

# **Willem van den Blocke**

## **Netherlandish sculptor in the Baltic Region**

Willem van den Blocke, een beeldhouwer uit de Lage landen in het Balticum.

(met een samenvatting in het Nederlands)

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## INTRODUCTION

### Reasons for choice of the subject

Up to the present day, sixteenth century sculpture in Transalpine Europe remains on the margin of main currents of art historical research, which is true even with regard to the Low Countries. This can be hardly surprising, since sculpture - perhaps to a greater degree than other arts - fell victim there to the political, religious and economical turmoil of the second half of the century. Dispersed and isolated works created by Netherlandish sculptors of that time reveal, however, their outstanding skill and inventiveness, as well as considerable importance for artistic developments in sixteenth century Europe in general. Such figures as Jean Mone, Jacques du Broeucq, refined virtuoso and *maître artiste de l'empereur*, and Cornelis Floris, perhaps the most influential northern European sculptor of the century, count among leading exponents of the 'antique' tendency in northern European art. Traces of their direct or indirect influence can easily be found across the continent, from France to Sweden and from to England to Transylvania.

In the second half of the sixteenth century a great number of Netherlandish sculptors, as well as architects and other artists, travelled abroad from their troubled native country and settled in other places, most importantly England, Scandinavia, lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Holy Roman Empire. As a consequence, more works of Netherlandish sculpture were set up in such places as Royal and Ducal Prussia, Mecklenburg, Denmark or Silesia, than in the Low Countries themselves. Active in cities and at courts, connected by an extensive network of personal and professional relations, industrious and ambitious Netherlanders transformed artistic landscape of a large part of the continent. Research into their activities - that led to far-reaching dissemination of new forms and ideas - is crucial for proper understanding of developments taking place in sixteenth century Northern European art in general.

Without detailed examination of single artists, however, a synthesis of this phenomenon remains impossible. Such sculptors working outside of the Low Countries as Gert van Egen or Robert Coppens still lack systematic studies, while those devoted to others, for instance Willem Boy and Elias Godefroy, are almost a century old. In these circumstances, the present dissertation will be centered on one of the Netherlandish émigré sculptors, Willem van den Blocke. This artist will provide an excellent case study, as his career perfectly exemplifies challenges encountered by Netherlandish artists abroad. Choice of his life and work – hitherto unexplored – as study subject hopefully will not only provide detailed knowledge about one of the leading Netherlandish sculptors of late sixteenth century, but will also allow to address a number of broader questions relevant to the phenomenon of Netherlandish artistic expansion in general.

### Aims of the dissertation

The present dissertation will address a number of issues. First of all, basing on already existing partial studies and archival documents, it intends to recreate the artist's *curriculum vitae*, from his early years in Mechelen and Antwerp to his maturity in Gdańsk. Willem van

den Blocke's artistic activities will be discussed in the wider context of dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture in Central and North-Eastern Europe. In particular, the present study aims to establish his position within the network of Netherlandish sculptors, architects and similar creators, operating in the Central and East-Northern Europe in the second half of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as well as his contribution to the spread of the Netherlandish artistic language. It will also explore such questions as formal characteristics of van den Blocke's oeuvre, sources used by the artist, his relation with the pictorial tradition and his design strategy. The artist's works will be analyzed in all their complexity: equal attention will be given to microarchitecture, figural sculpture and ornamental carving. Such a broad approach is of particular importance, since the sculptor's versatility has not been fully reflected in scholarly literature as yet. The dissertation will also attempt to present a complete and up to date *catalogue raisonné* of van den Blocke's works. Naturally, due to such causes as relative scarcity of written sources and complexity of workshop practice, precise establishing of authorship of all the works executed in the broad circle of the artist is not possible. Nonetheless, consistency of various factors, both formal and historical, will hopefully allow to link at least some works of sculpture to the master in question.

Besides these basic matters, the present text will also discuss two other important issues, namely workshop practice and patronage. As to the former, it will attempt to analyze character and structure of the atelier led by Willem van den Blocke in Gdańsk, as well as its position in the local milieu and in the broader context of Netherlandish sculptor workshops. This aspect is of particular significance, since records of the masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild in that city, hitherto barely explored in such a context, provide an unique insight into the studio led by one of the leading exponents of Low Countries sculpture in late sixteenth century Europe.

As to patronage, emphasis will be put on its mechanisms and patterns, and on the position of the artist in relations to his patrons. In particular, investigation into the problem of potential network of patronage will be conducted, demonstrating ways through which Willem van den Blocke was provided with a constant flow of commissions as well as revealing common patterns of behaviour within the phenomenon. Closely related to patronage is the problem of social context and meaning of works of art which will also be explored here. Commissioned by patrons of varying standing and religious convictions, monuments executed by Willem van den Blocke offer an opportunity to explore the meaning and purpose of early modern sepulchral art.

Even though the present study is devoted to a single artist, it offers possibility to address a wide array of broader questions, taking his activities and work as *pars pro toto* of a much wider phenomenon. It will touch upon various issues pertaining to the process of creation of a work of sculpture in late sixteenth century in central and north-eastern European environment, starting from its commissioning through design strategy of an artist, ending with its execution in his studio. Furthermore, while exploring workshop practice and commissions, it will hopefully reveal more general patterns in these areas as well. Finally, by addressing the question of dissemination of 'antique' artistic language in Central and North-Eastern Europe, especially through the mediation of the Low Countries, as well as interrelation between various artistic traditions - Netherlandish, Italian and local -

the dissertation will also dwell upon such major problems as patterns and contexts of artistic transfer.

To address such a variety of issues, various kinds of sources had to be consulted. First of all, written sources providing information about the sculptor's life and work were researched, both in the hope of discovering hitherto unknown documents and reevaluate those already known, some of which have not been consulted in original for more than a century. Among the most important are the books of the stonemasons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild in Gdańsk, as well as other records pertaining to the city, preserved in the Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Gdańsk, as well as in the Biblioteka Gdańska PAN (Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk, heir to the historical city library of Gdańsk). Equally valuable proved to be documents of the ducal court in Königsberg, to a large degree published already by Hermann Ehrenberg, and today kept in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem. An insight into history of the family in general is offered by documents in Stadsarchief Amsterdam and Stadsarchief Mechelen. The latter also provides extensive information about the local artistic milieu, a matter of considerable importance for the issue of emigrant Netherlandish sculptors in general. As far as van den Blocke's works and their patrons are concerned, a great variety of sources, both published and unpublished, has been consulted in libraries and archives in various countries, including those in Gniezno, Olsztyn, Toruń, Cracow and Warsaw, as well as Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Library) in Budapest, Lietuvos Nacionalinė Martyno Bažvydo Biblioteka (National Library) in Vilnius and Carolina Rediviva library in Uppsala. These sources also included numerous pre-1900 books, ranging from descriptions of various cities to inscription collections to funerary sermons.

One of the key sources in art historical research is the work of art itself. In case of lack of written documents - unfortunately typical for this part of Europe, partly due to war losses - they may provide invaluable information with regard to such diverse issues as import of sculpting material and organization of workshop practice. Therefore, meticulous study of the works by van den Blocke and his contemporaries was of primary importance. Furthermore, in order to analyze the van den Blocke oeuvre in a wider context of sixteenth century European sculpture, numerous works of art have been consulted, in such diverse locations as Lithuania, Sweden, Poland, Denmark, Germany, Czech Republic, Hungary, Netherlands, Belgium, France and Italy. Moreover, prints and drawings in several collections, such as Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam, Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin and Biblioteka PAN in Gdańsk, have been consulted for the sake of establishing possible visual prototypes.

The following study has been divided thematically into seven chapters. The initial one attempts to reconstruct the artist's *curriculum vitae*. The following addresses the question of patronage with its structure and patterns, as well as presents personalities of the artist's patrons. The third chapter discusses van den Blocke's atelier in Gdańsk, where he spent most of his professional life. Chapters four and five analyze in detail van den Blocke's art: microarchitecture, ornamental carvings and figural sculpture. Chapter six explores iconography and meaning of the artist's works in a broader context. Finally, chapter seven provides an overview of van den Blocke position within the network of Netherlandish sculptors operating in Central and North-Eastern Europe in the second half of the sixteenth

century, as well as his contribution to artistic developments in Königsberg, Gdańsk and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The book is accompanied by a *catalogue raisonné* of the artist's works as well as an annex containing all known written sources pertaining to his life and activities.

### **Willem van den Blocke in historiography**

In 1777 Johann Bernoulli, member of well known Swiss family of scientists, visited Gdańsk. On July 18<sup>th</sup> he went to the Great Arsenal, where he studied elements of the magnificent monument of Swedish King Johan III Vasa, executed almost two centuries earlier by Willem van den Blocke.<sup>1</sup> His local guide, however, was not aware of this fact. Instead, he entertained the traveller with a story of some ship carrying the monument, commissioned by Johan's son Sigismund (which was the correct part of the tale) that sank in the vicinity of Gdańsk. It seems, therefore, that in the late eighteenth century the name of the sculptor has been long forgotten even in the city where he spent most of his life. This appears to be also the case in Königsberg, the other place where he worked.<sup>2</sup> The artist has been rediscovered only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The first to provide some information about the sculptor and to link him with a particular work - the monument of Prussian Duchess Elisabeth - where two Königsberg historians, August Rudolf Gebser and Ernst August Hagen in 1833.<sup>3</sup> In 1855 a document pertaining to van den Blocke has been published by another local historian, Adalbert von Mülverstedt.<sup>4</sup> In Gdańsk, the first to mention the master was Theodor Hirsch in 1847, who credited him with two further works, namely the tombs of Johan III Vasa - the one studied by Bernoulli - and of the Kos family in the former Cistercian church in Oliwa near Gdańsk.<sup>5</sup>

These initial publications provided, however, only isolated pieces of information. The first to present the sculptor in greater depth was the eminent Gdańsk scholar August Bertling. His essential article has been published in 1885, rather surprisingly in a local newspaper, *Danziger Zeitung*. It was of crucial importance, exploiting newly discovered written sources providing information about the artist's family and allowing to attribute to him further works.<sup>6</sup> An important amendment came in 1903, when Carl Knetsch published his well documented paper concerning the van den Blocke family.<sup>7</sup> Documentary information published by Bertling and Knetsch provided a sound basis for further inquiry, constituting an important part of source-based knowledge about van den Blocke's life and work known

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<sup>1</sup> Bernoulli, 1779 p. 335–337.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, description of funeral monuments in the Königsberg cathedral in *Lilienthal 1716*, p. 36-37 and *Von Baczko 1788*, p. 166-167.

<sup>3</sup> Gebser&Hagen 1833, p. 189–197, 259–261. Furthermore, see Hagen 1847, p. 411, note.

<sup>4</sup> Mülverstedt 1855; Mülverstedt was the first to confirm Willem's Netherlandish origin. Van den Blocke's name was simultaneously mentioned by Flögel 1855.

<sup>5</sup> Hirsch 1847, p. 227, note 3; Hirsch 1850a, p. 56; Hirsch 1850b, p. 54. However, also Hagen 1847 was aware of the fact that the sculptor executed an unspecified 'epitaphium' in Gdańsk in 1594.

<sup>6</sup> Bertling 1885. The sources in question were the artist's supplications from 1584, 1586 and 1590. The works mentioned there were the monument of Christopher Báthory (lost, formerly in Alba Iulia in Transylvania) and the High Gate in Gdańsk. Bertling's personal notes, kept in the PAN Library in Gdańsk (August Bertling, *Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Danziger Gewerke*; Danziger Künstler, Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, MS. 2490), offer a further insight into his scholarly work; moreover, they include his summary of a lost document pertaining to Willem van den Blocke.

<sup>7</sup> Knetsch 1903; see also Lindner 1901, p. 33.

today. Because of their character, however, their impact remained limited. The two most prominent works, shaping the image of Willem van den Blocke's art for almost a century, were rather published by Hermann Ehrenberg in 1899 and Georg Cuny in 1910.<sup>8</sup> These first major syntheses of art in early modern Königsberg and Gdańsk included both important source information and some attempt at formal analysis, as well as further attributions based on it.

Based on his thorough knowledge of archives, Ehrenberg's stout volume on the art of sixteenth century Prussian court was a considerable achievement for its time, presenting a new standard of historical analysis. Its value was furthermore enhanced by extensive inclusion of transcriptions of documents from the old Königsberg archive - mainly ducal correspondence and yearly pay-books of the court - in excerpts pertaining to art and architecture. Accuracy and sound scholarship makes Ehrenberg's study extremely valuable even today. Ehrenberg discussed van den Blocke's life and work in Königsberg, mostly the execution of the grand monument of Duchess Elisabeth, of which he also provided a short formal analysis.

Even more influential was the book by Georg Cuny. Since its publication, it exerted lasting influence on scholars studying art and architecture in sixteenth and seventeenth century Gdańsk. Its importance was strengthened by the fact that for many years after the World War Two the vast Gdańsk archive was largely neglected by art historians. Yet, the book's popularity yielded highly ambiguous results. At the time of its publication it undoubtedly offered a relatively comprehensive overview of the local architectural and sculptural milieu, introducing to a broader public many hitherto unknown names and works. Moreover, it provided a fair deal of source information. On the other hand, rather imprecise structure of the book, some tentative attributions and lack of clear-cut distinction between information derived from written sources and the author's own hypotheses make it hardly reliable by today's standards. What is more, these qualities caused the book to be a source of mistaken interpretations, especially since numerous later authors were unable to confront it with actual archival documents, some of which were lost since. As far as the topic of this thesis is concerned, Cuny published several rather controversial attributions, mostly concerning architectural decoration. They proved to be particularly annoying, as they obscured van den Blocke's oeuvre to a large degree.

Also in 1910, Cuny published a biographical entry on the sculptor in the Thieme-Becker dictionary.<sup>9</sup> In it, he described in brief the artist's activities in Königsberg and Gdańsk, and mentioned three of his works.<sup>10</sup> Rather surprisingly, the sculptor's oeuvre presented there differs from that discussed in the above mentioned book from the same year; undoubtedly, this was the cause of further confusion for later scholars. Some of the problematic issues - above all the attribution of the monument of Johan III - have been further analyzed and

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<sup>8</sup> Ehrenberg 1899; Cuny 1910a.

<sup>9</sup> Cuny 1910b.

<sup>10</sup> The ducal monument in Königsberg, the monument of the Swedish King Johan III and the High Gate in Gdańsk.

clarified by Cuny in his later articles.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, published in hardly accessible local periodicals, they turned out to be far less influential.

Simultaneously, research on Willem van den Blocke was carried out by Swedish art historian August Hahr.<sup>12</sup> Even though he was interested mostly in the tomb of Swedish King Johan III in Uppsala, Hahr discussed also other known works by the sculptor. The scholar has not only thoroughly analyzed written sources and van den Blocke's oeuvre - he presented his own reconstruction of the Uppsala tomb - but also attempted a comparison of the artist's works with sixteenth century sculpture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and - to a limited degree - in the Low Countries.<sup>13</sup> As to the latter, Hahr's contribution is of particular significance, since he was the first to present van den Blocke in a broader perspective - the Gdańsk master has been almost entirely omitted by Robert Hedicke in his study on Cornelis Floris.<sup>14</sup> Even though not widely read, his study remained influential, particularly in two ways: first, it presented a detailed analysis of written sources, and second, it stressed the relation between van den Blocke's art and the sculptural milieu in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Three other important publications appeared before World War Two and the profound change in historical research that followed the political upheaval caused by it. In 1914 Christian Krollmann attributed monument of Christopher von Dohna in Odense in Denmark to van den Blocke, thus revealing the scale of the sculptor's influence.<sup>15</sup> Krollmann based his argument on some indirect remarks as well as on comparison with the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, a fact of considerable importance due to subsequent destruction of the latter.<sup>16</sup> Alfred Muttray's article devoted to the altar in St. John's church in Gdańsk, published in 1922, provided new facts about Willem's son Abraham van den Blocke, including data on his apprenticeship in father's studio.<sup>17</sup> It was the only published information related to Willem van den Blocke's atelier before research on the present dissertation started. Finally, another important aspect of Willem van den Blocke's artistic activity has been revealed by Polish historian Stanisław Herbst, who published in 1939 a document concerning the sculptor's work in Zamość.<sup>18</sup>

The next major step in research concerning Gdańsk sculpture in general and van den Blocke's artistic activity in particular was made by Polish art historians after 1945, when

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<sup>11</sup> See particularly Cuny 1921, p. 19-21. In his book, Cuny - following Max Foltz (Foltz 1903, p. 136, note 3) - attributed the tomb of Johan III Vasa to Willem van der Meer. This was refuted, however, already by August Hahr (Hahr 1913) and Paul Simson (Simson 1918, p. 564, note 3).

<sup>12</sup> Hahr 1913. Initial observations on the subject were published already in Hahr 1910.

<sup>13</sup> Hahr referred not only to publications by Swedish scholar Carl-Rupert Nyblom (Nyblom 1884) and Ehrenberg (Ehrenberg 1899), but also to the book by Emmanuel Neeffs (Neeffs 1876).

<sup>14</sup> Hedicke 1913. However, van den Blocke's potential relation with Floris was suggested already by Ehrenberg. Apparently, Hedicke was ignorant of the sculpture in the eastern part of the Baltic region - in this area, rich in Netherlandish influence, he mentioned with regard to Willem van den Blocke only the tomb of Piotr Kostka in Chełmża (Culmsee), in fact a work by an Italian artist (his attribution has already been refuted by Gwido Chmarzyński in 1928).

<sup>15</sup> Krollmann 1914.

<sup>16</sup> However, the similarity was apparently observed already by Koch (Koch 1884; after Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 282, note 31).

<sup>17</sup> Muttray 1922, p. 57-72.

<sup>18</sup> Herbst 1939.

the Baltic city again became part of Poland.<sup>19</sup> Post-war historiography differed significantly from the earlier one, especially with regard to methodology. While German scholars relied mainly on written sources, their Polish successors employed art-historical method of formal analysis to broaden the artist's oeuvre. It must be stressed, however, that although the bulk of post-war research was done in Poland, studies concerning individual works of the artist in question appeared in other countries as well.

Although some initial remarks concerning van den Blocke appeared already in a synthesis of early modern art published in 1952, key developments took place at a conference held in Olsztyn and Toruń in 1955.<sup>20</sup> One of its participants, Zbigniew Hornung, gave three major works to the artist in question: the monuments of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz, of Martin de Berzeviczy, formerly in Lisnowo (destroyed in 1939) and of the brothers Andreas and Balthazar Báthory in Barczewo. Hornung's article on the subject has been published in 1959.<sup>21</sup> Discussing there artistic activities of Willem van den Blocke, in particular the monuments of Duchess Elisabeth and King Johan III, the author repeated his conclusions presented in 1955. Hornung's article contributed to establishing the importance of Willem van den Blocke in local historiography.

Another paper, published almost at the same time, turned to be even more important, however. According to the 1955 conference summary, published subsequently in *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Hornung's lecture was fervently discussed by attending scholars. One of them, Lech Krzyżanowski, presented his own article devoted to van den Blocke in 1958.<sup>22</sup> It became by far the most important and influential study on the subject - at least in Poland - determining the vision of Willem van den Blocke's work and position until the present day.<sup>23</sup> The point of departure for Krzyżanowski was pre-1945 German literature that provided him with basic source information (writing in the 1950's, Krzyżanowski could not research in Gdańsk and Königsberg archives personally). Moreover, he relied on opinions expressed there concerning works destroyed during the war, above all the ducal monument in Königsberg. The greatest contribution made by Krzyżanowski was enlargement of the sculptor's oeuvre, even beyond Hornung's proposition of 1955. It must be stressed that his attributions stood the test of time extraordinarily well, and none of the works given by him to van den Blocke has been rejected in the present dissertation. Analysing the sculptor's work, Krzyżanowski devoted the greatest attention to ornamental carvings, considered by him to be the artist's major achievement; much less has been written of his designs for microarchitecture and figural sculpture. In more general terms, Krzyżanowski interpreted van den Blocke's work in the context of the latter's relation to Cornelis Floris as well as to sculpture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As

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<sup>19</sup> Before 1939, Polish research on art in Prussia was limited. Nonetheless, we may mention publications by Tadeusz Kruszyński (Kruszyński 1912), Bolesław Makowski (Makowski 1932), Joanna Eckhardtówna (Eckhardtówna 1933), Gwido Chmarzyński (Chmarzyński 1928, Chmarzyński 1933, Chmarzyński 1936) and, above all, Witold Kieszkowski and Jan Zachwatowicz (Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933). The latter is of particular importance, as these authors' account of travels conducted in the southern part of former Royal Prussia provides the only major description and analysis – along with a reconstruction drawing – of the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy, destroyed in 1939.

<sup>20</sup> As to the former, see Chmarzyński 1952; as to the latter, see Sesja 1955.

<sup>21</sup> Hornung 1959a.

<sup>22</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958.

<sup>23</sup> Its influence is discernible in numerous studies, such as Gołąb 1995, Badach 2004, Sulewska 2006 and Matuśkaite 2009, as well as in more general syntheses of art in Poland of that time.

a rule, he considered Floris to be the prime source of master Willem's ornamental language. On the other hand, according to Krzyżanowski, Polish-Italianate sculpture of the sixteenth century strongly influenced van den Blokke's choice of monument type. The latter opinion was strongly based on the observations made already by August Hahr.

Krzyżanowski discussed Willem van den Blokke's oeuvre also in his unpublished dissertation, finished in 1966.<sup>24</sup> There, he presented the artist's position in a broader context of Gdańsk artistic milieu of that time. As to the latter, he forwarded numerous unfounded hypothesis, particularly with regard to attributions, for instance to Frederik Vroom. As far as van den Blokke's works are concerned, the only major difference compared to the earlier article was attribution of the Kos and Bielke monuments, the latter after Sune Schéle's article from 1951, previously unknown to Krzyżanowski.<sup>25</sup> In 1971 a biographical note on Willem van den Blokke in the *Słownik artystów polskich*, also by Krzyżanowski, has been published.<sup>26</sup> Apart from these, he mentioned the sculptor and his work in his other articles devoted to early modern Gdańsk and its artistic milieu.<sup>27</sup>

Studies by Krzyżanowski and - to a lesser degree - Hornung provided a sound basis for subsequent research. However, no major re-evaluation of van den Blokke's activities followed. Later scholars were primarily interested either in minute aspects of the artist's work, or in his particular creations. These contributions can be roughly divided into following groups: advancing new attributions, publishing of new sources and monographic presentation of individual works.

The most contentious were attempts at new attributions. Despite considerable scholarly effort, many of them remain doubtful, at least for two reasons. First, none has been based on written sources. Second, as a point of departure scholars took usually opinions expressed by Krzyżanowski - and to a certain degree Cuny - rather than analysis confirmed works of the artist, most likely because they are dispersed and hardly accessible. Nonetheless, some of these attributions, especially proposed by Michał Wardzyński, appear to be correct.<sup>28</sup> Others, presented by Renata Gołąb, Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino or Mariusz Smoliński, may pertain to works executed in the artist's circle.<sup>29</sup> Yet other, for instance by Jerzy Kowalczyk or Konstanty Kalinowski, are entirely unwarranted.<sup>30</sup> On one hand, this surge of attributions, visible particularly during the last twenty years, resulted in obscuring the artist's oeuvre. On the other, however, it invigorated scholarly interest and offered a new insight into history of sculpture in the region.

Another kind of newer literature comprises occasional discoveries of hitherto unknown written sources, pertaining to van den Blokke, his family and his works. One of the most significant was the contribution made by Ryszard Szmydki, who published in 1999 a

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<sup>24</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966.

<sup>25</sup> Schéle 1951. The monument of the Kos family has been thoroughly discussed by Krzyżanowski 1968a .

<sup>26</sup> Krzyżanowski 1971a.

<sup>27</sup> Krzyżanowski 1967; Krzyżanowski 1968b; Krzyżanowski 1978.

<sup>28</sup> Wardzyński 2006. See also *Katalog Zabytków* 11/15, p. 34

<sup>29</sup> Gołąb 1995, Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996a, Smoliński 2004 (referring to the epitaph of Piotr Konopacki in Malbork); Rynkiewicz-Domino 2005.

<sup>30</sup> K.Kalinowski 1992; Kowalczyk 2003. It is, in fact, rather surprising, given the expertise of these highly accomplished scholars. Further similar attributions appear in *KZSwP*, 8/1, 1, p. 120, 122 and Čerbulėnas&Baliulis 1987, p. 46. Somewhere in between we may locate propositions advanced by Mieczysław Gębarowicz and Renata Sulewska, see Gębarowicz 1962, Sulewska 1999, Sulewska 2004, p. 62-64.

document, preserved in Brussels, revealing Willem's contacts with the Low Countries as late as 1608.<sup>31</sup> Then, Jacek Tylicki analyzed information concerning origins of the van den Blocke family, based on written sources from the Mechelen archive.<sup>32</sup> Finally, author of the present study published hitherto unknown sources pertaining to the workshop managed by Willem van den Blocke in Gdańsk.<sup>33</sup>

Among papers devoted to individual works, those by Wanda Szydłowska, Sune Schéle, Ardis Grosjean, Alicja Saar-Kozłowska, Maria Matušakaitė, and Hugo and Birgitte Johannsen, as well as Árpád Mikó and Herman Bengtsson should be mentioned.<sup>34</sup> Schéle and Grosjean discussed in detail history of the tomb of Ture Bielke in Linköping in Sweden; in particular, the latter attempted to reconstruct the wider context of this commission. Hugo and Birgitte Johannsen analysed the only work by the sculptor that was set up in Denmark, namely the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna in Odense, attributed to van den Blocke by Krollmann already in 1914. Later on, Hugo Johannsen discussed this work in a broader context of Netherlandish expansion in the Baltic region. Alicja Saar-Kozłowska and Herman Bengtsson both analyzed the complex history of the tomb of Johan Vasa in Uppsala.

Besides that, Willem van den Blocke and his work were discussed in various other publications, such as those by Renata Sulewska or Aleksandra Lipińska.<sup>35</sup> A distinct group consists of more general studies devoted to art and architecture in Gdańsk and other places where he worked.<sup>36</sup> In addition to that, references to the sculptor appear in various synthesis of art and architecture in Poland and – occasionally – in other countries.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, the sculptor's position within broader art historiography must be mentioned. Until recently, Willem van den Blocke and his work were left in the blind spot of interest in general surveys of sixteenth century Northern European sculpture of that time. For instance, monographers of Cornelis Floris - Robert Hedicke, Domien Roggen and Antoinette Huysmans - devoted to him only very brief remarks.<sup>38</sup> In recent years, however, the sculptor has been introduced into discussion about expansion of Netherlandish sculpture in sixteenth century Northern Europe. Most importantly, his position within this phenomenon has been outlined by Anne Jolly and Tine Meganck, who analyzed the process of dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture in Central Europe and of the so-called 'Floris-school' in the Baltic region respectively.<sup>39</sup> Apart from this, van den Blocke's works have also been mentioned by such scholars as Jeffrey Chipps Smith, Andrea Baresel-Brand and Oliver Meys.<sup>40</sup> Finally, Michał Wardzyński draw attention to van den Blocke's role in diffusion of new sculpting

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<sup>31</sup> Szmydki 1999a.

<sup>32</sup> Tylicki 2009a.

<sup>33</sup> Skibiński 2010.

<sup>34</sup> Schéle 1951; Szydłowska 1957; Matušakaitė 1968; Grosjean 1985; Mikó 1988; Johannsen&Johannsen 1990; Rzempełuch 1995; Saar-Kozłowska 2001; Johannsen 2006; Matušakaitė 2009; Bengtsson 2010.

<sup>35</sup> Sulewska 2000; Lipińska 2007, p. 26, 131, 150.

<sup>36</sup> Gosieniecka 1969, p. 307-308; Chrzanowski 1995, p. 69; Grzybkowska 1995, p. 101, 104; Rzempełuch 1995, p. 122-123; Grzybkowska 1997a, p. 122; Grzybkowska 1997b; Woźniński 1997, p. 118-120; Bartetzky 2001, p. 172, 178; Karpowicz 2003, p. 43-44 (he presented van den Blocke's works without mentioning his name); Badach 2004, p. 60-64; Wardzyński 2004b, p. 32-33.

<sup>37</sup> For instance Dobrowolski 1962, p. 81, 154-155; Dobrowolski 1974, p. 359; Karpowicz 1975, p. 48; Kęłbowski 1987, p. 121; Fulton 1996a; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 31-32; Zlat 2008, p. 241-242, 309-311.

<sup>38</sup> Hedicke 1913; Roggen&Withof 1942; Huysmans *et al.* 1996.

<sup>39</sup> Jolly 1999a; Meganck 2005. See also Białostocki 1976 and DaCosta Kaufmann 2006;

<sup>40</sup> Ch. Smith 1994; Baresel-Brand 2007; Meys 2009. See also Forssman 1961, p. 59 and Hitchcock 1978, p. 70.

materials in the Baltic region.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, despite these important studies, establishing of the artist's position within sixteenth century artistic tradition and judgment of his involvement in artistic developments in a broader perspective of that time requires further evaluation.

To conclude, despite relative abundance of scholarly literature, especially by Polish, but also Swedish, Danish, German or Hungarian art historians, knowledge about Willem van den Blocke's life and activities remains limited, especially since no serious effort has been made to combine results of research conducted by scholars in various countries. Until today, most scholars rely on information and analysis provided by Georg Cuny and Lech Krzyżanowski. No major attempt has been made to search for new written sources pertaining to the artist's life and work, as well as to reexamine the ones already known. Even more importantly, the artist's oeuvre remains ill-defined, with numerous tenuous attributions. His work has only been analyzed partially, with many of its important aspects remaining unexplored. Finally, despite some initiative shown lately, Willem van den Blocke has not yet been fully integrated into the history of Northern European sculpture of that time.

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<sup>41</sup> Wardzyński 2007; Wardzyński 2008; Wardzyński 2009; Wardzyński 2010a; Wardzyński 2010b.

## CHAPTER 1

### LIFE'S PROGRESS

#### 1.1 Early years in Mechelen and Antwerp (c. 1550 – 1569/1570)

Willem van den Blocke was born in Mechelen in Brabant as a son of Francen (François) van den Blocke. This fact is confirmed by two documents, namely a recommendation issued in Königsberg in Preußen by Duke Georg Friedrich von Hohenzollern in 1582 and a sermon commemorating Willem's son Jacob van den Blocke, published in Gdańsk in 1653.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, nothing more can be said with absolute certainty with regard to the early years of his life.

Although numerous persons of similar names are known to have been present in Mechelen already in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, their relation to the sculptor in question remains uncertain.<sup>43</sup> The first local artist of potential relevance for the history of the family was Jan van den Blocke, a painter mentioned in 1502.<sup>44</sup> By the middle of the sixteenth century the family must have been well established in the Mechelen art industry. Around that time four of its members - Francen (François), called *Trommelslager*, Aegidius (Gilles), Pieter and Hans - were registered as masters in the local painters' and sculptors' guild.<sup>45</sup> Three of them, namely Aegidius, Pieter and Hans, were sons of Francen, and thus brothers of Willem van den Blocke.<sup>46</sup> Even though only a scarce number of their works can be identified, it is nonetheless possible to draw some general conclusions with regard to their professional activities. Francen is known to have been engaged to carve new windows for the local town hall in 1556-1557, while Aegidius, together with Anthonie (Antonie) van Doerne (van Doren, Biesselinck), Gillis (Gilles) van Muijsen and Hans Vredeman de Vries, executed sculpted decorations for the carousel ('ommegang') of 1561, arranged by the Mechelen *rederijkerskamer*, 'De Lischbloeme'.<sup>47</sup> This leads to the conclusion that Francen and Aegidius were active woodcarvers and - possibly - stonecarvers, and the latter must have possessed at

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<sup>42</sup> The former document has been first published by Mülverstedt 1855 and later, in abbreviated form, by Ehrenberg 1899, p. 212, no. 590. See also Tylicki 2009a, p. 191-193 and Tylicki 2013. As to the latter see *Botsack 1654* (I would like to thank Prof Jacek Tylicki for sharing a copy of this rare publication). The sermon has been known to Knetsch 1903, p. 27, note 5. The author of the sermon, Johann Botsack, notable Lutheran preacher in the St. Mary church in Gdańsk, describes the family of Jacob as follows: *Sein Seeliger Vater ist gewesen / der Ehrbare und Wolgeachte Wilhelm von Block / welcher Bürtig gewesen aus der Weitberühmbten Stadt Mechelen in Brabant / welcher off in den Niderländischen Historien gedacht wirdt. [...] Der Großvater ist gewesen FRANCoys von dem Blocke.*

<sup>43</sup> Tylicki 2009a, p. 198-199.

<sup>44</sup> Stadsarchief Mechelen, Stadsrekeningen, Serie I, No 119, 1502-1503, p. 1055.

<sup>45</sup> Neefs 1876, 1, p. 307 and 2, p. 142-143; Coninckx 1903, p. 37, 39, 42, 43; Monballieu 1971, p. 80-81; Tylicki 2009a, p. 193-196.

<sup>46</sup> Tylicki 2009a, p. 196; Tylicki 2013. Willem was believed by some earlier historians, particularly August Bertling, to be son of Aegidius; see: Bertling 1885, Cuny 1910a, p. 75 and Cuny 1910c. Aegidius and Willem have been named as sons of Francen van den Blocke for the first time by Knetsch 1903, p. 28, and Simson 1918, p. 361; later also by Eimer 1955, Krzyżanowski 1971a and Krzyżanowski 1971c. The fifth son of Francen was Philip, see Tylicki 2009a and Tylicki 2013.

<sup>47</sup> As to the first see Neefs 1876, 2, p. 142; Vollmer 1910a; Tylicki 2009a, p. 194; as to the latter see Neefs 1876, 2, p. 142; Monballieu 1959; Tylicki 2009a, p. 194; Tylicki 2013.

least some skill in figural as well as ornamental sculpture. According to the documents of the local guild, both masters tutored a number of apprentices, among them Robert Coppens, a sculptor who was to make a considerable career in the Baltic region, registered in Francen's workshop on 18 January 1562.<sup>48</sup> Another Aegidius van den Blocke, a member of the younger generation of the family, appears in 1613 in the studio of Frans Bisschop, an obscure painter (who tutored Guiliam van den Broecke, a member of another locally important artistic clan).<sup>49</sup> This information indicates that the van den Blocke family maintained its ties with Mechelen's art industry at least until the opening years of the seventeenth century.

Although this centre was apparently the original seat of the family, a considerable number of its probable members were working in other places as well. Certain Servaas van den Blocke from Mechelen, *beltsnyder*, is known to have been registered as a free-master in the Guild of St. Luke in Antwerp between 1582 and 1602.<sup>50</sup> Around 1590, he was engaged in the rebuilding of the altar in the Chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the Antwerp cathedral, together with other artists, including Jan Floris, alleged son of Cornelis, and the brothers de Nole.<sup>51</sup> In addition to that, the *Liggeren* mention his other works, for instance for St Mary van Kermis church.<sup>52</sup>

In late sixteenth century another branch of the van den Blocke family established itself in Amsterdam. Its exact relation with the immediate family of Willem van den Blocke cannot be ascertained as yet.<sup>53</sup> In 1583 its founder, Philip van den Blocke from Mechelen, was given the rights of citizenship in the town on the Amstel.<sup>54</sup> Philip and his four sons - Cornelis (1568-1629), François (1572-before 1614), Jacob (1576-before 1620) and Michiel (recorded in 1582 and 1612) - can be all identified as sculptors (*beeltnijder*).<sup>55</sup> In early years of the seventeenth century François, Cornelis and Michiel were engaged in intense estate trade in Amsterdam, which indicates their economic well-being.<sup>56</sup> The most interesting information concerning the family is provided, however, by a document revealing that François and Cornelis maintained friendly relations with Hendrick de Keyser, at that time the leading sculptor and

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<sup>48</sup> Coninckx 1903, p. 37; Tylicki 2009a, p. 193. Other apprentices mentioned with regard to Francen are Jan de Coeck in 1549 (Coninckx 1903, p. 37; Tylicki 2009, p. 193) and Jan Heyns in 1553 (Coninckx 1903, p. 39; Tylicki 2009a, p. 193), while Dirck van den Berghe is registered in the workshop of Aegidius in 1562 (Coninckx 1903, p. 42; Tylicki 2009a, p. 193). All this information is derived from an eighteenth century manuscript based on lost original documents: *Memorien Wegens de Mechelsche Schilders ende Beeld Snyders. Uyt Den Ambachtsboek*, Stadsarchief Mechelen, V 17, (Archief van het Schilders-, beeldhouwers-, en verguldersambacht, 3), p. 9, 22, 34, 35.

<sup>49</sup> Coninckx 1903, p. 57; Tylicki 2009a, p. 198-199; on van der Broecke see *Memorien*, p. 16.

<sup>50</sup> *Rombouts&van Lerius*, p. 282, 306, 380, 395, 415; Vollmer 1910b; Casteels 1961, p. 37, 110.

<sup>51</sup> Casteels 1961, p. 110; regarding Jan Floris see Honnens de Lichtenberg 1981, p. 58.

<sup>52</sup> *Rombouts&van Lerius*, p. 282, note 1 (in 1595-1597 and 1601-1602); Vollmer 1910b.

<sup>53</sup> Tylicki 2009a, p. 199.

<sup>54</sup> Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Stadsrekeningen (archieff 5014), 1531-1583, RT 83, p. 64. Tylicki, who did not know this document, considered Cornelis to be the founder of this branch. On Philip see also Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 407, p. 245, No 408, p. 347, No 409, p. 219; Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Not. Arch. 6, p. 38v, Nots. Ellert de Veer; Not. Arch. 8, p. 219 – 219v, Nots. C. A. van Huijswaert. He has died in 1609, see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Begraafregister, No 1144, p. 235; Tylicki 2009a, p. 199.

<sup>55</sup> As to Cornelis see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 430, p. 325 (1625), Ottenheym, Rosenberg&Smit 2008, p. 22, Tylicki 2009a, p. 199; as to François see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 407, p. 245 (1595); Ottenheym, Rosenberg&Smit 2008, p. 22, Tylicki 2009a, p. 199; as to Jacob see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 409, p. 219 (1600), Tylicki 2009a, p. 199; as to Michiel see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 416, p. 193 (1612), Tylicki 2009a, p. 199.

<sup>56</sup> I would like to thank Paul Rosenberg, who kindly shared his findings with me.

architect in the northern part of the Low Countries.<sup>57</sup> Although at the moment it would be too early to draw any conclusions with regard to the Gdańsk branch, one may wonder if the family's relation to Hendrick de Keyser could not have to certain degree prompted the dissemination of knowledge about the latter's works. It is also worth pointing out that on one occasion Philip van den Blocke was mentioned alongside another emigrant from Mechelen, Crispiaen Colys, possibly a member of the well-known Colin family.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, at least two female members of the van den Blocke family are also recorded in Amsterdam: Tanneke (Anna) and Ursula van den Blocke.<sup>59</sup> The latter, married successively to merchants from Gdańsk, Dierick Bouwer and Nicolas van Peusegen, is particularly interesting, as she provides a tangible link between Amsterdam and Gdańsk that can be of some importance as far as possible relations between the two branches of the van den Blocke family are concerned.

The first known member of the family who moved from the Low Countries to the Baltic region was Willem van den Blocke's elder brother Aegidius. Definitely still present in Mechelen in 1563, he left the town on the Dijle for Gdańsk either in 1565 or 1566, and was granted citizenship in the Baltic metropolis in 1573.<sup>60</sup> The main reason for his decision must have been the worsening economic conditions of the 1560s, as well as signs of forthcoming political troubles. Given the fact that Aegidius acquired a status of master in Mechelen and subsequently worked there for a number of years, he must have been a considerably experienced woodcarver upon his arrival in Gdańsk. However, from the factual point of view his career in the Baltic town remains a mystery, and none of his works can be identified today. It is only known that one of his daughters, Susanna - long believed to be a daughter of Willem van den Blocke - married painter Fabian Neisser in 1585.<sup>61</sup> Fabian Neisser and his brother Matthias, a woodcarver, came to Gdańsk from Toruń, another major town in Royal Prussia, where a monumental wooden epitaph with paintings, commemorating their late parents and executed by them, is still to be seen in the St. Mary's church.<sup>62</sup> Its distinct Netherlandish flavour, owing much to designs by Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries,<sup>63</sup> as well as family relations - a thing of considerable importance for workshop practice - may indicate that Matthias Neisser could have been tutored in Gdańsk by Aegidius van den Blocke. Despite the

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<sup>57</sup> Ottenheym, Rosenberg&Smiet 2008, p. 22.

<sup>58</sup> Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Not. Arch. 6, p. 38v, Nots. Ellert de Veer, 21. 05. 1587; Crispiaen Colin married in 1599, see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 409, p. 34.

<sup>59</sup> As to the former see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Ondertrouwen, No 406, p. 327 (1593, married to Merten van der Brande; Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Not. Arch. 51, p. 54, Nots. L. Heijline (1597); as to the latter see Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Not. Arch. 378, p. 504, Nots. Nic. Jacobs (1615).

<sup>60</sup> His presence in Mechelen in 1563 is attested to by a document in Stadsarchief Mechelen, Not. J. de Munter, No 1279, p. 51 – 51v. As to his move to Gdańsk, see Stadsarchief Mechelen, Stadsrekeningen, Serie I, nr. 241, 1565-1566, p. 8v; Tylicki 2009a, p. 195. Regarding his citizenship in Gdańsk see Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive w Gdańsku, latter referred to as APG) 300,60/2, p. 220; Bertling 1885; Knetsch 1903, p. 28; Cuny 1910a, p. 75; Pałubicki 1981, p. 187; Tylicki 2009a, p. 191. It was apparently common for newcomers to work in the city for some time before being granted citizenship; for instance, Paul van Doren from Antwerp (Mechelen?) arrived in Gdańsk c. 1567 and received citizenship in 1571, see Cuny 1910a, p. 123, note 53a and Pałubicki 1981, p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> APG, 356/2, p. 28. The name appearing in the document is Gelima, which is closer to Gilles than Wilm or Wilhelm, as Willem van den Blocke was usually called in Gdańsk.

<sup>62</sup> Kruszelnicka 1985; Sulewska 2004, p. 56-61.

<sup>63</sup> Sulewska 2004, p. 56 -61.

scarcity of information regarding Aegidius, he remains a focal, if somewhat murky figure, as his presence in Gdańsk must have facilitated Willem's later move to the Baltic metropolis.

In consequence of lack of written sources knowledge about Willem van den Blocke's life and activities prior to his travel to Königsberg, which occurred c. 1569, can be based only on circumstantial evidence. Date of his birth is unknown. Van den Blocke is usually believed to have been born c. 1550. This is based on an assumption that at the time of his move to Königsberg he was still a young apprentice.<sup>64</sup> However, he could have played a more prominent role in erection of Cornelis Floris' monument of Duke Albrecht in 1570-1571, possibly even supervising the entire work. Other argument in favour of placing van den Blocke's birth around c. 1550 is the absence of his name in the records of the Mechelen guild, suggesting that - in contrary to his elder brothers - he did not become master by the time of his departure.<sup>65</sup> This argument is not decisive either, since the sources are not complete. The fact that his eldest son Abraham was born in the early 1570's excludes the possibility that Willem was much younger.<sup>66</sup> The same conclusion can be derived from the fact that he must have been already an experienced sculptor by 1578, when he was entrusted with the highly responsible task of executing a monument commemorating Duchess Elisabeth and her husband, Duke Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach. To conclude, it seems that Willem van den Blocke must have been born slightly before 1550, perhaps c. 1545.

In his supplication addressed to the City Council of Gdańsk in 1590 van den Blocke briefly mentioned his professional education in the art of sculpture.<sup>67</sup> Regrettably, nothing is known with certainty about his training. We likewise lack substantial evidence concerning education of other contemporary Netherlandish sculptors, including such figures as Alexander Colin, Willem Boy and Philip Brandin.<sup>68</sup> Given this ignorance, an inquiry into the circumstances in which Willem could have received his professional training may prove instructive. It should be focused on the artistic milieus of Mechelen and Antwerp, two leading centres of sculpture in the Low Countries in mid-sixteenth century, and the relations between them.

Unquestionably, in the first half of the century Mechelen was a thriving artistic centre, particularly with regard to sculpture. In his chronicle, dating from 1568, Marcus van Vaernewijck stated that around that time some 150 studios of painters and sculptors were present in the town; the same information was later repeated by Karel van Mander.<sup>69</sup> Whatever the exact figure, the number of ateliers must have been considerably high, and many leading Netherlandish sculptors were either born or trained in Mechelen. Among the most notable among them were the imperial sculptor Alexander Colin; Willem Boy, employed by the king of Sweden; Willem van den Broecke called Paludanus; Gilles van de Vliete; Anthonis van Seron, responsible for the grand monument of Moritz of Saxony in

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<sup>64</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 272; see also Tylicki 2009a, p. 196-197.

<sup>65</sup> Tylicki 2009a, p. 196-197.

<sup>66</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 253. See also the last section of this chapter.

<sup>67</sup> APG, 300, 65/65, p. 29-32; *Krzyśiak* 1999, p. 72-76.

<sup>68</sup> A number of hypothesis concerning their training has been provided, for instance, in Dressler 1973, p. 6, Teurlinckx 1987, p. 7-8 and Hahr 1910, p. 21-26.

<sup>69</sup> *Vaernewijck 1568*, fol. 135v-136r (after De Marchi&van Miegroet 2006, p. 136-137). This figure has been discussed by Adolf Monballieu, while Nils de Marchi and Hans van Miegroet assume that some 130 of those were painter studios; see Monballieu 1971 and De Marchi&van Miegroet 2006.

Freiberg; Gert van Egen, working for the king of Denmark; Robert Coppens and finally Willem van den Blocke, employed by the kings of Poland and Sweden. Patrons wishing to find well-trained sculptors were eager to seek them in Mechelen. This applied not only to patrons from the Low Countries, for example Count Floris of Egmont, who commissioned Andries Seron, in all probability related to Anthonis, to execute two monumental chimneypieces for his castle in Buren (1539 - 1540), but also to patrons and their agents from abroad, including Emperor Maximilian I and the Swedish King Gustav I Vasa.<sup>70</sup> It is telling that Arnold Abel, originally from Cologne, while searching in 1562 for a sculptor capable of finishing the grand monument of Emperor Maximilian I in Innsbruck, visited not only Antwerp, where he made an attempt to hire Heinrich Hagart and Philipps Diewas, but also Mechelen, where he approached Alexander Colin and Silius van Stanfurt.<sup>71</sup> Abel's visit to Mechelen proved to be fruitful, as he not only succeeded in recruiting Alexander Colin for Imperial service, but also to employ Michiel van der Vaken in his own sculptural studio.<sup>72</sup>

The most comprehensive information concerning the artistic milieu in Mechelen is provided by fragmentarily preserved documents – and their later copies – pertaining to two local guilds: the one of painters, sculptors and gilders (*schilders- beeldhouwers- en verguldersambacht*), and the one of masons, stained glass makers and stonecutters (*metselaars-, glazenmakers-, en steenhouwersambacht*).<sup>73</sup> The survey of both published and unpublished sources reveals that this milieu was dominated by a number of families, such as Coppens (van Balen), van Duerne (van Doren, Biesselinck), van Vliete, van den Blocke, van Egen, van Obbergen, van der Broecke, well-rooted in the local professional structures. Their members also played an important role in the process of dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture abroad later in the sixteenth century, what is of particular importance here. Van den Blocke, van Duerne and van der Broecke were mostly members of the the painter's, sculptor's and gilder's guild, while Coppens family members appear to have belonged mostly to the mason's, stained glass maker's and stonecutter's guild,<sup>74</sup> and the van Egen to both.<sup>75</sup> Obviously, there were also exceptions from this general rule: Robert Coppens for example, probably the most important member of his family, was tutored by Francen van den Blocke, a master of the painters', sculptors' and gilders' guild.<sup>76</sup> By far the most numerous among them, and perhaps the most important as well, were the van den Broecke, whose most accomplished member was sculptor Willem van den Broecke, known as *Guillelmus Paludanus*, famous for the finely-carved alabaster bas-reliefs and small scale cabinet statuettes

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<sup>70</sup> As to Egmont's commission see De Jonge&Ottenehm 2007, p. 65.

<sup>71</sup> See, for example, Teurlinckx 1987, p. 23.

<sup>72</sup> Teurlinckx 1987, p. 23 and 53.

<sup>73</sup> On the guilds see, for example, *Metsersambacht*, Kocken 1977a, Kocken 1977b and Rombauts 1981, p. 53-93. It seems that the guild structure was subordinated to the main occupation of its members, namely - respectively - production of altarpieces and building; compare with Jacobs 1998, p. 209-219.

<sup>74</sup> For example Jan, Aert and especially Matthijs Coppens alias van Balen, *Stadsarchief Mechelen, Metselaars...*, 14, *passim*.

<sup>75</sup> For example, Jan and Cornelis van Egen are mentioned in the mason's guild, while Lieven van Egen was an important master in the painter's guild, see *Stadsarchief Mechelen, Metselaars...*, 14, *passim*; Coninckx 1913, *passim*.

<sup>76</sup> Robert Coppens could have been son of an important master of the masons' guild, Jan Coppens alias van Balen, regularly mentioned in the records of the guild, see *Stadsarchief Mechelen, Metselaars...*, 14, *passim*.

produced in his studio in Antwerp.<sup>77</sup> Unfortunately, up to the end of sixteenth century the exact occupation of masters and apprentices of the guilds is mentioned only sporadically.<sup>78</sup> Some of them must have been ‘*cleynstekers*’, i.e. specialists in carving small alabaster bas-reliefs, figurines and altarpieces, export products characteristic for the town, as well as in executing various decorative details<sup>79</sup>. Their actual number is hard to establish, but judging by their productivity they must have represented a significant part of the local milieu. Due to the scarcity of written evidence, only few such specialists active in mid-sixteenth century have been identified so far, among them one member of the van Egen family and a certain Mathijs (Mathieu) Heyns (Smets).<sup>80</sup>

Several interrelated explanations for the unique position of Mechelen as a leading centre of sculpture have been presented. First, after the Reformation as well as shift to the antique taste, numerous local artists and skilled craftsmen previously engaged in the production of carved altarpieces and devotional pieces began to explore new possibilities, thus providing qualified workforce.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, close commercial ties with Antwerp, the leading centre of trade in luxury goods, must have also played a vital part in sustaining the high rate of local production and in consequence in upholding Mechelen’s position.<sup>82</sup> Finally, the importance of the town on the Dijle must have been augmented by the decision of Margaret of Austria, the Habsburg gouverneur of the Low Countries, to establish her court there.<sup>83</sup> The patronage of the court attracted a number of accomplished artists, in particular Jean Mone and Conrat Meit, who facilitated the rapid rise of the local production, both in quality and quantity.<sup>84</sup> From c. 1524 onwards Mone worked in Mechelen, probably providing additional possibilities for local aspiring sculptors to expand their skills.<sup>85</sup> Thus, the presence of skilled masters and numerous qualified workers on one hand and the stimuli coming from the court as well as the growing international market in Antwerp on the other provided a perfect setting for the development of the local milieu. Even though Mechelen suffered greatly due to the troubles and wars in the second half of the century, including the sack of the town by the Spaniards in 1572, local sculptural tradition was not entirely lost, and also in

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<sup>77</sup> For example, Coninckx 1913 and the inventory of local notary, Stadsarchief Mechelen, Gaston Roggeman, Notaris Jan de Munter, 1562-1594, 6, p. 801-802.

<sup>78</sup> Coninckx 1913, p. 36-46.

<sup>79</sup> On production of ‘small alabasters’ in Mechelen see above all A. Jansen 1964, Wustrack 1982, Lipińska 2006b, Lipińska 2007. The term ‘*cleynsteker*’ has been discussed by A. Jansen 1964, p. 117-118, Wustrack 1982, p. 91-98 and Lipińska 2007, p. 87-89. See also Chapter 3, note 501.

<sup>80</sup> Certain van Egen (Eghen), son of Willem (Guillaume) van Egen, appears in documents in 1541, while Smets is registered between 1541 and 1563, see Wustrack 1982, p. 157, 163. The latter is believed to have participated in execution of a monument to Margareth of Austria in the St. Peter’s Church in Mechelen together with Henri van Egen, see Thieme&Becker 1914. On the van Egen family see also Valvekens 1984.

<sup>81</sup> Wustrack 1982, p. 31-43; Lipińska 2007, p. 79-80; Lipińska 2011b, p. 36-39. This can be shown by the example of the van Duerne (Biesselinck) family: Jean Biesselinck is known to have executed the main altar for the St. John’s Church in Mechelen in 1469, see Neefs 1876, 2, p. 63; Vollmer 1910c. Concerning medieval altarpieces, see also Jacobs 1998, p. 209-237.

<sup>82</sup> This issue has been discussed by De Marchi&van Miegroet 2006; see also Lipińska 2007, p. 90-94.

<sup>83</sup> Wustrack 1982, p. 31-43; Lipińska 2007, p. 79-80; Lipińska 2011b, p. 38-41. On the court see among others Eicherberg 2003 and De Jonge 2009.

<sup>84</sup> Wustrack 1982, p. 25, 37-43. Regarding Meit see Vöge 1908, Troescher 1927, Duverger 1934, München 2006, Burk 2006 and Lipińska 2007, p. 50-53. Regarding Mone see Chapter 7, note 1131.

<sup>85</sup> Lipińska 2007, p. 80.

the seventeenth century the town on the Dijle gave birth to a number of important sculptors, such as Lucas Faydherbe.

Although in the early 1560s, when van den Blocke in all probability began his training, Mechelen apparently already started to lose some of its potential, it still provided many opportunities for young people eager to become professional sculptors. In fact, at that time the number of studios led by masters belonging to the *Schildersambacht* raised, causing certain economic problems.<sup>86</sup> Although it remains pure speculation, one may suspect that Willem van den Blocke received his initial training in the workshop of his father. Such practice was common in workshops across Europe, since this kind of cooperation both provided the master with an assistant, and allowed the student to gain a respectable profession, while keeping the business in the hands of the family.<sup>87</sup> The craftsmen's associations usually supported this model by favouring this practice in their regulations, thus encouraging younger generations to follow in the footsteps of their fathers. Francen van den Blocke was in all probability capable, at least in the initial phase of education, of training a sculptor working in stone, as exemplified by the later career of Robert Coppens.

After some time spent in his hometown, young Willem van den Blocke almost certainly moved to Antwerp for receiving further professional training there. Known evidence leaves no doubt for that a strong link existed between Mechelen and Antwerp as far as the production and distribution of sculpture works is concerned. The great city on the Scheldt, at that time the major hub of European commerce, was connected with Mechelen by numerous ties, also with regard to trade in works of art.<sup>88</sup> At that time Antwerp held the pivotal position in European production and trade in luxury goods, providing manifold possibilities for artists from across the Low Countries and beyond.<sup>89</sup> Some of them produced works of art that were subsequently offered in Antwerp, while others actually moved there hoping for their share of the city's prosperity. Sculptors from Mechelen are to be found in both these groups. The access to the art market in Antwerp enabled artists leading their workshops in the town on the Dijle, particularly the *alabasterers* and *kleynsteckers*, to supply their products to the international clientele.<sup>90</sup> The far-flung export of the alabaster-carvings produced in Mechelen, reaching almost every corner of Europe, illustrates the proficiency of cooperation between both towns. An example of a prominent sculptor from Mechelen working in Antwerp is provided by the already mentioned Willem van den Broecke.<sup>91</sup> Available evidence, even if very scant, suggests that emigrants maintained contact with their hometown even after their departure.

In Antwerp, van den Blocke almost certainly joined the studio of Cornelis Floris, one of the most accomplished sculptors of his time, who held the key position in the Antwerp sculptural milieu.<sup>92</sup> Cornelis Floris was one of the most important and innovative exponents

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<sup>86</sup> Monballieu 1971; see also Tylicki 2009a and Tylicki 2013.

<sup>87</sup> Dawson 1984, p. 40. See also, for instance, Dressler 1973, p. 6.

<sup>88</sup> De Marchi&van Miegroet 2006.

<sup>89</sup> On that issue see particularly Vermeulen 2003, where further literature on economic aspects of Netherlandish art is to be found. Regarding Antwerp see also Thijs 1993, DaCosta Kaufmann 2002, Limberger 2001 and Lesger&Wijnroks 2005.

<sup>90</sup> Lipińska 2006b, p. 234-240 and Lipińska 2007, p. 90-94.

<sup>91</sup> Regarding Paludanus, see Duverger&Onghena 1938, Wustrack 1982 and Nieuwdorp&Remoortele 1982.

<sup>92</sup> Cornelis Floris is mentioned in relation to Willem van den Blocke for the first time by Hahr 1913, p. 11-19; the issue has been elaborated on by Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 293-297 and, recently, Meganck 2005. The name of

of the 'antique' oriented tendency in sixteenth century Northern European sculpture and microarchitecture. His studio enjoyed much popularity, incited by success it has achieved through the quality of its designs and craftsmanship. Floris not only produced a number of works, both sculptural and printed, that made considerable impact on sculpture and architecture of that period, but apparently also held a strong sway over other artists active in the city on the Scheldt, like Anthonis van Seron, responsible for the grand monument of Moritz of Saxony, who are likely to have at least occasionally worked as his collaborators, assistants and subcontractors.<sup>93</sup> The artistic circle centred in Antwerp around such figures as Cornelis Floris, his brother Frans and printer-publisher Hieronymus Cock, was rather unique.<sup>94</sup> Well-versed not only in the new, antique visual language emanating from Italy, but also intellectual approach to art, the Antwerp milieu counted among the most lively and innovative in Europe. Perhaps the most striking illustration of its singularity is provided by the house of Frans Floris built by his brother Cornelis probably at the time of van den Blocke's presence in Antwerp, modeled after houses of such distinguished artists as Raphael and Vasari and serving as a centre of artistic and intellectual life.<sup>95</sup>

Unfortunately, since we lack more extensive information concerning the studio of Floris, nothing can be said with certainty with regard to the training Willem van den Blocke could have received there.<sup>96</sup> Nonetheless, various circumstantial evidence lends support to the theory expounded by earlier scholars, linking Willem with the famous Antwerp atelier. It seems entirely plausible that master Francen encouraged his son to pursue further career by joining the studio of the renowned sculptor. An information regarding the atelier of Frans Floris, Cornelis's brother, may provide a further argument in favour of the course of training in the Floris studio. According to Karel van Mander, Frans Floris accepted into his atelier only those apprentices who had received basic training elsewhere.<sup>97</sup> Although no hard evidence confirming this is known, it seems likely that Cornelis could have taken a similar approach. It is furthermore possible that Willem's move to Antwerp could have been facilitated by Hans Vredeman de Vries, who was active in Mechelen in 1561-1564.<sup>98</sup> In fact, Vredeman had collaborated with Willem's brother Aegidius van den Blocke in 1561, and was at the same time acquainted with the Antwerp circle, including Cornelis Floris. In the 1590's Willem van den Blocke and Vredeman will meet again in Gdańsk. Cornelis Floris apparently enjoyed collaboration with sculptors from Mechelen, since - apart from van den Blocke - at least four other sculptors believed to have worked with him came from the town on the Dijle, a quite large and telling number, considering the scarcity of evidence. At least two of them,

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Willem van den Blocke has been, however, omitted by scholars dealing with Cornelis Floris, beginning with the seminal survey by Robert Hedicke (Hedicke 1913). Domien Roggen and J. Withof as well as Antoinette Huysmans only marginally mention the monument of Duchess Elisabeth.

<sup>93</sup> More on the Floris circle in Chapter 7.

<sup>94</sup> See, for instance, Zaremba Filipczak 1987. With regard to various members of this milieu see for instance Van de Velde 1975, Riggs 1977, King 1989, Denhaene 1990, Denhaene 2006a, Denhaene 2006b, King 2007, p. 38-41, 279-316 and Wouk 2011a. On the role of Antwerp in general see, among others, Dubbe&Vroom 1986, Thijs 1993, Limberger 2001, Lombaerde 2001, DaCosta Kaufmann 2002, and Vermeylen 2003.

<sup>95</sup> Zaremba Filipczak 1987; King 1989; King 2007.

<sup>96</sup> On this issue see Chapter 7.

<sup>97</sup> Van de Velde 1975, p. 99ff; Peeters 2010.

<sup>98</sup> Tylicki 2009a, p. 197. Vredeman is known to have collaborated with painter and important local art merchant Cloude Dorizi, see Borggreffe 2002, p. 17-18 and Zimmermann 2002, p. 35. Dorizi was, among other things, involved in the Mechelen alabaster trade, see Lipińska 2007, p. 92-93.

namely Gert van Egen and Robert Coppens, became later important exponents of Netherlandish sculpture themselves.<sup>99</sup> Both were registered in the Mechelen painters' guild prior to their alleged education in Antwerp.<sup>100</sup> The cooperation between Floris and two other sculptors from the town on the Dijle, namely Hein Hagart and Philip de Vos (Diewans), is confirmed by a letter regarding the monument of Maximilian I in Innsbruck.<sup>101</sup> The testimony provided later by the son of Cornelis Floris indicates that the latter trained numerous sculptors, who later pursued considerable careers, also in other parts of Europe.<sup>102</sup> Although no names have been mentioned, as a sculptor to the king of Poland Willem van den Blocke fits very well into this category. Judging by the already mentioned supplication from 1590, van den Blocke must have been proud of his training, which in his view made him superior to his opponents.<sup>103</sup> Although we do not know exactly what he meant, his training must have included all stages of creative process, from design - drawing, to execution - carving. Training in the elite circle centred around Cornelis Floris would easily justify Willem van den Blocke's pride, even though he probably did not pursue such high ambitions at the later stages of his career.

## 1.2 In the service of the Dukes of Prussia (1569/1570 – 1582)

After time spent in the studio of Cornelis Floris, Willem van den Blocke, along some of the master's other assistants, was entrusted with the task of assembling the monument of Duke Albrecht I Hohenzollern of Prussia, destined for the Lutheran cathedral in Königsberg. For that reason he left Antwerp and traveled to the far away capital of Ducal Prussia, at that time a fief to the kingdom of Poland, in the south-eastern part of the Baltic region. The assumption that Willem van den Blocke participated in the erection of this monument is based on a letter of recommendation issued by the court in 1582, stating that the sculptor spent fourteen years in Ducal Prussia.<sup>104</sup> Although the accuracy of this information was questioned by Hermann Ehrenberg, the document leaves little doubt as to the fact that van den Blocke must have arrived in the capital of Ducal Prussia already in 1569 or 1570.<sup>105</sup> The monument itself was commissioned in 1568 by the Prussian Privy Council on behalf of young Albrecht II Friedrich, son and successor of Albrecht I. Hans de Willer (Wille, Wilde), a goldsmith active as an artistic agent, provided the link between the Antwerp workshop and the court in Königsberg and was charged with the task of overseeing progress of the work.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> As to their relation with Floris see Hedicke 1913, p. 133-135, Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 91, Jolly 1999a, p. 128 and Meganck 2005.

<sup>100</sup> Regarding Coppens see note 48, regarding van Egen see Coninckx 1913, p. 44; Wustrack 1982, p. 157. Gert van Egen was tutored by Antoine van Duerne, who had cooperated at one time with Aegidius van den Blocke, see note 47.

<sup>101</sup> Hedicke 1913, p. 132; Roggen&Withof 1942, no LIX, p. 170; Teurlinckx 1988, p. 55, 89, note 7.

<sup>102</sup> Roggen&Withof 1942, Nr LIX, p. 170.

<sup>103</sup> APG, 300, 65/65, p. 29-32, *Krzysiak 1999*, p. 72-76.

<sup>104</sup> Mülverstedt 1855, p. 31; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 212, no 590.

<sup>105</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 212, no 590; his claim that Willem spent only four years in Königsberg is surprising, since he himself had published a document stating that the sculptor was present there as early as 1576 (Ehrenberg 1899, p. 253). Ehrenberg's opinion has been convincingly refuted by Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 272, Hornung 1959a, p. 104 and subsequently by later scholars, including - recently - Jacek Tylicki, see Tylicki 2013.

<sup>106</sup> Hedicke 1913, p. 57-60. All the payments for the monument were delivered through de Willer, see: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 250-251. Hans de Willer has been involved in a number of other commissions issued by the court in Königsberg, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 250-253. On one occasion he is described as a goldsmith (letter by

Possibly a Netherlander himself, de Willer was also involved in the commissioning of the monument of Danish King Christian III a few years later.<sup>107</sup> The first payment for Albrecht's tomb was made in October of 1568, and elements of the monument were delivered to Königsberg in September 1570, as indicated by the payment for the shipment made by ducal treasury.<sup>108</sup> Further works on the monument, that involved an unidentified sculptor as well as several stonemasons, smiths and others, lasted until March 1571.<sup>109</sup>

Even though Willem van den Blocke must have been present in Königsberg at that time, his name does not appear in the known documents. They mention only the brothers Robert and Nicolas Midow, well-known assistants of Cornelis Floris, as well as a certain 'Master Lorenz from Antwerp', whose relation with Floris is unknown.<sup>110</sup> In addition to that, they include names of several other masons and stonemasons participating in the works.<sup>111</sup> However, many entries lack names of the people involved.<sup>112</sup>

Two explanations of the absence of van den Blocke's name in the ducal records may be presented. First, as suggested by earlier scholars, he could have been a young apprentice at that time, charged with secondary tasks. As such, Willem could have been paid by the older workers overseeing the entire work and in consequence be omitted in the records.<sup>113</sup> However, it seems more likely that van den Blocke played a much more prominent role in the works. The records of the ducal treasury indicate that an unnamed sculptor, called simply 'der

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Paul Wernicke, secretary to Frederick II of Denmark, to prince Albrecht II Friedrich, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 206, no 548). Regarding the monument itself see *Lilienthal 1716*, p. 35; *Von Baczko 1788*, p. 166-167; Gebser&Hagen 1833, 2, p. 179-187, 262; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 59-66; Dethlefsen 1912, p.64-65, fig. 11, 17, Tafel 3, 12; Hedicke 1913, p. 53-55; Roggen&Withof 1943, p. 113-115; Huysmans 1987, p. 112-113; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 119; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 93-95; Meganck 2005, p. 172; Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 132-138; Meys 2009, p. 224-230, 539-540. The monument has been demolished in 1945 and only very few relics are preserved in the Museum in present-day Kaliningrad, see Rzempoluch 1995, p. 119, note 34, fig. 3. Around that time an epitaph for the second wife of prince Albrecht, Anna Maria, has also been commissioned in the studio of Cornelis Floris.

<sup>107</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 206-207, no 549 and p. 207, nos 556 and 557; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 254, brief 13. See also Hedicke 1913, p. 60-61. He apparently failed the trust of the Danish king and was legally pursued by him (1575, see Ehrenberg 1899, no. 548, p. 206, no 549, p. 206-207).

<sup>108</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 250, 251. The records of the Rentskammer are preserved in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem, see *Ausgabegeldt der Rendtkammers des Herzogstumbs Preußen, Ostpreußische Folianten*. A survey of these documents conducted by the author confirms general accuracy of the information provided by Ehrenberg, and for that reason references here will be made mostly to his study. The accuracy of this particular information is furthermore confirmed by the fact that an unnamed sculptor responsible for the erection of the monument in Königsberg (Willem van den Blocke?) has been described in March 1571 as working on the monument for 24 weeks (GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, *Wochenbau Register* was *wochenentlich wirdt gearbeit 1571*, p. 7; see also Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252).

<sup>109</sup> GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, *Wochenbau Register* was *wochenentlich wirdt gearbeit 1571*, p. 2-7, 58 and 62-63v. These documents have been published only partially in Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252. (p. 2, 3v, 5 and 7).

<sup>110</sup> Robert and Nicolas received payment in 1570 and 1571 (GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, *Ausgabegeldt der Rendtkammers des Herzogthumts Preußen*, 1570, no. 13487, p. 409), while Master Lorenz in 1574, see Ehrenberg 1899, s. 251, 253. The former have been identified by Johannsen as the Mido brothers (Johannsen 2006, p. 114), while Anne Jolly has expressed a suggestion that Robert mentioned in the records in Königsberg could be identical with Robert Coppens (Jolly 1999a, p. 128).

<sup>111</sup> GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, *Wochenbau Register* was *wochenentlich wirdt gearbeit 1571*, p. 2-7, 58 and 62-63v. On three occasions workers described as 'Steinmetzen' have been mentioned by name: Assman and Jorgen on p. 2, Christoff, Assmann and Meritten on p. 2v and Christof, Martzin and Albrecht on p. 6v.

<sup>112</sup> See Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252, nos 669 and 672; GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, *Ausgabegeldt der Rendtkammers des Herzogthumts Preußen*, 1570 (13487) and 1571 (13488; here, relevant pages are missing).

<sup>113</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 293.

*Bildhauer*', was responsible for erecting the monument.<sup>114</sup> He is mentioned in the documents between January and March 1571, although he must have been present in Königsberg at least since autumn of the previous year. Being apparently a well-known figure, he received the highest salary among those involved in the erection of the tomb. This artist can hardly be identified with the Midow brothers, hitherto credited with assembling the monument. Although purely hypothetical, it is possible that it could have been Willem van den Blocke himself, who was indeed sometimes called simply a 'Bildhauer' in the Königsberg records. This, in turn, would indicate that he occupied an important position in the Floris studio already at that time.

After concluding the work on the monument Willem van den Blocke decided to stay in Ducal Prussia, thus joining the growing diaspora of Netherlandish sculptors, masons and stonecutters working abroad. Establishing himself in the Baltic region, the sculptor followed in the footsteps of many other Netherlanders, who, daunted by political, religious and economical upheavals in their homeland, decided to explore new professional possibilities in the service of courts and towns of Central and Northern Europe.<sup>115</sup> The years between 1570 and 1578 must have been busy for Willem van den Blocke, who by the late 1570s apparently became the most distinguished sculptor in the Duchy. Our knowledge about his activities during that time is however extremely scarce, and no works can be attributed to him prior to 1578 with certainty.<sup>116</sup> The only work that can be hypothetically linked with van den Blocke is a sculpted portrait of Albrecht's successor, Albrecht II Friedrich, in 'neuen Bau in Collegio'. According to the records of the ducal *Rentskammer*, this now lost piece was executed soon after completing the monument of Duke Albrecht almost certainly by the same anonymous sculptor who was responsible for its assembly.<sup>117</sup> In any case, van den Blocke must have been engaged in court service, although the exact nature of his position is unclear. The records published by Ehrenberg mention that in 1576 the sculptor ('Meister Wilhelm') was paid by the ducal treasury 60 marks for the banquet held on the occasion of baptism of his child.<sup>118</sup> This indicates that van den Blocke was involved with the court at that time. On the other hand the records of the *Rentskammer*, containing court's yearly expenditures, do not mention Willem among those employed on a regular basis, such as court painter Adam or architect Blasius Berwart.<sup>119</sup> This may suggest that his links to the court, quite obvious in a court-town which Königsberg was, were of a less formal nature.<sup>120</sup> It must be remembered, however, that regular salaries were by no means a standard for artists employed by courts; in fact, an appointment with a fixed salary represented great professional advancement.<sup>121</sup> Rather

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<sup>114</sup> GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, *Wochenbau Register was wochenentlich wirdt gearbeit 1571*, p. . 2, 3v, 5 and 7; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252.

<sup>115</sup> More on this in chapter 7.

<sup>116</sup> Only Gerhard Eimer writes that master Willem produced some small works exported to Denmark (Lund and Zealand), although without providing any evidence to substantiate this claim, see Eimer 1955, p. 310. I would like to thank Prof Hugo Johannsen for his kind comment on this issue.

<sup>117</sup> GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, *Wochenbau Register was wochenentlich wirdt gearbeit 1571*, p. 21, 23v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252.

<sup>118</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 253; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 272. It was probably Jacob van den Blocke, the second son of Willem.

<sup>119</sup> Ehrenberg 1899.

<sup>120</sup> On the issue of court-towns see for example Vocelka 2001 and Nolde, Svalduz&del Río Barredo 2007.

<sup>121</sup> Warnke 1993, p. 132.

than paying such a salary, courts very often provided a living for employed artists; this may very well be the case with regard to Willem van den Blocke in Königsberg.<sup>122</sup> Apart from the services rendered for court, he could have also been working for local nobility and bourgeoisie, since around 1550 Königsberg was not only a seat of the duke, but also an urban centre of some 14.000 inhabitants.<sup>123</sup>

In 1578 Willem van den Blocke received his first known commission: to build a funeral monument for late Duchess Elisabeth, the consort to Duke Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach, regent in Ducal Prussia in place of the mentally ill Albrecht II Friedrich. The idea of erecting the monument arose immediately after Elisabeth's death, and the task has been entrusted to Willem van den Blocke. The progress of works is known from detailed accounts and correspondence.<sup>124</sup> The first payment was received by van den Blocke, referred to in the documents as 'Meister Wilhelm, der Bildheuer', 'Wilhelm Steinmetz' or simply 'der Bildheuer', on 19 July 1578.<sup>125</sup> From that day until March 1582 van den Blocke was receiving a regular salary, albeit apparently not without some problems.<sup>126</sup> It is very likely that at that time the sculptor's workshop was located in Tragheim, a suburb of Königsberg consisting mostly of gardens, located relatively close to the ducal castle. This assumption is based on the fact that in 1580 he was renting two gardens there.<sup>127</sup> Willem van den Blocke was clearly responsible for overseeing and executing the entire project. Besides sculptors and stonecutters forming his workshop, whose presence, although inevitable, is not mentioned in the documents, other figures are known to have participated in the works. Particularly interesting is the information concerning an unspecified Netherlandish painter who was paid on 22 April 1580 for the portrait of the duke that later served master Willem as a model for the sculpted effigy.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, as early as 1578 an unnamed blacksmith received payment for his work on the tomb, while another one, Hans von Cöln, is mentioned in 1582.<sup>129</sup> Between April and September of that year painter Adam, whose other commissions for the ducal court are mentioned on a number of occasions, painted the

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<sup>122</sup> Warnke 1993, p. 124-142.

