> K. Wardzińska, Johannes Söffrens – rzeźbiarz elbląski przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku (in the press).

<sup>10</sup> For the use of decorative motifs from the pattern-book in the Gdańsk and Pomeranian sculpture of the period, see K. Wardzińska, M. Wardziński, *Plastyka flamandzka a rzeźba kamienna 2. połowy XVII w. w Gdańsku i Rzeczypospolitej*, Hans Caspar i Hans Michael Gockheller, Andreas Schülter i Johannes Söffrens, *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka*, special Netherlandish issue (in the press).

<sup>11</sup> K. Wardzińska, Johannes Söffrens – rzeźbiarz elbląski przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku (in the press).

<sup>12</sup> K. Wardzińska, Johannes Söffrens – rzeźbiarz elbląski przełomu XVII i XVIII wieku (in the press), eadem, *Altarz główny i luk tęczowy kościoła Benedyktynek p.w. św. Jakuba w Toruniu. Nieznane dzieła Johanna Langenhana Starszego i Jerzego Judy Tadeusza Dąbrowicza: Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojakubskiego w Toruniu*, Ed. K. Kluczwajd, Toruń, 2010, pp. 337 f.

<sup>13</sup> K. Wardzińska, *Altarz główny i luk tęczowy kościoła Benedyktynek...*, pp. 38, f.

The establishment of the origin of the composition of the stall structures, the authorship of the design and the exact dating presents itself as the most difficult task. Considering Johannes Söffrens's Flemish and Dutch training, we should primarily take into account his possible dependence on the leading 17th-century examples of this type of church furniture in the Southern Netherlands. In particular, the influence of the foremost sculptural workshops of the Quelinus, the Verbrugghen, the van den Eynde and the de Néve in Antwerp, Mechelen and Brussels should be considered. Yet comparison yields no positive results. Between the 1750s and the 1820s, the oak stalls, benches, and screen confessionals in this region pro-

On the other hand, it is well worth considering a hypothesis about a definite design for the structure and decoration of the stalls prompted to Söffrens by the priests Tarlo and Fabri who commissioned the project. Both had had cultural and artistic contacts with their native monastic communities in Paris and elsewhere in France. In this context, the architectural form and decoration arrangement in the priestly and seminary stalls in Warsaw might have derived from the similarly shaped French furniture at the close of the 17th century. In spite of the vast damage to the resources of religious monuments during the French Revolution, dependence of this kind may be observed for instance in the excellent stalls in the abbey church

lar pediments to single out the projecting middle sections of the backs were likewise a frequent motif in the French capital (e.g. in the church of Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois, 1682, designed by Charles Le Brun, executed by François Mercier). To crown the moulding with very similarly designed burning vases was a common device at that time.<sup>16</sup>

Thus the presence of High Baroque Flemish ornamental detail in the classicising French structure of the stalls under discussion may provide evidence for the sculptor's obedience to the general architectural design provided by the Missionaries. Consequently the line of descent is to be traced back to Paris, to the circle of their native Saint-Lazare.

ed by the Revs Tarlo and Fabri may therefore indicate that the latter project was carried out in two stages, one in 1700–1702/1703, the other some time after the war, that is, after 1715. The monastic stalls should have emerged at the first stage. Then Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz, a journeyman with experience in carving figures in oak, turning independent wood-carver c. 1705, might have still been Söffrens's co-worker.<sup>17</sup> The seminary stalls emerged at the second stage on assumption that early Regency elements were complemented in both parts as late as that. Most probably, the works coincided with the construction of the neighbouring transept altar to the Blessed Sacrament.

<sup>14</sup> P. Philippot, D. Coeckelbrghs, P. Loze, D. Vautier, *L'architecture religieuse et la sculpture baroques dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège 1600-1770*, Spirmont, 2003, esp. pp. 230-235, 257, 261, 336-351, 377, 379, 504-509, and figs on the pages listed. Cf. also basic study on Flemish 17th-century confessionals, stalls, and wainscoting, S. Zajadacz-Hastenrath, *Das Beichtgestühl der Antwerpener St. Pauluskirche und der Barockbeichtstuhl in der Südlichen Niederlanden*, Brussels, 1970.

<sup>15</sup> L. Hauteceur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, Paris, 1943, vol. 2, *Le règne de Louis XIV*, part II, pp. 787, f., 790, figs 616, 619, f. Cf. also E. Roffidal-Motte, *Les stalles et la chaire de la basilique de Saint-Maxim*, published by La Thune, 2000; B. Pons, *De Paris à Versailles 1699-1736. Le sculpteur ornementaliste parisiens et l'art décoratif des Bâtiments du roi*, Strassbourg, 1986, pp. 89-94, 97-101, figs 38-46, 67-126.

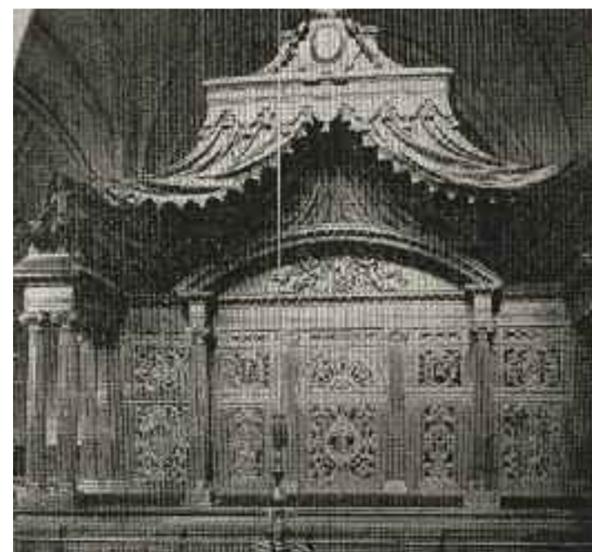
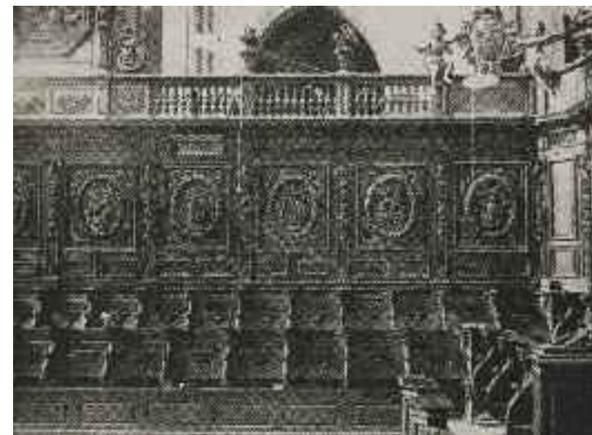


vide for the use of elaborate architectural forms with column- or herm-featuring articulation and a markedly accentuated leading role of figural sculptures. These make up galleries of at least some dozen statues of Christ, the Virgin, the Apostles, and saints – members of religious orders and ones venerated locally, complemented by numerous angel figures. It was extremely rare for them to feature busts in the round or, rarer still, relief medallions with representations of this kind instead. Similar oval or rectangular frames round easel paintings or analogous copings do not occur.<sup>14</sup>

of Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume in Provence, the 1692 work of the Dominican lay brother Vincent Fernel. In the bays of the backs separated with pilasters, the fields are filled with almost identically fashioned oval frames containing scenes of the life of St. Dominic in low relief. Early in the 18th century, Jacques V Gabriel, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, and Robert de Cotte developed the concept in their design for the famous sedilia in Orléans Holy Cross Cathedral (1699) and the Paris Notre-Dame (1710), though already in the newer Regency style.<sup>15</sup> Classical, segmentary or triangu-

The emergence of a work as artistically refined, which, at the same time provided the monks with a piece of basic furnishings used in their devotional and liturgical life, was connected with works on the furnishing of the chancel. In 1699–1700, Söffrens erected the monumental High Altar, a structure organising visually this part of the church. Only on completion of this task could the Missionaries set about constructing the stalls. The archival record of their being found-

7 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, southern segment of the priestly/monastic stalls, right-hand side angel figure, photo: M. Wardziński, 2010



8 France, Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume, Provence, Dominican Church, monastic stalls, 1692, executed by the lay Dominican brother Vincent Fernel, photo after L. Hauteceur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, Paris, 1943, vol. 2, *Le règne de Louis XIV*, part 2

9 France, Paris, Saint Germain-l'Auxerrois, monastic stalls, 1682, designed by Charles Le Brun, executed by François Mercier, photo after L. Hauteceur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France*, Paris, 1943, vol. 2, *Le règne de Louis XIV*, part 2

10 Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, parish church, pillar altar for St. Joseph, 1708, executed by Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz (attributed), photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 791, f., fig. 610, f., 621.

<sup>17</sup> K. Wardzińska, *Altarz główny i luk tęczowy kościoła Benedyktyniek...*, p. 330-335.

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*Pulpit,  
 Choir Screen  
 Grille,  
 and Balustrade  
 round the Church's  
 Inner Cornice  
 1698-1699  
 or 1700-1705;  
 1712-1717  
 and 1726*

LAY BROTHER MIKOŁAJ TETAR AKA TETER CM

The Holy Cross pulpit was endowed by Henri Monmejan, a French Missionary priest of the local convent, who allocated three thousand imperials for the purpose. Construction is credited to lay brother Mikołaj Tetar, aka Teter the outstanding specialist in ornamental ironwork.<sup>1</sup> As communicated by Franciszek M. Sobieszkański (in fact, Franciszek Kurowski) and subsequently repeated, though not confirmed in the sources, by Julian Bartoszewicz, the Rev. Leon Petrzyk, and later researchers, 1698 was the year of the endowment, and 1699 that of construction.<sup>2</sup> As suggested by Jacek Gajewski, and recently supported by Jerzy Żmudziński, in the same period (c. 1698–1702) the talented artisan's services might have been also secured by the Missionaries of the newly founded seminary in Łowicz. Tetar provided a set of three grilles, slightly more modest in decoration, for the entrance arcades to the Chapel of St. Charles Borromeo. As with all other projects conducted in the convent at that time, Primate Michał Radziejowski, the great benefactor of the Congregation of the Mission, was the donor.<sup>3</sup>

Two other prestige commissions from Henri Monmejan, in this case datable with certainty, are connected with the second stage of the lay brother Tetar's work at the Warsaw Holy Cross. One, presented c. 1712, stipulated for a monumental entrance grille to the chancel at a price of five, perhaps even ten thousand imperials (Emperor's thalers), a task completed in 1727. The other, presented before April 1726, was for a set of cornice balustrades running round the entire church interior, at three thousand florins.<sup>4</sup> Both the priests of French descent, who contributed to the project by partly financing the partition grille, and the Superior, who supported it by taking charge of the purchase of the necessary iron, considered the work unique even against the richly furnished French and German Reich monastic churches, and expressed their admiration for Tetar.<sup>5</sup> On 29 March 1729, the well-known Warsaw goldsmith Marcin Sokolowski contributed a gift of twenty-one red zlotys. It was to go towards a more sumptuous carved crucifix and assisting figures of the Virgin of Sorrows and St. John the Evangelist to be placed upon the partition grille coping. The artisan also committed himself to pay for the sheet silver required for the silver-plating, which task he was to fulfil himself.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, 1698–9 or, rather, 1700–05, iron, oak and linden, executed by the lay brother Mikołaj Tetar/Teter CM, general view, photographer unknown, before 1929

<sup>2</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, 1698–9 or, rather, 1700–05, iron, oak and linden, executed by the lay brother Mikołaj Tetar/Teter CM, general view, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010



2



As early as 1792, the Missionary Priests' had the partition grille unnecessarily removed in connection with the celebration of the first anniversary of the passing of the 3 May Constitution. (The grille was eventually scrapped in 1818.) An oak grille donated

instead by the Reverend Józef Jabłonowski in 1804, was still there in 1863.<sup>7</sup> Whereas the figures had been lost, the Missionaries had the crucifix mounted up the pillar opposite the pulpit.<sup>8</sup> The balustrade continued basically unchanged till the Warsaw Rising, which was when it suffered partial damage along with the whole church. On the other hand, the archival sources remain silent about a fact raised by Elżbieta



Kowalczykowa, according to whom Tetar was also to execute eight small wrought-iron balconies in the bell-openings of the tower cupolas. The balconies were recreated during the rebuilding of the towers (under engineer Kononowicz's supervision) and in the course of repair works in the interior in 1947–1951.<sup>9</sup>

French in spirit, the Holy Cross pulpit is a classifying High Baroque structural composition. It consists of a moulded irregular hexahedral basket, with the lowest, strongly accentuated moulding complemented by a small plinth and a half-round moulding. The other elements are a bell-shaped openwork closure, a narrow back flanked by pilaster-strips, and an elaborate openwork canopy, crowned with an imposing fleuron on an openwork base and six convergent S-shaped arches. The pulpit is accessible from the chancel via stairs winding round the pillar. The grille balustrade of the stairs and the framed entrance gate imitate, in much simplified fashion, the decorative arrangements featuring in the walls of the pulpit main body. The pulpit construction, which embraces the bottom of the basket and the half-moulding, the stairs of the like design, the back, and the canopy vault, is made of black-veneered woodwork. (The decorative framing for the turn of the 18th-c. *Good Shepherd* painting fixed in the back, and the modest fruit-and-floral festoons applied to the pilaster-strips, are probably carved in oak or perhaps in linden subsequently stained and varnished.) Tetar has transformed the rest of the construction elements and the overall masterly decoration, wrought in hot and cold-forged iron bars, plates, and rods, into details from the French early-Regency ornamentation repertoire. Leafs,

<sup>3</sup> Cracow, Archives of the *Nasza Przyszłość* periodical, call number 4, *Liber Eleemosynae...*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawski rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym*, Warsaw, 1855, p. 52; F.M. Sobieszkański, *Kościół Świętokrzyski, Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, vol. 8, 1863, no. 216, p. 442; L. Petrzyk, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 119. The hypothesis was later repeated by Z. Batowski, Tetar (Teter), Mikołaj; *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler*, vol. XXXII, Leipzig, 1938, p. 562; B. Kopydłowski, *Polskie kowalstwo architektoniczne*, Warsaw, 1958, p. 17, figs. 181, 183, f.; E. Kozakiewiczowa, *Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie. Monografia architektoniczna, Rocznik Warszawski*, 10: 1971, p. 8, note 24; eadem, *Kościół św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975, p. 100; J. Samek, *Polskie rzemiosło artystyczne. Czasy nowożytne*, Warsaw, 1984, pp. 215, 257, fig. 150; M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1996, p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce [KZSP]*, vol. II, fascicle 5, Warsaw, 1953, fig. 67 (here erroneous dating to c. 1720); B. Kopydłowski, *Polskie kowalstwo architektoniczne*, Warszawa 1958, p. 17, fig. 225 (here dated to c. 1740); J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu: Łowicz – dzieje miasta*, Ed. R. Kolodziejczyk, p. 533, fig. 22; *Święto baroku. Sztuka w służbie Michała Stefana Radziejowskiego (1645–1705)*, May–September 2009, Pałac Museum in Wilanów, exhibition catalogue, Ed. J. Żmudziński, p. 218, cat. no. 71, fig. pp. 40, f. (catalogue entry: J. Żmudziński).

<sup>4</sup> Cracow, Archives of the *Nasza Przyszłość* periodical, call number 4, *Liber Eleemosynae...*, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> Cracow, Archiwum Zgromadzenia Misjonarzy w Krakowie na Stradomiu [further: AMS], complex *Warszawa, Catalogus Missionum...*, unpaginated (under dates 04.1726 and 1727); B. Kopydłowski, op. cit., p. 17, fig. 182, E. Kozakiewiczowa, op. cit., pp. 100, 104, figs. 5, 6, 36.

<sup>6</sup> Cracow, Archives of the *Nasza Przyszłość* periodical, call number 4, *Liber Eleemosynae...*, p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> F.M. Sobieszkański, op. cit., p. 443.

<sup>8</sup> F.M. Sobieszkański, op. cit., p. 443; L. Petrzyk, op. cit., p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> E. Kozakiewiczowa, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, 54, figs. 23–25, 27, 29.

<sup>3</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, basket, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, basket side decoration, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, back of the seat, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

<sup>6</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, canopy, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

<sup>7</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, pulpit, balustrade of the stairs with a gate, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

rosettes and buds of slightly dried acanthus prevail over strapwork and smooth bands arrangements that constitute the pattern fabric in the main body.

Completed c. 1712, and probably based on Tetar's own design, the construction of the partition grille took about fifteen years, which was because of its size and the intricacies of structure and decoration, unprecedented in the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. With no exaggeration, the piece may be regarded as the supreme work of Late Baroque ornamental ironwork. A drawn plan<sup>10</sup> for the grille surviving in Dresden, executed between 1727 and 1729 (before mounting a new Crucifixion group in the coping), indi-

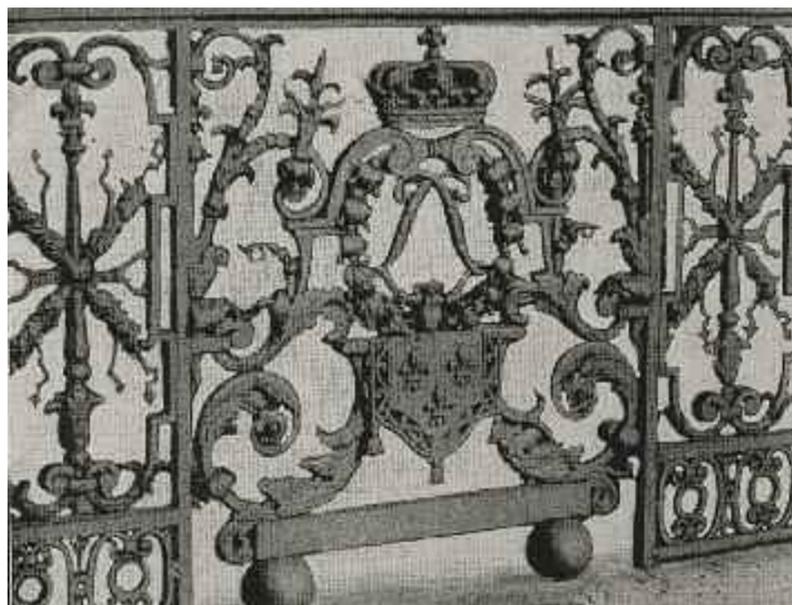


cates that Tetar's composition is modelled on similar 17th-century French wrought-iron openwork choir screens, and modernised in design via French plates to suit the early Regency style. He divided his grille into three parts, almost equal in width. He treated the middle section, that with a double door to the chancel, as a simple aedicule within Corinthian pilasters on tall pedestals, and covered it with a likewise canonical entablature and an enormously elaborate coping made of antithetically arranged C- and S-shaped acanthus arches. A volute-framed irregular cartouche containing the *Arma Christi* was placed in the centre while a vernicle featured on an elaborate lambrequin suspended below. Held within thin frames in openwork decorated with interlacing bands, the lateral sections, enclosed in the top corners with burning vases, were designed as grilles composed of three identical modules with clearly distinguished zones. There was the socle with C- and S-shaped motifs of interlacing, the partitioning band of interlacing, and the grille proper in the form of regularly spaced perpendicular bars held from above and below by C-shaped arches decorated with fleurons and campanulas. The copings were

shaped as ornamental lacy combs with accentuated, enlarged fleurons along the axes. The door wings were identical in composition.