<sup>123</sup> The number of inhabitants after Gause 1996, p. 320.

<sup>124</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 109-112, 208, 210, 255-258.

<sup>125</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255; see also Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 577

<sup>126</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 258; references to van den Blocke appear in the accounts on some forty occasions. The original records are partially preserved in Berlin-Dahlem, see GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, Ausgabeldt der Rendtkammers des Herzogthumts Preußen, 1579, no. 13496, p. 18 - 19; 1580 no. 13497, p. 14 - 15; 1581, no. 13498, p. 11-12. The records from 1578 (no. 13495) and 1582 (no. 13499) are missing. All payments are grouped under a common title 'Wegen den Epitaph'; in addition to that some information, mostly concerning deliveries of stone, are scattered in other parts of the books. With regard to the problems, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 111. On the financial problems of artists engaged by courts in general see Warnke 1993, p. 140-142.

<sup>127</sup> GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, Ausgabeldt der Rendtkammers des Herzogthumts Preußen, 1580, no 13497, p. 15v; see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256. In fact, this entry appears in the same section of the book as payments for the work on the monument. Tragheim may be seen on a town view from 1573 and on a view by Joachim Bering from 1613, see Gause 1996, fig. 16. Apparently, other facilities supplying Königsberg's building industry were located there as well, see for instance GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13634, Extract uber die Fürstlichen Rendtkammer Register Aller Einnahm und Aüssgabe, 1582, p 32v and GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeit 1571, passim, especially p. 45-46 and GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13271, Wochenbauregister 1591, p. 189-190.

<sup>128</sup> GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, Ausgabeldt der Rendtkammers des Herzogthumts Preußen, 1580, no 13497, p. 14; see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256. He was perhaps identical with 'holländischen maler Albertus Schack', mentioned in 1581, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 258. Moreover, he could have been the same as the Netherlandish painter who executed three portraits of a 'jüngen Fraulein' in 1577, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 254.

<sup>129</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, 258.

monument, then already finished. The latter fact clearly indicates that the task of painting the epitaph remained beyond the responsibility limits of the sculptor's workshop. Among unqualified men who contributed to the erection of the monument the documents mention 'poor people of Libau', employed to carry stone from the harbour to the sculptor's workshop.<sup>130</sup>

The extant documents shed much light on the issue of stone supply. Since Königsberg lies in a region devoid of appropriate building and sculpting material, the latter had to be imported from abroad by the sea. The few available photographs as well as descriptions suggest that the monument was made of Gotland sandstone, the most common material used by sculptors and stonecutters in the Baltic region in early modern era. Between 1578 and 1582 several transports of stone reached the Prussian capital, delivered by Hansen Steinbeck in 1578, Asmus Schwiet of Libau and Steinbeck in 1579, Hans Mundt 'von Grobin' in 1580 and Steinbeck (Steinweg) as well as unnamed Netherlanders in 1581.<sup>131</sup> The most important documents related to this issue are two letters published by Ehrenberg. The first, dating from 23 October 1579, informs that Hans Steffen, a stonecutter from Gdańsk, failed to deliver the stone to Königsberg.<sup>132</sup> Steffen, or Steffens, is himself an interesting, though very obscure figure. In 1575 he was granted citizenship in Gdańsk; in the archival entry he is referred to as a sculptor from Den Bosch.<sup>133</sup> Steffens was forbidden by the Gdańsk authorities to conduct any kind of trade. This fact may be directly related to his failed and apparently illegal deal with the ducal court or with van den Blocke himself. The other letter, dated 1 March 1581 and addressed by the City Council of Gdańsk to the Duke of Prussia, states that Willem van den Blocke has acquired stone needed for the works on the epitaph from another citizen of the Baltic town, Paul von Doren.<sup>134</sup> This transaction has most probably been made after intervention of the regent, following van den Blocke's complaint from 18 February the same year.<sup>135</sup> Paul von Doren was a remarkable figure, a mason and a master in the Gdańsk masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild, who had received citizenship in 1571.<sup>136</sup> Since he had come to Gdańsk from Antwerp, it seems likely that he was a member of the notable sculptor family from Mechelen, namely the van Dourne or Bisselinck, that both had connection to the van den Blocke family in Mechelen.<sup>137</sup> The fact that Willem van den Blocke closely cooperated with other sculptors and masons of Netherlandish origin active in the Baltic area not only reveals the role played by Netherlanders in the stone trade, but also the

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<sup>130</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255; the name 'Libau' probably refers to one of districts of Königsberg, Löbenicht or Lieb, although it could refer to the town of Libau in Livonia as well.

<sup>131</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255-258. One of those contracts, that between the court and Hans Steinbeck (Steinweg) from 1578, has also been published, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 207, no 555; see also *ibidem*, p. 209-210, no 572. Regarding Hans Mundt (Mont) see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 209, no 566.

<sup>132</sup> APG, 300, 53/489, p. 139-146; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 208, no 563.

<sup>133</sup> APG, 300, 60/2, p. 228; Cuny 1910, p. 74; Koska 1937; Pałubicki 1981, p. 187.

<sup>134</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 579.

<sup>135</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 577.

<sup>136</sup> Cuny 1910, p. 32-33; Pałubicki 1981, p. 186. As far as his workshop is concerned, he has for example paid for twelve journeymen, including at least four of Netherlandish origin, on one occasion in 1581 (APG 300, c/2057, p. 184).

<sup>137</sup> This belief has been expressed already by Teurlinckx 1987, p. 55. See also Chapter 7.

vital part played by personal relations between different members of the Netherlandish diaspora in the expansion of Netherlandish influence in Northern and Central Europe.<sup>138</sup>

### 1.3 The Transylvanian interlude – the monument of Christopher Báthory (1582–1584)

After spending fourteen year in Königsberg, Willem van den Blocke decided to move from the town on the Pregel. Upon his departure in spring 1582 he received a letter of recommendation praising his achievements in the service of Königsberg court during the last fourteen years.<sup>139</sup> After leaving the capital of Prussia the sculptor, already acclaimed for his works in the duchy, was employed by an even higher ranking patron, namely the King of Poland and Prince of Transylvania, Stephen I Báthory. The royal commission was not only prestigious in itself, but also provided an opportunity to considerably broaden the circle of future clientele. As indicated by the course of his later career, van den Blocke was fully prepared to profit from this new development.

King Stephen entrusted the sculptor with the task of execution of monument to his brother Christopher Báthory, governor of Transylvania in his absence, who had died in 1581.<sup>140</sup> As apparent from a document dating from 1583, confirming the payment made by Michael Giese, a secretary of the Prussian court apparently serving as an intermediary, the work was carried out in Gdańsk.<sup>141</sup> Van den Blocke's authorship of the Báthory monument is confirmed by his own words, expressed in a supplication to the City Council of Gdańsk from 1584.<sup>142</sup> Apart from this, a number of financial accounts relating to the transport of the monument to Transylvania is known.<sup>143</sup> The most interesting among them concern the payment for the travel of the *muratoribus*, sent in 1583 to the Transylvanian capital Alba Iulia in order to erect the monument. Judging from his own words in the aforesaid petition, Willem was in all probability one of them. Perhaps, the craftsmen were accompanied by a number of court officials of lower rank, such as Jakub Kopciowski, Jan Serny and a certain Wałdowski, all mentioned in the documents. The journey to Transylvania, carried out in autumn 1583, imply that the monument must have been to a large extent finished by that time. The fast progress of work in comparison with the long labour on the monument of Duchess Elisabeth must have been the result of pressure put on Willem van den Blocke and his assistants by the king, willing to see the politically important monument ready as soon as possible. It also indicates that Báthory provided the sculptor with appropriate resources to accomplish the job in a comparatively short period of time.

Very little is known about the monument itself. Destined for the Jesuit church in Alba Iulia, of which the Báthory family was a great benefactor, it was probably destroyed already

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<sup>138</sup> See also Chapter 7. More on this in Skibiński 2013a.

<sup>139</sup> See note 42.

<sup>140</sup> More on the Báthory family in chapter 3.

<sup>141</sup> *Veress 1918*, p. 211; the long held view that van den Blocke executed the monument in Cracow, expressed by Krzyżanowski and repeated by later scholars, has to be discarded; see Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 276. Recently, also Wardzyński, Kowalczyk and Mikó correctly pointed out that the monument has been executed in Gdańsk, see Wardzyński 2005, p. 530, Mikó 2008, p. 28 and Kowalczyk 2009, p. 523.

<sup>142</sup> APG, 300, 36/65, p. 11-12; *Krzyśiak 1999*, p. 65-66.

<sup>143</sup> *Pawiński 1881*, 2, p. 114, 117, 123-124; *Veress 1918*, p. 187, 197-8, 200-201, 209, 211. The latter documents were published later by Szydłowska 1957 p. 259-260.

by mid-seventeenth century during one of the many military campaigns.<sup>144</sup> Today only the epitaph inscription is known, owing its preservation to the late humanistic culture, preoccupied with written word.<sup>145</sup> In any case, it must have been a lavish work, very much to Báthory's liking, since shortly after its completion the king stated that his own tomb should resemble it.<sup>146</sup> Another account concerning the monument is provided by contemporary chronicle of Ambrosius Simigianus. Besides praising the sumptuousness and magnificence of the tomb, the author states that it has been build from stones brought with great effort from overseas.<sup>147</sup> The latter information indicates the presence of either Baltic sandstone or, more likely, alabaster and Belgian limestone characteristically used by Netherlandish sculptors, but extraordinary in Hungary, rich in local building and sculpting material. Another important account, informing about the importance of the monument, is provided by Péter Alvinczi, an advisor to Bethlen Gábor.<sup>148</sup> According to his revealing account, dating from 1622 and once more indicating the importance of this work and the esteem it has enjoyed, the monument of Christopher Báthory served as a potential model for later monuments of members of Transylvanian ruling families.<sup>149</sup>

#### **1.4 The sound harbour in Gdańsk (1582/1584 – c. 1620)**

Works carried out for locally important patrons, the Duke of Prussia and the King of Poland, established Willem van den Blocke's reputation as a leading sculptor in the region. After his travel to Transylvania the sculptor made his next move, deciding to settle permanently in Gdańsk, the Baltic metropolis experiencing an era of economic prosperity. Van den Blocke's choice is hardly surprising, as at the turn of the century the city on Motława was a perfect place to establish a sculptor's workshop. As one of the most important trade centres in Northern Europe, Gdańsk provided for potential links within the entire Baltic region and beyond it. Affluent patricians elites, profiting from the city's unique position in the state's economy based on practical control of the country's maritime trade, provided a market for all kinds of artists, engaged to carry out both private and public commissions. Further possibilities were offered by the patronage of the Polish court, as well as of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. Another crucial factor enabling sculptors to operate here with success was the city's convenient geographical and economic position, allowing them to gain relatively easy access both to skilled assistants and materials necessary for their practice. This, in turn, allowed them to carry out works with greater efficiency. These advantages

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<sup>144</sup> Information that the monument was intended for the cathedral in Alba Iulia reoccurs in literature; it has in fact been built for the Jesuit church, as is confirmed by a number of sources, see Mikó 1988, p. 119-126. Most likely, it has been destroyed in 1658 by the Tartars, together with many other monuments in Alba Iulia, see Dětshy 1988. A contemporary, Stefan Enyedi, stated that the invaders destroyed at that time many monuments of the 'old princes'; see Dětshy 1988, p. 107. The Jesuit church in Alba Iulia itself existed at least until the end of the nineteenth century, and Christopher's tombstone decorated with the family's coat-of-arms - that cannot, however, be given to van den Blocke - was still there (see Rusu 2009, p. 66-67; I would like to thank Letitia Cosnean for information).

<sup>145</sup> *Gyulafy*, p. 50; Mikó 1988, p. 132, note 81.

<sup>146</sup> *Pawiński 1882*, p. 297; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 277.

<sup>147</sup> *Simigianus*, Liber III (1576-1600), Anno 1581, p. 110.

<sup>148</sup> On Alvinczi himself see, for example, Murdock 2000, *passim*.

<sup>149</sup> *Alvinczi*, p. 165; I would like to thank Prof Peter Szabó from Budapest for pointing this document to me. See also Dětshy 1988. Some of the monuments in question, dedicated to members of the Béthlem and Rákóczy families, have been commissioned in Poland; they have been strongly damaged already in 1658 by the Tartars.

offered by great cities have been explicitly mentioned, for instance, by the famous Antwerp publisher, Christopher Plantin: “... and here [in Antwerp] all the materials for the practice of my craft are to be obtained; workers for all trades, who can be taught in short time, are easily found”.<sup>150</sup>

The above mentioned factors attracted to Gdańsk many sculptors and stonemasons, particularly emigrants from the Low Countries, and as a result of this process, by the end of the century Gdańsk became one of the main centres of Netherlandish art outside the Low Countries.<sup>151</sup> At that time not only Willem van den Blocke and his son Abraham, but also such masters as Burchard Janssen from Zwolle, Paul van Doren from Antwerp (Mechelen?) and Willem van der Meer from Ghent enjoyed a strong professional position there. Some others, like the architects Frederik Hendriksz. Vroom from Haarlem and Anthonis van Obbergen from Mechelen, were employed as designers and supervisors of major public and military building enterprises.

Van den Blocke was apparently present in Gdańsk already in 1582, at the time he was working on the monument of Christopher Báthory.<sup>152</sup> Moreover, his dealings with Hans Steffens and Paul van Doren reveal the existence of professional ties between his workshop in Königsberg and at least some of the sculptors and master masons active in Gdańsk even before that time.<sup>153</sup> Apparently, he visited Gdańsk already in 1579.<sup>154</sup> At least equally important must have been the presence in Gdańsk of his brother Aegidius.<sup>155</sup> In consequence, when offering his service to the City Council soon after his return from Transylvania, Willem van den Blocke must have been already well-acquainted with the milieu.

The sculptor's relations with the court in Cracow at that time are barely known. The supplication submitted by van den Blocke on 18 June 1584 suggests that he was equipped with a recommendation from King Stephen, perhaps similar to that issued earlier by Georg Friedrich of Prussia.<sup>156</sup> A hypothesis that he was still a ‘royal sculptor’ is plausible, but unwarranted by documents. Several references to service rendered to the king made by Willem in the following years may be interpreted as a kind of advertisement rather than information about an actual appointment.<sup>157</sup> Nonetheless, his later clientele clearly indicates that Willem van den Blocke maintained close relations with the families and court circles of both Stephen I Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa. Moreover, the monarch could support artists who did not stay with the court.<sup>158</sup> It seems most likely that throughout his career van den Blocke remained a royal sculptor in terms of consequent commissions rather than formal appointment.

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<sup>150</sup> A letter to Pope Gregory XIII dated 9 October 1574, see Voet 1969, 1, p. 13.

<sup>151</sup> See Chapters 3 and 7.

<sup>152</sup> See above, note 141.

<sup>153</sup> See above, notes 132 and 134.

<sup>154</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 208, no 563.

<sup>155</sup> See above, note 60.

<sup>156</sup> This opinion has been already expressed by Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 277; see APG, 300, 36/ 65, p. 11-12, Cuny 1910, p. 75, *Krzyśiak* 1999, p. 65-66. See also the 19<sup>th</sup> century archival excerpts by August Bertling, August Bertling, *Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Danziger Gewerke*; Danziger Künstler, Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms. 2490.

<sup>157</sup> For example a document dating from 1600, published in Czaplinski 1968, p. 99. On the issue of royal servitors in general see, for instance, Sinko 1938.

<sup>158</sup> Warnke 1993, p. 75-80 and 139-140.

In the 1584 supplication the sculptor expressed his desire to settle in the city and be allowed to carry out commissions for the city council, and in case of lack of these, for other patrons as well. Though no reply by the council is known, his petition must have been answered positively, and next month he was enrolled into the local professional association, the masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild, though he apparently did not receive a citizenship.<sup>159</sup> In 1586 his workshop was located on a street named Wollwebergasse (today Przędzalnicza) in the Main Town (Głównie Miasto, Rechtstadt), the most prestigious part of the city.<sup>160</sup>

Although it cannot be ruled out that Willem van den Blocke could have been producing some minor ready-made objects for the open market, he production was basically project-oriented. Probably the first major project he embarked on in Gdańsk was decoration of the façade of the High Gate, guarding the main western entrance to the town. This work, his single known involvement with architectural decoration,<sup>161</sup> was carried out in cooperation with architects Hans Schneider von Lindau and Frederik Hendricksz. Vroom from Haarlem.<sup>162</sup> Apart from this public assignment, in the 1580s and early 1590s master Willem executed a number of epitaphs for members of the patrician élite of the Prussian cities as well as for the local nobility. The earliest among them were probably the elaborately carved memorial of Johann Brandes and his wife in the St. Mary's church in Gdańsk (1586) as well as the relatively plain epitaph of brothers Felix and Peter von Damerau in the church in Święty Wojciech near Gdańsk (1587). They were followed by epitaphs of the Stroband family in St. Mary's church in Toruń (1590), of Eduard Blemke, again in St. Mary's Church in Gdańsk (1591), and of Valentin von Bodeck in St. Nikolas church in Elbląg (before 1594). At the same time the sculptor has been engaged by members of the Prussian noble family von Dohna to execute the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna, shipped to Odense in Denmark and erected there by one of the master's assistants (c. 1586).

The number and scale of van den Blocke's works rise significantly in the last decade of the sixteenth century, which must be regarded as the summit of his activity. His most prestigious and grandest commissions of the 1590's include funeral monuments built for high ranking patrons from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as those from Sweden, and above all for the King of Poland and Sweden, Sigismund III Vasa. Probably the earliest among these works was the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy, a Hungarian diplomat and

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<sup>159</sup> As to his involvement with the guild see APG, 300, C/2051, p. 290 – 291; APG, 300,C/2057, p. 243; Skibiński 2010. More on this in Chapter 3. As to his citizenship, see August Bertling, *Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Danziger Gewerke*; Danziger Künstler, Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms. 2490 ; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 277; Skibiński 2010, p. 86. The letter from 1608 refers to master Willem with a latin term *incola*, which implies a status of a resident rather than that of a citizen.

<sup>160</sup> August Bertling, *Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Danziger Gewerke*; Danziger Künstler, Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms. 2490; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 180; Krzyżanowski 1972a. Gdańsk was divided into four main parts, namely the Main Town (Rechtstadt), Old Town (Altstadt), Long Gardens (Langgarten) and Old Suburb (Alte Vorstadt). In addition to that, it was surrounded by several suburbs, located outside of the city's fortifications.

<sup>161</sup> Arnold Bartetzky suggested that Willem van den Blocke was engaged in decorating the Great Arsenal in Gdańsk, see Bartetzky 2000, p. 95; same opinion has also been expressed in Sikorska 1968, p. 274. This supposition is however not plausible, since 'Wilhelm' referred to in a relevant document could have very well been Willem van der Meer. Equally spurious is attribution to van den Blocke of several façades of burghouses proposed by Cuny, see Cuny 1910a.

<sup>162</sup> AGP, 300,20/126, p. 1, 3; APG, 300, 35/65, p. 19-21 (supplication by van den Blocke dated 27 March 1586, published also by Krzysiak 1999, p. 66-70).

councillor to former King Stephen Báthory, who remained in Poland after the latter's death. As indicated by the text once found on the epitaph destroyed in 1939, the monument erected in the parish church in Lisnowo, a small village in Prussia, had been commissioned by Berzeviczy himself in 1593 and was completed probably one year later.<sup>163</sup> The same year master Willem has been charged with the highly prestigious task of building a grand commemorative monument to the Swedish King Johan III Vasa, commissioned by his son Sigismund. In order to carry out the commission, van den Blocke hired additional assistants and was apparently granted an appropriate working place.<sup>164</sup> The works on the tomb, which was to cost 8000 *thaler*,<sup>165</sup> commenced in late 1593 and continued for some two years,<sup>166</sup> since a letter from the king to the Swedish State Council, written in Cracow on 16 February 1596, leaves little doubt that it was ready at that time.<sup>167</sup> Payments to van den Blocke are confirmed by several documents dating from the autumn of 1593 and spring of 1594; money has been levied from the Gdańsk sea tolls.<sup>168</sup> On 25 November 1594 he submitted a passionate supplication to the city Council, which acted on behalf of the king, asking for another 2000 *thaler* necessary for completing the works.<sup>169</sup> However, by the time Willem finished the work, Sigismund's claim to the Swedish crown was being contested and subsequently the Swedish Council refused to pay its part of the costs. As a result of these political developments, the monument remained in Gdańsk until the late eighteenth century, before being finally brought out and shipped to Sweden by King Gustav III.

The next work that can be safely linked with van den Blocke is the monument to Piotr Tarnowski, erected by his influential son Jan, Vice-chancellor of the Crown and later Archbishop of Gniezno, in the Holy Trinity Chapel (called 'Tarnowski chapel') at collegiate church in Łowicz, a residential town of the Polish Princes. The date of its execution remains uncertain. Lech Krzyżanowski held the view that it must have been built after Tarnowski's

<sup>163</sup> The date '1594' appears on the monument itself, see Heise 1894, p. 514 (Froelich claims that the date on the monument is '1596', though most probably he refers to the year of Berzeviczy's death mentioned in the epitaph, see Froelich 1868, p. 182). The epitaph inscription has been published in Veress 1911, p. 207-208.

<sup>164</sup> APG, 300, 36/65, p. 37-38 (*Krzysiak 1999*, p. 76-78) and APG 300, 27/43, p. 199-200v. See also Chapter 3.

<sup>165</sup> As indicated by a letter from 1596, Carolina Rediviva, Handskrifts Avdelningen, Handligar om Uppsala Domkyrka, sygn. S. 139. A:2, nr 6. Krzyżanowski, Saar-Kozłowska and other scholars presented another sum, namely 4000 thalers, probably misinterpreting information provided by Hahr; see Hahr 1913, p. 25-26; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 278 and Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 75.

<sup>166</sup> A letter from the City Council of Gdańsk to King Sigismund III Vasa dating from 22 November 1593, mentioning Willem van den Blocke (APG 300, 27/43, p. 199-200v). Gdańsk Pay-books indicate that also Willem van der Meer has been paid 585 Prussian marks for works on the monument on 22 November 1593; see APG, 300, 12/20, p. 17 and Simson 1918, p. 564, note 3. This has led Max Foltz and Georg Cuny to credit the later with the execution of the monument, see Foltz 1907, p. 136, note 3 and Cuny 1910a, p. 87. However, this appears to be a mistake made by a scribe, since the abovementioned letter from 22 November – the very same day the alleged payment to van der Meer has been made – reveals that it was van den Blocke who has been paid 585 thalers at that time.

<sup>167</sup> Carolina Rediviva, Handskrifts Avdelningen, Handligar om Uppsala Domkyrka, sygn. S. 139. A:2, nr 6; the document which had been unearthed by August Hahr and quoted in his article in year 1913, has been further referred to above all by Cuny 1921, p. 19-20, Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 278-279 and Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 99, note 23.

<sup>168</sup> The first document is an account from 17 February 1594, signed by royal factor Simon Bahr as well as Willem van den Blocke himself (APG, 300, 19/49, p. 177-182), while the other, from 14 May of the same year, confirms the payment from the city's treasury (APG, 300, 12/21, p. 19). See also two letters from May 1594, APG 300, 27/43, p. 245v and 248v-251, as well as note 166.

<sup>169</sup> APG, 300, 36/65, p. 37-38; *Krzysiak 1999*, p. 76-78. On the intricate relation between the city and the king see especially APG 300, 27/43, p. 199-200v; APG 300, 19/49, p. 177-182 and APG 300, 27/43, p. 249v-250v.

appointment as Primate in 1603, while Zbigniew Hornung believed that it was commissioned after his death in 1604 by the executors of his testament.<sup>170</sup> However, the epitaph inscription remains silent of Jan Tarnowski's numerous high ecclesiastical offices (before reaching the post of Primate, he held important bishoprics of Poznań and later Włocławek), thus suggesting that it must have been made while he was still the Vice-chancellor, that is before 1598.<sup>171</sup> The chapel itself has been built between c. 1608 and 1617, and the progress of the works was supervised by another member of the family, canon Wojciech Tarnowski.<sup>172</sup> Another important work created by van den Blocke at that time was the richly decorated monument of two nephews to King Stephan Báthory, namely cardinal Andreas Báthory, Prince-bishop of Warmia (Ermland) in the presentday north-eastern Poland, and his brother, soldier and adventurer Balthazar, built in the Bernadine church in Barczewo, a small town in Warmia. It must have been executed at some point in the 1590s, certainly before 1598, when the cardinal departed to Transylvania and was subsequently killed there next year. Most likely its date is after 1594, that is after the death of Bathazar Báthory in Transylvania.<sup>173</sup> Around the same time master Willem was also working on a monument dedicated to Swedish nobleman Ture Bielke, today in Linköping cathedral. Begun probably before Bielke's death in the 'Blood Bath in Linköping' on 20 March 1600, the monument has been completed and delivered to Sweden only in 1619, after Gustav Adolf lifted the ban imposed by Karl IX on monuments commemorating those loyal to Sigismund Vasa.<sup>174</sup> Moreover, at some point during the 1590's van den Blocke was probably engaged in the works on the epitaph of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in Nesvizh. Around 1600 the sculptor executed several memorials of members of Prussian nobility, including a free standing tomb of Mikołaj Kos and his family, set up in the Cistercian church in Oliva near Gdańsk, the tomb of Krzysztof Kostka in Golub, a tomb slab of Jerzy Oleski and an epitaph of Jan Konopacki<sup>175</sup> Finally, shortly before 1600 he could have designed the epitaph of Michael Giese, set up in the Königsberg cathedral.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291-292, Hornung 1959a, p. 114. The executores of the testament were Archbishop of Lviv Jan Zamoyski and Bishop of Przemyśl Maciej Pstrokoński, see Korytkowski 1889-1891, III, p. 554.

<sup>171</sup> Now damaged, the epitaph has been published by *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 335-336 and *Starowski 1655*, p. 690-691. More on this issue in Skibiński 2013c.

<sup>172</sup> Kwiatkowski 1939, p. 82, Kwiatkowski 1947; *Acta Capitulli*, p. 97.

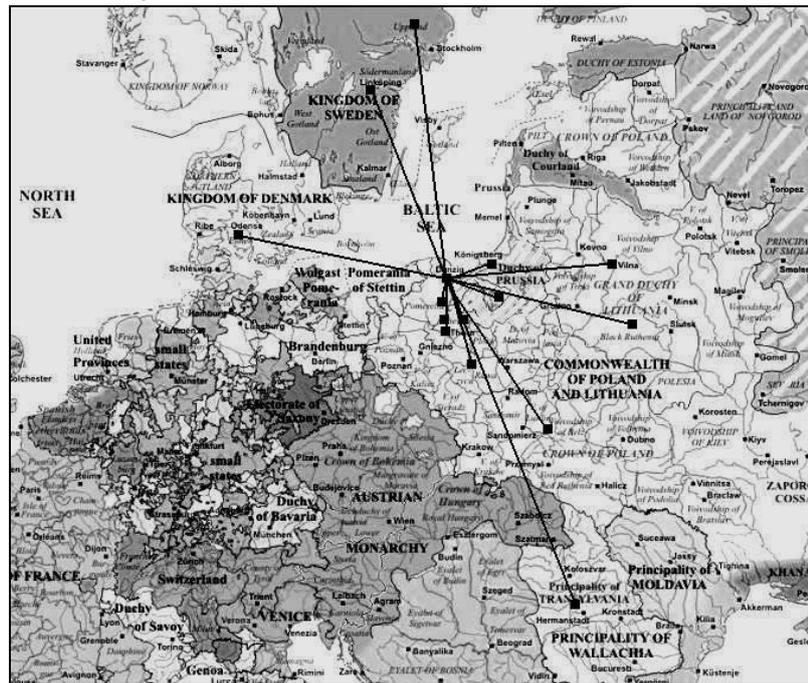
<sup>173</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958.

<sup>174</sup> The authorship and the date of delivery is confirmed by a note in the Linköping cathedral archive, referring to lost original document, published in Schéle 1951), p. 20-32. Schéle was at opinion that the monument has been created between 1613 and 1619. However, Ardis Grosjean pointed to the fact that the document referres to a monument commissioned by Ture Bielke himself, see Grosjean 1985, p. 10-12.

<sup>175</sup> As to the former see Krzyżanowski 1968a.

<sup>176</sup> On the epitaph see Gebser&Hagen 1833, p. 225; Dethlefsen 1912, p. 55, fig. 45, 64; Cieślak 1992, p. 150. This work has not been so far linked with van den Blocke.

Map 1 - Works by Willem van den Blocke and his studio in Central Europe



At the turn of the century this high productivity comes, however, to a sudden halt and the sculptor seems to vanish from the scene. Only one confirmed work by Willem van den Blocke, namely the design for an unspecified altar in the collegiate church in Zamość, can be identified after 1600.<sup>177</sup> Apart from this assignment, van den Blocke could have designed the grand monument of Janusz Ostrogski in Tarnów, executed by Hans Pfister c. 1612-1620, as well as the monument of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius, executed c. 1618-1623. Even more surprisingly, after c. 1602-1603 information concerning the studio ceases to appear in records of the local guild. During the first decade of the seventeenth century master Willem is furthermore known to have travelled outside Gdańsk at least twice. Around 1605 he must have visited Zamość, where he was paid for the above mentioned design, prepared probably for the Grand Chancellor of the Crown, Jan Zamoyski. Three years later, van den Blocke must have visited the Low Countries. This is indicated by a letter from the City Council of Gdańsk to the government of the Spanish Netherlands dated 13 March 1608, asking to allow the sculptor to visit his home town of Mechelen.<sup>178</sup> Nonetheless, it seems unlikely that the artist abandoned Gdańsk altogether, as he appears to have been present there as late as 1619, when he was paid for the delivery of the Bielke monument.<sup>179</sup>

Apart from carrying out commissions for works of art issued by diverse private patrons from Gdańsk and from outside it, master Willem apparently was also employed by the city authorities. An interesting document, dated 13 August 1594, reveals that at that time the sculptor, together with architect Anthonis van Obbergen, was charged with examination of an

<sup>177</sup> Herbst 1939.

<sup>178</sup> Szmydki 1999a. The document itself does not reveal reasons for this travel.

<sup>179</sup> Schéle 1951 and Grosjean 1985, p. 2.

existing building.<sup>180</sup> This duty imposed on van den Blocke indicates that his professional expertise was at least occasionally exploited by the local government, even though apparently he did not hold any official post, such as ‘Stadtbildhauer’ or ‘Stadtbaumeister’.<sup>181</sup>

The parochial loyalty of Willem van den Blocke remains uncertain. It seems, however, that he was somehow related to the church of St. Peter and Paul in the ‘Old Suburb’ (Stare Przedmieście, Alte Vorstadt) part of Gdańsk, the same where the daughter of Aegidius van den Blocke married in 1585. The baptism records of that church contain information that on 11 March 1590 a certain “Wilhelm, ein Steinhauer” and his wife Catharina baptized their daughter, also named Catharina.<sup>182</sup> Karl Knetsch maintained that Willem van den Blocke was married to a woman of that name.<sup>183</sup> What is more important, the Book of Marriages of the same church reveals that on 8 September 1608 Catharina, daughter of Willem van den Blocke, has been married to otherwise unknown Hans Isendick, almost certainly of a Netherlandish origin.<sup>184</sup> If these ties are confirmed, they may provide an argument in support of thesis of unorthodox religious beliefs held by the sculptor, since c. 1600 the St. Peter and St. Paul church was controlled by rather militant supporters of the Second Reformation.<sup>185</sup>

The question concerning Willem van den Blocke’s confession caused some confusion in literature. Some early historians believed him to be a Mennonite, and this view remained uncontested by the majority of later scholars.<sup>186</sup> Only Jacek Tylicki observed that as a matter of fact no hard evidence is known to support this opinion, while some circumstances, above all the burial of his wife in the Dominican church, the only major Catholic church in Gdańsk at that time, may suggest much less radical sympathies<sup>187</sup>. However, recent discoveries seem to validate the view expressed in older literature. First, an excerpt made by August Bertling from a complaint filled against van den Blocke reveals that Willem, alongside with Hans von Lindau, have been accused of being Mennonites by fellow guild masters.<sup>188</sup> Second, a Mennonite edition of the Bible bearing a signature of Willem van den Blocke recently appeared on the market.<sup>189</sup> Although not a conclusive proof, Willem’s ownership of the book,

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<sup>180</sup> APG, 300, 58 / 63, p. 39; Kizik 2009a, p. 148, note 18. Examinations of buildings were usually ordered by Gdańsk *Weta*; since 1599 examinations carried out by masters of local building guilds were compulsory, see Kizik 2009b.

<sup>181</sup> A contrary opinion, unsupported by documents, has been expressed in Weichbrodt, 1, p. 60. General remarks regarding the post of ‘Stadtbildhauer’ in Gdańsk appear in Cuny 1910a, p. 72-73 and Oszczanowski 2008, p. 73.

<sup>182</sup> APG, 356/1, p. 165. It remains uncertain whether Wilhelm mentioned here was indeed identical with Willem van den Blocke. Nonetheless, we are able to rule out Willem van der Meer (Barth), who was the member of the same parochial community, since at that time he was married to women named Anna; see Tylicki 1997a, p. 181.

<sup>183</sup> Knetsch 1903, p. 28.

<sup>184</sup> APG, 356 / 2, p. 93v; Knetsch 1903, p. 31; Weichbrodt, 1, p. 60. In addition to that, Knetsch and Weichbrodt provide otherwise unconfirmed information that in 1605 another daughter of Willem has been married to Hans Janssen from Emden. As far as the Isendick family is concerned, another of its members, Julius Isendick, is recorded in St. Peter and Paul’s church in 1593, see APG, 356 / 2, p. 47. See also Tylicki 2013.

<sup>185</sup> M. G. Müller 1997, Cieślak 2000.

<sup>186</sup> Knetsch 1903, p. 28; Cuny 1910, p. 75; Krollmann 1914, p. 55. The issue has been recapitulated in a recent article by Reiner Kobe (Kobe 2009).

<sup>187</sup> Tylicki 2005, p. 141; Tylicki 2009a, p. 199.

<sup>188</sup> BG PAN, Ms. 2490. This document was probably unknown to the historian before 1885, since he did not formulate his opinion with regard to the artist’s confession in an article published in “Danziger Zeitung” that year.

<sup>189</sup> *Den Bybel, Das is de Boecken der Heyligher Schriftner...*, Krijn Vermeulen, Schotland bij Dantzig 1598. The signature reads “Willem van den Blocke Anno 1607” (Kobe 2010; I would like to thank the author for sharing this information). The book appeared on an auction with Burgersdijk & Niermans in Leiden in November 2009.

published in Gdańsk's suburb Stare Szkoty (Alt-Shottland) in 1598 by a Netherlandish émigré, Quirin Vermeulen, and decorated with a few engravings after Karel van Mander, nevertheless further indicates his Mennonite sympathies. Finally, marriages between Catholics and less radical adherents of the Mennonite doctrine were not unknown. Therefore, it seems that the long established view of van den Blocke as Mennonite may be correct after all.

The members of the Gdańsk branch of van den Blocke family were not unanimous in their religious beliefs. At least one of Willem's sons, namely Jacob, was without doubt a Lutheran, since the sermon for his funeral has been written by Johannes Botsack, a staunch adherent of the Augsburg confession. What is more, Jacob van den Blocke and his brother Abraham as well as their children were buried in St. Mary's church in Gdańsk, the largest and most important temple in the Baltic metropolis, in the early seventeenth century housing both Lutheran and Calvinist communities. This indicates that neither Jacob nor Abraham were members of any kind of a radical Protestant church, such as Mennonite. Painter Isaack van den Blocke, on the contrary, is believed to be a Mennonite, a view based on the fact that he refused to swear an oath of loyalty to the city;<sup>190</sup> unfortunately, we have no information regarding the parish he was a member of.

While discussing the issue of Willem's religion one must also take into account a testimony provided by Fabian von Dohna, one of his clients and patron of the monument for his late brother Christopher von Dohna, destined for the cathedral of Odense in Denmark. In a diary he recalls how the artist charged with the work on the epitaph refused to embellish it with crucifixes ordered by the third brother, Achatius von Dohna.<sup>191</sup> However, even if this was the case, van den Blocke is known to have carved crucifixes on a number of other occasions.<sup>192</sup>

No evidence has been found so far concerning the place and time of Willem van den Blocke's passing away. As shown by Jacek Tylicki, the document quoted frequently in reference to the artist's burial concerns in fact his widow - either Dorothea Wolff, mentioned in Botsack's funeral speech, probably the first wife of the artist, or Catharina - buried on 21 January 1628 in St. Nicholas church in Gdańsk.<sup>193</sup> Nonetheless, this information has considerable value, as it provides us with *terminus ante quem* of van den Blocke's death. Unfortunately, we do not know whether he finished his earthly pilgrimage in Gdańsk, in the Low Countries or some other place he could have visited during the last years of his life.

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It may be added here that some other books bearing ownership marks of prominent Gdańsk artists at that time have been recently discovered, for example Thomaso Poracchi's *Fvnerali Antichi Di diversi Popoli, Nationi; Forma, Ordine, Pompa di sepulture, die eßequie, di Consecrationi antichi e d' altero*, published in Venice by Simone Galignani in 1574 and illustrated by Torro Padovano, as well as Michaele Yosmero's *Principes Hollandiae Zelandiae, Domini Frisiae*, published in Antwerp by Christopher Plantin in 1578 and embellished with engravings by Philip Galle, both owned by leading painters Anton Möller, Herman Han and finally Johann Krieg (today in the Library of the Catholic Seminary in Pelplin; see Pelplin 2008, no. I. 10. A and I. 10. B, p. 211-217).

<sup>190</sup> Supplication to the City Council from 28 June 1613; see Bertling 1885; Tylicki 2005, p. 137 Kobe 2009, p. 73, 76.

<sup>191</sup> *Krollmann 1905*, p. 56; see also *Krollmann 1914*, p. 54 and *Bömelburg 2001*, p. 54-55.

<sup>192</sup> For example on the monument for Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg and in the altar in the 'Tarnowski' Chapel in Łowicz.

<sup>193</sup> APG, 354 / 351, p. 222; see Tylicki, 2005, p. 141 and idem 2009, p. 199. The document was understood as referring to Willem himself starting with the article by Bertling (1885).

## 1.5 Willem van den Blocke's family

The Gdańsk branch of the van den Blocke family, established by the arrival of Aegidius in the late 1560s, maintained its importance well into the second quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>194</sup> Apart from master Willem, most accomplished members of the family were his sons, namely Abraham (1572-1628), Jacob (1576-1653), Isaac (before 1589-after 1624) and - to a lesser degree - David (after 1582-1641). The professional success enjoyed by their father paved the way for their strong position in the city, a chance they were ready to seize. Well trained and apparently ambitious, they played an important role in Gdańsk's art as well as in its building industry. Abraham and Isaac received many commissions from the city's authorities, and in this number were some of the most important works of art and architecture created in Gdańsk during its 'Golden Age'. Jacob van den Blocke, on the other hand, held for many years the important public office of the city carpenter (*Stadtzimmerman*). Some members of the family were still present in Gdańsk in late seventeenth century, as witnessed by certain Lucia van den Blocke, probably a daughter of Jacob van den Blocke.<sup>195</sup> However, none of Willem's grandchildren were engaged in art and architecture with such success as the first two generations of the family active in Gdańsk, and for this reason there is no need to discuss them here.<sup>196</sup>

Abraham van den Blocke was born in Königsberg, almost certainly in 1572.<sup>197</sup> Ten years later he moved with his father to Gdańsk. In 1585, soon after Willem van den Blocke established his studio within the guild structure, Abraham was officially enrolled as an apprentice, thus becoming one of the earliest known collaborators of the master.<sup>198</sup> In 1590 he completed his apprenticeship,<sup>199</sup> and after that probably set out on a journey aimed at augmenting his professional skills and knowledge.<sup>200</sup> Back in Gdańsk after a few years, he was granted citizenship in 1595 and acquired a house in the Heiligengeistgaße (ul. Świętego Ducha) in Gdańsk's Main Town in 1596.<sup>201</sup> At the same time he started the procedure of becoming a guild master.<sup>202</sup> For that purpose he executed a masterpiece under the supervision of his father, which was completed in 1597, and he became a master the same year.<sup>203</sup> In June

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<sup>194</sup> See Tylicki 2013.

<sup>195</sup> APG 354/348, p. 116; Knetsch 1903, p. 31.

<sup>196</sup> For details, see Knetsch 1903.

<sup>197</sup> APG, 300, 60/5, p. 36. On Abraham's biography in general see Knetsch 1903, p. 29-30, Cuny 1910c, Muttray 1922, p. 65-66, Krzyżanowski 1971b, Habela 1992c, Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 534.

<sup>198</sup> APG, 300, C/2057, p. 250. Basic information concerning Abraham's training published by Muttray in 1921, has been subsequently repeated by later scholars. To avoid repetitions, I refer here to the original documents - as it seems - unknown to most scholars writing after 1945.

<sup>199</sup> APG, 300, C/2058, p. 75-76.

<sup>200</sup> Scholars generally believe that he has travelled to the Low Countries and Northern Germany, above all Mecklenburg (the latter advocated especially by Krzyżanowski); although this hypothesis seems plausible, there is no evidence confirming it.

<sup>201</sup> With regard to his citizenship see APG, 300, 60/3, p. 5 and 300, 60/5, p. 36; Habela 1992c, p. 117; as to the house see APG, 300, 12/666, p. 260. The former owner of the house was a certain Anthonis Kramer, otherwise unknown. It is worth mentioning that also master mason Hans Strakowski owned a house on the same street. According to Habela 1992c, since 1598 Abraham's workshop was located on the St. Dominic Square near the 'Prison Tower' (Stockturm?); I was, however, unable to verify this information.

<sup>202</sup> APG, 300, C/2052, p. 198.

<sup>203</sup> APG, 300, C/2053, p. 33 bv and 34v; 300, C/2058, p. 173, 177; Muttray 1922, p. 65-66; Krzyżanowski 1971b, p. 178. Some believe that his masterpiece was the epitaph of Bonifacio d'Oria; this, however, is unconfirmed at this point.

1597 he hired his first known assistant, Hans Keiser.<sup>204</sup> From that time on, until his death in 1628, he managed a large workshop, engaging in both sculptural and architectural works.<sup>205</sup> He took part in execution of multiple works financed by the city, well documented by the records of the City's treasury.<sup>206</sup> As a member of the guild's executive body and a sculptor and architect engaged to carry out most prestigious public and private commissions, such as the Great Arsenal, the Golden Gate and the lavishly decorated house of burgomaster Johann Speymann, as well as the monument of Simon Bahr (Speymann's father-in-law), Abraham van den Blocke must have enjoyed a high professional and social position in the Gdańsk, with such locally important figures as burgomaster Johann Speymann as his patrons.<sup>207</sup> In addition to the aforementioned works, Willem's son has been engaged to carry out a number of works outside Gdańsk, commissioned by the Polish nobility. Among the most notably were the monuments of Archbishop Henryk Firlej and Bishop Jerzy Zamoyski, as well as the main altar in the Jesuit church in Warsaw (the latter two lost).<sup>208</sup> Married three times (to Gretha, Catharina and Elisabeth), Abraham was the father of a large family, including some obscure stonecutters and sculptors named Ferdinand, Ahaswer and Uriel.<sup>209</sup> He died aged 56 on February 3th, 1628, and was buried in St. Mary's church, the most important church of the Baltic metropolis.<sup>210</sup>

The most underrated among Willem's sons was, very much undeservingly, Jacob van den Blocke, who achieved at least as firm a position in Gdańsk as his elder brother.<sup>211</sup> Numerous documents preserved in the Gdańsk archive, but - above all - the published funerary sermon, allow for a detailed reconstruction of his career. He was probably born in Königsberg, as had been his elder brother Abraham.<sup>212</sup> As an eleven-years old boy Jacob was sent to Emden, where he learned architecture under the guidance of '*a well-known master and*

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<sup>204</sup> APG, 300, C/2058, p. 183.

<sup>205</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>206</sup> The documents are far too numerous to be discussed here; see above all the 'Extracten aus dem Kammerbuchern', APG, 300, 12, but also for example APG, 300, 12/298 as well as the documents of the guild. Most of them have been known to early researchers, but no detailed analysis of Abraham's work has ever been made on their basis. The only exception are the sources relating to the Great Arsenal, see Bartetzky 2000, p. 225-260. All this archival data must provide the starting point for any further research on the activities of Abraham van den Blocke.

<sup>207</sup> Sikorska 1968. Although the article is filled with unwarranted - and sometimes purely fantastic - assumptions and hardly meets the requirements of a scholarly publication, its main thesis, namely the relation between master Abraham and Johann Speymann, appears to be correct.

<sup>208</sup> His authorship of these monuments, identified for the first time by Hornung 1959a, is confirmed by a supplication by Wilhelm Richter, APG 36/64, p. 141-143. The altar has been plausibly attributed to Abraham by Michał Wardzyński, see Wardzyński 2010a. A number of other works have been attributed to him as well, including the monument of Mikołaj Oleśnicki in Święty Krzyż and the sepulchral effigy of archbishop Wojciech Baranowski in Gniezno; see, among others, Karpowicz 2003, Badach 2004, Smoliński 2004, Wardzyński 2007, Wardzyński 2008 and Wardzyński 2010a.

<sup>209</sup> On the family most extensively Knetsch 1903, p. 29-30. For sources, see the documents of the St. Mary's church in Gdańsk, for example the records of baptisms, APG, 354/311 and APG, 354/313. Furthermore, Nathaniel Fonblog, son of Abraham van den Blocke, was a '*famtaus chirurgus*' in Lviv in 1647, see Gębarowicz 1962, p. 287, note 12.

<sup>210</sup> APG, 354/351, p. 9; Knetsch 1903, p. 29. The family tomb had the number 495.

<sup>211</sup> *Botsack 1654*; Knetsch 1903, p. 30-31; Cuny 1910a, p. 49-50; Habela 1992b; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 534.

<sup>212</sup> The information concerning the baptism of Willem's son in 1576, provided by Ehrenberg, were probably related to him, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 253; Krzyzanowski 1958, p. 272.

artist' Arnold Sachsen.<sup>213</sup> After return, in 1592 his father made him join as an apprentice the workshop of Gdańsk's City Carpenter Hans von Jülich. Shortly after that, however, Jacob once again set out on a journey, and spent some years in the Low Countries and Denmark, where he was engaged to prepare the entry of Christian IV into Copenhagen in 1596. Some additional time spent in Königsberg and Elbląg in that period enabled him to complete his training in 'architectonic, oder Baukunst'.<sup>214</sup> In 1607 Jacob van den Blocke took over the post of the city carpenter, thus becoming one of the most important figures within Gdańsk building industry. This must have considerably augmented his position and provided him with a steady and supposedly considerable income. The scale of his responsibilities is most clearly visible in the records of the city's treasury, containing numerous documents concerning his activities.<sup>215</sup> Although not a sculptor, architect or painter like his father and brothers, Jacob van den Blocke undoubtedly contributed to the strengthening of the position of the family in Gdańsk. In 1607 he lived in the Neue Garten (Nowe Ogrody), a suburb of Gdańsk, located to the east of the city, while in 1646 he possessed a house on the Heiligengeiststraße.<sup>216</sup> He died in 1653 and was buried in St. Mary's church. This grave, which he has bought already in 1620, in 1680 still belonged to the family.<sup>217</sup> The sermon over his grave was held by the leading Lutheran preacher in the city and a professor of the local *Gymnasium*, Johann Botsack.

The third son of master Willem, Isaac van den Blocke, was next to Anton Möller and Herman Han one of the most accomplished Gdańsk painters of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and one of the founders of the local painters' guild, established in 1612.<sup>218</sup> The high esteem enjoyed by him in the Baltic city is confirmed by the fact that he was commissioned to paint a series of twenty five pictures destined for the splendid carved ceiling of the Red Chamber in Gdańsk Main Town City Hall (1606 – 1609), designed to replace only slightly earlier works by Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>219</sup> Moreover, he is in all probability responsible for the execution of three important paintings, depicting Mankind in the age of the Deluge, made for same City Hall. As indicated by the records of the city treasury, Isaac was regularly employed by the city authorities to carry out public commissions,<sup>220</sup> ranging from figural paintings to polychroming of buildings, including the Great Arsenal.<sup>221</sup> He is also responsible for several pictures embellishing Gdańsk churches, including those in the main altar of St. Catharine's church, executed jointly with Anton

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<sup>213</sup> Botsack 1654, p. Gii v.

<sup>214</sup> Botsack 1654, p. Giii v.

<sup>215</sup> See the records in the 'Extract aus dem Kammerbuch', APG 300, 12; see also for example APG 300, 12/298, p. 51.

<sup>216</sup> Pałubicki 2009, 2, p. 541, Kizik 2009b, p. 131.

<sup>217</sup> APG 354/348, p. 116. A certain Lucia van den Blocke has been mentioned in the document, see also Knetsch 1903, p. 31

<sup>218</sup> On Isaack van den Blocke see Bertling 1885, Knetsch 1903, p. 31, Drost 1938, p. 121-125, Grzybkowska 1990, p. 119-137 (opinions expressed by the author should be, however, approached with far-reaching caution), Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 534, Tylicki 2005, p. 137-141 and Pałubicki 2009, 2, p. 56-62.

<sup>219</sup> On this see above all Michalski 1981, Iwanoyko 1986, Michalski 1997 and Kaleciński 2011, p. 173-206.

<sup>220</sup> See particularly Pałubicki 2009. The information is provided above all by the records of the city treasury (Extracten aus dem Kammerbüchern), see APG, 300, 12.

<sup>221</sup> Bartetzky 2000, p. 99-100; Pałubicki 2009, 2, p. 57, 59-60.

Möller. Moreover, Isaac has left behind a number of drawing, mostly of allegorical character<sup>222</sup>.

The fourth son of Willem van den Blocke, David, was also a painter, though much less accomplished than Isaac.<sup>223</sup> Born in Gdańsk, he moved to Brandenburg, perhaps to the town of Neubrandenburg, but returned to the Baltic metropolis in 1618, becoming here a master in the painters' guild. The list of his known commissions, however, does not include any paintings, thus indicating that he was a craftsman rather than an artist.<sup>224</sup> In fact, at a certain point of his life he gave up painting and became a night-watch in the suburb. It seems possible, however, that David van den Blocke was the author of a laudatory poem, published in 1637 to welcome King Ladislaus IV Vasa on his visit to Gdańsk, describing occasional architecture - either real or fictional - in a plane German verse.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Tylicki 2005, p. 137-141.

<sup>223</sup> Knetsch 1903, p. 31; Pałubicki 2009, 2, p. 50-56.

<sup>224</sup> The documents have been published for the first time in Pałubicki 2009, 2, 52-56. Many of the members of the painter's guild were not artists, but rather craftsmen engaged to paint things like windows, banners and carts.

<sup>225</sup> *Von dem Block 1637*; see also Kotarski 1993, p. 64-65, 313, note 83.

## CHAPTER 2

### PATRONS AND THEIR NETWORK

#### Introduction

For many years now patronage occupies major place in art historical studies. The most extensive scholarly endeavour was devoted to patrons of art in Italy between the Trecento and Seicento, not only because of the pivotal role played by Italian art in the Early Modern period, but also due to relative abundance of written sources.<sup>226</sup> Despite this bias for Italian art, a number of important studies also explored various aspects of art patronage outside of the Apennine peninsula, including the Low Countries<sup>227</sup>. All these studies shed much light on the mechanisms leading to creation of works of art and architecture.

The issue of artistic patronage is difficult to study without explicit written evidence. This is particularly true with regard to East-Central Europe, the key area of the present study. Consciousness of art and its importance was highly variable there and is, therefore, hard to elucidate.<sup>228</sup> This leads to a considerable difficulty in defining there the basic terms of 'patron' and 'patronage' and their applicability. In many cases understanding of patronage as personal involvement and support for a distinct artist, particularly based on an aesthetic predilection, would inevitably lead to misinterpretation of many issues discussed in this study. To avoid misunderstanding, the term 'patron' will be used here as equivalent of the term 'client', that is a person issuing a commission for work of art, regardless of motives and degree of involvement in the creative process - close to the meaning of the German term *Auftraggeber*.

Judging by existing evidence, Willem van den Blocke always worked on commission, never - to our knowledge - producing works for the free market. A study of patronage is particularly important with regard to such works, since their character was to a large degree determined by the cultural and intellectual characteristics of patrons as well as their economic standing. This seems particularly relevant to large sepulchral monuments, which were conceived to represent complex political, social and religious meanings tied to the commemorated person. Though the scale and nature of influence exerted by the patrons could have varied strongly depending on their intellectual capacity and interest in art, no work of art of this kind can be properly understood without reference to their commissioners.

In the following chapter particular emphasis will be put on mechanisms and patterns of patronage, and on the position of the artist in relations to his patrons. It will be divided into

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<sup>226</sup> Among many important studies we can mention Haskell 1963, Levey 1971, Lytle&Orgel (eds.) 1981, Kempers 1992, Hollingsworth 1996 and O'Malley 2005. The state of research has been summarized in Cooper 1996. Equally important are studies into the patronage of outstanding individuals and families, for instance Robertson 1992 and Jones 1993.

<sup>227</sup> See, for example, Bergolt&Brüning (eds.) 1997, Vlieghe&van der Stighelen (eds.) 2005 and Timmermans 2008, as well as studies devoted to particular patrons, such as Banz 2000.

<sup>228</sup> See, for example, Łempicki 1929, Lechicki 1932, Wiliński 1955, Czaplinski&Długosz 1982, p. 164-175, Krassowski 1984, Kozakiewiczowa 1961, Chrzanowski 1984a and Betlej 2010 (this interesting study deals, however, with a later period). Some further texts have been published in Lileyko&Rolska-Boruch (eds.) 2006.

five sections, each dealing with a particular group of patrons. Its aim is threefold. First, Willem van den Blocke's patrons will be presented, with particular attention devoted to their interest in art and architecture. Second, investigation into the problem of a potential network of patronage will be conducted, demonstrating ways by which Willem van den Blocke was provided with a constant flow of commissions as well as revealing common patterns of behaviour within the phenomenon. Finally, attention will be given to changing relations between Willem van den Blocke and his patrons, particularly with regard to his work at courts and in cities.

## 2.1 Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach, Regent in Ducal Prussia

In 1466 the Teutonic Order was forced by the Polish king to abandon the heartland of its state, that was subsequently incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland and named Royal Prussia. The territory controlled by the Order was now limited to the former eastern part of the state, with Königsberg as a capital. In 1525 it was transformed into a political entity known as Duchy of Prussia. In that year Albrecht Hohenzollern, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and the last ruler of the state created by the Order in Prussia in the thirteenth century, converted to Lutheranism and pledged an oath of allegiance to Polish King Sigismund I (the Old) of the Jagiellon dynasty.<sup>229</sup> The Duchy's political position was complex, as the duke was entangled in political struggles both in Poland and in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>230</sup> Albrecht was one of the first protestant German rulers, and his religious sympathies played an important role in his conflict with Charles V. Faced with constant, though ultimately unlikely threat of invasion from the Empire, he allied himself with the king of Poland. Albrecht also strengthened his relations with another Lutheran ruler, the king of Denmark Christian III, by marrying his sister Dorothea.

Despite political difficulties, Albrecht I transferred his capital Königsberg into a thriving centre of learning and art.<sup>231</sup> A stout adherent of Protestantism, he surrounded himself with some of the leading Lutheran theologians of that day, for example Johannes Brissman, who was sent to Königsberg by Martin Luther himself already in 1523.<sup>232</sup> The most important cultural achievement of Duke Albrecht was founding of the Königsberg University, the Albertina.<sup>233</sup> Next to learned theologians, some interesting exponents of German late humanism were active there, including Georg Sabinus, scholar in ancient history and mythology and at the same time a poet strongly influenced by Ovid.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> The literature on Duke Albrecht is extensive; see for example Hubatsch 1960, Bäumer 1996 and recently Wijaczka 2010. On the history of Ducal Prussia see Gause 1996.

<sup>230</sup> Graßmann 1968.

<sup>231</sup> See, for example, Düsseldorf 1968.

<sup>232</sup> See, for example, Gause 1996, p. 209-218. See also *Tschackert*.

<sup>233</sup> On learning in Königsberg see Thielen 1953, Gause 1996, p. 262-283, Lawrynowicz 1999 and Tondel 2001. Despite the fact that gymnasia in Gdańsk and Toruń were at least comparable with the Königsberg *alma mater* in terms of quality of education – and in fact surpassed it c. 1600 – attempts to turn them into universities did not succeed.

<sup>234</sup> Sabinus was for example the author of an interesting commentary on the *Metamorphosa* [*Fabularum Ovidii interpretatio tradita in Academia Regiomontana a Georgio Sabino, Vitenbergae, ex officina Haeredum Georgii Rhauu, Anno M.D.LV.*], which can serve as an important source - so far omitted - for historians and art historians studying early influence of classical culture in Prussia and neighboring lands.

Duke Albrecht was undoubtedly one of the most important patrons of art in the Baltic Region in the sixteenth century, especially with regard to sculpture. Together with his brother-in-law, King Christian III of Denmark, he introduced the newest, 'antique' trends of Netherlandish sculpture into North-Eastern Europe, thus initiating a process that transformed the artistic landscape of the entire region.<sup>235</sup> Guided by qualified advisors, the duke turned his attention to leading Northern European artistic centre, Antwerp. His most important purveyor was of course Cornelis Floris. The link between Königsberg and Antwerp was provided by Albrecht's chief artistic agent, painter and engraver Jacob Binck.<sup>236</sup> Active also in Denmark and Sweden, Binck was one of the key members of the as yet insufficiently explored circle of artists and agents who - starting with the mid-sixteenth century - facilitated the dissemination of 'antique' Netherlandish art in this part of the continent. The taste for Netherlandish sculpture established by Albrecht was not only sustained by his successors in Prussia, Albrecht II Friedrich and Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach, but possibly also influenced others, for example the dukes of Mecklenburg, or even Moritz of Saxony. In addition to his patronage in the field of sculpture, the duke carried out modernizing refurbishing of several buildings, especially of his castle in Königsberg, a former medieval stronghold of the Teutonic Order.<sup>237</sup> Among his other artistic undertakings the so-called Silver Library should be mentioned, which consisted of a significant number of finely decorated silver bindings made for the most prized books in his much-admired library.<sup>238</sup>

After Albrecht's death in 1568 the ducal cap went to his only son, Albrecht II Friedrich. However, the latter was mentally ill and the real power was transferred to the local nobility, especially members of the privy council. Political situation in the duchy became in time more complicated because of Albrecht's nephew, duke Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach and Kulmbach-Bayreuth, who endeavoured to obtain the regency in Ducal Prussia at least since the early 1570's.<sup>239</sup> In 1573 he arrived in Königsberg, but his attempt to take over government in the duchy was frustrated by the local nobility, who preferred the feeble rule of Albrecht II Friedrich. However, determination of Georg Friedrich was only strengthened by his forced retreat. Understanding that the key to Prussia was held by the royal court in Cracow, in the following years he secured for his cause the support of a number of influential figures within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.<sup>240</sup> Taking advantage of changed political circumstances, namely the difficulties encountered by newly elected Polish king Stephen Báthory, in 1577 Georg Friedrich approached the monarch in his military camp in Malbork. There, he persuaded him

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<sup>235</sup> Jolly 1999a; Meganck 2005, Baresel-Brand 2007. See also Chapter 7.

<sup>236</sup> On Binck see Gebser&Hagen 1833, 2, p. 173-179, Ehrenberg 1899, p. 47-57, Hollstein Dutch, IV, p. 12-113 and Rzempełuch 1995, p. 116-117. Starting with the otherwise invaluable study by Ernst Hagen, throughout the nineteenth century Binck was credited with designing the Dorothea epitaph, see for example Boetticher 1897, p. 327. Ehrenberg 1899, p. 47 refutes this attribution. On artists as artistic agents at courts see for example Warnke 1993, p. 89-92. More on Binck in Chapter 7.

<sup>237</sup> On the castle see Torbus 1998, especially p. 447-462, and Wagner 2008

<sup>238</sup> The bulk of this collection is now kept in the University Library in Toruń, see Tondel 1992, Tondel 1994 and other publications by the same author. Ducal library attracted considerable attention from other rulers, see for instance Ehrenberg, no 538, 540, p. 205.

<sup>239</sup> On Georg Friedrich in general see Petersohn 1961 and Petersohn 1963 (also other studies by this author, based on his unpublished dissertation: Petersohn 1959); see also Gause 1996, p. 333-377.

<sup>240</sup> Lepczy 1932, p. 167.

by a mixture of political arguments and money to grant him the regency in Prussia. The triumph of Georg Friedrich was however overshadowed by the death of his wife, Elisabeth von Brandenburg-Küstrin, in 1578. Funeral ceremonies in Königsberg and following erection of the grand wall tomb were arranged as deliberate displays of the right of the recently established regent to the duchy.<sup>241</sup>

Artistic patronage of Georg Friedrich has not been so far subject of a detailed study, mainly because not much of its results survived to this day. However, taking into account both major regions under his rule, that is Ansbach and Kulmbach as well as Ducal Prussia, its scale, if not always quality, appears to be significant. His major architectural undertakings included reconstructions of the Schloß Plassenburg near Kulmbach and the ducal castle in Königsberg.<sup>242</sup> The Plassenburg castle, where Blasius Berwart, Caspar Vischer and others were active, was richly embellished with sculptural decoration, though of rather average artistic quality. (fig. 1) In Königsberg, Georg Friedrich rebuilt a number of interiors and richly embellished them with painted and sculpted decoration.<sup>243</sup> (fig. 2) One of the most important among them was the grand hall, called the *Moskowitersaal*, with a portal and a chimneypiece in a Netherlandish manner.<sup>244</sup> Moreover, the duke carried out numerous other works in Prussia, including renovation and refurbishing of medieval strongholds of Insterburg (today Tschernyakhovsk, Russia) and Ortelsburg (today Szczytno, Poland) (c. 1580-1585) as well as the construction of a hunting lodge called Friedrichsburg (c. 1581-1585).<sup>245</sup> He must have also been aware of the importance of proper commemoration, as he built for himself two monuments, one in Königsberg and the other in Heilsbronn in Franconia.<sup>246</sup> The latter, in form of a free standing tomb, resembles in general works by Alexander Colin and designs by Hans Vredeman de Vries, although it also consists of structural elements of medieval origin. (fig. 3) Apart from these architectural and artistic undertakings, Georg Friedrich commissioned other works as well. For instance, in 1580 an anonymous engraver has been paid for executing a map of the ducal domain in Prussia, which has later been coloured by painter Anthonij.<sup>247</sup>

The character of these works, ranging from architecture and sculpture to painting – probably mostly portraits – and engraving, reveals the nature of Georg Friedrich's patronage. His goals were not artistic, but rather political, as each element of his patronage possessed a considerable political significance. By refurbishing castles, building commemorative monuments and commissioning portraits and maps of his domains, he was clearly expressing his political ambitions, ostensibly attempting to match in this way other contemporary rulers

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<sup>241</sup> Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 144-145; on funeral ceremonies of German nobility see recently Brinkmann 2010, p. 81ff.

<sup>242</sup> On Schloss Plassenburg see, for example, Burger 2000. See also Wagner 2008, p. 136. On the Königsberg castle during the reign of Georg Friedrich see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 82-102, Gause 1996, p. 367-370, Schütte 2001 and Wagner 2008, p. 133-178.

<sup>243</sup> See, for example Ehrenberg, 1899, p. 92-94 and Wagner 2008, p. 133-178.

<sup>244</sup> See, for instance, Wagner 2008, p. 155-157. Some works there were carried out already in 1571, see, for instance, GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeitet 1571 and Ehrenberg 1899.

<sup>245</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 82-103, 255-262, 273; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 128. As can be seen from the records published by Ehrenberg, the amount of work carried out there was considerable; see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 259.

<sup>246</sup> Regarding that monument see Meys 2009, p. 497-499, figs. 17, 28.

<sup>247</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256-257..

within the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>248</sup> Although the quality of the works commissioned for him was probably highly uneven, and his patronage hardly equalled for instance the grand and innovative undertakings by his neighbours, the Wittelsbachs in Bavaria, some of his achievements, particularly with regard to architecture and sculpture, have nonetheless considerable importance.<sup>249</sup> In consequence, under his reign Ducal Prussia maintained at least some of its artistic liveliness until the end of the century.

Soon after his consort had died, Georg Friedrich commissioned Willem van den Blocke to build a grand sepulchral monument. The sculptor must have been able to convince newly arrived duke and his advisers of his ability to carry out a major work of sculpture and microarchitecture. His earlier acquaintance with the court certainly played a very important role here. Most importantly, van den Blocke was almost certainly engaged in the erection of Floris' monument of Duke Albrecht, possibly even overseeing its assembly. Regarding the opinion expressed by Andrea Baresel-Brand concerning the desire of Georg Friedrich to refer in his commission to this tomb, Willem van den Blocke may have profit from his involvement in this prestigious work.<sup>250</sup> As one of the makers of the Albrecht tomb, he was familiar with forms and structure of the monument his patron intended to follow.

Van den Blocke's familiarity with the newest formal language was certainly an important factor as well. By the late 1570's commemorative monuments by Netherlandish sculptors were highly popular among rulers in Central and Northern Europe who began to compete with each other by commissioning exquisite works in Netherlandish style, often imported directly from Antwerp. Sumptuous monuments were erected in various places, including Freiberg (1555-1563), Innsbruck (1561-1566), Kassel (1567-1572), Königsberg (1568-1570) and Roskilde (1573-1575). Moreover, knowledge and admiration for these innovative works were further disseminated by prints, probably issued exactly for this reason.<sup>251</sup> With their monumental design, rare materials and rich carvings, these memorials must have influenced Georg Friedrich's taste. He was assisted in Prussia by several builders employed by him earlier in Franconia. However, these masters – most notably Blasius Berwart from Württemberg, but also Hans Wismar and stonemason Michel Hering<sup>252</sup> – apparently were not able to create a work of sculpture matching the splendid monuments erected by the regent's predecessors in Königsberg. Moreover, they were not able to execute figural sculpture. As such, they stood in sharp contrast with van den Blocke, trained in the leading centres of Netherlandish sculpture. It is therefore hardly surprising that Georg Friedrich turned to this sculptor, who was not only already acquainted with the court, but also able to carry out works in the same innovative and grandiose manner as these executed for Duke Albrecht as well as other Central European rulers.

Links with Königsberg in general and Georg Friedrich in particular can be easily established with regard to two other patrons, or at least people well acquainted with Willem

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<sup>248</sup> Bethé 1937; Thielen 1953; Schloß Brake 1997; Braunschweig 1998; Landshut 2009; Riegel 2010; see also Coburg 2010.

<sup>249</sup> Landshut 2009. Grand Wittelsbach residences could have inspired Georg Friedrich, whose lands bordered the domains of that dynasty.

<sup>250</sup> Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 144-145.

<sup>251</sup> Johannsen 2010, figs. 8 and 9. They represent monuments of Frederik II (engraved 1588, closely resembling the tomb of Christian III) and Moritz of Saxony (dated 1569).

<sup>252</sup> Regarding the latter see Wunsch 1934/1935.

van den Blocke. The case of one of them, ducal secretary Michael Giese, will be discussed in the following section. The others were brothers Fabian and Achatius von Dohna, who commissioned an epitaph for their third brother, Christopher, erected in the cathedral in Odense in Denmark in 1586.<sup>253</sup> Fabian von Dohna was serving Count Palatine Johann Casimir in Heidelberg since 1578 and his relation to Prussia during the regency of Georg Friedrich was rather loose. Nonetheless, the von Dohnas, as members of the one of the most important noble families in Ducal Prussia, were undoubtedly familiar with works by both Cornelis Floris and Willem van den Blocke in the Königsberg cathedral.<sup>254</sup> Therefore, it is hardly surprising that they turned to the latter. Furthermore, it is indicative of both the prestige enjoyed by van den Blocke already at that time and of the importance of personal acquaintance between an artist and his patron that Fabian approached van den Blocke already after the latter moved from Königsberg. Unfortunately, we lack any substantial information which could enable us to discuss further the circumstances of the commission.

## 2.2 The Circle of King Stephen I Báthory

The next patron of Willem van den Blocke, the Polish king Stephen I Báthory, was of even higher rank. In 1576 Stephan Báthory of Somlyó, Prince of Transylvania, has been elected to the throne of Poland.<sup>255</sup> Member of an old and powerful Hungarian family, he married Anna, sister to late Polish king Sigismund August and the last scion of the Jagiellon dynasty. Báthory was a man of considerable intellectual prowess, but was interested mostly in the art of war. The prime reason for this must have been the political situation in his native country, entangled in endless struggle between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires since the Mohács catastrophe of 1526. The Báthory family itself was divided, as some of its members supported the new Habsburg rule (they usually belonged to the Ecsed branch of the family) and others opposed it.<sup>256</sup> Stephan and his closest relatives belonged to the second group; his father, also Stephan, served Jan Zapolya, the last ‘national’ king of Hungary (whose wife, Isabella, was a sister of Anna of Jagiellon). In Hungary and Transylvania Báthory had plenty of possibilities to learn both the subtleties of politics – he was an envoy to Vienna, where he became imprisoned (1563–1564) – and to gain expertise in military craft, for instance as a commander of great fortress of Várad (1559). As most members of his immediate family, Stephan Báthory was a stout catholic.<sup>257</sup> This fact naturally influenced his politics, both internal and external, and during the ten years of his reign in Poland the Counter-Reformation began to achieve its first successes there. He and his brother Christopher were particularly devout supporters of Jesuits, both in Poland and in Transylvania, where they founded several colleges of this congregation.<sup>258</sup>

It is generally assumed that Stephen Báthory was above all politician and military commander of a very practical mind, and in consequence his patronage mainly concentrated

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<sup>253</sup> *Krollmann 1905*, p. 56. On the von Dohna family see also *Bömelburg 2001*.

<sup>254</sup> *Bömelburg 2001*, p. 55.

<sup>255</sup> Although literature on Stephan Báthory is extensive, no full monograph exists; the fullest overview, though rather popular, is *Besala 2010*.

<sup>256</sup> See, for example, *Depner 1938*.

<sup>257</sup> See, for example, *Biró 1935*; on Protestantism in Transylvania see *Murdock 2000*.

<sup>258</sup> Many an information on this issue is to be found in the documents published in *Veress 1911/1913*. See also *Natoński 1969*.

on architecture, particularly of military character. Nonetheless, under the reign of the Báthory family Transylvania enjoyed significant cultural efflorescence during relatively stable last decades of the sixteenth century.<sup>259</sup> One of Stephan Báthory's major achievements with regard to military architecture was modernization of the fortress in Várád, one of the key strongholds in Hungary.<sup>260</sup> During his reign several Italian military architects and constructors were active in Transylvania; at least two of them, Domenico Ridolfini and Simone Genga, reached Transylvania through Poland.<sup>261</sup> Ridolfini, for example, prior to his engagement in Várád served as military engineer during Báthory's campaigns against the Grand Duke of Moscow (Tsar) Ivan IV the Terrible.<sup>262</sup> Stephan and his brother Christopher were also engaged in vigorous religious patronage. Most importantly, they founded Jesuit colleges in Cluj (Kolozsvár) and in the capital of Transylvania, Alba Julia.<sup>263</sup> Furthermore, Stephan Báthory either built or refurbished at least two royal residences in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The task of building the palace in Łobzów was entrusted in 1585 to Santi Gucci, Italian architect and sculptor active in Cracow in late sixteenth century.<sup>264</sup> Besides Łobzów, Báthory also rebuilt the royal castle in Hrodna in the Grand Duchy in Lithuania (c. 1582-1585), for which he acquired stone in Gdańsk.<sup>265</sup> From this we can judge that Lestár Gyulafy's and Krzysztof Warszawicki's statements that the king erected numerous schools, temples and colleges was more than a flattery.<sup>266</sup> Apart from architecture, however, very few royal commissions are known. These were mostly portraits of the king: two made of wax, one by Giulio Ricci from Como, presented to Andreas Báthory as a gift, as well as a full-length painted portrait of the sovereign, executed by Martin Kober from Wrocław.<sup>267</sup> Practical rather than aesthetic attitude to works of art and architecture was reflected in Stephen's approach to the written word. He clearly appreciated the importance of propaganda, as witnessed by the creation of the so-called 'flying printing house', accompanying him during military campaigns and issuing news of royal victories. At the same time he forbade to print – as well as to paint or engrave – anything related to the matters of state without royal consent. The king and his Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, inspired poet and historiographer Reinhold Heidenstein to create the *Commentationum de bello Moscovito libri sex*, published in Cracow in 1584, which highlighted their martial achievements.<sup>268</sup> Even before that, Báthory ordered the Transylvanian chancellor Ferenc Forgách as well as Giovanni Brut from Venice to write the history of Hungary up to 1572, naturally in accordance with his instructions. Judging by all that we can safely assume that Stephan Báthory has purposely entertained those forms of patronage that could facilitate the achievements of his political goals, be it an architecture

<sup>259</sup> See Kastner 1922, Klaniczay 1992 and Budapest 2008.

<sup>260</sup> Mikó 1988. Regarding the fortress see Balogh 1983.

<sup>261</sup> Feuer-Tóth 1981, p. 36; Mikó 1988, p. 109-111.

<sup>262</sup> Besala 2010, p. 279, 337-338; we owe to Ridolfini one of the most detailed descriptions of Báthory's physiognomy.

<sup>263</sup> Mikó 1988, p. 109-111.

<sup>264</sup> Fischinger 1969, p. 15-18.

<sup>265</sup> APG, 300, 53 / 33, p. 45 (no 8); unfortunately, the letter does not convey any details. More on Hrodna as royal residence see Wojciechowski 1938 and Wrede 2010, p. 39-40.

<sup>266</sup> *Gyulafy*, p. 18-19; *Warszewicki 1613*, p. 435. The latter mentioned Łobzów, Hrodna and Várád by name.

<sup>267</sup> Mikó 1988, p. 111 – 113.

<sup>268</sup> *Heidenstein*. The work has quickly earned much renown in Europe, but in Poland it was often attacked as royalist propaganda (see, for instance, Besala 2010, p. 348-352).

(fortresses, Jesuit colleges), literature (historiography more than favourably disposed toward the king) and art (portraiture and monuments of members of the family).<sup>269</sup>

Departing for Poland in 1576, Stephan Báthory left his brother Christopher to govern Transylvania in his absence.<sup>270</sup> The bond between them was strong and Christopher's loyalty to his elder brother, who retained the official title of the Prince of Transylvania, remained firm. The information that on 27 May 1581 Christopher Báthory died in Alba Iulia was therefore a serious blow to the king, who lost not only a brother, but also a trusted ally.<sup>271</sup> Christopher's son, Sigismund Báthory, was appointed as the successor, but due to his young age a regency was established, consisting of the most influential Transylvanian noblemen.

At this point the life path of the Báthory family crosses the one of Willem van den Blocke, for he was entrusted with the task of erecting the monument of Christopher Báthory. This move had far-reaching consequences, as it opened the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to new artistic impulses, arriving from the Low Countries via the Baltic-coast. King Stephen's decision to employ a sculptor of Netherlandish origin marked an important break with tradition, since for three quarters of a century the Polish royal court, following in the footsteps of the king Sigismund I, the founder of the Sigismund Chapel, relied on the skills of Italians active in Cracow. However, the vitality of that city as a centre of sculpture declined to a certain extent around 1580, when the generation of sculptors who formed local milieu in the third quarter of the century, most notably Gianni Maria Mosca, called Padovano, Girolamo Canavesi and Jan Michałowicz from Urzędów, passed away.<sup>272</sup> Giovanni de Simonis probably remained outside of the royal patronage, and the only major sculptor engaged by the royal court around that time was Santi Gucci, employed by Stephan Báthory on several occasions, but mostly as an architect.<sup>273</sup> In general, the decision to employ Willem van den Blocke must have been motivated by the above mentioned popularity of grandiose and sumptuous tombs executed during the previous thirty years in workshops run by Netherlandish masters, both in the Low Countries and abroad.<sup>274</sup> Practical considerations played here probably a less important role. Italians and Netherlanders appear to have been equally expensive, and the time they needed to complete such a work was similar, especially as it depended to a large extent on conditions provided by the patron.

Regrettably, the exact reason for choosing van den Blocke remains unknown. Apparently Báthory never visited Königsberg; therefore, he could not have been directly impressed by his work there.<sup>275</sup> Nonetheless, Báthory's relations with Georg Friedrich could have provided an important link facilitating Willem van den Blocke's appointment at the royal court.<sup>276</sup> As said before, Georg Friedrich was able to obtain regency in Ducal Prussia only after reaching an agreement with Báthory in 1577. Political relations often led to creation of cultural blood veins, through which travel of artists and dissemination of artistic ideas were

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<sup>269</sup> Some issues related to Báthory's propaganda has recently been discussed in Horn 2008.

<sup>270</sup> Bazylow 1967, p. 33-35.

<sup>271</sup> Apparently, the news on Christopher's death was delivered to the king by his nephew Balthazar (Grzybowski 1994, p. 129).

<sup>272</sup> Padovano died c. 1575, Canavesi in 1582 and Michałowicz c. 1583, see Kozakiewiczowa 1974.

Michałowicz before his death moved to Łowicz, so he was probably absent from Cracow in 1582.

<sup>273</sup> On Simonis see Mikocka-Rachubowa 1994; on Gucci see particularly Fischinger 1969.

<sup>274</sup> See above, section dedicated to Georg Friedrich.

<sup>275</sup> Wrede 2010.

<sup>276</sup> This has already been suggested by Tine Meganck, see Meganck 2005, p. 173.

facilitated.<sup>277</sup> In the case of relations between Königsberg and Cracow, they took a form of a complex network of political and personal relations between people acquainted with both courts. These ties provide a link between the two patrons that can be further investigated.

An intriguing figure of this network was Michael Giese, a middleman who has been paid for the execution of the Báthory monument in 1583.<sup>278</sup> Giese, serving as a secretary at the Königsberg court, was member of a Prussian patrician family that reached a relatively high social position in the sixteenth century.<sup>279</sup> Prior to his appointment he studied in Strasburg, where he signed the *Stammbuch* of Johannes Heinzelius in 1571.<sup>280</sup> He was apparently acquainted with Willem van den Blocke before 1583, since as a secretary he signed the abovementioned letter concerning acquisitions of sculpting material from Hans Steffens, a Netherlandish sculptor active in Gdańsk, four years earlier.<sup>281</sup> What is particularly important, Michael Giese and his wife Ursula Heidenstein were commemorated by a stone epitaph erected in the Königsberg cathedral, perhaps executed according to a design provided by Willem van den Blocke.<sup>282</sup> Giese was a brother-in-law of Reinhold Heidenstein, who also originated from Königsberg.<sup>283</sup> Heidenstein was not only a skilful diplomat, but also a talented writer, engaged by Báthory and Zamoyski to prepare the already mentioned versified description of the war with Russia.<sup>284</sup> It seems hardly a coincidence that he moved from Königsberg to Cracow in the middle of the 1580's, similarly to van den Blocke. Reinhold's brother Johann was one of advisors to Georg Friedrich. His stone epitaph with kneeling effigies, set up c. 1600 in the Königsberg cathedral, was the most sumptuous work of this kind erected in the capital of Ducal Prussia at that time, besides that of Michael Giese himself.<sup>285</sup> Admiration for Netherlandish art among members of the Heidenstein family is confirmed by the words of Reinhold's son Johann, who after visiting Antwerp in 1633 stated that '*painting and sculpture are highly praised here, and the best artists of the world have chosen this place as their seat*'.<sup>286</sup> It is also important that Reinhold Heidenstein had close relations with chancellor Jan Zamoyski, friend and closest advisor to Stephan Báthory and in the future yet another client of Willem van den Blocke. Michael Giese, his wife Ursula and her brother Johann Heidenstein - who all lived in Königsberg - as well as Reinhold Heidenstein, are known to have maintained close contact with both Cracow and Gdańsk. Judging by their social status, neither Giese nor Heidenstein could have directly influenced the king's choice. Nonetheless, their involvement with the figures key for van den Blocke's career, namely Georg Friedrich and Stephan Báthory, as well as with chancellor Jan Zamoyski and the city of Gdańsk, points to their closeness to factors of political and cultural exchange between

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<sup>277</sup> See, for instance, Warnke 1993, p. 75-108 and studies published in volume Kablusek&Noldus (eds.), 2011.

<sup>278</sup> Veress 1918, p. 211; Szydłowska 1957, p. 259.

<sup>279</sup> On Michael Giese in general see Giese 1934, p. 118, Borawska 1958 and Benninghoren 1993, p. 169.

<sup>280</sup> The *Stammbuch* itself is a copy of Sambucus' *Emblemata*, a rather typical choice; Giese contributed with a Latin quote from Cicero and a Greek quote from Xenophon, see Pietrzyk 1997, p. 98.

<sup>281</sup> Ehrenberg, p. 208, no 563. See also Chapter 1.

<sup>282</sup> On the epitaph see Gebser&Hagen 1833, 2, p. 225; Dethlefsen 1912, p. 55, fig. 65; Cieślak 1992, p. 150, note 38.

<sup>283</sup> On Heidenstein see particularly Kocowski 1939.

<sup>284</sup> Reinhold Heidenstein's painted epitaph from the studio of another important artist, Herman Han, is still to be seen in the former Cistercian church in Oliwa near Gdańsk; see Pasierb 1974, p. 56-59, 234.

<sup>285</sup> See its short description in Gebser&Hagen 1833, 2, p. 199; see also Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 375.

<sup>286</sup> *Peregrynacja*, p. 38.

Königsberg, Cracow and Gdańsk exactly at the time Willem van den Blocke was moving between them. As such, they may shed some light on the political and cultural ties that facilitated transfer of artistic ideas.

The personal position of Willem van den Blocke and his relation to his patrons, as well as the relation between the patrons themselves, was very complex at that time. It remains unknown whether he was already appointed at the royal court when he was discharged from the duke's service. Moreover, even though he left Königsberg in 1582, the payment for the monument of Christopher Báthory – or at least part of it – has been delivered to the ducal representative, Michael Giese. This fact indicates either an ongoing relation between the sculptor and his former patron, or - more likely – an existence of some kind of arrangement between the patrons themselves.

The monument of Christopher Báthory proved to be a great success. Not only it attracted words of praise from the king himself, but it also inspired at least two of his close associates to approach Willem van den Blocke with further commissions.<sup>287</sup> One of them was Martin de Berzeviczy, Hungarian diplomat and royal councillor, and the other the king's nephew, Cardinal Andreas Báthory.

Martin de Berzeviczy (1538-1593), who belonged to a large group of Hungarians who followed Báthory to Poland, was one of the most important members of his court.<sup>288</sup> As a youth he served Thomas Nádasdy and later joined the Imperial Hungarian chancery in Vienna. A diplomat and poet, he was educated in Paris and Padua, where he befriended Marc Antoine Muret and Paulus Manutius. Well travelled, he visited most European capitals, including Paris, Rome, Vienna, Istanbul, Prague and London. In 1565 his *Oratio funebris* for Emperor Ferdinand I was published in Paris (and reissued in Frankfurt am Main the following year). Berzeviczy accompanied Stephen Báthory to Poland, and served him as advisor on Hungarian matters. He finally settled in Prussia, where, with help from the king, he was bestowed with administration of royal domains (*starostwo*) of Starogard (1580) and Osiek (1585), as well as some lands in the fiefs Ducal Prussia and Courland.<sup>289</sup> There exists an intriguing account regarding his residence in Lisnowo, located on the south border of Ducal Prussia.<sup>290</sup> According to this late seventeenth century description, the building, already ruined at that time, was richly embellished with different kinds of architectural decoration, including portals and chimneypieces, partly made of '*holländischen weissen Steinen*'.<sup>291</sup> However, it is not entirely certain that the manor was built by Martin de Berzeviczy himself, as it could have been erected by his sons in early seventeenth century.

His monument in Lisnowo has been commissioned by Berzeviczy himself in 1593 and finished probably one year later. It is easy to point the way through which the Hungarian

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<sup>287</sup> Pawiński 1882, p. 297; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 277.

<sup>288</sup> De Divéky 1935. The main source of information on Martin de Berzeviczy is Veress 1911; see also Jaroszevska 1915.

<sup>289</sup> Czaplewski 1921, p. 150, 180; Horn 2010, p. 199.

<sup>290</sup> Froelich 1868, p. 182; Heise 1894, p. 513, note 174. See also *Dachnowski*, p. 342. It was ruined already in late seventeenth century.

<sup>291</sup> See short description of the manor by Johann Büttner from 1686, published in Froelich 1868, p. 182 and Heise, p. 513, note 174. This description could have possibly referred to white limestone used in the Low Countries, or to white marble, shipped to the Baltic region through Amsterdam. The latter would however indicate that the residence was built by Berzeviczy's successors. On the import of marble in the Low Countries see Scholten 1993 and Szmydki 2008, p. 205-241.

nobleman could have learned about Willem van den Blocke. As a close associate of Stephen Báthory, he was undoubtedly aware of the fact that it was van den Blocke who has been entrusted with the execution of monument of the king's brother. In fact, according to accounts of the royal treasury, at least part of the money intended for travel expenses of the four *muratoribus* sent to Transylvania in order to erect this tomb – Willem van den Blocke certainly being one of them – was given to Berzeviczy.<sup>292</sup> As revealed by the funerary inscription, Berzeviczy himself was also sent to Alba Iulia by King Stephen, who was unable to leave the kingdom at that time, to supervise the funeral and follow political situation there. It seems, therefore, certain that Berzeviczy was familiar with Willem van den Blocke and his works already in the early 1580's. It would be safe to assume that the artist's involvement with the king must have been the main reason behind Berzeviczy's decision to employ the sculptor from Mechelen.

There is another link between Berzeviczy and van den Blocke that draws attention to the importance of the networks of family relation in the process of commissioning works of art. Berzeviczy's wife Catharina, who has been mentioned in the epitaph inscription included in the monument, was a daughter of Felix von Damerou and Elisabeth von Lokken.<sup>293</sup> The latter was the founder of the epitaph commemorating Felix von Damerou and his brother Peter, executed by van den Blocke c. 1586. It seems possible that it was Berzeviczy himself who incited members of the von Damerou family to approach Willem van den Blocke - and encouraged the sculptor to accept this commission. Thus, Martin de Berzeviczy and his monument provides a perfect example illustrating the complexity of the network of patronage, with political as well as family relations providing routs for art and enabling an artist to broaden his clientele.

The other patron representing the circle of Stephen Báthory was cardinal Andreas Báthory (1563?-1599).<sup>294</sup> A royal nephew, a cardinal and finally Prince of Transylvania, Andreas Báthory played important role in politics and culture of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Transylvania and beyond. As the scion of the royal family - Stephen Báthory was childless - from his early years Andreas was destined to play important part in his uncle's political designs. Thanks to the king's efforts, in 1584 Andreas Báthory has been raised to cardinalate by Pope Gregory XIII. During his stay in Italy he befriended several important personalities of this age, including Cardinal Carlo Borromeo and the famous composer Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.<sup>295</sup> Two years later, however, the king died, and the founding of Andreas' flourishing career begun to tremble. This turn of fortune seriously influenced later life of the cardinal, who became entangled in political struggle both in Poland and in Transylvania. Soon after Stephen's death he was given the prince-bishopric of Warmia (Ermland) in northern Poland, but due to the strong opposition from the Habsburg party in the Commonwealth and from papal nuncio Annibale di Capua, he failed to secure the prestigious bishopric of Cracow.<sup>296</sup> It remains unclear whether Andreas was hoping to be elected to the

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<sup>292</sup> Veress 1918, p. 209.

<sup>293</sup> See also GstA, Film Gallandi 2178 Bu – Eg, p. 466

<sup>294</sup> The main work on Andreas Báthory is the monograph by Horn 2010. See also Kolberg 1910.

<sup>295</sup> See Hipler 1877 and Hipler 1897. Palestrina has dedicated to Andreas the fifth book of his motets, which included *Laetus Hyperboream*, glorifying the Báthory family.

<sup>296</sup> The Bishopric of Warmia (Ermland), a region situated between Royal and Ducal Prussia and technically constituting part of the former, was subjected directly to Rome and its ecclesiastical rulers were entitled to use

throne of Poland. Although his claim has never been formally put forward, it seem likely that he was considered by the anti-Habsburg Zamoyski party as a potential candidate.<sup>297</sup> After the failure of his attempt to play an important role in Poland during the unstable years following the death of Stephan Báthory and after the election of Sigismund III Vasa, Andreas turned his attention towards Transylvania, ruled at that time by his cousin Sigismund Báthory. After a long sequence of diverse political events, in the 1599 Andreas Báthory - who was still a cardinal and the Prince-bishop of Warmia - became the Prince of Transylvania. This initial triumph turned however into disaster, as in the same year Michael the Brave, Prince of Wallachia allied at that time with Emperor Rudolf II, invaded Transylvania. Andreas was defeated and subsequently killed by locals while trying to escape. His defeat, depicted in one of the drawings by Hans von Aachen illustrating the war between Rudolf II and the Ottoman Empire, was exploited by imperial propaganda, and Andreas was presented as a traitor fighting under Turkish banners.<sup>298</sup> (fig. 4)

The monument of cardinal Báthory in Barczewo also includes effigy of his brother Balthazar, who was a soldier and adventurer travelled in almost all of Europe, from Italy to Scotland and Norway and from Transylvania to Spain. In 1583, that is exactly when van den Blocke was working on the monument of his uncle, Balthazar visited the studio of Hendrick Goltzius in Haarlem and was portrayed by the famous artist.<sup>299</sup> After settling down in Transylvania, he refurbished the medieval castle Făgăraș (Fogaras) and embellished its interiors with erudite paintings and inscriptions, probably of emblematic character.<sup>300</sup> Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this ensemble.

Cardinal Báthory was definitely a cultured man, finding much pleasure in entertaining all kinds of art. As stated by István Szamosközy, from the very childhood he was particularly fond of studying altars, tombs and churches, which can be understood both as interest in art and architecture and a tendency to follow explicitly religious way of life.<sup>301</sup> The royal nephew's interest in both of those fields must have been strengthened by his visits to Rome, which could have also enhanced his penchant for luxuries, despite warnings issued to his secretary Stanisław Reszka by the Pope Sixtus V himself.<sup>302</sup> At the time of his visits to the Eternal City a grand scheme of Catholic revival and major re-designing of the city were underway, carried out by the Popes Sixtus V and Clemens VIII as well as such figures as cardinal Alessandro Farnese.<sup>303</sup> Báthory's interests in arts were reflected in his collecting

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the title of a prince-bishop. One of Báthory's predecessors there was cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, one of the leading figures of European Counter-Reformation.

<sup>297</sup> Lepszy 1929, p. 43-44; Bazylow 1967, p. 45; Grzybowski 1994, p. 190; Dubas-Urwanowicz 2008, p. 55; Besala 2010, p. 382; Horn 2010, p. 116-140.

<sup>298</sup> Jacoby 2000, no. 60, 9, p. 198-200. Johann Sibmacher's portrait of the cardinal – with a nasty wound – has been included in the *Chronologia* by Hieronymus Ortelius, see Hollstein German, LX, no 283. Similar - if not the same - portrait has also been published in a woodcut known as '*Marks of Honor and Trophies of the War in Transylvania presented at Pilsen in January 1600*' by Samuel Dilbaum, see Alexander&Strauss 1977, p. 162, no 2.

<sup>299</sup> The Illustrated Bartch, 3 (Commentary), no. 217a, 217b; see Szmydki 008, p. 24-25. The visit has been mentioned by Karel van Mander

<sup>300</sup> Horn 2010, p. 143; on emblematics in Hungary in general see Knapp&Tüské 2003.

<sup>301</sup> Horn 2010, p. 33.

<sup>302</sup> Horn 2010, p. 112-113.

<sup>303</sup> See for example Robertson 1992; Hollingsworth 1996, p. 85-98 and Ostrow 1996.

activities: in addition to a huge library,<sup>304</sup> he possessed a collection of musical instruments,<sup>305</sup> as well as paintings.<sup>306</sup> The latter were kept in the medieval castle in Lidzbark Warmiński (Heilsberg), the main seat of the Prince-bishops of Warmia, partially refurbished by Báthory. No details about his collection are known, but at least part of it could have burned already in December of 1599, few months after his death; the rest could have been looted by the Swedes.<sup>307</sup>

The reason why Andreas Báthory turned to Willem van den Blocke is obvious. The cardinal must have known the sculptor since the time the latter was engaged in the construction of the Christopher Báthory tomb. He was close enough to Stephen Báthory to be aware of the name of the artist entrusted with the work of such an importance to the entire family. Besides the king himself, the cardinal was also well acquainted with Martin de Berzeviczy, who often visited him in Warmia.<sup>308</sup> The fact that cardinal Andreas Báthory, apparently interested in art and familiar with its recent developments, above all in Italy, chose van den Blocke, the Netherlander, nevertheless speaks independently of high esteem enjoyed by the sculptor. After executing the monument of Christopher Báthory, appreciated by the king, who openly expressed his will to be commemorated in the same manner, van den Blocke became the favourite sculptor of the Báthory family.<sup>309</sup> Thus, proper execution of the first work allowed master Willem to attract further commissions from members of its entourage, who must have held him in high esteem, even though he was not working at the court.

One other issue must be addressed with regard to the relation between the Báthorys and Willem van den Blocke. In her study devoted to the monument of King Stephen, Katarzyna Mikocka-Rachubowa forwarded a hypothesis that prior to 1596 Andreas Báthory was engaged in the process of commissioning of the tomb of the king himself.<sup>310</sup> This assumption was based on a letter written by queen dowager Anna of Jagiellon to Cardinal Báthory, dated 18 June 1596.<sup>311</sup> Furthermore, taking into account the fact that in his last will Stephen Báthory expressed the wish that his own tomb should resemble that of his brother Christopher, she suggested that Andreas Báthory could have approached Willem van den Blocke in order to commission the monument in his workshop. This hypothesis is tempting, but not entirely plausible. The letter, in which an anonymous master carpenter has been mentioned, concerns a painting and an altar destined for the royal funerary chapel, rather than stone monument.<sup>312</sup> Mikocka – and earlier Janina Eckhardówna<sup>313</sup> – could nonetheless be right when suggesting that Anna of Jagiellon, who finally commissioned the monument of

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<sup>304</sup> The books, easily recognizable by their covers adorned with the ‘wolf’s fangs’ coat-of-arms of the Báthory family and cardinal’s insignia, are now dispersed throughout different libraries in Poland, Sweden and beyond.

<sup>305</sup> Fondness of music was common to members of the Báthory family, including Andreas’s cousin Sigismund; see Klaniczay 1992, p. 175.

<sup>306</sup> Apart from unspecified paintings, the cardinal owned also at least one medieval illuminated codex, dating from eleventh century.

<sup>307</sup> Rzempoluch 2010, p. 22; Horn 2010, p. 168.

<sup>308</sup> Horn 2010, p. 169.

<sup>309</sup> As to the king’s Works see *Pawiński 1882*, p. 297; *Krzyżanowski 1958*, p. 277.

<sup>310</sup> Mikocka 1984, p. 91.

<sup>311</sup> Published in *Przeździecki 1878*, p. 219-220 and *Fischinger 1969*, no.54, p. 163-164.

<sup>312</sup> This has been observed already by *Szydłowska 1957*, p. 237, note 18.

<sup>313</sup> *Eckhardówna 1955*, p. 143.

Stephan Báthory in the studio of Santi Gucci in 1594, could have provided the Italian sculptor with a depiction of the Christopher's monument, which could have been used while preparing the first design for the royal tomb.<sup>314</sup>

### 2.3 Prussian patricians and nobility

Engaged by King Stephen Báthory, Willem van den Blocke moved from Königsberg to Gdańsk, the greatest and the most important town in Royal Prussia. It seems very likely that by establishing himself in that city van den Blocke has deliberately aimed to attract a wide circle of clientele. Although the bulk of it derived from the royal court circle, the sculptor exhibited his reluctance to serve as a court artist by abandoning Königsberg and moving to the commercial metropolis, that provided him also with other opportunities.<sup>315</sup> Thus, the sculptor was able to simultaneously profit from its pivotal position in the region's trade and industry and the patronage of the court as well as patrcian circles. It is, however, unclear in what capacity van den Blocke moved to Gdańsk. Although it must have been his own initiative, he was certainly equipped with some sort of recommendation from the king at the time he officialy approached the city authorities in 1584. Without such a support, it would have been much more difficult for him to create to a larger degree autonomous studio there.

The Baltic seaport, along with Toruń and Elbląg, was one of the 'three great Prussian cities'.<sup>316</sup> In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they swiftly rose in wealth and influence, becoming important Hanseatic centres in the southern part of the Baltic region. In the aftermath of the Thirteen Years' War between the kingdom of Poland and the Teutonic Order (1454 – 1466), at the start of which they have rebelled against the Order and allied themselves with the Polish king, they became incorporated into Poland as main urban centres of Royal Prussia. Despite centralistic tendencies displayed by the Crown towards this land, its great cities, especially Gdańsk, were able to maintain far reaching autonomy within the kingdom.<sup>317</sup> Throughout the entire early modern period, their social, religious and ethnical character differed distinctly from that of the rest of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Compared to predominantly rural heartland of the country, where nobility enjoyed absolutely dominant political position, the affluent and ambitious Prussian bourgeoisie was very much untypical. Equally outstanding were religious sympathies displayed by the urban communities in Royal Prussia. For most part they have become strong adherents of the Reformation already in the initial phase of its expansion in the 1520s. At first the change in religious status of Prussia was opposed by the king Sigismund I; however, in 1557 the Lutherans were granted equal rights by his son Sigismund II August. Next important religious development here was the introduction of Calvinism in late sixteenth century. Though brief – it faded away already by c. 1620, giving way again to Lutheranism as a principal confession – it exerted strong influence upon great Prussian towns, attracting especially the patrician circles.<sup>318</sup> The difference in religious sympathies between Prussian towns and the rest of the kingdom became sharp acute

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<sup>314</sup> See also Chapter 5.

<sup>315</sup> Compare with Scholten 2007, p. 228-229.

<sup>316</sup> On the history of those towns see E. Cieślak (ed.) 1982, Biskup (ed.) 1994 and Groth (ed.) 1996. See also Bogucka&Samsonowicz 1986, K. Friedrich 2000 and - recently - Miller 2008.

<sup>317</sup> See, for example, Miller 2008, p. 166-168.

<sup>318</sup> On this issue see for example M. G. Müller 1997.

around 1600, after the Roman Church in Poland emerged largely victorious from the struggle against Reformation.<sup>319</sup> Equally distinct was the ethnical identity of Prussian bourgeoisie. The great towns were predominantly German; in late sixteenth century in Gdańsk, less than ten percent of the population was Polish – speaking. The percentage of Poles was higher in other towns, especially Toruń, but also there they remained a minority. However, all those differences did not withhold citizens of the Prussian towns from remaining loyal to the king of Poland, which served their best interest.<sup>320</sup>

In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the bulk of artistic patronage in Prussian cities was beard by members of the uppermost social class, the patricians. It consisted of a small number of the most influential and wealthy families in each town, often interrelated. In Toruń there were around twenty patrician families, while in sixteenth century Gdańsk this social group consisted of some thirty families, making up for circa one percent of the city's population.<sup>321</sup> Among the most noteworthy, the Ferber, Werden, Giese, von der Linde, Brandes, Proite, von Bodeck, Schachmann, Speymann and Zierenberg families in Gdańsk may be mentioned, as well as the Stroband, Esken, Koye and Mochinger families in Toruń.<sup>322</sup> They have monopolized the politics of Prussian towns, their members constantly becoming burgomasters and other officials, sometimes also participating in royal administration. Such burgomasters as Constantin Ferber or Johann von der Linde in Gdańsk and Heinrich Stroband in Toruń were not only almost singlehandedly steering both the internal and external politics of their hometowns, but also playing considerable political role in the Commonwealth and beyond it. Their ancestors came to Prussia in late Middle Ages, mostly in the fifteenth century, from different parts of the Holy Roman Empire and surrounding lands; for example, the Mochingers were originally from Brixen in South Tirol, the Eskens from Friesland, and many other families descended from the Rhineland.<sup>323</sup> Some of them originally belonged to the lower nobility. In their new milieu they were able to attain high social position through a combination of economic success - they engaged in trade, banking, investment in real estate and other highly profitable business enterprises - appropriate marriages and thorough education.<sup>324</sup>

The patrician's patronage proved decisive for the artistic character of the great Prussian towns.<sup>325</sup> Their grandiose houses stood on main streets and markets, most notably on the Langer Markt and Langgasse in Gdańsk. Richly decorated on façades and furnished inside with sculptures, painting and works of artistic handcraft, since approximately the mid-sixteenth century the houses of many patrician families embodied the new, 'antique' formal

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<sup>319</sup> See, for example, M. G. Müller 1996, p. 279-280.

<sup>320</sup> The intricate and fascinating issue of Royal Prussian identity has been thoroughly researched upon by Karin Friedrich, see K. Friedrich 2000.

<sup>321</sup> With regard to Toruń see Kardas 2004; with regard to Gdańsk see Bogucka 1982a, p. 209 and Bogucka 1982b, p. 543.

<sup>322</sup> For more information see appropriate entries in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, *Altpreußische Biographie*, *Toruński Słownik Biograficzny*, *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*. See also the periodical *Danziger familiengeschichtliche Beiträge* (seven volumes of which appeared between 1929 and 1943).

<sup>323</sup> Zdrenka 1992.

<sup>324</sup> These three factors have been underlined by Kardas 2004. Trade, however, was not the main source of income for those families that have already attained the highest social status; merchants as a group belonged to a lower social class (Bogucka 1982a, p. 210).

<sup>325</sup> On that issue see Krzyżanowski 1972d. See also Bogucka 1978.

language.<sup>326</sup> An example of its early introduction is provided by the house on Długa 35 in Gdańsk, called 'Lion Castle' ('Lwi Zamek'), decorated inside with a splendid arcade richly embellished with Netherlandish ornament and sculpted depictions of the liberal arts, based on engravings by Cornelis Cort after designs by Frans Floris, dated c. 1570.<sup>327</sup> (fig. 5) Works of art founded by patricians were present in other places as well. In particular churches, especially in great St. Mary's church in Gdańsk, were embellished with monuments commemorating members of the most influential families.<sup>328</sup> It must furthermore be underlined that public buildings – town halls, arsenals, city gates etc. – were commissioned by members of the same families in their capacity as towns officials. As proved the case of the Great Arsenal in Gdańsk, much more attention was paid by contemporaries to the names of the patrons than to its makers.<sup>329</sup>

An example of such wide-ranging patronage is provided by the activities of the Gdańsk von der Linde family. Their estate located in Łapino, few kilometres outside of Gdańsk, included a manor embellished in the early 1590s with sculptural decoration typical for the city.<sup>330</sup> With regard to public patronage, Johann von der Linde was also involved in the erection of the Great Arsenal in Gdańsk, commissioning the woodcarver and architect Simon Hörle with designs and models.<sup>331</sup> (fig. 6) At the same time he was a patron of the gifted painter Herman Han – another important artist of Netherlandish descent, though born in Gdańsk – who executed a portrait of the burgomaster as well as an allegorical painting depicting the wedding of his daughter with future burgomaster Valentin von Bodeck.<sup>332</sup> In addition to that, Johann von der Linde probably also commissioned an epitaph commemorating members of the Toruń branch of the family, erected in St. Mary's church there. It included a painted depiction of the Last Judgment and an alabaster relief illustrating the story of David and Abigail, in all probability imported from Mechelen.<sup>333</sup> Judging by his choice of artists, Johann von der Linde clearly had a taste for Netherlandish art. Another interesting example of patrician patronage is provided by Elbląg burgomaster Nicolas Friedwald. Friedwald, who spent some time at the court of Emperor Charles V, was a politician and connoisseur of art and well versed in current trends of European culture. In mid-sixteenth century he built in Elbląg a highly praised garden villa named *Emaus*, destroyed in the skirmishes between Gdańsk and king Stephen Báthory already in 1577.<sup>334</sup> He was also engaged in the refurbishing of the Old Town Hall in Elbląg (burnt down in 1777),

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<sup>326</sup> On the houses of Prussian bourgeoisie see, for instance, Rendschmidt 1933, Stankiewicz 1956, Hauke 1967, Korduba 2005 (this book, however, received very mixed reviews, see especially Kizik 2006) and O.Rollenhagen 2008. On collections in early modern Gdańsk see Chodyński 1981 and Chodyński 2002. One of the most interesting accounts concerning collections in possession of Gdańsk's patricians is provided by travel diary of Charles Ogier (see *Ogier*); see also *Bernoulli 1779*.

<sup>327</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 43-44; Pałubicki 1981, p. 187-191; Woziński 1997, p. 117. See also Korduba 2005, figs. 36-40 and O.Rollenhagen 2008, figs. 28a, 29-30.

<sup>328</sup> See particularly Cieślak 1992, Cieślak 1993 and Cieślak 1998. It must be stated, however, that quite often epitaphs were also erected by members of non-patrician families.

<sup>329</sup> Bartetzky 2006, p. 34.

<sup>330</sup> Stankiewicz 1966; Gawlicki, 1997, p. 68-69.

<sup>331</sup> APG, 300 36/65, p. 67-70.

<sup>332</sup> Tylicki 1997b; with regard to Hahn's descent see Tylicki 2009b.

<sup>333</sup> The person of the commissioner has been identified by Birecki 2003, p. 186; see also Lipińska 2006b, p. 253-254 and Lipińska 2007, p. 249-251.

<sup>334</sup> Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996b, p. 246.

carried out in the 1550s'.<sup>335</sup> The building has been adorned with rich sculptural decoration (including personifications of seven planets in the façade) of which only one chimneypiece made of sandstone and decorated with relief depicting the story of Diana and Acteon survives.<sup>336</sup>

When Willem van den Blocke arrived in Gdańsk, the city already hosted a number of sculptors, some of them of Netherlandish or even French origin, working according to the 'antique' style developed in Italy, Germany, Low Countries and France. Nonetheless, the arrival of a sculptor trained in the circle of Cornelis Floris, one of the key figures of Northern European sculpture, did not pass unnoticed by the local élite and gave a new impetus to artistic developments in the Baltic metropolis. The newcomer, already renowned for his works for Duke Georg Friedrich and King Stephen Báthory, immediately received prestigious commissions, both private and public, apparently to dismay of some of local masters.<sup>337</sup> His influence is visible particularly in sepulchral art. Grand epitaphs of Johann Brandes (1586) and Eduard Blemke (1591), carved in stone and embellished with rich architectural, ornamental and figural decoration, incited much acclaim.<sup>338</sup> Since their erection the formerly common, wooden epitaphs, mostly decorated with paintings of biblical subjects were, to a large degree discarded in favour of much more costly and impressive stone structures.<sup>339</sup>

The Brandes epitaph must have confirmed van den Blocke's reputation as the leading sculptor in Prussia and allowed him to secure further prestigious commissions. Erected in the main church of Gdańsk, it must have served as a true advertisement of its maker's skill. Further commissions have most likely been facilitated by the existence of a complex network of personal relations between members of the Prussian civic elites. In Gdańsk, Willem van den Blocke and his son Abraham worked for members of a close circle of interrelated families. It seems hardly a coincidence that burgomaster Johann Speymann, the founder of the monument of Simon Bahr, was a grandson of Johann Brandes. Brandes, Bahr, and Speyman families were also related to the von Kempen family, whose main representative, Eggert von Kempen, was involved in various architectural undertakings in Gdańsk between c. 1600 and his death in 1636, and was in possession of a major local collection of architectural and artistic prints.<sup>340</sup> Another of van den Blocke's patrons in Gdańsk, Eduard Blemke, had his daughter Anna married to another major figure in Gdańsk, namely the burgomaster Bartholomäus Schachmann.<sup>341</sup> The latter commissioned his own epitaph, erected in 1607, in Abraham van den Blocke's atelier. Furthermore, it can be mentioned here that Bartholomäus Schachmann's daughter Gabriela has been married to Eggert von Kempen after the death of his first wife, Clara Bahr - daughter of Simon Bahr. Such relations were often highlighted in funerary inscriptions, like those carved on the epitaph of Johann Brandes and the monument

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<sup>335</sup> Fuchs 1818, p. 164-179; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996b, p. 238-239.

<sup>336</sup> Today in the country house in Waplewo (part of the National Museum in Gdańsk), where it was moved after the Town Hall's demolition.

<sup>337</sup> See chapter 3.

<sup>338</sup> On Johann Brandes see Zdrenka 2008, 2, p. 52. On Blemke see *ibidem*, p. 38.

<sup>339</sup> On the changes of epitaph fashion in Gdańsk see above all Cieślak 1992 and Ceślak 1998. Her elaborate study deals with parallel changes in types and iconography of epitaphs, including the development mentioned here (p. 69-70). See also Bernatowicz 1986.

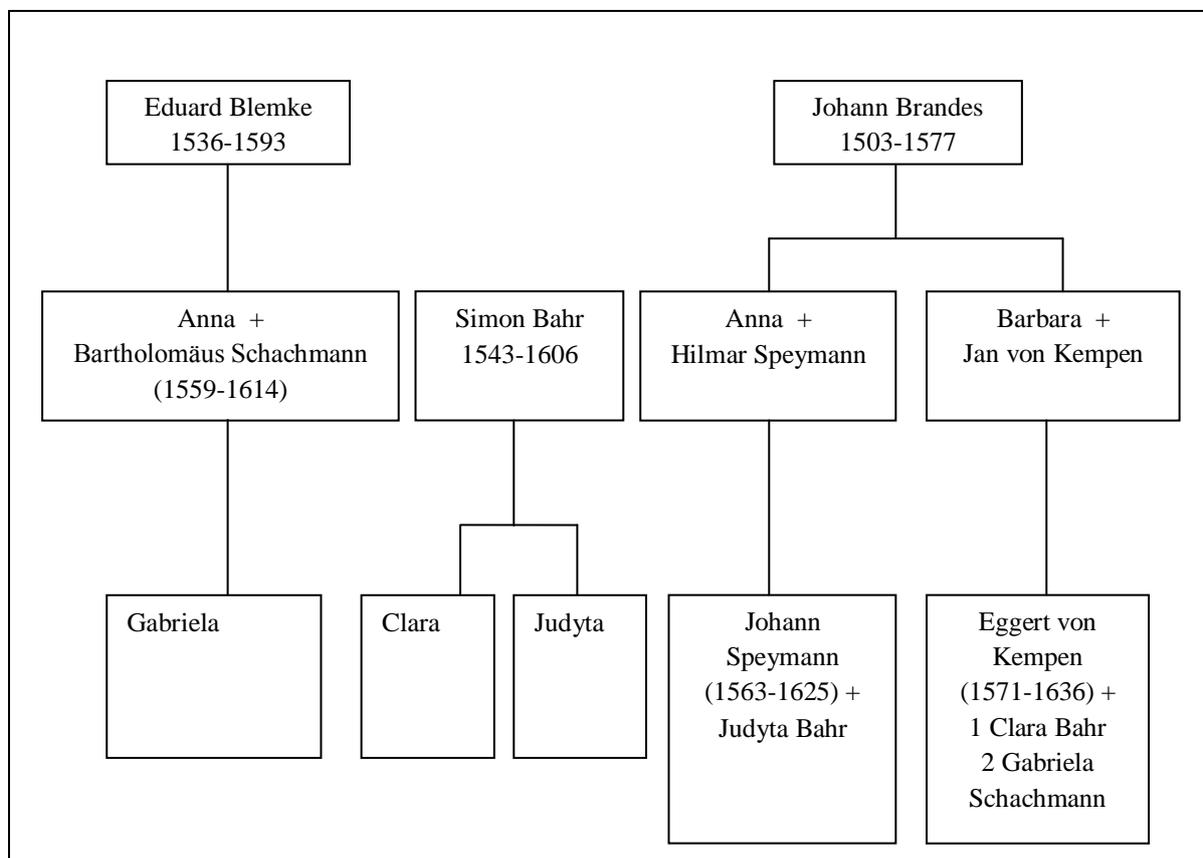
<sup>340</sup> PAN Library in Gdańsk, Ea 3373 2°.

<sup>341</sup> Zdrenka 2008, p. 38.

of Simon Bahr. Scale and character of these family relations clearly indicate that all of the patrician patrons of van den Blocke were closely related to each other.

The cooperation between van den Blocke and his Prussian patrons clearly illustrates common advantages for both sides. The sculptor not only secured thereby proper financial conditions to operate a workshop, but also considerably widened his circle of clientele. Staying in Gdańsk, in case of lack of major commissions from the court circles he could carry out works for the local élite as well as the city itself. The patrons, on the other hand, could easily commission works in the local studio of an acclaimed sculptor working for royal and ducal courts as well as for leading noblemen of the country, who was well versed in the formal language perceived as appropriate for higher social classes, and in this way uphold their social and political ambitions.

#### Family relations between Gdańsk patrons of Willem and Abraham van den Blocke



In the following years master Willem was also approached by leading patricians from other Prussian towns, namely Valentin von Bodeck from Elbląg and Heinrich Stroband, the burgomaster of Toruń. Both of them maintained close personal, political and economical ties with Gdańsk. Valentin von Bodeck was member of an influential family, which settled in Prussia already in the fourteenth century.<sup>342</sup> His connections with the crème de la crème of Gdańsk patrician élites is confirmed by the marriage of his son, Valentin von Bodeck the

<sup>342</sup> See Tylicki 2011; on Valentin von Bodeck the Younger see Zdrenka 2008, 2, p. 42; on Nicolaus von Bodeck, Valentin the Elder's grandson, see Schwartz 1974 and Pszczółkowska 1992.

Younger, with the daughter of the above mentioned Gdańsk burgomaster Johann van der Linde. By this alliance with the powerful von der Linde, Valentin von Bodeck the Younger was himself to become Gdańsk burgomaster. The family also had close ties with Toruń, where one of its many branches was established already in the Thirteenth century.<sup>343</sup> There, Valentin von Bodeck the Elder was born.<sup>344</sup> Some of the family members lived also in Antwerp, what is of particular importance in the context of their interest in Netherlandish art.<sup>345</sup>

The Stroband family in Toruń also maintained close ties with the Baltic metropolis. Christian Stroband is commemorated - among other family members - in the Toruń monument by Willem van den Blocke. He arrived in Prussia from Frankfurt am Oder c. 1500, spent many years in Gdańsk, and his wife was a daughter of the Stoetten patrician family from that city.<sup>346</sup> In 1521 Christian moved to Toruń, where the family swiftly attained an important position within the town's elite: Christian's son Johann married the daughter of Toruń burgomaster Franz Esken. Johann's son Heinrich, who became burgomaster himself, was one of the most remarkable personalities of this time, and his reputation transcended the border of Prussia and the Commonwealth.<sup>347</sup> As a man of learning and strong political will, he was the driving force behind a major program for town renewal, ranging from establishing an academic *Gymnasium* to plans for erecting entirely new fortifications.<sup>348</sup> At that time the family maintained strong relations with both Gdańsk and Elbląg, a fact that was reflected in Heinrich Stroband's remarkable artistic patronage.<sup>349</sup> When the need arose to find appropriate artists and architects, he naturally turned his attention to Gdańsk. The designs for city fortifications have been submitted by Frederik Vroom and - in particular - Anthonis van Obbergen, both active in Gdańsk as architects and engineers.<sup>350</sup> Anton Möller, one of the best painters in this part of Europe c. 1600, was charged with the task of decorating the ceiling in the grand, newly expanded and reconstructed Town Hall.<sup>351</sup> Stroband has also employed Willem Martens, Netherlandish builder and stone merchant living in Elbląg, future purveyor to the King Sigismund III Vasa himself.<sup>352</sup> Martens has been engaged to expand and reconstruct the Town Hall and - hypothetically - to deliver elements of its exterior and interior decoration. Its interior, destroyed in 1703 during a Swedish siege of the town, could easily rival that executed at the same time for the Gdańsk Town Hall.<sup>353</sup> As can be judged from these examples, Stroband was deliberately seeking services of the best artists and builders available in Prussia at that time, particularly Netherlanders, such as van Obbergen, Martens and van den Blocke, or else those trained in the Low Countries, like Möller. His

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<sup>343</sup> Gumowski 1970, p. 38.

<sup>344</sup> See *Zamehl, Tafeln*.

<sup>345</sup> Johann and Bonaventura von Bodeck; see *Zamehl, Tafeln*.

<sup>346</sup> See recently Targowski 2010.

<sup>347</sup> Due to his manifold activities, Heinrich Stroband has attracted the attention of many scholars. For general information see Retz 1972; Dybaś 2002. For contemporary opinion see Adam 1620a, p. 408-426.

<sup>348</sup> Dybaś 2001.

<sup>349</sup> Targowski 2010, p. 26-27.

<sup>350</sup> *Memorial*. On this issue see also Lombaerde 2006, p. 47-48.

<sup>351</sup> Puciata-Pawłowska 1958/1959 and Kolendo-Korczak 2009.

<sup>352</sup> Gaşiorowski 2004, p. 117. The long held attribution of the town hall's reconstruction (advocated also by Gaşiorowski) to van Obbergen can be discarded, as no evidence linking him to this project exists; on this see Bartetzky 2006.

<sup>353</sup> For its description see especially *Baumgarten*.

decision to turn to Willem van den Blocke while commissioning a monument which was to display the position of his family, may be viewed in this wider context.

Next to the civic élite of the great Prussian cities, landed nobility in that province provided another important group of potential clients of artists and architects based in Gdańsk. Although occasionally Prussian noblemen approached sculptors working in the heartland of Poland, as exemplified by the tombs of Bishop Piotr Kostka in Chełmża and Tylicki brothers in Toruń, they usually employed sculptors from active in Prussia, as can be seen in the monument of Mikołaj Działyński, set up c. 1605 in the parish church in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie. (fig. 7)

Willem van den Blocke worked for members of several Prussian noble families: von Damerau, Oleski, Kostka, Konopacki and Kos. For the most part, commissioners must have been inspired by the prestigious works executed by the artist for the high ranking patrons at the court. This pattern is discernible already with regard to the earliest commission, namely the epitaph of the von Damerau brothers. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, they were closely related to one of van den Blocke's important patrons, Martin de Berzeviczy. Furthermore, also in this case the process of dissemination of works of art must have been greatly facilitated by existence of close relations between the leading families. Next to the von Damerau epitaph, a particularly lucid example illustrating the importance of family networks for artistic commissions is offered by a group of works executed for members of the Oleski, Kostka and Konopacki families. It comprises the slab of Jerzy Oleski and his wife Zofia Konopacka in Pieniążkowo, the tomb of Krzysztof Kostka in Golub, and the epitaph of Jan Konopacki in Gdańsk. The link between Oleski and Kostka is provided by their wives, Zofia and Katarzyna respectively, two sisters belonging to the Konopacki family.<sup>354</sup> These ties were particularly strong in the latter case, as Krzysztof Kostka's sister Anna married Jerzy Konopacki, a brother of Zofia and Katarzyna.<sup>355</sup> The tomb of Krzysztof Kostka has been commissioned by his sons: Stanisław, Krzysztof and Jerzy. It was not the first sculptural work of considerable importance commissioned by this family in Gdańsk or Königsberg. Already c. 1571 an anonymous Netherlander executed an epitaph for some of its members, set up in the parish church Lisewo in southern part of historical Royal Prussia.<sup>356</sup> (fig. 8) Krzysztof Kostka and his sons could have come across Willem van den Blocke in a number of ways. First, they were well-acquainted with the Königsberg court and often visited the ducal capital.<sup>357</sup> Second, Stanisław Kostka was probably acquainted with Martin de Berzeviczy, after whose death he took over the domains of Osiek and Jasieniec.<sup>358</sup> Moreover, he was acquainted with the court of Sigismund Vasa, serving as a royal agent on many occasions. Most importantly, however, Krzysztof Kostka's daughter married Stephen Báthory, brother of Cardinal Andreas Báthory and a nephew of King Stephen. Thus, family and political relations between members of various noble families as well as their links with the courts in Cracow and Königsberg and their officials must have once again provided ways of dissemination of artistic ideas.

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<sup>354</sup> Dworzaczek 1959, pl. 125, 127. Compare with Smoliński 2004.

<sup>355</sup> On Krzysztof Kostka see Tomczak 1968a, Tomczak 1968b, Bodniak&Skorupska 1979, *passim* and Kostka 1995, p. 53-54, 56-57.

<sup>356</sup> Lech Krzyżanowski believed it be a work of a workshop active in Königsberg, see Krzyżanowski 1967.

<sup>357</sup> Bodniak&Skorupska 1979, p. 20-21

<sup>358</sup> Tomczak 1968b, p. 358; Kostka 1995, p. 57.

In this context it is hardly surprising that also other members of the Konopacki family turned to van den Blocke and his circle.<sup>359</sup> After the death of Jan Konopacki in 1594, his father Jerzy commissioned his epitaph in the van den Blocke studio. It has been set up in St. Nicolas' church in Gdańsk, probably in the second half of the 1590's. Similarly, brother of Jerzy, Maciej Konopacki, employed one of van den Blocke pupils or assistants to execute memorial of his son, Piotr, who died in 1589. This epitaph, in form of a simple strapwork cartouche, has been set up in St. John' church in Malbork. Finally, Łukasz, Fabian and Jerzy Konopacki commissioned one of van den Blocke's collaborators, acquainted with the master's oeuvre, to execute epitaph of their brother Achacy. This plain memorial with kneeling effigy carved in relief has been set up in Grzywna near Toruń after 1599.

The last commissioner belonging to this social group was Mikołaj Kos, commemorated with a tomb of in the Cistercian abbey in Oliwa, erected probably in 1600. It was possibly the most sumptuous funeral monument built for a Prussian nobleman in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Once again, numerous ties link Mikołaj Kos with other Prussian noblemen engaged in artistic patronage.

## **2.4 The Circle of King Sigismund III Vasa**

Willem van den Blocke maintained close relations with the royal court also after the death of King Stephen Báthory and the installation of the new monarch, Sigismund III Vasa in 1587.<sup>360</sup> Sigismund, son of the Swedish King Johann III Vasa and Catherine of Jagiellon (sister of Stephen Báthory's wife, Anna), emerged victoriously from political and armed struggles that had ensued after the premature death of his predecessor on the Polish throne. The double election of both Sigismund and Archduke Maximilian Habsburg, resulted in an armed conflict, leading to unsuccessful siege laid on Cracow by the Archduke. It finally ended in 1588, when chancellor Jan Zamoyski – at that time an ardent supporter of Sigismund – defeated the Habsburg troops at Byczyna (Pitschen) in Silesia and brought Maximilian to his family sit in Zamość as a prisoner.

Initially, the young king lacked the experience and strong will of his predecessor, and as a result, the kingdom was essentially ruled by Chancellor Zamoyski. Only some years after the election he made a successful attempt to advance his own political initiative. The first major decision made against the will of the powerful chancellor was the appointment of one of his favourites, Jan Tarnowski, as a vice-chancellor in 1591. With Tarnowski holding this post, the king could effectively counterbalance the influence of Zamoyski.<sup>361</sup> Around that time, however, Sigismund's rule in Poland was still unconsolidated, and he was secretly discussing with the Habsburgs the possibility of abdication and handing the crown over to one of the Archdukes, preferably Ernst. After these designs have been revealed, the king was forced by the nobility, still remembering recent events involving Henri de Valois, to pledge that he would not abandon the kingdom. The country became strongly divided between royal

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<sup>359</sup> On these commissions see Smoliński 2004; however, his attributions and conclusions differ from those presented here.

<sup>360</sup> On Sigismund III Vasa in general see Wisner 2006 and a recent, monumental work by Austrian historian Walter Leitsch (Leitsch 2009).

<sup>361</sup> Wisner 2006, p. 61.

supporters and enemies of the monarch.<sup>362</sup> Internal troubles of the 1590s and early 1600s finally culminated in a civil war, known as the Zebrzydowski fronde - after the name of one of its leaders - in 1606-1607.

An issue most relevant to the circumstances of the commission submitted to Willem by the king and his entourage, is Sigismund's relation to the land of his fathers. As the only legitimate son of Johann III Vasa, Sigismund was heir to the throne of Sweden. His father was in fact reluctant to accept Sigismund's election to the throne of Poland, and for some years the latter was seriously considering returning to the North.<sup>363</sup> The old king feared that Sigismund, residing in Poland, would be ultimately deprived of the Swedish crown. In 1593, a year after the death of Johann III, Sigismund set out to take possession of his new kingdom. The royal funeral and coronation were scheduled to take place in Uppsala in January 1594. The king's rout extended from Warsaw to Toruń and Gdańsk – where the court spent an entire eventful month – and from there by sea to Stockholm. However, the situation in Sweden was extremely tense.<sup>364</sup> A large part of the estates disliked the prospect of Sigismund obtaining the crown, particularly because of his staunch – though not necessarily fanatical – adherence to the Catholic faith.<sup>365</sup> The opposition party was led by his uncle, Duke Karl, the youngest son of Gustav I Vasa. The atmosphere in Sweden became quickly impregnated with radical and intolerant Lutheranism. The moderate approach of Johan III, who was personally influenced by an irenic theology of Georg Cassander and advocated rather pre-Tridentine type of Catholicism combined with some changes introduced by the Reformers was dismissed.<sup>366</sup> Abraham Angermanus, the new Archbishop of Uppsala chosen without royal consent, was a convinced Lutheran. Nonetheless, after much debate accompanied by grim events, Catholic Sigismund was finally crowned in Uppsala by Angermanus in February 1594.

Despite his coronation, the political position of Sigismund in Sweden was deteriorating fast. The king soon returned to Poland, and those of his circle, that were left behind by him in Sweden to take charge of his efforts, were unable to effectively counter the activity of the leader of the opposition, Duke Karl, future King Karl IX. Soon civil war ensued, as Erik Sparre, Gustav Baner, the Bielke brothers and others loyal to Sigismund resisted Karl's attempts to take full control of the country. In 1598 Sigismund once again arrived in Sweden, accompanied by a small army. The country was deeply divided, with the majority of nobility, the town of Stockholm and archbishop Angermanus supporting the rightful king. However, after some initial success, most notably taking control of Stockholm, Sigismund lost initiative. Following the unsolved battle on Stångebro near Linköping a peace treaty was signed, but ultimately it did not prevent Sigismund from losing power in the kingdom. Next year he was officially bereft of the Swedish throne and many of his supporters who remained in Sweden were killed. In Poland, he remained in power until his death in 1632.

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<sup>362</sup> On this issue see in particular Lepšy 1939.

<sup>363</sup> Wisner 2006, p. 53.

<sup>364</sup> On the king's visit in Gdańsk see Simson 1918, p. 407-410, E. Cieślak (ed.) 1982, p. 590-591. See also *Lubieński*, p. 17-19. On the situation in Sweden at that time in general see Roberts 1968, p. 327-393.

<sup>365</sup> On the issue of religious situation in Sweden see above all Garstein 1980; see also Montgomery 1995, p. 148-160.

<sup>366</sup> Montgomery 1995.

In contrast to Stephen Báthory, Sigismund Vasa was one of the greatest patrons of arts and architecture that ever sat on the throne of Poland.<sup>367</sup> His interests regarding these issues were inherited from his father and probably enhanced by his later dealings with the Habsburgs.<sup>368</sup> As to the latter, despite the initial conflict with that dynasty, Sigismund was twice married to Habsburg princesses. Thus, the great interest in art exhibited by the Imperial court in Prague as well as other centres of Habsburg power in the Empire, Spain and the Low Countries, such as the court of Archduke Albert in Brussels, certainly exerted a strong impact on Sigismund's predilections, especially given his strongly Catholic conviction. The scope of his patronage extended from major architectural undertakings to his activities as an art collector. We are also informed about few instances when Sigismund presented critique of works of art and architecture, such as the main altar in the Jesuit church in Warsaw and the façade of the Franciscan church in Lviv.<sup>369</sup> What is more, he is also known to have been personally engaged in the arts.<sup>370</sup> Among his most important achievements, the transformation of the Warsaw castle into a royal residence, major refurbishing of the royal castles in Cracow and Vilnius, as well as building of the St. Peter and St. Paul church - erected for the Jesuit order - in Cracow must be mentioned.<sup>371</sup> (fig. 9) Less grand, though equally splendid undertaking was the erection of the St. Casmir chapel, adjoining the Vilnius cathedral, between 1624 and 1636.<sup>372</sup> (fig. 10) Throughout his long reign the king engaged architects, masons, sculptors and other artisans from both Italy and the Low Countries, for example Matteo Castello, Giovanni Baptista Trevano, and members of the Tencalla family, as well as Willem Martens and Lorenz Sweys from Amsterdam, the latter known as a purveyor of the works executed by Hendrick de Keyser for Christian IV of Denmark.<sup>373</sup> Some among the Italians employed by the king, particularly Matteo Castello and his nephew Constante Tencalla, were trained in Rome in the circles of Domenico Fontana and Carlo Maderno.<sup>374</sup> In fact, both Castello and Tencalla worked with Maderno at St. Peter's in Rome. Castello was a significant architect and decorator himself, credited with several works carried out in Rome before departing for Poland, such as the Barberini and Rucellai chapels in Sant'Andrea della Valle, begun in the early 1600's.<sup>375</sup> As has been observed by Michał Wardzyński, the designs for royal commissions were usually provided by Italians, while building and sculpting material was often supplied by the network of Netherlanders operating in the Baltic region. The most important examples of this cooperation between Italians and Netherlanders are the

<sup>367</sup> Besides many studies concerning particular works, two major publication on Sigismund's dealings with art are available: Lechicki 1932 and Szmydki 2008; see also Chrościcki 1989 and Chrościcki 1996.

<sup>368</sup> See, for example, Ångström 2003, p. 43-47.

<sup>369</sup> Wardzyński 2010a, p. 46; Leitsch 2009, 2, p. 948.

<sup>370</sup> See, for instance, Lechicki 1932, p. 177-182. However, many works of art and handcraft described there have rather been executed by a professional artist.

<sup>371</sup> On the royal castle in Warsaw see, for instance, Tomkiewicz 1961, Lileyko 1984, Wrede 1991, Karpowicz 1994, Karpowicz 1995a and Leitsch 1999; on the royal castle in Cracow see Kuczman 1994; on St. Peter and St. Paul church in Cracow see Małkiewicz 1969, Karpowicz 1994 and Małkiewicz 1997.

<sup>372</sup> Żygas 2000; Jamski 2006.

<sup>373</sup> See above and Karpowicz 2002, Szmydki 1999b, Wardzyński 2007 and Szmydki 2008.

<sup>374</sup> Hibbart 1971, p. 39-40, 60, 110, 112-113, 128, 147-148, 172-174, 176-177, 179, 182, 184, 186; see also Karpowicz 1994, Karpowicz 1995a, Karpowicz 1995b, Karpowicz 2002 and Jamski 2006.

<sup>375</sup> Grilli 2003, p. 69-95; Rietbergen 2006, p. 75-77. Castello belong to an important family of traveling artists. For instance, Matteo's relatives, including his nephews Pietro and Antonio, worked as decorators for Prince-archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau in Salzburg; see Rottensteiner 2011 and other studies in the same volume.

St. Casmir Chapel in Vilnius and the Royal Castle in Warsaw.<sup>376</sup> Thus, King Sigismund's extensive patronage led to creation of an important centre of art and architecture of international standing, a melting pot of European artistic traditions.

Sigismund was equally interested in painting. Initially, he endeavoured to secure the services of Italian, particularly Venetian masters. He approached Palma il Giovane, who did execute some paintings for the king, including those depicting the story of Psyche.<sup>377</sup> Antonio Vasilacchi, who collaborated with Palma on this commission, turned the invitation to Poland down and sent there his pupil Tommaso Dolabella instead. The latter became the most prolific and successful painter in Cracow during the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>378</sup> In the early years of this century, Sigismund turned his attention to another artistic centre in Europe, namely the Low Countries.<sup>379</sup> At least an equally important role in developing this interest must have been played by the artistic, cultural and above all religious renewal experienced by the Southern Low Countries under the reign of Albert and his wife Isabella. Beginning with c. 1604 Sigismund started to acquire - through a network of agents and art merchants (such as Daniel Coppens and Hendrick van Uylenburgh) - works by leading Southern Netherlandish painters, including Jan Breughel (who worked directly for the king), van Dyck, Jordaens and Rubens himself. Sigismund's son and successor on Polish throne, Ladislaus IV (1632-1648), personally visited Rubens' studio in 1624.<sup>380</sup> It seems likely that these commissions were related with the ongoing refurbishing of royal residences, as the king could have intended to decorate his cabinet and other rooms in a manner similar to that used by Christian IV in Rosenborg castle in Copenhagen. One of Sigismund's envoys and secretaries, Piotr Żeroński, not only acted as an artistic agent on behalf of the king, but also acquired the *Deposition from the Cross* by Rubens' workshop, later installed in St. Nicolas' church in Kalisz (Kalisch) in Greater Poland.<sup>381</sup> Some of those dealings were also taking place in Gdańsk; for example, in 1621 painter Tomas Tets was charged by Jan Breughel the Elder and Rubens with the task of retrieving some money from the agent Żeroński.<sup>382</sup> Finally, the king and his family possessed a large number of devotional images, often gifts from such persons as Duke Wilhelm of Bayern, Franciscan General Francesco Susa, and bishop Hieronim Rozdrażewski.<sup>383</sup>

Sigismund's lively interest in art was shared by many from his entourage. One of them was Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, knowledgeable about art, who to a certain degree could have influenced the young king. Tomasz Treter and Stanisław Reszka, clergymen who spent much time in Italy, probably played the role of royal artistic agents.<sup>384</sup> It is important to point out here that Reszka was a close companion of Cardinal Andreas Báthory during the latter's visits to Rome. In fact, it seems possible that the cardinal himself was providing Sigismund with

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<sup>376</sup> Wardzyński 2007; Wardzyński 2008.

<sup>377</sup> Białostocki 1954, p. 162-164; Szmydki 2008, p. 62-67.

<sup>378</sup> See, for example, Tomkiewicz 1959.

<sup>379</sup> Szmydki 2008, p. 60-75.

<sup>380</sup> The visit has been described for example by Stefan Pac, see Przyboś 1977, p. 18-21.

<sup>381</sup> Szmydki 2008, p. 93-95.

<sup>382</sup> Szmydki 2008, p. 93.

<sup>383</sup> Leitsch 2009, 4, p. 2359-2361, 2366-2374.

<sup>384</sup> See Lechicki 1932, Szmydki 2008, p. 65-66, and Leitsch 2009, 4, p. 2359-2360. Treter, who was himself an engraver, was closely associated with cardinal Hosius; on him see above all Chrzanowski 1984b.

some works of art as well.<sup>385</sup> Another interesting member of the royal entourage was the Crown Marshal Mikołaj Wolski, an art collector in his own right, owning a large number of Italian paintings.<sup>386</sup> It is hardly surprising given the fact that Wolski was raised at the court of Maximilian II and later spent a considerable time at the court of Rudolf II, what must have influenced his interest in art and alchemy.<sup>387</sup>

The royal entourage exerted also some influence on Polish sculpture of that time. Besides Jan Tarnowski, whose activities will be discussed later, also two other royal councillors, namely Marcin Leśniowolski and Hieronim Gostomski, commissioned large commemorative monuments, respectively destined for St. Mary's church in Cracow (c. 1590 – 1595; by Italian Giovanni da Simonis) and for the parish church in Środa Wielkopolska in Greater Poland (c. 1600).<sup>388</sup> (fig. 11) Both of these works, executed in Cracow, belong to the most important examples of stone sculpture in Poland around 1600. Some patronage was also carried out by those among Swedish nobles from Sigismund's circle, who due to either political or religious convictions had decided to emigrate from their homeland. Examples of their commissions are provided by stone epitaphs of members of the posse Family in St. Mary's and St. Brigitte's churches in Gdańsk.<sup>389</sup>

After the death of his father, Sigismund was confronted with the task of erecting a proper commemorative monument for him. The monument of Johan III occupies an important place in his wide-ranging artistic patronage, not least because it was probably the first major work commissioned by him. To carry out this work, the king choose Willem van den Blocke. Judging by the attention Sigismund III Vasa paid later to art and architecture, it may be safely assumed that his choice was very much deliberate. Most likely, the king was presented with design for the tomb produced by the sculptor during his visit in Gdańsk in August 1593.<sup>390</sup> The king must have decided to employ Willem van den Blocke on the basis of the latter's former services to the Polish royal court. His Netherlandish background could have provided a further stimulus, since sculptors from the Low Countries enjoyed high esteem in Sweden. Willem Boy, a fellow master from Mechelen, was engaged there for many years to carry out the most important royal commissions, including erection of the funerary monument of the founder of the ruling dynasty, king Gustav I Vasa. By employing another Netherlander, Sigismund could have intended to follow and emulate this example. The fact that he was raised in the surroundings shaped by Netherlandish art, dominant at the courts of Erik XIV

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<sup>385</sup> Lechicki 1932, p. 182.

<sup>386</sup> The collection, which undoubtedly contained some paintings on mythological or allegorical subjects, has been destroyed after his death in accordance with his last will (see Lechicki 1932, p. 152-169 and Leitsch 2009, 3, p. 1950-1961). Apart from Wolski, also cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, Zygmunt Myszkowski and Andrzej Próchnicki were in all probability acting as artistic agent for the king.

<sup>387</sup> See, for instance, Leitsch 2009, 3, p. 1954-1956. Wolski was a supporter of a Habsburg candidate to the Polish throne and after Stephen Báthory's election he fled to Prague.

<sup>388</sup> Regarding the former, as well as other works by the same workshop, see Mikocka-Rachubowa 1994, p. 5-8; as to the latter work see, for example, Karpowicz 1974. Concerning the political circle of Sigismund Vasa – though not in relation to art – see Anusik 2006 and Leitsch 2009, 3.

<sup>389</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 44-45, 53, 55, 65, 71, 73, 75, 125, 137, 142.

<sup>390</sup> This has already been assumed by Grosjean 1985, p. 2-3, 10-13 and Wisner 2006, p. 74. This hypothesis seems very likely, since – as indicated by a letter from Gdańsk City Council to the king (APG 300, 27/43, p. 199-200v) - the sculptor was working on the monument already in November 1593. A source-based information regarding model of the monument has been provided by Simson 1918, p. 564, note 4.

and Johan III, must have facilitated his decision.<sup>391</sup> Even though in the 1590s the popularity of the Netherlandish sculpture was already well established in the Baltic region, the king's choice confirmed its position and strongly contributed to its further dissemination, especially in the heartland of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Finally, sovereign's pick could have been influenced also by motives of a more practical nature. Supposedly, it must have been somewhat easier - and presumably cheaper - to ship finished elements from Gdańsk than, for example, from Cracow.

Very much as in the case of the King Stephen Báthory, it is hard to ascertain to what degree the king was influenced in his choice by advisors. Their involvement has been suggested by Ardis Grosjean, who mentioned in this context Swedish nobleman Ture Bielke and the royal burgrave in Gdańsk, Simon Bahr.<sup>392</sup> However, although their involvement in the process of execution of the monument is confirmed by documents, their role seems to have been rather that of middlemen than proper artistic advisors. Their participation in the tomb's erection, especially in the case of Bahr, was part of their official duties. Therefore, it seems unlikely that they were in a position to exert major influence on the king. Furthermore, Grosjean's remark that Sigismund made up his mind after consulting some of the Gdańsk burghers is hardly plausible, as it would be very much against the etiquette for the king to rely on advice given by members of such social standing. More likely - although purely hypothetical - the king could have consulted some of his highest ranking advisors, such as the Chancellor Zamoyski.

Engagement of Willem van den Blocke by King Sigismund clearly indicates that despite his move to Gdańsk, the sculptor maintained contact with the royal court. Next to the grand monument of Johan III, he has probably been engaged by the king to execute another work, namely a design for a crown, in fact the only known drawing executed by van den Blocke (today in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin). It has recently been suggested that this sheet, for a long time linked with imperial regalia, could have been a design for a crown of one of the Habsburg consorts of Sigismund, either Anna (crowned in 1592) or Constantia (crowned in 1605).<sup>393</sup> Undoubtedly, van den Blocke profited from his acquaintance with the royal court: in a document pertaining to acquisition of sculpting material in Denmark dating from 1600 he has been addressed as a 'sculptor to the king'.<sup>394</sup> The high affiliations have therefore exerted considerable influence on the career of a theoretically independent artist.

Similarly as it was with the tomb of Christopher Báthory earlier, the monument of Johan III prompted at least two close collaborators of the king to commission works in the van den Blocke studio. The first one was the already mentioned vice-chancellor Jan Tarnowski (before 1550-1604), a close advisor to the king during the early years of his reign, belonging to a rather humble noble family from central Poland (which is not to be confused with the Tarnowski family from Tarnów located east of Cracow, powerful in the early and mid sixteenth century).<sup>395</sup> He began his work at the court as a secretary during the reign of

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<sup>391</sup> Szmydki 2008, p. 61-62. On the culture and art in Sweden at that time see, among others, Ångström 2003 and Swanson 2003.

<sup>392</sup> Grosjean 1985, p. 9.

<sup>393</sup> Tylicki 2005, p. 93-94, 142.

<sup>394</sup> Czapliński 1968, p. 99.

<sup>395</sup> On Jan Tarnowski see particularly Korytkowski 1889-1891, 3, p. 541-558 and - recently - Leitsch 2009, 3, p. 1992-1997 (also Skibiński 2013c).

Stephen Báthory, but owed his tremendous career solely to Sigismund, who during the 1590s distrusted great nobles and senators and tended so surround himself with members of medium and lower nobility. Tarnowski's key appointment as a vice-chancellor clearly indicates that the king must have been absolutely convinced of his loyalty. Before 1600 he was engaged in some of the most crucial and secret royal designs, including the attempt to transfer the crown to the Habsburgs as well as the endeavour to secure the throne of Sweden.<sup>396</sup> In Sweden, Tarnowski prevented duke Karl from directly attacking the king in Uppsala on 26 February 1594.<sup>397</sup> He was also closely involved in the life of the royal family.<sup>398</sup> After the time spent in royal service, he pursued an ecclesiastical career, obtaining the important bishoprics of Poznań (1598-1600) and Włocławek (1600-1603), and finally the highest ecclesiastical post in Poland, Archbishopric of Gniezno.

Our knowledge of Tarnowski's artistic patronage is based both on existing works and on accounts by the seventeenth century canon Stefan Damalewicz, author of biographies of archbishops of Gniezno and bishops of Włocławek, published in the 1640s.<sup>399</sup> The scale of his patronizing activity was quite large, even though he started as such very late and in consequence many of his commissions were left unfinished. As a bishop of Poznań Tarnowski ordered some mural paintings for the choir of the cathedral as well as renewed and extended the bishop's palace. In Włocławek he erected the St. Mary's chapel in the cathedral, embellished with sculptural decoration, that was built by mason from Cracow Samuel Świączkiewicz using prefabricated elements supplied by Tomasz Nikiel.<sup>400</sup> It is noteworthy that Tarnowski turned here to sculptors and masons from southern Poland rather than to Netherlanders from Gdańsk.<sup>401</sup> The last building enterprise initiated by him was the erection of St. Trinity's chapel in Łowicz. Again, a workshop from southern Poland – a certain Augustyn Hans Janek from Kielce is mentioned in one of the documents<sup>402</sup> – has been engaged; the works continued as late as 1617.<sup>403</sup> The chapel housed the monument commemorating Tarnowski's father Piotr as well as a finely carved stone altarpiece, both executed by Willem van den Blocke and his workshop. The inscription commemorating Piotr Tarnowski on the monument confirms that it has been commissioned and executed while Jan was still a vice-chancellor, remaining in close contact with the king.

Tarnowski's close relation with the king, particularly in the first half of the 1590s, indicates that he was aware of the fact that Willem van den Blocke has been engaged by Sigismund to execute royal monument. As a vice-chancellor, Tarnowski accompanied the monarch to Sweden in 1593. What is even more important, he stayed with Sigismund in

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<sup>396</sup> *Jocher 1855*, p. 26-41.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 39-40 and *Łubieński*, p. 24-25.

<sup>398</sup> *Leitsch 2009*, 3, p. 1996-1997.

<sup>399</sup> *Damalewicz 1642*, p. 422-425 and *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 335-336. Both publications are important sources providing much information with regard to artistic patronage of the bishops.

<sup>400</sup> Regarding this chapel see *Narębski 1961* and *Łoziński 1973*, p. 132-136. On Nikiel, who has been also active in Cracow, Bejsce and other places, see *Stolot 1970*. See also *Wardzyński 2011*, p. 55.

<sup>401</sup> It must be mentioned, however, that *Wardzyński* recently suggested Netherlandish origin of Nikiel, see *Wardzyński 2011*, p. 55.

<sup>402</sup> *Acta Capitulli*, p. 32; it is, however, unclear if he was responsible for the entire work. The name of the sculptor who have executed the figures and ornaments decorating the interior of the Łowicz chapel is unknown.

<sup>403</sup> *Acta Capitulli*, p. 97.

Gdańsk at the time the latter in all probability commissioned the tomb of his father.<sup>404</sup> It comes as no surprise therefore, that when he decided to build a memorial tomb for his own father, he turned to the same artist. However, despite his clear interest in art and architecture, it is hard to distinguish any guiding principle within Tarnowski's patronage as far as the formal side of the works is concerned, apart for a general tendency to follow royal grandeur.