The 1726 balustrade on the cornice crowning the interior walls is very modest in form, probably because of its display so high up. It is divided into identical segments of strapwork compositions, remarkably simple in drawing, with interlacing monograms of the Holy Cross placed along the axis of each projection. The hollows and candle rings along the axes of vertical divisions, originally designed for fixing the candles to provide additional lighting for the vault, were exchanged for bulbs after the church had been electrified.

Though separated by a span of twenty years, Tetar's earliest and latest works in Warsaw and in Łowicz (perhaps 1698 to 1727) are in the same style, harking back to French design of the fourth quarter of



the 17th century, mostly picked up from editions of plates of ornament. In all of the works discussed, we can see Mikolaj Tetar's predilection for repetition of favourite decorative motifs or entire compositions.

The model of the pulpit structure corresponds to the suites of ornament by the famous Paris engraver and designer Jean II Lepautre, at that time the most fashionable designs in France and the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. In Tetar's ornamentation repertoire, Lepautre's 1659 *Chaires de Predicateurs nouvellement inventées et gravées...* series served as inspiration for e.g. the acanthus-covered half-round moulding in the main body of the pulpit and the stairs.<sup>11</sup> His another source was Filippo Passarini. From the latter's pulpit design publicised in the *Nuove Inventioni d'ornamenti...* series, issued in Rome in 1698, Tetar picked up the characteristic mullion in the bell walls, adorned in the corners with lush leaves.<sup>1</sup>

In turn, the composition of the grilles in the Łowicz chapel is a much-simplified imitation of the model, that is, the grilles of the Grand Staircase in Versailles Palace (executed under the supervision of Nicolas Delobel, 1677–1679). The first engraved plates of these appeared in Paris as early as 1680–1685, published by Jean Le Blond II (1635–1709).<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the classicising layout of the architectural structure of the partition grille derives indirectly from a similar grille construction in St-Eustace in Paris, popularised through a plate from the suite of six inventions by Michael Hasté (of Delobel's workshop in Versailles), a François Poilly<sup>14</sup> late-17th-century Paris publication. In turn, the framed layout of the individual sections, i.e. the side grilles and the door, seems to refer to the central sections of the representational grilles of the Court Royal gates and

the *avant-cour* in Versailles (executed under Delobel, 1679–1680), likewise popularised through plates.<sup>15</sup>

The composition repeated on all walls in the basket of the Holy Cross pulpit, in the closing sections of the Łowicz grilles, and in the coping of the Warsaw grille is a particularly apt reference to designs featuring in the foremost examples of French ornamental ironwork during Louis XIV's reign. In each, the pattern – slightly modified in relation to the archetype or enriched with further ornaments – features an antithetical arrangement of C-shaped band arches decorated with blossom and fleurons of acanthus sprigs plus a car-

<sup>8</sup> Filippo Passarini, design for a pulpit from the *Nuove Inventioni d'ornamenti...* series, Rome, 1698, photo: P. Migasiewicz, 2008

<sup>9</sup> France, Versailles Palace, Marble Courtyard, decoration of the royal balcony, 1679, executed by the workshop under Nicolas Delobel, photo after R. Subes, *La ferronnerie d'art*, Paris, 1948

touche/field and a small lambrequin with three tassels. In the pulpit, the sheets of gilt copper covering the background of the basket walls bring out the contour of the pattern even more. The model here was the field of the grille (executed under Delobel, 1679) decorating the Versailles Marble Courtyard Royal balcony, featuring an interlacing Louis XIV monogram, a crown, and a lambrequin with the French monarchy's arms.<sup>16</sup> The layout selected for the Holy Cross pulpit walls comes closest to the original. It features in the centre an identical oval rim of campanulas with a stylised interlacing monogram to symbolise the dedication of the Missionary Church.

The profiles of the pulpit canopy have acquired more conservative decoration in the form of the regular acanthus interlace while – inferior in importance – decoration of the parapet and the stair gate is the most traditional. The former is divided into ten regular bays, with identical grille composition featuring ogees and volutes complemented in places by fine acanthus leaves, plus a singled-out thin railing band decorated with the interlace. The gate also features round stylised vases in classicising French shapes. These



were most probably patterned on analogous detail in the stair balustrades designed by Augustin-Charles d'Aviller, from his *Cours d'architecture...* collection first published in Paris in 1691.<sup>17</sup> A similar pattern scheme is also used in the bands of the interlaced friezes in the Holy Cross pulpit and grille.

The execution of the ornamental carved back, which is Flemish in spirit, was probably entrusted to one of the assistants of Johannes Söffrens, who is credited with the neighbouring altarpieces in the cross of the church that show identical formal-stylistic traits.

In the light of the above, we may ponder on Gajewski's earlier observations about Tetar's alleged references to ornamental detail included in the Frenchman Jean Tijou's *A New Book of Drawings*. First published in London in 1693, it contained a series of plates of invention by the then Western Europe's foremost ironwork specialist. Recorded in 1689–1712 at the side of the architect Christopher Wren at Hampton Court Palace and St. Paul's Cathedral in London<sup>18</sup>, the artist

produced works that constitute an important development on the classicising composition of the Versailles and Paris grilles. However, Tijou's are more advanced and richer in composition and their detail is in the early Regency spirit. It cannot be precluded that Tetar or his employers might have indeed got hold of



Tijou's fashionable pattern-book. On the other hand, though, the lay brother might have as well updated his ornamentation through the addition of strapwork in place of the voluted motifs via one-generation later suites of engraved plates from Paris by the said d'Aviller, Jean Bérain, Jean and Daniel Marot, or Nicolas Bonnard.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, balustrade surrounding the inner frieze, 1726, iron, executed by the lay brother Mikolaj Tetar/Teter CM (attributed), photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

<sup>11</sup> Łowicz, former seminary (now Museum in Łowicz), chapel, entrance lattice, c. 1698–1702 or the 1710s–20s, iron, executed by the lay brother Mikolaj Tetar/Teter CM (attributed), photo: M. Wardziński, 2010

On the basis of the source evidence and comparative material collected here, also the tackling of the question of design authorship and precise dating of Mikolaj Tetar's ironworks becomes possible. Gajewski, and Żmudziński have raised Tilman van Gameren's design drawings for the Bernardine Church at Czerniaków and for an unidentified building as a point in favour of crediting Tilman, the architect of the whole Łowicz Seminary College and chapel, with the author-

<sup>10</sup> *Varsaviana w zbiorach drezdeńskich: katalog planów i widoków Warszawy oraz rysunków architektonicznych budowli warszawskich okresu saskiego*, September–December 1965, Muzeum Historyczne m.st. Warszawy, Saxon Land Main Archives in Dresden, Ed. M. Kretschmerowa et al., Warsaw, 1965. Exh. cat., p. 116, cat. no. 329, fig.; E. Kozakiewiczowa, op. cit., p. 100, fig. on end-papers.

<sup>11</sup> M. Préaud, *Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. XII: Jean Lepautre. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, 1999, pp. 298, f., cat. no. 2070, f., 2073.

For the influence that Lepautre's this and other engraved inventions had on ecclesiastical art in Warsaw and the Commonwealth of Two Nations late in the 17th c. and during the first third of the 18th. cf. J. Sito, M. Wardziński, *Recepcja twórczości graficznej Jeana II Lepautre'a w sztuce sakralnej Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku: Polsko-francuskie związki kulturalne i artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, Ed. A. Pieńkos and A. Rozales-Rodriguez, Warsaw, 2010 (in the press).

<sup>12</sup> F. Passarini, *Nuove Inventioni d'ornamenti d'architettura e d'intagli diversi...*, Rome, 1698, pl. 12. For the use of this specific pattern in 18th-century wood-carving in the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, cf. K. Wardzińska, *Ołtarz główny i luk tęczyowy kościoła Benedyktynek p.w. św. Jakuba w Toruniu. Nieznane dzieła Antona Langenhana Starszego i Jerzego Dudy Tadeusza Dąbrowicza: Dzieje i skarby kościoła Świętojańskiego w Toruniu*, Ed. K. Kluczwajd, Toruń 2010, p. 339, fig. 20.

<sup>13</sup> A. Brühning, *Die Schmiedekunst seit dem Ende der Renaissance*, Leipzig, undated, pp. 33, f., pl. 27. Cf. K. Russo, Jean Le Blond II: *The Dictionary of Art*, Ed. J. Turner, London-New York, 1996, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> Hasté Michel: *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, vol. 16, Leipzig, 1923, pp. 114, f. (author of the entry not given).

<sup>15</sup> A. Brühning, op. cit., pp. 36, f., fig. 29.

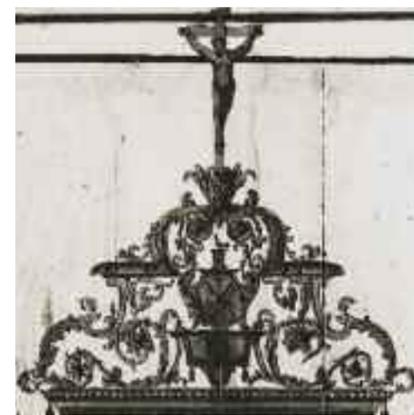
<sup>16</sup> R. Subes, *La ferronnerie d'art*, Paris, 1948, p. 43, fig. 36.

<sup>17</sup> A.-C.D'Aviller, *Cours d'architecture...*, Paris, 1691, pl. 44A on p. 117, 65B on p. 219; L. Hauteceur, op. cit., vol. 2, part 1, pp. 348, f., fig. 302.

<sup>18</sup> D. Bosomworth, *Iron: The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 16, Ed. J. Turner, London-New York, 1996, p. 59; E. Packer, Tijou Jean: *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 30, Ed. J. Turner, London-New York, 1996, p. 871, f.; A. Brühning, op. cit., pp. 52–6, figs. 44–8.

Jack Gajewski was the first to point out the dependence of Tetar's Łowicz and Warsaw compositions on Tijou's plates, cf. J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu*, p. 533, notes 144, 146.

<sup>19</sup> A. Brühning, op. cit., pp. 36–47, figs. 30–7.



<sup>12</sup> France, Versailles Palace, the Grand Staircase, lattice, 1677–9, executed by the workshop under Nicolas Delobel, print from the Jean II Le Blond edition, 1680–85, Paris, photo after A. Brühning, *Die Schmiedekunst seit dem Ende der Renaissance*, Leipzig, undated

<sup>13</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, coping of the choir screen gate, 1712–27, iron, executed by the lay brother Mikolaj Tetar/Teter CM, Saxon inventory drawing of 1727–9, photo: IS PAN, negative no. 47888, reproduction anon., 1950

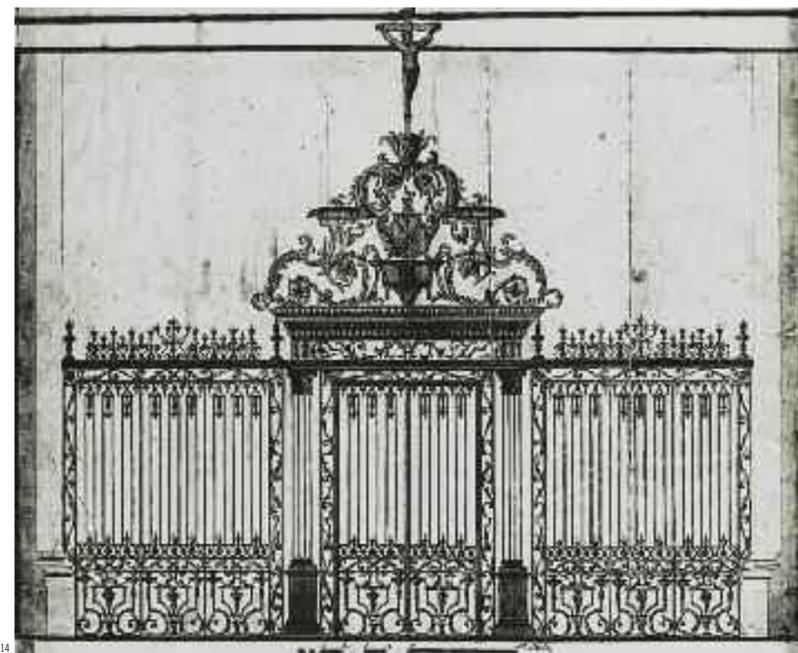
ship of design for the Łowicz grilles. Yet because of the significant formal and stylistic differences, the drawings should not be really considered as a case in point.<sup>20</sup> It seems on the other hand that the design for the Holy Cross pulpit and grilles may be credited to an artisan-artist as talented and qualified as Tetar. Like many of the Warsaw convent's contemporary priests, he might have come from France; he had access to a fair number of plates by the Versailles and Paris artists, and he was guided by the donors' directions who were in touch with the Versailles court.

The very close analogy between the two works discussed, in form and finest detail alike, gives rise to conjecture that they emerged near in time, that is, after the termination of the Great Northern War. This applies in particular to the apparently too early dat-

would be the work of one of the master's numerous assistants engaged at that time by the Missionaries on the altar furnishing of the church. Also the loin-cloth attracts the attention. The donor, Paweł Pieleszyński, committed himself to fashion it himself in gilt sheet silver.

The set of ornamental ironwork objects in the Warsaw Missionary Church is quite unique. The refined High Baroque French ornamental forms in the pulpit and the former grille separating the chancel, i.e. the priestly and monastic choir from the transept accessible to the faithful, continued as a pattern for similar projects in Warsaw and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until the late 18th century. Tetar's remarkable pulpit played a key role as a formal pattern for the wrought iron Rococo pulpit in St. Andrew Crown

Artistic initiatives undertaken in the circles of the Congregation of the Mission bear traces of direct influence of Tetar's Warsaw and Łowicz works. There are four wrought iron Regency grilles in the Chapels of the Virgin and the Blessed Sacrament (Corpus Christi) in the parish church at Chelmno administered by the order (1750) and a single grille partitioning off the chapel of Blessed Jutta at Chelmża (c. 1754)<sup>23</sup>. All of these were executed in the same (Pomeranian?) workshop.

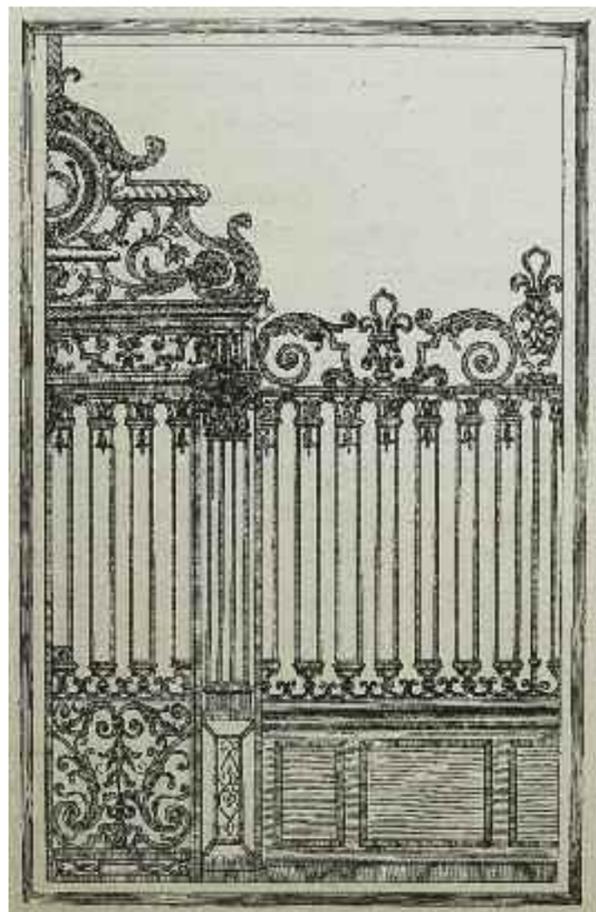


ing of the Holy Cross pulpit to the years of 1698–1699. Let us remember that at that time there were no altars yet in the Missionary Church. The High Altar comes from 1699–1700, while the later three, the altars to Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève, to St. Roch, and to St. Michael the Archangel from 1700–1705. As yet non-existent, the stalls and other lesser furnishing elements were to emerge gradually by the late 1720s. Hence an early Regency pulpit might have emerged at the earliest concurrently with the construction of the said altars.

The establishment of the maker of the surviving crucifix and the assisting figures of the partition grille lost after 1792 is a separate question. On analysis, the dying Christ's facial features, the large almond-shaped eyes, the characteristic treatment of the skin clinging to the prominent cheekbones and chin, and the hair divided into separate wavy strands, seem to indicate the sculpture workshop of Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz in Warsaw as the place of origin. But this

Jesuit's Church in former Marywil (Marieville) quare in Warsaw from where it reached the parish church at Gluchów near Rawa Mazowiecka before 1821.<sup>21</sup> The type of decorated, openwork iron pulpit became popular in Bernardine and Discalced Carmelite orders in the Duchy of Warmia and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the 18th century. It was introduced in the convent churches in, e.g., Stoczek Klasztorny (1738, executed by Herman Katenbringk of Dobre Miasto) and in the church of St. Teresa in Vilnius, at Mohylew, Głębokie and Lida, and in the parish church at Worniany (1760s–1770s).<sup>22</sup>

**14** Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, choir partition, iron, Saxon inventory drawing of 1727–9, photo: IS PAN, negative No. 47888, reproduction anon., 1950



**15** France, Paris, Saint Eustache, detail of the choir screen, print after a drawing by Michel Hasté, published by François Poilly in Paris, late 17th c., photo after Brühning, *Die Schmiedekunst seit dem Ende der Renaissance*, Leipzig, undated

**16** Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, crucifix of the choir screen, 1729, linden, executed by an unidentified Warsaw sculpture of the Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz workshop (attributed), photo: M. Warzyński, 2010



**16**

MICHAŁ WARDZYŃSKI  
INSTITUTE OF ART HISTORY, WARSAW UNIVERSITY

*Monument  
to Bartłomiej  
Michał  
Tarło CM  
the Bishop  
of Poznań,  
Superior of the  
Missionary  
Convent  
(1656–1715)  
1716*

DĘBNIK WORKSHOP  
OF JAKUB AND STANISŁAW BIELAWSKI (ATTRIB.)  
ASSEMBLED BY JĘDRZEJ GÓRECKI

The monument was erected at the Missionary Priests' expense in 1716.<sup>1</sup> Besides the Missionary Convent in the Cracow district of Stradom, also the bishop's close relatives might have been instrumental as go-between in placing the bishop's fellow-brothers'<sup>2</sup> commission. His younger brother Jan was canon with Cracow Cathedral Chapter (rising to bishopric of Kiev in 1717); his sister, unknown by name, was a nun with the Cracow Visitandines' convent at Biskupie.<sup>3</sup> The monument was purchased from the stone-carving centre at Dębnik near Cracow. Here it had been carved in three types of stone. One was dark-grey Devon limestone quarried at Dębnik (used in the monument structure, coping detail, and decoration). The other was



pink-reddish veined calcite of Paczółtowiec, called the 'Paczółtowiec rosy' (structure inlay, column bases and capitals, plus flames emerging from the vases). The third was Jurassic limestone from a stone-pit exploited, since 1689, in the River Prądnik's valley slope, in the vicinity of Grodzisko near Skała, called 'the Blessed Salomea marble'. The Missionaries had already requested the Dębnik stone-carvers' services in 1699, when the Rev. Fabri, Superior of the Chełmno convent commissioned an epitaph to the Mission Order's benefactor Kazimierz Jan Szczuka the Bishop of Chełmno. It was later fixed in the southern nave of the local parish church.<sup>4</sup>

The shipment of the monument by barge from Stradom to Warsaw was entrusted to Brother Wojciech Michalewski specialising in projects of this kind in the Congregation of the Mission. The rafting continued from 19 October till 3 November 1716, for which operation the rafters were paid 130 florins, a sum covering the loading but not the construction of the barge.<sup>5</sup> The whole was put up between 19 October 1716 and 17 January 1717. As recorded in the *Diarium Procurae*, the fees paid to Jędrzej the stone-carver (to be most probably identified with Jędrzej Górecki of Dębnik) and to the stone-polishers for seven weeks' work amounted to 15 florins for each week. Also recorded are the reimbursed costs of plaster, lead, and iron bars and anchors, altogether 120 florins 10 grosze.<sup>6</sup>



1 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Bartłomiej Michał Tarło CM the Bishop of Poznań (d. 1715), 1716, 'marble' varieties: Dębnik, Paczółtowiec rose-coloured, and the 'Blessed Salomea', executed in the Jakub Bielawski Dębnik workshop (attributed), general view, photo, before 1939: Narodowe Archiwum Cyfrowe

2 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Bartłomiej Michał Tarło CM the Bishop of Poznań, present-day condition, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010



The monument is designed as an aedicule framed by composite columns on profiled-console supports, carrying segments of the entablature and flanked by voluted auricular 'ears'. The narrow sarcophagus has mullion-decorated walls while the main field of the monument contains a profiled tondo with a sculptured portrait bust of the deceased in a niche. The volute-framed lower closing of the monument, with a fan-

shaped shell termination along the axis at the bottom, is partly covered with a representational inscription plaque designed in the form of densely draped fabric pinned up at two points, providing a ground for the commemorative inscription in intaglio relief. The coping is composed of a heraldic cartouche with the 'Topór' coat of arm surrounded with bishop's insignia and surmounted by a bishop's hat, with a flanking a pair of decoratively elaborated burning vases.

Probably subjected to restoration within the framework of the comprehensive repairs conducted in the church in the 18th, 19th, and the first third of the 20th century, the monument suffered some damage during the air raids of 18 and 24 September 1939. (As indicated by a survey of accessible iconography, a blast of air impaired moulding elements in the coping, and console elements in the socle.) Very severe damage came with the August and September 1944 heavy fighting during the Warsaw Rising when an incendiary bomb exploded inside the church. (The whole socle and coping suffered critical losses in the aftermath, the portrait bust fell, breaking into pieces, and so did the



inscription plaque whereas the overall structure, much scorched and covered in soot, came out with numerous cracks and fissures in the surface layers as a result.) The architectural elements were re-created during the rebuilding and restoration of the church in 1947–1951 and later, which is when the bishop's bust was pasted together and reinstated with the missing portions filled in with plaster mortar. The whole sculpture was covered in the same kind of mortar, from which procedure the surface emerged homogeneous in colour and texture.<sup>7</sup>

3 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Bartłomiej Michał Tarło CM the Bishop of Poznań, composite column capital, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

4 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Bartłomiej Michał Tarło CM the Bishop of Poznań, inscription plaque, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

5 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Bartłomiej Michał Tarło CM the Bishop of Poznań, bust, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

The architectural structure of the monument to Bishop Tarło, which represents qualities characteristic of the Dębnik stone-carving of about 1680–1700, is a creative development on two tomb types. One is exemplified first and foremost by the 1686 sumptuous wall-adjacent monument to Andrzej Opaliński the Bishop of Poznań endowed by Piotr Opaliński, the Voivode General of the Wielkopolska and Łęczyca provinces, in the parish church at Radlin near Jarocin, the Opaliński Senators' family nest. Likewise carved by the Dębnik stone-carvers and an Cracow individual figure sculptor, it was until now erroneously dated at the years after 1624 and its design was wrongly asso-

<sup>1</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, pp. 30, 114, f.; E. Kowalczykowa, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975, p. 86, fig. 44. According to what the Rev. Leon Petrzyk CM, the Rev. Alfons Schletz CM, and Władysław Tatariewicz state in their publications, the monument should have been endowed as late as late as 1725 by Helena née Tarło, the bishop's close relative. The donor, married to the Stężyca starosta (royal sheriff), was credited with the endowment of the lateral Altar to the Blessed Sacrament finally erected nearby in 1720–1721. This surmise is to be ruled out, however, on the basis of Józef Skrabski's latest archival finds confirming that elements of the monument were carved in 1716. Cf.: L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 114; A. Schletz, *Ksiądz biskup Michał Bartłomiej Tarło opiekun ubogich*, Cracow, 1946, p. 115, and W. Tatariewicz, *Czarny marmur w Krakowie, Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, vol. 10, 1953, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Cracow, Archives of the *Nasza Przyszłość* periodical, call number 4, *Liber Eleemosynae...*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, vol. XI, Leipzig, 1842, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Alfons Mańkowski, Kazimierz Jan Szczuka biskup chełmiński (1693–4), *Zapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego Toruńskiego*, vol. V, 1921, p. 166; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [further: *KZSP*], vol. XI, fascicle 4, Warsaw, 1976, p. 20, fig. 324; there also the literature.

<sup>5</sup> Warsaw, Archdiocesan archives, AAWa, call number 271, AX 1.72, *Diarium Procurae* [Domus Warsaviensis] circa quotidiana negotia praefatus in anno 1716 die 25 Augusti Connotatum, 1716–1745, k. 4r–4v; J. Skrabski, 'Czarny marmur' dębnicki w Warszawie: *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy XVII–XXI w.*, collective work, Eds. A. Piękos, Z. Michalczyk and M. Wardzyński, Warsaw, 2010, pp. 52, f., note 20.

<sup>6</sup> AAWa, call number 271, AX 1.72, *Diarium Procurae* [e], k. 3r–4v. Cf. W. Tatariewicz, op. cit., p. 95, Dodatek [Addenda] A.

<sup>7</sup> E. Kowalczykowa, op. cit., pp. 49, 52, 54, 88. Cf. photo of the monument prior to the restoration, see M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła Św. Krzyża*, fig. 61.

ciated with Matteo Castello<sup>8</sup> the court architect to Sigismund III Vasa. From the Opaliński Radlin monument, the Warsaw piece picks up the overall composition and proportion of the almost square aedicule held within two composite columns doubled on the outside, a broad gap in the segmented pediment, sash-wound burning vases above its segments and identically laid-out fields with insertions. The Radlin monument also provided inspiration for the positioning of the sarcophagus with a markedly bellied wall decorated with embossing, and for the untypical shaping of the ground for the inscription plaque, interpreted as fabric pinned up at two points and densely rolled at the side edges. Another Dębnik-carved monument, that to Barbara Stokowska née Jordan, later Piegłowska (d. 1694), which hangs in the chancel of St Catherine's Augustinian Church in Cracow<sup>9</sup>, had likewise act-

of similar monuments in Cracow and the region of Małopolska. In 1996, Mariusz Karpowicz systemised them according to arrangement, with regard, among other factors, to their occurrence in volutes or in the auricular 'ears' of volutes or in acanthus combs.<sup>12</sup>

A formal-stylistic comparison of the composite capitals and burning vases in the monument to bishop Tarło and the almost thirty-year-earlier Radlin monument to bishop Opaliński has clearly indicated the same authorship. Almost identical capitals decorated the Cracow Visitandines Church's main portal of 1695, the work Jakub Bielawski.<sup>13</sup>

The affinity of the Warsaw monument to a group of works originating mainly from the turn of the 1680s may also hint at the use in Dębnik of elements of a monument originally intended for an unestablished destination. Examples of practices of this kind are fre-

quent throughout the 18th century, and in the first half of the 19th, when ready-made Dębnik creations from the time of the centre's prime in the second half of the 17th century were often sold to less demanding clients many years later. (This is true, e.g. of the altars from the workshops of Jakub Bielawski and Michał Poman in the Bernardine Church at Alwernia, 1712, and the parish church at Chrzanów, 1824.)<sup>14</sup>

17th century in the Dębnik stone-carving workshop of Michał Poman, Master of the Cracow bricklayers and stonemasons' guild (of Hungarian descent, recorded as of 1677; leaseholder of the stone-pit from 1686, d. 1708). This was where all the enumerated structure and detail types were used at that time.



7 Radlin, parish church, monument to Andrzej Opaliński the Bishop of Poznań (d. 1624), 1636, 'marble' varieties: Dębnik, and Paczółtowice rose-coloured, executed by Michał Poman and Jakub Bielawski of Dębnik (attributed), photo: M. Wardzyński, 2007



ed as direct pattern for elements of the Warsaw tomb. These are, the composition of the lower closing of the suspended aedicule with the characteristic, externally doubled consoles with embossed backs of the volutes and a volute-closed wall between them, as well as the layout of the sumptuous volute-auricular cartouche in the coping. Faithfully reproduced, the same elements also feature, in the one-decade-later Tarnów epitaph to the Reverend Piotr Stanisław Orłowski (d. 1708) the protho-Nuncio, Cracow canon and praepositor to the mitred prelate of the Tarnów Collegiate Church<sup>10</sup>, and several other late-17th-century monuments to suffragan bishops and canons in Wawel Cathedral<sup>11</sup>. Bishop's hat and insignia above the heraldic cartouche of the deceased are the only original element to complement a design typical of a group

17th century in the Dębnik stone-carving workshop of Michał Poman, Master of the Cracow bricklayers and stonemasons' guild (of Hungarian descent, recorded as of 1677; leaseholder of the stone-pit from 1686, d. 1708). This was where all the enumerated structure and detail types were used at that time.

The establishment of the authorship of the Bishop Bartłomiej Michał Tarło's portrait bust remains the most important task. According to Karpowicz, the



8 Cracow-Kazimierz, Augustinian Church, epitaph to Barbara, née Jordan, Stokowska, later Piegłowska (d. 1694), Dębnik 'marble', executed in the Michał Poman and Jakub Bielawski Dębnik workshop (attributed), photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010

10 Grodzisko n. Skala, nunnery of the Order of St. Clare – the Blessed Salomea's hermitage, indulgence church, rood-adjacent right-hand side altar for the Blessed Salomea, the patron-saint figure, executed by an unidentified Cracow sculptor active late 17th/early 18th c., 'Blessed Salomea 'marble', photo: M. Wardzyński, 2007

11 Chelmno, parish church (formerly of the Priests of the Mission), epitaph to Bishop Kazimierz Jan Szczuka (d. 1694), 1699, executed by an unidentified Dębnik masonry workshop, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2004

positioning of the bust within the field of the aedicula, in a rim with a concave bottom, is a clear reference to a formal solution, traditional in the 17th century, employed for the commemoration of the Cracow bishops in monuments to them in Wawel Cathedral.<sup>15</sup>



9 Cracow-Biskupie, Church of the Sister of Visitation, entrance portal, 'marble' varieties: Dębnik, and Paczółtowice rose-coloured, executed by Michał Poman and Jakub Bielawski of Dębnik, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2007

10 Grodzisko n. Skala, nunnery of the Order of St. Clare – the Blessed Salomea's hermitage, indulgence church, rood-adjacent right-hand side altar for the Blessed Salomea, the patron-saint figure, executed by an unidentified Cracow sculptor active late 17th/early 18th c., 'Blessed Salomea 'marble', photo: M. Wardzyński, 2007

11 Chelmno, parish church (formerly of the Priests of the Mission), epitaph to Bishop Kazimierz Jan Szczuka (d. 1694), 1699, executed by an unidentified Dębnik masonry workshop, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2004

Close observation of the late-17th–early-18th-century community of Cracow and Dębnik stone-carvers/sculptors, few of whom were expert in figure sculpture, leads to the conclusion that of the then active statuary workshops, the output of an anonymous maker of several figure complexes represents the closest stylistic-formal affinities. One of the complexes, that in the Cistercian Church at Wąchock,<sup>16</sup> comprises figures of God the Father and angelic heads in the copings, and decoration of the rood-adjacent altars to St. Benedict and St. Bernard of Clairvaux (current dedications altered) of c. 1700. The other figure, in the hermitage-adjacent little church at Grodzisko near Skala<sup>17</sup>, is that of the Blessed Salomea

in the lateral altarpiece dedicated to her (c. 1700). The third complex, in the Cameldolite Church at Rytwiary near Staszów<sup>18</sup>, consists of the Fame and the genius of death in the epitaph to Stanisław Opaliński the Nowy Korczyn *starosta* (d. 1704), executed in 1706. In the last-named, we have the same awkwardness in the rendering of both figures' heads, faces, and bodies with artificially thickened facial features, too short necks and bodies unnaturally block-shaped.



It should be pointed out that Bishop Tarło's bust and the allegorical figures at Rytwiary show no marked affinities to the other Dębnik and Cracow and statuary works of the same time that have been associated with sculptor Jakub Bielawski (d. 1715). Son of Marcin the Master of the Cracow stone-carvers' guild (d. 1677), Jakub was recorded as Poman's partner in the leasehold and management of a Dębnik stone-carving workshop between 1689 and 1709.<sup>19</sup>

Without competent archival research in the Records of the Bricklayers and Stone-carvers' Guild in the Archives of the City of Cracow, in the National Archives in Cracow, and the Discalced Carmelite Archives at Czerna, it is impossible at this stage to establish with certainty the sculptor's personal data. In sum, the Warsaw tomb of the Poznań Bishop Bartłomiej Michał Tarło is one of the most sumptuous late 17th- early 18th-century monuments of the Dębnik-Cracow provenance in the entire Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. More elaborate than usual and original in a form, featuring a portrait bust of the deceased in the round, it imitates tested stylistic solutions introduced in both these centres in the 1680s and 1690s.

Like Bishop Tarło's bust, all the sculptures enumerated below were carved in the 'Blessed Salomea marble'. This applies to the tomb of Michał Walerian Morsztyn in the Chapel of Blessed Salomea in the Cracow Franciscan Church (1696, recorded in the sources) and to pieces until now not associated with the artist. These are the Radlin tomb of Andrzej Opaliński discussed above (1686, made of 'Paczółtowice rosy', not featuring anywhere else,.) and the bust of Duke Leszek the Black (c. 1700)<sup>20</sup> in the cloister of the Cracow Franciscans monastery, which was not the original location. Next, there are epitaphs to the Bishops of Chelmno, the non-surviving one to Kazimierz Jan Szczuka at Chelmno (1699), of which above, the Suffragan Tomasz Bogoria Skotnicki (d. 1700) in Chelmza Cathedral,<sup>21</sup> and the Rytwiary monument to Stanisław Opaliński (1706)<sup>22</sup>, of which above, in the crypt of the altar to Stanisław Kostka.



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In sum, the Warsaw tomb of the Poznań Bishop Bartłomiej Michał Tarło is one of the most sumptuous late 17th- early 18th-century monuments of the Dębnik-Cracow provenance in the entire Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. More elaborate than usual and original in a form, featuring a portrait bust of the deceased in the round, it imitates tested stylistic solutions introduced in both these centres in the 1680s and 1690s.

<sup>8</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Matteo Castello architekt wczesnego baroku*, Warszawa, 1994, p. 77, fig. 53; *ibid.*, *Matteo Castello l'architetto del primo barocco a Roma e in Polonia*, Bellinzona, 2003, fig. 59.  
<sup>9</sup> *KZSP*, vol. IV, part IV, 1, Warszawa, 1987, p. 113, fig. 733.  
<sup>10</sup> *KZSP*, vol. I, fascicle 13, Warszawa, 1953, p. 15, fig. 66.  
<sup>11</sup> *KZSP*, vol. IV, part I, Warszawa, 1965, p. 74, fig. 684.  
<sup>12</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża*, p. 148.  
<sup>13</sup> F.S. Ignaszewska, Fundacja Małachowskiego, *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. XLVIII, 1976, p. 96, note 41; M. Heydel, Bielawski, *Bildhauer- und Steinmetz-Familie: SAUR Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 10, Munich-Leipzig, 1995, p. 539; A. Bernatowicz, *Poman Michał: Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. VII, Ed. K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, Warszawa, 2000, p. 389.  
<sup>14</sup> W. Pęczkowska, *Mała architektura z czarnego marmuru w Chrzanowskim*, Chrzanów, 1976, pp. 18, 24.  
<sup>15</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża*, pp. 147, f.  
<sup>16</sup> *KZSP*, vol. III, fascicle 2, Warszawa, 1957, p. 29, fig. 29 (here erroneous dating at c. 1680).  
<sup>17</sup> *KZSP*, vol. I, fascicle 12, Warszawa, 1953, p. 6, fig. 28.  
<sup>18</sup> *KZSP*, vol. III, fascicle 11, Warszawa, 1962, p. 46, fig. 338.  
<sup>19</sup> W. Tatarkiewicz, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-346; M. Heydel, *op. cit.*, p. 539.  
<sup>20</sup> M. Heydel, *op. cit.*, p. 539.  
<sup>21</sup> *KZSP*, vol. XI, fascicle 16, Warszawa, 1972, p. 18, fig. 216.  
<sup>22</sup> *KZSP*, vol. III, fascicle 11, Warszawa, 1962, p. 44.