The second person directly influenced by King Sigismund with regard to commissioning a commemorative monument was Ture Bielke.<sup>405</sup> The Bielke family enjoyed high position in Sweden during the second half of the sixteenth century. Its most noteworthy members were Gunilla Bielke, the second wife of king Johan III – and in consequence Sigismund's stepmother – as well as Ture's brother Hogenskild, one of the most important Swedish politicians of that time and a stout opponent of Duke Karl.<sup>406</sup> Ture Bielke, who received an adequate education abroad, was therefore well acquainted with Sigismund's court. He became one of the advisors dispatched to Poland by Johan III to accompany Sigismund. Bielke spent two years (1587-1589) there, being one of several Swedish noblemen, who, just as in the case of the Hungarians during the reign of Stephen Báthory, occupied important, though unofficial positions at the royal court.<sup>407</sup> After his return to Sweden, Ture along with his brother Hogenskild, Erik Sparre and other aristocrats as well as archbishop Angermanus, formed the royalist party supporting Sigismund in his struggle against the duke's usurpation of authority. In the beginning of 1598, Bielke left Sweden together with Sigismund's envoy Samuel Łaski. The spring of that year he spent at the court of Christian IV, trying to persuade the Danish king to support Sigismund. After the battle of Stångebro and the treaty of Linköping, Ture Bielke was one of five members of the *råd* supporting Sigismund who were left in Sweden in Karl's custody. Unfortunately for himself, Ture lacked his brother Hogenskild's cunning. Accused of treason, on 20 March 1600 Bielke, along with chancellor Erik Sparre, brothers Sten and Gustav Baner and military commander Bengt Falck, was beheaded on the main market square in Linköping in the infamous event known in historiography as the 'Blood-bath of Linköping'.<sup>408</sup>

Contacts between Bielke and van den Blocke existed already prior to the commissioning of his monument. Ture Bielke – along with Tarnowski - accompanied Sigismund Vasa during the latter's journey to Sweden in 1593. As a result, he was present in Gdańsk at the time when the king in all probability commissioned the tomb of Johan III. However, while the assumption that Jan Tarnowski was aware of the process of commissioning is derived only from circumstantial evidence, in the case of Bielke documents prove that he was personally involved in this enterprise, playing the role of a key middleman. Thus, the link between future patron and the sculptor was visibly established. Bielke's name is mentioned in sources related to the execution of the royal monument. One of these

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<sup>404</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291-292. At that time the documents of the royal vice chancellery were signed by Tarnowski in Gdańsk, see Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Central Archives of Historical Records) w Warszawie, MK 138, *Registrum Cancellaria Minoris...*, p. 309n.

<sup>405</sup> Regarding Ture Bielke see Berg 1924 and Grosjean 1985.

<sup>406</sup> It is worth mentioning that Hogenskild amassed one of the most important sixteenth century libraries in Sweden; it is now kept in the library of Uppsala University, see Undorf 1995.

<sup>407</sup> Regarding Swedes in Poland at the time of Sigismund III, see Michalewicz 1966; see also Anusik 2006 and Leitsch 2009.

<sup>408</sup> On these developments see Roberts 1968, p. 388-393.

documents is a letter dated 26 April 1594, written by Wessel (Wenceslav) Mittendorf to the City Council in Gdańsk, concerning financial issues pertaining to ongoing works.<sup>409</sup> Other, even more important testimony is provided by Willem van den Blocke himself. In a supplication to the City Council in Gdańsk from 25 November 1594, concerning growing problems with the financial aspect of the commission, the sculptor mentions some former correspondence with Bielke regarding the tomb.<sup>410</sup> Written sources testify that in all probability it was Bielke who has been charged by king Sigismund Vasa with the task of supervising the work on the monument to Johan III. Next to Simon Bahr, Bielke is the only person known to have been involved in the logistics of its creation. Given the circumstances, his involvement seems to have been much stronger than that of Bahr. Bearing this in mind it is not surprising that when Ture Bielke decided to commission a monument for himself, he turned to Willem van den Blocke.

Finally, the case of Simon Bahr is to be mentioned. His grand monument, executed by Willem van den Blocke's son, Abraham c. 1620 and set up in St. Mary's church in Gdańsk, has not been commissioned by Bahr himself, but by his son-in-law, the already mentioned burgomaster Johann Speymann.<sup>411</sup> As such, it represents the patronage of Gdańsk patrician élite, discussed in the previous section. Nonetheless, given Bahr's involvement in the execution of the monument of Johan III as well as his other dealings with the court as the royal burgrave in Gdańsk, it reveals links existing between two seemingly very different circles of patronage: that of the royal court and of the Prussian élite. Thus, the Bahr monument clearly points to the complexity of closely interrelated networks of patrons and artists.

## 2.5 The Radziwiłł family and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski

Willem van den Blocke worked also for other members of the topmost élite of the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth, namely members of the powerful Radziwiłł family in Lithuania and the Great Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, perhaps the most influential figure in Polish politics of the late sixteenth century. As to the Radziwiłł, van den Blocke was apparently involved in two commissions issued by its members. Probably between 1588 and 1596 his studio created the effigy of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, called the 'Orphan' (Sierotka) in Nesvizh. Mikołaj Krzysztof was an outstanding figure and patron of art. He was exceptionally well educated and travelled: he visited not only Germany, Italy and France, but also the Holy Land and Egypt (1582-1584), where he personally explored the pyramids. His deep devotion and piety was reflected in his outstanding artistic patronage.<sup>412</sup> Among others, he engaged Jesuit architect Giovanni Maria Bernardoni, who was involved in his major undertakings in Nesvizh. Bernardoni is known to have prepared an album of architectural

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<sup>409</sup> Published in *Historiska Handlingar*, vol. 23/1 (1910), p. 67; I would like to thank Herman Bengtsson for drawing my attention to this document. The letter formed part of a large correspondence concerning the commission's financial aspects, partially preserved in Gdańsk and Stockholm.

<sup>410</sup> APG 300, 36/65, p. 37; *Krzysiak 1999*, p. 76-77. It should be stressed that although the latter document is well known since late nineteenth century, scholars so far failed to notice the fact that Ture Bielke is mentioned there. Even Franciszek Krzysiak, who edited and published supplications by Willem van den Blocke, transcribed Bielke's name as German verb 'bieten'.

<sup>411</sup> Krzyżanowski 1968a, 458-459 (after *Bötticher*, p. 531-533; this manuscript is soon to be published by Edmund Kizik and Christopher Herrmann).

<sup>412</sup> See, above all, Lulewicz 1987a, Bernatowicz 1998 and Kempa 2000, especially p. 182-216.

drawing, which is perhaps the earliest example of the new architectural language developed in late sixteenth century Rome infiltrating Poland-Lithuania, well before Sigismund Vasa embarked on his major commissions.<sup>413</sup> For the Jesuit church in Nesvizh, his most important commission, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł imported two stone altars from Venice, executed by sculptors Girolamo Campagna and Cesare Franco c. 1583.<sup>414</sup> He also erected several monuments commemorating members of his family, in Nesvizh and Vilnius. Particularly important example of early seventeenth century stone sculpture is provided by the memorial of his son Krzysztof Mikołaj, set up in the same church probably in 1608. The portrait bust of the deceased has been created in Italy, while origin of the monument's structure remains uncertain.<sup>415</sup> Unfortunately, it is uncertain how exactly Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł became acquainted with van den Blocke. Most likely, the key route was provided by the extensive network of political and social relations with members of the Polish-Lithuanian *élite*. After completing the commission, van den Blocke remained within the family's scope of patronage. Later on, he has been engaged to design and execute the tomb of Stanisław Radziwiłł, the youngest brother of Mikołaj Krzysztof.<sup>416</sup> Its commissioner was Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, son of Stanisław. However, at that time – between 1618 and 1623 – the sculptor was apparently too old to carry out the work himself. He could have designed the tomb, while its execution has been left to another artist.

To conclude the present chapter, we must turn to one of van den Blocke's final assignments, namely the design for an unspecified altar, destined for the collegiate church in Zamość. There is a reason to suppose that this commission was issued by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski himself.<sup>417</sup> Even though master Willem was paid for the design only after his death, only a short span of time eclipsed between the events: the sculptor was paid on November 17<sup>th</sup>, while Zamoyski had died on June 3<sup>rd</sup>. The words 'z rozkazaniam [..] Biskupa Chełmskiego' ('by order of bishop of Chełm') appearing in the document probably refer to the payment rather than to the commission itself. What is more, it cannot be excluded that the sculptor was working for Zamoyski even before that time. During the last few years of his life the chancellor took much effort - though ultimately unsuccessful - to furnish the interior of the Zamość collegiate.<sup>418</sup> What is particularly important, he was clearly interested in marble sculpture. In his testament, written down in 1601, he indicated that the main altar in the church should be carved in 'most precious marble', according to design by the architect Bernardo Morando.<sup>419</sup> In the correspondence of 1604, providing rare insight into the patronage of a leading Polish nobleman, Jan Pułłowski, a highly cultured artistic agent acting on behalf of Zamoyski, informed the chancellor that he has found a sculptor appropriate for

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<sup>413</sup> On this album see, for instance, Gabrus&Galenčanka 1995 and Bernatowicz 1998.

<sup>414</sup> Bernatowicz 1992. It may be noted here that these sculptors worked for other Polish patrons as well; most importantly, they executed a monument of Adam Żaliński in the church of St. Antonio in Padua.

<sup>415</sup> Bernatowicz considers it to be an Italian import, while Wardzyński (Wardzyński 2006) argues in favour of its northern origin.

<sup>416</sup> On Stanisław Radziwiłł see Lulewicz 1987b.

<sup>417</sup> On Zamoyski's patronage see, for instance, Lewicka 1957, Kowalczyk 1980 and Kowalczyk 1983. See also Miłobędzki 1963, p. 116.

<sup>418</sup> Kowalczyk 1983.

<sup>419</sup> Kowalczyk 1983, p. 46-48. The text indicates that the religious scenes were to be painted, while the structure of the altar was to be made of marble.

execution of the main altar.<sup>420</sup> Jerzy Kowalczyk convincingly identified him as Adam Frost, a sculptor responsible for erection of the former main altar in Gniezno cathedral. However, the chancellor was not satisfied with submitted designs, and informed Pułowski that he has already found another sculptor, a specialist in marble carving. Kowalczyk identified the other sculptor as Błażej Gocman, but, in the contrary to the previous identification, he provided no evidence to substantiate this claim.<sup>421</sup> The question if his identity remains, therefore, open. It is indeed possible - although purely hypothetical at this point - that the artist referred to by Zamoyski was Willem van den Blocke.

It is hardly surprising that Zamoyski would have employed Willem van den Blocke. As a key figure in the politics of late sixteenth century, he knew very well almost all of the sculptor's other clients: he was the sovereign's closest councillor, indeed a vice-king during the reign of Stephen Báthory (and was furthermore married to a member of the Báthory family), Sigismund Vasa owed his crown to him, he considered making Andreas Báthory a candidate for the Polish throne. Jan Tarnowski constituted one of his leading political opponents. He also knew Martin de Berzeviczy, whom he presented a costly wedding gift.<sup>422</sup> There is no reason to doubt that he was well aware of the fact that Willem van den Blocke was a purveyor of works of art to all these figures, especially given his lively interest in art and architecture. Van den Blocke's travel to Zamość, an ideal Renaissance town built by the great Chancellor, who was not only an extremely influential politician but also an outstanding patron of learning and art, properly crowned his career.

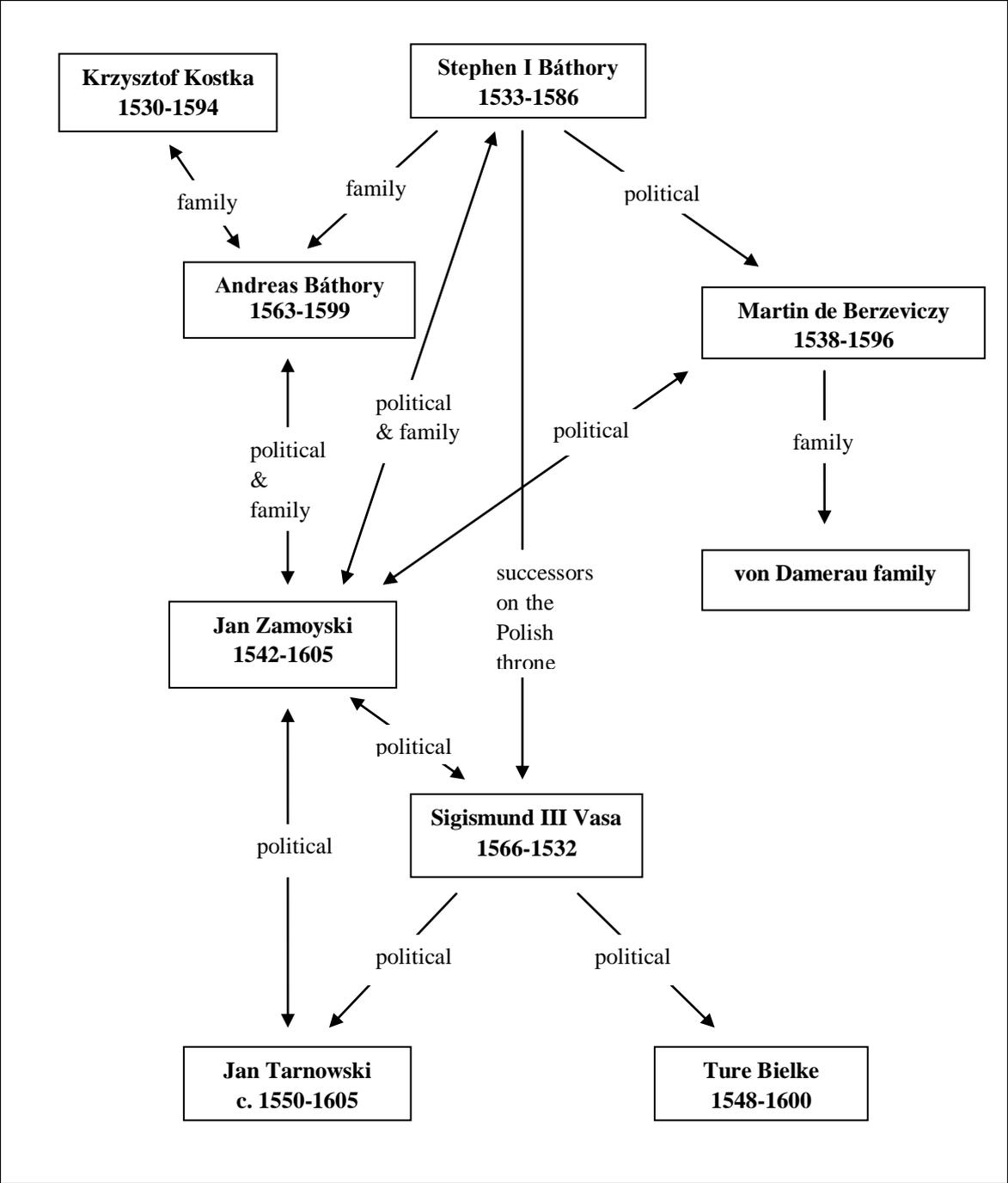
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<sup>420</sup> The exchange has been discussed in Kowalczyk 1980, p. 188-198, and Kowalczyk 1983.

<sup>421</sup> Kowalczyk 1983, p. 50-51.

<sup>422</sup> *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego*, 1, p. 65, 265, 301.

Relations between Willem van den Blocke's patrons from the Báthory and Vasa circles



## Conclusion

After he moved from the Low Countries to Prussia, Willem van den Blocke apparently became a court artist, even though the exact nature of his position in Königsberg remains uncertain. His departure for Gdańsk c. 1584 indicates, however, that he was not entirely happy with his standing there. Engaged by king Stephen Báthory and simultaneously establishing his atelier in Gdańsk, the sculptor was apparently eager to simultaneously exploit possibilities offered by the city and the royal patronage. In this way, he followed the example set by his highly successful tutor, Cornelis Floris. Acquaintance with court circles and the esteem enjoyed by the sculptor provided him with a constant flow of prestigious and - probably - profitable commissions. Furthermore, this move allowed him to broaden his circle of clients, especially with regard to the highly ambitious and affluent patrician élite. Thus the link between the artist and his patrons transcended said boundaries.

Nonetheless, his involvement with the kings of Poland and members of their immediate family and encourage was undoubtedly one of the decisive factors behind the smooth progress of his career. The sculptor's prestige is not only confirmed by the fact that he kept being engaged by high ranking patrons over a long period of time, but also by clients returning to him years after completion of commissions submitted by their political mentors or relatives. The artist's ability to fulfil the wishes of his patrons allowed him to maintain the position of leading sculptor in the southern part of the Baltic region for a period of almost thirty years.

The study of patronage presented in this chapter provides an insight into the patterns of such activity and their importance for an artist's professional life. Perhaps the most significant factor facilitating the development of a sculptor's career was the existence of a complex network of relations between his patrons. For the most part, commissions were not won on free market, but resulted from works carried out and, possibly, from recommendations issued by satisfied patrons. Willem van den Blocke's career clearly exemplifies the importance of securing commissions from important patrons that could assert abilities of a sculptor and make his services desirable in the eyes of others. The primary type of relations between patrons, observed in this study, was of political nature. The leading role therein was always played by members of highest social and political standing, in our case kings Stephan Báthory and Sigismund Vasa, who influenced their entourage, consisting of councillors, courtiers and political aides (Martin de Berzeviczy, Jan Zamoyski, Jan Tarnowski, Ture Bielke). The precise reason for employing a specific artist may have varied from case to case, but the example-setting role of royal commissions is obvious. Another type of network was based on family ties. The most notable example is Andreas Báthory, but the same applies to Martin de Berzeviczy and Jan Zamoyski, the latter married to Griselda Báthory. Apart from the court circle, the position of van den Blocke studio was firmly established with leading patrician families of the great Prussian towns. Apparently well aware of artistic undertakings of the royal court in Cracow and the ducal one in Königsberg, members of the Prussian patrician élite, as well as of the local nobility, were eagerly following in their footsteps. Also in this case, personal as well as political ties strongly facilitated the diffusion of sculptural work. The last type of patronal interrelations applies to agents and middlemen. As can be seen from the activities of Ture Bielke, Martin de Berzeviczy and Michael Giese, persons engaged

in facilitating carrying out others' commissions, they could later turn to the artist they already knew to commission works of art for themselves. All types of connections presented here could be of course interwoven with each other, as many of the patrons took advantage of manifold contact channels.

The role of interrelated commissions in facilitating dissemination of works of art - and, in consequence, artistic ideas - over a vast geographical area cannot be overstated. The fact that van den Blokke's sculptures found their way to such diverse places as Uppsala, Odense, Łowicz, Vilnius and Alba Iulia did not result from his mobility, but rather from a complex set of political and personal relations between patrons.<sup>423</sup> Even though the sculptor worked mainly in Königsberg and Gdańsk, his clients made his works travel throughout entire Eastern and Northern Europe. In this way, they transcended boundaries between artistic regions, each with its own centres, such as Poland-Lithuania, Transylvania, Denmark and Sweden. The same process, although on a much smaller scale, can be observed in Royal Prussia, where ties between patrician families were the main cause for exporting works of art created in Gdańsk, the leading artistic centre in the region.

Finally, a few words must be said with regard to the clients' interest in art and architecture. Judging by the overall character and scale of artistic patronage by personalities presented above, their understanding of the function of works of art differed widely. A small group of them, familiar with art, was guided by aesthetic preferences. These most refined patrons included Sigismund III Vasa, Jan Zamoyski and perhaps also cardinal Báthory. However, even here aesthetic considerations without doubt went hand in hand with other, equally or more important factors, most notably the need for appropriate representation. The most potent driving force behind the commissions seems, therefore, to have been the need for visual embodiment of social and political ambitions. Stress laid on other aspects of an art work while employing this creator comes rather as a shift of accent, varying in degree

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<sup>423</sup> See some more general observations on this subject in Mossakowski 2002, p. 12-13.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE WORKSHOP OF WILLEM VAN DEN BLOCHE IN GDAŃSK

#### Introduction

Knowledge about structure and practice of a sculptor's workshop is necessary for proper understating of his activities. The following chapter, largely based on the documents of the masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild in Gdańsk, will explore the studio managed there by Willem van den Blocke between 1584 and c. 1603. The records of the guild provide exceptional material concerning the workshops led by masters belonging to the association. Close examination of those archival sources allows for a reconstruction of the size of Willem van den Blocke's studio and the changes it has underwent throughout its existence. What is more, the records allow to establish the identities of assistants and pupils employed by the sculptor.<sup>424</sup> This is particularly valuable, as it enables us to establish the balance between different specialists present there. Due to the character of the documents, concerned with internal affairs of the guild rather than with actual workshop practice, many intriguing questions regarding the latter must be unfortunately either addressed indirectly or left unanswered. Nonetheless, we gain some invaluable insight into the atelier led by one of the leading exponents of Netherlandish sculpture in late sixteenth century Europe.

Van den Blocke's workshop offers a doubly revealing case study, allowing for better understanding of Gdańsk's artistic milieu, but also of the wider phenomenon of Netherlandish sculptor studios operating in Northern and Central Europe. The aim of this analysis is threefold. First, it will show the character and structure of van den Blocke's atelier, as well as relations between the master and the local guild. Second, it will attempt to evaluate the position of the workshop in the local milieu. Finally, it will discuss the functioning of the studio in broader context of other Netherlandish sculptor workshops, especially those active abroad.

#### 3.1 Willem van den Blocke and the masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild in Gdańsk

Masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild was the central professional association in Gdańsk for all those working in stone.<sup>425</sup> Like all similar organizations, it was strictly supervised by the city council.<sup>426</sup> Its members belonged to three professions - stonemasons, stonecutters and sculptors operating in stone - and to three distinct groups, namely masters,

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<sup>424</sup> The records of payments issued by masters of the guild for journeymen and apprentices employed in their workshops are the main source here, see APG, 300, C/2057-2059.

<sup>425</sup> Rich archival material concerning the guild has been preserved in the Archiwum Państwowe (State Archive) in Gdańsk. Information with regard to guilds in Gdańsk in general and the masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild in particular are to be found in Lengnich 1900, p. 555-560, Cuny 1910a, Simson 1918, p. 353-355, 523-526, Bogucka 1962, Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 150-155, Pałubicki 1981, p. 175-178, Bogucka 1982c and Oszczanowski, 2008, p. 72-74.

<sup>426</sup> Lengnich 1900, p. 219-221; Bogucka 1962, p. 293-294.

journeymen and apprentices. Thus, the guild was hardly a homogenous body, comprising well-trained figural sculptors and master builders as well as numerous plain masons. Training period for apprentices lasted four years, after which they were promoted to journeymen. The latter constituted the main working force within the guild and differed strongly in their age, skill and professional position. They could move from one workshop to another, or even abandon the town altogether; however, some journeymen are known to have cooperated with specific masters for a long time, probably as leading assistants in their workshops.<sup>427</sup> To become a master, a journeyman had to work for a specific time in a designated studio, submit a masterpiece and pay the guild an appropriate admission fee. Relatives of already established masters had the best possibility to attain a respectable position within the organization; besides obvious support from their kinsmen, they also enjoyed considerable financial privileges.<sup>428</sup> In consequence, van den Blocke family was not the only one to establish a ‘dynasty’ of masters; illustrative examples of this phenomenon is provided by a local Mindach family as well as by an émigré family of the master builder Burchard Janssen, originally from Zwolle.<sup>429</sup>

The affairs of the guild were managed by four officials, elected yearly from among the masters: the dean of the guild (*Elterman*), his companion (*Compan*) and two elder masters (*Beysitzeren*). Quite often the *Compan* replaced the previous *Elterman* next year, while the former *Elterman* became one of the *Beysitzeren*. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century it was also rather unusual for the *Elterman* to hold the post for more than one year in a row.<sup>430</sup> Guild regulations encompassed various activities of its members, ranging from strictly professional to religious and social.<sup>431</sup> In principle, a professional association controlled the number of workshops in the town, number of assistants within a workshop – although in late sixteenth century this was not strict, as many workshops grew into large enterprises – and distribution of the materials needed for work.<sup>432</sup> All the masters had to pay annually a certain amount of money to the guild for the assistants they employed, as well as for other aims, most importantly maintaining the city’s defense (*‘Fahnen-geld’*).

Survey of documents reveals a strong Netherlandish presence within the guild.<sup>433</sup> More or less a quarter of guild masters consisted of immigrants from the Low Countries, and some of them, like Burchard Janssen, Willem van der Meer and Abraham van den Blocke,

<sup>427</sup> An example is provided by a certain Hans Flaminck, assistant in the workshop of Burchard Janssen (APG 300, C / 2058, p. 73, 96); Flaminck could have been a Netherlander who accompanied Janssen to Gdańsk.

<sup>428</sup> An example is provided by Abraham van den Blocke, whose yearly fee as a journeyman in 1590 was only 5 *groschen*, see APG, 300,C/2058, p. 79. He has been named here explicitly as a sculptor’s son. The standard yearly fee for a journeyman employed in all workshops in Gdańsk at that time was 10 *groschen* (1/2 Mark).

<sup>429</sup> Burchard Janssen led a large building enterprise and was repeatedly elected as the dean of the guild; similarly to Willem van den Blocke, who was in fact a teacher of one of Janssen’s sons, Jacob (see below), he promoted his other son, Hans Burchard, to mastership (APG 300, C/2058, p. 16, 85). Moreover, a number of other figures who could have been related to this family appear in the documents of the guild. As to the Mindach family, Matz Myndach has been mentioned as a master in Gdańsk already in 1533 (APG 300, C/2092, p. 44).

<sup>430</sup> Exceptions were Burchard Janssen in 1581-1582, Lorenz Lange in 1613-1614 and Lorenz Reichel in 1628–1629.

<sup>431</sup> See the statutes of the guild, APG 300, C /2095. See also following studies concentrating on life in early modern Gdańsk: Kizik 1997, Kizik 1998 and Kizik 2001.

<sup>432</sup> Bogucka 1962, p. 201-207. See also Willem van den Blocke’s supplication from 1590 (APG 300, 36/65, p. 29-32; *Krzysiak* 1999, p. 72-76). See also Wardzyński 2010b, p. 59-60.

<sup>433</sup> On this see already Cuny 1910a, Krzyżanowski 1966, Pałubicki 1981, Oszczanowski 2008. See also Skibiński 2013a and Skibiński 2013b.

attained leading positions in the organization. Between 1580 and 1620 the post of the dean of the guild was occupied by Netherlanders seventeen times, mostly by Janssen, van der Meer and Abraham van den Blocke.<sup>434</sup> There were also several other important figures of Netherlandish origin whose links with the guild were apparently more loose, such as the architects and engineers, Frederik Hendriksz.Vroom from Haarlem and Anthonis van Obbergen from Mechelen.<sup>435</sup> Their names only sporadically appear in the documents of the association, even though at least some of their assistants were apparently obliged to register with the guild.<sup>436</sup> The number of Netherlandish immigrants among journeymen was also very significant, though establishing their exact number is impossible. Apart from Netherlanders, Gdańsk attracted many journeymen from other lands. Besides those coming from Royal Prussia and neighbouring Königsberg, immigrants from Silesia, Saxony and other parts of the Holy Roman Empire - Augsburg, for instance - can be traced in the documents.<sup>437</sup> Some of the Germans were immigrants, while others, like the master Jacob Mindach, belonged to families already established in Gdańsk. Some masters of local origin could have also been trained in the Low Countries, as testified by the example of Hans Strakowsky, originally from Prabuty (Riesenburg) in Ducal Prussia.<sup>438</sup> Thus, Gdańsk and its guild provided a true melting pot for sculptors, stonecutters, masons and architects from different regions of Central and Eastern Europe, from Flanders to Königsberg and from Silesia and Augsburg to Denmark.

While looking through existing literature on Willem van den Blocke one is bound to encounter the long accepted view that the sculptor operated outside of the structures of this local craftsmen association.<sup>439</sup> This is generally believed to have resulted from his involvement with King Stephen Báthory - discussed in more detail in the previous chapter - whose recommendation supposedly granted him such a privilege.<sup>440</sup> However, Willem van den Blocke was in fact a member of the association, as indicated by numerous documents confirming his ties to the guild.

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<sup>434</sup> APG, 300/C, 2057-2059.

<sup>435</sup> Vroom has been appointed as a city architect probably in 1577, see Cuny 1910a, p. 33 and 123, note 55; Pałubicki 1981, p. 185, note 28; Oszczanowski 2008, p. 75-76. In the documents of the guild he is referred to as *Baumeister*, see for example APG 300, C/2058, p. 26. Obbergen has been nominated as the master of fortifications in 1592, around the time of death of Vroom (1593) and departure of Hans Schneider von Lindau (1591), see Kaufmann 1906, p. 38; Habela 1997, p. 342 and Bartetzky 2000, p. 160-161.

<sup>436</sup> Vroom, for example, is known to employ two assistants from Augsburg, Hans Herzog and Jacob Diez, in 1587, see APG 300, C/2058, p. 26, five journeyman in 1590 and eight in 1591, see APG 300, C/2058, p. 78, 86, 89, 90. Hans Herzog from Augsburg originally employed by Vroom appears in 1592 in the studio of Burchard Janssen, see APG 300, C/2058, p. 102.

<sup>437</sup> For example Martin and Adam from Königsberg in the studio of Andreas Han in 1579 (300, C/2057, p. 151), Dirck from Bremen in the studio of Paul van Doren in 1580 (300,C/2057, p. 163), Bartel from Dresden and Hans from Torgau in the studio of Bartolomäus Piper in 1593 (300,C/2058, p. 111), and Georg from Breslau (Wrocław) in the studio of Burchard Janssen in 1592 (300,C/2058, p. 96). Sometimes a larger group of journeymen originating from a single place appear, such as five assistants described as 'von Freiburg' recorded in the workshop of Hans Schneider von Lindau in 1583 (APG 300,C/2057, p. 225-226).

<sup>438</sup> Cuny 1910a, p. 51, 56; Stankiewicz 1955, p. 44, 91; APG 300, C/2058, p. 94.

<sup>439</sup> For instance Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 277-278, Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180, Mikočka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535, Sulewska 2004, p. 64 and Pałubicki 2009, 2, p. 56. However, Krzysiak 1997, p. 205 acknowledged van den Blocke's involvement with the guild.

<sup>440</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 277 -278; Hornung 1959a, p. 106; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Pałubicki 2009, 2, p. 56. The recommendation itself has been referred to in the 1584 and 1590 supplications, APG 300,36/65, p. 12 (*Krzysiak 1999*, p. 65-66) and p. 31 (*Krzysiak 1999*, p. 73): "...*Wie ich denn zu betzeigunge mejner vorhaltunge, der Kön. Mayt. / vorschriffbriff, welchenste mir zur der nutturfft allernge- / digst mitgetheilet.*" ; "...*hatt ich mich an die freyheit / gehalten, so mir ein E. H. Ratk aus Kön: Maytt. seligen gnedige vor- / bitt gegonnet hatt...*"

Two notes in the records of the guild, both dated 8 July 1584, leave little doubt as to the fact that Willem van den Blocke has been enrolled into the association at that time.<sup>441</sup> In addition to that, his membership is confirmed by his own words. In a supplication to the City Council from 17 August 1590 concerning the controversy between the artist and other masters of the guild, van den Blocke explicitly declared his involvement with the organization.<sup>442</sup> What is more, also a complaint filed against the sculptor indicates that he was a member of the association.<sup>443</sup> Apart from this, master Willem is mentioned among other masters of the guild in an entry either from 1585 or 1586, as well as in a document from 1587, concerning the status of the master builder Hans Schneider von Lindau.<sup>444</sup> The most convincing proof, however, is provided by the records of journeymen and apprentices employed in his studio, registered with the guild. Those documents demonstrate that those willing to join the studio led by Willem van den Blocke used to sign up with the guild, while the master was compelled to pay the professional organization proper fees. Consequently, in this respect the studio led by Willem van den Blocke did not differ significantly from workshops of other contemporary masters.

Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the belief that van den Blocke could have been to some degree independent from the regulations imposed by the craftsmen's association is not entirely unfounded. The most intriguing with regard to this is the term 'freedom' (*Freiheit*), appearing in a number of documents concerning the sculptor.<sup>445</sup> Scholars interpreted it as complete independence from regulations imposed by the professional organization. Having refuted this claim, the meaning of the term must be now reexamined. Particularly instructive is one of the notes from 8 July 1584, describing, though rather briefly, the framework of van den Blocke's future practice in Gdańsk.<sup>446</sup> According to the document, Willem himself was free to practice his art in Gdańsk and to employ assistants needed to complete his commissions, but was nonetheless obliged to follow the rules imposed by the guild as far as accepting journeymen and apprentices into his studio is concerned. This appears to be in concurrence with the practice observed in his workshop, above all regular payments for assistants. Van den Blocke was furthermore granted a number of personal privileges, freeing him from troublesome duties of a guild master, such as participation in funerary ceremonies of late fellow members of the guild and taking the post of the 'Maigraf'.<sup>447</sup> City authorities usually had the right to surpass guild regulations, if they needed qualified people that were not available locally. Therefore, the association had to comply and accept the sculptor supported by the City Council - and, indirectly, the king,

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<sup>441</sup> APG, 300, C/2051, p. 290-291; APG, 300, C/2057, p. 243; see also Skibiński 2010.

<sup>442</sup> APG, 300, 36/65, p. 29-32; *Krzysiak 1999*, p. 72-76.

<sup>443</sup> Known today only from the summary by August Bertling, see August Bertling, *Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Danziger Gewerke*; Danziger Künstler, Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms. 2490 (it contains a number of undated abbreviated transcriptions of archival sources, also devoid of archival signatures).

<sup>444</sup> As to the former see APG, 300, C/2052, p. 8; the entry is described as 'Meister und Gesellen zum Böllliche [Geld] zu legen'; as to the latter see APG, 300, 5/4, p. 415.

<sup>445</sup> Notes in the records of the guild, APG, 300, C/2051, p. 290-291; APG, 300, C/2057, p. 243; supplication from 1590, APG, 300, 36/65, p. 29-32 (*Krzysiak 1999*, p. 72-75).

<sup>446</sup> APG, 300, C/2051, p. 290-291. The other brief note (APG, 300, C/2057, p. 243) only mentions the conditions described elsewhere, perhaps in the former.

<sup>447</sup> Taking part in the funerary ceremony was enforced on members by the statute of the guild, see APG, 300, C/2095, p. 10. The post of 'Maigraf', that is a person organizing and leading certain civic festivities, required considerable financial effort; see Simson 1900, p. 141-142 and Simson 1918, p. 352, 454.

However, this somewhat autonomous position within the organization must have prevented van den Blocke from attaining any official post, since despite his obvious professional success throughout his long stay in Gdańsk he was never elected a dean nor one of the members of the guild's executive. His marginal position must have been furthermore strengthened by the fact that in all probability the sculptor did not receive full rights of citizenship in Gdańsk. Thus, Willem van den Blocke attained an exceptional position in the city, being simultaneously a member of the guild and a sculptor with an autonomous position, appointed by the city council and, at least occasionally, supported by the royal court.

Uneasy cohabitation between Willem van den Blocke and the local guild, or maybe rather with some of its masters, is well illustrated by the conflict that was taking place in late 1580's and early 1590's. The controversy is documented chiefly by van den Blocke's supplication to the city council from 1590.<sup>448</sup> We learn from it that master Willem has been accused by fellow masters, particularly Willem van der Meer (Barth), originally from Ghent, of transgressing the rules agreed with the guild and taking up work as a stonecutter. According to Willem's words, in 1590 the conflict was already going on for some time. It seems likely that it was triggered by the fact that in 1586, shortly after his arrival in Gdańsk, van den Blocke has been entrusted, at the expense of well-established local masters, with the prestigious and possibly profitable task of decorating the High Gate.<sup>449</sup> Unfortunately, the complaint about Willem van den Blocke's activities itself is known only from a short excerpt by August Bertling, dating from late nineteenth century.<sup>450</sup> Although the document is rather vague as far as exact reason for the enmity between masters is concerned, the origin of the controversy seems to have been Willem's involvement in some works beyond the scope of pure sculpture, to execution of which he was presumably entitled by the agreement with the guild. The group of masters led by van der Meer even wanted the council to cast Willem out of the town. Defending himself in the supplication of 1590, the artist stated that the professions of sculptor and stonecutter cannot be separated, as sculpting in stone requires also the skills of the latter.<sup>451</sup> Moreover, he condemns with strong words those fellow masters - Willem van der Meer is mentioned here by name - who attempt to practice the art of sculpture without proper training.<sup>452</sup> For that reason van den Blocke even insists that they entirely abandon this activity. This document clearly demonstrates that not all of the works executed in stone in Gdańsk at that time were carried out by well-trained professional

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<sup>448</sup> APG 300, 36/65, p. 29-32 (*Krzysiak 1999*, p. 72-76).

<sup>449</sup> Willem states that: "... also das die elterleutte vor vier Jahren [1586, the year Willem embarked on the High Gate project] das werck mir legen wollen..." (as note 448); 'Die elterleute' were presumably the guild authorities that year, Jacob Hendrick, Claus Jacobsen, Burchardt Janssen and Benedict Lange (three of them were Netherlanders).

<sup>450</sup> August Bertling, *Exzerpte zur Geschichte der Danziger Gewerke*; Danziger Künstler, Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms. 2490.

<sup>451</sup> "... Es mag auch nicht wol von einander gedrennet sein, denn / Bildthauen geheret zum Steinhauen, unnd Steinhauen beÿ Bildt- / hauen..." (as note 448).

<sup>452</sup> "... unnd dieweil der obengedachte Meister Wilhelm, das Bildtwerck / nicht gelernet hatt, viel weniger die hanndt daran weiss zulegen / ich aber das Steinhauen mit meinen eigenen henden wol bewei- / ssen kan, welchs er mir gerne wehren wollte..." (as note 448). This opinion expressed by van den Blocke contradicts the view held by modern scholars, who generally accept Willem van der Meer as one of the most important sculptors in Gdańsk at that time. This evaluation of van der Meer's professional prowess cannot be, however, accepted unequivocally, as it certainly was influenced by personal enmity between the two masters.

sculptors. Master Willem explicitly mentioned masters incapable to carry out sculptural works themselves employing assistants possessing - at least to a certain degree - such skills. Furthermore, it reveals the rather low opinion Willem van den Blocke held of other masters active in Gdańsk at that time, including some Netherlanders. This stance could have resulted from his earlier acquaintance with some of the most prominent sculptors and artists of the Low Countries, above all Cornelis Floris. The short comment at the end of the supplication clearly indicates that the council heeded van den Blocke's argumentation and instructed the guild to respect his privileges.

Another issue should be brought forward with regard to the abovementioned controversy. Both the masters in 1586 and Willem van den Blocke in 1590 mentioned in their respective scriptures the name of Gdańsk's city architect, Hans Schneider von Lindau, who, according to the former complaint, has been earlier granted privileges similar to the ones received by van den Blocke. Among the documents of the guild an archival act concerning von Lindau's enrollment into the association in 1583 is to be found, revealing that he was apparently supported by the influential burgomaster Constantin Ferber.<sup>453</sup> Judging these documents, his position within the guild must have caused similar disagreement as in the case of van den Blocke, and an extensive verdict concerning this issue is to be found in the records of the office of the second burgomaster (*Vicepresidirendenbürgermeister*) from 1586.<sup>454</sup> It is important to point that the second burgomaster, among other things supervising guild affairs, was at that time Constantin Ferber. In addition to that, one year later Ferber has written a lengthy letter to the organization, describing in detail the boundaries of von Lindau's activities.<sup>455</sup> One of the main concerns of the fellow masters was the issue of journeymen and apprentices employed and promoted by the constructor. Apparently, according to the contract between himself and Ferber, von Lindau was supposed to enroll his journeymen and apprentices into the guild. It must be also stressed that in the same way as in the later spat between the guild and Willem van den Blocke, the city authorities supported the architect. In the absence of extensive evidence related to the disagreement between Willem van den Blocke and the guild, the case of Hans Schneider von Lindau to some extent brings to light the problem of cohabitation between the professional association and those masters, who for various reasons maintained some sort of independence. Both these examples suggest, moreover, that apart from purely professional issues, the question of confessional identity played a role in these conflicts as well. The guild masters – although their words must be approached with caution – accuse both van den Blocke and von Lindau of being Mennonites.

The conflict between Willem van den Blocke and some other masters may be related to a change taking place in the late sixteenth century, with new ideas infiltrating milieus rooted in earlier tradition. While views expressed by some older scholars, seeing such figures as van den Blocke as modern, Renaissance artists confronted with traditionally-minded artisans forming the guilds, are definitely too sharp, certainly some controversy existed between those who adhered to the local guild system and those experienced in different type

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<sup>453</sup> APG, 300, C/2057, p. 221 (dated 3 March 1583).

<sup>454</sup> APG, 300, 5/4, p. 412-418.

<sup>455</sup> APG, 300, C/2086, p. 37-50.

of work organization.<sup>456</sup> The situation in Gdańsk was particularly complicated, since the same association encompassed both masons with only basic training and highly skilled and ambitious artists, such as van den Blocke. Perhaps even more importantly, the conflict could have been triggered by cohabitation of masters accustomed to various models of work organization; van den Blocke, for instance, was trained in the exceptionally self-conscious artistic milieu in Antwerp milieu, untypical even in the Low Countries. Moreover, unlike many of his colleagues, as a well-trained sculptor he was capable of personally carrying out complicated sculptural works. The sculptor's words showing his contempt for abilities of some of his colleagues on one hand and attempts to create a separate professional organization for painters on the other illustrate tension within the local artistic circles c. 1600. In fact, similar conflicts between guilds and artists working already according to new patterns are documented in many places in the Netherlands throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>457</sup> However, although it seems likely that influx of artists of different professions from the Low Countries to Gdańsk played a considerable part in those developments, one should not make a mistake by drawing a clear line between 'modern' Netherlanders and local traditionalists. Gdańsk provides a number of examples of masters of Netherlandish origin well integrating with the local organization and making use of its regulations in an attempt to secure their own professional position. Once established, they were often hostile towards other newcomers, who were sometimes better qualified and could therefore weaken their professional position. This is most clearly visible in actions taken by Willem van der Meer against both van den Blocke and another Netherlander, Willem Martens, who probably worked as a *Stadtbaumeister* in Elbląg.<sup>458</sup> This professional competition apparently run parallel to cooperation between various members of the Netherlandish diaspora, a phenomenon leading to establishing an extensive network of related workshops controlling large sectors of the market.<sup>459</sup>

Furthermore, a difference must have existed between newcomers and those master who passed through the entire professional curriculum, from an apprentice to a master. An illustration of the importance of this factor is provided by the very different standing of Willem van den Blocke, who despite his high professional position remained an outsider throughout his entire career in Gdańsk, and his son Abraham, a prominent master and a dean of the guild. The position attained by Willem van den Blocke's sons, particularly Abraham and Jacob, indicates that faced with a choice between conflict and profit, also members of this family adopted a more conciliatory approach. In fact, professional associations appear to have formed an important factor allowing immigrants from abroad, particularly Netherlanders, to integrate into their new milieus. Strong standing in the organization by such masters as Burchard Janssen, Willem van der Meer and Abraham van den Blocke, clearly indicates that its structure was hardly closed to newcomers. It seems likely – although it must remain a hypothesis at this moment – that this process of integration could have been facilitated by the city authorities, willing to secure the services of skilled architects, sculptors

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<sup>456</sup> On parallel developments in other parts of Europe see, for example, Philipp 1989 and Tussenbroek 2006, p. 11-14.

<sup>457</sup> See, for example, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 48-49.

<sup>458</sup> APG 300, 5/8, p. 73; as to this position in Elbląg see *Behring, Alphabetische Auszüge*, p. 25 and *Behring, Fortlaufende Auszüge*, p. 67, 113, 146.

<sup>459</sup> See Chapter 7 and Skibiński 2013a.

and others. After they have attained the status of masters – the same, though in lesser scale, applies also to journeymen – immigrants begun to play a relatively important role within the town. Conflicts between different masters were motivated above all by issues related to professional practice and personal grievances, while ethnical issues seem to have been much less relevant. Thus, the guild was not only an association providing organizational rules but also important social framework, facilitating integration of arriving professionals.

Membership the masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild indicate that Willem van den Blocke was working above all in stone. This is confirmed by his known oeuvre, composed exclusively of works made in this material. Only Renata Sulewska suggested that he may have also been working in wood.<sup>460</sup> She presented four arguments in favour of her hypothesis. None of them, however, is convincing. First, she stated that van den Blocke did not belong to the guild and was, therefore, free to execute all kinds of works. However, written sources presented above clearly indicate his membership in the guild. The guild system in Gdańsk was rather rigid. If masters of the masons' guild were against him for working as a stonecutter, local woodcarvers would be even more upset if he had taken up their craft. Second, Sulewska claimed that the altar in Zamość designed by van den Blocke in 1605 was made in wood. This, however, is purely speculative.<sup>461</sup> Third, she mentioned family relation between van den Blocke and the woodcarver Matthias Neisser. This argument is not particularly relevant, as the relation concerned Aegidius, and not Willem, as has been thought hitherto.<sup>462</sup> Finally, Sulewska attributed to Willem van den Blocke the wooden altar in Szywna. However, this attribution is doubtful, as it rather seems a typical product of late sixteenth century Gdańsk woodcarvers, strongly influenced by Netherlandish patterns. It is likely that Willem van den Blocke could have learned woodcarving in the preliminary stage of his professional training, since his father and elder brothers were engaged in this craft. Moreover, later on he could provide designs for woodcarvers working in Gdańsk. There is, however, no proof that he was working in this material himself.

### 3.2 The workshop

Willem van den Blocke enrolled into the guild in the summer of 1584 as a master. Starting with 1585, throughout all the years he led his studio in Gdańsk, the names of journeymen and apprentices employed by him appear in the records of the association.<sup>463</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> Sulewska 1999; Sulewska 2004, p. 62-64.

<sup>461</sup> This argument has been based on a hypothesis presented by Jerzy Kowalczyk.

<sup>462</sup> See note 61.

<sup>463</sup> This has already been presented by the author in article (Skibiński 2010). With regard to particular assistants, see the following archive sources: 1585 - Peter Heithecker von Düsseldorf (300, C/2057, s. 256); Philip van den Blocke (APG, 300, C/2057, s. 258); 1586 - Philip van den Blocke (APG 300, C/2058, p. 11); 1587 - Adrian de Ponne and Jacob Colin (APG 300, C/2058, p. 20); 1588 - Adrian de Ponne, Jacob Colin (APG 300, C/2058, p. 38) and Claus von Brussel (APG 300, C/2058, p. 47); 1589 - Philip von dem Block and Jacob Colin (APG 300, C/2058, p. 56); 1590 - Philip van den Blocke and Rombout von Fresen (APG 300, C/2058, p. 74); 1591 - Philip van den Blocke, Rombout von Fresen, Hans Alexander, Georg „ein Bildhauer” (APG 300, C/2058, p. 82) and Peter von Düsseldorf (APG 300, C/2058, p. 88); 1592 - Rombout von Fresen, Philip van den Blocke, Franz van den Blocke, Adrian de Ponne and Hans de Wahl (APG 300, C/2058, p. 94-95); 1593 - Philip van den Blocke, Paul Bocke, Rombout von Fresen and Bert Spoeg (APG 300, C/2058, p. 110); 1594 - Servatius König, Rombout von Fresen and Dionisius (de Wahl?) (APG 300, C/2058, p. 127) and Lambert Marens and Hans von Brussel (APG 300, C/2058, p. 129); 1595 - Servatius König, Dionisius (de Wahl?), Rombout von Fresen, Lambert Marens, Hans von Brussel and Paul von dem Tils (APG 300, C/2058, p. 147); 1596 - Hans Flaminck (APG 330,

Besides journeymen, several apprentices are also known to have received education in the van den Blocke workshop. Besides Willem's son Abraham, who entered his father's studio in 1585 and completed his apprenticeship in 1590, records of the guild provide information about several other pupils acquiring fundamentals of the craft in the workshop led by van den Blocke.<sup>464</sup> His assistants and pupils are as follows:

Year	Assistants	Apprentices
1585	Philip van den Blocke Peter Heithecker	Abraham van den Blocke
1586	Philip van den Blocke	Abraham van den Blocke
1587	Adrian de Ponne Jacob Colin	Abraham van den Blocke
1588	Adrian de Ponne Jacob Colin	Abraham van den Blocke
1589	Philip van den Blocke Jacob Colin	Abraham van den Blocke Georg Schogeder
1590	Philip van den Blocke Rombout von Fresen	Abraham van den Blocke Georg Schrogeder
1591	Philip van den Blocke Rombout von Fresen Peter Heithecker Hans Alexander Georg ‚Bildhauer‘	Georg Schrogeder Conrad von Hoff
1592	Philip van den Blocke Franz van den Blocke Adrian de Ponne Hans de Wahle	Georg Schrodeger Conrad von Hoff Herman Sparck
1593	Philip van den Blocke Rombout von Fresen Paul Bocke Bert Spoeg	Georg Schogeder Conrad von Hoff Herman Sparck
1594	Rombout von Fresen Servatius König Dionisius (de Wahl?) Lambert Marens Hans von Brussels	Conrad von Hoff Herman Sparck Jacob Burchrad Peter Dunis

C/2053, p. 16) as well as Rombout von Fresen, Dionisius de Wahl, Hans de Wahl and Philip van den Blocke (APG 300, C/2058, p. 158); 1597 - Hans de Wahl, Rombout von Fresen and Heinrich „ein Bildthauer“ (APG 300, C/2058, p. 176); 1598 - Rombout von Fresen, Hans de Wahl and Servatius König (APG 300, C/2058, p. 190) as well as Hans von Gosfeldt and Weit von Kostnitz (APG 300, C/2058, p. 195); 1599 - Hans Gosfeldt, Daniel Strede (APG 300, C/2058, p. 204) and Marten de Wahl (APG 300, C/2058, p. 210).

<sup>464</sup> With regard to Abraham van den Blocke see APG, 300, C/2057, p. 250 and APG, 300, C/2058, p. 75 – 76; Krzyżanowski 1971b, p. 178. This has been known at least since the publication by Knetsch 1903. With regard to others see: 1589-1593 - Georg (Jorgen) Schrogeder (APG 300, C/2058, p. 57 and 116; before 1589 he could have also been trained by another master, Nicolas Jacobsen); 1591- Conrad von Hoff (APG 300, C/2058, p. 86); 1592- Herman Sparck (APG 300, C/2058, p. 103; seemingly, he has failed to complete his apprenticeship); 1594-1598 Jacob Burchrad (APG 300, C/2058, p. 123 and 192; see also 300, C/2053, p. 24b) and Peter Dunis (Dionisjus?) (APG, 300, C/2058, p. 133 and 198); 1596-1600 - Georg Tenzer (APG, 300, C/2058, p. 158 and 238); 1598-1602 - Hans Tenzel (APG 300, C/2053, p. 49v; APG 300, C/2058, p. 193 and 267); 1603 – Peter van Egen (APG 300, C/2059, p. 17).

1595	Rombout von Fresen Servatius König Dionisius (de Wahl?) Lambert Marens Hans von Brussels Paul von dem Tils	Conrad von Hoff Herman Sparck Peter Burchard Peter Dunis
1596	Philip van den Blocke Rombout von Fresen Dionisius de Wahl Hans de Wahl Hans Flaminck	Peter Burchard Herman Sparck Peter Dunis Georg Tenzer
1597	Rombout von Fresen Hans de Wahl Heinrich ‚Bildhauer‘	Peter Burchard Peter Dunis Georg Tenzer
1598	Rombout von Fresen Hans de Wahl Servatius König	Peter Burchard Peter Dunis Georg Tenzer Hans Tenzel
1599	Hans Gosfeldt Daniel Strede Marten de Wahl	Georg Tenzer Hans Tenzel Peter van Egen?
1600		Georg Tenzer Hans Tenzel Peter van Egen ?
1601		Hans Tenzel Peter van Egen ?
1602		Hans Tenzel Peter van Egen ?
1603		Peter van Egen (released by Abraham van den Blocke)

Some of those trained by van den Blocke eventually became masters themselves. By far the most prominent among them is Abraham van den Blocke, who submitted a masterpiece in 1597.<sup>465</sup> Besides him, two other subsequent masters are known to have worked with Willem van den Blocke: Tewes Barch and Peter Heithecker von Düsseldorf. The former attained the status of a master in 1595, after some difficulties caused by his perpetual absence in the studio, which caused master Willem to reject his application in 1594.<sup>466</sup> After several years of absence in documents, he reappears in the first decade of the seventeenth century, although apparently he did not make a major career in Gdańsk.<sup>467</sup> Peter Heithecker seems to have been a more intriguing personality, even though no works can be attributed to him for now. Before joining the studio of Willem van den Blocke (1585 and 1589) he was a member of large building enterprises managed by Burchard Janssen (1583) and Hans von Lindau (1584).<sup>468</sup> According to his own words, he has been engaged in the

<sup>465</sup> See note 203

<sup>466</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 138, 147, 151; APG 300, C/2052, p. 152. He is also known to have visited Elbląg without due permission in 1592 or 1593, see APG 300, C/2052, p. 131.

<sup>467</sup> APG 300, C/2093, p. 131 and 145.

<sup>468</sup> APG 300, C/2057, p. 224, 241, 256 and APG 300, C/2058, p. 88.

works on the High Gate.<sup>469</sup> In 1594, after some time spent in the studio of Willem van der Meer, Heithecker became a master of the guild and subsequently established a small workshop in Gdańsk.<sup>470</sup> In time, he even became the *Elterman* of the guild (1608).<sup>471</sup> It should be stressed that he employed a former assistant of Willem van den Blocke, Servatius König (1596), as well as at least one future employee of Abraham van den Blocke, Hans Goldschmidt (1597-1598).<sup>472</sup> In addition to that he also employed Balzer from Magdeburg, labeled in the relevant document as a sculptor.<sup>473</sup> This may suggest that he was responsible for executing some works reminiscent of van den Blocke's manner in Gdańsk and its whereabouts.<sup>474</sup>

While discussing the size of the workshop, it must be remembered that some assistants could have been omitted in the records.<sup>475</sup> It was fairly common to employ journeyman illegally, contrary to the guild regulations.<sup>476</sup> In the Low Countries - including Antwerp - apprentices were often accepted into workshops without registering them with guilds.<sup>477</sup> This practice could have possibly encouraged Netherlanders to do the same in other places, including Gdańsk. As a result, the actual size of the studio could have been somewhat larger than indicated by the guild's pay-books. It seems, however, that Gdańsk authorities invested much effort in tightening of the guild control, as indicated by the fact that despite his autonomous positions, Willem van den Blocke was obliged to register his assistants. This fact, as well as the official, continuous and un-incident character of the records of the Gdańsk guild, allows for a fairly accurate reconstruction the size of Willem van den Blocke's workshop and identification of the changes it has underwent during its existence.

Structure of the workshop was simultaneously firm and fluid. The figure of the master provided the binding factor, determining the character of the studio by choosing its profile, overseeing the process of production from design to execution and employing assistants suitable for carrying out tasks. As a well-trained sculptor, van den Blocke was moreover personally engaged in executing most of the works produced by his studio. Some among his assistants were constant collaborators, working with the master for a long time and presumably to a significant degree contributing to the studio's sculptural output; this group consisted mostly of members of the van den Blocke family and other Netherlanders. In

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<sup>469</sup> APG 300, 36/65, p. 33-34; Cuny 1910a, p. 57.

<sup>470</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 119, 122 and 136; see also Bogucka 1962, p. 79 and Tylicki 1997a, p. 183.

<sup>471</sup> APG 300, C/2091, p. 2.

<sup>472</sup> With regard to the former see APG 300, C/2058, p. 168; see also note 34; as to the latter see APG 300, C/2058, p. 184 and 193. Regarding Goldschmidt's journeymanhood in the studio of Abraham van den Blocke see APG 300, C/2059, p. 37. On Heithecker's activities see also APG 300, 36/65, p. 53-55.

<sup>473</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 168. It should be mentioned here that Magdeburg had at that time a small but lively sculptural milieu, as indicated by such works as the splendid pulpit in the local cathedral, carved in alabaster and according to the Netherlandsih sculptural and decorative language.

<sup>474</sup> On the issue of van den Blocke's followers see Chapter 7.

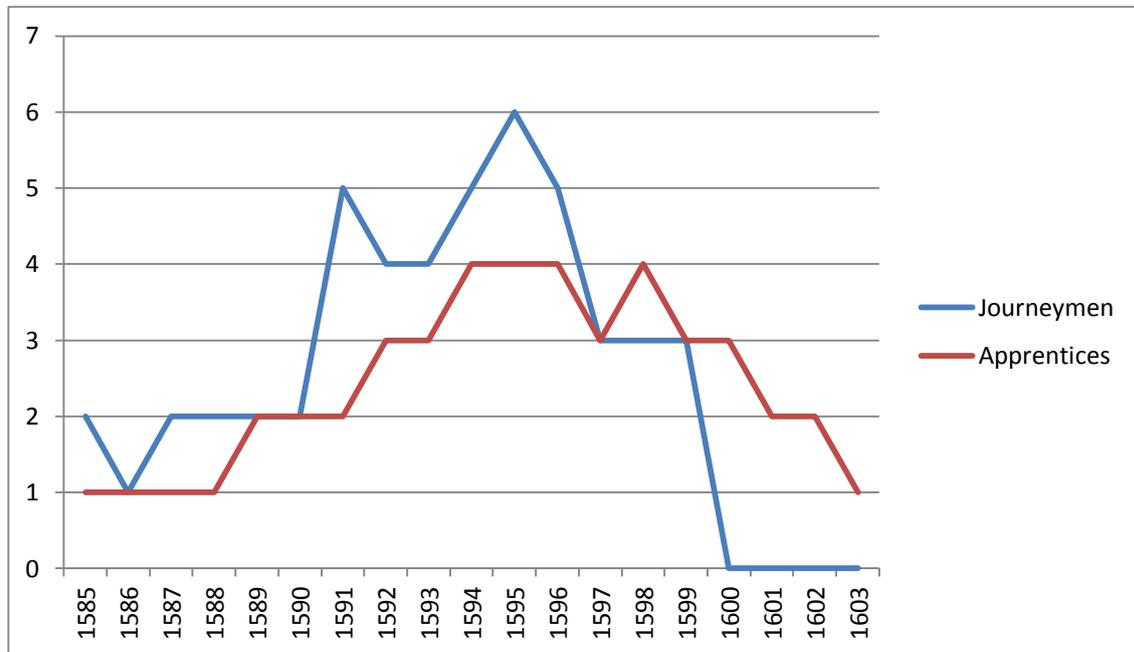
<sup>475</sup> Particularly problematic is the issue of the so-called *fremden Gesellen*, that is journeymen from outside of Gdańsk (APG 300, C/2095, p. 3). According to Janusz Pałubicki (Pałubicki 2004, p. 158), local journeymen were not registered with the guild. This opinion, however, is disputable, since even relatives of the local masters were in fact registered with the organization. Most importantly, however, Willem van den Blocke was obliged to register his assistants with the organization according to the document from 18 June 1584 (APG, 300,C/2051, p. 290-291). See also, for instance, Fleischmann 1985, p. 240-241.

<sup>476</sup> See, for instance, Pałubicki 1981, p. 176-177 and Tylicki 1997a. Many account referring to masons and stonecutters working illegally, also in Elbląg, are to be found in the guild documents.

<sup>477</sup> De Munck 2007, p. 52-53.

general, however, movement of assistants among different workshops occurred fairly often; they could work in a given studio for one or two years and then leave for another atelier or town, or establish their own enterprises. It appears that similar patterns can be discerned in other Netherlandish workshop abroad, like that of Alexander Colin in Innsbruck or Philip Brandin in Schwerin.

Journeyman and apprentices employed by Willem van den Blocke in Gdańsk 1585-1603



It appears that in the late 1580s the studio was relatively small. Between 1585 and 1590, every year not more than two journeymen were present in the workshop. In addition to that two apprentices, Abraham van den Blocke and Georg Schrogeder (the latter only in 1589) are known to have joined the atelier. It is very instructive to compare the size of the workshop with works believed to have been executed by van den Blocke during that time. They consist entirely of epitaphs of Prussian bourgeoisie, finely carved and relatively monumental, but certainly within the capability of a small sculptor workshop, consisting of three or four well-trained men. This fact is important also in the context of building and decoration of the High Gate. It appears that the studio was far too small to undertake large construction works at that time. Thus, the guild records provide further argument against van den Blocke's authorship of the entire building.<sup>478</sup>

The 1590's witnessed a rise of the number of employees, both journeymen and apprentices, engaged by Willem van den Blocke. During the last decade of the sixteenth century four to six journeymen are recorded in the studio each year. Moreover, several apprentices were present there at that time. For example, in 1591 names of five journeymen and two apprentices and in 1595 six journeyman and two apprentices appear in the documents. Thus, the size of the workshop may be estimated at around ten persons averagely, including the master himself. This expansion of the studio corresponds with the

<sup>478</sup> The works were carried out by a team including van den Blocke and at least two architects employed by the city, namely Frederick Vroom and Hans Schneider von Lindau; see Chapters 1 and 4 as well as Catalogue.

rise of the number of commissions for large commemorative monuments, secured by van den Blocke in the 1590s, such as that of Johan III Vasa (1593-1596), Cardinal Andreas Báthory (before 1598, most likely c. 1595-1598) and Piotr Tarnowski (before 1598). In fact, in his supplication from 26 November 1594 Willem van den Blocke stated that he had hired additional assistants in order to complete the monument of Johan III Vasa, whom he may be forced to sack due to delay of payment.<sup>479</sup> The size of his studio, together with the number and scale of works carried out in the 1590s, indicate that at that time Willem van den Blocke reached the summit of his career.

Frits Scholten assumes that a large commission like tomb monument involved more or less three fully trained collaborators.<sup>480</sup> The number of employees recorded in the van den Blocke studio would allow, therefore, to simultaneously carry out two major works. Indeed, a close scrutiny of available data indicates that at the height of his career between c. 1591 and 1598 van den Blocke was not working on more than two large commissions at the same time. Execution of a monumental work of sculpture was a time consuming process. In right circumstances, some works could have been finished rather quickly, as exemplified by the monument of Christopher Báthory, executed within approximately eighteen months.<sup>481</sup> It can be compared with equally fast works on the grand monument of Albrecht Hohenzollern, which was probably completed by the Floris studio within less than two years. It must be remembered, however, that finishing works in Königsberg took another six months.<sup>482</sup> The labours on Willem van den Blocke's monument of Johan III took more or less similar amount of time: the tomb, commissioned in late 1593, was ready by late 1595.<sup>483</sup> The most time-consuming in the latter's oeuvre proved the tomb of Duchess Elisabeth, the completion of which took four years. It appears, however, that such a long time of execution resulted from a number of delays, since the artist initially intended to finish it within eighteen months.<sup>484</sup> The time of execution of a given work depended on a variety of circumstances, ranging from financial matters - most legible in the case of the Vasa monument - to delivery of material. The latter problem can be illustrated by a letter written by Jacob Binck to Danish king Christian III, informing that delivery of the tomb of his royal predecessor, commissioned from Cornelis Floris, will be delayed due to lack of appropriate stone.<sup>485</sup>

The guild records often give information about the profession of a given employee. Journeymen working in the van den Blocke workshop are described either as sculptors (*Bildhauer*) or as stonecutters (*Steinhauer*). Alongside the terms *Maurer* and *Steinmetz*, these are the only designations appearing in the records of the guild, roughly corresponding to its

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<sup>479</sup> „... die gesellen so ich mitt grossen unkost zu wegen gebracht abschaffen...“; APG, 300, 36/65, p. 37; Krzysiak 1999, p. 76, 77. He could refer here to Lambert Marens, Hans von Brussels and Paul von den Tils (the latter two being probably sculptors).

<sup>480</sup> Scholten 2003a, p. 52.

<sup>481</sup> Begun not earlier than in March 1582 and finished in autumn/winter 1583, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 212, no 590 and Veress 1918, p. 187 and 197.

<sup>482</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>483</sup> APG 300, 12 / 20, p. 17; APG 300, 19 / 49, p. 177-182. It was certainly completed by early 1596, see letter in Carolina Rediviva, Handskrifts Avdelningen, Handligar om Uppsala Domkyrka, sygn. S. 139. A:2, nr 6; Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 75-99, note 23.

<sup>484</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 577. For possible delays, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 208, nos 562 and 563 as well as p. 210, nos. 577 and 579. See also APG, 300, 53/489, p. 139-146.

<sup>485</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 188, No 381. The execution of the monument of Frederik I took two years. See also Woods 2010.

official name.<sup>486</sup> However, the specialization of different assistants active in the van den Blocke workshop, as well as their precise qualifications, is hard to establish. Needless to say, this lack of knowledge is a more general problem.<sup>487</sup> Furthermore, at this point it is difficult to establish what was precisely the difference between sculptors and stonecutters.<sup>488</sup> The guild regulation in a section concerning masterpieces reveals that a stonecutter (*Steinhauer*) was obliged to execute a Corinthian capital and column, a Doric *pedestal* and a keystone for a ribbed vault.<sup>489</sup> This clearly indicates that he was supposed to be capable of executing various architectural details. Numerous anonymous works, particularly architectural decoration of both public and private buildings, clearly suggest that some of the craftsmen employed in larger building enterprises must have possessed at least basic skills in stone carving. Assistants described as sculptors, such as Heinrich ‘*ein Bildhauer*’ or Balzer from Magdeburg, also appear in such workshops, but only sporadically.<sup>490</sup> This leads to a conclusion that stonecutters were able to carry out architectural details and ornamental decoration. It seems likely that the term ‘sculptor’ usually referred to those who were trained in figural sculpture. In any case, despite the rather confused nomenclature, some difference between sculptors and stonecutters must have existed in late sixteenth century Gdańsk. This distinction is clearly visible in various documents, such as the guild records, as well as the supplication of Willem van den Blocke from 1590.

In the present context, sculptor assistants are particularly interesting. According to guild documents, among Willem van den Blocke’s assistants the following were active as sculptors: Abraham van den Blocke,<sup>491</sup> Philip van den Blocke,<sup>492</sup> Franz van den Blocke,<sup>493</sup> Jacob Colin (Colinus) from Mechelen,<sup>494</sup> Hans von Brussel,<sup>495</sup> Paul von den Tils,<sup>496</sup> Georg “*ein Bildhauer*”,<sup>497</sup> Heinrich “*ein Bildhauer*”,<sup>498</sup> and Paul Bocke.<sup>499</sup> Another journeyman, Adrian de Ponne, who spent two years in Willem’s studio, appears on one occasion as a sculptor and on another as a stonecutter.<sup>500</sup> One of the most intriguing figures is Philip van

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<sup>486</sup> Analysis of written evidence, particularly payments, concerning other workshops reveal that other specialists, such as *Polier* and *Scheirer*, were also being occasionally distinguished in workshop practice (see payment to Abraham van den Blocke for works at the Artushof from 24 September 1616, APG 300, 12 / 298, p. 111, where one *Polier* and one *Scheirer* appear). Those assistants were most likely engaged to carry out polishing of stone – either raw blocks or finished works – although the precise meaning of these terms is impossible to establish at this point (see also Philipp 1989). Bearing in mind the fact that the nomenclature was rather confused and limited, it is very much likely that such specialists hide behind more general terms used in the documents of the guild.

<sup>487</sup> Scholten 2003a, p. 52-53.

<sup>488</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 150-151; Pałubicki 1981.

<sup>489</sup> *Und ein Steinmetz oder Steinhauer soll machen ein Corintisches Capitell und Pfeiler auf Postament und pedestal von Dorica [...] Schlußstein auf die Kreuzbogen*; APG, 300, C/2095, p. 7-8 (point 32).

<sup>490</sup> Heinrich ‘*ein Bildhauer*’ (perhaps identical with future assistant to Willem van den Blocke) has been recorded in the workshop of Hans Schneider von Lindau in 1587; APG 300, C / 2058, p. 19.

<sup>491</sup> APG 300, C/2057, p. 250 and 2058, p. 75-76.

<sup>492</sup> He has been named as sculptor on several occasions, (APG 300, C/2058, p. 74, 82, 94-95). In addition to that, he has been once described as stonecutter, see (APG 300, C/2058, p. 56).

<sup>493</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 95.

<sup>494</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 20, 38.

<sup>495</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 147.

<sup>496</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 147.

<sup>497</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 82.

<sup>498</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 176.

<sup>499</sup> APG 300, C/2058, p. 110.

<sup>500</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 20, 38.

den Blocke, supposedly a relative, whose long time involvement with master Willem suggests that he was the leading sculptor assistant, perhaps alongside Abraham van den Blocke. Another important sculptor collaborating with the Gdańsk artist, though mentioned only in the initial phase of the studio's existence, was probably Jacob Colin. Described as a *cleynsteker* while still in Mechelen, he could have been an alabaster carver in the van den Blocke workshop.<sup>501</sup> In addition to journeymen, at least some apprentices (Conrad von Hoff, Jacob Burchard) were expected to learn the rudiments of both professions - sculptor and stonecutter.<sup>502</sup> A similar instance is to be found in contemporary Amsterdam, where one of Hendrick de Keyser pupils was to learn in his studio "*stonecutting, sculpting portraits, and creating architectural ornamentations, these being the three essential parts of the craft*".<sup>503</sup> It is impossible at the present moment to establish whether they were engaged in the execution of works commissioned in the studio, and if so to define the extent of their contribution.<sup>504</sup> Their participation seems likely, since craftsmen's training was very much directed towards acquiring practical skills, needed to operate in a given profession later on.<sup>505</sup> However, the actual practice in each workshop depended on the approach of a given master.<sup>506</sup>

All the other journeymen working with van den Blocke were described as stonecutters. At least one among them, Rombout von Fresen, draws our attention.<sup>507</sup> Apart from Philip van den Blocke, he was the longest serving assistant to Willem, spending in the studio nine years between 1590 and 1598. Before joining van den Blocke's he was employed by Willem van der Meer (1586) and Hans von Lindau (1587 – 1589).<sup>508</sup> Since both Willem van den Blocke and Hans Schneider von Lindau were working on the High Gate between 1586 and 1588, it seems likely that Rombout von Fresen's decision to join master Willem in 1589/1590 could have been encouraged by their early cooperation on this major commission.

Apart from members of the sculptor's workshop, also other craftsmen were involved in the process of creation of funeral monuments and other works of sculpture. Most comprehensive data can be found in the records related to the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. Cooperation between masters of different occupations was of course a standard practice, well rooted in tradition and supported by the guild system. For example, painting or gilding of sculpture, whether a large retable, a funeral monument, or a small alabaster relief-plaque, remained outside of the responsibility of sculptor's

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<sup>501</sup> Neeffs 1876, 2, p. 77. The term *cleynsteker* is, however, also imprecise. It could denote carvers of alabaster reliefs plaques (see Wustrack 1982, p. 91-98 and Lipińska 2007, p. 87-89), but also those engaged to execute architectural and ornamental details, as well as sculptors in general (see Roggen&Withof 1942, p. 170, no LIX, A. Jansen 1964 and Casteels 1961, p. 242, no 57, the latter with regard to Robrecht de Nole in Antwerp) In any case, it indicates someone engaged in sculpting activity.

<sup>502</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 86 and 123.

<sup>503</sup> Weissman 1904, p. 70.

<sup>504</sup> See, for example, Dawson 1984, p. 44, who provides an interesting testimony concerning Antwerp.

<sup>505</sup> De Munck 2007, p. 53-58.

<sup>506</sup> See, for instance, Dawson 1984 and Montagu 1989.

<sup>507</sup> He was certainly a stonecutter, though on one occasion he has been named as a sculptor, see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 74; see also APG 300, C / 2093, p. 99.

<sup>508</sup> As to the former, see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 5; as to the latter, see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 40, 69.

workshop.<sup>509</sup> On the other hand, stone sculptors as well as architects and engineers closely cooperated with smiths, who provided them with necessary material and tools.<sup>510</sup>

Close scrutiny of the data related to the van den Blocke workshop allows to establish places of origin of some of the journeymen and apprentices employed there. This may allow for a better understanding of the process of transfer of visual vocabulary from the Netherlands to the Baltic - and to other regions of Central and Northern Europe as well – and of the character of the Netherlandish diaspora in general. Among some thirty-five journeymen known to have worked with master Willem, around fifteen were Netherlanders, though only occasionally their exact place of origin is mentioned (Claus and Hans from Brussels, Jacob Colin from Mechelen and Rombout from Friesland).<sup>511</sup> Between 1585 and 1590 apart from Peter von Düsseldorf the studio consisted entirely of Netherlanders. Only in the 1590s, when the atelier attracted commissions requiring more workers, the number of German journeymen rose. Even then, however, Netherlanders maintained their leading position (for example, in 1594, four out of five journeymen were apparently from the Low Countries) and some of them were in all probability key members of the workshop. What is more, many among them were characterized as sculptors (Abraham, Philip and Franz van den Blocke, Jacob Colin, Claus from Brussel, Adrian de Ponne and maybe also Paul Bocke<sup>512</sup>). The nationality of three other sculptors, namely Paul von den Tils as well as Georg and Heinrich, is unknown, although one may suspect that von den Tils came from the town of Tilsit in Ducal Prussia. Other assistants employed by van den Blocke were most probably Germans. Their place of origin is usually unknown; the exceptions are Peter Heithecker von Düsseldorf, Hans von Gosfeldt and Weit von Kostnitz. It seem likely, that - in contrary to highly skilled Netherlanders - journeymen of German origin were hired mostly in order to assist with less demanding tasks. This observation concerning the van den Blocke studio does not mean, of course, that non – Netherlandish assistants operating in this milieu were not prepared to effectuate actual sculpting. Nonetheless, the time spent by them in the workshop as well as their profession allows to see at least some Netherlanders - most importantly Abraham and Philip van den Blocke as well as Rombout van Fresen - as leading assistants to the master.