12 Rytwiany, Camaldomite Church, chapel of St. Romuald, monument to Stanisław Opaliński (d. 1704), figures of Fame and the genius of death in the coping, 1706, Blessed Salomea 'marble', executed by an unidentified Dębniak sculptor active late 17th/early 18th c. (Stanisław Bielawski?), photo: M. Wardziński, 2007



# Baptismal Font and a Pair of Holy-water Basins 1717 and 1721-1722

DĘBNIK STONE-CARVING WORKSHOP

The Missionary Priests' later commissions placed at Dębik embraced a baptismal font executed there in 1721-1722 and, perhaps later than that, a pair of decorative holy-water basins positioned at the foot of the inner pillars of the choir on the side of the entrance.<sup>1</sup>

The *Diarium Procurae* additionally records in June 1717 the purchase and rafting from Cracow of a marble holy-water basin, for which only 1 zloty 8 grosze was paid whereas the polisher received 3.24 zlotys.<sup>2</sup>



Sums as small as these would apparently suggest one of the small Dębik holy-water basins. They are now placed at the entrance to the church sacristy. In turn, the *Catalogus Missionum* of the Holy Cross Convent records in April 1726 the payment of 100 zlotys to a goldsmith for gilding the copper cupola-shaped baptismal-font cover decorated with intricate Regency strapwork.<sup>3</sup>

All these stone-carved utensils are twin creations with regard to an identical set (1729-1737/1738) in the parish church at Siemiatycze<sup>4</sup> administered by the Priests of the Mission brought here from Lublin. Designed on a two-step round base with a small angular hexagonal or polygonal socle, baluster node and embossed cup, the two baptismal fonts discussed show no marked differences in form from the scheme worked out at Dębik back at the turn of the 1620s. (As one of its earliest examples, there is the splendid 1631 baptismal font bearing the date and the 'Petrus Noir Gallus' signature, in the Warsaw Arch-collegiate Church.<sup>5</sup>) On the other hand, both pairs of the Late Baroque Missionary holy-water basins, designed as wide spread fan-like shells resting on slender, profiled herm pilasters (in Siemiatycze crowned with unnaturally enlarged hinges) may be associated with the



influence of another excellent Paris work, a pair of almost identical holy-water basins. Positioned in the vestibule to St. Louis within the Hôpital des Invalides complex, they were carved in limestone in 1679 by Martin van den Bogaert called Desjardin.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F.M. Sobieszczański, *Kościół Świętokrzyski, Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, vol. 8, 1863, nr 216, p. 443; J. Skrabski, 'Czarny marmur' dębicki w Warszawie: *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy. XVII-XXI wiek*, collective work, Eds. A. Pieńkos, Z. Michalczyk and M. Wardzyński, Warsaw 2010, p. 52, note 24. In connection with the shifting of the baptismal font after 1975 from a position at the foot of the pillar neighbouring the side Altar to St. Michael the Archangel to the chancel, its base was removed while the small angular socle of the node left. A new choir to Enrico Marconi's design emerged in 1850. For the transformation of, and alterations in, the church interior, see E. Kowalczykova, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975, pp. 41, 104, figs. 21, 42, 52. Cf. also Cracow, Archiwum Zgromadzenia Misjonarzy w Krakowie na Stradomiu (AMS), set *Warszawa*, Album of photographs of the Church and Parish of the Holy Cross, 19.03.1929, photo 18 (view of the altar to St. Michael before 1929).  
<sup>2</sup> Warsaw, Archdiocesan archives (AAWA), call number 271, A X 1.72, *Diarium Procura[el]e...*, k. 13 recto.  
<sup>3</sup> Cracow, AMS, set *Warszawa*, *Catalogus missionum...*, unpaginated (under date 04.1726).  
<sup>4</sup> R. Zdziarska, *Kościół i klasztor Misjonarzy w Siemiatyczach w pierwszej połowie XVIII w.*, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. XXXVI, 1991, no. 2, pp. 105, 109-11; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [KZSP], *Seria Nowa*, vol. XII, fascicle 1, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 58, 63, figs. 100, f.  
<sup>5</sup> M.J. Kwiatkowska, *Katedra Św. Jana*, Warsaw, 1978, p. 76, fig. 25.  
<sup>6</sup> François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries. The Reign of Louis XIV*, Oxford, 1977, p. 250, Desjardins, cat. no. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, baptismal font lid, 1726, fire-gilt copper, executed by an unidentified Warsaw bell-foundry or goldsmith's workshop, present-day condition, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010.  
<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, holy-water basin, 1720s, Dębik 'marble', executed by an unidentified Dębik masonry workshop, present-day condition, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010.  
<sup>5</sup> Siemiatycze, Missionary parish church, holy-water basin, c. 1737-8, executed by an unidentified Dębik masonry workshop, present-day condition, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2009.  
<sup>6</sup> Paris, Hôpital des Invalides, St. Louis, holy-water basin, 1679, Martin van den Bogaert called Desjardins, 1997, photo: M. Wardzyński, 1997.



**1** Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, baptismal font, 1721-2, Dębik 'marble', executed by an unidentified Dębik masonry workshop, present-day condition, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2010  
**2** Warsaw, the Arch-collegiate (now Archse), baptismal font, 1631, Dębik 'marble', executed by Pierre Noir Gallus of Dębik, present-day condition, photo: M. Wardzyński, 2009



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# Monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski (1645-1705)

circa

1719-1722

CARLO ANTONIO BAY,  
BARTŁOMIEJ MICHAŁ BERNATOWICZ

The tomb effigy of one of the main founders of the Warsaw Church of the Holy Cross, Cardinal Michał Radziejowski, is located in the left arm of the transept of the Warsaw temple, beside the altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève of the foundation of that cardinal dated 1696.<sup>1</sup> Its structure in its key part was made of black marble from Dębnik, while the capitals and bases of columns with a whitish hue, of the so-called 'Blessed Salome's marble' from Skala near Cracow, whereas the decorative elements of the finial of the so-called rose marble from Paczółtowice.



The tomb effigy, strikingly reminiscent of the retable of the altar, received a shape of a highly spatial, open-work column-pilaster portico atop a high, two-zone plinth. The main field was covered by the open front, Corinthian colonnade, mounted on its concave projection  $\frac{3}{4}$  oval. And so, on the edges – projecting most in the space – the composition is enclosed within a pair of full columns with a cluster of pilasters in the background (on the wall), whereas in the middle of the structure, there is a pair of semicolumns with half-pilasters adjacent to them on both sides. Such arranged pillars were topped with massive entablature with prominent profiling, whereas at its edges appeared a pair of quarter-circular, strongly curved pediments. The finial of the axis had a decorative cartouche with the 'Junosza' coat of arms of Radziejowski covered with a *galero*. The figure of the deceased was placed on a trapezoidal convex tomb in

the central part of the headstone. The kneeling figure of the Cardinal was placed on a patterned, carved in an imitation of embroidery cushion. Facing the altar of Sts. Felicissima and Geneviève in the act of adoration of the relics of the saint (originally present in the reliquary standing on the Mensa Altar), the body of the deceased is strongly turned to the left with his head turned in opposite direction. The way the arms



are arranged expresses spiritual devotion: the right is laid on the heart, the left – with an open hand – has been widely thrown to the side. Round, a little puffy face with curly hair around wears portrait features: a prominent chin, thick lips, puffy eyes, and a characteristic small moustache visible under a thick nose. Cardinal is clad in boots, a cassock, patterned *rochet* and cardinal *mozzetta* cape, a *zucchetto cap* rests on his head. Together with the cushion the figure has been fully gilded imitating a gilt bronze.<sup>2</sup>

When exactly the tomb effigy was ordered, designed and started to be worked on, is not known. It was perhaps in 1718, since in the year 1719 works on forging the elements of stone casing were already in



progress. For in that year the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna – the owners of crowbars of black marbles from Dębnik – twice received the so-called 'olborn sum' – the fee to the benefit of the king or the government for the right to exploit gold mines, from an unknown by his name stonemason from Dębnik *ad epitaphio Eminentissimi Cardinalis Michaeli Radziejowski Varsaviam ad Pat. Missionaribus*, first 450 *zlotys*,<sup>3</sup> in April, then 500 *zlotys* in December.<sup>4</sup> In 1720, 'olborna' *ad epitaphio propter Eminentissimum D. Michaelem Radziejowski Card. Varsaviae* of 100 *zlotys* was paid once, in August,<sup>5</sup> while in October, the stonemason paid the Carmelites 30 *zlotys ad rationem albo-*

*rae a stemmate propter Emin. Card.*<sup>6</sup> or the amount due for forging a coat of arms' cartouche. The payment for forging the cartouche will have to be made to the Carmelites next year, in 1721, specifically in June – 27 *zlotys*<sup>7</sup> and in August 138 *zlotys*.<sup>8</sup> Already in late April and early May 1720, the rafts were made for floating stone elements down the Vistula to Warsaw,<sup>9</sup> but the transportation did not take place until the following year. Under the date of June 26, 1721, in the so-called 'Book of Proxy' of the Warsaw Missionary Monastery an economist noted: *marbles and lime were brought from Cracow to the Cardinal's Mau-*



*soleum, of which I gave 166 zlotys to the raftsmen [...] 45 florins to the stone carver; 30 florins to the painter [...], 43 florins to carpenters erecting the scaffolding, 19 fl to the bricklayers and helpers.*<sup>10</sup> There

are no precise details of the circumstances in which a wooden statue was ordered. It can be quite generally dated to the years around 1719–1721, that is at the time of the creation of a stone structure. Incredibly interesting seems the case of the making of a separate head and arms (hands) of the figure. They were cast in silver, being a somewhat separate 'set', probably interchangeable with the head and carved wooden hands. A record from *The Book of Proxy* under the date February 25, 1721 says: *I gave Mr Evert, a goldsmith, one thousand of tynphs ad rationem for the work on the head and arms of the*

<sup>1</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, 'marble' varieties: Dębnik, Paczółtowice rose-coloured, and the 'Blessed Salomea', designed by Carlo Antonio Bay, the structure executed by an unidentified Dębnik mason, the figure by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, c. 1719–22, general view, photographer unknown, before 1929

<sup>2</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, general view, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>3</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, entablature detail, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, heraldic cartouche, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>5</sup> L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 118.  
<sup>6</sup> E. Kowalczykova, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*. Monografia architektoniczna: *Rocznik Warszawski*, vol. X, 1971, pp. 7-9.  
<sup>7</sup> The Discalced Carmelites in Czerna Archives (forth: AKC), sign. 323 (1688-1727), card 294: Annus Domini 1719, Martius-Aprilis.  
<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, card 500: Annus Domini 1719, November-December.  
<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, card 306: Annus Domini 1720, Julius-Augustus.  
<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, card 310: Annus Domini 1720, September-October.  
<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, card 320: Annus Domini 1721, Maius-Junius.  
<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, card 322: Annus Domini 1721, Julius-Augustus.  
<sup>13</sup> Warsaw, the Archdiocese Archives, sign. 271.III.4.5: Diarium Procura[e] Domus Varsav[ien]sis circa quatinada negotia pr[ae]cipuis in anno 1716 a diae 25 Aug[ust]i Connotatum (-1745): Notes on rafts, sawn timber, ropes, made in Cracow and lime sold by friar Wojciech Michalewski on 25 Aprilis 1720 [...] For tomb effigy: timber together with sawn timber costs – 274, for raft building and rope – 12, for raftsmen – 96, for foreman tynphs – 39, Expensa by us for the tomb effigy (lime, gorceis, Cracow timber 225 pieces, joists 58, sawn timber 180).  
<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

cardinal. [...] I received the head and arms of the cardinal and Evert acknowledged receipt of the money and promised to correct defects and polish [...],<sup>11</sup> however, on Nov. 7 of that year: *Mr. Evert the goldsmith took the head [...] and cardinal's silver-cast arms to repair some defects [...]*.<sup>12</sup> The discussed silver items have not been preserved, we may assume that, along with other argenterie of the Church of the Holy Cross they were allocated to the National Treasury in 1794.

The architecture of the Radziejowski's tomb has been the subject of an intensive scientific discussion for over half a century. Its context is in fact much broader, and it includes a group of other works of street furniture in Poland, not just those of a strictly sepulchral character. Around the same time there were projects of a few black marble works intended for the Warsaw Arch-collegiate church of St. John – the portal and the altar of the Chapel of the Miraculous Jesus made in 1716<sup>13</sup> and a new, late-Baroque restoration of the Renaissance headstone of the last Dukes of Mazovia of 1723–1724,<sup>14</sup> with similar architectural form: with columns or pilasters setting a concave elliptical plan, with a pair of crowning pediments. Even more attention is drawn to almost identical to the monument of Radziejowski, one might say a twin one, though two times smaller, a headstone of the heart of Stefan Mikołaj Branicki, Podlasie Voivode in Białystok, founded by the widow – Katarzyna née Sapieha.<sup>15</sup> Carved on it very early date of 1711, is confirmed by a source, i.e. the oblong book of the Discalced Carmelites in Czerna, owners of black marble quarry. The book denotes, that in spring and summer of that year, the Podlasie Voivode's tomb was prepared by unknown stone carver,<sup>16</sup> so the tomb from Białystok should be seen as the first of the series. It is really astonishing, that this small monument, made for the provincial Białystok (though undoubtedly made on the basis of design ordered in Warsaw), was first to utilize the avant-garde, late baroque, Roman in spirit design, and not the more splendid, larger and more complicated tomb effigy of Radziejowski.<sup>17</sup> The issue discussed in relation to the whole of this group of works, therefore the tomb of the Cardinal, as well as that of Białystok and of the duke's and portal and the altar from the Warsaw Arch-collegiate Church, is the authorship of the projects. The earliest was a proposal formulated by architect Kacper Bażanka from Cracow, first in relation to both of the twin monuments, from Warsaw and Białystok,<sup>18</sup> and then to collegiate works.<sup>19</sup> Recently, however, a different attribution seems to prevail. It is linked closely with the community of Warsaw, which, otherwise, seems natural considering the capital location of most of the works and the close relationship of Białystok and Warsaw. The designer would be the famous Warsaw architect of Italian origin – Carlo Antonio Bay. Mariusz Karpowicz<sup>20</sup> explored the topic, but the relation between Bay and

the whole group discussed here was discovered at the same time by Jacek Gajewski.<sup>21</sup> Such discrepancies should not be surprising. The two architects, both Pole – Bażanka and Italian – Bay, whose authorship appears far more likely, were educated in Rome, following the examples of great Baroque architecture masters of the second half of the seventeenth century: Gianlorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, Carlo Fontana, Andrea Pozzo and Sebastiano Cipriani.<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that the most commonly and to the greatest extent the adoption of Roman patterns took place in the design of small-scale works, such as altars and headstones – often imitating the altar forms. For our group, including the Cardinal's headstone, of particularly great importance as a model of the Bernini altar was the Altar in Capella Alaleona (Alaleona Chapel) at the Church of SS Domenico e Sisto in Rome (1649–1650).<sup>23</sup> Later imitated by the works of Carlo Fontana, Sebastiano Cipriani, and especially Andrea Pozzo, was the first Roman altar built on an elliptical plan with diagonally placed columns topped with quarter-circular pediments, flanking a deep niche with a group sculpture. It is quite surprising how strongly, after 70 years, the headstone of the Cardinal and its subsidiary works refer to it. From the Roman lesson of Carlo Antonio Bay is also descended the applied in Warsaw system of optical corrections – intentional, programmed and carefully thought-out by the architect, and implemented by stonemasons from Dębnik; aiming at the correct exposure of the structure observed under a strong viewing angle from the left aisle of the church, but never opposite the inaccessible to the faithful side bay of the transept, where the headstone was placed. It attracted the attention of Mariusz Karpowicz who devoted the full article<sup>24</sup> to that issue. The researcher was also involved in the case of the wooden statue of cardinal Radziejowski, attributing it to Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, a well-known Warsaw sculptor active in the second and third decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>25</sup> As a basis served formal analogies to the confirmed with source documents works of Bernatowicz, of which the author distinguished figures of the main altar in the Piarist church in Łowicz from 1719.<sup>26</sup> Some other works by Bernatowicz can be added to this example, among others, figures of angels from altars next to the chancel arch of the Bernardine church in Toruń from about 1724,<sup>27</sup> or sculptures of transept altars of the church of the Discalced Carmelites in Warsaw from approx. 1720–1722.<sup>28</sup> In all of them the structure of folds of drapery is similar, analogously soft is the trim of the fabric of his cassock or sponginess of the voluminous surplice, the hair has been styled as decoratively as

in the figure of Radziejowski. Karpowicz also noticed the excellent result of cooperation between the architect and sculptor following his recommendations as regards the place of the figures in the composition, its general layout as well as specific treatments applied to it, such as the abandonment of symmetry, the unnaturally strong twist of the torso and the opposite twist of the head, aimed at making the appropriate optical corrections to the harsh conditions of the exhibition (a being strong on the bias observation field at the outlet of the left aisle and in the arm of the transept)<sup>29</sup>.



The originator of the sculpture was undoubtedly a designer of the whole headstone – Carlo Antonio Bay. It belongs to the widespread in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century (although already known), counter-reformation type of sepulchral figures in the act of eternal adoration. Headstones of the kneeling figure facing the object of worship developed in Italy and France, both of these traditions also influenced the shape of sculpture in Warsaw. Most likely, as a general prototype –

5 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, figure of the deceased, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, photo: J. Sito, 2010

due to political and cultural orientation of the cardinal – served the figure of Cardinal Mazarin's from his Parisian tomb carved by Antoine Coysevox (1689–1693),<sup>30</sup> kneeling in a similar way on a pillow with his hands emphasizing spiritual devotion, one laid on the heart, the other put aside with an open hand, emphasizing emotional involvement. However, performed by the Primate (Archbishop) the two-handed gesture of 'devoting the heart' has its Roman tradition, which had to be close to the educated in The Eternal City designer of the monument. In genetic considerations has to be taken into account not only the general type of composition, but also its specific editing, together with an atmosphere exuded by the sculpture. Gestures of the archbishop are pathetic and exalted, just like the erect silhouette of the torso and the head twist adding the impression of movement and vitality



ty to the Baroque sculpture; Karpowicz even compared the Cardinal – not without reason – to an actor on stage.<sup>31</sup> These features allow us to derive the sculpting of the figure of Radziejowski from the designed exactly in that manner Baroque Roman sculpture. In the iconographic tradition of Italian baroque the gesture of spiritual devotion (with one or two hands folded on the chest) belonged most frequently to the saints during the act of prayer; angels, geniuses or personifications.<sup>32</sup> In sepulchral art the act of 'devoting the heart' expressed as the first Alessandro Algardi in the form of Cardinal Giovanni Mellini from his headstone in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo (1637–1638),<sup>33</sup> which was followed up by Gianlorenzo Bernini in the headstone of Gabriele Fonseca in the church of San Lorenzo in Lucina (1668–1674).<sup>34</sup>

6 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, monument to Cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski, inscription plaque, photo: P. Janski, 2010

A hand thrown in the air with an open palm, this theatrical highlight of an emotion first appeared in Roman sculpture in monumental statues of the St. Peter's Basilica, those of St. Longin sculpted by Gianlorenzo Bernini<sup>35</sup> and of St. Andrew by François Duquesnoy (around 1630–1640).<sup>36</sup> The combination of both gestures was used in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, for example, by Melchiorre Cafà and Ercole Ferrata in the sculpture of a ploughman at the altar of St. Eustace in The Church of St. Agnese in Rome (1660–1668),<sup>37</sup> but in sepulchral sculpture that two-handed gesture appeared quite late and was rather rare, among others it was used by Francesco Cavallini in the kneeling figure of Mario Bolognetti at his headstone in Chiesa di Gesù e Maria (after 1677)<sup>38</sup> and by Bernardo Cametti in demi-figure effigy (bust) of Giovanni Andrea Mutti in the Church of San Mar-

cello (San Marcello al Corso) (1725).<sup>39</sup> Whereas, the characteristic twist of the body around its vertical axis, with the head turned towards the altar was a Roman 'specialty' for almost the entire 17<sup>th</sup> century – in that regard, the monument in Warsaw is closer to two headstones by Domenico Guidi, of Cardinal Lorenzo Imperiali (1674) in the Roman Church of St. Agostino<sup>40</sup> and Cardinal Friedrich von Hessen-Darmstadt built for the Wrocław Cathedral (1680–1683).<sup>41</sup> 'Mr. Evert the goldsmith', who made the interchangeable silver set of head and hands to the figure, is probably Sebastian Ewert, a Warsaw goldsmith recorded in 1718 as the treasurer of the city of Old Warsaw – one of two descendants of an eminent Warsaw goldsmith of the period of Jan III – Mikołaj Ewert.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 29 verso.  
<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 36 verso.  
<sup>13</sup> AKC 323, card 260. My attention to this fragment of literature was kindly drawn by Józef Skrabski, PhD (J. Skrabski, Czarny marmur dębnicki w Warszawie: *Kultura artystyczna Warszawy XVII–XXI w.*, collective work, Eds. A. Pierikos, Z. Michalczyk and M. Wardziński, Warsaw, 2010, p. 62). Cf. M.I. Kwiatkowska, *Katedra św. Jana*, Warsaw, 1978, pp. 101–104, where the same is dated after 1716 and design attributed to Kacper Bażanka.  
<sup>14</sup> AKC 323, cards 338, 344, 346. Skrabski mentions also in general the magnificent Warsaw black marble monument, dated 1723–1724. Cf. Idem, *Czarny marmur...*, p. 62, however with no indication of particular object.  
<sup>15</sup> O. Zagórowski, Architekt Kacper Bażanka. Około 1680–1726, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XVIII, 1956, no. 1, pp. 106–108; J. Nieciecki, Monument serc Stefana Mikołaja i Katarzyny Aleksandry Branickich w Białymstoku, *Biuletyn konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego*, 1997, pp. 5–18.  
<sup>16</sup> AKC, sign. 82, *Connotationes olborae marmoris ab Anno D. 1691 mense junis ad annum 1711*, card 31 verso. I would like to acknowledge Józef Skrabski, PhD, for directions and possibility of using the information.  
<sup>17</sup> The original destination is unclear. In 1752 the tomb effigy was slightly remodelled and placed in the niche of the newly arranged interior of the Białystok parish church; according to Jan Nieciecki, the tomb effigy might have been situated earlier in the Palace chapel in Białystok (Cf. Nieciecki, op. cit., p. 8). It seems however, that it was rather originally meant for the parish church, but in a location different than today and in general context different than today, i.e. 17<sup>th</sup> century, and not a Rococo style.  
<sup>18</sup> O. Zagórowski, op. cit., pp. 106–108; J. Kowalczyk, *Między Krakowem i Warszawą. Uwagi o Bażance, Bayu i Placidim: Sztuka Baroku*. Materiały Sesji Naukowej ku czci Sp. Profesorów Adama Bochnaka i Józefa Lepiarczyka zorganizowanej przez Krakowski Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki i Instytut Historii Sztuki UJ, Kraków, 8–9 czerwca 1990 roku, Cracow, 1991, p. 78.  
<sup>19</sup> M.I. Kwiatkowska, op. cit., pp. 101–106.  
<sup>20</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste teatrum: Piękne nieznanne. Warszawskie zabytki XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warsaw, 1986, pp. 147–170; idem, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża: Księga Pamiątkowa. Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie w trzecieście rocznicę konsekracji 1696–1996*, Ed. T. Chachulski, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 143–147.  
<sup>21</sup> J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu: Łowicz. Dzieje miasta*, Ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Warsaw, 1986, p. 548.  
<sup>22</sup> J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu w późnobarokowej architekturze polskiej: Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. XX, 1994, pp. 215–308.  
<sup>23</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste teatrum...*, p. 169; K. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu...*, pp. 236–237.  
<sup>24</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste teatrum...*, pp. 147–170.  
<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 170.  
<sup>26</sup> H. Samsonowicz, *Kościół Pijarów w Łowiczu. Fazy budowy i architektury: Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. XXXIII, 1988, set 3, pp. 245–246.  
<sup>27</sup> B. Jakubowska, *Snycerka Toruńska w XVIII w.: Teka Komisji Historii Sztuki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, vol. III, 1965, p. 207.  
<sup>28</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Uwagi o przemianach malarstwa i rzeźby polskiej w latach 1711–1740: Sztuka I. poł. XVIII wieku. Materiały z Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuk, Rzeszów, listopad 1978*, Warsaw, 1981, p. 105.  
<sup>29</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste teatrum...*, p. 162.  
<sup>30</sup> F. Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Reign of Louis XIV*, Oxford, 1977–1993, vol. I (1977); M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste teatrum...*, p. 161.  
<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 161.  
<sup>32</sup> E. Panofsky, *Tomb sculpture*, New York, 1964; M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste teatrum...*, p. 161.  
<sup>33</sup> B. Boucher, *Italian Baroque sculpture*, London, 1998, pp. 50–51.  
<sup>34</sup> Ch. Avery, *Bernini*, München, 2007, pp. 173–175.  
<sup>35</sup> Ibid., pp. 101–103.  
<sup>36</sup> B. Boucher, op. cit., pp. 50–51.  
<sup>37</sup> O. Ferrari, S. Papaldo, *Le sculpture del Seicento a Roma*, Roma, 1999.  
<sup>38</sup> B. Boucher, op. cit., pp. 146–147.  
<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pp. 80–81.  
<sup>40</sup> O. Ferrari, S. Papaldo, op. cit., p. 14.  
<sup>41</sup> Ch. Giometti, *Per Domenico Guidi Scultore (1628–1701): Nuovi contributi: *Dizionario di interpretazione**, vol. VIII, 2003, pp. 93–122.  
<sup>42</sup> H. Lileyko, *Złotnicy-serwitorty na dworze Jana Kazimierza w Warszawie: *Rzemiosło artystyczne. Materiały Sesji Oddziału Warszawskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki**, Ed. Ryszard Bobrow, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 47–48.

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## Side Altars:

### St. Charles

### Borromeo

### (at present

### St. Joseph)

### and St. Vincent

### De Paul

### 1722-1723

### and around

### 1729-1730

CARLO ANTONIO BAY,  
BARTŁOMIEJ MICHAŁ BERNATOWICZ,  
JOHANN GEORG PLERSCH,  
AND ANONYMOUS WARSAW SCULPTOR

At the gable walls of the first pair of chapels from the chancel, there are altars dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo on the southern side and to St. Vincent de Paul on the northern side. Both those retables, corresponding to each other, operate the same architectural forms, the same ornamentation, a similar system of figural sculptures and – as it turns out – they remain in the closest ideological relation with one another. In a word, they constitute a pair to each other. They differ from all other altars of the Holy Cross church by their form, which is late Baroque, Roman in spirit.<sup>1</sup>



<sup>1</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), designed by Carlo Antonio Bay (attributed), executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, general view, photographer unknown, before 1929

<sup>2</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul, designed by Carlo Antonio Bay (attributed), executed by an unknown Warsaw sculptor and Johann Georg Pleresch, c. 1729–30, general view, photographer unknown, before 1929

<sup>3</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), general view, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

The eye catches huge clusters of composite columns on a two-zone base, which support the entablature with characteristic pulvinated frieze, and determine the nature of the whole structure. The leading role is played by a pair of diagonally-placed central columns with quarter-circular jerkin heads – highly intrusive into the space, in some measure covering it – and quarter-columns standing by them at the side of the painting, both placed on the background of a wide, slightly concave wall with the painting (presenting the



patron of the altar) in the main field and columns on the edges. An impressive coping, relatively flat in comparison with the bottom, closed with a cornice raised in a semi-circle above a huge, oval painting (on the

<sup>4</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul, general view, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul, coping, executed by an unknown Warsaw sculptor and Johann Georg Pleresch, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>6</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), coping, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, photo: J. Sito, 2010

altar of St. Charles previously with a presentation of the Transfiguration of Jesus, at present St. Joseph with a Child, on the altar of St. Vincent – previously with the image of St. Joseph, and at present of St. Catherine Laboureur)<sup>2</sup> is supported on the entablature, while on the sides there are figures of young men on herm pilasters captivated in carved caryatids. The coping is accompanied by a figural group consisting of intensely gesticulating angels and cherubs, while in the clouds above we have the radiant glory which is



also accompanied by angels. In the first storey on quarter-cylindrical pedestals there are figures of saints, next to them on supports stand assisting putti. On the St. Charles altar there are figures of Sts. Stanislaus the Bishop and John of Nepomuk, on the St. Vincent altar we find figures of Joseph Calasactius (then only

<sup>1</sup> Noted by M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne kościoła św. Krzyża: Księga Pamiątkowa. Kościół św. Krzyża w Warszawie w trzechsetną rocznicę konsekracji 1696–1996*, Ed. T. Chachułski, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 148–149.

<sup>2</sup> After the war the paintings survived only partially and so: the image of St. Vincent remained in its altar, but the image of St. Joseph was transferred to the coping of the St. Charles altar, in its place the image of St. Catherine Laboureur was placed; both original paintings from the St. Charles altar disappeared and in the main field a new piece was placed which presents St. Joseph with Jesus the Child.



revered, beatified in 1748) and Blessed John Cantius (saint since 1767). The retables are accompanied by a regence ornament consisting of pincers in various configurations in the plinth panels and in the frieze; loose acanthus shoots and floral and leaf garlands on the sides of the main storey hang down as festoons over the upper painting.<sup>3</sup>

The Missionary archives prove that the St. Charles altar was created first. It was funded by Charles de Nollet, a former courtier of Marie Louise.<sup>4</sup> The author of the altar we already came to know from the work on the headstone of Radziejowski – again it turned up

coins – 'was spent on the St. Charles altar'. In the account it was noted that 'P. Bernatowicz' will give it back to the painter.<sup>7</sup> Thus, even then people thought about painting or finishing the retable in gold plating – Bernatowicz himself was supposed to settle accounts with the craftsman. Bernatowicz received a significant amount of 47 ducats and 11 thalers before the end of the year when settling the proxy.<sup>8</sup> The sources indicate that the final clearing of Bernatowicz for the St. Charles altar took place in February 1723,<sup>9</sup> because shortly after that the sculptor received another order from the Missionary Priests,

Ścisło (1729–1804).<sup>10</sup> If this was the case, then those – late Rococo or even early neoclassical – paintings must have replaced the original paintings from the third decade of the 18th century.

No archives of the St. Vincent altar survived. Neither *Księga Prokury*, nor other archive record works on the altar. According to Michał Symonowicz money came from the foundation of the Missionary Priests<sup>11</sup> themselves, perhaps for such projects a separate account book was kept. The altar was constructed clearly in connection with the beatification of Vincent de Paul, which took place in 1729.<sup>12</sup> The idea of its



to be the Warsaw sculptor Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz. Sources hereto unpublished confirm the recent attribution.<sup>5</sup> The money was disbursed starting from July 1722.<sup>6</sup> In November 1723 the money from church's proxy – 80 ducats, 11 tynphs and 2 silver

namely – finishing work on the Blessed Sacrament altar. Nothing is known about the original paintings that adorned the St. Charles altar. According to the church monographers who based on sources that are non-existent today and were never disclosed by them, until the World War II there were two paintings on the altar, dated for the end of the 18th century 'St. Charles Borromeo' by Antonio Albertandi (1732–1795) and 'Transfiguration of Jesus' by Jan



7 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), painting *St. Joseph with the Infant Jesus* in the coping, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

8 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul, *St. Catherine Labourer* painting in the coping, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

construction and the artistic and ideological concept had to be made around that year, however, it is believed that much work was not performed before the beginning of 1730s. It is not easy to date the almost-miraculously preserved Baroque painting placed in the main field of the altar, presenting 'The sermon of St. Vincent de Paul'. At the beginning it was associated with Szymon Czechowicz,<sup>13</sup> however it was written off of him by Józefa Orańska,<sup>14</sup> Mariusz Karpowicz agreed with this opinion.<sup>15</sup> Although the composition refers to an undated sketch by Czechowicz from the Przeczdzicki collection in Warsaw, which presents 'The Sermon of St. Vincent de Paul',<sup>16</sup> the



9 Side altar, St. Charles Borromeo (at present St. Joseph) and St. Vincent de Paul 1722-1723 and around 1729, 1730

<sup>3</sup> The altar's ornament and sculptural detail was analysed in the context of works of Bartłomiej Bernatowicz: R. Mączyński, *Warszawska konfesja rzymskich męczenników: Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, XLVII, 1985, no. 1-2, pp. 61-65. Cracow, Archive of Magazine *Nasza Przyszłość: Liber Eleemosynae pro Fabrica Ecclesiae S. Crucis Varsaviensis a variis benefactoribus*, p. 17; L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, p. 22; E. Kowalczykowska, *Kościół Św. Krzyża*, Warsaw, 1975, p. 9.  
<sup>4</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne...*, pp. 149-150; the previous suggestion of connecting both side altars in the Warsaw Missionary church appeared in: Mączyński, *Warszawska konfesja...*, pp. 61-65.  
<sup>5</sup> The Archives of the Warsaw Archdiocese, *Diarium Procurae Domus Varsaviensis circa quotidiana fere negotia percipuo in anno 1716...* Anno 1722, card 39: 'On the 26<sup>th</sup> of July X. Aumont gave 200 silver coins in gold for the St. Charles altar, the coins are in the bag cum schedula annexa in arca domestica ferrea'.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, card 39: 'Anno 1723 die 25 Nov. Handing over proxy to [...] Mr. X. Turski [...] I gave 80 red złoty, 11 silver coins (equivalent of 30 groszy), 2 silver coins (equivalent of 6 groszy) to the I.P. Lubomirski foundation. The money was spent on the St. Charles altar. P. Bernatowicz will give it to the painter'.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, card 40: 'Handing over that proxy [1723] I returned to X. Turski 47 red złoty for the St. Charles altar and I paid 11 coin thaler to Mr. Bernatowicz'.  
<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, card 40: 'On February 21 [1724] I gave to carver Mr. Bernatowicz 1000 silver coins, 47 red złoty from proxy and 70 silver coins, Mr. X. Aumont gave 20 red złoty, from that he took 8 silver coins [?] 272'.  
<sup>9</sup> M. Symonowicz, *Opis historyczny kościoła parafialnego [Znalezienia] Św. Krzyża XX. Misjonarzy w Warszawie, Rozmaitości [Warsaw, Pismo dodatkowe do Gazety Korespondenta Warszawskiego i Zagranicznego]*, 1825, no. 3, p. 18; Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża...*, p. 117.  
<sup>10</sup> M. Symonowicz, *Opis historyczny...*, p. 18.  
<sup>11</sup> It is difficult to agree with Mariusz Karpowicz, that the retable could have been constructed before 1725, and also with the suggestion of earlier construction of altar architecture, and later of statues, and assignment of authorship to two different workshops (compare with M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne...*, p. 156).  
<sup>12</sup> E. Rastawiecki, *Słownik Malarzów Polskich*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1850, p. 104.  
<sup>13</sup> J. Orańska, *Szymon Czechowicz 1689-1775*, Poznań, 1948, pp. 54, 59, 139-140.  
<sup>14</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne...*, p. 182.  
<sup>15</sup> J. Orańska, *Szymon Czechowicz...*, p. 59, fig. 19.

style is far from that of the Warsaw master. The painting was probably created later than the altar and comes from the brush of one of the students of Czechowicz, perhaps Albertrandi.<sup>17</sup> It would be the second – next to the 'St. Charles Borromeo' in the opposite altar – painting of that artist in the Holy Cross church.

The design of both retables came from Carlo Antonio Bay,<sup>18</sup> as was correctly stated by Mariusz Karpowicz. It was he who introduced architectural solutions from 17th century Rome to Warsaw, from the work of Gianlorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, Pietro da

altars next to the chancel arch in the church of Bernardine in Toruń (around 1727–1728),<sup>23</sup> as well as the high altar in Siemiatycze (1729–1730).<sup>24</sup> All those complexes are in many aspects similar to the missionary altars. Beside the similar proportions of the lower, very spatially-treated storey to the magnificent flat coping with oval painting and radial glory accompanying it, in all cases the column parts are alike – single or grouped in clusters – including those 'attacking' space, diagonally-placed central columns with quarter-circular pediments. Semi-cylindrical bases for sculptures and corresponding sections of entab-

tures are full of rhetorical glibness, shaggy clothes are treated spatially, employing chiaroscuro.<sup>27</sup> In this respect both figures of the St. Charles altar are similar to the excellent class of Bernatowicz altar sculptures from the parish church in Kodeń (1722).<sup>28</sup> In realistically-treated heads by Bernatowicz, beside the factor of picturesqueness, there is a classicising element visible even in the fully harmonious construction of the central parts of faces – a straight, 'Greek' nose and regular eyes. Also noteworthy is the rare theme of caryatids supporting the entablature – traditionally French, popularised among others by graphics of

Although both altars were constructed within a certain time difference, they undoubtedly display one design by Carlo Anthony Bay. It can be presumed that the altar of St. Charles served as a model; after only a few years there was no need to hire an architect again, as a design from around 1722 sufficed with suitable adaptation. This time performance was again entrusted to the workshop of Bernatowicz. This is indicated not only by the altar woodwork strictly repeating architectural forms of its pendant, but the whole system of decoration, ornamentation, figural composition with pairs of adults and children (at the bottom

<sup>17</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Malarstwo i rzeźba czasów saskich: Sztuka Warszawy*, edited by M. Karpowicz, Warszawa, 1986, p. 182.  
<sup>18</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne...*, p. 148.  
<sup>19</sup> J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu: Łowicz. Dzieje miasta*, Ed. R. Kołodziejczyk, Warszawa, 1986, pp. 544–551; Bay Carlo Antonio Maria: *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 7, München, 1993, p. 657; J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu w późnobarokowej architekturze polskiej: Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XX, 1994, pp. 228–229.  
<sup>20</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wieczyste Teatrum: Piękne Nieznajome. Warszawskie zabytki XVII i XVIII wieku*, Warszawa, 1986, pp. 147–170; Gajewski, Bay Carlo Antonio... pp. 657–658; Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu...*, pp. 236–238.  
<sup>21</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Uwagi o przemianach malarstwa i rzeźby polskiej w latach 1711–1740: Sztuka 1. poł. XVIII wieku. Materiały z Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Rzeszów, listopad 1978*, Warszawa 1981, p. 105; Mączyński, *Warszawska konfesja...*, pp. 61–65; M. Karpowicz, *Malarstwo i rzeźba...*, p. 174.  
<sup>22</sup> J. Sito, A. Betlej, *Lubelskie dzieła Bartłomieja Bernatowicza: Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. 5, edited by J. Lilejko and I. Rolska-Boruch, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL Publishing House, Lublin, 2004, pp. 169–203.

<sup>23</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Malarstwo i rzeźba...*, p. 165.  
<sup>24</sup> M. i W. Boberscy, *W kręgu fundacji Jana Fryderyka Sapiehy (1680–1751): Między Padwą i Zamościem. Studia z dziejów sztuki i kultury artystycznej ofiarowane prof. Jerzemu Kowalczykowi*, Warszawa, 1993, pp. 238–241; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. 8: Województwo Lubelskie, set 2: Powiat Biela Podlaska, Eds. K. Kolendo-Korczakowa, A. Oleńska, M. Zgliński, Warszawa, 2006, p. LIX, 113.  
<sup>25</sup> J. Sito, M. Wardzyński, *Recepcja twórczości graficznej Jeana II Lepautre'a w sztuce sakralnej Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku: Francusko-polskie związki artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, Eds. A. Pieńkos and A. Rozales-Rodriguez, Warszawa, 2010 (in the press).  
<sup>26</sup> Karpowicz drew attention to this fact. Idem, *Wartości artystyczne...*, pp. 150–153.  
<sup>27</sup> J. Sito, *Rzeźba figuralna w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII w.: Sztuka polska. Późny barok, rokoko i klasycyzm (XVIII wiek)*, Ed. J. Kowalczyk (in the press).