A workshop was more than a place of work, it was also an important centre of family and social life. The fact that many members of one family worked in a given studio implies that much of their life was centred on it. Traditionally, the same or at least a similar craft was practiced by many members of a given family, as witnessed by the members of the clans originating from Mechelen. As has been said, in Gdańsk this practice was supported by guild regulations. The presence of Abraham, Philip and Franz van den Blocke in Willem's studio is mirrored for example by the presence of several members of de Keyser family in Hendrick

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<sup>509</sup> See, for example, Wustrack 1982, p. 92-93 and Jacobs 1998, p. 216-219.

<sup>510</sup> This is clearly indicated by written sources pertaining to numerous works of stone sculpture, for instance the monument of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg.

<sup>511</sup> Nationality of others is generally indicated by names or surnames typical for the Netherlands and unusual in Prussia.

<sup>512</sup> The Bock or de Bock family was represented in the masons' guild in Mechelen, see Stadsarchief Mechelen, Metselaars-, Glazenmakers-, en Steenhouwersambacht, 14, p. 17v (François a Bock), 21 and 26 (Cornelis de Bock). Paul Bocke's relation with this family is however purely hypothetical.

de Keyser's studio in Amsterdam.<sup>513</sup> Another example of a family enterprise is the De Nole studio in Antwerp. New family ties could have been formed within a workshop, as shown by an example of Willem van den Blocke's apprentice Georg Tenzel, who has married daughter of Franz van den Blocke, Willem's assistant and apparently kin.<sup>514</sup>

In the beginning of the seventeenth century information regarding the workshop led by Willem van den Blocke suddenly cease to appear in the documents. Around 1600 Willem van den Blocke stopped to pay for journeymen as well as to accept new apprentices. In the early 1600's he is known to have released only two apprentices after they have completed their four – years training period (Georg Tenzel in 1600 and Hans Tenzel in 1602; they seem to have been members of the same family).<sup>515</sup> As indicated by later documents dating from 1608 and 1619, Willem was then definitely still alive and has been at least occasionally present in Gdańsk.<sup>516</sup> Presumably, Willem's studio was to some degree taken over by his son Abraham not long after the latter had received the title of a guild master (1597).<sup>517</sup>

### 3.3 The workshop of Abraham van den Blocke

The first quarter of the seventeenth century in Gdańsk belonged to Abraham van den Blocke. Although the oeuvre of the eldest son of master Willem is far from being well-defined, the list of his works is almost identical with the list of most important architectural and sculptural undertakings carried out in Gdańsk between 1600 and 1625: the Great Arsenal, the Golden Gate, the Artushof, the Golden House of Burgomaster Speymann, the main altar in the St. John's church, the monument of Simon Bahr. In addition to that, Abraham was also responsible for numerous major works executed for the patrons from outside of the town, and probably also epitaphs and other works carried out for the local patrician elite.<sup>518</sup> However, he was not always designer of these works, and the character of his engagement could vary. While working on the grand architectural projects he collaborated with other masters, both stonecutters (with Willem van der Meer – renowned adversary of Willem van den Blocke – on the Great Arsenal) and constructors (probably Hans Strakowsky on the Golden Gate).<sup>519</sup>

It seems likely that the workshop led by Abraham van den Blocke was at least to some degree a continuation of his father's enterprise. A local analogy for this typical practice is provided for example by Hans Caspar Gockheller and his son Hans Michael later in the seventeenth century, as well as members of the Schlüter family.<sup>520</sup> This assertion, however, is based only on circumstantial evidence. The most important is the above mentioned fact of disappearance of master Willem's name from the documents of the guild almost exactly at

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<sup>513</sup> Scholten 2003a, p. 247, note 163.

<sup>514</sup> APG 356/2, p. 86; Knetsch 1903, p. 28, note 1.

<sup>515</sup> See note 464.

<sup>516</sup> See a letter from 1608 addressed by council of Gdańsk to the government of the Spanish Netherlands, published by Szmydki 1999a, p. 53-58 and an account indicating Willem's presence in Gdańsk as late as 1619, (Schéle 1951; Grosjean 1985, p. 2).

<sup>517</sup> Regarding Abraham's *Meisterschaft* see APG, 300, C/2053, p. 33bv, 34v; Muttray 1922, p. 65-66; Krzyżanowski 1971b, p. 178; Habela 1992c, p. 115-116.

<sup>518</sup> On Abraham van den Blocke's oeuvre see Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 107-130; Krzyżanowski 1971b, p. 178-179; Habela 1992c, p. 115-117. See also Chapter 1.

<sup>519</sup> See Cuny 1910a, p. 51, 56, Stankiewicz 1955, p. 44, 91 and Bartetzky 2000, p. 79-101, 142-168.

<sup>520</sup> Pałubicki 1978; J. Kriegseisen 2000.

the same time when Abraham became a master himself. One further account may be brought forward in support of this belief: in 1603 an apprentice Peter van Egen has been released by Abraham van den Blocke “*on behalf of his father, Willem van den Blocke*”; this indicates some kind of a continuity between the activities of the father and the son.<sup>521</sup> Presumably it was easier for Abraham to manage the workshop in Gdańsk. In contrast to Willem, he has gone through the entire procedure imposed by the guild, graduating from an apprentice through a journeyman to a master. While his father operated somehow on the edge of the local professional association and stayed in conflict with at least some of the other masters, Abraham - who became a citizen in Gdańsk - must have enjoyed much better reputation in the town. As already mentioned, he occupied the posts of the dean as well as that of one of his assistants several times.<sup>522</sup> His strong position in Gdańsk is reflected by the fact that he was engaged in the most important public architectural undertakings. In consequence, he was to a lesser degree than his father dependant on commissions from outside of the town. There is, however, a strong argument suggesting that Abraham van den Blocke did not inherit the entire workshop: only two among his early assistants, namely Marten de Wahl and Weit von Kostnitz, are known to have earlier worked with Willem.<sup>523</sup> It appears, therefore, that the younger master created a new workshop, only to certain degree based on the studio of his father.<sup>524</sup>

The division between Willem’s and Abraham’s studios, clear in the documents, was almost certainly rather vague in reality. It would be surprising to see a sharp distinction between the enterprises of the father and son, especially since their professional activity required involvement of at least several people.<sup>525</sup> For that reason it appears reasonable to see the activities of both Willem and Abraham, especially in the opening years of the seventeenth century, to be closely interrelated. This applies most specifically to the work on the altar in St. John’ church, a documented work of Abraham van den Blocke that nonetheless betrays a number of elements typical for his father, suggesting that the latter could have also been involved in the works. Support lent by the older master to his son, working on his first major assignment, would be hardly surprising; one may guess that his involvement would have hardly upset the patrons as well.

The size of the studio led by Abraham van den Blocke varied strongly in time. Between 1605 and 1615 it usually consisted of somewhat more than ten workers, reaching the highest number of twenty one in 1611.<sup>526</sup> Around 1620 the number of assistants dropped; for example, in 1619 there were five and in the late 1620’s - shortly before Abraham’s death

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<sup>521</sup> „*Peter von Egen Ist von M: Abraham von dem Block Im Namen seines Vatern Macht Wilhelm vo dem Block beim Erbarh Werck vff Steinhawen loßgesprochen worden...*“; (APG 300, C/ 2059, p. 17). Peter van Ehen has been accepted as an apprentice by Abraham van den Blocke in 1599, see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 214.

<sup>522</sup> *Alterman* in 1605, 1617 and 1621; *Compan* in 1604 and 1620, *Beysitzer* in 1603, 1609, 1616, 1618, 1619 and 1622.

<sup>523</sup> Marten de Wahl in 1599 (APG 300, C / 2058, p. 220) and Weit von Kostnitz in 1600 (APG 300, C / 2058, p. 225).

<sup>524</sup> According to Habela 1992c, p. 116, since 1598 Abraham’s workshop was located near the Prison Tower; however, localization of his father’s studio in the 1590’s is uncertain (c. 1590 it was located on Wollwebergasse, today Przędzalnica).

<sup>525</sup> See, for instance, Montagu 1989, p. 7.

<sup>526</sup> APG 300, C / 2059, p. 152.

in 1628 - only two or three journeymen are mentioned in documents.<sup>527</sup> Similarly as in the case of Willem van den Blocke, the size of the studio led by Abraham corresponds to the works known to have been executed by him. All major undertakings, most notably the Great Arsenal in the early 1600's and the Golden Gate and Artushof in the 1610's, are reflected in the rise of the number of journeymen employed by him.

Unfortunately, starting with c. 1610 the pay-books no longer record names of journeymen and apprentices. As a result, our knowledge of the names of assistants employed by Abraham is limited to the period between 1597 and 1610, and this prevents discerning exact patterns. Nonetheless, two points can be made with regard to this early period. First, although some among the journeymen and apprentices are described as sculptors (for example Daniel Maler in 1600,<sup>528</sup> Heinrich Danmert in 1606<sup>529</sup> and Jorgen Wenzel in 1610<sup>530</sup>), the number of representatives of this specialty appears to be more limited in comparison with the studio of Willem van den Blocke. In the later period, an important sculptor assistant employed by Abraham was Hans Voigt from Rostock, who, according to his own words, was engaged to carve decoration of the façade of the house of Burgomaster Johann Speymann, the so-called Golden House (c. 1619).<sup>531</sup> Second, journeymen and apprentices employed by him came from many places. The documents contain names of both Netherlanders, like Cornelis Dircksen from Ghent<sup>532</sup> and certain Hans Hollander,<sup>533</sup> as well as assistants originally from the lands of the Empire, like Peter von Regensburg;<sup>534</sup> the exact proportions, however, are difficult to establish.

The size and structure of the workshop as well as the characteristics of his works indicate that Abraham was intending to expand his activities beyond those of his parent. In fact, on several occasions Abraham van den Blocke described himself as a sculptor and a stonecutter ('Bild- und Steinhauer'), in contrast to his father, who always described himself simply as a sculptor.<sup>535</sup> Known evidence indicates that he was more a manager of a large enterprise occupied with both architecture and sculpture, than a proper sculptor.<sup>536</sup> This is confirmed by a number of documents, concerning his works. For instance, while working on the Artushof in 1616, Abraham employed ten stonecutters, one *Polier*, one *Scherier* and one sculptor.<sup>537</sup> This clearly illustrates the difference between his workshop and the studio of his father, where sculptors played a much more prominent role.

After the death of Abraham van den Blocke in 1628 the studio was taken over by his widow. She married his former assistant, Wilhelm Richter from Bielefeld, who took charge of the workshop and became in consequence one of the leading sculptors in Gdańsk in period

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<sup>527</sup> APG 300, C / 2059, p. 249, 258.

<sup>528</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 234.

<sup>529</sup> APG 300, C / 2059, p. 93.

<sup>530</sup> APG 300, C / 2059, p. 141.

<sup>531</sup> See APG 300, 36/64, p. 143-145; Cuny 1910a, p. 83-84. In the same document he stated that he had executed also unspecified '*epitaphien, Altar und Predigstule*'.

<sup>532</sup> APG 300, C / 2059, p. 75.

<sup>533</sup> APG 300, C / 2059, p. 37.

<sup>534</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>535</sup> See, for example, APG 300, 12 / 298, p. 53 and 111.

<sup>536</sup> See, for example, an account from 1616, APG 300, 12/298, p. 11. See also Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 154-155 and Habela 1992c, p.117.

<sup>537</sup> APG 300, 12/46, p. 235-236. The document confirms that this group of workers was receiving regular, weekly payment in 1616/1617.

c. 1630-1660.<sup>538</sup> According to his own words, Richter finished worked begun by Abraham, namely monuments of Jerzy Zamoyski, bishop of Chełm, and Henryk Firlej, archbishop of Gniezno.<sup>539</sup> Thus, Richter became the third master running the workshop with tradition reaching back to Willem van den Blocke's studio established in the 1580's.

### 3.4 The van den Blocke studio and other workshops in Gdańsk

The studio led by Willem van den Blocke was only one of many workshops operating within structure of the local masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the number of workshops active simultaneously in the town ranged approximately from 10 to 20, and they varied strongly both in size and profile.<sup>540</sup> A tendency to expand their size can be observed, a phenomenon common to workshop of different professions in the city.<sup>541</sup> The largest workshops, numbering from twenty up to even sixty employees, were run by such masters as Hans Strakowsky, Burchard Janssen, Lorenz Reichel and Abraham van den Blocke.<sup>542</sup> The biggest among them was that of Strakowsky, probably engaged by the city council to carry out a number of large works in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>543</sup> Such huge workshops were definitely building enterprises and not sculptor studios.<sup>544</sup>

Smaller workshops were present in the city as well. Their size is comparable to that of the van den Blocke studio. Some of them were operating in the city for many years, while others appear to have been existing for a rather short period of time. Some of the masters leading these studios were also émigrés from the Low Countries, such as Willem van der Meer from Ghent and later Franz de Clerck, while others, for instance Jacob Mindach, Bartholomäus (Bartolt) Pieper, Simon Höppener and Andreas Pahle, were apparently local, or at least German masters. Their studios varied in size, but never equaled huge enterprises mentioned above. Apparently, some of the workshops cooperated with each other on particularly large commissions.

Unfortunately, since in most cases it is impossible to link them with specific works their profile remains unclear. A noteworthy exception is provided by the studio of Willem van der Meer, where three to six journeymen are recorded every year.<sup>545</sup> The actual number could have been higher, as not all journeymen are mentioned by name, but in all probability

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<sup>538</sup> Supplication of the widow from 1628, APG 300, 36/65, p. 151-153; see also Cuny 1910a, p. 84-85.

<sup>539</sup> APG 300, 36/64, p. 143-145; see also Bertling 1885, Cuny 1910a, p. 81 and Hornung 1959, p. 147.

<sup>540</sup> For example, in 1605 the guild comprised sixteen masters, employing altogether ninety-nine journeymen, see Bogucka 1962, p. 78-79; Oszczanowski 2008, p. 74. This estimation has been in general confirmed by the present research.

<sup>541</sup> Bogucka 1962.

<sup>542</sup> Bogucka 1962, p. 78-79. On the workshops operating in the building industry in other comparable centres, especially in the German lands, see, for instance, Roeck 1984 and Fleischmann 1985.

<sup>543</sup> Regarding Hans Strakowsky see Cuny 1910a, Stankiewicz 1955, Bartetzky 2000, 1, p. 145-168 and Skibiński 2013d. In 1606 he paid for an unusually high number of 64 journeymen (APG 300, C/2059, p. 86). Archival documents inform that Strakowsky was working simultaneously on several assignments, see for example APG, 300, 12 / 298, p. 71.

<sup>544</sup> At that time, a large building enterprise would require some 15-20 workmen, as indicated for instance by the Works on the Ujazdów palace in Warsaw in the 1620s, see Leitsch 1999, p. 102.

<sup>545</sup> Tylicki 1997a. It should be stressed here that the biographical note concerning van der Meer contains rich information based on thorough study of archival material. The following description of van der Meer's studio is based on this publication, as well as on some additional unpublished material regarding van der Meer, kindly shared with me by the author. See also Cuny 1910a, p. 85-87.

it did not exceed ten persons. Van der Meer was engaged in a variety of commissions, ranging from the monumental, lavishly decorated chimneypiece in the Red Chamber of the Gdańsk Main Town Hall, the decoration of the Great Arsenal and an arcade or a corridor (*Säulengang*) in the Wolgast castle in the Duchy of Pomerania, to tiled floors and windows in several public buildings.<sup>546</sup> Journeymen and apprentices – including Franz van den Blocke - employed in his studio are described as stonecutters; the term *Bildhauer* - used often in connection to the van den Blocke studio - appears only once, in 1587.<sup>547</sup> This does not imply, of course, that van der Meer's studio was not engaged in carrying out sculptural works. In fact, even Willem van den Blocke himself confirmed in his 1590 supplication that his rival was at least occasionally engaged in this kind of work. Nonetheless, the use of the term 'stonecutter' (*Steinhauer*), both in the guild records and in van der Meer's signatures, may indicate that compared to van den Blocke the former to a lesser degree regard himself to be a proper - perhaps figural - sculptor. Relation between sculptors, stonecutters and masons may also be illustrated by the workshop of Bartholomäus Piper. Seemingly, Piper was responsible for a number of minor architectural works carried out in Prussia c. 1600. Most importantly, he created vaults in several already existing, medieval buildings there.<sup>548</sup> His workshop must have therefore comprised masons as well as stonecutters, the latter charged with carving of decorative consoles and keystones.

Even smaller than the studios headed by Willem van den Blocke and Willem van der Meer were ateliers led by such masters as Nickel Jacobsen and Peter Heithecker. The first of them, responsible for some parts of the sculptural decoration of the Old Town Hall in Gdańsk, usually employed less than five journeymen every year.<sup>549</sup> He also gave job to at least one sculptor, namely Heinrich 'ein Bildhauer' – perhaps identical with the figure recorded in the studios of Hans von Lindau and Willem van den Blocke – recorded in 1588.<sup>550</sup> The size of the atelier of Peter Heithecker – former assistant of Willem van den Blocke – was similar to that of Jacobsen. Starting with mid 1590's, he was employing a few journeymen and apprentices every year.<sup>551</sup> Judging by the presence of journeymen named as sculptors, as well as by the link between Jacobsen and the works in the Town Hall, both those studios could have been at least to a certain degree engaged in sculptural works.

Compared to other workshops in Gdańsk, the size of the studio led by Willem van den Blocke must be regarded as medium. Absolutely unique, however, is the number of assistants described as sculptors employed there. For example, in 1591 it were two sculptors and two stonecutters, while one year later - two sculptors and three stonecutters.<sup>552</sup> The

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<sup>546</sup> Willem van der Meer has been engaged there by the Duke of Pomerania along with another master from Gdańsk, woodcarver Simon Hörle (famous for his outstanding works in the Main Town Hall in Gdańsk) between 1612 and 1614; see Bethe 1937, p. 108. Unfortunately, the castle in Wolgast has been entirely destroyed.

<sup>547</sup> Marius 'ein Bildhauer' (APG 300, C/2058, p. 30; not mentioned by Tylicki); see also APG 300, C / 2058, p. 39, 43, 47, 57, 73, 95, 107, 109, 113, 114, 120, 123, 160, 165, 168, 180, 188, 197, 217, 218, 238, 239, 259. With regard to Franz van den Blocke see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 73, 95, 107, 188.

<sup>548</sup> For instance in the chapter house in Oliwa and in the choir of the church in Nowy Staw (Neutauch) near Malbork.

<sup>549</sup> For example, in 1589 he has paid for three journeymen, see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 59, 68. With regard to his involvement in the Old Town Hall see APG 300, 36/65, p. 23-24 and Pałubicki 1981, p. 175.

<sup>550</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 54.

<sup>551</sup> For example, in 1602 he has paid for three journeymen, see APG 300, C / 2058, p. 273, 276.

<sup>552</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 82 and 94-95.

survey of written sources did not reveal any other contemporary atelier in Gdańsk regularly employing equally high percentage of journeymen described as sculptors. Also the fact that master Willem was consequently using the term *Bildhauer* as a description of his profession, unlike any other master working at that time in Gdańsk, indicates that he was well aware of the distinct character of his position in the city. His opinion about fellow masters may provide a further argument. It may be therefore assumed that although in the city there must have been many capable of carrying out basic sculptural works, Willem van den Blocke was the leading artist in this area, as testified by the shape of his workshop, his known oeuvre and his apparent pride in his own profession.

### **3.5 The van den Blocke studio and workshops of other Netherlandish sculptors**

The workshop of Willem van den Blocke invites a comparison with studios led by other Netherlandish sculptors, particularly outside of the Low Countries. Unfortunately, evidence concerning ateliers of many distinguished artists known to have executed works similar in character to that by van den Blocke, such as Philip Brandin, Gert van Egen, or Willem Boy, is scarce. To make things worse, the process of production of a work of art for a long time remained out of interest and research conducted by many art historians. Old paradigm of art history commanded scholars - who often had access to now lost archival sources - to undervalue less facts relevant for the problem of workshop practice. Nonetheless, careful gathering of scattered evidence allow for discussing here some issues linked to the practice of a sixteenth century sculptor's workshop.

The greatest impediment is the lack of precise knowledge about the studio of Cornelis Floris. According to a testimony from 1595, throughout his entire career he trained twenty seven pupils.<sup>553</sup> This figure, however, probably does not include assistants and collaborators of a more independent status. Leading one of the most important sculptor ateliers in sixteenth century Northern Europe, Floris must have exerted a strong influence on many Netherlandish sculptors trained in the thriving artistic milieu of mid-sixteenth century Antwerp. He is of outstanding importance for more than one reason. Apart from his contribution to the introduction of the 'antique' visual language into transalpine Europe, based on his visit to Italy in late 1530s and studies conducted there, Floris also pioneered important innovations in studio practice. It would be therefore interesting to see whether sculptors possibly trained in Antwerp under Cornelis Floris did implement his *modus operandi* in their own studios. Although this problem cannot be solved before a thorough investigation is launched into the work of such sculptors, like Gert van Egen or Philip Brandin, some more general points in case can be presented already here, especially concerning the artist discussed.

A key characteristic of Floris's practice was his reliance on Antwerp's key position in sixteenth century European commerce on the one hand and on its significance as a cultural and artistic centre on the other. His workshop was very much immobile, and Floris himself was probably rarely leaving Antwerp. Instead, he used to send his assistants abroad, in order

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<sup>553</sup> Roggen&Withof 1942, no. LXI, p. 170. See also Chapter 7.

to deliver and erect works prefabricated in his atelier.<sup>554</sup> Economical importance and geographical position of the city was exploited in this way not only by Floris, but also by other Antwerp sculptors, such as Willem Boy and Anthonis van Seron, the latter probably closely related to the Floris circle.<sup>555</sup> However, Antwerp's unique position made the model hard to follow by artists operating in other milieus. Nonetheless, the example of Willem van den Blocke indicates that émigré sculptors did in fact attempt to imitate this highly successful pattern. It seems very likely that van den Blocke's decision to settle down in Gdańsk - a major maritime trade centre, that can be perhaps called 'Antwerp of the Baltic' - rather than in court-oriented towns like Königsberg and Cracow, was motivated by his training years experience.<sup>556</sup> With potential access to commissions, workers and material, Gdańsk could offer analogical, though of course more limited opportunities as Antwerp. Moreover, van den Blocke imitated also the practice of sending his assistants to set up works executed in Gdańsk in far-off places. This is clearly indicated by the von Dohna epitaph in Odense.<sup>557</sup> Sometimes, however, the sculptor was assembling his works personally. This was the case particularly with regard to large and prestigious commissions issued by highest ranking patrons, such as the tomb of Christopher Báthory in Alba Iulia.

Influenced by his Italian experience, Floris was probably the first sculptor in the Low Countries to have applied full-scale models made of clay or plaster.<sup>558</sup> The importance of models in contemporary practice and their revolutionary role among Netherlanders is illustrated not only by the famous anecdote involving young Giambologna and Michelangelo, conveyed by Baldinucci,<sup>559</sup> but also by the activities of a number of other northerners trained or working in Italy in the second half of the sixteenth century, such as Willem van Tetrode, Pierre Francavilla and Hubert Gerhard.<sup>560</sup> It remains uncertain to what degree van den Blocke and other artists influenced by Floris, such as Philip Brandin or Gert van Egen, made use of sculptural models. There exists, however, an intriguing testimony pertaining to a 'model' of the monument of king Johan III, presented to the city council by Jacob van den Blocke in 1636.<sup>561</sup> It was probably showing the entire monument, since the members of the council wanted to see how would it look like when completed. The term 'model' term could, of course, denote a drawing as well.<sup>562</sup> However, as far as it can be discerned from existing evidence, in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Gdańsk it referred - at least in the

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<sup>554</sup> On this see, among others, Hedicke 1913, Białostocki 1976, Meganck 2005, DaCosta Kaufmann 2006. Jolly 1999a, Meganck 2005 and Ottenheym 2013.

<sup>555</sup> The former executed in this way the tomb of Gustav Vasa of Sweden for Uppsala, and the latter the grand monument of Moritz of Saxony for Freiberg, see Hahr 1910, Magirius 1997 and Lipińska 2007, p. 119. However, both of them - in contrast to Floris - accompanied their works to their chosen destinations.

<sup>556</sup> See Chapter 2. See also Johannsen 2010, p. 155.

<sup>557</sup> As proved by Fabian von Dohna's words, see *Krollmann 1905*, p. 56 and *Krollmann 1914*.

<sup>558</sup> Scholten 2003a, p. 54-55; Scholten 2007a, p. 227. On the models in sculptor's practice in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in general see Myssok 1999.

<sup>559</sup> Holderbaum 1983, p. 12; Avery 1987, p. 15; Scholten 2007, p. 234. On Giambologna's use of models see also, for instance, Krahn 2006.

<sup>560</sup> See recently Cole 2011, p. 21-50, especially p. 28-33. On van Tetrode see Scholten 2003b; on Gerhard see Diemer 2004.

<sup>561</sup> Simson 1918, p. 564, note 4.

<sup>562</sup> On the terminology see, for instance, Baudouin 2004.

realm of architecture - to three-dimensional structures.<sup>563</sup> The object mentioned in the document could have been a drawing or a three-dimensional model designed either as a presentation piece for the patron or as an instruction for those who were to assemble it on the spot.

Another important trait of Cornelis Floris, as also in the case of some other leading sculptors in mid-sixteenth century Low Countries, most notably Jacques du Broeucq, was his versatility.<sup>564</sup> Apart from designing and executing sculpture, Floris was involved in all kinds of other activities, including designing architecture, goldsmith works and ornament.<sup>565</sup> What is characteristic for artists like Floris and Du Broeucq is that their involvement in different arts was to a large degree based on their command of the 'antique' visual vocabulary. The drive to employ this factor universally turned them into the topmost designers of all kinds of works of art in the Low Countries, far exceeding the field of sculpture. In this they were similar to their counterparts in other parts of Europe, be that painters, sculptors or architects, like Giulio Romano, Francesco Salviati or Friedrich Sustris.<sup>566</sup> Of course, such versatility was encountered more often, as it must have considerably strengthened chances of finding employment. The rather curious single example of van den Blocke's drawing known today, depicting a design for a crown, may be associated with striving for such a versatility. His attempt to design something else than sculpture proper puts him on a footing with other contemporary artists, praised not only for their technical prowess, but also for knowledge of current visual forms and ability to apply them to different use.

To discuss size and structure of a sculptor atelier we must move away from Floris and analyze workshops led by other contemporary Netherlandish artists. In his study on seventeenth century Dutch sculpture, Frits Scholten has stated that it is no longer possible to say how many people worked in a large Dutch workshop.<sup>567</sup> With regard to sixteenth century workshops, however, we seem to be more lucky. Approximate size of a Netherlandish sculptor's studio from that time can be derived from written sources concerning several workshops. Though incomplete individually, all combined they provide reasonably accurate information. Up to date, the atelier of Alexander Colin in Innsbruck has been studied most comprehensively.<sup>568</sup> Documents are particularly relevant with regard to those assistants, who were engaged in the execution of the series of narrative reliefs adorning the base of the monument to Maximilian I. At first, Colin was working with two of them, while additional workers were provided by the Abel workshop, also involved in the work.<sup>569</sup> After the death of Bernhard Abel in 1563 Colin apparently sent to the Low Countries for six additional

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<sup>563</sup> See APG, 300, R/Uu, 10 a, p. 89-90 (a model by Hans Strakowski) and APG, 300, 36/65, p. 67-70, 105-108 (a model for the Great Arsenal by Simon Hörle; the latter document differentiates between three-dimensional models and drawings - the latter called *Abrissen* and *Visirungen*). See also Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 154.

<sup>564</sup> See De Jonge 2005, De Jonge 2009 and De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 17-86.

<sup>565</sup> See drawings in Huysmans *et al.* 1996, plates 108-110 (designs for cups), 111-112 (designs for architecture) as well as various prints, plates 119-181.

<sup>566</sup> Particularly revealing is the case of Sustris, whose main occupation while at the Wittelsbach court was to provide designs for all kinds of works of art, including wall paintings, small and monumental architecture as well as sculpture; see München 2005. Moreover, such versatile artists were often engaged in creating designs for goldsmith works, see Hayward 1976, p. 90-91, 176, 283-287.

<sup>567</sup> Scholten 2003a, p. 52.

<sup>568</sup> Dressler 1973; Teurlinckx 1987.

<sup>569</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 47.

assistants.<sup>570</sup> Moreover, next year, after the death of Arnold Abel, one of his three helpers, namely Franz Willems, joined Colin's studio.<sup>571</sup> In March 1566 four journeymen, namely Cornelis Biesselinck (van Deurne), Hendrik (Hein) Hagart, Franz Willems and Anton *Steinhauer*, received, alongside Colin himself, salary for the execution of the reliefs. Other known assistants employed by Colin, Pierre Francavilla - who was to make a considerable career in Florence - and Andries de Clievère, joined the workshop in summer 1566, probably already after the completion of the Innsbruck commission.<sup>572</sup> Judging by available data and taking into account possible fluctuations, it seems relatively safe to assume that five to ten people were engaged in execution of the imperial commission depending on the moment. Approximately half of them - Colin himself as well as his assistants mentioned in the document from March 1566 - were most probably sculptors and qualified stonecutters, while the rest could have consisted of workers performing more common tasks - even though the latter have not been explicitly mentioned in the documents. Another interesting account concerns the workshop of Philip Brandin. Records of the ducal treasury in Schwerin include names of Brandin's assistants active in late 1563 and early 1564, engaged in various works carried out in the ducal residence there, including alabaster reliefs as well as architectural decoration, such as portals.<sup>573</sup> The number of journeymen employed by Brandin in Schwerin at that time ranged from five to eight. It is also known that another important exponent of Netherlandish sculpture in the Baltic region, Gert van Egen, carried out the work on the monument of Christian III alongside Robert Jacobsen and five other co-workers.<sup>574</sup> Although some studios were apparently smaller - Arent Passer in Tallin is known for example to employ two or three journeymen<sup>575</sup> - the evidence presented above suggests that a typical Netherlandish sculptor workshop carrying out more important commissions - large tombs, interior decoration etc. - consisted of five to ten workers. Perhaps half of them were highly qualified assistants: sculptors and well-trained stonecutters. The studio led by Willem van den Blocke in Gdańsk in the late 1580s and especially in the 1590s fits perfectly into this category.

Character of works carried out in the sculptor's studio certainly required division of labour. Most likely, the workshop consisted of few sculptors, who could further specialize in different fields, such as figures, relief plaques or ornament, and several less qualified assistants, engaged to prepare material and manage other similar assignments. Qualified sculptor assistants could be engaged to carry out initial pictorial work, but also to execute entire parts of larger commissions, especially when the master was not a specialist in a given field. Such pattern was typical for sculptor workshops, especially larger ones, and was deeply rooted in tradition. Far-reaching specialization was for example observed in workshops

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<sup>570</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>571</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 47, 148; Teurlinckx 1987, p. 23, 53. The others were Hans Ernhofer and Michiel van der Veken from Mechelen; it is however possible that the latter somehow cooperated with Colin, as he is known to have remained in Innsbruck.

<sup>572</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 12. Teurlinckx 1987, p. 58 says that de Clievère has been engaged in the work on the Maximilian monument; from the published documents appears though, that the reliefs were ready by early 1566, see Dressler 1973, p. 48.

<sup>573</sup> Jolly 1999b, p. 18-19. This concerns the period between 1563 and c. 1569; the exact nature of works carried out in 1563 and 1564 is however unknown. The records from following years are lost.

<sup>574</sup> Johannsen 2010, p. 124.

<sup>575</sup> Kodres 2005, p. 50.

producing wooden carved altarpieces; from there, similar practice could have been adopted by workshops producing alabaster reliefs and altars.<sup>576</sup> Furthermore, particular workshops showed predilection for a certain type of sculpture. A penchant for figural depictions can be observed in the works of Philip Brandin. The difference between spectacular, full-length statues and rather poorly carved reliefs in Güstrow suggest that Brandin was also primarily a figural sculptor. The studio of Philip Brandin poses in fact an intriguing question – as indicated by written sources, it was involved in carrying out decoration of the castle in Schwerin, apparently to a large degree consisting of relief sculpture. The discrepancy between this information and the above-mentioned preference of the artist for figural sculpture is however misleading. It seems most likely that relief works in Schwerin were carried out mostly by skilled assistants of the latter, such as Jacob Floris. As opposed to Brandin, the workshops of Alexander Colin and Elias Godefroy were much more involved in this kind of works and employed assistants of considerably higher skills.

Judging by written sources, Netherlanders were keen to employ well trained fellow countrymen as their assistants.<sup>577</sup> As already said, high percentage of van den Blocke studio personnel consisted of Netherlanders, and their leading role is further stressed by the fact that they were often the key assistants. The same can be observed in the studios of Alexander Colin in Innsbruck and Philip Brandin in Schwerin. In fact, the former is known to have undertaken at least three journeys to the Low Countries, aimed at finding suitable candidates to give him a hand.<sup>578</sup> Considerable number of immigrants from the Low Countries appear also in Gdańsk in studios other than that of van den Blocke, for example in the entourage of Willem van der Meer.<sup>579</sup> Also, in 1587 Burchard Janssen from Zwolle employed several journeymen, at least five of them Netherlanders: Anthonis and Hans from Mechelen, Cordt from Utrecht and Jan Jansen from The Hague as well as ‘Klein’ Hans from Mechelen.<sup>580</sup> Interestingly enough, also masters of non-Netherlandish origin, sometimes educated in the Low Countries, seemed to welcome Netherlanders in their workshops; an example is provided by Nicolas Stone, who in 1615 cooperated with Bernard Janssen on the monument of Richard Sutton in London.<sup>581</sup> This pattern can be also observed in Gdańsk, as witnessed by a group of Netherlanders, including the future assistant of Willem van den Blocke, Rombout von Fresen as well as Dirck Cornelissen and Willem from Brussels, employed by Hans Schneider von Lindau in 1587 - possibly for carrying out works on the High Gate.<sup>582</sup> This phenomenon is widespread in Italy, where many Netherlanders were undergoing training not only under the guidance of their fellow countrymen, but also by local artists; however, this is a separate issue, since both the motives for such collaboration and the general artistic situation differed very much from their counterparts in Northern Europe.<sup>583</sup>

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<sup>576</sup> Jacobs 1998, p. 209-237; Wustrack 1982, p. 93-96; Lipińska 2007.

<sup>577</sup> This topic has been discussed in more detail in Skibiński 2013a.

<sup>578</sup> They had taken place in 1566, 1570 and 1575, see Dressler 1973, pp. 12-14.

<sup>579</sup> See Tylicki 1997a; more on this in Skibiński 2013a.

<sup>580</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 15, 16.

<sup>581</sup> Weissman 1911, p. 52, 56.

<sup>582</sup> APG 300, C / 2058, p. 19.

<sup>583</sup> See, for example, Brussel-Roma 1995, Scholten 2000 and Scholten 2007a.

## Conclusion

The atelier led by Willem van den Blocke in Gdańsk between 1584 and c. 1603 was certainly the largest and most important sculptor studio active in the Baltic metropolis at that time. An indication of its exceptional position in the city is provided by the high percentage of assistants described as sculptors as well as by the words of the master himself expressed in writing, not to mention the number and quality of its products. The master cooperated in total with more than thirty assistants of various specializations and skills. Some of them worked with him for a longer time, while others subsequently joined other workshops or established their own ateliers in Gdańsk and beyond. Netherlanders constituted a large part of the atelier, some of them being van den Blocke's leading assistants. At the height of his career in mid-1590's, van den Blocke was simultaneously working on two or three major commissions, employing up to ten journeymen and apprentices at one time. Almost half of his assistants have been described in written sources as sculptors, a uniquely high number in the local milieu. Leading such a large and well-organized workshop, Willem van den Blocke was able to take up the most prestigious commissions issued by patrons from within and outside of the city and to maintain a high productivity rate.

Nonetheless, his studio was one of many workshops of various types and profiles operating within the framework of the local masons' stonecutters' and sculptors' guild and was surpassed in size by several others, which specialized in building. Willem van den Blocke as well as his assistants and apprentices belonged to the guild, and the latter were required to follow the rules imposed by the organization. Nonetheless, the master himself enjoyed a number of personal privileges. Because of his apparent lack of citizenship and somewhat autonomous position, he must have operated on the edge of the organization, never becoming member of its executive board. However, the importance of the conflict between van den Blocke and some of the guild masters, most notably Willem van der Meer, should not be overestimated, since it did not prevent the sculptor, supported by city authorities and the royal court, from securing a firm professional position.

The size of his studio and its efficiency put the master on a footing with other leading exponents of Netherlandish sculpture in Central and North-Eastern Europe, such as Alexander Colin. With regard to workshop organization, Willem van den Blocke certainly followed a model known to him from the Low Countries, especially Antwerp, which included reliance on extensive trade routes and versatility. Furthermore, he shared a number of traits with other Netherlandish sculptors. One of those traits was possibly a similar pattern of labour division; another one – a design technique involving models. Similarly to other émigrés, van den Blocke was apparently keen to employ his compatriots. The high percentage of immigrants from the Low Countries present in Willem's studio as well as in other workshops operating in Gdańsk and in other places across Central and North-Eastern Europe, reveals the importance of artistic networks for the phenomenon of dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture.

Around 1600 the studio led by master Willem ceased to exist and has probably been partially taken over by his son Abraham, who was to become the leading sculptor in Gdańsk in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. In contrast to his father, he apparently enjoyed wide acceptance within the guild, and broadened the workshop's activities by taking up

major architectural projects. In accordance with this change of profile, his studio has been considerably enlarged, although employed fewer trained sculptor assistants.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE WORK OF WILLEM VAN DEN BLOCHE - ARCHITECTURE AND ORNAMENTAL DECORATION

#### Introduction

According to Nigel Llewellyn, architectural structure of a commemorative monument provides a frame for sculpture, heraldry and inscriptions, that is elements endowed with meaning and conveying it to the recipients of a given work.<sup>584</sup> Although in a general sense this understanding of the nature of a monument is correct, it may be argued that architectural structure is more than a simple frame. It constitutes the physical body of a monument, and its form, placement and material determine the impact it makes on a viewer. It not only reflects inventiveness of a sculptor, but also provides a powerful tool of expression, delivering a certain message to the public itself. The architectural frame, complete with its decoration, must be therefore viewed along with an equally significant part of the monument as effigies, inscriptions, allegorical figures and coats-of-arms.

This chapter, investigating architectural structures executed by Willem van den Blocke and his studio, as well as their detail and ornamental decoration, is divided into four major parts. The one addresses the most basic issue with regard to stone sculpture, namely material. The second part, devoted to architectural side of van den Blocke works, analyzes objects executed in the sculptor's studio according to their type: epitaphs, wall monuments and free standing monuments. Third part deals with decorative and ornamental details embellishing these structures. Finally, the concluding section attempts to discuss the issue of van den Blocke's artistic invention in a broader perspective. The following dealings address three major questions. First, they analyze formal characteristics of van den Blocke's oeuvre, as well as relations existing between single works. Second, they investigate sources used by the artist, in order to establish his position in the wider context of Northern European art of the second half of the sixteenth century. Finally, they attempt to assess his strategy of invention and design, as well as capability to exploit various possibilities available.

#### 4.1 Sculpting material

Stone used in sculpture and microarchitecture to a significant extent determines formal and visual characteristics of a given work. Formal qualities of sculpture made of, let us say, brown limestone quarried in Bolechowice in Lesser Poland, are very different from those of a piece carved in English alabaster, regardless of skill of a sculptor and his personal style. However, until very recently the question of materials used in sculpture and microarchitecture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a very obscure issue, and erroneous identification of stone often led to misleading conclusions. Only recent studies by Michał

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<sup>584</sup> Llewellyn 2000, p. 221.

Wardzyński and other scholars shed a new light on the matter.<sup>585</sup> The following survey relies strongly on their findings and is intended to provide basic information with regard to the material used by Willem van den Blocke.

Having access to Baltic trade routes, Willem van den Blocke used imported Belgian limestone and alabasters, as well as sandstone and limestone from the Baltic islands Gotland and Oland, at that time belonging to Denmark. As a perfect material for sculpting, alabaster was applied to all kinds of figural and ornamental decoration. Most spectacularly, it was used to carve full-length effigies, as well as large figures embellishing some monuments, such as caryatides and the like. For this purpose particularly rare large blocks of stone were needed. Probably, the sculptor - just like Cornelis Floris - used alabaster imported from the Midland area in England, where such large blocks were available, although becoming increasingly rare in later sixteenth century.<sup>586</sup> However, it is usually difficult to ascertain the exact source of stone, as no written sources pertaining to this issue are known. Alabaster sculpture was usually partially polychromed and gilded in order to highlight carvings, to create illusion of depth, to render details more legible, and perhaps also to mask sculptural imperfection or undesirable stains of the material itself.<sup>587</sup>

To built elements of architectural structure, van den Blocke used red (*Rance*) and black limestone from the Mosan area - both usually referred to as the Mosan marbles - typical for Netherlandish sculptors.<sup>588</sup> In accordance with Netherlandish tradition, legible for example in the works by Cornelis Floris, the *Rance* stone was used particularly to carve such structural elements as shafts of columns. In addition to that, master Willem was using also dark-red and limestone from the Oland island in the Baltic Sea, popular all along the Baltic coast.<sup>589</sup> This stone, rather unsuitable for sculpting, was used mostly for architectural frames, though some skilled sculptors were also able to carve reliefs in it.<sup>590</sup>

Sandstone, particularly that from the Baltic island of Gotland, was the most common sculpting material employed in the entire Baltic region.<sup>591</sup> It was applied in a variety of ways, ranging from fine decorative sculpture to architectural elements of microarchitecture and plain architectural details, like doors and windows. Similarly to other Netherlanders active in this region, van den Blocke apparently applied it as a relatively cheap and easily obtainable substitution for stones imported from the Low Countries or England. Sandstone, obviously viewed as inferior to other stones in terms of its visual qualities, was always polychromed.

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<sup>585</sup> Szmydki 1999b; Szmydki 2000; Szmydki 2004; Jamski 2005; Wardzyński 2005; Jamski 2006; Wardzyński, 2006; Wardzyński, 2007; Szmydki 2008, p. 205-241; Wardzyński 2008; Wardzyński 2009; Wardzyński 2010a; Wardzyński 2010b; Wardzyński 2011. Among earlier works, see for instance Weber-Kozińska 1958 and Tatarkiewicz 1966.

<sup>586</sup> On English alabaster see, for instance, Llewellyn 2000, p. 193-197, Woods 2010 and Lipińska 2011b. English alabaster was acquired by Robrecht de Nole as late as 1601, in all probability in order to carve the tomb of Archduke Ernest in Brussels, see Casteels 1961, p. 94 and p. 274-275, document no 94.

<sup>587</sup> A.Kriegseisen 2011.

<sup>588</sup> See, for instance, Tussenbroek 2001, Tussenbroek 2006, Wardzyński 2007, Wardzyński 2008 and Wardzyński 2009.

<sup>589</sup> On this material see Wardzyński 2010b.

<sup>590</sup> Particularly high quality example of carving in this stone is provided by the slab commemorating Jerzy Oleski and his wife in Pieniążkowo (c. 1598); see Smoliński 2004. On the other hand, an example of a poor carving is provided by the contemporary epitaph of Cistercian nuns in the Cistercian church in Chełmno (c. 1600), or the funerary monument of Mikołaj Działyński in Nowe Miasto Lubawskie (c.1605).

<sup>591</sup> On this material see Wardzyński 2010b.

Usually, such polychromy imitated costly materials typical for Netherlandish sculpture. It can be observed in such works by Willem van den Blocke as the epitaph of Eduard Blemke in Gdańsk and monument of the Kos family in Oliwa, as well as in the tomb of Duke Christopher in Schwerin by another Netherlander, Robert Coppens.<sup>592</sup>

The choice between Baltic material and the more precious ones imported from the Low Countries was probably influenced by the financial means of the patrons and the accessibility of particular stone in a given moment. Although appropriate trade routes and a networks of merchants were well in place, the import of limestone and alabaster from abroad was still a troublesome and lengthy affair.<sup>593</sup> The letters sent by Duke Albrecht II Friedrich of Prussia to Queen Elisabeth of England and Duke Alva in the Low Countries reveal that the supply of stone, especially in a quantity needed for such a large enterprise as the erection of the monument of Duke Albrecht, involved a diplomacy at the highest level.<sup>594</sup> The same applies to transport of stone through the Baltic straits, requiring the consent of the Danish king. In addition to that, it was often difficult to obtain an exactly appropriate block of stone. This was particularly true with regard to alabaster, as illustrated by the attempts made by Floris to acquire a block of stone needed for the completion of the monument of Frederik I of Denmark.<sup>595</sup> Therefore, use of such materials is an indication of a high status of a given work and, in consequence, of a elevated position and financial standing of the patron. The sandstone and limestone from the Baltic islands was much easier to obtain, even though its acquisition apparently also required consent from the Danish king, as illustrated by a document concerning Willem van den Blocke, dating from 1600.<sup>596</sup> A letter by Jakub Proszicki, an agent of Janusz Karol Chodkiewicz trying to obtain appropriate building material in Königsberg and Elbląg, reveals that it was not always so easy to get hold even of this material.<sup>597</sup> In Gdańsk, transports of the Gotland and Oland stones were arriving several times a year and were paid by the city's authorities; however, it is hard to tell whether sculptors working on private commissions also benefited from such shiploads.<sup>598</sup>

Either by combining different materials - alabaster and limestone of various colours - or by polychroming sandstone, van den Blocke applied the three-colour scheme - black, red and white - characteristic for sixteenth century Netherlandish sculpture. Apparently, it was an important and widely appreciated element of the *all'antica* formal language developed by the Netherlanders.<sup>599</sup> In the second half of the century this model was introduced into the lands of the Holy Roman Empire and Scandinavia by the works of such masters as Alexander Colin,

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<sup>592</sup> Zakrzewski *et al.* 2000; A.Kriegseisen 2011, p. 92-93.

<sup>593</sup> On that issue see especially Tussenbroek 2006.

<sup>594</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 202, no 513 – 514; p. 203, nos 516, 518 and 521; p. 206, no 546. Some of those document has also been published by Roggen&Withof 1942, p. 165, no XLVIII and p. 165-166, no. L.

<sup>595</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, no. 381, p. 188. It is also interesting to observe that the block used by van den Blocke to carve the effigy of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz must have been too small, and in consequence this otherwise excellent figure lacks a part of left arm. A similar pattern can be observed for instance in works of the Colin studio.

<sup>596</sup> Czapliński 1968, p. 99.

<sup>597</sup> Kaladžinskaitė 2006, p. 32.

<sup>598</sup> Records of the City's Treasury (Extracten aus dem Kammerbuchern), APG, 300, 12; for example APG 300, 12/20, p. 254 (from 1593) and APG 300, 12/46, p. 233 (from 1616-1617).

<sup>599</sup> Scholten 2003b, p. 58; Scholten 2007a, p. 227; Scholten 2010, p. 129; Ottenheim 2013.

Anthonis van Seron and, above all, by Cornelis Floris.<sup>600</sup> Applied in a number of prestigious monuments, it became very fashionable in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, to the extent that a number of sculptors sought to find appropriate material substitutes for expensive and difficult to obtain stone imported from abroad. Such examples are provided by both Netherlanders, for instance Alexander Colin, and those made by Netherlandish-influenced sculptors, for instance the German Hans Pfister, active in south-eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>601</sup> In fact, quarrying of stone, as exemplified by such diverse sculptors as Herman Hutte, Heinrich Horst, Adam Liquier, Alexander Colin or Giovanni Maria Nosseni, as well as trade in sculpting materials provided some artists with an additional source of income.<sup>602</sup> Van den Blocke played an important role in these developments, introducing the colour scheme to the Polish – Lithuanian Commonwealth – as well as Transylvania - in last quarter of the sixteenth century, where it achieved a widespread popularity lasting until the middle of the next century.<sup>603</sup>

## 4.2 The architectural frame

### Epitaphs

#### *Epitaphs of the Prussian bourgeoisie*

Wall epitaphs commemorating members of the city's élite were used in Gdańsk already before van den Blocke's arrival. Such works, richly embellished with architectural, ornamental, and figural decoration, were set up in local churches already in the 1560's and 1570's. Adhering to this tradition, Willem van den Blocke's patrician patrons were ordering in his workshop sumptuous epitaphs, for themselves and for members of their families. In consequence, such memorials form an important and homogenous group within the sculptor's oeuvre. It consists of epitaphs commemorating Johann Brandes and Eduard Blemke, both in Gdańsk, as well as the Stroband family in Toruń and Valentin von Bodeck in Elbląg. All these works have been executed in a rather short period of time, between 1585 and 1594. Later, that is c. 1600, van den Blocke could have also designed the epitaph of Michael Giese, destined for the Königsberg cathedral, showing formal similarity to the earlier ones.

The structure of these epitaphs is rather unified and displays a number of common features. Basically, it consists of a frame in form of an *aedicula* built of entablature and supports, set against a flat substructure in form of a simplified strapwork cartouche. In each case, the frame consists of a standard set of architectural elements that provides a strongly unifying factor; as a result, a far-reaching formal similarity exists between all these epitaphs, even despite differences in secondary details. Architectural elements, such as columns and friezes, are richly embellished with ornamental and figural decoration. The structure of these epitaphs is three-partite. The lower part, in form of a simplified strapwork cartouche, is divided from the central zone by moulding - usually decorated with reeding - bound by

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<sup>600</sup> See, for instance, Wardzyński 2005, p. 527-531, Wardzyński 2007, Wardzyński 2008, Wardzyński 2009 and Ottenheim 2013.

<sup>601</sup> Wardzyński 2009.

<sup>602</sup> Gębarowicz, 1969; Dressler 1973, p. 13; Jolly 1999a, p. 121-122; Wardzyński 2009; Lipińska 2007, p. 38. See also Skibiński 2013a

<sup>603</sup> Wardzyński 2005, p. 527-531; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 315-317, 322-323.

characteristic, elongated consoles supporting vertical elements. The latter, in a form of either columns or caryatides, flank the central zone of an epitaph, decorated either with a narrative scene or a long commemorative inscription. The upper zone is separated from the lower parts by an entablature with accentuated, protruding cornice. Upper parts of all these burgher epitaphs, except for that of the Stroband family, are two-partite. Their lower section is built either of niches framing portraits, as in the Brandes and Giese epitaphs, or architectonic *aedicula* with inscriptions or emblematic images. Their crowning section represent three variants: a strapwork cartouche with a tondo, an independent tondo, or an open pediment. The same solutions, except for the independent tondo, were used by van den Blocke also in his monuments erected for nobility. Furthermore, an open pediment was used by van den Blocke at least on one more occasion, namely in the altar in the Tarnowski chapel in Łowicz.

Designing these epitaphs, Willem van den Blocke was evidently drawing on the ‘antique’ works by Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>604</sup> The former was responsible for the memorials of Duchesses Dorothea and Anna Maria in Königsberg - obviously very well known to van den Blocke - as well as a series of prints showing patterns for further similar structures, published in Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock in 1557.<sup>605</sup> (fig. 12) These works served as models for many sculptors active in the second half of the century, and in a significant way contributed to establishing a standard type for commemorative monuments, used throughout Northern Europe. However, even though master Willem overtly referred to these influential designs, he did not copy them slavishly.<sup>606</sup> Both the composition of general structure and rendering of individual elements differs from sculptural and printed works by Floris – what was in line with the latter’s intentions.<sup>607</sup> For instance, one of the motives never used by Cornelis Floris, nor by Hans Vredeman de Vries for that matter, are elongated consoles supporting columns or caryatides accentuating the relation between vertical and horizontal elements of the structure. These consoles, introduced by van den Blocke into the lower parts of his epitaphs, appear to be one of his trademarks. Another element differentiating van den Blocke from Floris is the placement of the sarcophagus-like moulding. Floris always placed the ‘sarcophagus’ in the upper part of the structure, above the central *aedicula*. Willem van den Blocke, on the other hand, placed it in the lower part, using it to divide the central zone from the apron. In consequence, the role of this element and its relation to other parts of the structure, especially to its supports, is different. Furthermore, with exception of the Brandes epitaph, where a kind of a cenotaph moulding has been introduced, van den Blocke did not treat this motive as a proper sarcophagus, but rather as a purely architectural element, a modification of a standard entablature. His designs stay in line with the evolution of this motive, as seen in the prints after Hans Vredeman de Vries. Here, this element, still a full sarcophagus, has been moved in some cases to the place it occupies in the works by van den Blocke, that is between a lower and central part.<sup>608</sup> Particularly

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<sup>604</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 287. As to the notion of ‘antiquity’ in this regard, see Weissert 2008, p. 197 and Bakker 2007/2008. Designs for epitaphs by Floris have been explicitly named ‘antique’ in the introduction to the series by Hieronymus Cock.

<sup>605</sup> On the epitaphs by Floris see, for instance, Hedicke 1913, p. 25-31 and Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 96. For printed designs see Huysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 182-183.

<sup>606</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 287.

<sup>607</sup> Weissert 2008, p. 197.

<sup>608</sup> *Cenotaphiorum*, pl. 24-26; see Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 160-162.

interesting in this respect is the design shown on plate 25 of the *Cenotaphiorum* series (published in 1563), where a cenotaph-like moulding supports columns flanking central part of an epitaph.<sup>609</sup> (fig. 13) Such works as the epitaph of Philip de Lalaing and his family in Hoogstraten (c. 1583) and Johann Brecht in Aachen, as well as the designs from the so-called Spencer Album, testify to the popularity of this motive in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, also in the Low Countries proper.<sup>610</sup> (fig. 14)

A revealing case study instructive of van den Blocke's approach to his predecessors is provided by the Brandes monument, the earliest of the epitaphs executed by the sculptor. The basic structure as well as some of the details have been derived from the epitaphs of Duchesses Dorothea and Anna Maria in Königsberg, both executed by the studio of Cornelis Floris and very well known to van den Blocke. (fig. 12) The composition of the Brandes epitaph, with a large inscription panel in the centre, flanked by caryatides, as well as busts of the deceased placed in niches in the upper zone, was undeniably directly inspired by the Königsberg epitaphs. Some other details, like the massive cornice of the central zone, have also been derived from the ducal epitaphs in Königsberg; in his later works, van den Blocke tended to reduce the size of this architectural element. Nonetheless, while using some of the solutions introduced by Floris, also in the Brandes epitaph van den Blocke made a number of major changes. First, the entablature dividing the lower and central zone of the Königsberg epitaphs has been replaced by the already discussed sarcophagus-like moulding, a motive inspired probably by Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>611</sup> (fig. 13) Furthermore, columns have been added on each side of the central zone, providing a second set of supports. A double set of support, with the outer ones moved backwards, was employed by many sixteenth century architects, including du Cerceau, Vignola and Vredeman.<sup>612</sup> In fact, a print by the latter, showing a design combining columns and caryatides, appears to be the most likely source for Willem van den Blocke.<sup>613</sup> (fig. 15) Finally, also some of the architectonic details differ from those used by Floris in the epitaphs of the Prussian duchesses. For instance, the entablature crowning the central zone of the latter's epitaphs lacks architrave. This element, in its proper, three-partite form corresponding to the Ionic order has been only reintroduced by van den Blocke, who followed here another work by Floris, namely the Albrecht monument, also in Königsberg. (figs. A.1.4, 17) Moreover, hanging crated baskets, typical for Floris, have been replaced by large volutes, more strongly binding the lower part of the epitaph with the central zone and the architectural frame.

Designing later epitaphs, van den Blocke always attempted to transform the basic architectural structure into an individual composition.<sup>614</sup> He attained this in two ways: by introducing various decorative elements, such as caryatides, statues, reliefs and ornamental motives, and by slightly altering the architectural frame itself. Such alternations did not,

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<sup>609</sup> *Cenotaphiorum*, pl. 25r; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 161.

<sup>610</sup> *Spencer Album*, no. 5, left. The 'Spencer Album' is a large album of drawing depicting mostly designs for tombs and epitaphs, but also fountains and other objects, today in the New York Public Library, Spencer Collection. Its exact origin remains unknown. It seems certain, however, that it has been made by a sculptor closely acquainted with Cornelis Floris. Currently, Krista de Jonge and Ethan Matt Kavalier prepare its critical edition; parts of the album has been published in Huysmans *et al.* 1996.

<sup>611</sup> *Cenotaphiorum*, pl. 25r; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 161.

<sup>612</sup> *Second livre*, pl. 11, 21, 50; *Cenotaphiorum*, pl. 26 and 24, see Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 160 and 162.

<sup>613</sup> *Cenotaphiorum*, pl. 26; see Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no 162.

<sup>614</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 293.

however, lead him to abandon the basic structure, described above. This design strategy can be best observed in the epitaph of Eduard Blemke, the largest and most lavishly decorated work of that kind ever executed in Prussia. A few years after completing the Brandes epitaph van den Blocke modified many elements of the composition. The form of the Blemke epitaph must have been to a large degree determined by the need to define a place for elements of elaborate iconographical programme, in all probability provided by the patron, which included a significant number of lengthy biblical quotations, large relief depicting the *Vision of Ezekiel* and allegorical statues. Faced with this task, van den Blocke adjusted his earlier design in order to meet the demand of the patron, and at the same time to create an individual work of art. Most importantly, the central part of the epitaph has been extended by addition of characteristic pierced side arches framing allegorical figures, connected by moulding with the central *aedicula*. This formed a triple arcade, that could have been modelled after a triumphal arch, like that of Septimius Severus depicted in Sebastiano Serlio's *Book on Antiquities*.<sup>615</sup> (fig. 16) In front of this arcade the sculptor placed the basic architectural frame, with supports resting on large consoles binding the moulding crowning the substructure. Such a composition appears to have been directly influenced by one of the prints after Hans Vredeman de Vries from his *Cenotaphiorum* series (1563).<sup>616</sup> (fig. 13) Although similar pattern was used earlier by Cornelis Floris himself in the epitaphs of the Cologne Archbishops (fig. 18), the print after Vredeman offers a much closer analogy. The main novelty introduced by van den Blocke was exchanging niches for the above mentioned open arcades, a fact directly related to the placement of the epitaph on one of the church piers. This composition provided the main structural difference between the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs. Other innovation included a tondo in the upper zone, derived directly from a design by Cornelis Floris.<sup>617</sup> However, despite this seemingly far-reaching remodelling of the earlier design, the system of the supports resting on consoles binding the moulding, the entablature crowning the central zone, as well as the upper part with a tablet divided by terms into two rectangular parts - akin to the one framing the niches with busts in the Brandes epitaph - all underline the structural similarity existing between these epitaphs.

Remaining epitaphs by the artist belonging to this particular group, namely that of Valentin von Bodeck, the Stroband family and - possibly - Michael Giese, have the same basic form, without significant changes in the architectural structure. The only exception is the central part of the Stroband epitaph, where a doubled central *aedicula* has been introduced. This variation was in all probability motivated by the need to commemorate two equally important members of the family. Taking the central zone of the Brandes epitaph as appoint of departure, master Willem extended it horizontally, separating the two inscription panels with a third console, supporting a figure of *Amor* (*Caritas*; lost today). In contrast to the other two statues embellishing this part of the epitaph, it was not connected to the entablature above. Also the lower zone of the epitaph has been divided into two parts, each containing a separate inscription panel. Nonetheless, the standard elements of the design, common to all of the epitaphs, are present also in this work. This applies particularly to the

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<sup>615</sup> Serlio book III, *Serlio*, 1, p. 201.

<sup>616</sup> *Cenotaphiorum*, pl. 25r; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 161.

<sup>617</sup> Huysmans *et al.* 1996, figs. 182, 183.

basic architectural frame, consisting of entablatures and supports with elongated consoles, as well as the flat, cartouche like substructure.

### *The von Damerau epitaph*

Another work attributable to Willem van den Blocke is the epitaph in Święty Wojciech near Gdańsk, commemorating brothers Peter and Felix von Damerau. Its form is very different from the one used in works discussed above. Its simple structure consists of a rectangular tablet with lengthy inscription, divided by a frieze decorated with reeding from the upper zone, which in turn consists of two roundels with portraits of the brothers and a central rectangular tablet with coat-of-arms, crowned by a reclining allegorical figure. Apart from the inscription, the main point of focus is provided by profile portraits of the two brothers. Two similar designs appear in the *Spencer Album*.<sup>618</sup> There, the tablet, also crowned by a frieze with reeding, is decorated with somewhat more elaborate apron, displaying coats of arms. The von Damerau epitaph is certainly much less elaborate than the grand memorials of Brandes or Blemke. Nonetheless, it is an important work of sculpture, proving that such simpler patterns, also influenced by Cornelis Floris, were regarded as worth employing as well. Accentuating composition and proportions rather than decoration, the epitaph reveals other possibilities explored by Netherlanders in late sixteenth century. Moreover, its simple form may be related to the fact that more costly materials, namely limestone and alabaster, have been used here.

Van den Blocke used this type of epitaph also in one of later works executed in his studio, namely the epitaph of Jan Konopacki in St. Nicolas' church in Gdańsk, executed between 1594-1605. Similarly to the earlier one, it consists of a rectangular tablet with inscription flanked by coats-of-arms, divided by a frieze from the upper zone. The latter includes figure of the deceased in reclining pose carved in relief, flanked by obelisks and crowned with a simple, triangular pediment. Ornament is limited to winged cherub heads and a simple strapwork cartouche framing the inscription.

### *The epitaph of Christopher von Dohna*

The epitaph of Christopher von Dohna, a nobleman of Ducal Prussian origin who died in the service of the Danish King Frederik II, has been erected in the Saint Canute cathedral in Odense c. 1585–1586. Its figural decoration reveals a hand of one of van den Blocke's close assistants.<sup>619</sup> However, architectural structure of the monument, an epitaph with a kneeling effigy, differs significantly from other works by Willem van den Blocke. To a large degree it lacks refinement of design and execution typical for his products. One of the unusual motives is the elliptical arch in the central *aedicula*. It does not appear in the architectural vocabulary of Sebastiano Serlio and Cornelis Floris, although it can be traced back to an earlier tradition, such as the works of Jean Mone and the so-called Precursor of du Cerceau, as well as the monument of Frederick van Renesse in Grote-Kerk in Breda.<sup>620</sup> (fig. 20) Later on, it was used in Germany, for example in the monument of Landgrave Georg I of Hessen-Darmstadt (c.

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<sup>618</sup> *Spencer Album*, no. 18v, right, and no 41r, right.

<sup>619</sup> See chapter 5.

<sup>620</sup> See, for instance, De Jonge 2010, fig. 115.

1589), a work of Nicolaus Bergner and Peter Osten, the later related to the Netherlandish Robijn family.<sup>621</sup> Introduction of this type of an arch in Odense can be perhaps explained by practical consideration: the need to adjust the form of the monument to that of the pier it is attached to. Working on the monument, van den Blocke undoubtedly adjusted his design to its intended location, as indicated by the heraldic panels placed in the arcades, perpendicularly to the front of the monument itself. Similar attention devoted to the relation between his work and its immediate surrounding can also be observed in other van den Blocke's works, such as the Blemke epitaph. It may be noted that practical reasons influenced the use of a similar arcade in the Floris-like epitaph of Philip de Lalainge in Hoogstraten. Here, it allowed to incorporate a large number of effigies representing members of the family. Another motive unusual for van den Blocke is the arch resting directly on Ionic capitals placed on the Caryatid's heads, without mediation of entablature. Finally, a pediment in form of an elongated volute is unique in the sculptor's oeuvre. Possibly, it could have been inspired by some of the designs by Sebastiano Serlio, and refer to the Ionic order of the entire structure.<sup>622</sup>

Nonetheless, several motives present in the von Dohna epitaph are reminiscent of other works by Willem van den Blocke. The most prominent are the sarcophagus-like moulding, decorated with reeding and foliage, as well as the form of the entablature dividing central and upper zones. Moreover, certain decorative details - though belonging to widely used motives - appear in many other works by van den Blocke studio.

## Wall Monuments

### *The Berzeviczy, Tarnowski, Bielke and Stanisław Radziwiłł monuments*

The largest, typologically uniform group of wall monuments executed by Willem van den Blocke and his studio consists of four works, commemorating Martin de Berzeviczy (c. 1593-1594), Piotr Tarnowski (before 1598, c. 1605-1609), the Swedish nobleman Ture Bielke (before 1598, c. 1619-1620) and Stanisław Radziwiłł (c. 1618-1623). They all share a common design, based on a motive of central *aedicula*.<sup>623</sup> The main part of these monuments, resting on a massive base, consists of a large, rectangular tablet, usually decorated with an ornamental border, flanked by vertical supports in a form of either columns or caryatides. The main visual point of focus is provided by an effigy placed on a sarcophagus, belonging - except for the monument of Ture Bielke - to the type of reclining figures created by Andrea Sansovino in early sixteenth century.<sup>624</sup> The upper zone, divided from the central part by an entablature bound by consoles placed on the axis of supports, consists either of a strapwork cartouche or of a rectangular tablet crowned with pediment. Since the *aedicula* was arguably the most widespread type of a monument in the fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe, there is no need to trace its origins and development here. Instead, the key question must address stimuli behind his usage of this type as well as formal characteristics of van den Blocke's designs.

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<sup>621</sup> Meys 2009, p. 364-368; see also Bruhns 1923 and De Ren 1982.

<sup>622</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 339.

<sup>623</sup> This model belongs to a general '*aedicula* type' of monument, as defined recently by Oliver Meys, see Meys, p. 133-168.

<sup>624</sup> More on this in chapter 5.

Wall monuments were tremendously popular in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The origins of this phenomenon can be easily traced back to the royal monuments of Jan Olbracht (c. 1502-1505) and above all Sigismund I the Old, the latter erected by Florentine sculptor and architect Bartolommeo Berrecci in the Sigismund's Chapel in Cracow cathedral (1529-1531; the chapel itself built between 1515 and 1533).<sup>625</sup> (fig. 19) By building a tomb in a form of an architectonic *aedicula* incorporated into the wall of the funeral chapel, both the sculptor and the king rejected the earlier tradition of a free standing royal tomb and introduced a new model of funerary commemoration.<sup>626</sup> Members of the higher nobility and clergy, usually closely linked to the royal court, often maintaining ties with Italy and deeply rooted in the humanist tradition, must have been inspired by the recent royal monuments and, at the same time, fascinated by the antique forms. As a result of these developments, the model of free standing tomb, which survived in the Low Countries, but also in Germany, England and Scandinavia as a powerful expression of continuity, was discarded here in favour of a new type, which in turn formed a new tradition.<sup>627</sup> Words of King Sigismund II August and Queen Dowager Anne of Jagiellon, who both explicitly commissioned tombs based on the model set by Sigismund I, reveal the strength of this tradition.<sup>628</sup> Even if their position as heirs to the Jagiellon house makes them somewhat unique, there is no reason to doubt that this sentiment was widespread at least among the élites. All leading sculptors active in and around Cracow in the sixteenth century, such as Giann Maria Mosca, called Padovano, Girolamo Canavesi, Jan Michałowicz of Urzędów, Santi Gucci and Giovanni de Simonis, followed this tradition. Even though each of these sculptors possessed a distinct, personal style, and the architectural ornament used by them varied strongly, as exemplified by the soberness of Padovano and Canavesi on the one hand and the flamboyant style of Gucci and his followers on the other, the basic model of the architectural frame remained constant.

Lech Krzyżanowski and Zbigniew Hornung believed that van den Blocke came to know this model only after his arrival in the Commonwealth, when he was working for Stephen I Báthory in - as they believed - Cracow.<sup>629</sup> In consequence, they assumed that frequent appearance of this type of monument in his oeuvre was the result of an influence exerted on him by this Polish-Italianate tradition. They were only partially right. Free standing tombs with recumbent effigy, well-rooted in the Medieval tradition, continued to be the most popular model for large-scale funerary monuments in the Low Countries well into the sixteenth century. In consequence, wall monuments in a form of an *aedicula* enjoyed only a limited popularity in sixteenth century Low Countries. Nonetheless, they were undoubtedly known there. A perfect example, revealing strong adherence to Italian models, is provided by the monument of Guillaume de Croÿ by Jean Mone, inspired by the tombs of Ascanio Sforza

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<sup>625</sup> As to the former, see Hornung 1959b, p. 57-84 and Fischinger 1976a. The monument consists of a tomb slab representing earlier tradition, and an 'antique' architectural frame, executed probably by Francesco of Florence. With regard to the latter tomb see above all Mossakowski 2007, as well as Hornung 1949, Hornung 1959c, Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 36-46, Fischinger 1978 and Morka 2006, p. 203-218 and 268-277. According to Zbigniew Hornung the monument was created c. 1570, an opinion refuted by other scholars.

<sup>626</sup> The earlier tradition is exemplified by royal tombs in the Cracow cathedral: of Casimir III the Great, Ladislaus II Jagiello and Casimir IV of Jagiellon, the latter by Veit Stoss.

<sup>627</sup> See, for example, Kozakiewiczowa 1955 and Kozakiewiczowa 1974; See also Fischinger 1976b.

<sup>628</sup> Fischinger 1969, no 30, p. 147-149.

<sup>629</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 276, 290-291, 294, 297; Hornung 1959, p. 103.

and Girolamo Basso della Rovere, built in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome by Andrea Sansovino.<sup>630</sup> Further examples are provided by the monument of Frederick van Renesse in the Grote-Kerk in Breda (c. 1540), the tomb of bishop Jan Carondelet in Bruges by Michel Scherrier (c. 1549),<sup>631</sup> and the tomb of Jean de Henin-Liétard in Boussu-lez-Mons (c. 1551?), attributed to Jacques du Broeucq - the latter two closely resembling each other with regard to their architectural structure.<sup>632</sup> (figs. 20-22) The sculptor trained in the Low Countries must have therefore known this model already before arriving in the Baltic region, especially since Netherlandish sculptors were familiar with different types of commemorative monuments. Cornelis Floris for instance, designed tombs representing almost every major type known in sixteenth century Europe. Further example of such versatility is provided by the *Spencer Album*, possibly conceived as a model-book to be presented to potential patrons, which contains designs representing many types of monuments, ranging from relatively simple epitaphs to monumental wall- and freestanding tombs.<sup>633</sup> Equipped with such knowledge and skill, sculptors were able to meet demands of potential patrons. As indicated by his oeuvre, also Willem van den Blocke was capable of designing and executing various types of commemorative monuments.

Probably the earliest of the tombs representing this group was the monument of Martin de Berzeviczy in Lisnowo (1593-1594). A sarcophagus with a reclining effigy was placed on a massive base.<sup>634</sup> The main structural element of the monument was a large inscription panel decorated with an egg-frieze, flanked by Ionic columns placed in front of niches on high, doubled pedestals and crowned by an entablature. Directly above the columns, the entablature was bound with consoles resembling volutes. The upper zone consisted of a large tablet with a heraldic *tondo* in the centre, flanked by small volutes and crowned with a triangular pediment. On each side of the central tablet an additional cartouche was placed, again with coats-of arms. The monument lacked any figural decoration. Ornamental decoration was limited to the ornamentation of columns and sarcophagus, the egg-frieze around the central inscription panel, small strapwork cartouches and panoplies in the frieze and lion's heads decorating the volutes binding entablature.

The overall composition of the tomb may be attributed to van den Blocke's invention, within the type of *aedicula* monument. Nonetheless, potential sources for various details can be identified. The upper zone of a monument in a form of a rectangular tablet with small volutes in the lower part and a triangular pediment belongs to the repertoire of Cornelis Floris, known for instance from the epitaph of Herluf Trolle in Helsingor (c. 1566-1568; fig. 23) - certainly known in Gdańsk<sup>635</sup> - and, though in a more elaborate version, from his works in Königsberg. (figs. 12, 17) The composition of an entablature with an accentuated cornice closely resembles that in the epitaph of Johann Brandes in Gdańsk, modelled - though not

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<sup>630</sup> See, among others, Roggen 1953 and Duverger, Onghena&van Dalen 1953; see also Lipińska 2007, p. 56. More on the works by Sansovino in chapter 5.

<sup>631</sup> The former was even attributed to the workshop of Cornelis Floris, see Wezel 2003, p. 344-347. The architectural frame of the Carondelet tomb, of which only effigy exists today, is known from an eighteenth century drawing, today in Stadsbibliotheek in Brugge, see Brugge 1998, no 236, p. 304.

<sup>632</sup> Didier 2000, p. 215-219.

<sup>633</sup> Huysmans *et al.* 1996. See also note 610.

<sup>634</sup> After a reconstruction drawing published in Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, fig. 16.

<sup>635</sup> See Chapter 7.

slavishly - after the works by Floris in Königsberg. The decoration of the Ionic columns follows that used in the epitaph of Eduard Blemke. The volutes above the columns have been taken from printed designs, either by Floris or Hans Vredeman de Vries. The Berzeviczy monument can be thus described as a new arrangement of motives known to the sculptor from other artists, transformed and used also in his earlier works.

An analysis of the design of monuments representing this type provides valuable insight into the creative process, pointing to the aim of the sculptor discussed already with regard to Prussian epitaphs: transformation of a standard model into a unique work of sculpture. By introducing different variations of the basic pattern, for instance replacing columns with caryatides, using different forms of entablature, or by introducing ornamental details, van den Blocke achieved a transformation of a typical model into an individual work of art.