Cortona, merged into a common language at the end of the century by Carlo Fontana and Andrea Pozzo.<sup>19</sup> This was already mentioned in connection with the tomb effigy of Cardinal Radziejowski; both altars stem from the same comprehension of architecture – the spatial and dynamic, invoking the spirit of the Roman Baroque.<sup>20</sup> Bartłomiej Bernatowicz, confirmed by archives at the altar of St. Charles, was also in constant collaboration with Bay; he was the most important among sculptors working with Bay. Among many works of the Bay-Bernatowicz partnership, primarily in the range of church decoration, the best undoubtedly include transept retables in the Warsaw Carmelites church (before 1723)<sup>21</sup> and their imitations in Carmelite altars in Lublin (around 1723–1725),<sup>22</sup>

lature repeating roundness of columns in the upper zone may be found in Toruń.<sup>25</sup> The figural composition in all cited cases is extremely rich – profusely placed sculptures are grouped in pairs, while remaining in psychological relations with each other thus creating a kind of *teatrum*.<sup>26</sup> The figures are posed dynamically, ges-

Jean II Lepautre – in Warsaw it appeared in chancel arch altars by Bernatowicz in the Dominican church around 1720.<sup>29</sup>



<sup>9</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), herm in the coping, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>10</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul (now St. Joseph), coping detail, executed by an unknown Warsaw sculptor and Johann Georg Pfersch, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>11</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), putti in the coping, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>12</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), figure of St. Stanislaus, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>13</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Charles Borromeo (now St. Joseph), figure of St. John of Nepomuk, executed by Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz, photo: J. Sito, 2010

– saints, in the coping – angels with putti), in one word, the altar as a whole comes from the same model. However, the figural sculpture difference is striking.<sup>30</sup> This riddle is explained by the death of Bernatowicz in February 1730. At the time of death of the head of this huge Warsaw workshop, or even a kind of artistic enterprise, one of the biggest in terms of the number of employees in 18th century Poland, orders were taken over by workshop staff. Beside workshop apprentices who copied – more or less successfully – the style of the master, staff included also many co-workers, mostly foreigners with high artistic ambitions and own style. This style was in some measure related to Bernatowicz, yet in many ways it was different, distinctive from Bernatowicz.<sup>31</sup> Among these

<sup>23</sup> B. Jakubowska, *Snycerka Toruńska w XVIII w.: Teka Komisji Historii Sztuki Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu*, III, 1965, p. 207; Sito, Betlej, *Lubelskie dzieła...*

<sup>24</sup> R. Zdziarska, *Kościół i klasztor misjonarzy w Siemiatyczach w pierwszej połowie XVIII w.: Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki XXXVI*, 1991, 2, pp. 117–118; J. Kowalczyk, *Rola Rzymu...*, pp. 237–239.

<sup>25</sup> B. Jakubowska, *Snycerka toruńska...*, p. 207; J. Sito, A. Betlej, *Lubelskie dzieła...*

<sup>26</sup> That's how, among others, Mariusz Karpowicz reads the figural compositions by Bernatowicz. See: idem, *Medytacje przed franciszkańskim ołtarzem...*; idem, *Wieczyste Teatrum: idem, Piękne Nieznajome...*, pp. 109–113; 147–170.

<sup>14</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul, figure of St. Joseph Calasanzius, executed by an unknown Warsaw sculptor and Johann Georg Pfersch, photo: J. Sito, 2010

<sup>15</sup> Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, altar for St. Vincent de Paul, figure of St. John Cantius, executed by an unknown Warsaw sculptor and Johann Georg Pfersch, photo: J. Sito, 2010

artists was Johann Georg Plersch, who recently was accredited with creating the sculpture work on the St. Vincent altar.<sup>32</sup> We can agree only partially with this hypothesis. It appears that Plersch, who later became leader of the capital's sculpture market, around 1730 was only at the verge of his career and shared his work on the altar's figures with another co-worker of Bernatowicz, who unfortunately remains anonymous. The latter got a lion's share of the order, which he 'inherited' from Bernatowicz – both figures of saints at the bottom of the retable, an angel on the left pediment and almost all putti; Plersch worked on the angel on the right pediment, a putto with a book accompanying St. John Cantius and at least one of the herms. The anonymous author of the figures in the St. Vincent altar almost certainly was a foreigner, probably of Czech-German origin, just like Plersch and many other members of the Bernatowicz "enterprise".<sup>33</sup> Judging from the characteristics of the form of figures accredited to him, he was an outstanding disciple of the famous Matthias Bernhard Braun, a Prague sculptor active in the first half of 18th century, the most important representative of expressionism in Czech sculpture.<sup>34</sup> Particularly, the monumental sculptures of both saints refer to the early works of Braun from the second decade of 18th century, e. g. to the altar statues in the St. Clement church in Prague,<sup>35</sup> and some stone sculptures of the Charles Bridge.<sup>36</sup> Next to a similarly dynamic composition, we have here the same perfect mastery of material, a strong charge of expression, with chiaroscuro, modelling of sharply undercut draperies full of expression, with a tendency for some exaggeration, predation in presenting the physio-gnomy or anatomy of hands, which were typical for Braun. In some aspects, the Anonymous is close to Plersch, whose art – as well as the work of many Warsaw sculptors of the 18th century – derived from the Czech school, i. a. from Braun, (next to other inspirations), but he is a completely distinct artistic personality. It must be clearly emphasised that besides the Holy Cross church, work by that sculptor is not to be found in any other pieces in Warsaw or in circles under the influence of the capital city. He may have died shortly after 1730 or left Poland altogether.

An extremely interesting issue is the ideological concept which connects the two opposite altars. Set on one retable axis, together they create an inseparable pair also in terms of the message conveyed. The central pair of chapels, through invocations and the accompanying image-figural composition was dedicated to the main – next to works of charity – charisma of the Missionary Priests, which was teaching.<sup>37</sup> This teaching was of dual nature: on the one hand conducting folk missions, on the other hand – educating priests through teaching reverends at seminaries. The painting in the St. Vincent altar presents the founder of the congregation at the time of proclaiming folk missions, to which he was devoted.<sup>38</sup> He was an ide-

al teacher then, both for common people and priesthood adepts at the level of teaching primary principles of faith, as well as for the highest level of priest formation. The charisma of the Missionary Priests presented here – education and formation of diocesan clergy – was referred to in figures of two other saint teachers – Joseph Calasanctius and John Cantius, which accompany the altar. Calasanctius, the founder of the Order of Piarists and the creator of so-called Schools for the Pious, greatly contributed to the propagation of education in catholic Europe, and his ideal was elementary education of poor young people.<sup>39</sup> In turn, John Cantius was, as it is well-known, a professor at the Jagiellonian University in the late medieval period, finally its patron, and later the patron of higher education in all Commonwealth.<sup>40</sup> These two priests were patrons of education – the first the patron of the poor at elementary level, the second the patron of the academics. Both sculptures may be treated in an emblematic way, as some kind of allegory of Vincentian teaching charisma. Seminarian clergy – and thus future priests – were eligible to special educational care of Missionary Priests in Poland.<sup>41</sup> It was to the ideal of priesthood the opposite altar of St. Charles Borromeo was dedicated, and its contents were – we could say – an ideological succession of the opposite altar. St. Charles was actually an ideal priest,<sup>42</sup> an exemplary priest. He performed acts of mercy by funding orphanages and shelters for the homeless, and during the epidemic he distributed food to the poor and personally gave sacraments to the infected. He also cared about education through establishing high schools and colleges for young people of no means. In a word, he fulfilled his apostolic service in a heroic way.<sup>43</sup> That leading idea, portrayed in the main field of the canvas (after the World War II it was replaced with a painting of St. Joseph with little Jesus), is undertaken by the figural sculpture of St. Stanislaus of Szczepanów and St. John of Nepomuk. Like St. Charles, the ideal priest and above all the cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, who personified in some measure the Church itself, those two martyr priests represent bishopry as well as the broadly-understood presbiterate. Their testimony went all the way to martyrdom, they both gave their lives for the Church of Christ, represented here by Borromeo: St. Stanislaus in protection of independence of the Church constitution, St. John of Nepomuk in protection of sanctity of sacraments implemented by that Church. Living in the 16th century, St. Charles preceded in some measure the later Missionary ideal and his

actions constituted exemplum, an inspiration for all holy priests, especially for Vincent de Paul. It was the Missionary Priests who took in the 17th century Borromeo's charisma of service in deeds of mercy and education – education of a dual nature, in the meaning of folk missions and clergy formation. Therefore, invocations of both altars remain in close relationship. In the painting on his altar, St. Vincent proclaiming folk missions is presented as a worthy successor of St. Charles, as a clergyman undertaking the priest charisma delineated anew by the Milan Cardinal of the Counter-Reformation days.

<sup>32</sup> M. Karpowicz, *Wartości artystyczne...*, pp. 150-153.

<sup>33</sup> Cf note 24.

<sup>34</sup> O. J. Blažiček, *Sochařství baroku v Čechách*, Praha, 1958; E. Poche, *Matyáš Bernard Braun*, Praha, 1986; I. Kožán, *Braunové*, Praha, 1999.

<sup>35</sup> I. Kožán, *Braunové...*, pp. 30-38.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-25.

<sup>37</sup> J.M. Román, *Święty Wincenty a Paulo. Biografia*, translation by I. Kania, Cracow, 1990; J. Owsiak, [Duchowość kapłana Zgromadzenia Misji]: *Księga Pamiątkowa. Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie...*, pp. 9-26 (especially on pp. 18-19).

<sup>38</sup> L. Abelly, *La vie du vénérable serviteur de Dieu Vincent de Paul, instituteur de la Congrégation de la Mission et des Filles de Charité*, Paris, 1664 (reprint Piacenza, 1986).

<sup>39</sup> G. Ausenda, Orden de las Escuelas Pías: *Diccionario Enciclopédico Escolpaio*, vol. 1, Madrid, 1990, pp. 29-53.

<sup>40</sup> J. Fijałek, *Studia do dziejów Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego i jego wydziału teologicznego w XV w.*, Cracow, 1898.

<sup>41</sup> J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu...*, pp. 522-536.

<sup>42</sup> Cf the Missionary chapel in Łowicz dedicated to St. Charles Borromeo as the patron of the clergy formation (Cf J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu...*, pp. 530-531).

<sup>43</sup> Z. Morawski, *Św. Karol Boromeusz na tle odrodzenia religijnego w XVI w.*, Poznań, 1922; S.R. Rybicki, *Św. Karol Boromeusz wierny sługa Kościoła Odrodzenia*, Cracow, 1978; Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu...*, pp. 530-531.

16 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, for St. Vincent de Paul, angel in the coping, Johann Georg Plersch, photo: P. Janski, 2010



16

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# Patrons' Logdes in Chancel and Transept 1759

JAKUB FONTANA AND JOHANN GEORG PLERSCH

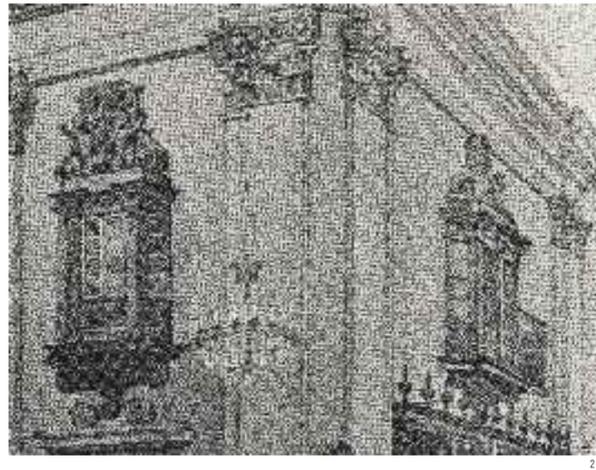
One of the characteristic elements of the Holy Cross Church interior decoration were, until the War, and reconstructed after 1950 and in 2010, the Rococo wooden patrons' logdes suspended in the chancel and in the arms of the transept, which covered the galleries fixed in the walls. These small galleries were meant for the privileged persons, listening to the Holy Mass from up above and far away from the crowds. The two galleries of the chancel allowed to focus on the Mass celebrated at the main altar, while two others, situated in the arms of the transept, were connected – respectively – with altars of St. Felicissima and the Holy Sacrament. It is hard to say explicitly for whom the galleries were



intended – certainly not for the missionaries themselves, who used the stalls. Most probably, they were meant for nobility families connected with the Holy Cross Church, not in vain called the temple of the Warsaw aristocracy. The Holy Cross building project was constantly supported by the aristocrats; many of them were buried in the basement of the temple, especially members of the Czartoryski family.

1 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, patrons' logde in the transept eastern arm, designed by Jakub Fontana (attributed), executed by Johann Georg Plerisch, 1759, photographer unknown, after 1939–before 1944

The oak-wood patrons' logdes, suspended ca. four metres above the flooring, have a three-cornered projection. In the main part they consist of an impressive frame, quadripartite in the chancel, tripartite in the arms of the transept, segmented by pseudo-pilasters supporting the formed cornice, with longitudinal, rectangular windows divided into panes (eight panes in larger windows, four panes in smaller ones), with a windowsill originally decorated with panels of garland bas-reliefs at the bottom. The patrons' logdes are supported on strongly twisted volute bows, which converge at the bottom into a junction ring. The coping took the form of a decorated, tapering tabature, decorated with a pair of leafy volutes and covered with a sinuously bent cornice. Before their destruction, the tabatures were decorated with rich carvings in the form of clouds and pairs of putti, supporting the so-called Arma Christi, i.e. the symbols of Lord's Passion.



In the pre-war photographs and the ones from the period of occupation, the patrons' logdes no longer have the majority of these attributes (one can see the lance in putto's hands in the bay window on the right side of the transept), others may have been relocated, and today it is impossible to establish their original location.

According to the sources, the patrons' logdes were created by Johann Georg Plerisch, who signed the realization contract in 1759.<sup>1</sup> The three putti existing today – characteristically shaped, dynamic, with whimsical, rococo silhouette and strong optic correction – fully confirm Plerisch's authorship. Johann Georg Plerisch was at that time – as we know – the most important sculptor of the Holy Cross building project; we remember his input in the stone decorations of the façade from 1756–1760.<sup>2</sup> The project was most probably originated by Jakub Fontana, with whom Plerisch cooperated in this and other Warsaw building projects. Especially, the picturesque copings – trapezoidal,

2 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, patrons' logdes in the chancel and the transept western arm, designed by Jakub Fontana (attributed), executed by Johann Georg Plerisch, 1759, draughtsman unknown, before 1939

decorated with a pair of volutes and characteristically covered with a bent cornice – can be described as typical Fontana design.<sup>3</sup> In their form they resemble a French-Italian Rococo Fontana style of 1740's and 1750's, used presumably for the first time in the attics of risalits in the façade of the Piarist Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw, in a design dated 1743.<sup>4</sup> Later however, the style was used in metropolitan tombstones – that of Mniszech family in the church of the Reformati (after 1747)<sup>5</sup> and of Maria Józefa Sobieska née Wessel in the church of Sister of the Blessed Sacrament (1762),<sup>6</sup> and later in the architecture of the main altars in Warsaw Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary church of 1758–1760<sup>7</sup> and in the collegiate church in Łowicz of 1761–1765.<sup>8</sup> The patrons'



logdes of the galleries, next to the design of the church façade finish, together a driveway construction (1745–1760) and – probably – the flooring design (1766–1767), constitute yet another work of Jakub Fontana for the Warsaw missionaries, executed in cooperation with his brother-in-law – Johann Georg Plerisch.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Central Archives of Historical Records of Warsaw, *Źeki Korotyńskich, Objaśnienie względem odrobienia osób, które zdobią facyatę kościoła Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, p. NaN.  
<sup>2</sup> Cf the fragment in this book.  
<sup>3</sup> The issue is considered by: J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu: Łowicz. Dzieje miasta*, Ed. R. Kolodziejczyk, Warsaw, 1986, p. 577.  
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 577; R. Mączyński, *Pijarski pałac Collegium Nobilium w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1996, pp. 47–52.  
<sup>5</sup> J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu*, ..., p. 577.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 578; I.M. Walicka, *Kościół i klasztor Sakramentek w Warszawie. Pomnik zwycięstwa pod Wiedniem*, Warsaw, 1988, pp. 82–83.  
<sup>7</sup> J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu*, ..., p. 577; J. Sito, *Altarz główny warszawskiego kościoła ss. Wizytek. Projekt, realizacja, treści ideowe*, *Rocznik Warszawski*, XXXIII, 2005, pp. 151–164.  
<sup>8</sup> J. Gajewski, *Sztuka w prymasowskim Łowiczu*, ..., p. 575–585.  
<sup>9</sup> K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, *Plerisch (Plech, Pleichs, Pleisch, Plejsz, Plerz, Plesch, Plesz, Pleys, Pleysz) Johann Georg (Jan Jerzy): Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających (zmarłych przed 1966 r.)*, *Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy*, vol. VII, Warsaw, 2003, p. 276.



3 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, patrons' logde on the western wall of the chancel, designed by Jakub Fontana (attributed), executed by Johann Georg Plerisch, 1759, reconstructed after 1950, photo: J. Sito, 2010

4 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, patrons' logde in the transept western arm, designed by Jakub Fontana (attributed), executed by Johann Georg Plerisch, 1759, reconstructed after 1950, photo: J. Sito, 2010

5 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, putto of the patrons' logde on the eastern wall of the chancel, designed by Jakub Fontana (attributed), executed by Johann Georg Plerisch, 1759, reconstructed after 1950, photo: J. Sito, 2010

6 Warsaw, Church of the Holy Cross, putto of an unidentified patrons' logde, designed by Jakub Fontana (attributed), executed by Johann Georg Plerisch, 1759, reconstructed after 1950, photo: J. Sito, 2010

Monuments,  
Epitaphs and  
Commemorative  
Plaques in the  
Lower and  
Upper Church,  
17th-20th century

After the Warsaw Archsee, the Missionary Church of the Holy Cross is the second largest burial-place of the outstanding Polish personages of the capital's aristocratic and magnate families, Church dignitaries, the lead of the intelligentsia and army officers engaged in patriotic and social activities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.<sup>1</sup> Outstanding for the inventiveness of design and quality of artistic elaboration, the set of over two hundred items consists basically of three parts. One embraces plaques commemorating the history of the church plus monuments and epitaphs to the foremost ecclesiastic founders and donors (the pair of the most splendid monuments, to Michał Bartłomiej Tarło the Bishop of Poznań (d. 1715), and Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski (d. 1705), have been discussed above). Two related sets of epitaphs to the benefactors of the Church and the Congregation in the so-called 'magnate' and 'monastic' crypts make up the second group. The third consists of the predominantly nineteenth- and twentieth-century monuments and epitaphs on the walls of the Upper Church and in the other crypts.

The earliest group of inscription plaques relates to the history of the erection and the successive stages of the consecration of the Missionary Church. On 20 March 1695, Jan Kryszpin-Kirszenstein the Bishop of Samogitia consecrated (in the chancel) the Lower Church along with the three altars that existed there at that stage. On 14 October 1696, Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski the Archbishop of Gniezno and main protector and founder of the building consecrated the Upper Church and the High Altar (in the transept northern arm). On 28 October that same year, the side altars were consecrated (in the passage near the sacristy) in the presence of Mikołaj Poplawski the Bishop of Livonia and Piltyń (now Piltene, Lithuania). All plaques of the set were hewn out of the dark grey calcite excavated at Dębnik near Cracow, then very popular throughout the Polish Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup>

Undoubtedly the most splendid in form is the second of the plaques listed, probably co-financed by the Primate himself and the creator of the church, the outstanding North Lombard architect Giuseppe Simone Bellotti. The plaque, along with the inscription, must have been prepared in advance, as the text brings no mention of either the Martyrs' names – their relics were placed in the portable of the High Altar mensa – or the day and month of the celebration. Of the Dębnik 'marble', the local masons had hewn out only the plaque ground and the voluted Radziejowski cartouche with the family coat of arms (the 'Junosza') and the archbishop's cross, surmounted by the cardinal's hat



with tassels (reduced in design to match the bishop's rank). The decorative, ermine-lined *paludamentum* spreading round the plaque was hewn out of sandstone of unknown origin, which was subsequently painted black.

Put up on the eastern wall of the transept northern arm, close to the side altar for the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament, this splendid composition has a companion piece in an equally representational commemorative plaque shaped in the likeness of a cenotaph sarcophagus under a *paludamentum*. It celebrates another of the church's foremost donors, Kazimierz Jan Szczuka the Bishop of Chelmino and Abbot of the Cistercian convent at Paradyż, who died



in 1694 (and was buried in the Corpus Christi Chapel of the parish church at Chelmino in Pomerania, likewise administered by the Missionaries). This latter plaque, founded by the members of the Warsaw Congregation of the Mission, was hewn out of sandstone of unestablished origin, which was polychromed in black with recurrent use of gilding to make it look like the Dębnik 'marble'.