Most illustrative here would be to compare the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy with the monument of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz, executed few years later. The central part of both works is very similar and consists of a rectangular panel, framed by an egg-frieze and flanked by architectural supports, with niches behind them. Central point of focus is a sarcophagus with a reclining effigy, only with different ornamental decoration. However, in the Tarnowski monument he exchanged plain columns for finely carved caryatides. Furthermore, in this work van den Blocke introduced a different type of entablature, with a rather strange, reversed cornice. Although its form is highly unusual, the sculptor must have followed designs by Floris and Vredeman, especially since he again used volutes, originally derived from the same source. Finally, in both cases the upper zone consists of three parts, that is a larger central element, flanked on each side by some smaller ones, displaying coats-of-arms. In the later works, however, plain tablet with pediment has been replaced with a strapwork cartouche. The general composition of the Tarnowski monument is very close to that of the earlier tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy. The main difference lies in the details, to a large degree derived from sculptures and designs by Floris and Vredeman and adjusted to this particular composition of a wall tomb. Thus, these two important works by the van den Blocke studio works perfectly embody the strategy of design applied by the sculptor, based on introducing various combinations of standardized elements into the basic structure in order to achieve uniqueness of each design.

It can be further observed in other similar work executed in van den Blocke's studio. In the Bielke monument the central part, flanked by columns, has been divided into two arches and further embellished with three freestanding statues. The upper zone is divided from the central part by an entablature with reversed cornice akin in form to the mouldings appearing in van den Blocke's epitaphs. Design for this entablature has been based directly on print 26 from Vredeman's *Cenotaphiorum* series, mentioned above. (fig, 15). The upper zone consists of a strapwork cartouche flanked by statues, very close to that in the Tranowski monument in Łowicz and - especially - in the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. The most unusual part is the carved slab with the effigies of Ture Bielke and his wife, placed diagonally on the base of the monument. It seems likely - although purely hypothetical at this point - that the slab was executed later by the studio of Abraham van den Blocke. Designing this unusual position of the slab, Willem or Abraham van den Blocke seems to have been influenced by several sixteenth century tombs erected in Poland, such as those of King Jan Olbracht (1501-

1505) and of Jan Konarski (c. 1521), both in Cracow, or that of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki in Opatów in Lesser Poland (c. 1532-1536).<sup>636</sup> (fig. 24) The large volutes flanking the slab, ending with lion's claws, do not appear in van den Blocke's oeuvre. However, a similar motif of lion's feet has been used in the grand altar in St. John church in Gdańsk, a confirmed work by Abraham. Both these elements provide an argument in favour of the thesis that the present form of the Bielke monument was a result of a complicated process of execution, involving both Willem and Abraham van den Blocke.

The last work of this kind is the tomb of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius, most likely created at some point between 1618 and 1623. It seems possible that the elderly master, already 70 years old at that time, designed it, while its execution was left to one his assistants or collaborators.<sup>637</sup> Basic composition of the monument, with centrally placed sarcophagus flanked with columns, is close to those in van den Blocke's works. The form of entablature - bound by consoles - with architrave, frieze and reversed cornice, is akin to that known from the tomb of Ture Bielke, even though some small details have been rendered in a different way. Unlike the earlier works, the central *aedicula* is decorated with an arch with figures in spandrels, a traditional and popular motive reaching back well into the sixteenth century. This part of the monument is moreover flanked with large side panels decorated with acanthus scrolls, modeled perhaps after similar, although much smaller elements flanking the Báthory tomb in Barczewo. The upper zone, once again divided from the central part by an entablature, consists of a rectangular tablet crowned with triangular pediment, similarly as in the Berzeviczy monument.

Given the pre-eminence of wall monuments in sixteenth century Commonwealth, there is no doubt that their frequent appearance among van den Blocke's works was the result of the patrons' will rather than of his personal predilection. The sculptor, trained in a different tradition, but equipped with knowledge necessary to meet demands issued by local patrons, saw himself obliged to follow local custom and taste.<sup>638</sup> Nonetheless, Willem van den Blocke attempted to adjust to this model familiar architectural and ornamental motives and designs, belonging to visual vocabulary developed in the Low Countries. In a result, he created individual works, unlike those built by other sculptors, both in the Commonwealth and in his former homeland. Architectural and ornamental details typical for Netherlandish formal vocabulary, such as entablature with reversed cornice bound by consoles, caryatides and strapwork cartouche, distinguished van den Blocke's work from the tombs by most of the sculptors active in the Commonwealth. On the other hand, despite the existence of general analogies, his works differed from the wall tombs built in the Low Countries. Thus, in an attempt to adjust Netherlandish forms to the type of monument demanded by patrons in the new milieu, van den Blocke created his own model, reconciling two traditions of sixteenth century sculpture.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Compare with Grosjean 1985, p. 13.

<sup>637</sup> Figural decoration of this tomb will be, therefore, discussed in Chapter 7.

<sup>638</sup> See, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1978, p. 271, Zlat 2008, p. 242, 310 and Lipińska 2011a, p. 72.

<sup>639</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 294.

### *The Báthory monument in Barczewo*

The structure of monument commemorating Andreas Báthory and his brother Balthazar in Barczewo (before 1598) also represents an *aedicula* type, but in a different form.<sup>640</sup> The central part of the monument consists of two richly decorated pilasters on each side, the outer ones with Ionic capitals, supporting a doubled arch. The central zone is crowned by an entablature. In contrary to the model described in the previous section, here the entablature does not rest on architectonic supports, but forms an independent element. The upper zone is relatively simple and consists mainly of statues. Uniqueness of this design within the van den Blocke's oeuvre is further strengthened by the inclusion of two effigies. One of them, placed on a protruding sarcophagus standing on two supports in the form of volutes, is represented kneeling, while the other one, located below the sarcophagus, is in a reclining pose. Vertical axis is much more strongly accentuated than in the wall monuments discussed earlier, also because the main point of focus is provided here by a vertical type of effigy.

As a wall-tomb in form of an *aedicula* with the statue of deceased shown in profile, it belongs to a type developed throughout the sixteenth century in France, the Low Countries and beyond. In the Low Countries it is exemplified by a design for sepulchral monument of Margaret of Savoy by Lancelot Blondel (mid-sixteenth century), or by the above mentioned tomb of Jean de Henin-Liétard.<sup>641</sup> (fig. 21) However, this particular composition shows greatest affinity with the central part of the design for the monument of Christian III and Frederik II of Denmark by Cornelis Floris, today in Copenhagen.<sup>642</sup> (fig. 26) The architectural structure of the *aedicula* serving as a frame for a kneeling effigy, the frieze dividing the central and upper zones, figures in spandrels as well as the composition of the upper zone with three allegorical statues - all resemble the aforementioned design. It would be obviously too far-fetched to assume that van den Blocke knew this particular drawing by Floris. It rather seems that he based his own design on the architectural language developed by his former tutor.

Links between the monument of the Báthory brothers and works by Floris are further strengthened by the character of decoration applied by van den Blocke. The Báthory monument has been embellished with much more elaborate ornament than any other wall-tomb executed by him. The use of ornamental decoration, rich but subjected to clearly defined architectural divisions, is strongly reminiscent of works by Cornelis Floris.<sup>643</sup> (figs. 12, 17, 18) What is more, the decoration of the archivolt with rich clusters of fruits and vegetables, could have been inspired by one of the prints by Floris.<sup>644</sup> (fig. 25) Thus, the composition as well as the character and function of the ornamental decoration indicates that the sculptor

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<sup>640</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291 and Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 75.

<sup>641</sup> As to the former see Boon 1978, p. 28-29, no. 76.

<sup>642</sup> Van Ruyven-Zeeman 1992, p. 190, fig. 5; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, no 118.

<sup>643</sup> Older Polish scholars usually interpreted the contrast colouring of the monument in context of seventeenth century sculpture in Poland-Lithuania (the so-called 'Vasa style'), rather than Netherlandish tradition of the sixteenth century. In consequence, they often interpreted it as 'early baroque' (see, for instance, Kozakiewiczowa 1955). Rather surprisingly, many scholars - including Krzyżanowski - described the monument as made of two coloured stone - black and white - even though the structure has in fact been made mostly of red limestone from the Baltic island of Oland.

<sup>644</sup> Huysmans *et al.* 1996, no 188.

heavily relied here on the language developed by Cornelis Floris. Therefore, even though the form of *aedicula* was widely used in entire Europe, and many tombs of similar structure are to be found in Germany, England, Poland and other parts of the continent, the Báthory monument is one of the most Floris-like works by van den Blocke, revealing his understanding of the guiding principle of his teacher's art.<sup>645</sup>

### *The monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg*

By far the grandest work ever executed by Willem van den Blocke was the monument of Duchess Elisabeth, set up between 1578 and 1582 in the Königsberg cathedral. It was one of the largest commemorative monuments created at that time in Northern Europe. Its architectonic structure referred to a triumphal arch, built of a huge *aedicula* placed on an elaborate base and serving as a frame for a sarcophagus with kneeling effigies of the ducal couple.<sup>646</sup> This central *aedicula* was flanked on either side by two superimposed niches placed, defined by columns. The elaborate upper zone of the monument consisted of two parts, a lower one with two large panels displaying coats of arms, and an upper one with a tablet depicting the Last Judgment sculpted in relief, flanked by two roundels with emblematic motives.

When charged with the task of erecting a monument commissioned by Albrecht's successor, Willem van den Blocke was not free in his choice of a model. Rather than freely follow his own invention, the sculptor had to take into consideration the will of the patron.<sup>647</sup> Georg Friedrich desired to emulate the tomb of Duke Albrecht, his respected predecessor, in order to validate his claim to the rule in Ducal Prussia. (fig. 27) The task of the sculptor was to invent a monument that would resemble that of his tutor, at the same time surpassing it in grandeur and dignity. The patron and the sculptor aimed to achieve this by increasing its size and decorativeness, according to the rules of *dignità* and *magnificentia*.<sup>648</sup> Van den Blocke adopted the general structure of the earlier work, conjoining them with his own ideas. His monument has been embellished with a great variety of figural and relief sculpture, as well as ornamental detail.<sup>649</sup> The richly decorated lower part of the monument - serving also as one of the main bearers of iconographic meaning - was intended to catch the beholders eye, while the monumental architectonic structure in form of a triumphal arch provided a frame for the effigies.

An analogous case illustrating orientation towards a specified model is provided by the tomb of the Danish King Frederick II in Roskilde, executed by Gert van Egen between 1594 and 1598. (fig. 28) Its design closely resembles that of the tomb of Frederick's predecessor Christian III, commissioned by Frederick himself in the studio of Cornelis Floris. The degree

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<sup>645</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291.

<sup>646</sup> Ch. Smith 1994, p. 195; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 119; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 94; Meys 2009, p. 224-230 (however, most of those references are related to the monument of Duke Albrecht).

<sup>647</sup> Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 144-145. Existence of guidelines imposed on van den Blocke by the duke may be indicated by a document suggesting that the sculptor executed the tomb according to a design submitted to him, see Ehrenberg 1599, p. 212, no 590,.

<sup>648</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheym 2007, p. 154-160.

<sup>649</sup> So far, it has been usually interpreted in terms of van den Blocke's inferiority, see Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 274; Ch. Smith 1994, p. 196-197; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 122-123; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 95; Meys 2009, p. 230, 542. However, the latter acknowledged van den Blocke's attempt to surpass the earlier work in grandeur and decorativeness (Meys 2009, p. 230).

of van Egen's personal involvement in the design of the monument remains uncertain; as indicated by a contract made with the sculptor, he was to follow some existing designs.<sup>650</sup> In any case, the tomb of Frederick II clearly reflects the king's desire to create a sepulchral monument that would refer directly to an existing work, at the same time surpassing it in magnificence.<sup>651</sup> In fact, van Egen - another likely pupil of Cornelis Floris - used the same method to boost the grandeur of his work as earlier did Willem van den Blocke: in addition to enriched architectural form, he introduced more elaborate ornamental and - above all - figural decoration. Among the latter, particularly allegorical figures crowning the monument correspond with the decoration introduced by van den Blocke in Königsberg. In both cases greater decorativeness must have, therefore, resulted from the desire of local rulers to create even more splendid works than their predecessors. Such approach allowed to accentuate dynastic continuity - the prime goal of any commemorative monument - simultaneously stressing individuality of each ruler. It implies, moreover, that the new works must have been perceived by contemporaries as superior, not inferior - as interpreted by some modern scholars- to the old.

The form of the monument in question was influenced by yet another factor of primary importance. Its visual richness was to a large degree resulting from a need to include an elaborate iconographic program. This is particularly true with regard to the reliefs and statues in the lower part, inscriptions in the entablatures as well as the disposition and decoration of the upper zone. Thus, Willem van den Blocke must have been charged with a difficult task, namely to combine an elaborate iconographic programme, consisting of figural scenes and numerous inscriptions, with an architectonic structure modelled after the monument of Duke Albrecht.<sup>652</sup>

Designing the tomb of Duke Albrecht, Cornelis Floris draw upon a rich tradition of earlier designs and works.<sup>653</sup> The point of departure for him were probably the monuments of Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere by Andrea Sansovino.<sup>654</sup> (Fig. 29) He enlarged the latter's composition, in all probability referring to other Italian examples, for instance the tomb of Adrian VI, the former main altar in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome, and the Piccolomini altar in Siena *Duomo*, the former two undoubtedly known to him, as well as - possibly - French works.<sup>655</sup> (Fig. 30) Furthermore, he must have been inspired by printed

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<sup>650</sup> Johannsen 2010, p. 128. The origin of the design was a subject of a debate that did not produce a solution as yet. Honnens-Lichtenberg (1991, p. 217-223) unconvincingly advocates Johann Gregor van der Schardt as the designer. Johannsen more plausibly suggested a design by Floris, pointing to the drawing in Paris, dated 16 February 1573. See also an engraving showing funerary monument of Frederik II dated 1588 (very close to that of Christian III), that is well before van Egen started to work on it (Johannsen 2010, fig. 8).

<sup>651</sup> Johannsen 2010; Baresel-Brand 2007.

<sup>652</sup> Meys 2009, p. 230, 542.

<sup>653</sup> For literature on the Albrecht monument see note 106.

<sup>654</sup> Hedicke 1913, p. 54; Roggen&Withof 1942, p. 101, 115; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 94; Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 136. On the monuments themselves see recently Götzmann 2010.

<sup>655</sup> Altars in Siena and Rome built by Andrea Bregno c. 1481-1504, see Damianaki 2008 (also drawings: Günther 1988, p. 76, fig. 9 and p. 85, fig. 30); see also the tombs of Venetian Dodges, particularly that of Federico Vernier, built by Jacopo Sansovino (suggested by Meys 2009, p. 224), as well as an anonymous drawing in: Boucher 1991, 2, fig. 408. As to French, see for instance the internal façade of the Louvre as well as the façades of the castles in Anet and Écouen. The monument of the Duke de Brézé in the Rouen cathedral, which strongly influenced both French and Netherlandish artists, including celebrated sculptor Jacques du Broeucq, should also be taken into consideration (see Kavalier 2008).

designs of Sebastiano Serlio, particularly from his *Libro Estraordinario*.<sup>656</sup> (Fig. 31) Finally, he could have known such less conspicuous works as the triumphal arch erected on the Coal Market in Vienna for the entry of Emperor Maximilian II in 1563, known from a woodcut by Donat Hübscham, serving as an illustration of the festivities described by Michael Zimmermann and Caspar Stainhofer.<sup>657</sup> (Fig. 32) Thus, designing the monument of Duke Albrecht, Floris referred to a variety of models, nonetheless creating an unique and inventive work of art.

The work executed by Willem van den Blocke represents a next step in the tradition presented above. Although the architectonic structures of the tombs executed by Floris and van den Blocke are very similar, a number of important differences are nonetheless present. They enable us to establish more clearly van den Blocke's approach toward the work of his assumed teacher. The main difference lies in the composition of the lower part of the monuments. The base of the later one, divided into several sections and embellished with statues, bas-reliefs and inscriptions, was more strongly articulated and richly decorated than that of the earlier.<sup>658</sup> The distinction appears most striking with regard to the support of the side bays, in form of sculpted terms - inspired, perhaps, by Vredeman's *Architectura* - supporting a large, reversed cornice. The part of the monument in question does not, however, lack an architectural structure.<sup>659</sup> On the contrary - the terms provide a basis for the columns, while the two allegorical statues correspond to the figures in the niches above. The architectural idea is therefore clearly defined. In fact, from the structural point of view they are not different from the high, plain bases of Floris' columns.

Van den Blocke's competition with the earlier work can be observed also in the disposition of the upper zone. Its form was for the most part determined by an elaborate iconographic program, consisting of statues, large relief sculpture, coats-of-arms and emblems. In order to incorporate it into the architectonic structure of the monument, the sculptor conceived its division into two parts. In the lower one, he introduced two large, rectangular tablets, displaying coats-of-arms and flanked by statues. The structure of the upper part, with a rectangular panel depicting the *Last Judgement* flanked by roundels, was directly copied from the earlier tomb, although the roundels here display emblematic depictions rather than coats-of-arms, as in the case of Albrecht's monument.

The perception of differences existing between the two Königsberg monuments, as known from literature, may have resulted from a certain factor, so far omitted by scholars, namely the difference of material. Duke Albrecht's tomb has been made of Belgian limestone and alabaster, while the one of Duchess Elisabeth most probably of sandstone. Large, flat surfaces characteristic for the earlier tomb would have looked much less impressive if made in sandstone, even if painted to imitate more precious material. Thus, such details as decoration

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<sup>656</sup> The designs depicted on plates XIII, XIII, XXX of the 'Rustic Gateways' and V, XV of the 'Delicate Gateways' are especially important, see *Serlio*, 2, p. 475, 476, 492, 497 and 507.

<sup>657</sup> W. Keyser 1979, fig. 7 and Dimitrieva-Einhorn 2004, fig. 19.6. The arch, designed by Melchior Lorich, appears to be, along with Bregno's altar in Rome, the closest single analogy to the composition applied by Floris. It seems plausible that the sculptor, established in a leading centre of publishing industry and cultural exchange, remaining moreover under Habsburg rule, knew the description of the entry, published in Vienna few years before he commenced the work on the monument of the Duke of Prussia.

<sup>658</sup> See, for example, Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 274 and Meys 2009, p. 230, 542.

<sup>659</sup> Such an opinion is dominant among scholars; see, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 274, Rzempoluch 1995, p. 122-123 and Meys 2009, p. 230 and 542.

of the shafts of the columns with fluting as well as breaking of the lower part of the tomb into smaller sections, could have very well resulted from the fact that van den Blocke was working in sculpting material better suited for such treatment.

*A free-standing monument - the tomb of the Kos family*

The monument of Mikołaj Kos and his family was built in the Cistercian church in Oliwa, probably shortly before 1600. Originally, it was placed in the main nave of the church, in proximity of the choir. Its uniqueness in the Polish sculpture puzzled scholars attempting to trace its origin and link it to van den Blocke; in consequence, it is one of the most disputed works in his oeuvre.<sup>660</sup> In his attempt to define the sources of its design, Lech Krzyżanowski pointed out works by Robert Coppens in Schwerin and Lauenburg, as well as those by Philip Brandin in Güstrow.<sup>661</sup> In addition to that, he also referred to unspecified prints by Hans Vredeman de Vries. He also suggested that master Willem could have learned about all these works from his son Abraham, who returned from his training journey in the mid 1590s.<sup>662</sup>

Although in general the genealogy of the Kos monument presented by Krzyżanowski is plausible, some details must be reconsidered. The architectural structure of the monument goes in fact back to the early works of Cornelis Floris, namely the monuments of the Danish King Frederick I in Schleswig and Jan van Merode in Geel, both executed in the 1550s.<sup>663</sup> (fig. 33) There, Floris created a new type of monument, recently described by Oliver Meys as a 'table' tomb combined with a sarcophagus.<sup>664</sup> He has done that by combining two major types used in the Low Countries in the first half of the sixteenth century: a typical sarcophagus with a long medieval tradition, exemplified by the tomb of Antoine de Lalaine in Hoogstraten, and a 'table' tomb, applied in the first half of the century in the van Brederode monument in Vianen (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the century) and, above all, in the monument of Engelbert van Nassau in Breda (c. 1530), attribute to the famous court artist Jean Mone. (fig. 34) In addition to that, to some extent Floris could have also been influenced by works outside of the Low Countries, such as the tomb of François II in Nantes or the mausoleum of Margaret of Austria in Brou. This new type of tomb was later applied by other Netherlanders, most notably Robert Coppens in Schwerin (fig. 35) and in Jever, perhaps by the mysterious Hein Hagart (fig. 36), and further modified in some of the prints by Vredeman, which aided its dissemination in Germany.<sup>665</sup>

The architectural structure of the Kos monument belongs to the same tradition. In all probability, this model was known to van den Blocke since the time of his training in Antwerp. In his design for the Kos monument, the sculptor applied the general structure as found in original works by Cornelis Floris - with characteristic three supports - but nonetheless modified it in a number of ways. First, he exchanged caryatides, a major trait

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<sup>660</sup> Krzyżanowski, for instance, initially rejected the authorship of Willem van den Blocke, only to accept it some years later, see Krzyżanowski 1958, Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 79-85 and Krzyżanowski 1968a.

<sup>661</sup> On Lauenburg see, for instance, Eimer 1951.

<sup>662</sup> Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 454-456.

<sup>663</sup> See also the print showing the monument of Frederik I (Huysmans *et al.*, fig. 185) and one of the drawing in the *Spencer Album*, fol. 9v (Huysmans *et al.*, fig. 278)

<sup>664</sup> Meys 2009, p. 99-107. See also Hedicke 1913, p.38-43 and 229-230, as well as Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 81-86.

<sup>665</sup> For example plates 7, 9, 11 and 18; see Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 143, 145, 148, 154.

introduced by Floris and used later by Coppens and Hagart, for plain, Doric columns. This modification could have been influenced by Vredeman's prints; in particular, van den Blocke could have been inspired by Vredeman's design for a Doric tomb.<sup>666</sup> (fig. 37) Apart from this, he introduced kneeling effigies of the deceased, absent in the designs by Floris and Vredeman. Kneeling figures have been used by Coppens, although placed next to each other. Van den Blocke himself placed them in front of each other, much like in his earlier monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. This motive could have been derived from numerous German monuments with kneeling effigies. However, an interesting analogy to the Kos monument is provided by one of the designs in the 'Spencer Album', showing a tomb of this type with a kneeling effigy and columns on the corners, a caryatid deployed only in the centre.<sup>667</sup> (fig. 38) The drawing provides yet another example of the evolution of this model taking place in the Low Countries, exemplified by works by Coppens and van den Blocke discussed here. The Kos monument, although unusual in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, can be thus firmly placed in the tradition of a type of a tomb created by Floris and further developed by other Netherlanders.<sup>668</sup>

Willem van den Blocke also introduced some secondary details in the work, that further strengthen its uniqueness. One of them is obelisks placed on the corners, unknown from other monuments representing this type. They could have been inspired, for instance, by a print after du Cerceau, similarly as in the case of the monument of Gustav I Vasa in Uppsala by Willem Boy. (fig. 39, 40) By introducing high sarcophagus above an entablature, master Willem provided space for a relatively rich heraldic programme, unusual in Poland and inspired perhaps by German or Netherlandish tombs. It is possible, however, that originally, when the monument was placed standing freely, the coats of arms now amassed on the front side were placed on other sides of the tomb as well.<sup>669</sup>

In contrast to most of Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre, the Kos monument lacks ornamental decoration.<sup>670</sup> This appears peculiar, although in some other works, most notably the Berzeviczy monument, the sculptor also applied limited decoration. This restraint can be explained in several ways. First, it was shared by other tombs representing this type. The main decorative element usually employed in them - caryatides or statues of Roman soldiers - were discarded here in favour of plain Doric columns. In fact, the soberness is probably related to very same use of the Doric order. Second, grandiosity of the tomb's architectural form may have required a certain restraint in its ornamentation. Presumably, combination of the 'royal' type of a free standing tomb with rich decoration would have been considered inappropriate. Finally, as a relatively late work, the Kos monument can be viewed in the context of works by Abraham van den Blocke, who usually exhibited lesser predilection towards decoration. The discussed tomb is one of the works that initiated the process of evolution from elaborate ornamental decoration to more austere solutions, visible in Gdańsk sculpture in the first two decades of the seventeenth century and exemplified above all by the oeuvre of Willem's

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<sup>666</sup> *Cenotaphiorum...*, plate 12, see Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no 148.

<sup>667</sup> *Spencer Album*, Fol. 35r (after Huysmans *et al.*, fig. 285).

<sup>668</sup> Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 456.

<sup>669</sup> On the history of the monument see Catalogue and Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 448-450; see also Hirsch 1850a, p. 53, 56 and Hirsch 1850b, p. 54.

<sup>670</sup> This fact led Lech Krzyżanowski to initially reject van den Blocke's authorship.

eldest son.<sup>671</sup> In fact, it has been suggested by some scholars that Abraham participated in the execution of this work. Judging by its importance for his later oeuvre, as well as by his close relation to the father, this seems very likely, although it is impossible at this moment to ascertain the scale and character of his involvement.<sup>672</sup>

### *The tomb of Johan III Vasa*

Finally, some reference must be made to the tomb of Johan III Vasa, executed in 1593-1596 and destined for the Uppsala cathedral. Due to its complicated history - it was shipped from Gdańsk to Sweden only in 1783 - it has never been assembled in its proper form, which remains unknown. The complex tale of its several reconstructions has been presented in detail by Alicja Saar-Kozłowska and, recently, Herman Bengtsson.<sup>673</sup> Assembled in Uppsala in 1817-1818, the tomb has been given a rather curious form of a wall tomb combined with a free standing monument, topped with a canopy.<sup>674</sup> In 1892-1893, under supervision of Carl-Ruprecht Nyblom, the tomb was reassembled as a more sober, free standing monument, with a flat canopy supported by four Corinthian columns. In this shape it remains until today. Not much later, in his study devoted to Willem Boy, August Hahr has proposed another reconstruction, this time in form of a wall monument.<sup>675</sup> Most scholars agreed with the latter proposition; in principle, it appears more plausible indeed.<sup>676</sup> The main argument in favour of Hahr's idea is provided by the positioning of the royal effigy more suitable for a wall tomb than for a free standing monument. Nonetheless, the drawing by Hahr must be approached with caution, as it has been too strongly based on Italian models.<sup>677</sup> Although these works provided ultimate models for many sepulchral works north of the Alps, the possibility of such a close imitation by Willem van den Blocke can be safely ruled out. At this point, a detailed reconstruction of the tomb is impossible. Most likely it was a grand wall monument, perhaps in general appearance akin to that envisioned by Hahr, although with different architectural detail, representing Netherlandish vocabulary known from other works by Willem van den Blocke. Given the number and monumentality of its remaining elements, it must have been the grandest work executed by the sculptor, except for the Königsberg tomb.

### **The High Gate in Gdańsk**

Building history of the High Gate in Gdańsk as well as the question of van den Blocke's involvement in its design and execution is a complex issue. Van den Blocke's supplication from 27 March 1586 reveals that he intended to design and execute façade of the building as well as its structural parts.<sup>678</sup> However, a document dated 27 September 1586 informs that Frederik Vroom provided further design - '*patron mitt den Pfeilern*' - for the

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<sup>671</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 149.

<sup>672</sup> Abraham could have been responsible for some parts of the figural sculpture; see Chapters 5 and 7.

<sup>673</sup> Saar-Kozłowska 2001; Bengtsson 2010, p. 94.

<sup>674</sup> Saar-Kozłowska 2001, figs. 30-33.

<sup>675</sup> Hahr 1910, fig. 22; Hahr 1913.

<sup>676</sup> Among the few supporters of Nyblom's reconstruction we can mention Zbigniew Hornung, see Hornung 1959, p. 108.

<sup>677</sup> Most importantly on the famous works by Andrea Sansovino in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome.

<sup>678</sup> APG, 300, 35/65, p. 19-21 (*Krzyżsiak* 1999, p. 66-70).

building.<sup>679</sup> According to this source, this design included precise measurements, as well as some details. The document suggests that Vroom, an accomplished military architect and engineer, could have provided design for the gate, including its façade. However, it is also possible that Vroom only modified van den Blocke's design. A note at the end of the latter's supplication reveals that the council planned to consult his designs with two unnamed architects; it is almost certain that Vroom was one of them. The aforesaid document from September 1586 mentions also Hans Schneider von Lindau, whose name appears moreover in one of the payments for the works, dated 16 August 1586.<sup>680</sup> To conclude, it seems most likely that Vroom and - possibly - von Lindau, as professional architects and engineers, were responsible for design and construction of the building's structure. Willem van den Blocke must have executed the sculptural decoration of its façade, and could have also been to a certain degree involved in creating the final design. Thus, the sculptor cannot be credited with singlehandedly preparing the final design, as is the case with regard to his sculptural works.

As pointed out already by Arthur Lindner, Georg Cuny and Paul Simson the High Gate bears close similarity to the Imperial - or St. George's - Gate (Keizerspoort) in Antwerp.<sup>681</sup> It was built most probably by the Italian military architect Donato de' Boni in 1545 (fig. 41), and in turn related to works by Michele Sanmicheli, such as the Porta Nuova in Verona (1533-540) and Porta Terraferma in Zadar (1543).<sup>682</sup> This opinion has been accepted by most scholars.<sup>683</sup> Only Lech Krzyżanowski in his unpublished dissertation presented a different view, arguing in favour of designs in *Architectura* by Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>684</sup> (fig. 42)

Both these opinions appear to be to a certain degree correct. The link between the Antwerp and Gdańsk gates is obvious. The general disposition: central entrance in form of an arch, flanked with a much smaller entrances on each side as well as a large upper zone with a frieze decorated with three large cartouches displaying coats-of-arms, has been definitely modelled after the gate built in the town on the Scheldt. The same can be said about the rustic decoration of the façade and - to a lesser degree - the system of supports. At this point, it remains unknown whether the decision to use this particular model was made by van den Blocke and his colleagues, or rather by the patrons - members of the Gdańsk's City Council. Vroom and van den Blocke, undoubtedly acquainted with the Antwerp gate, could have been able to design a similar building. The Council, on the other hand, could have intended to imitate the grand, new fortifications of Antwerp that became famous throughout Europe.<sup>685</sup> The image of the Imperial Gate itself, a monument of prime importance dedicated the Emperor Charles V in one of the most important cities of sixteenth century Europe, was disseminated by prints and drawings. For instance, it opens the famous description of the entry of Charles V and his son Philip to Antwerp in 1549, published simultaneously in three

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<sup>679</sup> APG 300, 20/126, p. 1

<sup>680</sup> APG 20/126, p. 3. However, although weekly payments to unspecified stonecutters continue until 11 October (records from the remaining period are lost), they lack further reference to von Lindau. Interestingly enough, also the guild Pay-books lack reference to von Lindau in 1586.

<sup>681</sup> Lindner 1903, p. 33; Cuny 1910a, p. 75; Simson 1918, p. 556.

<sup>682</sup> On this gate see, for instance, Hitchcock 1978, p. 21, Meadow 1998, p. 42-43, De Jonge & Ottenheim 2007, p. 84, Thøfur 2007, p. 130-132 and Hilliges 2011, p. 147-156. The Imperial Gate has been demolished in the nineteenth century.

<sup>683</sup> For instance Miłobędzki 1997, p. 29.

<sup>684</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 63-64.

<sup>685</sup> Lombaerde 2001, p. 99-127

languages by Cornelis Grapheus, called Scribonius, in Antwerp in 1550.<sup>686</sup> More surprisingly, it appears also in the so-called sketchbook of Maarten de Vos, among images of antique works of art and ruins – thus confirming the building's high status.<sup>687</sup> Moreover, it has found its way also to Charles de Beste's *Architectura* (c. 1596-1600).<sup>688</sup> These examples testify to the importance of this building, both among patrons and artists.

However, Krzyżanowski stating that the High Gate in Gdańsk is not a copy of the Antwerp gate was also correct. First, the Doric order used in the latter has been replaced here with Tuscan. Moreover, in Gdańsk pilasters have been used instead of half-columns. This was perfectly in line with the opinion, expressed for instance by Sebastiano Serlio, that the Tuscan order, most robust and solid, is best suited for military architecture.<sup>689</sup> Such practice could have been stimulated by the designs of Vredeman, as suggested by Krzyżanowski, but also those by Serlio.<sup>690</sup> In fact, in the latter's *Regole generali* two interesting designs can be found, similar in general disposition to both gates discussed here.<sup>691</sup> (figs. 43, 44) In one of them the façade has been decorated with columns, as in Antwerp, and in the other with pilasters, as in Gdańsk. Thus, the treatise by Serlio provided at least a framework for both these buildings. Another difference between the two gates lies in the arrangement of the façade. The High Gate lacks the corner pilasters present in the earlier building, and this strongly influences the character of the Gdańsk façade. Differences can be seen also in details. The Doric entablature has been replaced in the High Gate by a more complex structure, supported by a number of characteristic consoles, that may be interpreted according to the notion of *varietà*. Even more surprising are elongated triglyphs in the upper zone, placed on the axis of pilasters, behind cartouches. They provide a particularly interesting example of creativity with regard to architectonic orders, anticipating later inventions of such artists as Hendrick de Keyser.<sup>692</sup> It may be also interpreted as an attempt to introduce a superposition of orders, Doric on the top of Tuscan. Thus, the High Gate in Gdańsk, design by Willem van den Blocke, Frederick Vroom and possibly also Hans Schneider von Lindau - in all probability supervised by members of the City Council - represents the same creative attitude towards earlier models as the sculptural works discussed above.

### 4.3 Orders of architecture and ornament

#### Orders of architecture

At the very beginning of the analysis of the decoration used by Willem van den Blocke are the orders, a system strongly linked in the architectural theory with ornament.<sup>693</sup> Willem van den Blocke employed three basic orders: Corinthian, Ionic and Doric. Corinthian order was used by him in the grand and most prestigious monuments of Duchess Elisabeth in

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<sup>686</sup> Hilliges 2011, p. 151-153, 192.

<sup>687</sup> Netto-Bol 1976, p. 72 (folio IV verso). Netto-Bol links the sketchbook with Maarten van Heemskerck and the circle of Frans Floris.

<sup>688</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheym 2007, p. 100.

<sup>689</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 260-261; see also Forssman 1961, p. 50-74 and Hilliges 2011, p. 123-156.

<sup>690</sup> *Architectura*, pl. 2, Hollstein Dutch, XLVIII, no 410; see also Zimmermann 2002, p. 90-109 and Hilliges 2011, p. 142-147. The High Gate lacks characteristic bands, so prominent in Vredeman's design.

<sup>691</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 260-261.

<sup>692</sup> Ottenheym 2006; De Jonge&Ottenheym 2007, p. 113-125.

<sup>693</sup> Payne 1999.

Königsberg and Johan III in Uppsala. His rendering of Corinthian capitals was very close to that by Cornelis Floris (Königsberg, Roskilde), who most likely relied on the treatise by Sebastiano Serlio.<sup>694</sup> (figs. A. 4.13, 45, 46) The forms of leafs and helices, as well as of astragal, abacus and cymatium are almost identical. There is, however, one major difference between works by Floris and his pupil. In Uppsala van den Blocke introduces larger central helices, of the same size as those on the corners, attaching them directly to the small leafs below. Again, a likely source is to be found in Serlio's *Regole generali*.<sup>695</sup> (fig. 47) Earlier, in the ducal monument Königsberg, the sculptor used smaller volutes, but attached them to leafs as well, probably because of the material.

The importance of Cornelis Floris for van den Blocke can also be observed in the type of entablatures used by the latter in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth. Very similar to that in the tomb of Albrecht I, it consisted of three partite architrave, a decorated frieze - van den Blocke used this element also to present inscriptions - and a multi-partite cornice, with accentuated corona and cyma.<sup>696</sup> (figs. A.1.4, 48) All these elements, except for the frieze, lack any ornamental decoration. Also here, the main source for Floris and van den Blocke appears to have been Serlio. Even though no exactly matching entablature can be found in the latter's work, all elements used by both sculptors are present there, and some of the models in the *Book on antiquities* bear close affinity to their work.<sup>697</sup> (fig. 49)

Van den Blocke's treatment of the Ionic order was more complex. In the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs as well as in the monuments of Martin de Berzeviczy, the Báthory brothers and Ture Bielke, the sculptor embellished capitals of columns or pilasters - built of a volute, an egg-and-dart echinus and an astragal - with necks (*hypotrachelia*), decorated either by foliage (Blemke, Berzeviczy), fluting (Báthory) or balls (Brandes). This elaborate type of a Ionic column, popular in late fifteenth and sixteenth century Italy, was firmly rooted in the architectonic language of the sixteenth century. In *Regole generali*, Sebastiano Serlio presented two interpretations of the Ionic order, one austere and the other more elaborate, stating that: '*since such [simple] capitals seemed to some architects to be lacking in ornament, they added this frieze*'.<sup>698</sup> This more decorative version of the order appears also in many other architectural designs by numerous sixteenth century architects, including de l'Orme, du Cerceau and Vredeman, and later - for instance - Giovanni Battista Montano.<sup>699</sup> Thus, van den Blocke's rendering of the Ionic column was an effect of half a century of evolution of the order in Northern Europe. Furthermore, Serlio provided a possible direct model for the details of van den Blocke's decoration, presenting in the same book a Ionic column with a neck decorated by fluting.<sup>700</sup> All three types of decoration applied by Willem have been presented by Hans Vredeman de Vries in his *Architectura* as different ways of

<sup>694</sup> Serlio book III, *Serlio*, 1, p. 111 and Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 341. Fleurons turned downwards, used by both Floris and van den Blocke, were most likely related to sculptural rendering, as such rendering was easier from purely technical point of view.

<sup>695</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 344.

<sup>696</sup> Moreover, a similar entablature appears in one of the designs for the gallery in Cologne's Town Hall, as well as in one of the designs for the tomb of Danish kings (Huysmans *et al.* 1996, figs. 112 and 118).

<sup>697</sup> Serlio book III, *Serlio*, 1, p. 172 and 233. The latter presents not an ancient work but the Belvedere loggia by Bramante, a work that could have potentially been studied by Floris himself.

<sup>698</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 324; see also Guillaume 1998, p. 224 and Payne 1999, p. 116.

<sup>699</sup> With regard to the latter, see Fairbairn 1998, 2, p. 576-577, no 896.

<sup>700</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 331.

embellishment of the Ionic order; Vredeman's pattern-book could have provided a direct stimulus for the sculptor.<sup>701</sup> (fig. 50)

Willem van den Blocke often combined Ionic order with caryatides. Although used also by other sculptors, this motive was most widely propagated by Cornelis Floris, who - except for the upper part of the Tournai rood-loft - always employed this combination. This allowed the Antwerp sculptor to combined intellectual anthropomorphic theory of orders with decorative possibilities offered by figural sculpture. Along with other Floris' pupils, van den Blocke adopted this solution in a number of his works, including the epitaph of Johan Brandes and the tomb of Piotr Tarnowski. In the former, the sculptor combined the capital - decorated with egg-and-dart echinus and astragal - with a crated basket and other decorative elements. In the Tarnowski tomb, a capital with high neck has been introduced. In the epitaphs of the Stroband family and Christopher von Dohna, however, capitals have been reduced to a volute.

Van den Blocke's rendering of the Ionic entablature was varied. In general, it can be divided into two basic types. However, it is important to note that their use is not limited to the Ionic order. First type consisted of a standard set of elements - architrave, frieze and cornice - and was based on the Duke Albrecht's monument in Königsberg. This type is very close to that used by Willem in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth, executed in the Corinthian order. The sculptor used it in the epitaphs of Prussian bourgeoisie and in the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy. In some cases, especially in the Brandes epitaph, the artist referred also to other works by Floris, namely the epitaphs of Prussian Duchesses, using them as model for strongly accentuated cornice. Occasionally, Willem van den Blocke rendered entablature related to Ionic order in a more unusual way. An example is provided by the monument of Piotr Tarnowski in Holy Trinity's Chapel in Łowicz, where frieze has been replaced with an elaborate mouldings. A comparable solution, albeit with a frieze, appears in the Bielke monument. There, the cornice is less extravagant and its upper part has a form of a reversed cyma. As has already been said, this form appears to have been inspired by by Floris' and Vredeman's designs.

Van den Blocke introduced Ionic elements also into other parts of his creations, such as decorative structures crowning the Blemke epitaph on its sides. Here, the sculptor used elongated volute of a Ionic capital as a cornice, in a manner very reminiscent of Sebastiano Serlio's design for a Ionic chimneypiece.<sup>702</sup> (B.5.7; fig. 51) This motive has also been used by Floris in the decoration of the façade of the Antwerp Town Hall.<sup>703</sup> (fig. 52) A similar instance can be perhaps observed in the upper zone of the von Dohna monument in Roskilde, where the sculptor introduced elongated, Ionic-like volute. The use of such specific architectural ornaments usually refers to ornamentation based on elements of architectural orders.<sup>704</sup> In this way, van den Blocke further underlined the Ionic character of the entire work.

The Doric order was used by van den Blocke only once, in the monument of the Kos family in Oliwa (probably c. 1599-1600). Capitals and bases of columns there appear to be a simplified version - devoid for instance of annulets - of Serlio's Doric order presented in

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<sup>701</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVIII, no 421. See also Zimmermann 2000, especially p. 90-114.

<sup>702</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 339.

<sup>703</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheym 2007, p. 116-117, fig. 108.

<sup>704</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheym 2007, p. 115-117

*Regole generali*, with accentuated abacus and cymatium.<sup>705</sup> A strongly reduced cornice with a corona and a sort of reversed cyma forms lower part of the sarcophagus. It is distant in form from that presented by Serlio, and reminds rather of its counterpart used occasionally by other Netherlanders, among them Floris. A somewhat similar form appears also in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, dividing the base and the central zone of the side bays. More traditional elements of the entablature are used to decorate the base and sarcophagus of the Kos monument.

As demonstrated, Willem van den Blocke was deeply rooted in the Vitruvian tradition established in the lands beyond the Alps by Sebastiano Serlio, whose designs were extensively used by Cornelis Floris, Vredeman and others. He was undoubtedly well-aware of the intricacies of the five orders, and was using the decoration developed particularly by Serlio and Floris within that system. Furthermore, the artist - and at least some of his patrons - must have been aware of the hierarchy of orders. It is not a coincidence that his most prestigious works, namely the tombs of Duchess Elisabeth and King Johan III, were created according to the Corinthian order. Nonetheless, van den Blocke was not always clearly differentiating between details of various orders, especially with regard to entablature. In some cases, such as the monument of Duchess Elisabeth and the epitaphs of Prussian bourgeoisie, he was using rather standard solutions, based on antique examples as transmitted by Serlio and Floris. In other tombs, commemorating members of the nobility, he applied more unusual renderings, characteristic for Netherlandish art of that time. Thus, van den Blocke subjected architectural orders to various modifications, remaining in line with Serlio's idea of licence and invention.<sup>706</sup> By transforming and enriching basic orders, the sculptor adhered to the sixteenth and early seventeenth century way of approach to architectural orders, aimed at adjusting them to various applications.<sup>707</sup>

## Ornament

Ornamental decoration used by Willem van den Blocke has attracted particular scholarly interest. In his highly influential study of 1958 Lech Krzyżanowski - following a view expressed already by Ehrenberg - devoted his attention to this aspect of the sculptor's work, exploring his ornamental vocabulary and stressing its links with that of Cornelis Floris.<sup>708</sup> Conclusions drawn by Krzyżanowski became widely accepted in scholarly literature and were not subject to critical study. However, despite continuing interest in this aspect of van den Blocke's work, many questions related to his use of ornamental decoration and his approach toward its rich tradition are left unanswered.

The motive of floral scroll was always considered to be a trademark of van den Blocke's workshop.<sup>709</sup> Nonetheless, scrolls appearing in the sculptor's works differ from each other, both in compositional details and in sculptural rendering. These differences between works executed in the studio suggest that decorative scrolls were carved not only by the

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<sup>705</sup> Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 281-282, 295.

<sup>706</sup> Payne 1999, p. 116-122.

<sup>707</sup> Payne 1999; De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 111-136.

<sup>708</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958, especially p. 293-297.

<sup>709</sup> See, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 294-296 and Sulewska 2000, p. 86-92.

master himself, but also by his assistants, according to his design.<sup>710</sup> As has already been pointed out by Krzyżanowski, this motive is closely linked with the decorative language of Cornelis Floris.<sup>711</sup> Rooted in the antique tradition and developed in Quattrocento and Cinquecento Italy, the acanthus scroll was applied in architectural and ornamental designs by Frenchmen, Germans and Netherlanders alike.<sup>712</sup> Nonetheless, Floris played a highly important role in the evolution of this motive and, above all, in its integration into contemporary sculptural language north of the Alps. He could have learned this motive during his stay in Italy, by studying antique works of art as well as their contemporary imitations.<sup>713</sup> (figs. 53, 54) Prints – above all such as those after Enea Vico – could have provided an additional stimulus.<sup>714</sup> (fig. 55) Under Floris’ influence finely carved alabaster plaques adorned with acanthus and, sometimes, grotesque motives, became a trademark of the Antwerp sculpture of that time. A number of important works by Floris himself, such as the monuments in Cologne, Königsberg, Roskilde and the rood-loft in Tournai, as well as the tomb of Moritz of Saxony in Freiberg - its ornamental decoration showing far-reaching similarities to works by the Floris studio - bear witness to this phenomenon. (figs. 56-59)

A number of arguments can be brought forward in order to substantiate the claim that van den Blocke’s predilection for this type of decoration was indeed the result of the influence exerted on him by Floris. Not unlike him, van den Blocke usually applied acanthus scroll as a decoration of sarcophagi. This can be observed in his works in Königsberg, Łowicz and Barczewo, as well as in the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk, and recalls ornament seen in the Schauenburg epitaphs in Cologne and the Albrecht monument in Königsberg. The detailed pattern applied by van den Blocke, consisting of symmetrical acanthus scrolls, often ending with foliate figures, as well as foliates located on the corners, also closely resembles that seen in the works by Cornelis Floris. In Königsberg, van den Blocke furthermore introduced acanthus as a decoration of friezes, in a manner strongly reminiscent of the monument of Duke Albrecht. Another space where less elaborate acanthus scrolls were used were side panels, introduced by van den Blocke in Barczewo and Toruń. It stays in line with the clearly defined architectonic frames for ornament, visible particularly in the Schauenburg epitaphs in Cologne. Single acanthus scrolls appear moreover in other works by Floris, for example in the Herluf Trolle’s epitaph in Helsingor and in the Tournai jubé. Secondary motives

<sup>710</sup> Scholars usually considered all floral scrolls executed in van den Blocke’s studio to form a unified group; see, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1958, Gołąb 1994, Sulewska 2000 and Sulewska 2004.

<sup>711</sup> Krzyżanowski 1958; see also Sulewska 2000, p. 87-88

<sup>712</sup> See, for example, Warncke 1978, 2, no. 221 (Jacop Binck), no. 380, 381 (Peter Hille, 1551). It appears also in works by Heinrich Aldegraver, among others.

<sup>713</sup> Floris could have been influenced by the fresco decoration of the Vatican Loggias, modelled directly after antique works; see Dacos 2008, pl. 19, 18. Furthermore, see the relief from the *Forum Traiani* (Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 102, no 55). Although it has been discovered only in late sixteenth century, very similar works from the same ancient architectural ensemble were known earlier, as witnessed by a drawing by Maarten van Heemskerck (Hülse&Egger 1913/1916, fol. 50r, p. 27). The motive of acanthus scrolls was used in Italian sculpture, often to decorate sarcophagi; see for example monuments of Carlo Marsuppini (Santa Croce, Florence), Maria Pereira Camponeschi (St. Bernard church, Aquila), and - later - of Ludovico Boccadiferro (St. Francis church, Bologna).

<sup>714</sup> See, above all, Bartsch, 30, p. 289, no 450. Vico’s design could have influenced Floris’ interest in three-dimensional rendering of this decorative motive, visible particularly in Roskilde. Vico’s other prints were undoubtedly known to Floris, who modelled after them some of his printed designs for vases (Vico, in turn, followed Agostino Veneziano; see Hyusmans *et al.* 1996, p. 47-48). Furthermore, see such printed designs as those after Agostino Veneziano, Jong&Groot 1988, p. 292-293, no. 645.

accompanying the scroll, such as already mentioned foliate figures and eagles decorating either corners or centre of a sarcophagus, present in Barczewo and Łowicz, are also easily found in the works by Floris in Cologne, Königsberg, Roskilde (also in the designs) and Tournai. The grotesque motive of figures emerging from flower-cups also appears in a number of Floris works, especially in Roskilde. Van den Blocke's rendering of this motive in the Brandes epitaph, where putti are blowing trumpets, appears however to be influenced rather by graphic designs, such as the ones by Jacob Floris or Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>715</sup> (fig. 60) To end with, another motive involving acanthus, namely a centrally placed figure evolving on sides into symmetrical scrolls, introduced by van den Blocke in the Blemke epitaph, was in all probability derived from the monument of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg.<sup>716</sup> Only some minor details introduced by van den Blocke into the acanthus scrolls was apparently not used by Cornelis Floris in his sculptural works. One of them is a snake drinking from the flower-cups, present in Königsberg, Barczewo and in the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk. The sculptor from Mechelen seems to be inspired here by printed pattern-books, where it was frequently used.<sup>717</sup> (fig. 61) In Königsberg appear also figures protruding from ends of acanthus leaves. It could have been influenced by printed designs, such as those after Vico.<sup>718</sup> (fig. 62) Thus, analysis of acanthus scroll as used by master Willem confirms the opinion that the sculptor exploited the formal language of Cornelis Floris, known to him primarily from the latter's works in Königsberg.

Another decorative detail often appearing in Willem's works is reeding. It was usually used by the sculptor as a decoration of certain architectonic elements: either the characteristic moulding dividing the lower and central zones of the Blemke, Stroband, von Bodeck and Giese epitaphs, or a decorative frieze, as in the Brandes, Blemke and von Damerau epitaphs, as well as in the monuments of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg and the Báthory brothers in Barczewo. In some cases, these elements were additionally embellished with foliage placed on the corners and in the centre, in a way reminiscent of the already mentioned design by Serlio.<sup>719</sup> This decoration could have been derived from two possible sources. The first of them is the egg-and-dart ornament, seen in numerous models by Serlio, du Cerceau and many others, which van den Blocke simplified and reduced in such a way that eggs and arrows remain in a reduced form. This embellishment of antique origin, especially the motive of darts, could have possibly influenced the frieze in the lower part of the Brandes epitaph, or a

<sup>715</sup> A similar motive of figures blowing trumpets, combined with a linear acanthus scroll, appears in one of the cartouche designs by Jacob Floris, published by Liefrinck in 1564 (*Velderhande cierlycke*, Antwerp 1564; after Jong&Groot 1988, no. 80.12), as well as in the prints by Hans Verdeman de Vries, *Grottesco*, c. 1565 – 1571, (Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 249, 253). They probably based their interpretation on Italian designs, such as the print by Enea Vico (Bartsch, 30 (15/3), no 483, p. 315). The motive of figures emerging from flowercups reaches back to Vatican Loggias and - in the North - Fontainebleau, see Schéle 1965, p. 171; Dacos 1986, fig. XCV c (pilaster V. b; this design seems to be particularly influential). It circulated for example through prints by Enea Vico (Bartsch, 30 (15/3), p. 289, no 450, and p. 291, no 453), who is likely to have influenced Floris. At the time of van den Blocke it was often used in grotesque designs, see, for example, Warncke 1978, 2, no 528 (Andreas Lüning, 1582) and nos 593, 658 (both Johann Sibmacher, 1592 and 1594).

<sup>716</sup> Sulewska 2000, p. 87-88.

<sup>717</sup> See, for example, Warncke 1978, 1, nos. 49 (Meister mit dem Würfel), 82 (Stefano della Bella), 140 (Etienne Delaune), 380 (Peter Hille). The motive of snakes in acanthus scrolls also reaches back to Vatican Loggias, see Dacos 1986, fig. 17 (pilaster IX).

<sup>718</sup> Bartsch, 30, p. 298, no. 466.

<sup>719</sup> The design for a composite chimneypiece, see Serlio book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 369. This motive circulated widely, from Poland to England (see, for instance, Kowalczyk 1973 and Wells-Cole, 1997).

very similar frieze in the upper part of the Blemke epitaph. Equally important source appears to have been the fluting used by Serlio, du Cerceau, de l'Orme, Palladio and others to decorate different parts of the entablature.<sup>720</sup> (fig. 63) In the Low Countries this architectural ornament has been adopted, transformed and applied as a decoration of various architectonic elements. Related motives, although only partially reminiscent of van den Blocke's works, appear in numerous designs in the 'Spencer Album', revealing a broader interest in its adaptation in Netherlandish designs for sepulchral monuments.<sup>721</sup> (fig. 64) A particularly important case, of direct relevance for van den Blocke, is provided once again by the sarcophagus of the Albrecht monument. (fig. 65) There, the ornament in question decorates the upper part of the sarcophagus, and its rendering, together with foliage on the corners, is very close to later works by van den Blocke. In fact, the two-partite crowning of the sarcophagus, with the lower element decorated with the motive discussed here, appears to be the primary source for van den Blocke. This is indicated for instance by the moulding introduced into the epitaph of the Stroband family. The same detail was introduced by van den Blocke already in the decoration of the sarcophagus of duke Georg Friedrich and his consort, based directly on that of duke Albrecht, and was repeated in van den Blocke's later works, such as the Blemke epitaph and the monument of the Báthory brothers.

The most unusual motive used by Willem van den Blocke is a specific decoration of Ionic columns, consisting of foliage introduced into the lower parts of the shafts of columns and necks (hypotrachelia) of capitals. It is to be seen in this form in the Blemke epitaph, while the same decoration appears in the upper parts of columns in the Brandes epitaph, the monument of Martin de Berzeviczy, and the altar in St. Trinity chapel in Łowicz. (figs. B.1.8, B.5.6, B.8.3, B.10.11) This singular ornament appears to be derived from two sources. The first are the 'baluster-like' columns, introduced in fifteenth century Italian designs and represented in the North in an early, pre-Serlian phase of vitruvianism.<sup>722</sup> It was very popular, appearing for instance in the treatise by Diego Sagredo,<sup>723</sup> in designs by numerous Germans, like Hans Vogtherr and Hans Springinklee,<sup>724</sup> as well as in works by French and Netherlandish artists.<sup>725</sup> As to the latter, it has been used, for instance, in the screen of the Brederode chapel in Vianen (1542) and in the Sheriff's Bench in the Town Hall in Kampen (1546). This tradition appears to be of particular importance for the decoration of the lower parts of the column-shafts of the Blemke epitaph, even though its detailed rendering differs considerably.

Decoration of the neck, on the other hand, seems to have been derived from a different source. The motive of foliage decorating friezes of Ionic columns appears in designs by

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<sup>720</sup> Serlio book III and occasionally also book IV, *Serlio*, 1, p. 207, 211, 229, 339; *Delorme*, p. 196v, 198; *Palladio*, IV, p. 63, 69.

<sup>721</sup> For instance Huysmans *et al.* 1996, nos. 262, 273, 276, 279, 280, 281.

<sup>722</sup> See, for example, a design for two candelabra, Smith College 1978, no. 117.

<sup>723</sup> *Sagredo*, p. C, Cii v. See also Forssman 1956, p. 46-55.

<sup>724</sup> Hollstein German, LXXV, no 3, p. 6-7; no 118, p. 146; no 33, p. 57; LXXVI, no 255, p. 37. Also numerous ornamental borders classified as tentative or doubtful attributions, LXXVI, nos. 385, 386, 394, 419, 420, 483 and others.

<sup>725</sup> De Jonge 2010, fig. 100.

numerous architects and artists, including Bullant, de l'Orme, du Cerceau and Vredeman.<sup>726</sup> For instance, du Cerceau applied leaves akin to these used by van den Blocke in the capitals in one of his designs for porticos, although here they embellished the main part of capital.<sup>727</sup> The most important for van den Blocke, however, are once again works by Cornelis Floris. The Antwerp sculptor used the motive of leaves to decorate shafts of columns already in one of his earliest works, namely the sacrament-house in Zoutleeuw (1549-1552), most likely referring to a design by the so-called 'precursor' of du Cerceau.<sup>728</sup> The prime source of inspiration for Willem van den Blocke, however, was another work by Floris, namely the epitaphs of Duchesses Dorothea and - especially - Anna Maria in Königsberg. (figs. 66, 67). Here, the Antwerp sculptor, perhaps inspired by designs by Serlio or the Master G.A. (Giovanni Agucchi), or similar works in Italy, had introduced a very similar motive of leaves, serving as a kind of capital placed between caryatides and entablature.<sup>729</sup> Apart from formal similarities, also the chronology points to such a genesis of this decorative detail used by van den Blocke. For the first time he used it in the epitaph of Johann Brandes, modelled directly after the epitaphs of Prussian Duchesses, where it is closest to Floris' forms. Later on, especially in the epitaph of Eduard Blemke, he modified the motive, perhaps under influence of 'balustrade' columns popular in the earlier sixteenth century, and introduced it to the hypotrachelia.

All the decorative motives discussed above confirm the importance of ornamental language used by Cornelis Floris, especially in his work executed for the Prussian court, at the same time revealing complex process of its adaptation by Willem van den Blocke.<sup>730</sup> Nonetheless, a significant number of motives used by the latter appear to have been derived from different sources. The most important were the works of Hans Vredeman de Vries, possibly the most prolific ornament designer active in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>731</sup> Almost identical obelisks decorating the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and the Strobant family appear to be directly inspired by Vredeman's designs for Doric gables as published in '*Den eersten boeck*' (1565).<sup>732</sup> (figs. B.4.4, B.5.1, 68 a-b) The same can be said about eagles' and lions' heads, protruding from elements of architecture, present in the monuments of Duchess Elisabeth and the Báthory brothers, as well as in the Blemke epitaph. They often appear in prints by Vredeman, especially in '*Das ander beuch*' (1565).<sup>733</sup> (figs. A.1.8, B.5.1, B.8.1, 69 a-b) Volutes embellished with foliage, used in Barzewo, could have also been derived from the same publication, although they appear in a number of other prints and actual works of sculpture, for instance in the epitaph of Joost Sasbout in Arnhem.<sup>734</sup> (fig. 69b) The shafts of columns of the Eduard Blemke epitaph, decorated with strings with

<sup>726</sup> *Delorme*, p. 158, 221 (see also Pérouse de Montclos 2000, especially p. 173-210); De Vries, Hollstein Dutch, XLVIII, no 421. For later use of a similar motive see, for instance, a drawing by Montano, Fairbairn 1998, 2, p. 588-589, no 927-8.

<sup>727</sup> Guillaume 2010, p. 167, fig. 236.

<sup>728</sup> Huysmans *et al.*, fig. 244-246, De Jonge 2010, p. 104, fig. 122. Moreover, Floris used similar leaves to decorate the sarcophagus of Jan van Merode in Geel, another early work of his.

<sup>729</sup> With regard to works by the Master G.A. see Waters 2012, figs. 1, 27. With regard to Serlio see, for instance, book IV (*Serlio*, 1, p. 367).

<sup>730</sup> As pointed out earlier, this fact has already been acknowledged by Krzyżanowski, see Krzyżanowski 1958.

<sup>731</sup> On Hans Vredeman de Vries in general see, among others, Mielke 1967, Zimmermann 2000, Hollstein Dutch, XLVII-XLVIII.

<sup>732</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no 188.

<sup>733</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no 216, 219-222.

<sup>734</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no 222.

clusters of fruit, bear resemblance to the decoration of a herm, designed by Vredeman.<sup>735</sup> (fig. 70) Moreover, the same design displays the motive of cushions placed on the heads of the caryatides, introduced in the Blemke epitaph to the figures of putti. Finally, terms in the lower part of the monument of Duchess Elisabeth could have been inspired by those embellishing the façade of one the palaces in Vredeman's *Architectura*.<sup>736</sup> (A.1.6, fig. 71) It must be acknowledged, however, that most of the details discussed here may be found also in other architectural treatises and ornament prints. An example is provided by the above mentioned cushions, appearing earlier in the decorations made for the entry of Charles V and his son Philip to Antwerp in 1549, a work of great importance for Vredeman.<sup>737</sup> Hans Vredeman de Vries was mostly a compiler of earlier works, although not lacking his own individuality. This was the cause of his great success, and for this reason his numerous prints, bringing together various motives circulating in Northern Europe, provided the best models for sculptors and other artists and artisans.

Next to influential works by Floris and Vredeman, van den Blocke used various purely ornamental pattern-books. A minor, yet distinct motive used by van den Blocke in his Prussian epitaphs is a shell, introduced into the lower parts of the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and the Stroband family. (figs. B.4.1, B.5.1) It appears in a variety of ways in numerous designs for grotesque.<sup>738</sup> In the Low Countries it was used by Jacob Floris and Cornelis Bos, influential authors of ornament prints active in the middle of the century.<sup>739</sup> (fig. 72) Some designs introduce this detail to more organized, quasi-architectural structures, akin to those used in epitaphs. For instance, a similar shell is crowning one of the chimneypieces designed by du Cerceau.<sup>740</sup> (fig. 73) Another print, this time by Abraham de Bruyn, shows a shell adorning the lower part of a cartouche.<sup>741</sup> (fig. 74) A further example is provided by a print - seen in reverse - from the *Cenotaphiorum* series.<sup>742</sup> All these instances indicate that the detail was widely circulating and used in manifold ways by various artists. Willem van den Blocke, who undoubtedly knew at least some of these designs - most likely the ones by Bos and Jacob Floris - singled out this particular motive from larger ornamental ensembles and introduced it into his own structures.

Another attention catching grotesque motive, used by van den Blocke uniquely in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, is a mask shown in profile and embedded into a cartouche. (fig. A.1.7) Originally invented in Italy, masks of this kind were introduced to the North through the works of the so-called Fontainebleau school, above all in the decoration of the Gallery of Francis I.<sup>743</sup> They were further disseminated through the prints by Fantuzzi and

<sup>735</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no 233.

<sup>736</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVIII, no 424.

<sup>737</sup> *Graphæus*, p. K.

<sup>738</sup> See, for example, one of the caryatides by Hans Vredeman de Vries, Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 231. This motive was used especially as a kind of a headwear for masks.

<sup>739</sup> As to Jacob Floris, see plate 6 of the series titled *Compartimentorum*, published by Hieronymus Cock in 1566 (Jong&Groot 1988, no. 81.6, p. 72 – without an illustration). As to Bos, see Schéle 1965, p. 170-171, no 128 (Cartouche and strapwork) and p. 181-183, nos. 164, 165, 167-169 (Ornaments for daggers).

<sup>740</sup> Guillaume 2010, fig. 255, p. 176. In France it appear also in the cartouche embellishing the pedestal of the chest for the heart of Francois I by de l'Orme and Pierre Bontemps.

<sup>741</sup> Warncke 1978, 1, no 241.

<sup>742</sup> No. 14; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 150.

<sup>743</sup> Zerner 1996, fig. 72, 78, 79, 83. See also a drawing by Rosso Fiorentino, Paris-Cambridge-New York 1994/1995, no. 16.

especially Léonard Thiry, an artist of Flemish origin, for example in the Golden Fleece series.<sup>744</sup> (fig. 75) The integration of this motive into the Netherlandish ornamental language took place in the middle of the century, and was reflected in the prints by Cornelis Bos and Jacob Floris.<sup>745</sup> Especially one of the former's designs shows a close affinity with van den Blocke's cartouche. (fig. 76) It was not unknown to Cornelis Floris, who applied it in the epitaph of Herluf Trolle in Herlufsholm. (fig. 77) Van den Blocke appears to have been directly influenced by these designs, in particular that by Bos.

Finally, apart from architectural treatises and ornamental designs, some motives were apparently derived from emblematic prints. This seems to be the case with regard to the obelisks decorated with foliage in the upper part of the Brandes epitaph. (fig. B.1.9) The source here appears to be an emblem, either by Claude Paradine or by Hadrianus Junius.<sup>746</sup> (fig. 78) Most likely, it was the patron rather than the sculptor who was responsible for such a choice.

Usually, Willem van den Blocke combined various ornamental motives to create new, individual compositions. A good example is provided by plaques embellishing today the pedestals of the columns supporting the canopy of the monument of Johan III Vasa in Uppsala. (Figs. A.4.18-A.4.21) Every motive used there can be traced back to the prints of Cornelis and Jacob Floris, Cornelis Bos and Hans Vredeman de Vries. String of flowers held by putto can be seen in designs by the two latter; moreover, it often appears in the decoration of the so-called domestic retables, produced in Mechelen workshops.<sup>747</sup> Branches with foliage appear in numerous prints by Floris, Bos and Vredeman, while clusters of fruits are typical for Floris and Vredeman. Festoons, like that held by putto, belong again to the repertoire of Hans Vredeman de Vries. Similarly, the herm, the form of which also appears to be inspired by the caryatides designed by Vredeman, was included by the latter in his designs for grotesque.<sup>748</sup> The lion's mask with a flower or shell behind was often applied by Cornelis Bos, Cornelis and Jacob Floris and Vredeman alike, and the strapwork cartouche - although a widespread motif - in its specific, flat rendering in Uppsala could have been inspired by the designs for decoration of bases and columns in *Den eersten boeck*, or by prints by Jacob Floris from his *Compartimenta* series (1567).<sup>749</sup> A pot with flowers in one of the plaques bears some similarity to that in one of the prints from the series *Veelderhande cierlijcke Compertementen* (1564) by Jacob Floris, or in grotesque cartouches by Vredeman.<sup>750</sup>

It is also important to observe that van den Blocke applied the same decorative details in his different works. We can point, for instance, to three specific ones, present in the

<sup>744</sup> Zerner 1969, A.F. 34, 60, 78 ; Jong&Groot 1988, no. 578. 8 and – particularly – 579.16 ; Paris-Cambridge-New York, 1994/1995 nos. 34, 35. See also Wells-Cole 1997, fig. 42.

<sup>745</sup> Schéle 1965, no 192, p. 185-188, Cartouches with French Proverbs, no 16; Jacob Floris, *Veelderhande cierlycke*, Antwerp 1564; see also Jacob Floris, *Compertimentorum quod vocant multiplex genus*, Antwerp 1566 (Jong&Groot 1988, no. 81, p. 72-73).

<sup>746</sup> Paradine, p. 72-73; Junius, emblem XIII; see also Henkel&Schöne 1976, p. 1222. A similar *imago* appears also in an emblem by Joachim Camerarius, see *Camerarius*, p. 73, which was, however, published after the epitaph had been executed. Obelisk, a standard sepulchral motive, appears in other emblem books as well (for example *Bocchi*, p. CIII).

<sup>747</sup> Schéle 1965, no. 150, 160; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 307. As to altars, see Gdańsk 2011, p. 134-137, no. I.10; p. 138-141, no. I.11; p. 152-155, no. I.15.

<sup>748</sup> See, for example, Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 253.

<sup>749</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 195 and 196; Jong&Groot 1988, p. 73-74, no. 82.10 (without an illustration).

<sup>750</sup> Jong&Groot 1988, p. 71, no. 80.04 (without an illustration).

abovementioned plaques and in the decoration of the Blemke epitaph. The first is a hanging string of flowers with some additional elements, applied in the plaque with lion's mask in Uppsala and in the decoration of the shafts of columns in Gdańsk. Another type of a flower appearing in the same plaque, based on a motive used by Floris in the ornamental frieze decorating the Albrecht monument in Königsberg, was also used in Gdańsk as well as in Toruń. Finally, the shape of volutes in two plaques in Uppsala, which could have been derived from some works of Vredeman, closely resembles the volutes in the decorative structures crowning the sides of the Blemke epitaph, as well as those visible in the upper frieze of the ducal monument in Königsberg.<sup>751</sup> Further analogies can be observed between the latter work and the royal tomb in Uppsala. For instance, a crated basket with fruits and vegetables, a typical grotesque motive appearing in one of the plaques in Uppsala, can be traced back to the decoration of the pulpit placed between kneeling effigies of the ducal couple in Königsberg. Furthermore, the decoration of the terms in the monument set up in the Prussian capital - derived from printed pattern-book by Vredeman - bears certain resemblance to the decoration of column shafts in the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk.

Van den Blocke's command of formal language is visible in the relation between architectural frame and ornamental decoration. Even though occasionally very rich, the ornament always clearly follows well-defined architectural structure of his designs. Once again, this way of thinking about the relations between architecture and ornament can be linked with the influence of Cornelis Floris. In fact, apart from his much acclaimed creativeness with regard to ornament, the importance of Cornelis Floris lies exactly in his ability to reconcile sumptuous decoration with the tectonic nature of architecture.<sup>752</sup>

One example of such an approach within van den Blocke's oeuvre is provided by the monument of Cardinal Báthory in Barczewo, where the relation between ornament and architecture strongly resemble that in the monuments of bishops von Schaumberg in Cologne and Duke Albrecht in Königsberg, as well as that in the rood-loft in the Tournai cathedral. Decoration is limited to elements forming the architectonic structure of the monument - pilasters, arch and friezes - as well as to the sarcophagus. In this way rich ornamentation does not obscure the structure of the monument; on the contrary, it accentuates it even further.<sup>753</sup> This function of decorative elements is emphasized by colour, very much in the spirit of Floris. Ornament has been carved in white alabaster, strongly contrasting with the corpus, made of dark stone. Another telling example of this correlation between architecture, ornament and figural sculpture is provided by the epitaph of Johann Brandes and his wife in St. Mary's church in Gdańsk. Rich acanthus scrolls, with numerous grotesque motives, as well as clusters of fruits and eagles have been used to embellish particular architectonic parts, especially moulding and entablature. Nonetheless, all these architectural elements maintain

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<sup>751</sup> See, for example, cartouches from the *Exercitatio alphabetica* series, Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 303, 310, 313. See also bases of some of the caryatides, Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 228, 229

<sup>752</sup> This ability has been observed already by Robert Hedicke, see Hedicke 1913, p. 3-63. It is, moreover, important to observe that a significant difference exists between flamboyant grotesque decoration in Floris' printed pattern-books, and his rigorous architectural design. These issues have been further discussed in an unpublished MA thesis, see Motylińska 2009 (conclusions of this unpublished MA thesis have been presented at the conference *Maniera-Manierizm-Manieryczność*, Gdańsk, 24<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup> 2011 as 'Twórczość Willema i Abrahama van den Blocke - z problematyki dekoracyjności i tektoniczności').

<sup>753</sup> Compare with Hedicke 1913, Krzyżanowski 1958, Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 88 and Motylińska 2009.

their strong tectonic value, and the ornamental decoration in fact strengthens the visual coherence of the structure. Apart from their aforementioned quality, the ornamental elements also serve to underline the Ionic order used in the epitaph, for example in the supports of the central part. Here, the structural importance of the finely carved caryatides is enhanced by plain Ionic columns at the sides.

A far-reaching consistency of ornamental decoration is visible throughout Willem van den Blocke's entire oeuvre. The coexistence of motives derived from Cornelis Floris, Hans Vredeman de Vries and other sources, present already in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth, appears in almost all of his later works, like the Stroband and Blemke epitaphs and the tombs of Piotr Tarnowski and Ture Bielke. Even when new details are being introduced in consecutive works, they belong to the same vocabulary and their appearance does not lead to a significant change in the personal style of the sculptor. Van den Blocke was reusing various architectural and ornamental details in his later works. A perfect example of this strategy is provided by the upper zone of the Stroband epitaph, introduced later in the Bielke tomb in Linköping, and the side panels with foliage in the same epitaph, used later in the Báthory monument in Barczewo.

Nonetheless, certain simplification and restraint that can be observed in some of master Willem's works executed after 1590. However, it can hardly be described as a decisive break with the past. In fact, at least two monuments executed in the 1590s, namely the tombs of King Johan III and Cardinal Báthory - persons from royal families - were richly embellished with ornament. On the other hand, restrained compositions appear also among van den Blocke's earlier works, as exemplified by the von Damerau epitaph. This phenomenon seems to be related to the change in the character of works executed by van den Blocke taking place c. 1590. In particular, epitaphs commemorating Prussian patricians, executed in all probability between 1585 and 1591, are usually more richly embellished by ornamental decoration than the tombs of Polish noblemen executed in the 1590s. The ornamental decoration in the latter is limited to friezes and decoration of sarcophagi, as well as cartouches in the upper zone. These different patterns can be best observed in two works, each representing one of the above mentioned models: the epitaph of Eduard Blemke and the monument of Piotr Tarnowski. In the former, various kinds of ornament have been introduced, ranging from acanthus scrolls and rich clusters of fruit and vegetables to eagles' heads and obelisks, appearing next to figural sculpture and inscriptions, embellishing the architectonic structure of the epitaph. Here, the sculptor introduced some of his most unusual inventions. The Tarnowski monument, on the other hand, presents completely different approach towards decoration. The use of ornament is limited here to acanthus scrolls on the sarcophagus, consoles decorated with lion masks bounding the entablature and a cartouche with very simple foliage and clusters of fruit in the upper zone. The ornamental vocabulary is the same, but it has been used in a different way. The main visual feature of the Tarnowski tomb is provided by the alabaster effigy, while ornamental and figural decoration is used above all to accentuate the sarcophagus supporting it.

Willem van den Blocke's decorative repertory was based on the 'antique' formal vocabulary, assimilated, codified and disseminated in Transalpine Europe during the sixteenth century. The key role in this complex process was played by closely interwoven milieus, flourishing in the second and thirds quarters of the century in France and the Low

Countries.<sup>754</sup> The latter provided a crucial melting pot for these new artistic ideas. Combined with rich local tradition, stimuli from Italy and France led to the creation of a specific visual vocabulary, particularly ornamental. It was rooted in the antique origins of the Italian Renaissance, and yet remained innovative and individual. Around the middle of the century a particularly important role in this respect was played by Antwerp. The city was home to artists and patrons sharing deep interest in the antique, and at the same time a leading centre of commerce as well as publishing industry, that allowed quick and far-reaching dissemination of the ideas cherished there.<sup>755</sup> Willem van den Blocke should have been well-aware of the newest artistic developments there, at least until c. 1570. His Netherlandish training is clearly visible: every major motive present in his work, including these reaching back to Serlio or du Cerceau, can be also traced in the designs and works by Cornelis and Jacob Floris, Cornelis Bos or Hans Vredeman de Vries.

#### 4.4 Invention

An early modern sculptor - and indeed any artist until recent times - was expected to present his patron with a work suited to the latter's position, taste and financial means. As has been pointed out by Sebastiano Serlio in the preface to his *Estraordinario Libro*: "*some people ... require large places in which to place lettering, coats of arms, devices and similar things, and [...] there are others who require istoriette in half- or bas-relief, or sometimes an ancient bust or a modern likeness*".<sup>756</sup> The success of a sculptor could indeed be measured in terms of his ability to meet - and at times also shape - these expectations. An explicit example illustrating how an artist was seeking approval from his patron is provided by various designs for the monument of King Christian III, presented by Cornelis Floris to Frederik II of Denmark.<sup>757</sup> To be able to cope with his commission, a sculptor had to possess a good command of the formal vocabulary of architecture, allowing him to come up with an appropriate design. Such proficiency and versatility enabled him to adapt to changing circumstances. The same applies to decoration, which was often influenced by the desire of the patron to include certain elements, ranging from inscriptions to figural sculpture. Willem van den Blocke was no exception from this general rule. An excellent example of the way he dealt with his artistic challenges is provided by his designs for the wall tombs of the Polish nobility.

Willem van den Blocke used motives derived from various artists and pattern-books, transforming them and using to create new designs, within a framework of a certain artistic tradition.<sup>758</sup> In this way, the sculptor followed the Northern European tradition of supplementing Vitruvian architecture with various decorative elements and adjusting it to local circumstances.<sup>759</sup> He did not follow his predecessors slavishly, and all his works, ranging from the plain epitaph of the Damerau brothers to monuments of Mikołaj Kos, Andreas Báthory and Duchess Elisabeth, as well as the Prussian epitaphs, constitute modified and

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<sup>754</sup> See, for example, Forssman 1956, Schéle 1965, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, De Jonge 2010.

<sup>755</sup> More on this issue in chapters 1 and 7.

<sup>756</sup> *Serlio*, 1, p. 461.

<sup>757</sup> Ruyven-Zeeman 1992; Huysmans *et al.* 1996; Johannsen 2010.

<sup>758</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 115.

<sup>759</sup> See, for example, Guillaume 1998, p. 219-231 and - particularly - De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 89-98.

individual contributions to the formal language of Cornelis Floris and his Antwerp circle. Rather than directly copying designs found in works of sculpture and prints, van den Blocke was apparently choosing specific details and incorporating them into his own inventions. This approach was in line with the intentions of the designers of prints, both ornamental and architectural.<sup>760</sup> Skills in designing and carving combined with invention, well-grounded in the current artistic theory, allowed van den Blocke to attain the level of creativity, defined by Ernst Gombrich as *the impulse to search out the possibilities and the varieties of solutions offered by the craft tradition which will produce novelty and originality, because what the craftsman learns is not only to copy but also to vary, to exploit his resources to the full and push his skills to the very limits of what the task will allow and suggest.*<sup>761</sup>

It is instructive to compare the use of models by van den Blocke and his individual invention with some features as applied by contemporary Netherlandish sculptors working in Northern Europe, like Philip Brandin. It appears that Brandin relied especially on designs by Hans Vredeman de Vries. The figures of sphinxes supporting the caryatides in the monument of duke Ulrich in Güstrow have been derived directly from one of Vredeman's designs in the *Cenotaphiorum* series.<sup>762</sup> The form of side panels as well as cartouches in the upper zone, together with characteristic small obelisks, also appears to be strongly influenced by the prints of Vredeman.<sup>763</sup> Furthermore, overall design of the monument - a horizontally stretched structure flanked by caryatides and crowned with cartouche - may have been inspired by architectural settings for *tableaux vivants* glorifying the entry of François de Valois, Duke of Anjou, into Antwerp in 1581, depicted in prints after Vredeman, published by Plantin in 1582.<sup>764</sup> Also the decoration of column shafts in the monument of Duke Borwin in the same church has been copied from *Den eersten boeck*.<sup>765</sup> Apart from the influence of Vredeman, other sources used by Brandin can be pointed out as well. The cartouche with personification of *Prudentia* decorating the base of a column in the monument of Duke Borwin has been, for instance, copied directly from a print from Jacob Floris' *Compartimenta* series.<sup>766</sup> Thus, Philip Brandin's works in Güstrow perfectly illustrate the same pattern of appropriation and reuse of ornamental motives that can be observed in the works of Willem van den Blocke. Nonetheless, they also reveal different ways in which this appropriation of models could be exercised by various artists. The approach to and use of available designs by Brandin and van den Blocke differ, since the former apparently more often used ready models and was apparently less inclined to experiment and to entertain his own inventiveness.

Van den Blocke's strategy as presented in this study seems to be derived from the model of architectural and ornamental invention established in the North primarily by Sebastiano Serlio and expounded mainly in France and the Low Countries. Survey of this model leads to the controversial issue of interrelation between invention and standardization. Some scholars, like John Onians and especially Mario Carpo, see Serlio's work as an attempt to standardize the vocabulary of ancient forms, particularly architectural orders, according to set, Vitruvian

<sup>760</sup> See, for instance, Fuhring 2002, Zimmermann 2005 and Bakker 2007/2008.

<sup>761</sup> Gombrich 1991, p. 69.

<sup>762</sup> Pl. 8; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 144.

<sup>763</sup> See, for example, Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, nos. 162, 188, 199, 200.

<sup>764</sup> Schloß Brake-Antwerpen 2002, p. 301-302, no. 140.

<sup>765</sup> Pl. H; Hollstein Dutch, XLVII, no. 190.

<sup>766</sup> Jong & Groot 1988, p. 73-74, no. 82.8 (without an illustration).

rules.<sup>767</sup> Carpo goes so far as to say that *apparently Serlio was persuaded that architectural imitation could be transformed into a mechanical or even automatic process of dividing and recombining standard units or models.*<sup>768</sup> Alina Payne, on the other hand, presents a very different understanding of Serlio's aims. According to her, Serlio was preoccupied with the question of license and invention and thus stood at the very centre of the search for modernized and inventive 'antique' formal language that was characteristic for the sixteenth century art and architecture.<sup>769</sup>

According to Payne, Serlio in his widely circulating works aimed not only at following the ancients, but also at deciphering the rules for the use of the ancient formal vocabulary and providing modern architects with a set of prescriptions allowing them to fully profit from them.<sup>770</sup> The main issues explored by Serlio, who stated that most people enjoy novelty, were deciphering the antique rules, adjusting them to suit contemporary practice and establishing the boundaries of such licence, according to the notion of *decorum*.<sup>771</sup> The main part of his most important book, the *Regole generali*, was devoted to the way a modern architect may use ancient forms and rules, as known from the treatise of Vitruvius and extant antique remains, to create modern works, akin to the antique ones in spirit, but serving contemporary purposes, customs and tastes.<sup>772</sup> Thus, he would fit well into the broader context of humanistic approach to the antique, described by David Lowenthal as follows: *Resurrected relics became nutriment for new metamorphoses. Metaphors of digestion, appropriation, arrogation, making things one's own opened up the past for present and future use.*<sup>773</sup>

One of the key issues pursued by Serlio was the question of the license, that is digression from a basic canon or convention, and its acceptable boundaries.<sup>774</sup> This was, in fact, one of the primary issues reappearing in the entire artistic practice and theory of this period, underlying for instance the discourse of Vasari.<sup>775</sup> The most illustrious exponent of this tendency in the sixteenth century art was, of course, Michelangelo. His approach discernible in his studies of the antique, although obviously strongly individual, sheds much light on the contemporary practice in general.<sup>776</sup> The desire not only to follow, but in fact to enter into rivalry with the ancients was one of the leading currents fundamental for the Renaissance art, especially in the sixteenth century, and its relevance stretched from individual works of art to great enterprises, like the plans to build a new, modern Rome based on its ancient core, and at

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<sup>767</sup> Onians 1988, especially p. 263-286, and Carpo 2001, p. 42-56. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (Hart&Hicks 1998, p. 148) adopt a more moderate stance, seeing in his work "a willingness to codify beyond Vitruvius".

<sup>768</sup> Carpo 2001, p. 48-49.

<sup>769</sup> Payne 1999 and Payne 2000; interesting remarks concerning the fifteenth century in appear moreover in Smith 1992, especially p. 57-79, and in Betts 2000.

<sup>770</sup> Payne 1999, p. 15-33, 113-143; see also Forssman 1961, Onians 1988, p. 263-286, Hart 1998 and Hart&Hicks 1998.

<sup>771</sup> *Serlio*, 2, p. 461; Payne 1999, p. 11-143, especially 133-141.

<sup>772</sup> Guillaume 1998, Payne 1999, Hart 1998, p. 7-8 and De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 93-98, 113-122.

<sup>773</sup> Lowenthal 1985, p. 85. Naturally, the relation of the humanistic culture to the past, above all the antiquity, cannot be summed up so easily; nonetheless, Lowenthal's statement quoted here presents its general nature.

<sup>774</sup> Payne 1999, p. 113-143.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 15-21.

<sup>776</sup> On the process of invention and design by Michelangelo see particularly Brothers 2008. On the other hand, Carpo 2001, p. 60 places Serlio and Michelangelo in opposition to each other.

the same time competitive with it.<sup>777</sup> The approach sketched above had its counterpart in controversy over the modes of literary transgression, so important for the humanistic discourse, especially in the sixteenth century, when the debate concerning imitation of Cicero raged across Europe.<sup>778</sup> The problem of imitation addressed by the humanists was also relevant for the art of this time. For several reasons, such as fragmentary character of antique remains, early modern artistic practice and theory appears to echo the opinions expressed by proponents of creative emulation of antique literary models.

This creative approach towards models, both antique and modern, was indeed practiced by many Northerners, primarily in France and the Low Countries, such as du Cerceau, de l'Orme, Floris, Vredeman and later Hendrick de Keyser, who were strongly influenced by Serlio.<sup>779</sup> Their aim was to seek original variations based on ancient examples, new solutions suitable for use in contemporary Northern European world, yet set within the framework of ancient formal language.<sup>780</sup> One of the major objects of such modifications was architectural ornament, above all the orders. In the Low Countries, Cornelis Floris was a leading exponent of this tendency, endeavouring throughout his entire career to adjust antique vocabulary to use in contemporary microarchitecture and sculpture in a manner that would meet local needs and expectations of the patrons. An example is provided by the free standing tombs of Frederick I in Schleswig and Jan van Merode in Geel, where he successfully combined a medieval - though modified - form of monument with antique decorative elements. The same attitude was exhibited by Vredeman, who in his numerous works pursued further implementation of the antique models and explored different ways in which they could be modified and enriched.<sup>781</sup> As he stated in the *Architectura*, his goal was “*accommodating Vitruvius’ antique manner of building into building customs of the country*”.<sup>782</sup> France pursued the same goal, de l'Orme even attempting to design a ‘French’ order, independent of Italian ones.<sup>783</sup> In his capacity, Willem van den Blocke followed the same path. Such works as the monuments of Duchess Elisabeth and the Kos family, as well as the epitaphs of the Prussian patricians, reveal a sculptor who was proficient in handling the architectural and ornamental elements of this modern-antique vocabulary, and regarded novelty and invention to be commendable virtues. His inventiveness, sensitivity for the subtleties of design and awareness of the principles of architectural and ornamental decoration clearly indicate a high-class training.

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<sup>777</sup> A desire of many sixteenth century Popes, both reform-minded, as Sixtus V, and not, as Julius II, aided by artists and antiquarians; see, for example, Hollingsworth 1996, p. 7-142 and Barkan 1999, p. 31, 40-41. See also Weissert 2008.

<sup>778</sup> For the survey of this issue see Greene 1982, Pigman 1980 and McLaughlin 1995. Greene, p. 171, goes as far as to say that “*the first half of the sixteenth century produced the most vigorous and sustained debate over the proper modes and goals of imitation ever witnessed on the European continent*”.

<sup>779</sup> See, for example, De Jonge 1998, Borggreffe 2002, Zimmermann 2002, p. 150-164, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 41-53; Weissert 2011, p. 82-84. Some others, like Lionel Devlieger in his study on Hans Vredeman de Vries, takes a different approach (Devlieger sees Vredeman’s work as a divergence from rules; see Devlieger 2002).

<sup>780</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, s. 114. See also Weissert 2008.

<sup>781</sup> See, above all, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 93-98.

<sup>782</sup> Ibidem, p. 96; see also Zimmermann 2002. Later, this approach was shared by Hendrick de Keyser and by at least some of his contemporaries, see De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 113-115. On the difficulties related to introduction of the antique formal language see Forssman 1956 and Onians 1988, p. 112-129, 192-206.

<sup>783</sup> Guillaume 1998; De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 93; see also Pérouse de Montclos 2000.

## Conclusion

Willem van den Blocke was a skillful and versatile sculptor, fully capable of designing and executing richly decorated works of microarchitecture. He was furthermore well-aware of the intricacies of the five orders. Employing various types of stone, such as Belgian limestone and English alabaster as well as sandstone and limestone from the Baltic islands, the artist executed a variety of commemorative monuments. The most numerous among them were richly decorated epitaphs commemorating members of the civic élites and more sober wall tombs of the nobility. Designing the former, Willem van den Blocke was evidently drawing on works by Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries, at the same time exercising certain individual invention. As to the latter, the artist reconciled the Netherlandish and the Polish-Italianate traditions, creating individual works, unlike those built by other sculptors, both in the Commonwealth and in his former homeland. The sculptor also created various other works, ranging from simple epitaphs, such as that of the von Damerau brothers, to grand tombs, like those of Duchess Elisabeth and King Johan III. All this makes him one of the most original exponents of Low Countries sculpture in North and East Central Europe.

His architectural and decorative language was based on the 'antique' formal vocabulary, codified in Transalpine Europe during the sixteenth century. Most importantly, the sculptor was profoundly influenced by Cornelis Floris, especially his Königsberg monuments. However, he referred also to works of other artists representing the Antwerp artistic milieu, in particular Hans Vredeman de Vries. Van den Blocke's Netherlandish background is clearly visible: every major motive present in his work, including these reaching back to Serlio and other Italian or French artists and architects, can also be found in the works by Netherlanders.

The essence of Willem van den Blocke's architectural and decorative work can be best described as innovation within the framework of a well-defined artistic tradition. As has been amply shown here, within this framework he exercised considerable originality, modifying both architectural and ornamental features of his works. Such creative approach suggests that Willem van den Blocke followed Floris not only by employing his formal language, but also by taking up - even though in a more modest way - his strategy of invention. By choosing certain motives, the sculptor created a personal vocabulary, which he consequently applied in his practice. This set of forms can also be viewed as a way of standardization, a private sourcebook, that was probably embodied in form of sketch-books, used in his studio. Elements from this ensemble were subsequently introduced into different works in varying configurations, in order to permeate his otherwise unitary structures with an individual taste. This approach, combined with versatility and skill, allowed him to produce fairly easily various works of sculpture, that were apparently readily accepted by his patrons, and in this way secured his professional position.

Evolution within van den Blocke's oeuvre can be observed only in various minor decorative details. The lack of any obvious pattern of chronological change with regard to types of monuments must have resulted from the fact that the choice of form was stimulated rather by will of the patrons than by the sculptor himself. The shapes of the tombs of Duchess Elisabeth and members of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility were certainly determined by the patrons' wish. Accordingly, unification of decoration language within another clearly defined

group of van den Blocke's works, consisting of epitaphs commemorating Prussian patricians, points again to the fact that specific types of monuments and decoration were related to fashion prevailing among a given type of patrons.



## CHAPTER 5

### WILLEM VAN DEN BLOCHE'S OEUVRE - FIGURAL SCULPTURE

#### Introduction

The prime subject of early modern sculpture was human figure, even if figural sculpture was closely interrelated with architecture and ornament - typically the case in sixteenth century Transalpine Europe. This applies also to sepulchral monuments - constituting the bulk of van den Blocke's produce - where effigies, symbolic statues and narrative scenes played a significant role in overall composition. The present chapter will discuss figural sculpture executed by Willem van den Blocke and his workshop. It will address several issues: the artist's models and his ties to the pictorial tradition, formal characteristics of his works and contribution of the studio. For the sake of clarity, this chapter has been divided typologically into three distinct parts. The first one discusses sepulchral effigies, constituting key elements of most funeral monuments. The second part describes various kinds of symbolical figures embellishing works executed by van den Blocke's studio. The final one examines examples of relief sculpture, depicting narrative scenes and emblematic images.

#### Sculpture production as collaborative effort and the challenge of attribution

Before addressing the abovementioned issues, however, the problem of workshop practice in relation to attribution should be discussed. Since written sources revealing the identity of an artist are usually missing, in our quest for attribution we must rely mostly on formal analysis. However, although the method of connoisseurship, developed at least since the seventeenth century and elucidated most clearly by Giovanni Morelli, Bernard Berenson and - with regard to sculpture - John Pope-Hennessy, is helpful, it must be used with a far-reaching caution.<sup>784</sup> Searching for the 'style' or 'manner' of a particular artist, it must be remembered that such works of sculpture as funeral monuments or altars were executed by a number of assistants and collaborators employed in a particular workshop. Since no sculptor could be expert at every little aspect of his craft, it was crucial for the timely and proper execution of complex works to have at one's disposal helpers capable of carving human figures, reliefs and ornamental decoration.<sup>785</sup> This ability to secure services of assistants trained in different aspects of this art was thus a precondition to meet the wishes of the patrons and to attract further clientele. Some of these assistants were in fact well-trained sculptors engaged to execute - although under the supervision of the master and according to his design - such elements as statues, reliefs and parts of ornamental as well as architectural decoration. Naturally, the master would provide a unifying factor, designing his works and carving their elements. This was particularly true with regard to Willem van den Blocke, who

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<sup>784</sup> Pope-Hennessy 1980. See also Gibson-Wood 1988.

<sup>785</sup> Even high-ranking virtuosi as Giambologna needed highly skilled assistants to transfer their design into full-scale marbles, make casts, or at least to perform all kinds of secondary tasks; see for example Watson 1978/1979 and Cole 2011, p. 93-94.

- in contrast to many of his Gdańsk colleagues - was personally engaged in executing works commissioned in his atelier. In consequence, the term 'studio' is not used here in a traditional manner to denote works made by the assistants of the master, but rather all of the works executed by the master and his assistants in the workshop, or even, in some cases, pieces made by others and incorporated into larger ensembles. Thus, it is not to be understood in the narrow, connoisseur context, but rather in a broader context of a workshop practice.

This collaborative and volatile character of workshop organization makes any attempt to attribute work of sculpture to a particular artist exceedingly difficult. For instance, the pattern observed in van den Blocke atelier as well as in other contemporary sculptor's studios indicate that many assistants may have worked in a given studio only for a short time, often hired to work on a particular commission.<sup>786</sup> Later on, they could establish their own enterprise – as was the case with Willem's assistant Peter Heithecker von Düsseldorf – or join workshops of other masters. The example of Heithecker, who launched his small atelier in 1594, is particularly instructive: this former assistant of Willem van den Blocke employed both his former colleague Servatius König, who spent three years in van den Blocke's studio, and a future assistant of Abraham van den Blocke, Hans Goldschmidt.<sup>787</sup> In the result, carved elements of a very similar formal character executed by a single sculptor could possibly appear in works executed in two different workshops, led by different masters. To complicate the situation even further, the same pattern of mobility could take place with regard to assistants travelling between various centres. The presence of Jacob Colin and Peter van Egen in van den Blocke's atelier clearly indicates that.<sup>788</sup> Another factor posing serious challenge is the use of ready-made elements, ranging from columns with carved capitals to relief plaques. Although this issue has not been studied thoroughly so far, it seems very likely that some sculptors could have used parts executed by other studios. For instance, they could use alabaster plaques produced in such centres as Mechelen to incorporate them into larger ensembles carried out by their workshops, such as altars or funeral monuments.

Next to complexities of the workshop practice, also other factors add to the difficulty of attribution. The most important is the difference between various types of stone, each with its unique characteristics. Even within a single workshop, works carved in different material may considerably differ from each other. A good example within Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre is the sepulchral effigies carved in alabaster and sandstone.

Therefore, to be able to plausibly attribute a given work of sculpture to an artist several factors must be taken into consideration: the overall design, presence of figural sculpture and ornamental decoration characteristic for a particular workshop, and the sculptural rendering. On the other hand, consistency of some of them may point to a member of the 'circle' of a given sculptor: his former assistant, pupil or follower. Moreover, some secondary factors may be taken into consideration as well: use of a particular type of material, or even the figure of a patron. Only a consistency of all these elements allows for a safe attribution.

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<sup>786</sup> For instance that of Alexander Colin, see Dressler 1973 and Teurlinckx 1987.

<sup>787</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>788</sup> See Chapter 3.

## 5.1 Effigies

Surrounded by inscriptions, coats-of-arms, religious or allegorical figures as well as architectural and ornamental decoration, an effigy was the prime carrier of memory of the dead. Even though some epitaphs lacked representation of the deceased, it usually constituted the central element of a tomb. It was, therefore, an object of particular attention for both the sculptor and his patron.<sup>789</sup> In early modern sepulchral imagery, various types of effigies were used, from most widespread recumbent, reclining or kneeling figures through busts and relief portraits, to more unusual types, like sitting figures. The choice between them was dependent on a great variety of factors, such as social standing of the commemorated person, local tradition, religious context or - occasionally - invention of a sculptor.

The following terms will be applied: a reclining effigy - *gisant* - will denote a figure laying on the back, usually used in free standing tombs; a semi-reclining figure - *demi-gisant* - will refer to a more animated type of a effigy, representing deceased laying partially on his back and partially on his side, as if falling asleep, with his head usually resting on his hand and legs either crossed or positioned parallel to each other. A *priant*, or a kneeling effigy, will refer to any kind of figure representing the commemorated person in kneeling position.<sup>790</sup> Since effigies representing the *gisant* type are absent in van den Blocke's oeuvre, they will be discussed here only for comparative purposes.

### Demi-gisants

Most of the effigies executed by Willem van den Blocke's studio represent the *demi-gisant* type. This model has been introduced into early modern funerary sculpture by Andrea Sansovino in his famous tombs of Ascanio Sforza and Girolamo Basso della Rovere, commissioned by Pope Julius II and erected in Donato Bramante's choir of the Augustinian church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome between 1505 and 1509.<sup>791</sup> (fig. 79) In the following years it became highly popular, particularly in Rome, as witnessed by such works as the tombs of Cardinal Francesco Armellini and his father in Santa Maria in Trastevere (1521-1524), Cardinal Giovanni Michiel Orso in S. Marcello al Corso by Jacopo Sansovino and Pope Adrian VI in Santa Maria dell'Anima, the latter by Baldassare Peruzzi, Niccolò Tribolo and Michelangelo Senese (1523-1530).<sup>792</sup> (fig. 80) This new model must have also influenced Michelangelo, who invented his own type of a *demi-gisant* effigy working on the figure of Julius II (1533-1534).<sup>793</sup> Figures of this kind were still popular in the 1530s, as indicated by the monuments of Gregorio Magalotti by Guglielmo Della Porta in Santa Cecilia in Trastevere and Cardinal Willem van Enckenvoirt by Giovanni Mangone in Santa Maria dell'Anima (c. 1538).<sup>794</sup> (fig. 81)

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<sup>789</sup> See, for instance, Llewellyn 2000, Sherlock 2008 and Meys 2009

<sup>790</sup> On various types of effigies used in sepulchral sculpture see, for instance, Lawrence 1981, p. 162-165, Llewellyn 2000, p. 102-114, Scholten 2003a, p. 22-35 and Götzmann 2010.

<sup>791</sup> On these monuments see above all Götzmann 2010, p. 31-100; see also Huntley 1935, p. 57-64, Panofsky 1964, p. 81-82, Röhl 1998, Imorde 2002, Zitzlsperger 2004 and Scholten 2010.

<sup>792</sup> Pope-Hennessy 2002, p. 157-160; Götzmann 2005; Samperi 2005; Götzmann 2010; Scholten 2010.

<sup>793</sup> On the monument see recently Echinger-Maurach 2009, especially p. 133-143.

<sup>794</sup> Echinger-Maurach 2009, p. 142, figs. 145-146; Götzmann 2010, figs 120, 161. On the latter tomb see also Scholten 2010.

Willem van den Blocke became acquainted with this model by embarking on two independent routes of artistic transfer between Italy and the North. The first of them consisted of Northern artists encountering this new type of effigy in Italy and subsequently, around the middle of the century, introducing it to the Low Countries and France. The second involved travelling Italian sculptors, who disseminated this particular model in the North, especially in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The prime type of sepulchral effigy used in most parts of Transalpine Europe in the sixteenth century was the *gisant*. It was deeply rooted in local traditions in France, England, the Low Countries and lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Nonetheless, despite the dominant position of this traditional representation, the new, Italian type of reclining figure was known and occasionally used in the North as well.<sup>795</sup> Michel Scherier applied it in the monument of Jan II Carondelet, an influential bishop and patron of art, erected in Bruges c. 1545.<sup>796</sup> (fig. 82) The *demi-gisant* type has also been used in sixteenth century France, linked with the Low Countries by numerous ties.<sup>797</sup> Some examples are provided by tombs of Pierre Chabot and Jean d'Humières, both usually attributed to Pierre Bontemps, as well as by a design by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau.<sup>798</sup> The most important and direct intermediary for Willem van den Blocke, however, was Cornelis Floris. In the Low Countries it was the Antwerp sculptor who employed this new model with greatest success, using it in the twin epitaphs of archbishops of Cologne, brothers Anton and Adolf von Schauenburg (c. 1557-1561).<sup>799</sup> (fig. 83) Designing these epitaphs, Floris relied directly on Italian models, particularly the tombs by Andrea Sansovino, as indicated by the poses of the brothers, closely resembling those of Sforza and della Rovere. An idea that the Cologne epitaphs were modelled after the twin monuments in Rome is furthermore strengthened by their originally antithetical positioning in the choir of the cathedral.<sup>800</sup> Despite the clear influence of the Sansovino's tombs on his design, however, it seems likely that before conceiving them, Floris studied some later works as well. One of them was almost certainly the monument of Adrian VI; the others could have been the Armellini and van Enckenvoirt tombs. The latter, commemorating cardinal of Netherlandish origin who was a founder of the monument commemorating Adrian VI, has in fact been created exactly at the time Floris was present in Italy.<sup>801</sup> Nonetheless, in his own works Floris expressed his personal style, characterized by voluminosity and minute surface detailing. 'Sansovinesque' figure was particularly challenging, as it required knowledge of anatomy and skill in designing human figure and drapery. As a result, some of the early Northern examples of this type are rather awkward, as exemplified by such diverse works as

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<sup>795</sup> Panofsky's opinion on its rarity in the North (Panofsky 1964, p. 81) may therefore seem a bit rash.

<sup>796</sup> Brugge 1998, no 236, p. 304; see also Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 98 and Scholten 2010, p. 136.

<sup>797</sup> Its popularity in France could have been to some extent enhanced by the presence of Giovanni Rustici, see Minnig 2010, p. 211-232.

<sup>798</sup> Zerner 1996, p. 247-249 (who rejects attribution of Chabot's effigy to Bontemps); Minnig 2010, fig. 114, 226.

<sup>799</sup> On these epitaphs see Hedicke 1913, p. 47-49; Appel 1934, p. 19-25; Roggen&Withof 1942, p. 120; Huysmans 1987, p. 116-117; Schirmer 1991, p. 112-119; Ch. Smith 1994, p. 150, 152; Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 97-99; Scholten 2010, p. 136-137.

<sup>800</sup> Hanging on opposing piers, as shown by the print from before 1863 (Huysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 294). See also Scholten 2010.

<sup>801</sup> Götzmann 2010, p. 195-202. Willem van Enckenvoirt supervised the erection of the monument of Adrian VI, see Scholten 2010, p. 123-129.

the above mentioned Carondelet tomb in Bruges and the tombs of the Silesian bishops Johan Turzo (c. 1537, Wrocław) and Balthazar von Promnitz (c. 1562, Nysa).<sup>802</sup> Floris' ability to adopt this mode further confirms his outstanding skills. Even though after his return to the North Cornelis Floris did not apply this model on a regular basis, its use in the Cologne epitaphs - as well as the presence of similar designs in the 'Spencer Album' - clearly indicate that it was exploited in Antwerp's artistic circles.<sup>803</sup> (figs. 84, 85) Therefore, it seems obvious that Willem van den Blocke became acquainted with this particular type of sepulchral effigy already at the time of his training there, a long time before he moved to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In contrast to the Low Countries, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the model created by Sansovino in Rome has made a tremendous impact already in the second quarter of the century. Between 1529 and 1531, the Florentine sculptor and architect Bartolommeo Berrecci built in Cracow a monument to the King Sigismund I (the Old) of the Jagiellon dynasty. (fig. 86) Although opinions concerning the direct source of inspiration for Berrecci vary - scholars have proposed a number of possible models, including tombs of Cardinal Armellini and Cardinal Sant'angelo, as well as some antique statues, such as the Marforio, the River Gods, Hercules Chiaramontani and the Cleopatra (today known as sleeping Ariadne) - there is no doubt that the Florentine sculptor followed the general pattern established by Sansovino.<sup>804</sup> Immediately after its erection the royal tomb has become a model for many other sepulchral effigies, executed both by Italians and by local sculptors. Its popularity is attested to by such works as tombs of bishop Piotr Tomicki by Bartolommeo Berrecci (Cracow, 1532-1533), Jan Tarnowski by Giovanni Maria Padovano (Tarnów, c. 1565), as well as works by Jan Michałowicz from Urzędów and Giovanni de Simonis - leading sculptors active in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century. (figs. 87, 88) For more than a hundred years - a late example is provided by monuments of the Zbaraski brothers in the Dominican church in Cracow (1629-1633)<sup>805</sup> - this type of effigy, though in many variants, remained the primary way of commemoration of nobility and clergy throughout the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>806</sup> It is therefore hardly surprising that Willem van den Blocke used this particular type of effigy in many of his works, especially those executed for Polish and Lithuanian nobility. It was undoubtedly a choice of the patrons, accustomed to this model for more than half a century already. The sculptor, trained in the Antwerp circle of Floris and therefore acquainted with this particular type of design, was well-prepared to meet their expectations.<sup>807</sup>

It is not possible to establish a precise chronology of effigies representing the *demi-gisant* type, executed in the studio of Willem van den Blocke. Most of them - the figures of

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<sup>802</sup> As to the latter, see Szewczyk 2008.

<sup>803</sup> See, for instance, Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 98-99, figs. 272, 273.

<sup>804</sup> Hornung 1949, Hornung 1959c, Fischinger 1978, Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 40-41, Morka 2006, p. 268-272 and Mossakowski 2007, p. 204-206. On these antique statues and their reception in the Renaissance see Haskell&Penny 1982, p. 184-187, 258-259, 272-273, 310-311 and Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 109-115, 125-126, 184.

<sup>805</sup> Karpowicz 1994, p. 67-70; Betlej 2007, p. 161-179.

<sup>806</sup> It must be however pointed out that other models were also used occasionally, especially in the first half of the sixteenth century; see for instance Sulewska 2011.

<sup>807</sup> See also Chapter 4.

Martin de Berzeviczy, Johan III Vasa, Balthazar Báthory and Piotr Tarnowski - have been created in a relatively short period of time, between 1593 and 1598.

The earliest among them was probably the effigy of Martin de Berzeviczy (1593-1594). However, since the tomb does not exist today and there is a lack of detailed iconographic material, it can be describe only briefly.<sup>808</sup> The deceased has been depicted in a reclining pose, laying partially on his back and partially on his right side, with his head supported by the right hand and the left leg crossed over right one. His torso has been represented almost frontally, contrasting with the outstretched right leg, depicted as if he was laying on his back. As a result, the figure lacked stability and its overall composition was rather stiff.

Probably the earliest extant example of this type in van den Blocke's oeuvre is the sepulchral effigy of Johan III Vasa in Uppsala (1594-1595). Similarly to Berzeviczy, the king has been depicted in a reclining pose, with his head supported by the right hand and the left leg crossed over right one. Nonetheless, the sculptor was capable of improving stability of the figure by showing it laying more on its back. The gravity was achieved mostly by rather static overall character of the composition and the voluminosity of body features. This, alongside calmness, perfectly matches with the funerary context of the sculpture. Thus, the artist represented the king in fullness of his majesty, providing a funerary monument perfectly embodying royal dignity.

Certain details of the composition indicate, however, that the Netherlandish sculptor was still not entirely at ease with this mode of depiction. Once again, the outstretched right leg is depicted as if the king was laying on his back. This was probably the result of van den Blocke's training in the Low Countries, where the *gisant* type of effigy was much more popular. Moreover, the king's left leg, strongly bent, appears to be somewhat longer than the other one. Apart from this, also a certain emotional discrepancy exists between lively positioning of the legs and static rendering of the torso, the latter strengthened by the unmoved expression of the king's face.

Some of the motives, like the gesture of the hand supporting the head of the deceased, could have been inspired by Cornelis Floris' works in Cologne. These, however, must have been only of limited use for van den Blocke, since they are depicting human figure clad in long, ecclesiastical robes largely obscuring anatomical structure, above all the positioning of the legs. Designing the statue of the Swedish king, van den Blocke turned therefore also to works that have already adjusted the model established by Sansovino for the purpose of representation of a figure clad in armour: the effigies of the Polish kings, Sigismund I and his son, Sigismund II August. As has already been discussed by earlier scholars, the artist most likely studied these works during his travel to Transylvania in 1583/1584. As a sculptor to the king, he could have been allowed into the Sigismund Chapel. Van den Blocke's use of this particular model could have been motivated by will of his royal patron, Sigismund III Vasa.<sup>809</sup> Particularly important was the later effigy, executed probably by Santi Gucci between 1571 and 1575 perhaps according to a design submitted by Giann Maria Padovano. According to

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<sup>808</sup> The most detailed illustration of the effigy is provided by Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, fig. 13. Unfortunately, I was unable to trace the original photography.

<sup>809</sup> Saar-Kozłowska 2006, p. 577.

wish directly expressed by Sigismund II, it closely followed the effigy of his father.<sup>810</sup> Despite different sculptural rendering, effigies of Sigismund II and Johan III share a number of common features. (figs. A.4.4, 86) The eyes of both figures are closed and in their left hands, placed on the waist, they hold a sceptre, while their strongly bent left leg is crossed over the prostrated right one.<sup>811</sup> Apart from the gesture of the right hand, the sculpted pose of Johan III bears striking resemblance to that of Sigismund II August. The only major difference is that the torso of the Polish king, supported by his right arm, is somewhat raised, while that of his Swedish counterpart lays directly on bed. Thus, van den Blocke demonstrated command of the idiom prevailing in Poland-Lithuania applied to such works, based on statues of the two Jagiellon monarchs.

Shortly after completing the statue of the Swedish king, Willem van den Blocke probably began to work on the effigy of Piotr Tarnowski. In this work, the sculptor corrected most of the design failures observed in his other figures, and, as a consequence, executed a particularly successful piece of funerary sculpture. Some weak points are also present here. This applies particularly to the foreshortening of the right arm, supporting the head, a characteristic element visible in all of van den Blocke's statues of this type. This minor shortcoming, however, cannot obscure the quality of this work. Compared to the effigies of Johan III and Martin de Berzeviczy, the figure displays much greater stability, reclining on the back and only slightly moved to her right. Tarnowski's left leg, crossed over the right one, is not as strongly bent as in other figures by the sculptor, and the pose of the deceased makes the prostrated right leg look much more natural. The harmony between gravity and motion, ideal body volume and good balance between the structure of the figure and its finely carved decoration makes the effigy of Piotr Tarnowski one of the most convincing examples of synthesis of Netherlandish and Polish-Italianate traditions of funerary sculpture.<sup>812</sup>

Considering the quality of this statue, it is surprising to find a different approach in the effigy of Balthazar Báthory, which came into existence at the same time roughly.<sup>813</sup> Possibly, execution of some of its parts could have been left to assistants, although the participation of the master himself cannot be doubted. Here, the deceased is not represented calmly reclining, but rather as if shaken by some torsion. Unnatural, tense pose and gestures of the sculpture do not contribute to internal integrity visible especially in the figure of Piotr Tarnowski. Its legs are not crossed, but rather represented parallel to each other, slightly bent in the knees.<sup>814</sup> It could have been an attempt to draw from another version of the *demi-gisant* model, gaining some popularity in the Low Countries - witness Robrecht de Nole's figure of Archduke Ernst in St. Gudula church in Brussels (1601) - as well as in England and other regions.<sup>815</sup> (fig.89)

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<sup>810</sup> The question of authorship and dating of the monument was subject to debate; see, for instance, Hornung 1959c, Fischinger 1969, p. 48-53 and Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 160-162. Sigismund II August expressed his wish to be commemorated in the same way as his father in his testament, see *Testament*, p. 4 and Sulewska 2011, p. 28-29.

<sup>811</sup> The existence of some similarities between the figure of Johan III and the ones of both Polish kings has already been spotted, see Hahr 1913, p. 18-25, Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 279-280 and Saar-Kozłowska 2006, p. 581.

<sup>812</sup> Krzyżanowski 1978, p. 271; Zlat 2008, p. 310.

<sup>813</sup> Szydłowska 1957, p. 250, 258; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 76-78.

<sup>814</sup> Although the legs were later damaged, there is no reason to doubt that their original disposition was similar.

<sup>815</sup> Casteels 1961, p. 94-95; Llewellyn 2000.

A similar model has been applied in another work of this kind that can be directly linked with the van den Blocke studio, namely the effigy of Krzysztof Kostka in Golub (c. 1600). It is the only *demi-gisant* effigy within the master's oeuvre carved in sandstone. Nonetheless, it displays many similarities with more precious alabaster figures, discussed above. As one of the last works attributable to the master, it reveals his earlier experience with this type of sepulchral effigy. In particular, it is reminiscent of the figure of Johan III in Uppsala. Similarities can be easily discerned both in its overall composition – for instance in positioning of torso and hips – and in details, such as form of the cope. However, legs are represented positioned parallel to each other, similarly as in the figure of Balthazar Báthory, although with much greater volume and stativity. With regard to the latter characteristic, the Kostka effigy is close to that of Piotr Tarnowski.

The last work to be discussed here is the effigy of Jan Konopacki in his epitaph in St. Nicolas' church in Gdańsk, set up after his death in 1594. The deceased has been represented reclining on his right side and turned towards the spectator, with his head supported by the right hand. His legs from knees downwards have not been represented. Similarly to Krzysztof Kostka, he is certainly awake. This effigy differs from all the works discussed above in one major aspect – it is not a three dimensional figure but a relief. The sculptor successfully foreshortened the figure's arms in order to give the composition certain depth and naturalism. What is also important, the effigy it is not a part of a monumental tomb, but of a relatively simple wall epitaph. In consequence, it provides a perfect example of van den Blocke's invention and versatility. Working for a nobleman, the sculptor adjusted the model of sepulchral effigy most popular among members of this group to fit into a simple - and presumably cheaper – structure. Thus, he created a highly unusual work combining various modes of sepulchral sculpture.<sup>816</sup>

## **Priants**

Next to effigies representing *demi-gisant* type, Willem van den Blocke applied in his work also another model of commemorative representation: kneeling, full-length statues of the deceased, belonging to the *priant* type. This model has been used in several monuments: of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, of Cardinal Andreas Báthory in Barczewo, of the Kos family in Oliwa, of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in Nesvizh and of Christopher von Dohna in Odense. Unlike the group of tombs discussed above, erected for members of Polish-Lithuanian nobility and personages strongly influenced by Polish culture, the social standing of the commemorated by the kneeling variety of effigies is highly diverse. Moreover, no clear pattern of chronological development can be established here: van den Blocke used this model throughout his entire career.

For the first time Willem van den Blocke applied such type of effigy in the tomb of Duke Georg Friedrich and Duchess Elisabeth. It was certainly a choice of the patron. As has already been noted, the sculptor was to follow the model established by the tomb of Duke Albrecht, but now with statues of both duke and duchess. (figs. A.1.11, 90) He represented them antithetically, kneeling in front of each other, with hands folded in prayer. They were separated by a pulpit with either a prayer book or the Holy Scripture. Such positioning was

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<sup>816</sup> Ceślak 1992, p. 37-38.

already known in the Low Countries sculpture, as indicated by the monument of Jean de Hennin-Liétard in Boussu-lez-Mons.<sup>817</sup> (fig. 22) This model was also used by Cornelis Floris in his design for the tomb of the Danish kings, executed after van den Blocke's departure for Königsberg.<sup>818</sup> (fig. 26) In any case, van den Blocke must have known this model already before his arrival in the Baltic region. The patron, on the other hand, seems to have been influenced by the growing popularity of the type among German princes and nobility. In the second half of the century wall monuments with kneeling figures, usually placed opposite to each other, were gradually replacing the medieval type of free standing tomb with recumbent effigy.<sup>819</sup> By choosing this way to commemorate his deceased wife and himself, Georg Friedrich adhered not only to the model established by Floris in Königsberg, but also to this new fashion, widely accepted across lands of the present-day Germany.

Judging by existing photographs, Willem van den Blocke followed not only the general type of the figure of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg, but also a number of its details. One of them was the rendering of cope, very close in both sculptures. Similarity between these works is strengthened by the presence of further common elements, such as a helmet and gloves, as well as the pulpit, decorated by a garland of fruits and other ornamental motives, similar to these visible in the work by Floris. Van den Blocke thus created a pendant for the effigy of the old duke, expressing continuity and unity not only through architectural structure, but also by the most important element of figural sculpture - the effigy. The statues themselves appear to be rather well-carved; they were judged as such also by Hermann Ehrenberg, who had a chance to see them personally.<sup>820</sup> Although not much can be said today about details of execution, one can at least observe that the figures possessed a considerable volume, a characteristic quality of later similar objects by the van den Blocke studio. The effigy of the duchess, clad in a long robe falling to the ground in regular folds, equally conveyed the feeling of stativity and mass.

In the mid-1590's Willem van den Blocke executed another monument that included a kneeling effigy, namely the cenotaph of Andreas Báthory in the Bernardine church in Barczewo. The figure of cardinal Báthory is shown in long robes, accordingly with his ecclesiastical status. The drapery, rendered as a solid block, obscures body features to a large degree, except for head, hands and feet, although at some points it reveals the volumes beneath, for instance of the left leg above the foot. The cloth falls to the ground in long, straight folds of considerable depth; their regular rhythm is disrupted only in the lower part. The overall impression is that of stability and mass, articulated by the simplicity of drapery folds with sharp edges, introducing a linear interplay of light and shadow. No carved ornament decorates the clothing, except for collar and sleeves. The only details are the pectoral cross on the cardinal's chest and his left foot. As to the latter, the episcopal sandal has been presented slipping off it, a motive reappearing later in the Kos monument. Rendering of drapery - even though here is more vibrant - shows a close affinity to that of the figures of Simon Bahr and his consort, executed by the studio of Abraham van den Blocke some twenty

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<sup>817</sup> Didier 2000, p. 215-218.

<sup>818</sup> Van Ruyven-Zeman 1992, p. 190, fig. 5.

<sup>819</sup> Mays 2009; Brinkmann 2010.

<sup>820</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 112

years later. This fact indicates existence of a certain amount of continuity between studios of master Willem and his son.<sup>821</sup>

Next monument with figures representing the *priant* type executed by the sculptor was the tomb of Mikołaj Kos and his family in the Cistercian Abbey in Oliwa, erected probably in 1600. It represents yet another type of funeral monument: a free standing tomb with a pair of kneeling effigies positioned opposite to each other. The effigy of Mikołaj Kos, made of polychromed sandstone, represents him clad in full armour, kneeling with hands folded in prayer. The full volumes of the statue give it stability and strength, enhancing the quality of the nobleman as a man of arms. Finely carved decorative elements known from alabaster figures have been replaced here with polychromy. Body parts - head and hands - have been rendered in a considerably detailed way, especially given the quality of material. For instance, the sculptor made an attempt to isolate single fingers, a rather unusual detail in sandstone sculpture. The face is rendered realistically but summarily, in the manner typical for van den Blocke. The whole figure displays affinity with works by the master's studio discussed above.

The statue of Justyna Kos is more peculiar. She has been presented in long robes, completely disguising all body features except for face and hands. The clothing has been rendered in broad, entirely flat folds. Such unusual flatness and geometrical shaping of the drapery reappears in two other works attributable to the van den Blocke studio. All these works could have been executed by the same stonecutter employed by van den Blocke. The first of them is the epitaph of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, set up in Nesvizh probably before 1593, and recently attributed to Willem van den Blocke.<sup>822</sup> (figs. B.7.1-3) The kneeling figure of the deceased, executed in relief, is clad in a long robe, rendered in flat, geometrical folds. Schematic execution of the drapery indicates that it has been executed by one of the assistants employed by the master. Composition of the Radziwiłł epitaph could have influenced some other works of sepulchral art executed by van den Blocke's pupils or collaborators, like the epitaph of Achacy Konopacki in Grzywna near Toruń (after 1599).<sup>823</sup> The second work of importance is the tomb slab of Jerzy Oleski and his wife, Zofia Konopacka, in the parish church in Pieniżkowo, executed c. 1598 – probably almost at the same time as the Kos monument.<sup>824</sup> (fig. B.12.1) Sculptural rendering of the depicted lady's costume, with very flat and sharply-edged geometrical folds falling to the ground in straight, parallel lines, is very close to that seen in Oliwa. Further similarity is provided by the sculptural rendering of the bottom side of the mantle. The final work that must be taken into account here is the figure of Judyta Bahr in St. Mary's church in Gdańsk, executed by the studio of Abraham van den Blocke before 1620. Although the drapery on it is less rigid - the monument is some twenty years later than the formerly mentioned works - the general characteristics are still present.

The last work to be discussed here is the effigy of Christopher von Dohna, executed c. 1585-1586 and set up in St. Canute's church in Odense by one of the master's assistants. Its general outline is similar to that of the statue of Mikołaj Kos, discussed above. Further

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<sup>821</sup> It seems likely that this formal affinity was one of reasons why some scholars attributed the Báthory monument to Abraham van den Blocke. On the relation between Willem and Abraham see Chapters 3 and 7.

<sup>822</sup> Wardzyński 2006, p. 197-201.

<sup>823</sup> Anonymous sculptor responsible for this simple epitaph must have also been familiar with the Kos monument in Oliwa, which he closely followed. With regard to this work see Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 136-137 and Smoliński 2004, p. 91-96.

<sup>824</sup> Smoliński 2004.

similarity is offered by the technique: both works have been made of polychromed sandstone. There exist, nonetheless, some differences as well. The von Dohna's effigy is somewhat less refined, with regard to both its general outline and various details. Furthermore, the decoration of armour is carved rather than painted. Its rendering brings the von Dohna's figure closer to works executed by members of the van den Blocke's circle, namely the figure of Jędrzej Noskowski in Maków Mazowiecki and the effigy of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius. The former's decoration provides in fact the closest analogy to that of von Dohna's effigy. The figure is somewhat flattened, certainly because of the fact that it was not designed to form a part of a free-standing monument. It was made in van den Blocke's workshop, but perhaps by one of the master assistants - probably the same who was responsible for the allegorical figures embellishing the von Dohna monument and some other works by the studio.

### **Standing figures**

Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre includes two examples of a standing effigy. They appear in the slab commemorating Jerzy Oleski and his wife, set up c. 1598 in the parish church in Pieniążkowo. In contrast to many similar pieces in Prussia and other regions, this work was not intended to be installed on the floor. Instead, it must have been placed on a wall – as it is today – or on a sarcophagus. The deceased have been represented standing next to each other, turned towards the spectator. The figures are carved in low relief in accordance with the proprieties of material, namely hard limestone from Oland. Given that it was in fact unsuitable for figural sculpture, the artistic quality of the masculine figure is exceptional. Despite limited depth of the relief, the figures possess considerable volume. It has been achieved by successful implementation of foreshortening as well as by very precise and sharp carving. The latter allowed the artist to bring out distinct contours of the forms, including details. Further important constitution factors are provided by right proportions and the general anatomical correctness of the figure, presented in slight *contrapposto*. The head of the deceased has been represented *en trois quarts*. The sculptor devoted much attention to details of physiognomy, clothing and armour, including rich decoration of the latter. In contrast to it, the female figure is reminiscent of several other works attributable to the sculptor's studio, most importantly the figures of Justyna Kos in Oliwa and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in Nesvizh.

### **Busts**

Bust portraits, both antique and modern, enjoyed great popularity across sixteenth century Europe.<sup>825</sup> Many great men - and some of lesser standing - desired to be portrayed in this way, which was sanctified by antique tradition.<sup>826</sup> As in antiquity, exemplified by numerous funeral monuments along the Via Appia in Rome, busts were also used in funerary context, in Italy and elsewhere. For Willem van den Blocke the most important inspiration must have been the effigies of Prussian duchesses in Königsberg, executed by the studio of Cornelis Floris. (fig. 91) Considering the appropriateness of this mode of depiction for high

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<sup>825</sup> See, for instance, many busts portraying members of the Medici family, but also the 'antique' decoration of the Palazzo Mattei in Rome, or – in the North – the Antiquarium in Munich.

<sup>826</sup> See, for instance, Lavine 1998.

ranking individuals, the decision to portrait the duchesses in this way is hardly surprising. However, these portraits differ from antique busts and their usual contemporary emulations in a very significant way: they present the princely persons with hand folded in prayer. This gesture, alluding to the piety of the commemorated, is in line with the religious character of the epitaphs, and has been probably derived from traditional depictions of *priants*.<sup>827</sup> Thus, the sculpted portraits of Prussian duchesses, based on these two pictorial traditions, simultaneously refer the their piety and to their dignity.

This type of depiction was transferred by Willem van den Blocke, together with elements of architectonic structure, to the Brandes epitaph in St. Mary's church in Gdańsk. The founders of the epitaph must have been guided by the same motives as the commissioners and creators of the Königsberg epitaphs had been before. Furthermore, the dignity of Gdańsk's burgomaster must have been greatly promoted by the reference to the ducal epitaph. This mode of depiction, along with shape of the architectural parts and other elements of the epitaph, must have been at that time a great novelty in Gdansk, thus underlining the position of Brandes and his relatives.<sup>828</sup>

The physiognomy of the deceased, shown with open eyes, is rendered here in greater detail than in the case of *demi-gisant* and *priant* effigies. This is visible particularly in the likeness of Johann Brandes. Nonetheless, these rather standardized portraits do not appear to be an attempt to depict detailed features of the commemorated persons. Rather than that, they should be interpreted as representing a different mode of depiction, seen already in the kneeling effigies, showing them as living and awake rather than dead or in deep slumber. Sculptural rendition is similar to that seen in most of the other portraits by master Willem and surfaces are rather flat. Shape of various physiognomic elements, such as ears and nose, as well as moustache sculpted in regular, rounded curves, bears strong resemblance to other works by the sculptor, especially the effigy of Johann III.

### **Medallions with profile heads**

Very much as busts, medallions comprising profile heads, a pictorial motive of venerable antique pedigree, enjoyed popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was stimulated by enormous antiquarian interest in coins, medallions and cameos of antique provenance (labelled together under the term *medaglie*), many of which depicted Roman emperors. In the sixteenth century such interest was expressed for instance by Pirro Ligorio, Enea Vico, Jacopo della Strada and Hubert Goltzius, the latter two of considerable importance for the development of antiquarian fashion in the North.<sup>829</sup> In consequence, employing the profile portrait was very popular in medallions and gems, but there also exists a considerable number of larger scale sculpted images of this kind, applied as architectural decoration, both

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<sup>827</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 36, Woźniński 1997, p. 118. Cieślak's judgment is reflected in the opinion expressed by Nigel Llewellyn, who argued in favour of medieval genesis of bust portraits in epitaphs, see Llewellyn 2000, p. 110, 114.

<sup>828</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 29-30.

<sup>829</sup> See, for instance, D.J.Jansen 1982, p. 57-69. Strada prepared no less than 30 volumes of numismatical drawings, preserved in Gotha. Among relevant works by Goltizus we can mention *Vivae omnium fere imperatorum imagines* (1557), see Brugge 1998, cat. 190, p. 286-287.

in Italy and in the North.<sup>830</sup> Such works, ancient and modern, were further transmitted by prints.<sup>831</sup> Apart from depictions of great men of the past, this mode was used also in contemporary portraiture.<sup>832</sup> (fig. 92) As a result, early modern times witnessed a great revival of this type of representation, associated with antique splendour and dignity.

Among Netherlandish sculptors of the sixteenth century probably the most famous for his portraits of this kind was Johann Gregor van der Schardt.<sup>833</sup> (fig. 93) It seems, however, that such portraiture was rather unusual in funerary context in the Low Countries. Neither the designs by Cornelis Floris nor those by Vredeman de Vries include medallions comprising profile heads. For that reason the introduction of the motive by Willem van den Blocke in the epitaph of the von Damerau brothers in the parish church in Świąty Wojciech near Gdańsk can be judged as particularly important. Nonetheless, adaptation of this model to funerary monuments is hardly surprising, considering the sense of timelessness and durability such images must have conveyed. Van den Blocke could have been inspired by such works as epitaphs in the Dominican and St. Mary's churches in Cracow, dating from the third quarter of the sixteenth century, that he could have seen during his travel to Transylvania in 1583.<sup>834</sup> (figs. 94, 95)

### **The monument of Christopher Báthory**

Finally, the problem of form of one of the most important and most legendary works by Willem van den Blocke - the monument of Christopher Báthory, erected in Transylvanian capital Alba Iulia - must be addressed. As has already been pointed out, King Stephen I Báthory directly expressed his will to be commemorated in the same way as his younger brother. These words caused much confusion among art historians, who were attempting to reconstruct the shape of the lost work by van den Blocke by referring to the tomb of the king, erected in the Wawel cathedral in 1594-1596 by Italian sculptor Santi Gucci. (fig. 96) Until now, three propositions for a reconstruction of the Báthory monument have been advanced. According to the most widely accepted one, the effigy of Christopher Báthory belonged to the *demi-gisant* type, used later by Gucci in the final version of the royal tomb. This proposal is based on an assumption that the latter monument, commissioned by queen dowager Anna of Jagellon ten years after the king's death, was designed in accordance with Stephen Báthory's will. Although unconfirmed by any hard evidence, this proposition may be correct, given the popularity of this model in Poland and in van den Blocke's oeuvre. Another reconstruction has been proposed by Arpad Mikó, who suggested that the monument of the king's brother included a kneeling effigy.<sup>835</sup> Finally, yet another version has been recently presented by

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<sup>830</sup> As to the former, see for instance Corradini 1998 and McCrory 1998, as well as Scher (ed.) 1994 and Ch. Smith 1994, p. 321-348. As to the latter see for instance Certosa di Pavia (Burnett&Schofield 1998). A Northern European example is provided by the decoration of the castles Gaillon and Nançay, that included a considerable number of such medallions, some of them probably imported from Italy (Paris-Chicago 2010, nos. 103-107, p. 188-189).

<sup>831</sup> For instance the famous series of the Twelve Caesars by Marcantonio Raimondi, Bartsch, 27, nos. 501-512, p. 174-185.

<sup>832</sup> For instance by Vico, see Bartsch, 30, p. 168.

<sup>833</sup> Honnens de Lichtenberg 1991, p. 158-167.

<sup>834</sup> KZSwP, 4/2, figs. 666-667; KZSwP, 4/3, figs. 790-793, 795, 798-805 ; regarding these epitaphs see, for instance, Zlat 1976 and Sulewska 2011.

<sup>835</sup> Mikó 1988.

Jerzy Kowalczyk.<sup>836</sup> Following a close reading of the first contract between Anne of Jagiellon and Santi Gucci - modified in the final version of the monument - he concluded that the monument of Stephen Báthory was originally designed to include a standing statue of the king. (fig. 97) Similarly to other authors, Kowalczyk assumed that the first design for the tomb followed the king's desire to be commemorated in the same way as his brother, thus arriving at conclusion that the latter has been depicted by Willem van den Blocke in form of a standing statue. Moreover, he argued that such model was popular in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>837</sup> His argument could be - conversely - of some importance when considering the possible impact of Christopher Báthory's monument,<sup>838</sup> here it must be stressed however that other types of tombs, especially free-standing ones with a reclining figure, were equally popular in Hungary.

Unless some concrete evidence pertaining to the form of the monument of Christopher Báthory is discovered, all these propositions must be approached with far-reaching caution, especially because this work occupies a very important place within Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre. For that reason, any mistaken assumption would have far-reaching consequences for further research. All of the reconstructions presented by earlier scholars are possible - Stephen Báthory could have chosen any of these types, or even a different one, and Willem van den Blocke was equipped well enough with skill and knowledge to carry out any design - but none can be accepted as correct at this point. The opinion on the shape of Christopher Báthory's being easily discernible from the form of his elder brother's tomb seems rather problematic. First, we do not know what Stephen Báthory exactly meant when he was referring to the tomb executed by Willem van den Blocke. Did he have specific formal solutions in his mind, or rather the monumentality of design and sumptuousness of materials, praised by contemporaries? Second, the monument of Stephen Báthory has been executed some ten years after the king's death by an Italian sculptor, according to a design conceived in all probability not by the king himself. Existence of different patterns in local tradition, the role played by Anne of Jagiellon, deeply influenced by specific forms introduced by her own dynasty, and the fact that the executors of the king's testament failed for a number of years to build the monument - all suggest that the work by Santi Gucci could have possibly varied strongly from the one by van den Blocke, even if we assume that Stephen Báthory indeed intended to imitate closely the monument of his brother.

### Portraits and other details

Portraits executed by Willem van den Blocke can be divided into two major groups: one representing the deceased as dead or 'sleeping' and the other as living and awake. Seemingly, these are related to various types of sepulchral effigies: the former appear exclusively in *demi-gisant* figures, while the latter also in other types of effigies, such as *priants* and busts. Static solemnity of van den Blocke's monumental *demi-gisant* figures is reflected in their physiognomies. Rendering individual features of the deceased person only in

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<sup>836</sup> Kowalczyk 2009, p. 523-525.

<sup>837</sup> In addition to the rather late monument of Gáspár Illésházy in Trenčín (Trencsén, Trencschen, today Slovakia) from 1649 presented by Kowalczyk, we may add the effigy of Hans Reuber von Püchsendorf (died in 1584; today in the Magyar Nemzeti Galéria in Budapest), executed c. 1600, see Budapest 2008, no. IX-4, p. 253.

<sup>838</sup> See *Alvinczi*, p. 165

a general way, the sculptor aimed at representing majesty and calmness. Unmoved faces with closed, deeply sunken eyes convey the gravity of death. The only exception is the *demi-gisant* effigy of Krzysztof Kostka in Golub, where the deceased was depicted with open eyes. Also Jan Konopacki was represented awake, but this particular figure is highly unusual. In contrast to the aforesaid type, figures representing the deceased as awake show them with greater detail of physiognomy. A telling example is provided by the portrait of Johann Brandes, shown with wrinkles around his eyes and above nose - a motive entirely absent in most of van den Blocke's *demi-gisant* figures. Even more detailed is the portrait of Jerzy Oleski. It is important to observe that closed eyes and reduction of individual features are mutually dependent. For instance, the above-mentioned effigy of Krzysztof Kostka differs strongly from other figures of that type, exposing wrinkles similar to those in the bust of Johann Brandes.

Usually, master Willem was not bringing forward a real portrait, but rather a standardized type altered to resemble the commemorated person by introduction of a number of secondary details.<sup>839</sup> The only exception from this rule appears to be the effigy of Jerzy Oleski. It seems to be the only instance when the sculptor indeed attempted to bring forward a real portrait. A revealing example of the master's usual approach is provided by the monument of Georg Friedrich and his consort in Königsberg. The ruler's physiognomy has been rendered in some detail, as van den Blocke was apparently working according to a portrait of the duke, executed especially for this purpose in 1580.<sup>840</sup> However, the likeness was not entirely true. Its most striking feature is the long beard. According to the known iconography of Georg Friedrich he indeed had a beard, but it was not nearly as long as it has been depicted in his effigy. It seems likely that it was to visually link the effigy with that of Duke Albrecht. Moreover, Georg Friedrich could have wished to be represented as older than he was at the time of the monument's construction.

To arrive at a better understating of van den Blocke's approach some of his other works, such as the effigies of Mikołaj Kos and Andreas Báthory must be analyzed. Judging by other known portraits, the latter's effigy bears some resemblance to his real physiognomy. However, once again the likeness is not entirely individual. Somewhat oblong face with accentuated cheekbones and deeply-placed eyes with high and half-round eyebrows, and even a large, pointed nose - all these features reoccur in other effigies executed by van den Blocke, in particular that of Mikołaj Kos. As to the latter, his profile with a long beard, high forehead, elongated and sharply carved nose with prominent bridge and recessed jaw, is very close to that of Georg Friedrich or - although to a lesser degree - Krzysztof Kostka. Finally, his long beard is carved in a very similar way to that of Johan III in Uppsala.<sup>841</sup>

This way of depiction, reducing expression and naturalism, was common in contemporary sculpture, preoccupied with the classical ideal and its inherent harmony. At least equally important as showing real likeness of the deceased was representing his dignity and social position. In order to please their patrons, sculptors usually had to combine

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<sup>839</sup> Compare with, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 294, Karpowicz 1988, p. 25 and Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32. See also Woźniński 1997, p. 119. Smoliński, on the other hand, noticed conventional character of van den Blocke's portraits, see Smoliński 2004, p. 100.

<sup>840</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256.

<sup>841</sup> Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 450.

idealization with representation of individual features. Similitude between the living person and her portrait was highly appreciated by patrons, and appreciation of a sculpture - and in consequence that of its maker - depended greatly on this particular element. A telling example from sixteenth century Poland informs that in 1562 Katarzyna Orlikowa refused to pay Girolamo Canavesi for a tomb of her husband, Stanisław Orlik, because his effigy did not represent his likeness.<sup>842</sup> However, the sculptor also had to present an individual in an idealised way, searching for what has later been described by the Bolognese humanist and diplomat Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570-1632) as an attempt to depict an ideal vision of a king and not an individual.<sup>843</sup> This dualism was closely related to the issue of different, more or less standardized modes of depiction, appropriate for members of various classes and professions.<sup>844</sup>

The aforesaid approach towards portraiture can be observed in sixteenth century sculpture in the Low Countries. Among early works in the 'antique' style, a vivid example is provided by the tomb of Engelbert van Nassau in Breda, attributed to Jean Mone. Portraits of the deceased couple have been executed in a highly detailed manner. However, they are in fact idealised and lack distinct, individual features. It is visible particularly in the far-reaching similarity of the effigies of Engelbert von Nassau and his wife, present in such elements as the shapes of eyebrows, noses, mouths and chins. (figs. 98, 99) Similar approach can be observed in the sculptural oeuvre of Cornelis Floris. As with van den Blocke, the Antwerp sculptor often depicted the deceased in an idealised way, without dwelling on nuances of individual expression. Such an approach is clearly discernible in such of his works as the monuments of Christian III of Denmark, Albrecht I of Prussia and the Danish admiral Herluf Trolle. Although at first glance the effigy of the Prussian duke, one of the most outstanding works of this kind executed by the Antwerp sculptor, appears highly individual, it differs from that of Trolle only in somewhat more detailed carving. (figs. 100, 101) Slightly different tendency is present perhaps in Floris' early works, most importantly the effigies of the archbishops of Cologne, of Frederik I of Denmark in Schleswig and that of Jan van Merode in Geel, aiming at somewhat greater expression. (figs. 102, 103) Nonetheless, also here the artist aims above all at reconciling individuality with idealisation. Attention to detail, visible for instance in the effigy of Jan van Merode, does not appear to have resulted from a desire to depict the deceased in a naturalistic way, but rather from the particular sculptural manner. Rather undifferentiating approach towards effigies can be observed also in the works of other Netherlandish sculptors active in the second half of the sixteenth century, such as Willem Boy and Gert van Egen.

There existed, however, another tendency, aimed at stronger expression of individuality. Most important examples of this current are provided by the works of Philip Brandin and Robert Coppens, executed towards the end of the century. The portrait of Duke Ulrich in Güstrow, produced by Brandin in the 1590's, although also idealising, shows greater attention to the individual features and expression of the model than effigies made by many other Netherlandish sculptors, such as Floris, van den Blocke or Boy. The most outstanding example of the realistic current in Netherlandish sculpture of that time is provided by the

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<sup>842</sup> Sinko 1936, esp. p. 166-168; Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p.129; Sulewska 2011, p. 29.

<sup>843</sup> *Teoretycy*, p. 77.

<sup>844</sup> Zlat 1976; Sulewska 2011.

unflattering portraits of the duke's two wives.<sup>845</sup> (fig. 104) Similarly, the portrait of Duke Christopher in Schwerin by Coppens reveals keen interest in depicting the commemorated person in detail, and may be compared with the portrait of Jerzy Oleski by van den Blocke. (fig. 105) Later on, a similar tendency can be observed in the sepulchral effigy of Simon Bahr in Gdańsk, executed by Abraham van den Blocke's studio (fig. 106).

One of the main tools used by the artist to differentiate between various effigies executed in his studios was the treatment of hair. For instance, Johan III and Piotr Tarnowski share same facial features. The former is differentiated only by shorter hair and a long beard. Nonetheless, in his treatment of hair van den Blocke used several reappearing motives. Perhaps the most characteristic is a wreath of longer, curly hair around the face, appearing in several of the sculptor's works: the effigies of Mikołaj Kos and his infant son, Andreas and Balthazar Báthory, Jerzy Oleski, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Ture Bielke. Another characteristic of major van den Blocke's figures - those of Johan III, Piotr Tarnowski and the Báthory brothers - is carving of moustaches. It may be noted that similar rendition also appears in the effigy of Duke Ulrich III by Philip Brandin. In the Oleski effigy van den Blocke applied another modus, with moustaches divided into small, finely carved treads. It appears also in the figure of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Moreover, this motive has been taken up by some members of the van den Blocke circle, like two anonymous sculptors in all probability employed by Abraham van den Blocke. The first of them was responsible of the relief plaque depicting preaching of St. John in the altar in St. John's church in Gdańsk, while the other for several refined pieces of sculpture executed c. 1615-1625 in Gdańsk, like the portrait of Sigismund III Vasa in portal of the Artushof in Gdańsk and the image of Christ in the altar destined for the Jesuit church in Warsaw.<sup>846</sup> Furthermore, crude reference to Oleski's effigy can be observed in the figure of Jerzy Niemojewski in his tomb in Starogard Gdański (Preussisch Stargard), attributed - although with certain hesitation - by Lech Krzyżanowski to Abraham van den Blocke.<sup>847</sup> Another noteworthy detail is present in the effigy of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz. Here, Willem van den Blocke attempted to introduce a motive characteristic for Floris, especially in his early works, such as the effigies of Jan van Merode and Frederik I, namely small, round curves of hair.

Typically for a sixteenth century Netherlandish sculptor, Willem van den Blocke devoted much attention to details of armour and clothing. Most of the figures discussed here, namely those of Johan III, Martin de Berzeviczy, Piotr Tarnowski, Balthazar Báthory, and – to a somewhat lesser degree – Jerzy Oleski and Krzysztof Kostka, are depicted clad in the same armour. (figs. A.4.5, A.4.17, B.8.2, B.9.6, B.10.3, B.10.4, B.12. 2, B.12.3, B.14.1, B.14.3) It seems plausible that the sculptor could have studied a particular set of real armour, perhaps the one belonging to duke Albrecht of Prussia, and later applied it in his works.<sup>848</sup> However uninventive it may appear, it must be admitted that the rendition is of considerably high quality, and going down into fine detail. This applies, among others, to ornamental patterns, finely carved in an extremely low relief and contained in clearly defined frames. The

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<sup>845</sup> Jolly 1999a, p. 126.

<sup>846</sup> As to the former, see also Smoliński 2004, p. 99; as to the latter see Wardzyński 2010b, p. 49-50.

<sup>847</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 137-138.

<sup>848</sup> The duke owned a considerable collection of armour, as indicated by the inventory of the Königsberg castle dating from c. 1570-1580, see GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten 13262, Inventarium des Schloß Königsberg.

ornamental motives are applied on a contrasting background made of very delicate hatchings, filled with paint, in order to enhance the plasticity of decoration. This decorative ornament simultaneously underlines the tectonics of the figures, transferring into smaller scale the principle of architectural works by Cornelis Floris and Willem van den Blocke, in which tectonics and ornament remain in clearly defined relations. The sculpted ornament consists of floral motives, sometimes, particularly in the statue of Johan III, organised into candelabrum-like structures. In the statue of Piotr Tarnowski this motive has been further enriched by introduction of interlaced bands, derived probably from moresque ornament, such as that by Balthazar Bos.<sup>849</sup>

Rendering of armour decoration by Willem van den Blocke differs from that by Cornelis Floris. The latter used to place convex ornamental details on the surface of armour and clothing. This way of rendition is visible particularly in his earlier works, dating from the 1550's, like the tombs of Jan van Merode and Frederik I. (figs. 107, 108) It was based on the earlier tradition of 'antique' sculpture in the Low Countries, exemplified by the monuments of Antoine de Lalainge in Hoogstraten and - above all - of Engelbert II van Nassau in Breda (both c. 1530). (fig. 109) A similar type of decoration, although much cruder in execution, appears also in Willem Boy's figure of Gustav I Vasa in Uppsala (c. 1562-1570). However, in his later works Floris was gradually moving towards greater severity of expression and elimination of ornament, visible especially in the effigies of Albrecht I in Königsberg and Christian III in Roskilde. In contrast to his teacher, van den Blocke applied much less difficult intaglio-like manner. Decoration of armour used by master Willem shows greater affinity with that applied by other Netherlandish sculptors, active in late sixteenth century. Similarly delicate, though less extensive carvings can be seen for instance in the monuments of Duke Christopher in Schwerin by Robert Coppens and Duke Ulrich in Güstrow by Philip Brandin, contemporary with the figures by van den Blocke. (fig. 110) Thus, the difference between the earlier works of Cornelis Floris and those of Willem van den Blocke illustrates the change taking place in Netherlandish sculpture. It must be stressed, however, that also sculptors active in late sixteenth century used various kinds convex ornamental decoration. Appearing on clothing as an imitation of embroidery, it decorates, for instance, the cope of one of Duke Ulrich's wives in Güstrow. This example is of particular importance, as here this way of carving appears alongside intaglio-like manner suitable only for armour decoration - very much like in the works by Willem van den Blocke. It can furthermore be compared with decoration used by Floris in Cologne and Colin in the monument of Ferdinand I and Maximilian II in Prague as well as that of Hans Fugger in Kirchheim an der Mindel (1584-1587).<sup>850</sup> Van den Blocke applied a similar decoration pattern, though combined with hatching giving it greater plasticity, in cushions supporting effigies of Berzewiczy, Vasa, Tarnowski, Báthory, Kostka and Konopacki. Thus, the use of various kinds of carved decoration was a matter of purpose, namely imitation of different materials, rather than skill.

Effigies executed in sandstone or red limestone from Oland differ from those made of alabaster only to a certain degree. In most of his works van den Blocke applied similar patterns of ornamental decoration, regardless of material. This can be observed in the

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<sup>849</sup> Jong&Groot 1988, nos 5.9, 6.3; Warncke 1979, 1, nos. 444-445.

<sup>850</sup> As to the latter see Teurlinckx 1987, p. 36-37 and Dimmer 2004, 1, fig. 26.

alabaster effigies of Johan III and Balthazar Báthory, sandstone figures of Krzysztof Kostka and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, as well as the effigy of Jerzy Oleski, carved in Oland limestone. For instance, armour decoration used in the effigy of Krzysztof Kostka is akin to that of Balthazar Báthory and Piotr Tarnowski. Similarities are visible in ornamental patterns as well as carving technique, representing ornamental motives applied on a background made of delicate hatchings. It is also possible that a similar decoration embellished the effigy of Mikołaj Kos in Oliwa. Today, however, this figure is covered with polychromy obscuring sculptural rendering of surface. Such embellishment, executed by painters, was certainly applied on all figures made of sandstone.<sup>851</sup> Certain minor differences between decoration used in these works must have resulted from the characteristics of these materials. However, in some cases carved decorative patterns are strongly simplified. This can be observed especially in the kneeling effigy of Christopher von Dohna in Odense, executed in the van den Blocke's studio by one of the master's assistants. This is also true with regard to other works attributable to artists influenced by van den Blocke, such as those responsible for the figures of Jędrzej Noskowski in Maków Mazowiecki and Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius.

## 5.2 Symbolic statues

Besides rich architectural and ornamental decoration, discussed in the previous chapter of this book, tombs and epitaphs executed by Willem van den Blocke were usually embellished with figural sculpture. Under the term 'symbolic statues', the following section will discuss various figures decorating funeral monuments executed in the studio led by the sculptor. This group is diverse both from typological and iconographical point of view, comprising among others female personifications of virtues (shown standing, sitting and even reclining), male statues of biblical kings and figures of putti. All of these figures are three-dimensional statues integrally merged with their architectural frame.<sup>852</sup>

### Female figures

Among works known today, the earliest example of such sculpture is provided by the allegorical figures decorating the tomb of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. Their costume has been rendered in two distinct ways: as a chiton-like, transparent dress revealing bodily features beneath, and as upper clothing rendered in larger, more plastic folds. The first of them appears over upper parts of figures, most notably on their chests and abdomens, while the other mostly around hips. Perhaps the best example of this is offered by the figure of *Quies*. (A.1.9) Drapery covering lower parts of its body is a combination of both modes, leaving clearly visible knees and legs, but with rich folds evolving around the feet.