Situated beneath the Chapel of St. Mary adjacent to the chancel from the south, the fairly small magnate crypt is the place of thirty-two burials of 1688–1816 of magnates and bishops. The burial-place of members of the Tarło family, the Princes Czartoryski and, connected with them by marriage, the Princes Lubomirski, Denhoff, Szczuka, Prażmowski, Czapski, and Kicki, is Warsaw's largest Old Polish family mausoleum of this kind.<sup>3</sup> It also contains plaques commemorating several personages connected with the French court of Queen Marie Louise de Gonzaga who had endowed the convent, and diplomats of the King of France in the Polish Commonwealth during the reign of John III Sobieski and his French wife Marie-Casimire d'Arquien. The Warsaw church's generous benefactors include the mercenary troops' colonel Christoph de Boham de Landuy (d. 1688), famous in the Polish army; Pierre Des Noyers (Desnoyers) (d. 1693), secretary and treasurer to the former queen, a talented scholar and humanist; the said queen's maid-of-honour Maria Pasquina Tack Dubuisson (Du Buisson) (d. 1697); diplomat Robert Leroux d'Esneval (d. 1693), and Queen Marie Casimira's sister Maria d'Arquien Wielopolska (d. 1735).<sup>4</sup>

Because of the purely commemorative function of the plaques, which block the view of the catacomb niches for the coffins in the crypt walls, their form is most often extremely simplified. The overall information is reduced to the coat of arms with orders surrounded by sigla or complemented by a brief inscription below. Some of the magnate plaques of the second half of the eighteenth century are in the unique *marmo bianco statuaria* or *marmo bianco ordinario* of Carrara and *Bardiglio* imported from Italy at great cost.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Major monographic works, cf.: F. Kurowski, *Pamiętki miasta Warszawa*, published from MS by E. Szwanowski, vol. II, Warsaw, 1949, pp. 75–78; F.M. Sobieszczański, *Kościół Śtokrzyski w Warszawie*, *Tygodnik Ilustrowany*, vol. 8, Warsaw, 1863, no. 216, pp. 441, f.; L. Petrzyk, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1920, pp. 115, 118, f.; E. Kowalczykówna, *Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Warsaw, 1975, pp. 90–98; M. Wnuk, *Zwiedzając Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, *Rocznik Parafii Św. Krzyża*, [Warsaw], 1989, pp. 98–104, fig. pp. 116–119; I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, *Pamięć zakłada w kamieniu – epitafia w kościele Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*; *Serce miasta. Kościół Św. Krzyża w Warszawie*, Eds. K. Sztarbatlo and M. Wardzyński, Warsaw, 2010, pp. 236–247.

<sup>2</sup> W. Tatarakiewicz, *Czarny marmur w Krakowie: idem, O sztuce polskiej XVII i XVIII wieku. Architektura, rzeźba*, Warsaw, 1966, pp. 347–359, 390–392.

<sup>3</sup> I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, *op. cit.*, pp. 241–242, fig. 15–20.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242, fig. 17–20.

<sup>5</sup> M. Pieri, *I marmi d'Italia, graniti e pietre ornamentali*, terza edizione ampliata, Milan, 1964, pp. 16, 294–298, fig. VI; K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, *Marmur w rzeźbie epoki Grand Tour. Materiał rzeźby. Między techniką a semantyką / Material of Sculpture. Between Technique and Semantics*, Ed. A. Lipińska, Wrocław, 2009, pp. 489–490.

<sup>6</sup> M. Wardzyński, *Import and Use of Belgian Marble and Limestone in Small Architecture and Stone Sculpture on Polish Territory from the Middle Ages to the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Colloque International de Glyptographie de Cordue*, 17–21 juillet 2006, Ed. J.-L. Van Belle, Braine-le-Château, 2007, p. 382, note 33, pl. 3.

<sup>7</sup> K. Jarciońska (Wardzyńska), *Prace snycerskie Jana Söffrensa z Elbląga dla Misjonarzy w Chelminie i w Warszawie: Artyści włoscy w Polsce. XV-XVIII wiek. Papers presented to Professor Mariusz Karpowicz*, Eds. J.A. Chrościński and R. Sulewska, Warsaw, 2004, pp. 625–631, fig. 1, 2, 4, 5.



<sup>1</sup> Commemorative plaque to the 20 March 1695 consecration of the altars in the Lower Church by Jan Kryszpin-Kirszenstein the Bishop of Samogitia, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

<sup>2</sup> Commemorative plaque to the 14 October 1696 consecration of the Upper Church and the High Altar, and to Cardinal Michał Radziejowski's foundations, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

<sup>3</sup> Commemorative plaque to Kazimierz Szczuka, Bishop of Chelmino and Abbot of Paradyż, donor to the church of the Holy Cross, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

<sup>4</sup> Epitaph to Maria d'Arquien (d. 23 June 1735), Queen Marie Casimire Sobieska's sister, third wife of Jan Wielopolski the Crown Chancellor, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

<sup>5</sup> Memorial plaque to the French diplomat Robert Leroux d'Esneval (d. 1693), photo: P. Jamski, 2010

<sup>6</sup> Epitaph to Prince Kazimierz Czartoryski (1675–1741) the Vice-Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and the Castellan of Wilno, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

Among the late seventeenth-century monuments, the plaque to Robert Leroux d'Esneval, hewn out of the south-Netherlandish calcite *Noir de Namur* (*Noir Belge*) is especially noteworthy.<sup>6</sup> Rare in Warsaw at that time though in general use in Gdańsk, Elbląg and Toruń in Pomerania, the stone was imported as ballast for grain carriers. The relief elaboration of the upper part of the plaque is exceptional with the Frenchman's heraldic shield within small acanthus scrolls held by two griffins standing on two strap volutes with endings in the form of wide-ramified lush acanthus sprigs. A comparison of the plaque with pieces worked in marble and alabaster or carved by the Netherlandish artist Johannes Söfrens in the second half of the 1690s, notably his specific type of lush acanthus, indicates that, employing him regularly since 1694,<sup>7</sup> the Missionaries might have also entrusted him with this small though prestige task.

The same Pomeranian circle of Late Baroque stone masonry seems a reasonable association for the plaque to Piotr Tarło the Bishop of Poznań (d. 1772) with an elaborate, decorative heraldic cartouche that consists of flat Régency straps adorned with small scrolls, acanthus leaves and campanulas.

In the set of eighteenth-century magnate plaques, those to Prince Kazimierz Czartoryski (d. 1741) the Vice Chancellor of Lithuania and Castellan of Wilno, leader of the foremost political party called Familia (the Family), and his wife Izabella Elżbieta née Morsztyn (d. 1758) stand out against the rest.<sup>8</sup> Shaped as irregular frames of straps and bands overgrown with vegetal shoots, they feature skulls with crossbones in the bottom enclosures and, in the top ones, oval medallions within rocaille ornament below coronets. The Czartoryski coat of arms in the medallions, that is, the Lithuanian Pogoń, and the characters and digits of the inscriptions are cast in bronze and gilded. The early forms of Rococo ornamentation situate both items in the first half of the 1740s. It may also be presumed that this specific type of commemorative plaque starting with the Czartoryskis' might have influenced the later, much related in composition Rococo epitaphs in marble and brass to three representatives of the Krasieński family, commissioned in the second half of the 1760s. The dedicatees were Antoni Krasieński (d. 1762) and Eustachia Krasieńska née Potocka (d. 1764) while the latter's husband, Kazimierz Krasieński the Grand Camp Commander of the Crown and starost of Krasnostaw was the donor of all the plaques.<sup>9</sup>



7 Monument to Prince Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski (d. 1823), photo: P. Jamski, 2010

8 Epitaph to Professor Polikarp Girsztowt, the outstanding surgeon (1827–1877), photo: P. Jamski, 2010

9 Place of the deposition of the heart of Władysław Reymont (1878–1925), Nobel Prize-winner for literature, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

10 Epitaph to priest Gabriel Pierre Baudouin (1689–1768), founder of the Infant Jesus Foundling Hospital, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

11 Memorial plaque to colonel Bolesław Mościcki (1878–1925), and the Krechowicki Uhlans fallen in 1914–1920, photo: P. Jamski, 2010

The later burial places, of the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth century – of the Lubomirski, Potocki, Zamoyski, Czapski, Kicki, Stadnicki and other aristocratic and gentry families – are situated mainly in the eastern wall of the Lower Church's transept arms and in other crypts beneath the individual chapels in the main body of the church.

The crypt of the St. Vincent the Paul Sisters of Charity (popularly known in Poland as 'szarytki' from the French name of the congregation, *Soeurs de la Charité*), which occupies a prominent place in the Lower Church, has been wholly restored within the framework of the restoration project. The commemorative inscriptions to the Sisters who were buried in the crypt from the first decade of the nineteenth century are in paint applied right on the wall of the given catacomb. Contained within the rectangular or polygonal rims are the names and surnames of the deceased, the dates and places of their death, and the number of years spent in the congregation.<sup>10</sup> Many of these have a decorative finish in the form of painted borders of laurel and myrtle leaves, and posies of field flowers rendered with remarkable realism.

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, the walls and pillars of the Upper Church interior became the places of commemoration of over a hundred different individuals engaged in the pro-social and civic activities during the partition period and the twenty years' span between the two World Wars. Among those finding their last resting-place here, mention is due to Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski the leader of the 'Patriotic Party' (d. 1823); the outstanding deputy and minister Walenty Sobolewski (d. 1831); the senator of merit Tomasz Grabowski (d. 1840); and the famous surgeon Polikarp Girsztowt (d. 1877). The well-known patrons of Warsaw's charitable organisations with Paulina Krasieńska née Górka (d. 1893), Ludwik Górski (d. 1908), and Jan Tadeusz Lubomirski (d. 1908) also rest here.

As the crowning of the endeavours of the Missionaries and the capital city's community to create a new Pantheon of Polish culture here, the hearts of two outstanding compatriots, Frédéric Chopin and the Nobel Prize winner for literature Władysław Reymont were laid in the church. (Leandro Marconi and Andrzej Pruszyński designed the Chopin 1880 epitaph while Zygmunt Otto was the designer of the Reymont 1929 epitaph.) Many other writers and artists have likewise been commemorated in monuments and epitaphs, in that, undoubtedly the most important of the group, writer and social activist Józef Ignacy Krąszewski (his monument of 1897 was destroyed in 1944).<sup>11</sup>



<sup>6</sup> I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, *op. cit.*, p. 241, fig. 16.

<sup>7</sup> *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* [KZSP], vol. VIII: *Województwo lubelskie*, Eds. R. Brykowski and E. Rowińska, fascicle 8: *Powiat krasnostawski*, compiled by T. Sulerzyńska, F. Uniechowska, and E. Rowińska, Warsaw, 1964, p. 24; KZSP, vol. X, *Województwo warszawskie*, Eds. I. Galicka and H. Sygietyńska, fascicle 10: *Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki (dawny powiat nowodworski)*, compiled by I. Galicka and H. Sygietyńska, C. Głuszek and A. Gruszecki, Warsaw, 1987, p. 62, fig. 168–170.

<sup>8</sup> I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, *op. cit.*, p. 244, fig. 21–24.

<sup>9</sup> E. Kowalczyk, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–97, fig. 46–50; I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–241, 245–246, fig. 7–14, 30–33.

## Biographies of Artists



**Giuseppe Simone Bellotti** (c. 1640/1650–1708), architect, builder and stuccoer of Valsolda, North Lombardy. Arriving in the Polish Commonwealth in the 1660s, he was initially active in the artistic enterprise run by his relative, Isidoro Affaitati the Elder (1622–1684) the royal architect and fortification engineer, subsequently rising to an independent professional status. He is credited with the design of the Missionary Church of the Holy Cross (1679–1696), Warsaw's largest and one of the most splendid in the country. Built on the Latin cross plan combined with the partitioning wall-pillar interior system and a two-tower screen façade, the church is to be traced back to the Venetian Late Renaissance and Baroque architecture of Andrea Palladio, Vincenzo Scamozzi, and Baldassare Longhena. The other derivation is North Italian ecclesiastic architecture practised in Austria, South Germany, Bohemia and Moravia (Carlo Antonio Carloni, Carlo Lurago, Domenico Sciassa et al.). The Church of the Holy Cross is the most monumental and the most excellent example of the use of the partitioning wall-pillar system outside Italy in the second half of the 17th century. Elsewhere in Poland, Bellotti was active in the region of Wielkopolska (Greater Poland), erecting the monumental Cistercian Abbey at Łąd near Poznań, which replicates the Warsaw Holy Cross (1681–1689), a four-wing palace of the Leszczyński family at Rydzyna (1690–1694) and perhaps their other residence at the nearby Leszno. He also acted as clerk of works during the erection of numerous palaces, churches and monastic buildings designed by Tilman van Gameren and other Warsaw architects of the fourth quarter of the 17th century, mainly in Warsaw and the region of Mazovia. Owner of a huge brickyard and superior of numerous North Italian *muratori* and stuccoers, he managed what was Warsaw's largest building enterprise of that time, specialising in royal, magnate, and monastic commissions.



**Tilman van Gameren** (1632–1706), outstanding painter, architect, draughtsman and designer from Utrecht, educated in Holland and Venice in, among other circles, that of Pieter Post, Jacob van Campen and Noctlaus Goldmann. He arrived in the Polish Commonwealth in 1661 at the invitation of Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski the Grand Hetman of the Crown as a fortification engineer and artillery officer. Entering the service of the King in 1672, he remained there till John III Sobieski's death in 1696, simultaneously accepting commissions from numerous magnate families, primarily the Princes Lubomirski. He is the foremost representative of the classicising Venetian-Dutch trend of Baroque architecture of the second half of the 17th century in the Polish Commonwealth, most notably in the capital city of Warsaw and environs. His remarkable oeuvre, embracing palaces, manors and villas, fortifications, churches and monastic buildings, municipal edifices and service centres, designs for interior arrangement and elements of decoration, as well as garden projects was to revolutionise the image of Polish art. He popularised the latest avant-garde designs of Gianlorenzo Bernini and designers to Louis XIV at the royal court in France. His personal design contributions and architectural and town-planning compositions range from the central domed church, town and country palaces with extended-bodies and annexes in the *entre le court et jardin* arrangement, to the Marywil (French: Marieville) project and the Warsaw Old Town's market stalls, 17th-century Warsaw's first modern commerce-and-services complexes. All these continued to serve as patterns for solutions used in the Polish Commonwealth into the late 18th century. Ranked among Tilman's most famous achievements, the Holy Cross three major altars complex designed in 1699–1704 is a masterly compilation of elements of the classicising French Baroque and the Bernini and Borromini circle's emotive trend of Roman architecture and sculpture of the second half of the 17th century.

### Giuseppe Simone Bellotti

Warsaw (Mazovia), the Order of the Reformati Church, side-chapel, stucco decorations, 1676, designed and commissioned by G.S. Bellotti, photo: M. Wardzyński

Rydzyna (Greater Poland), Rafał Leszczyński's palace, general view from the West-South, 1690-1694, designed by G.S. Bellotti and T. Bellotti, archival photo before 1945

Łąd (Greater Poland), Cistercian abbey church, general view of the presbytery and transept, 1681-1689, designed by G.S. Bellotti, photo: M. Wardzyński

### Tilman van Gameren

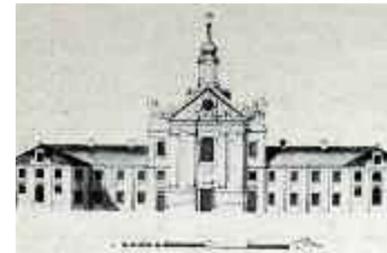
Warsaw (Mazovia), Jan Dobrogost Krasieński's palace, eastern façade, 1687-1695, designed by T. van Gameren, photo: P. Jamski

Warsaw-Czerniaków (Mazovia), Bernardine church, side altar, 1690-1693, designed by T. van Gameren, photo: M. Wardzyński

Warsaw-New Town (Mazovia), the Order of the Holy Sacrament Church, 1683-1696, designed by T. van Gameren, photo: M. Wardzyński



**Carlo Antonio Bay (Baio)** (1678–1740), North Lombard architect and designer from Magliaso in Mendrisiotto (a region in the southern Swiss canton of Ticino), educated in Milan and Rome, pupil of the famous designer, draughtsman and Jesuit painter Padre Andrea Pozzo. After his arrival in Warsaw in 1709, he initially entered the service of the Mniszechs (magnate family influential at the court of King Augustus II Wettin), and the Princes Sieniawski and Radziwiłł, for whom he built new palace residences in Warsaw. In 1718, he obtained the honourable title of the first architect to the King and the Polish Commonwealth while his Italian noble status was officially recognised in 1722. In the 1720s and 1730s, he was the foremost designer and architect in Warsaw and the Polish Commonwealth at large. His credits include the Warsaw churches of the Nuns of the Visitation and the Augustinian Order, both acknowledged as part of the canon of modern-time Central European art, the monumental two-tower façades of the Piarist Church in Łowicz and the Paulite Church at Leśna Podlaska. Patterned on Francesco Borromini's, Andrea Pozzo's, and Carlo Fontana's best Roman work, Bay's avant-garde compositions (centrally planned churches, concave-convex columnar façades, spatially structured radial glory-topped altars, dynamic architectural detail) inaugurate a new, Late-Baroque architectural trend in Warsaw and the regions of Mazovia and Podlachia, continued into the 1770s. Vincenzo Ruchetti of Mantua, his father-in-law and regular collaborator, took over as Master Builder and *conduttore* of his building projects. With the Congregation of the Mission Bay collaborated on a permanent basis between 1719 and 1730, initially at Siemiatycze in Podlachia (remodelling the former parish church along with complete furnishings and erecting a new monastic, quasi-palace building). For the Warsaw Church of the Holy Cross, Bay designed the marble and wood monument to Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski (d. 1705; construction c. 1719–1722), based on concepts developed in Rome by Gianlorenzo Bernini. This was followed by a couple of spatial side altars in the chapels of St. Charles Borromeo and St. Vincent de Paul (1722–1723 to 1730).



**Giuseppe II Fontana** (1676–1741), North Lombard builder and architect from Valsolda, a distant relative, co-worker and heir of the well-known Warsaw architects and builders Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, Carlo and Francesco Ceroni, and Giuseppe Piola. Two of his sons, Jakub, Jan Kanty and Józef III, were outstanding architects of Central European rank. He was father-in-law of the famous Late-Baroque Warsaw sculptor Johann Georg Piersch. Giuseppe II started his career at the side of Piola as *conduttore* of the building of the Piarist Church at Szczuczyn and the palace at Sidra (1694–1715); both endowed by the magnate Szczuka family connected with the court of King John III Sobieski. In the 1720s, he collaborated on a regular basis as *conduttore* with architect Giovanni Spazio on the building of Sieniawski Palace (neighbouring the Missionaries' house in the Krakowskie Przedmieście (now housing the Warsaw Academy's Rector's Office), and the construction of representative wings to the former royal palace at Wilanów. After Spazio's death in 1726, he remained *conduttore* with the former architect's replacement Sigmund Deybel, at the same time collaborating with Carlo Antonio Bay and Antonio Solari, the Polish Commonwealth's first architects. As friends and co-workers, in 1726–1728 Fontana and Solari carried into effect and partly also financed the building of the church, convent and hospital of the Brethren of the Order of St. John of God. On his own, Fontana worked for the Order of the Reformati and Conventual Franciscans. In the 1730s, he was the foremost Italian architect in Warsaw, assembling around himself, as well as training and supervising the careers of, several important architects and builders active in Warsaw and the Polish Commonwealth till the end of the 18th century. As clerk of works in charge of the second stage of the construction of the Holy Cross façade (1725–1728), by which Giuseppe Simone Bellotti's earlier plans were accomplished, Giuseppe II Fontana gave it a marked trait of the classicising Warsaw Late Baroque.

### Carlo Antonio Bay

Siemiatycze (Podlachia), the Order of the Missionary monastery, façade, after 1719, designed by C.A. Bay, photo: M. Wardzyński

Białystok (Podlachia), parish church, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki's tombstone, 1711, designed by C.A. Bay, photo: M. Wardzyński

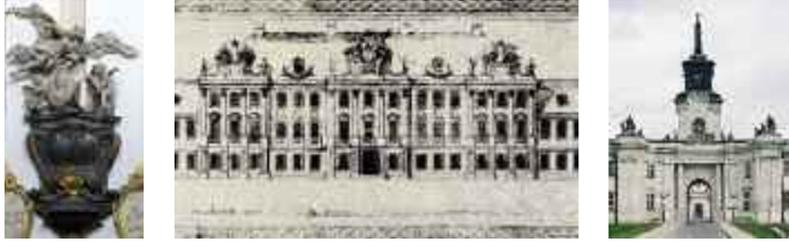
Warsaw (Mazovia), the Order of the Visitation Church, façade, 1727-1733, designed by C.A. Bay, completed 1754-1762, photo: P. Jamski

### Giuseppe Fontana II

Szczuczyn (Mazovia), Piarist Church, façade, 1697-1710, designed by G. Piola, commissioned by G. Fontana II, photo: M. Wardzyński

Warsaw-Muranów / Muranów (Mazovia), the Order of St. John of God Church and hospital, 1726-1728, designed by A. Solari and G. Fontana II, original design of the façade

Miedniewice (Mazovia), the Order of the Reformati Church, façade, 1727-1748, designed by G. Fontana II, photo: M. Wardzyński



#### Jakub Fontana

Warsaw (Mazovia), the Order of the Reformati Church, Jerzy Wandalin Mniszech's two wives tombstone, 1747-1748, designed by J. Fontana, commissioned by J.C. Plersch, photo: M. Wardziński

Warsaw (Mazovia), Piarist Collegium Nobilium buildings, 1743-1755, designed by J. Fontana, original design of the western façade

Radzyń Podlaski (Podlachia), Eustachy Potocki's palace, Western Tower with the main gate, 1750-1759, photo: M. Wardziński

**Jakub Fontana** (1710–1773), Giuseppe II's eldest son, the most outstanding Warsaw architect and designer in the 1740s–70s, ranked in the Central European lead of the period. Financed by his father, his study tour to Lombardy, Rome and Paris in 1732–1736 enabled him to acquaint himself with the latest in European architecture, allowing his pro-French stylistic formation to crystallise. After his father's death in 1741, he took charge of the capital city's largest artistic-building enterprise. In 1742, Franciszek Bieliński the Grand Marshal of the Crown (Minister of the Interior), a man of great political influence at the court of King Augustus III Wettin and among the Polish magnates, granted Jakub Fontana exclusive rights to works of this kind. Fontana's elitist clientele and several prestige commissions on a grand and smaller scale in the domain of palace, ecclesiastic and occasional architecture made him the most serious competitor of the Saxon architects and designers' group assembled round the King within the so-called *Bauamt* (Royal Building Office). The 1750s and 1760s were crucial to the activities of Fontana who had risen to a monopoly position in Warsaw, having a share in the transformation of the city's architectural image from one corresponding with the Late-Baroque Italian tastes to one obeying the French Rococo and early Neo-classicism ones. The King August III and the Polish Commonwealth's parliament entrusted him with the supervision of all of the design and repair works carried into effect in the representational wing of the Royal Castle. As a parallel activity, he conducted with much success exceptionally prestige commissions for monumental residence-and-garden projects for the Branicki family in Białystok, and the Potocki family at Radzyń in the region of Podlachia. In the fields of painting and sculpture, Fontana was assisted in his undertakings by the foremost representatives of the Warsaw art milieu of that time with the painters Tadeusz Kuntze and Szymon Czechowicz, both educated in Rome, and the sculptors Johann Georg Plersch, Johann Chrisostomus Redler, and Franz Anton Vogt. In 1764, he was ennobled by the King Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski who also granted him the title of the first builder to the King and the Commonwealth. In the Warsaw Church of the Missionaries, Fontana takes the credit for the 1753–1756 completion of the façade to which he gave elegant classicising traits of the architecture of Paris and Versailles, complemented with the delicately outlined Rococo detail wrought by the sculptural studio of Plersch, his talented brother-in-law. Fashioned in the same style, the collators' oak lodges in the chancel and the wings of the church's transept are their joint work (1759).



#### Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski

Warsaw-Wilanów (Mazovia), Jan III Sobieski royal villa / Museum Palace in Wilanów, Portrait of the Queen Marie Casimire d'Arquien with children, 1684, painted by J.E. Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski, photo: P. Janski

Warsaw-Wilanów, Jan III Sobieski royal villa / Museum Palace in Wilanów, Cabinet al Fresco, *Apollo and Sybilla*, about 1686-1687, painted by J.E. Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski, photo: P. Janski

Cracow (Lesser Poland), St. Ann academic collegiate church, altar-mausoleum for St. John Cantius, 1695-1698, designed by J.E. Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski, photo: M. Wardziński

**Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz Siemiginowski** (recorded 1667–1707; d. before 1711), son of wood-carver and painter to the King John III Sobieski. An outstanding Polish High Baroque painter and frescoer, educated at the monarch's expense in Paris and Rome (1677–1684), he attended the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, winning the first prize in its 1682 first-class competition. He was Chevalier of the Golden Spur Order awarded by Pope Innocent XI. He worked for the king at Lwów and Żółkiew in Crown Ruthenia (now Ukraine) and in 1686–1696 in Warsaw, mostly for the needs of the Royal Castle and the suburban villa at Wilanów, also becoming the Royal Family's favourite portrait painter. The king appointed him lecturer at the court Painting School. He collaborated with the outstanding painters to the king Martino Altomonte and Michelangelo Palloni. He was twice married to French women, Caroline Guerquin of the court of the Wielopolski family, which was conspicuously pro-French, and Thérèse Laroze of a merchant family resident in the Polish capital. An acknowledged painter of mythological, allegorical and religious scenes, he also provided architects, sculptors and

engravers with design drawings for altars, Roman in style and spirit, and for stucco decoration, dispatching them, among other destinations, to Cracow (Cracow Academy, now the Jagiellonian University) and Gdańsk. In 1690, he entered the service of John III Sobieski's eldest son, Prince Jakub, patron of the erection of the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw. For him, Siemiginowski executed painted decoration in the Prince's nearby residence at the Krakowskie Przedmieście (now the building of the Warsaw University's Rector's Office). In the same period, he provided services to Primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski and members of the Szczuka magnate family; both connected with the Missionaries. In 1699–1701, he was officially ennobled and received the Royal Secretary's title. Siemiginowski participated in the design process for the High Altar in the Church of the Holy Cross, for which he painted his monumental *Crucifixion* (1700, destroyed 1944) patterned on Cirro Ferri's analogous compositions in Rome, and in Poland on those by Michelangelo Palloni and Jan Reiser.



**Johannes Söffrens** (1660–after 1721), a Netherlander born into a Protestant family of sculptors-ship decorators resident at Ventspils in the Duchy of Courland (at that time the Commonwealth's fief, now Latvia), who worked for the local ducal shipyard. After a study tour and a period of instruction in Holland (circle of Bartholomaeus Eggers and Rombout Verhulst) and Flanders (with François du Quesnoy, the Quellinus family, and Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen), he settled at Elbląg (German: Elbing). In this affluent merchant port on the estuary of the River Nogat (arm of the River Vistula before it enters the Baltic), he joined the studio of the well-known local sculptor Andreas Silber from Stade, Niedersachsen. After his master's death in about 1690, Söffrens took over his workshop and received numerous prestige and lucrative commissions for marble and alabaster monuments, epitaphs and altars for the Catholic Cathedral Chapters at Chelmża in Pomerania and Frombork in the Duchy-Bishopric of Warmia. He continued to do work for these patrons on a regular basis till the end of his active life, producing over sixty representational pieces in stone and wood, so avant-garde in form and so high in artistic standard as to alter the image of ecclesiastic art in the area. Alongside Hans Michael Gockheller, Hans Caspar Aelschmann, and Andreas Schlüter the Younger, who were active in the nearby Gdańsk, Söffrens was a leading representative of the Flemish trend of the turn-of-the-century sculpture on the Baltic coast. 1694–1721 saw Johannes Söffrens permanently in the service of the Congregation of the Mission employing him to build the exceptionally representative, High Baroque altar furnishings in their monastic churches at Chelmo in Pomerania (1694–1699 to 1710) and in the capital city's Holy Cross (1699–1704, 1720–1721). Because of their antiquity-oriented Roman-Flemish form, Söffrens's Warsaw works, executed at the apex of his creative potentialities may be regarded as model examples of the classicising trend in the sculpture of the late 17th/early 18th-century in Warsaw and the Polish Commonwealth at large. A number of talented pupils who had received instruction in his workshop started to open workshops of their own at the beginning of the 18th century. The foremost among them were Jerzy Juda Tadeusz Dąbrowicz (noted in 1697–1737) at Lubawa; Mattes Rodte at Chelmo, and Michael Brüse at Elbląg; the latter two taking part in the works for the Warsaw Holy Cross.

#### Johannes Söffrens

Chelmża (Pomerania), cathedral, Bishop Kazimierz Jan Szczuka's tombstone, 1696, designed and commissioned by J. Söffrens, photo: M. Wardziński

Zwierzno in Żuławy (Pomerania), parish church, statue of St. Michael the Archangel from the former high altar, c. 1696-1700, commissioned by J. Söffrens, photo: M. Wardziński

Młoradz in Żuławy (Pomerania), parish church, high altar, 1699, designed and commissioned by J. Söffrens, photo: M. Wardziński



**Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz** (c. 1680–1730), wood carver and designer of altar structures, probably from Bagrowo in the region of Wielkopolska, educated at the beginning of the 18th century in Prague, in the workshop circle of Matthias Wenzel Jäckl and Jan Brokoff. Arriving in Warsaw about 1712, when the city was in a state of ruin and depopulation in the wake of the Second Northern War and the plague, he was to become the capital's foremost sculptor-entrepreneur, concentrating in his hands the majority of prestige commissions. Sculptors of Bernatowicz's large studio, often representing varied style manner, worked at the side of, and to designs provided by, the contemporary architects and builders with Giovanni Spazio, Giuseppe Il Fontana, and Carlo Antonio Bay. The studio executed complexes of spatial Late-Baroque altarpieces, pulpits and numerous other items of church furnishings, as well as components of wood-carved furnishings for almost all churches that existed in Warsaw at time, the Piarists, Paulites, Conventual Franciscans, Discalced Carmelites, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Bernardines. The studio also received commissions for wood-carved items for the palaces of several leading Polish and Lithuanian aristocratic families. Besides Warsaw, Bernatowicz was active in the Primate Collegiate Church and the Piarist Churches at Łowicz, Lublin, Kodeń in the region of Podlachia and in Toruń in the region of Pomerania. At the Warsaw Missionaries' service, Bernatowicz made a very prestige debut receiving, between 1719 and 1721, a personal commission for the execution of the figure of Michał Stefan Radziejowski for the marble monument to the Primate, of Bay's invention. In 1722, he was engaged in the completion of the transept altar for the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament (by Johannes Söffrens and Michael Bröse of Elbląg) and, this being a personal commission, in the construction of the altar for St. Charles Borromeo, likewise to Bay's design. 1729 saw the erection by Bernatowicz's co-workers of the altarpiece for St. Vincent de Paul, which an anonymous, exceedingly talented co-worker invited from Prague decorated with figures. The Warsaw artist's ennobling contacts with the Congregation of the Mission also included a commission accepted that same year outside the capital for the construction, to Bay's design, of the complete furnishings for the parish church interior at Siemiatycze newly remodelled by Carlo Antonio Bay (1719–1730). There, Bernatowicz's assistant carvers, among them Jakub Dzierżawski, executed the High Altar patterned on Andrea Pozzo's Roman works, four side altarpieces, the pulpit and monastic stalls in addition to a sumptuous wood-carved chandelier in the nave.



**Johann Georg Plersch** (c. 1700–1774), born probably in Bohemia, the foremost sculptor and designer of architectural fittings active in Warsaw and the regions of Mazovia and Podlasie in the 18th century. Educated in Bohemia and Prague, working in stone, wood and cement, he had most likely made a study tour of Rome and Vienna. About 1722, he arrived in Warsaw, joining the sculptural enterprise of Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz to work under his direction in the Piarist Church. In 1723, Plersch left the workshop to enter the service of Princess Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska who engaged him in the expansion of Wilanów Palace. In 1726–1727, he began to work for the King Augustus II the Strong, executing figures to be placed in Kalwaria Ujazdowska and the gardens of Saski (Saxon) Palace. In 1735, he received the honorary title of court sculptor. In the 1740s–70s, he was the most active member of the local sculptors' community, attracting numerous talented journeymen, mostly of German origin, and also monopolising, with Johann Chrisostomus Redler of Vienna, the imports of and trading in, Carrara marble and native kinds of sandstone from northern Małopolska. With Antonio Solari, he co-decided on the sculptural finish of the then expanded Royal Castle, in which task he car-

ried into effect designs provided by other architects: Carlo Antonio Bay, Jakub Fontana, and Ephraim Schröger. As an independent artist, he accepted varied commissions for drawn designs, *bozzetti*, and *modelli*, and the execution of church equipment, monuments and epitaphs, as well as elements of the furnishings of secular representational interiors, and equestrian and *en pied* monuments. His exclusive clients at this stage were the King and a limited group of Church dignitaries and magnate families, the Mniszechs, the Sapiehas, the Radziwiłls, and the Branickis. He also accepted commissions to be executed in the churches in his clients' charge (primarily the arch-collegiate Church in Warsaw and the Primate Collegiate Church at Łowicz) and attended to the needs of orders in their care, first and foremost the Reformati, Augustinians, Piarists and Sisters of the Visitation. Plersch's sculptural works in the Warsaw Missionaries' church, embracing the set of Sts. Peter and Paul figures in cement and theological virtues and angels in sandstone on the façade (1756), and the sculptural decoration on the collators' lodges (1759) are among the leading works of the artist's mature stage. In character, they are a fluent combination of evident monumentality of Roman and Viennese origin with dynamism in the draperies of the robes and cloaks patterned on Prague and Bohemian sculpture, and with powerful emotional expression visible in the peculiar elaboration of the physiognomies and elegant gesticulation of the hands.



**Szymon Czechowicz** (1689–1775) born in Cracow, the foremost Polish Late-Baroque 18th-century painter. Having entered the court of Franciszek Maksymilian Ossoliński the Voivode of Volhynia, he obtained the latter's private grant to finance his art studies in Rome for twenty years (in 1711–1731). While there, he practised in the studios of the local masters Marco Benefialo, Benedetto Luti, and Sebastiano Conca, representatives of the classicising trend of Italian painting modelled on the art of Raphael, Guido Reni, and Carlo Maratta. From the end of the 1720s, on establishing his first contacts with the public at home, he took to sending his paintings to the Piarist Church in Cracow and the Collegiate Church of the Bishops of Kielce among other destinations. Settling in Warsaw in 1731, upon failure in his attempts at making a career at the court of Augustus II the Strong, he concentrated on seeking commissions from influential Church dignitaries (especially the Cracow Bishops for Wawel Cathedral and other churches in his native city). His other clients were magnate families throughout the Polish Commonwealth's vast territory. In the 1730s–60s, he often travelled from one place of commission to another, working for churches and palaces alike. His clients were, in Podlasie, Voivode Ossoliński, Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki, and the Princes Czartoryski; in the region of Lublin, the Tarło family and the Princes Sanguszek; at Podhorce, Ruthenia (now Ukraine), Hetman Waclaw Rzewuski; and in Poznań and Polock (now Polotsk, Russia), the Jesuits. He also worked for several monastic orders in Wilno (now Vilnius, Lithuania). Czechowicz was also very much acknowledged as a portrait painter for developing a creative combination of his Roman workmanship and manner with the binding French convention, resulting in portraits demonstrating a masterly feel for the sitter's nature. The intensity of the painter's work resulted in the growing participation of his co-workers; the most talented of whom was Łukasz Smuglewicz (1709–1780) of Warsaw. Together, they ran the first Polish private painting school in the Old Town's Market Square in the 1760s–70s. Among Czechowicz's pupils, mention is due to Jan Bogumił Plersch, sculptor Johann Georg Plersch's first-born son. During the reign of King Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski, Jan Bogumił Plersch and Łukasz Smuglewicz's son Franciszek were sent to Rome and Italy as court grant-holders to learn their trade. In the Holy Cross, associated with Szymon Czechowicz are the worship paintings of St. Vincent de Paul and St. Joseph in the two side retables under the same dedication. With Łukasz Smuglewicz, in turn, some associate two canvases in the retables of the altar for the Holy Trinity and the Blessed Sacrament, one devoted to the Holy Trinity, the other to the Last Supper, recently reconstructed after the 1944 damage.

#### Bartłomiej Michał Bernatowicz

Warsaw (Mazovia), Carmelite Discalced Church, St. Teresa of Avila side altar, about 1721–1722, commissioned by B.M. Bernatowicz, photo: M. Wardzyński

Kodeń (Podlachia), parish church, Blessed Virgin Mary of Kodeń side altar, 1722, commissioned by B.M. Bernatowicz, photo: M. Wardzyński

Siemiatycze (Podlachia), the Order of Missionary church, high altar, 1729–1730, designed by C.A. Bay, commissioned by B.M. Bernatowicz, photo: M. Wardzyński

#### Johann Georg Plersch

Warsaw (Mazovia), former Saxon Royal Garden, Sculpture statue, 1740–1744, designed and commissioned by J.G. Plersch, photo: M. Wardzyński

Warsaw-Ujazdów, former Calvary, Holy Sepulchre chapel, statue of Christ in the Grave (nowadays in the St. Alexander parish church in Warsaw), about 1727–1730, commissioned by J.G. Plersch, photo: J. Sito

Warsaw, the Order of the Visitation Church, high altar, about 1757–1759, designed and commissioned by J.G. Plersch, photo: P. Jamski

#### Szymon Czechowicz

Kielce (Lesser Poland), cathedral, high altar, *Assumption of Blessed Virgin Mary*, 1730, painted by Sz. Czechowicz, photo: P. Jamski

Lubartów (eastern Lesser Poland), Capuchin Church, side altar, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, after 1741, painted by Sz. Czechowicz, photo: P. Jamski

Tykocin (Podlachia), the Order of the Missionary Church, high altar, *Holy Trinity*, about 1749, painted by Sz. Czechowicz, photo: P. Jamski

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# CHURCH OF THE HOLY CROSS IN WARSAW