The same approach towards drapery and its relation to human body, derived from the 'antique' mode of mid-sixteenth century Netherlandish sculpture, reappears in later works executed by van den Blocke. One of them is the caryatid figure from the Brandes epitaph representing *Fides*. (fig. B.1.4) Somewhat elongated proportions, gentle *contraposto* and slight turn of the body towards the centre of the epitaph as well as the elegant flow of draperies make it a particularly successful work of late sixteenth century Netherlandish

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<sup>851</sup> This was the case with regard to the monument of Duchess Elisabeth, painted by the court painter Adam already after Willem van den Blocke's departure from Königsberg, see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 258.

<sup>852</sup> Their meaning will be discussed in Chapter 6.

sculpture. She is clad in a thin cloth, visible particularly in the upper part of her torso, girded high under breasts. She wears a broad mantle around her waist, encircling her and falling down - in two separate parts - below knees. The folds of this drapery, considerably broader and more plastic, are rather independent from the body, though at points, especially on the slightly moved forward left leg, they too clearly reveal the volume beneath.

Combination of these two sculptural modes of cloth/body rendering can be also seen in other figures decorating the Brandes epitaph. The figure of *Immortalitas* is clad in a more transparent robe as well as in an over mantle, rendered in larger and more accumulated folds. (fig. B.1.7) Here, the sculptor explored sculptural possibilities offered by human body as such. The figure itself, placed more freely within architectural structure than the caryatides, is represented in a moved pose. Her right arm is uplifted, while the right leg, uncovered from above knee downwards and provided with free space behind, is trusted forwards, stepping over a skeleton. This solution offers a distinct visual contrast between block-like drapery and deeply undercut body. By introducing this simple idea, the sculptor attempted to exploit sculptural possibilities offered by an interplay between solidity and empty space. Greater dynamism of this personification as compared to other statues embellishing the epitaph seems related to its symbolic meaning. This notion is strengthened by the fact that the figure representing *Quies* is depicted in a very different way. (B.1.6) She has been presented as if asleep, with closed eyes and head reclining on her right hand, and with crossed legs. Drapery falls down in large, full folds, with only a limited number of smaller curves. As such, this allegorical figure conveys a feeling of stativity. The figures embellishing the upper zone of the Brandes epitaph show close affinity to another work attributable to van den Blocke's studio, namely the figure of *Quies*, executed approximately at the same time for the epitaph of the brothers von Damerau in Święty Wojciech.

The visual mode discussed above has been exploited by van den Blocke to the fullest in the statue of *Immortalitas* - wrongly identified by some as *Pax* - destined for the memorial of Johan III of Sweden. (figs. A.4.6, A.4.7) Next to the caryatides in the Brandes epitaph, it is undoubtedly the most impressive, monumental and detailed work by the sculptor from Mechelen, showing to the full his skill as a *statuarius*. The figure is represented sitting on a sphere, with the right arm uplifted and pointing to heaven and the left one holding a palm branch. Its pose is static and frontal towards the spectator, presumably in accordance with its originally designated place within architectural framework of a wall-monument. Only her head is slightly bent to the right, gazing slightly downwards. The personification figure is clad in antique clothing amply revealing the volumes that underlie it, a sculptural motive known already from earlier works by the artist. There is, nonetheless, also a richness of folds, some of them narrow and rather sharp, while other broader and more fully rendered, with smoothly carved edges, yielding to light and suggesting even greater plasticity. The latter are to be seen especially in the lower part of the figure, around the legs and in the spat of drapery that extends on the right side up to its lap.

In the caryatid figure of *Spes* in the Brandes epitaph the sculptor employed another sculptural motive of antique pedigree, namely diaphanous cloth. (fig. B.1.5) Although it appears in many other works by the studio as one of the two aforementioned basic renderings of drapery, such a consequential use of this visual mode is unique within van den Blocke's oeuvre. Transparent, chiton-like cloth, girded around the waist, in a way reminiscent of Flora

Farnese, a model often exploited in sixteenth century art, clearly reveals underlying bodily volumes. Heavier folds are to be seen only on the left side of the statue, where in her hand, placed rather surprisingly behind back, she holds a mantle. Rendering of upper clothing layers is not entirely logical, as at certain points it appears to be identical with the chiton.

All the works discussed here share a number of common characteristics. They are all characterized by similar elongated proportions and certain anatomical awkwardness. Similarity can be also seen in the relation between body and clothing, as well as in the shape of drapery: in the contrast between parts more transparent and those covered with more voluminous folds. It is instructive to compare, for instance, torsos of the *Immortalitas* in Uppsala and the *Spes* from the Brandes epitaph. Both present sharp, multiple curves of the 'wet' drapery, with characteristic angular bends in the lower parts of abdomen. Judging by existing photographs, similar characteristics were present in some of the figures in Königsberg, especially the personification of *Quies*. Equally similar is elaboration of such details as eyes, fingers, feet and the like. On the other hand, facial features of Uppsala *Immortalitas*, somewhat softer, with heavy-lidded eyes and full lips with curious smile, in general seem closer to these of the smaller figures in the upper zone of the Brandes epitaph. Overall qualities of these figures and their details indicate that they have been in all probability executed in one workshop, presumably by Willem van den Blocke himself, possibly with some help from his assistants.

Characteristics akin to these observed in works discussed above appear also in other figures made in the studio led by Willem van den Blocke. A particularly uniform group of figures consists of personifications of virtues in the epitaph of Eduard Blemke, caryatides in the epitaph of the Stroband family in Toruń and a single statue of *Caritas*, today in the town hall of Chełmno, the latter of an unknown origin. They came to life within a short period of time c. 1590, as indicated by the epitaphs, dated respectively 1591 and 1590. They must have been executed by the master himself together with one of his assistants, who could have been responsible for the less perfect works, like some of the figures in the Stroband epitaphs. A slightly earlier, but very similar group consists of figures decorating the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna in Odense in Denmark - in particular the sitting figure of *Immortalitas* - created in 1585-1586.

Works in the Blemke and Stroband epitaphs as well as in the Chełmno Town Hall represent two figural types: a more dynamic one, comprising the *Caritas* in Chełmno and the *Prudentia* in the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk, and a more static one, including the *Iustitia* in the latter and caryatides in the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. Relatively dynamic character of figures belonging to the first group has been achieved in three ways. (figs. B.5.4, B.16.1) First, they have been depicted in a more lively pose, with one leg thrust forward. Second, this leg has been uncovered, which disrupts block-like solidity of drapery, and hollowed up behind, which provides for sculptural qualities of space and void. In the Chełmno *Caritas* the sculptor introduced another device underlining depth, namely a putto positioned partially behind the uncovered leg and embracing it; this motive compensates for somewhat lesser dynamism of this figure. The third dynamic quality is plasticity of drapery folds, visible particularly in the Gdańsk figure.

Statues representing the other group are much more static. (figs. B.4. 2, B.4.3, B.5.3) In case of the caryatides in the Stroband epitaph lesser amount of dynamism is related to their

role within architectural structure. They are clad in long robes, turning them into block-like shapes. Drapery partially reveals bodily volumes beneath, especially on the upper part of torso and lower parts of legs. The statues belonging to this group share even greater amount of common qualities, and the *Iustitia* in the Blemke epitaph can be in fact hardly distinguished from the caryatides in Toruń. Rendition of body features and clothing, slight *contrapposto*, all kinds of details, for instance the hairdo - suggest that these statues were executed not only in one studio, but by the same hand. To prove this it would be enough to point to the lower parts of these statues, to the way the drapery reveals the bodily features beneath as well as to the shape of folds and curves of the drapery itself, almost identical in both cases.

Origin of all these figures can be easily traced back to the statues embellishing the epitaph of Johann Brandes, a key work in this context. Figures belonging to the first, dynamic group are direct descendents of the *Immortalitas* in that epitaph. The most obvious analogy can be seen in the pursuit of contrast between uncovered, protruding and deeply undercut legs, and blocs of drapery. Relations between body and drapery and presence of the two modes of rendering of the latter - discussed earlier - as well as such features as coiffures and details of costume, like shoes or the binding of cloth on legs, reveal a close links between these sculptures. One may point out even such details as the uncovered right breast of two of these figures. Turning to the statues representing the second, static group, we may once again look for similarities in the statues of the Brandes epitaph, although in this case they are more general than with regard to the first group of figures.

The same anonymous workshop assistant who took part in execution of the above mentioned figures could have been also involved in works on the figural decoration of the von Dohna epitaph in Odense, comprising two caryatides representing *Labor* and *Mors*, as well as the sitting figure of *Immortalitas*. These figures occupy a very important place within the oeuvre of the van den Blocke studio, since they share distinct formal similarities with a number of other works of figural sculpture executed there. For instance, the *Immortalitas* provided a direct model for the analogous - even though much grander and more finely sculpted - figure in Uppsala, executed several years later. (figs. A.4.6, B.2.3) Similarities between these figures appear in the rendering of drapery, including some minute details, as well as in their general composition. Simultaneously, the caryatides reveal a close relation to the figures embellishing the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk, executed almost at the same time as the von Dohna monument. For instance, the rendering of draperies of the figures of *Mors* in both works is almost identical. Finally, sculptural rendering of these statues makes them very close to the allegorical figures decorating the Stroband epitaph.

The oeuvre of the van den Blocke studio also includes more individual works executed by various assistants. All of them represent the formal language of Netherlandish sculpture, further indicating van den Blocke's reliance on his compatriots. One such group consists of personifications of virtues embellishing the upper zone of the monument of Andreas Báthory, depicted in sitting poses. Particularly successful is the statue of *Fides*.<sup>853</sup> It has been represented as to suggest a much greater volume than shown in reality by this almost relief-like figure, abbreviated in depth. This illusion of depth and volume, achieved by sculptural

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<sup>853</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291, who judged the monument to be a less successful work of the van den Blocke studio.

means by depicting uncovered, crossed legs with some empty space behind them, points to a sculptor of considerable skill. The same objective, though with somewhat lesser success, has been pursued in the other figure - as well as in the two sitting figures in the upper zone of the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. However, although more dynamic than most other sculptures originating in van den Blocke's atelier, the figures crowning the Báthory monument present the frontal composition typical for the artist. Poses of these statues were in all probability inspired by sitting figures, both in sculpture and in a great number of prints and paintings, that were circulating at that time, although as for now no direct source can be pointed out.<sup>854</sup> Furthermore, a somewhat similar approach towards space relation can be observed in such works of sixteenth century Netherlandish sculpture as the triumphant *Iustitia* in Colyn de Nole's famous chimney piece in Kampen, as well as in a sacrament house in Zuurbemde, attributed to Cornelis Floris. (figs. 111, 112)

Further example of a workshop contribution is provided by caryatides in the monument of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz and the figure of *Caritas* at the top. Most probably they have been sculpted by yet another, anonymous assistant employed by van den Blocke. The prime difference between these figures and the ones discussed earlier is visible in rendering of drapery. Instead of interplay between larger, more voluminous, and smaller folds and curves, here the clothes have been depicted as rather flat, articulated by uniform large folds with sharply carved edges. Further differences can be observed for instance in the drapery folds surrounding feet of the figures. Despite this simplified manner of work, however, the figures embellishing the Tarnowski monument possess some positive sculptural quality of their own, visible particularly in details, such as the hands of the *Spes* and the book held by the *Fides* - with minutely carved pages - but also in the *contrapposto* pose of the former. Their poses, relations between body and clothing as well as details, remind us of other figures executed in the van den Blocke atelier.

The final set of allegorical female statues appears in the monument of Ture Bielke. Once again, although they are akin to other works originating from the van den Blocke studio, certain elements single them out. Physiognomic details, especially minute and pinched, distinguish them from the figures in Gdańsk, Toruń and Łowicz. Perhaps the most similar to them are small figures today decorating the canopy of the tomb of Johan III in Uppsala, as well as - although to a lesser degree - those in Barczewo. It cannot be ruled out that a single sculptor was responsible for the smaller female figures in the Uppsala monument and the personifications of virtues in Linköping. With the statuettes adorning the monument of Johan III they share also elongated proportions and somewhat less solid volume of body as well as the character of drapery, although some elements of the latter, especially the cascade of folds seen on the left side of the Linköping *Fides*, are rather unique. The latter motive is rather unusual in Netherlandish sculpture of that time, though similar invention can be observed in the works by Cornelis Floris in Cologne and Gert van Egen in Roskilde.

Many of the figures executed by Willem van den Blocke and his studio show close affinity to works by Cornelis Floris. It can be observed, for instance, in some of the statues embellishing the tombs of Adolf and Anton von Schauenburg in Cologne, especially in *Labor*

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<sup>854</sup> See, however, the prints by Nicolas de Bruyn and Adriaen Collaert after Maarten de Vos, Hollstein Dutch, XLVI, nos. 1487, 1492, p. 234-235, or by Johann I Sadeler after de Vos, Bartsch, 70/3, no. 500, p. 101.

and *Iustitia* from the former as well as in *Prudentia* from the latter. (figs. 113, 114). It is visible in the treatment of drapery, especially from the waist downwards, rendering of various details, as well as poses and proportions of the figures. Willem van den Blocke must have learned this particular mode of depiction while being trained in the Floris' studio. Sometimes, however, more direct links between works by both sculptors can be established.

A model for the *Immortalitas* in Uppsala has been provided by the latter's analogous statue crowning a monument of Christian III and Frederik II in the Copenhagen drawing as well as the figures placed at the top of the epitaphs of archbishops of Cologne.<sup>855</sup> (figs. 115,116) Van den Blocke followed not only characteristic gestures and imitated such elements of iconographical importance as the sphere, but also the static and frontal pose, as well as general character of drapery. The idea to include sitting allegorical figures in large commemorative ensembles came from Italy, where it was explored in the early sixteenth century by such leading sculptors as Andrea Sansovino and Michelangelo.<sup>856</sup> Apart from these contemporary works, Floris seems likely to have been inspired by antique statues in a sitting pose, a few of which were known in the early sixteenth century.<sup>857</sup> These models have been transformed by the Antwerp master, in turn greatly influencing not only Willem van den Blocke but also other sculptors that can be linked with him, such as the makers of the monument of Moritz of Saxony in Freiberg and Gert van Egen. (figs. 117, 118)

Van den Blocke's point of departure for the formal experiment visible in the figure of *Spes* in the Brandes epitaph (diaphanous cloth) were Floris' epitaphs of Duchesses Dorothea and Anna Maria in Königsberg. (figs. 119, 120) Sculptures in the former - a unique example of Floris's deep interest in various antique pictorial modes - reveal keen interest in diaphanous qualities of drapery.<sup>858</sup> It is hardly a coincidence that the works in which Floris most explicitly explored this particular sculptural motive were best known to Willem van den Blocke. Apart from his Königsberg works, the Antwerp sculptor applied it also in the Cologne epitaphs and in the design for the tomb of Frederik II.<sup>859</sup> Further indication of the influence of the Floris circle on van den Blocke in this regard is provided by some drawing in the so-called Basel sketchbook, linked with Frans Floris and his circle.<sup>860</sup> Diaphanous cloth was naturally derived from antique examples, such as the famous *Flora Farnese*, drawn among others by Maarten van Heemskerck and Hendrick Goltzius.<sup>861</sup> (figs. 121, 122) It is possible that this famous

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<sup>855</sup> Huysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 118; Van Ruyven-Zeman 1992, p. 190, fig. 5. Close relation between the works by Floris and van den Blocke has been already observed by Hugo Johannsen, see Johannsen 2010, p. 155-157, figs. 6-7.

<sup>856</sup> Echinger-Maurach 2009; Götzmann 2010.

<sup>857</sup> Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 55-56, 85, 88; see also Price 1984. The most relevant example is provided by one of the drawings in the Basel sketchbook, linked with the circle of Frans Floris (Van de Velde 1969, plate 12b). For other possible sources see for instance a print by Nicola Beatrizet, Bartsch 29, no. 89, p. 350.

<sup>858</sup> Huysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 227; see also Rzepoluch 1995..

<sup>859</sup> Huysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 118.

<sup>860</sup> See, for instance, Van de Velde 1969, pl. 12a.

<sup>861</sup> Hülsen&Egger 1913-1916, I, fol. 62v, no 64, p. 33-34; Haskell 1982, p. 217-219; Amsterdam, New York&Toledo 2003, no. 43, p. 136-137. This mode, although then unusual, was exploited by other sculptors across sixteenth century Europe apart from Cornelis Floris, see for instance *Temperantia* from the monument of Claude de Lorraine, attributed to Jean Le Roux (Paris 2004, no. 198, p. 373-374). It was often used in drawings, paintings and prints. Other relevant antique examples are provided by the *Dead Amazon*, sketched by van Heemskerck and Frans Floris (Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 194, no 143; Van de Velde 1969, pl. 11a) as well as *Pomona* from the Uffizi and *Nymph of a fountain* from Villa Borghese (Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 104, 108-

statue could have served as a model for some works by Floris, such as one of the Königsberg caryatides; similarities can be observed for instance in arrangement of folds of girded chiton. Apart from antique precedents, Cornelis Floris could have been inspired by such contemporary Roman figures as *Temperantia* from the monument of Girolamo Basso della Rovere and *Iustitia* - modelled directly after *Flora Farnese* - in the tomb of Adrian VI, that were certainly known to him.<sup>862</sup> (figs. 123, 124)

Antique sculptures studied and copied by Floris provided also a direct pictorial source for the figure of *Quies* in the Brandes epitaph. Particularly important is the analogous figure in the epitaph of Adolf von Schauenburg in Cologne, sharing many similarities with the van den Blocke's statue. (fig. 125) Floris himself was undoubtedly inspired by antique statues, such as the so-called *Thusnelda*, and by some antique sarcophagi sculpture, as well as by their modern copies.<sup>863</sup> (fig. 126)

Finally, possibly also the reclining figure of *Quies* in Święty Wojciech was modeled on a work by Cornelis Floris. A similar - although not identical - figure representing *Mors* or *Quies* would have embellished upper zone of the monument of the Danish kings Christian III and Frederik II, as envisioned by the Antwerp sculptor. (fig. 127) Both these figures show resemblance to several other works representing the same subject. One of them, embellishing the monument of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius (c. 1618-1623), was certainly modelled after the figure in Święty Wojciech. Other two decorate house portals in Lübek, and are both attributed to Robert Coppens.<sup>864</sup> (fig. 128) The final one embellishes a pulpit in Magdeburg cathedral, executed in the 1590's. (fig. 129) It seems certain that a common model - probably originating in the Floris circle - existed for all these works.

## Male figures

Compared to female figures, male statues rarely appear in van den Blocke's works. The monument of Duchess Elisabeth included nine of the such - an extraordinarily high number - but due to its destruction, they cannot be studied in full detail. Nonetheless, something can be said about them, particularly about the four statues of the Evangelists. Judging by photography, they were rather broad in outline, solid, presented in rather static poses, with slight *contrapposto*. Draperies appear to have been sharply carved in numerous folds and curves. As with sepulchral effigies discussed earlier in this chapter, the sculptor clearly employed treatment of hair to differentiate between the figures. In accordance with the pictorial tradition John has been depicted as a young man. Luke, on the other hand, has been represented as an older, beardless and somewhat fatter man. The other two figures were shown with long, curly beards and hair.

The only extant figures of this kind are the two statues of biblical kings, David and Salomon, forming part of the monument of Johan III in Uppsala. (figs. A.4.9, A.4.10) Their proportions appear to be more slender than those of the aforementioned statues in Königsberg.

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109), though they appear to be less prominent as patterns for artists discussed here. With regard to other possible, though indirect models for van den Blocke, see Sulewska 2000, p. 89.

<sup>862</sup> Götzmann 2010, fig. 123, 127, 128.

<sup>863</sup> Bober&Rubinstein 2010, no 38i, p. 86-87. *Thusnelda*, drawn by Heemskerck, was copied for instance in a print by Vico (Bartsch, 30, p. 59); see also Sulewska 2000, p. 90 and Kaleciński 2004.

<sup>864</sup> The portals of the houses on Schüsselbuden 24 and on Mengstraße 36, see Struck 1908, 2, *Tore und Türen*, p. XIX-XX, fig. 22, 24 .

The rather meagre volume of their bodies is concealed by drapery. Nonetheless, some similarities can be observed between the figures in Uppsala and in Königsberg. Particularly interesting are parallels between the elaboration of drapery of the statues of King David and St. Luke. On their chests and abdomens the clothing has been rendered falling in sharply carved, angular folds, presented as if built of several segments. A similar approach can be observed in the figure of *Spes* in the Brandes epitaph . (fig. B.1.5) The pose of Uppsala David, with an uncovered, protruding leg - a motive often used by van den Blocke - appears to be similar to that of one of the biblical prophets in the upper zone of the Königsberg monument. Similarities between the statue in Uppsala and other works by the van den Blocke studio can be also seen in secondary details, such as footwear, very similar in the statue of David, the *Prudentia* in the Blemke epitaph and the *Caritas* in Chelmno.

General character of male figures in the Uppsala monument is close to the features of those made in the studio of Cornelis Floris. Static poses, regular folds of drapery flowing down to the ground, interplay of broader and narrower curves and relation between the body and cloth - all bear resemblance to the works of the Antwerp sculptor, especially the figures in the monument of Duke Albrecht. For instance, there exists certain similarity between rendering of cloth in the figure of King David in Uppsala and the upper-right statue in Königsberg. On the other hand, some differences, marking the individuality of the sculptor, can be observed for instance in the bodily volumes of the statues.

Similarly to female figures discussed above, also biblical statues decorating the monument of Johan III Vasa illustrate how certain figural motives were disseminated through workshop practice. Most importantly, the type used in the figure of King David has been later introduced in two almost identical figures, both representing St. Peter, executed in Gdańsk in early seventeenth century: one in an altar in Działyń, located in southern part of Royal Prussia, and the other in the grand altar in St. John's church in Gdańsk, the latter by Abraham van den Blocke's atelier. (figs. 130, 131) Although the former has been made of wood and the latter of stone, far reaching similarities exist not only in poses of both figures, but also in rendering of drapery.<sup>865</sup>

## Putti

Besides female and male statues, an important place among sixteenth century funerary sculpture figures was occupied by putti. This sepulchral motive of antique origin, revived in Italy - one may recall Florentine tombs of the fifteenth century - has been introduced in the North in the beginnings of the next century, more or less simultaneously in several countries. A particularly important example, possibly relevant also for sculpture in Mechelen, is provided by the tomb of Margaret of Austria in Brou, embellished by statues of child geniuses executed by the studio of Conrad Meit. The motive of either standing, sitting or reclining putti with torches was used widely by Cornelis Floris, as can be observed in his works in Königsberg, Roskilde, Schleswig and Cologne, as well as with the sculptors influenced by him, like Philip Brandin.

Willem van den Blocke introduced such figures into several of his works: the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and Johann Brandes, as well as the monuments of Ture Bielke and Johan

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<sup>865</sup> See Sulewska 2004, p. 65-67; she has attributed the figure in Działyń to Abraham van den Blocke.

III. Moreover, two figures rendered in high relief appear in the spandrels of arcade of the Báthory monument in Barczewo as well as in the monument of Christopher von Dohna in Odense. In the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk and in Linköping they have been depicted standing, in the first case winged and holding shields with personal symbols of the deceased, and in the second case leaning on an inverted torch. The former have been presented in a dynamic pose, with bent bodies and raised arms, while the latter – in accordance with their iconographical significance – are much more static, with crossed legs and heads resting on hands. The models for the Swedish pair were provided by the two Floris putti, standing at the feet of sarcophagus of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg, which in turn directly referred to such antique models as the funerary altar today in Villa Albani.<sup>866</sup> (figs. 132-134) Also another figure by Floris, embellishing the epitaph of Archbishop Adolf von Schauenburg in Cologne, was very closely modelled after the above mentioned antique work. (fig. 135) There can be little doubt that the figures in Gdańsk and Linköping were executed in one studio, possibly even by the same sculptor. Strong *contraposto*, full body volumes, faces with broad, bloated cheeks, high forehead and pinched eyes, noses and mouths, as well as hair rendered in large curls – all these elements reveal their close affinity.

The largest group of putti was designed to decorate the tomb of Johan III. Two of them have been presented in a sitting pose, holding parts of the king's armour, mourning his death, as suggested by the gesture of one of them, supporting his head with his left hand. The other two have been shown standing, in one hand holding a shield, and in the other a ribbon attached to it. They are all considerably larger than the figures described above, with broad design and solid volumes. These qualities, together with finely carved details and polished surface, make them one of the most outstanding products of van den Blocke workshop. Precision and attention given to fine finish points out importance of this commission for master Willem; moreover, it may suggest that they were designed to be looked at from close distance. A close scrutiny indicates that these figures were designed and carried out by the same studio as the ones discussed previously. Striking similarity can be observed in the poses of figures in Uppsala and Gdańsk, with their strong *contrapposto* and protruding leg as well as gesture of holding shield in one hand and ribbon in the other. Further affinities are provided by anatomical and physiognomic features, such as tiny eyes, noses and mouth within large, broad faces with strongly accentuated cheeks and forehead. Much alike is the treatment of hair, in both cases carved in large, regular curls. Finally, even the cloth at the back has been rendered exactly in the same way. (figs. A.4.12, B.5.8) Some minor differences - greater smoothness of the Uppsala statues and their fuller facial features, as well as greater attention given to detail - can be attributed to differences in size and material, as well as to the importance of royal commission.

Different sculptural qualities can be observed in the putti decorating the tomb of cardinal Báthory in Barczewo. They wear an armour strongly exposing torso muscles, which seems rather surprising with regard to putti. This mode of depiction, characteristic for male bodies in the later sixteenth century, is reminiscent of the manner of such artists as Maarten

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<sup>866</sup> Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 97, no 49. A very similar figure, probably based on a decoration of an antique sarcophagus, has also been sketched by Maarten van Heemskerck, see Hülsen&Egger 1913/1916, I, fol. 50v, p. 50v. On this issue see also Sulewska 2000, p. 88.

van Heemskerck, Hendrick Goltzius and others.<sup>867</sup> (figs. 136-138) Their physiognomy has also been rendered in a similar manner, and in greater detail. Although appearing in a number of paintings and prints of that time, this manner is rather unusual for sculpture, which aimed rather at idealism. Although not necessarily beautiful by today's standards, these figures display a firm command of sculptural technique, and reveal considerable artistic skills.<sup>868</sup> They must have been made by a well-trained artist, acquainted with Netherlandish formal vocabulary. This may suggest that it was the master himself who created them, attempting to introduce a new sculptural mode.

### **Van den Blocke's symbolic figures and the tradition of Netherlandish 'antique' sculpture**

Symbolic figures decorating works of microarchitecture executed by Willem van den Blocke and his studio represent the 'antique' current of Netherlandish sculpture, dominating for most of the sixteenth century. It was disseminated above all by those artists who visited Italy themselves, such as Jacques du Broeucq and Cornelis Floris. They, in turn, influenced their pupils, collaborators and competitors. Its spread resulted in creation of a rather homogenous style, characterized by static composition, attention to detail and antique costume.

Statues executed by van den Blocke can be described as static, frontal and two-dimensional, showing a restraint in exploiting sculptural depth. These characteristics may be interpreted in terms of artistic mediocrity of the sculptor. Creation of a dynamic, free-standing figure, approachable from many points of view - a manner typical for the most celebrated sculptors of the sixteenth century, like Giambologna and his pupil Adriaen de Vries - posed a considerably greater artistic and technical challenge than the solid and static mode. Such a simple explanation, however, is not particularly instructive here, as it leaves aside a number of other important aspects of the artist's work and his deep ties to a certain sculptural tradition. A better evaluation of the master's work may be obtained by devoting attention to positive factors behind this phenomenon.

It appears that one of the reasons of primary importance was the profound relation between figural sculpture and architecture that van den Blocke was apparently taught.<sup>869</sup> Not only caryatides, obviously forming part of architectural structure, but also all other known figures produced by the van den Blocke studio were destined for larger ensembles. As such, they were designed on one hand to correspond with the entire structure, and on the other to be looked at from a particular point of view. This approach is strongly embedded in the tradition dominating in the Low Countries. Apparently, it was based on late medieval tradition of architectural and devotional sculpture, enhanced by influence exerted on the Low Countries by the Italian art of late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The latter is discernible

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<sup>867</sup> See, for instance, Cornelis Bos' print after van Heemskerck depicting the Triumph of Bacchus (Hollstein Dutch, Maarten van Heemskerck 2, no. 507, p. 186-187); furthermore, van Heemskerck depicted putti in this way also in his drawings, see Hülsen&Egger 1913-1916, I, fol. 4r, p. 4 and I, fol. 37v, p. 21.

<sup>868</sup> See the unflattering judgment of their artistic quality expressed by Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291.

<sup>869</sup> Relation to architecture has been named as one of the basic characteristics of sixteenth century Netherlandish sculpture by Ethan Matt Kavalier, 'The Diaspora of Netherlandish Sculptors 1550-1600: Issues of Nationality', paper presented at the expert meeting *Designing Architecture and Sculpture in Sixteenth-Century Low Countries*, Leuven, 31<sup>st</sup> May 2011.

particularly in the work of the most important protagonist of this tendency in mid-sixteenth century, Cornelis Floris. The Antwerp sculptor, interested primarily in delivering complete, aptly decorated architectural structures, did not conceive human figure as an isolated artistic problem, but always as a part of a larger ensemble. An example of his approach towards human figure is provided by statues decorating the epitaphs of archbishops of Cologne and the monument of Albrecht of Prussia. (figs. 17, 18) Only slight *contrapposto*, head turn and gestures give greater intensity to these otherwise very static figures. Even more so are the statues of Roman soldiers decorating the tomb of Christian III in Roskilde, a fact of considerable importance, since these figures are not directly bound with architectural structure of the monument itself. A similar tendency is discernible in oeuvres of most Netherlandish sculptors of the sixteenth century, including such accomplished artists as Alexander Colin.<sup>870</sup> Later on, the sculptural tradition of Cornelis Floris was continued by Netherlandish artists active in late sixteenth century in the Baltic region. In the works of Robert Coppins, Gert van Egen, Philip Brandin, Willem van den Blocke and others human figure is always part of a larger ensemble, its decoration and iconographic structure.

Another tendency in sixteenth century Netherlandish sculpture was represented above all by Jacques du Broeucq. Even though his grand figures for the rood-loft in Mons undoubtedly formed part of larger architectonic ensemble, they must have been to a large degree independent from their surroundings. The best examples of this current are provided by the figures of *Spes* and *Fides*. (fig. 139) Their exceptional dynamicity has been achieved not only through poses, but also through rendering of drapery. In his other statues du Broeucq, an exceptionally versatile artist, employed other idiom, more akin to that used by Floris and his circle, exemplified by the figure of *Caritas*. However, even these figures must have been to a greater degree independent from their surroundings than the works by Floris, Coppins or van den Blocke. The characteristics of du Broeucq's works resemble those of works of Germain Pilon, especially in his monument for Henri II in St-Denis. (fig. 140) Here, although the bronze statues of Virtues form part of a well-defined architectonic structure, they may be easily separated from it and presented as free-standing statues.<sup>871</sup> Such a separate functioning of figure and its surrounding is hardly imaginable with regard to statues executed by Cornelis Floris, or any of his pupils and followers.

Another important factor was certainly predilection to decorativeness, characteristic for Netherlandish sculpture of that time. Sculptors paid at least equal attention to detailed carving of elements of costume and facial features as to proper rendering of anatomy, which - despite its general correctness - reveals occasional flaws. This tendency is discernible in the works of such artists as Willem van den Blocke, Robert Coppins and Philip Brandin, as well as Cornelis Floris himself. Even though the latter's works are generally anatomically correct, he devoted particular attention to decorative features of statues, to drapery patterns and their interplay with body forms. Even though it may seem somewhat far-fetched, one may recall in this context the criticism of Giambologna's lack of proper modelling skills expressed -

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<sup>870</sup> With exception of the bronze figures of virtues decorating the tomb of Maximilian I in Innsbruck, executed at the late stage of Colin's career; on these figures see Krapf 1996.

<sup>871</sup> Thus, a relation between du Broeucq and French sculpture, stressed recently by Ethan Matt Kavalier (Kavalier 2008) may be further extended.

according to the late account of Filippo Baldinucci - by Michelangelo.<sup>872</sup> However, this predilection for impressive finish does not have to be interpreted in terms of inferiority. Rather, it reveals the aim of these sculptors, namely decorativeness and accentuation of certain parts and elements of iconographic importance.

One of the most characteristic traits of Netherlandish sculpture is the antique costume, a dominating visual idiom used rather uniformly by sixteenth century artists. Willem van den Blocke, trained in the leading centre of Northern European 'antique' art, was not an exception. Perhaps the most important 'antique' element of all the figures executed by Floris, Colin, Brandin, van den Blocke and others was the drapery. It was strongly based on antique examples, studied and transformed, as testified to by Frans Floris drawings.<sup>873</sup> Drapery served a number of purposes: the folds added to decorativeness of both figure and the entire structure, it helped to emphasize movement and gestures, and it alluded to the 'antique' tradition. Drapery occupies a place in between decorativeness and structure, as it not only provide further embellishment to the entire work, but also helps to stress structural values. This approach is closely related to the issue of interrelation between figures and their surrounding, discussed above. Cornelis Floris along with sculptors trained or influenced by him appear to have been interested in all these aspects. The latter provide a very important example of interest in antique forms, present in the circle crucial for van den Blocke's artistic identity.

Besides rich drapery, sculptors also introduced such ornamenting elements as footwear and jewellery, sometimes inspired by antique examples. It is interesting to observe that often studies of antique figures, exploring ways to render a drapery (e.g. aforesaid drawings by Floris, or those of Maarten van Heemskerck), lack such decorative elements. These details, present in the sculptures by Floris and others, must have been added at a later stage of the designing process, in order to enrich the antiquarian character of the sketches after actual antique figures.<sup>874</sup> Footwear of van den Blocke's figures, for instance antique-like sandals of female allegorical statues, belongs to this type of decorative detail. Another ornamenting element of the 'antique' mode was complex hair-dress. It was inspired by inventions pursued in such prominent centres as the circle of Michelangelo, Ammannati and their contemporaries in Italy as well as the court art of Fontainebleau in France. Good examples are provided by a series of prints after examples from Roman antiquities as well as designs by Giulio Romano, including these published by Jacob Matham.<sup>875</sup> (fig. 141) Decorative coiffures appear in many sculptural works by Cornelis Floris, for instance in the symbolic statues in the epitaphs of archbishops of Cologne or in the female figure supporting the sarcophagus of Jan van Merode in Geel. (fig. 126) In fact, this kind of detail was closely related to the manner of minute alabaster carving characteristic for Floris. Among van den Blocke's works, the most elaborate examples are provided by the figure of *Fides* in the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk and by the

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<sup>872</sup> Avery 1987, p. 15.

<sup>873</sup> Van den Velde 1969. Cornelis Floris must have executed similar drawings, see *ibidem*, p. 275-276. A very interesting link between studies after the antique by Cornelis and Frans Floris is provided by the relief plaques from the epitaph of Duchess Dorothea in Königsberg. These unique works, representing a very peculiar mode of an 'antique' sculpture, show close affinity to some of the drawings in the Basel sketchbook (Van de Velde 1969, pls. 7a, 7b, 8a, 11 b).

<sup>874</sup> Fuhring 1992.

<sup>875</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Jacob Matham 3, especially nos. 425-427, p. 165, 173, 174; see also Fuhring 1992.

*Immortalitas* in Uppsala. Such coiffures were usually combined with decorative headwear, such as wreaths, present in the two abovementioned figures executed by van den Blocke. The most vivid example of such decoration is provided by the figures decorating the Brandes epitaph, in particular personifications of *Labor* and *Mors*. Such motives, above all wreaths, can be easily found in contemporary prints, for instance by Jan Saenredam, as well as in paintings and drawings.<sup>876</sup> Another motive that could have been taken by van den Blocke from Floris - although it also appears in works by other sculptors - is the scaled Greek *aegis* on the chest, visible in figures decorating the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and the Stroband family. It was taken probably from the iconography of Minerva and among the works attributed to Floris appears in the tomb of Jan van Merode in Geel and in the epitaph of Herluf Trolle in Helsingør, as well as in the Sacrament-house in Zuurbemde. (fig. 142) Almost certainly, some of these decorative features, particularly wreaths and the *aegis*, possessed certain iconographic significance.

It is instructive to compare - at least briefly - van den Blocke's work with that of other contemporary Netherlandish sculptors representing the 'antique' tendency. One of the most accomplished among them was the Imperial artist Alexander Colin, originally from Mechelen. His figural works, above all statues decorating the Otto-Heinrichbau in Heidelberg, reveal preoccupation with antique models, discernible in costume as well as in - rather unusual - interest in nude, both male and female. Despite numerous differences in detail, resulting from the personal style of the artist, in general character they are akin to those by van den Blocke. Above all, they share the latter's interest in the interplay between drapery and human body. One may compare, for instance, the figure of Diana and the personification of *Spes* in Heidelberg with the figures of *Immortalitas* and *Spes* in the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk. (fig. 143) Their compositions and rendering of details demonstrate existence of certain variants, resulting from individual styles of various artists, possible within a specific artistic language.

The same can be said about the work of another important exponent of Netherlandish sculpture, namely Philip Brandin, an artist related to Cornelis Floris and certainly trained as a *statuarius*. Particularly instructive is to compare caryatides decorating the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk with analogous figures in the monument of Duke Ulrich in Güstrow, executed between 1583 and 1590. (fig. 144) These static and monumental figures represent the same tendency, ultimately derived from Floris' work, as those by van den Blocke. Strongly influenced by antique sculpture and its northern emulations, they represent human figure clad in antique-like clothing, standing in a slight *contrapposto*. The relation between body and drapery as well as between figures themselves and the architectural structure are very similar to that present in the analogous works by van den Blocke. Differences, revealing the personal style of the sculptor, are visible in the rendering of details, such as folds of drapery and physiognomic features. Brandin represented clothing more flatly, without sharp curves present in van den Blocke's works, thus achieving even greater monumentality. Less inclined to meticulous carving of details, the sculptor active in Mecklenburg appears to have moved further away from the manner of Cornelis Floris than van den Blocke. His personal style is also discernible in rendering of physiognomies, accentuating such features as eyes, noses and

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<sup>876</sup> Bartsch, 4, p. 337, 383, 286.

mouths. Nonetheless, the overall character of his figural work indicates close affinity with the Antwerp master.

### 5.3 Relief sculpture

#### Biblical themes

##### *Adam working after the Fall and other reliefs form the monument of Duchess Elisabeth*

The earliest group of relief sculpture executed by Willem van den Blocke and his workshop consisted of four plaques adorning the base of the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg (1578-1582). They depicted biblical scenes: *Adam working after the Fall*, *Crucifixion*, *Resurrection* and *Lazarus on Abraham's bosom*. Moreover, the upper zone of the tomb included a large relief depicting the *Last Judgment*. Due to destruction of the monument not much can be said today about their formal characteristics. The only exception is the plaque depicting *Adam working after the Fall*, the first in the series.<sup>877</sup> (fig. A.1.14) This rectangular composition presented a single male figure in the centre, with a wooded and hilly landscape scenery behind. To the left a tree was shown, while to the right an open landscape ending with raised horizon line, the latter executed in a rather flat manner. The human figure, along with surrounding foliage, was rendered in higher relief. The depth has been suggested primarily by the diminution of the size of particular elements and by the above mentioned rising of horizon.<sup>878</sup> As far as can be judged from remaining photographs, this lack of sophistication in rendition of space was shared by other plaques decorating the monument, and can be thus regarded as characteristic for the entire output of the van den Blocke workshop at that time.

There is nothing unusual about these reliefs when compared to contemporary works by other Netherlandish sculptors. Both their composition and character of execution represents a pattern widely used in sculpture of that time. The emphasis on human figure shown in the foreground, deep carving of foliage, depiction of various details of the landscape and clouds - all of these belonged to the standard vocabulary applied by Netherlandish artists across Europe. They are present - despite all compositional differences - in such diverse works as the reliefs decorating the *jubé* in Tournai by Cornelis Floris - for instance the one depicting the *Sacrifice of Isaac* - or the small plaque showing a donor with St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Francis executed in Mechelen c. 1600 (today in Brussels).<sup>879</sup> (figs. 145, 147) The rather average quality of these early works by the van den Blocke studio is clearly visible when compared with such works of Netherlandish relief sculpture as the *Lamentation* in Słońsk or the *Judgment of Salomon*, today in Brussels, as well as the well known series by du Broeucq

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<sup>877</sup> The photograph, published here for the first time, is kept today in the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw (no 0000216738); see also entry Königsberg 216738 in *Dokumentation einer historischen Provinz Ostpreußen. Die photographische Sammlung des Provinzialdenkmalamtes in Königsberg / Dokumentacja historycznej prowincji Prusy Wschodnie. Zbiory fotograficzne dawnego Urzędu Konserwatora Zabytków w Królewcu*, CD edited by Instytut Sztuki PAN.

<sup>878</sup> Rogers 1974, p. 49.

<sup>879</sup> Gdańsk 2011, no. I.40, p. 250-253

in Mons, Colin in Innsbruck, Godefroy in Kassel and Floris in Tournai.<sup>880</sup> It reveals the limitations of the sculptor, visible particularly in the results of his attempt to create illusion of depth and to relate various elements to one another in space. Carving is rather crude, although it could have been the result of use of sandstone rather than alabaster, more suitable for precise modelling. It seems likely that this group of relief sculpture has been executed by some anonymous assistant employed by Willem van den Blocke in Königsberg, although this hypothesis cannot be substantiated at this point.

It is rather difficult to point to exact sources used to design these compositions. First, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection were very popular subjects, extremely rich in only slightly differing versions. Second, it was a common practice to bring together heterogeneous elements, or to change some parts of an original pattern by introducing one's own inventions. Van den Blocke and his assistants were undoubtedly using various pictorial sources, above all prints, but apparently they did not copy them slavishly, as was often the case with some other artists and craftsmen.<sup>881</sup> First of the Königsberg reliefs, depicting *Adam at work after the Fall*, presents the basic element of this subject, yet without introducing further details, existing in its more elaborate versions, such as Eve tending children.<sup>882</sup> The next relief, *Crucifixion*, bears a certain affinity to the print by Johannes I Sadeler after Maarten de Vos, dating from 1582.<sup>883</sup> (fig. 148) However, in general it is a compilation of several models. The composition shows Mary and John to the left and kneeling Mary Magdalene as well as soldier on a horseback, Longinus, to the right. Rather unusually, Mary Magdalene has been presented on the opposite side from the other two figures, probably in order to balance the composition.<sup>884</sup> Embracing the Cross, her pose resembles that in prints by Crispijn de Passe and Adriaen Collaert, both after Maarten de Vos.<sup>885</sup> (fig. 149) For all the richness in number and variation of depictions of the Resurrection, it is probable that the Königsberg relief goes back to a print by Johannes Sadeler used in Arias Montanus' *Humanae Salutis Monumenta*, perhaps also to Hans Collaert, or an anonymous engraver after a design by Maarten de Vos.<sup>886</sup> It can be pointed out, furthermore, that one of the figures of soldiers could have been derived from a print by Giulio Bonasone, that was used also by other contemporary sculptors in the North.<sup>887</sup> The depiction of *Lazarus on Abraham's bosom*, the last in the series, represented - as far as can be judged from existing photographs - Abraham and Lazarus in Heaven in the upper part, while the lower part was occupied by figures of the damned tormented in Hell. The composition

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<sup>880</sup> With regard to the works in Słońsk and Brussels see Lipińska 2007, figs. 81, 115 and Gdańsk 2011, no. I.11, p. 138-141.

<sup>881</sup> Strong reliance on prints can be observed for instance in contemporary and later painting and especially silverware; this was a phenomenon common to entire Northern Europe, as has been illustrated with regard to England by Wells-Cole 1997.

<sup>882</sup> See, for instance, the print by Johann I Sadeler after Maarten de Vos from 1583, Hollstein Dutch, XLV, no. 28, as well as the illustration in the 1567 Lyon edition of the Bible by Peter Eskrich.

<sup>883</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLV, no. 431.

<sup>884</sup> There are, however, exceptions, such as a print by Johannes Sadeler after Maarten de Vos, see Hollstein Dutch, XLV, no. 648/1.

<sup>885</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLV, nos. 643, 645.

<sup>886</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XXII, p. 128, no 252; Hollstein Dutch, The Collaert Dynasty 2, p. 181, no 392; Hollstein Dutch, XLV, no 677.

<sup>887</sup> For instance by Willem van den Broecke in his *Brazen Serpent* in Schwerin (see Lipińska 2007, figs. 36, 37) and by Friedrich Gross in the pulpit in St. Mary Magdalene church in Wrocław (1579-1581).

resembles that by Maarten van Heemskerck, engraved and etched by Cornelis Bos in 1547.<sup>888</sup> (fig. 150) However, the exact rendering of the lower part in all probability differed in from that depicted in the print. All these examples clearly illustrate the relation between these works and pictorial tradition. The sculptor used compositions that were widely circulating, but gave them a certain amount of individuality. The monument of Duchess Elisabeth, however, included at least one sculpture that can be more directly linked to a specific print. The depiction of God the Father and Christ on the wall under the central arch was based directly on an engraving by Philips Galle after Maarten de Vos, depicting the Trinity, and dating from 1574.<sup>889</sup> (fig. 151) Even here, however, master Willem did not copy the entire composition, but singled out its most important part.

A similar approach towards pictorial tradition and models, both sculptural and printed, can be observed among other Netherlandish sculptors, such as Philip Brandin or Robert Coppens. Not surprisingly, it appears also in the works of Abraham van den Blocke. One of the most important relief sculptures executed in his studio - at such an early date that Willem's involvement cannot be ruled out - is the *Baptism of Christ* in the main altar of St. John's church in Gdańsk, executed at some point during the first decade of the seventeenth century. (fig. 152) Both its overall composition and the rendering of the figures of the main protagonists, with a dramatic, sharply turned pose of Christ, appear to be an individual invention of the artist. Nonetheless, a stimulus for introducing this unusual pose has been most probably provided by popular Netherlandish prints, such as these by Herman Jansz. Muller after Gerard van Groeningen, Jan II Collaert after Maarten de Vos and by Jan II Collaert after Hendrick Goltzius.<sup>890</sup> (figs. 153, 154)

### *Vision of Ezekiel*

The most elaborate relief sculpture executed in the van den Blocke studio is the multi-figural *Vision of Ezekiel* in the central part of the epitaph of Eduard Blemke in Gdańsk. It has been made in all probability in 1590-1591, some ten years after the Königsberg plaques. The central part of this crowded composition is occupied by the figure of the prophet, surrounded on all sides by resurrecting bodies in various stages of decomposition, ranging from skeletons to perfect human figures.<sup>891</sup> In the foreground there is a number of relatively large nudes rendered in elegant, dynamic poses. They all turn towards the Tetragrammaton, visible in the sky above, while their gestures largely provide for the compositional structure of the scene. The horizon is strongly drawn upwards, so that figures on different plans are posed above, not behind each other. The figures in the foreground are sculpted in a higher relief, some even almost in full volume, while a multitude of smaller figures in the back is rendered much lower. Some elements, such as the left hand and leg of the male figure standing to the left, are slightly disassociated from the ground. Nonetheless, in general the figures are firmly associated with the background; this appears to be related to the material, as sandstone is

<sup>888</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Maarten van Heemskreck 2, no. 367, p. 71-72.

<sup>889</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Philips Galle 2, no. 222, p. 134-135.

<sup>890</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Gerard van Groeningen 1, no. 65, p. 98; Hollstein Dutch, Collaert 1, no 184, p. 148, 172; Hollstein Dutch, Collaert 2, no. 285, p. 52-53. The angel's figure in the back could have moreover provided a model for its counterpart in the Gdańsk relief.

<sup>891</sup> Similar composition was employed for instance in the form of a bronze relief in the epitaph of Christoph Gewolb in Ingolstadt (1612), see Dimmer 2004, 1, fig. 252.

much less suitable for deep carving than alabaster. Besides the height of relief, the illusion of space in the *Vision* is created by differences in size of figures in its particular zones as well as by rising of horizon. Furthermore, the artists introduced foreshortening, most clearly visible in the two male figures in the lower right side of the scene.

It is instructive to compare the *Vision of Ezekiel* with other complex works of relief sculpture, executed by Netherlanders in the sixteenth century. Compared to such examples as the works of Jacques du Broeucq's studio in Mons, of Cornelis Floris in Tournai or Alexander Colin and his assistants in Innsbruck, the Gdańsk relief clearly lacks refined composition structure. Van den Blocke neither exploited bold foreshortening and tension between two and three dimensional space, between almost full volume and *relievo schacciato*, characteristic especially for du Broeucq, nor constructed complex, painterly composition, as was the case with all the three sculptors mentioned above. (figs. 155-157) Moreover, in contrast to many of his compatriots working in the Mechelen sculptural industry and in other milieus, both in the Low Countries and abroad, he was reluctant to introduce secondary decorative details, such as elements of landscape. (fig. 158) In this particular work, van den Blocke was concerned primarily with depiction of human figure rather than composition. This predilection clearly indicates his training as a statuary sculptor.

The *Vision of Ezekiel* embellishing the epitaph of Eduard Blemke represents a type of composition popular among Netherlandish artists in the second half of the sixteenth century, exemplified by paintings and sculptural works by such masters as Jacob Backer, Crispin van der Broecke, or Gerhard Hendrick. (figs. 159, 160) Built of a large number of nude figures, it provided their makers with the possibility to demonstrate their skill and the knowledge of antique and modern works of art. It tends to include a certain amount of individuality, existing within a general framework of pictorial tradition concerning a given subject. Rather than imitate entire compositions, artists would often derive elements of their works from antique and modern precedents, emulating figures and motives, and integrating them. By doing that they intended to create novel works, at the same time stressing their familiarity with the oeuvre of acclaimed masters. The work in question is a particularly important example of this approach, since some of the figures appearing here have been derived from important antique or Italian works, representing the ideal of contemporary 'antique' style. Thus, it provides a revealing example of northern piece of sculpture rooted in the 'antique' tradition of sixteenth century art.

The most important among the sources used by van den Blocke are undoubtedly of antique and Italian origin, and the most obvious of these is the statue of the 'crouching Aphrodite', that has served as a model for several figures in the relief.<sup>892</sup> This figural type was known in the sixteenth century from several antique pieces and gained widespread popularity, both in Italy and - later - in the North.<sup>893</sup> Important drawings from the Heemskerck sketchbook, influential in the Low Countries, show the figure of crouching Aphrodite along other antique statues in the courtyard of Palazzo Medici.<sup>894</sup> (fig. 162) The 'crouching Aphrodite' type was disseminated by many other prints, drawings and possibly sculptural

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<sup>892</sup> This has been already noted by Grzybkowska 1996, p. 42 and Sulewska 2000, p. 88-89.

<sup>893</sup> See Holo 1978-1979 and Schweikart 2001, as well as Haskell&Penny 1982, p. 321-323 and Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 67-69.

<sup>894</sup> Hülsen&Egger 1913/1916, 1, fol. 5r, p. 4-5, fol. 6v, p. 6 and 2, fol. 48r, p. 29-30; Holo 1978/1979, p. 24.

copies, as well as sculptural emulations, for instance small bronzes from the studio of Giambologna.<sup>895</sup> In fact, the pose of one of the figures depicted in the Gdańsk relief, a female figure at the back of the composition, appears to have actually been based on a small bronze by Giambologna's studio.<sup>896</sup> (fig. 161) Van den Blocke shared his interest in multiple, varying depictions of this model with many Northern artists, such as Johannes Stradanus - who, as a court artist in Florence, must have been familiar with the statue in the Medici collection - or Crispin van der Broecke.<sup>897</sup> (fig. 163) Fragmentary preservation of known antique examples as well as the fact that they represented differing versions, facilitated the process of transformation of this model and its accommodation to modern use, a process clearly exemplified by the relief discussed here. It comprises four figures - including one male - based on this type, each displaying different gestures. One of them has been depicted frontally, one from its left side and two from their right side. This corresponds to the practice of sketching antique sculptures from different points of view, often on a single sheet, as observed for instance in drawings by Maarten van Heemskerck and an artist from the circle of Fra Bartolommeo.<sup>898</sup> (figs. 164, 165) It seems possible that van den Blocke possessed a similar drawing, possibly made during his training in Antwerp after a genuine sketch of the antique work, or one of its modern emulations - like the Giambologna's statuette mentioned above.<sup>899</sup> Alternatively, he could have used a three-dimensional model, either a copy after an antique work, or a modern one, but based on antique originals.<sup>900</sup> Possession of such a model allowed the sculptor - who in all probability did not visit Italy himself - to introduce motives of antique pedigree in his works and, in consequence, to contribute to their dissemination in North-Eastern Europe.

The same approach can be observed with regard to another figure, this time based on the Belvedere Torso. One of the two male figures depicted in the foreground in lower right corner of the composition has been based on one very specific depiction of this famous antique piece. In his sketchbook, Maarten van Heemskerck presented the Torso laying on its back in the courtyard of the Belvedere.<sup>901</sup> (fig. 166) In this position the sculpture inspired some of the leading artists of the time, including Raphael and Michelangelo.<sup>902</sup> It gained popularity also in the North, especially towards the end of the sixteenth century, as testified

<sup>895</sup> As to the latter, see, for instance, Wien 2006.

<sup>896</sup> See a figure now in the Bargello, as well as a statuette by the studio of Antonio Susini (Wien 2006, cat. 6-7, p. 202-204).

<sup>897</sup> Hollstein, Stradanus 1, no. 121 As to van der Broecke, see his Last Judgment, today in Bern (Harbison 1976, fig. 67).

<sup>898</sup> Barkan 1999, p. 145, il. 3.22 I 3.23

<sup>899</sup> Importance of drawings in diffusion of the new artistic language has long been stressed by scholars; see, for instance, Nesselrath 1986.

<sup>900</sup> See Mensger 2010. Small bronzes modeled after antique works were very much popular throughout Europe, as testified not only by inventories, but also by many depictions of real or fictitious art galleries (for instance works by such painters as Willem van Haecht and Jan van Kessel; see recently Antwerp&The Hague 2010). Such works were apparently also in possession of some Gdańsk patricians, see *Ogier*, 1, p. 341-343 (quoted in Chodyński 1981, p. 256), who mentioned among other things witnessed in Gdańsk houses a 'silver horse' by Giambologna.

<sup>901</sup> Hülsen&Egger 1913/1916, I, fol. 63r, p. 34; compare with Hülsen&Egger 1913/1916, I, fol. 74v, p. 41, a drawing depicting the figure of Nile; see also Grosshans 1980, fig. 186, and p. 35-41; as well as Amsterdam 1993-1994, p. 344, no 12, fig. 12b. Numerous drawings after the Torso and its copies are listed in Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 181-184.

<sup>902</sup> Weinberger 1967, 1, p. 319.

by the *Companions of Kadmos and the Dragon* by Cornelis van Haarlem, engraved by Hendrick Goltzius, a print by Antonie Wierix after Maarten de Vos, as well as the *Last Judgment* by Joachim Wtewael, from his cycle *Tronus iustitiae*.<sup>903</sup> (fig. 167) Taking the pose of a given figure as a starting point, artists changed its details and introduced new elements - often replacing lacking original parts - in order to achieve novelty and variety in their own work.<sup>904</sup> Once again, this multiplication chain, leading from the antique sculpture through Italian artists and Northerners who visited Italy to those who knew such models from their modern copies and emulations, reveals the mechanisms of appropriation of models. They were studied, adapted and transformed, thus participating in construction of a new artistic language, even in places located far from the main artistic centres.

Similar processes involved also less prominent antique models, or even modern creations, based on antique formal language.<sup>905</sup> The second of the male figures depicted in the lower right corner of the composition appears to have been derived from such works as the famous painting by Rosso Fiorentino, presenting *Moses defending the Daughters of Jethro*,<sup>906</sup> designs by Raphael, Giulio Romano or Michelangelo - the latter known from a print by Marcantonio Raimondi - and perhaps some antique works as well.<sup>907</sup> (fig. 168) These models could have been learned by the Gdańsk sculptor through their northern varieties, such as a print by Cornelis Bos after Maarten van Heemskerck, depicting *Triumph of Bacchus*.<sup>908</sup> (fig. 169) A similar case occurs with yet another figure depicted in the *Vision of Ezekiel*, namely the standing male on the left side of the composition, possibly influenced in its form by the famous statue of David by Michelangelo.<sup>909</sup> Finally, some figural motives in the *Vision* has been taken directly from contemporary northern works. The best example is the female figure with arms crossed on her chest, based on a model depicted in prints by Hendrick Goltzius after Johannes Stradanus - the latter, nonetheless, greatly influenced by antique art.<sup>910</sup> (fig. 170)

The approach towards the antique and Italian pictorial tradition discussed above has almost certainly been derived by van den Blocke from the practice of his teacher, Cornelis Floris. It is, therefore, instructive to look for the same pattern within the latter's oeuvre. One of the most intriguing among Floris' works is the sacrament house in Zoutleeuw. Created relatively shortly after his return from Italy, it displays the artist's keen interest in the antique as well as contemporary Italian sculpture. Its vivid example is provided by the narrative scenes in the lower storey, illustrating creation and fall of man. They include a number of figures carved in full-round, reminiscent of small bronze statues, entering into dialogue with

<sup>903</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLV, no. 94; Thiel 1999, no. 120, p. 340-341, fig. 11-15.

<sup>904</sup> See for instance Gombrich 1971. This approach has been recently aptly shown with regard to the practice of Peter Paul Rubens, which despite various differences is of some relevance here, see Sancho Lobis 2010.

<sup>905</sup> See, for instance, Oszczanowski 2012, p. 108-125.

<sup>906</sup> Rosso's importance for Northern sculpture has been pointed out in Kavalier 2008, p. 197.

<sup>907</sup> See, for instance, Bartsch, 27, nos. 420, 487.

<sup>908</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Maarten van Heemskerck 1, no. 507, p. 186-187.

<sup>909</sup> This opinion has already been expressed by Grzybkowska 1996, p. 42. This now famous statue has not been copied often in the sixteenth century. Raphael Rosenberg identified only two drawings after the statue of David coming from that time: one anonymous, today in Rome, and another one by Raphael, now in London (he mentions also a copy of the latter, possibly by Bandinelli), see Rosenberg 2000, p. 205, 250, 254. See also Joannides 2003.

<sup>910</sup> Sulewska 2000, p. 89; Hollstein Dutch, Stradanus, 1, nos. 119-120, s. 171-174.

both antique and contemporary Italian sculpture. For instance, the figure of Adam in the scene of *God instructing Adam and Eva* has been modelled after Hercules Farnese, while Eva in the *Original sin* refers to the famous Capitoline statue of Venus. (fig. 171) Even more intriguing is the last scene, representing *Cain slaying Abel*. (fig. 172) It belongs to the tradition of Florentine sculpture, exemplified by such important pieces as Vincenzo de' Rossi's *Hercules and the Centaur* in Palazzo Vecchio and Giambologna's *Samson and a Philistine*, today in London (1561-1562).<sup>911</sup> (fig. 173) Interestingly, however, it predates these works by some years. Designing it, Floris must have been influenced by even earlier works initiating this particular type, such as Michelangelo's clay *modello* depicting Hercules or Samson, today in Casa Bounarroti in Florence.<sup>912</sup> (fig. 174)

Van den Blocke's design strategy present in the *Vision* may be contrasted with that of Gerhard Hendrik from Amsterdam, the leading exponent of Netherlandish sculpture in Silesia. Compared to the Gdańsk master, Hendrik appears to have been somewhat less inventive. A particularly telling example of the latter's approach is provided by the *Last Judgment* in the epitaph of Johann Crato von Crafftheim in St. Elisabeth's church in Wrocław (c. 1588).<sup>913</sup> (fig. 160) Although the composition itself appears to be an individual invention of the sculptor, almost all major figures have been derived from a single source: the series of prints showing the four last things engraved by Hendrick Goltzius after Johannes Stradanus (c. 1578).<sup>914</sup> (fig. 170) The sculptor simply singled out and rearranged individual figures and their groups appearing in the Goltzius' prints. Other works by the sculptor also reveal adherence to printed models. For instance, splendidly carved reliefs decorating epitaphs of the Hesseler family in St. Elisabeth church in Wrocław closely follow engravings by Johann Sadeler after Maarten de Vos from the series *The story of the first man*, published in 1583.<sup>915</sup> (figs. 175, 176)

Purposeful quotations from antiquity, attention devoted to human body and precise carving, as well as sheer size, make it one of the most important works in the 'antique' mode executed in the Baltic region at that time. From this point of view it differs from the majority of other relief plaques, also these produced or used as a purchased product in the van den Blocke studio: they usually showed rather standard designs derived mostly from Northern compositions widely disseminated by Netherlandish - and to a much lesser degree other - prints.

### *Crucifixion*

The *Crucifixion* in the altar of the Holy Trinity (Tarnowski) chapel in Łowicz, attributable directly to Willem van den Blocke, reveals at first glance a different approach towards relief sculpture compared with the work discussed above.<sup>916</sup> (fig. B.10.9) The background consists of an almost entirely flat surface, articulated only with very delicate mouldings that can be perhaps interpreted as a desert landscape with dunes. Apart from this,

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<sup>911</sup> As to the latter, see Avery 1987, p. 75-77.

<sup>912</sup> Hartt 1969, no. 28, p. 246-249; see also Avery 1987, p. 76.

<sup>913</sup> Detailed analysis of this work is provided by Oszczanowski 2003.

<sup>914</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Stradanus, I, nos. 119-122; see also Oszczanowski 2003, p. 212-213.

<sup>915</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLV, nos 26, 30; see also Gdańsk 2011, I.26, p. 196-211.

<sup>916</sup> Just as the *Vision of Ezekiel* in Gdańsk, the Łowicz *Crucifixion* has never been subject to a thorough formal analysis.

three small figures of soldiers, including one mounted, as well as few trees appear there, as if attached to the flat background. In the upper part, a sketchy outline of the city of Jerusalem has been rendered in a very low, yet firmly carved relief. This is strongly contrasted with figures of crucified Christ, Mary Magdalen kneeling before the cross, as well as Mary and St. John standing on each side of it, rendered in part almost in full volume. Especially the finely carved figure of the Crucified is strongly detached from the background. Disregard for constructing illusion of depth is striking, and the composition focuses largely on human figures. As a result, the work hardly resembles typical Netherlandish reliefs of that time, with their rather crowded composition, complex depiction of receding plans and minute variations of surface modelling. (figs. 157, 158) However, a rendering similar to that in Łowicz appears in *Crucifixions* more often than in depictions of other subjects; this may have resulted from the devotional character of such images, with their focus on the prime figures. An example is provided by a small plaque dating from 1586, today in Czerna in Poland, in all probability an import from Mechelen, or by an analogous plaque in the altar in Uchanie (c. 1560-1570).<sup>917</sup>

For all its differences with the crowded composition of the *Vision of Ezekiel* in Gdańsk, the Łowicz *Crucifixion* displays some common points with it. First, the main point of focus in both is the human figure. Second, even though the illusion of space in the *Vision of Ezekiel* is suggested more explicitly, in neither relief an attempt was made to depict depth by means other than differentiating the size of figures, the depth of carving and lifting of horizon. No landscape elements in perspective have been employed to these means. Finally, there are some similarities between figures depicted in Łowicz and Gdańsk. For instance, the gestures of John and the flowing movement of his hand as well as their sculptural rendition - for instance the attachment of fingers and wrist to the background - resembles that of Ezekiel and one of the resurrected in the Blemke epitaph. All these qualities indicate that the sculptor responsible for these works was well-trained in creating human figures, a typical *statuarius*, but not necessarily in designing and carving narrative scenes in relief. The Łowicz *Crucifixion* can be attributed to Willem van den Blocke himself on the basis of the similarities with elements of the monument of Johan III in Uppsala, above all the figure of *Immortalitas*. The question of authorship of the *Vision of Ezekiel* is open, but considering the approach towards relief sculpture visible in it, it seems plausible to suggest that van den Blocke was also strongly involved in its execution, even though contribution of an unnamed assistant is very likely. Simultaneous presence of differences and similarities in various works seems to point to the mechanisms of workshop practice, with the master always setting the tone.

Certain similarities link the Łowicz *Crucifixion* with reliefs decorating the rood-loft in Tournai cathedral, executed by Cornelis Floris and his studio.<sup>918</sup> Working on the *jubé*, the largest ensemble of relief sculpture ever carried out by his workshop, Floris could have been inspired by some antique models, such as reliefs from the Arch of Constantine and the Marcus

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<sup>917</sup> Lipińska 2007, p. 95, 97, 99-100, 151-152, 270,272, figs. 199, 206; Gdańsk 2011, no. I.28, p. 214-217. There exist, nonetheless, also more painterly depictions of this subject, such as the splendid relief in Kęty (c. 1550-1555), attributed to the circle of Jean Mone (Gdańsk 2011, no I.5, p. 118-121).

<sup>918</sup> On the rood loft itself see, for instance, Kavalier 1994, Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 111-113, Dupont&Mariage 2006 and Kavalier 2006.

Aurelius relief series.<sup>919</sup> This ensemble was of considerable significance for sculpture of the late sixteenth century as a whole, and its influence is discernible even in late works by Giambologna, thus testifying to its wide dissemination.<sup>920</sup> Another sculptor influenced by this series was Robert Coppens, who referred to this model in his plaques adorning the monument of Duke Christopher in Schwerin. (fig. 177) Despite differences in such aspects as the height of relief, similarities existing between *Entombment* in Tournai and Schwerin - the scene followed also by Giambologna - indicate that Coppens was either directly or indirectly acquainted with Floris' *opus* in Tournai.

However, at this point it is hard to elucidate the exact link between van den Blocke and the Tournai rood-loft. As indicated by written sources, the works on the *jubé* have been carried out between 1569 and 1574, that is already after van den Blocke's departure for Königsberg.<sup>921</sup> Most likely, the formal closeness between the works carried out by Cornelis Floris and Willem van den Blocke resulted from a common root, namely the sculptural language used in the former's workshop in late 1560's and early 1570's, which must have to a large degree influenced his pupil's developing style. Even though Floris devoted much attention to projection of space, introducing elements of architecture or landscape finely carved in low relief, his prime concern in relief sculpture was human figure. Cornelis Floris - or the sculptor employed by him - was particularly interested in natural correlations between figures, and in consequence employed a very nuanced relief. Nonetheless, his figures betray many similarities with those seen in van den Blocke's *Crucifixion*. Comparison of Mary and John in Łowicz with the female in the lower left corner of the *Ecce Homo*, and all the figures presented in the *Crucifixion* with the figure of Susannah in one of the tondos in Tournai reveals similar approach towards volume and movement. (figs. 178, 179) The same can be said with regard to the figure of Mary Magdalene in Łowicz and the kneeling figures in the *Crucifixion* and *Entombment* in Tournai. (figs. 180, 181) Rendered in full volume, clad in smooth drapery with rather heavy folds modelled after antique examples, Floris' figures convey the same feeling of stability and calmness as the ones by van den Blocke in the Łowicz *Crucifixion*. The same can be said about the restrained movement that governs the figural composition. Close relation between Floris and van den Blocke can further be observed in the figures of crucified Christ in Tournai and Łowicz. (figs. B.10.12 182) Both share the same way of rendering anatomical details, such as abdomen, hands and feet, as well as smooth carving. Striking similarity can be observed in their heads, in particular in elongated faces shown in profile and turned downwards, as well as in rendering of hair and crowns. Nonetheless, van den Blocke abandoned slender shape of the figure characteristic for Floris and introduced more muscular body.

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<sup>919</sup> On these reliefs see for instance Haskell&Penny 1982, p. 255-257 and Bober&Rubinstein 2010, p. 232-234, 240-241. As has been pointed out by Kavalier 2006, p. 196-201, also the general architectural structure of the *jubé* refers to antique models.

<sup>920</sup> Charles Avery has observed that the *Ecce Homo* from the Grimaldi Chapel and the *Entombment* in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem are based directly on the works by Floris in Tournai, see Avery 1987, p. 181. On these works by Giambologna see also Holderbaum 1983, p. 261-276, 281-290 and Weitzel Gibbons 1995.

<sup>921</sup> For the documents concerning the work on the Tournai *jubé* see particularly Dupont&Mariage 2006.

## *Resurrection*

The next relief related to the Gdańsk studio led by Willem van den Blocke is the *Resurrection* in the upper zone of the altar in Holy Trinity chapel in Łowicz. (fig. B.10.10) In contrast to the two rather unusual, high quality works discussed above, this smaller plaque appears to be a more typical product of Netherlandish alabaster sculpture of late sixteenth century. Possibly, this relief could have been a work of the master's assistant. For instance, a certain similarity exists between this plaque and the relief depicting *Burring of dead* in the chimneypiece from house of Zacharias Krell in Elbląg, executed approximately at the same time. (fig. C.12.2) However, it could have also been a product of an altogether different workshop, perhaps from Mechelen, acquired by the master on the open market.

## **Historical and allegorical themes**

### *Battle-scenes from the monument of Johan III*

Similar features as these described with regard to the Łowicz *Crucifixion* appear in further work of the van den Blocke studio, namely battle scenes from the monument of Johan III in Uppsala. It seems very likely that one of them depicts the Swedish reconquest of Narva, (today in Estonia), while the other may represent taking of the fortress of Kexholm (today Priozorsk, Russia).<sup>922</sup> (figs. A.4.14, A.4.15) Once again, the background consists of a flat surface, and illusion of space has been created only by differences in size of figures and depth of carving, as well as by characteristic lifting of horizon line. Although the large figures of the Łowicz *Crucifixion* have been replaced here by figures of soldiers, the guiding principle remains the same - they are as attached to the uniformly flat surface of the background. Difficulties with creation of space illusion, visible to some extent in other works by the van den Blocke studio, are clearly noticeable also here, as single figures and groups of soldiers are scattered in a rather chaotic way over the entire scene.

It is instructive to compare these works with the battle scenes in the monument of Frederick II of Denmark in Roskilde, executed almost exactly in the same time by Gert van Egen and his studio. (figs. 183, 184) At least one of these depictions has been based on a printed account.<sup>923</sup> Here, the composition is governed by more coherent rules, and the narrative is more dynamic and clear than in Uppsala. Nonetheless, despite the somewhat higher quality of the Roskilde reliefs, clear affinities exist between them and the Uppsala scenes: they share both such principles as the general concept of space, as well as rendition of individual elements. As to the latter, similarities can be observed in small figures of soldiers, both infantry and - in particular - cavalry, cannons and town views. It is recognizable that the sculptors responsible for these works had common artistic background; this in turn once again points to interrelations within the network of Netherlandish sculptors operating in the *Balticum*.

Similarities existing between them are noticeable even more distinctly when compared with works by other sixteenth century sculptors, depicting related subjects. Among the most

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<sup>922</sup> See also Bengtsson 2010, p. 64-65.

<sup>923</sup> Copenhagen 1988, nos. 1131-1133, p. 358. These three reliefs depict the battle of Ditmarsken (1559), the siege of Elfsborg (1563) and the attack on Varberg (1569).

important reliefs of the sort we may mention those adorning the base of the monument of Francis I in St-Denis, as well as the plaques decorating the tomb of Emperor Maximilian I in Innsbruck, executed by Alexander Colin and his collaborators.<sup>924</sup> The latter are of a particular importance, since most of them have been executed by a team of Netherlandish sculptors, including a number originally from Mechelen. In all these scenes the forestage is occupied by larger, precisely carved figures, and the illusion of space is created by a variety of compositional and sculptural devices, resulting in complex depiction of receding plans. Differences existing between the work of van den Blocke's and van Egen's studios on one hand and that of Alexander Colin on the other is best visible if we look at the latter's depictions of the siege of Kufstein and the defence of Verona, with large figures in the foreground.<sup>925</sup> Nonetheless, the bird-eye view of the fortifications, in all probability inspired by printed depictions, show somewhat closer affinity with the scenes in Roskilde and Uppsala. A somewhat different approach is discernible in a later work of the Colin studio, namely plaques adorning the monument of Archduke Ferdinand in Innsbruck.<sup>926</sup> These four narrative reliefs must have been executed between 1592 and 1596, almost exactly at the time van den Blocke and van Egen were working on the tombs in Uppsala and Roskilde. Particularly important is the depiction of siege of the Hungarian fortress Ziget in 1556. (fig. 185) Despite the existence of certain differences as compared to van den Blocke's work, some elements, above all the view of the fortress in upper right corner, together with small figures of soldiers, are alike those in the latter's reliefs. Thus, this late work of the Colin studio, may provide a link between the style prevailing in the mid sixteenth century and the works of the Netherlandish sculptors working in the Baltic region toward its end.

### *Emblematic images*

Besides narrative scenes, monuments and epitaphs executed in the studio of Willem van den Blocke comprised also various emblematic images, carved in relief or - rarely - in full volume. The most prominent among them are symbols in the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke in Gdańsk and Valentin von Bodeck in Elbląg, as well as those formerly embellishing the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. Although minor in size in comparison with the sculpture discussed earlier, they nonetheless offer an additional insight into production of the artist's studio. Very much as the more elaborate examples of sculpture, they reveal a keen interest in detail and precision carving, as well as considerably good command of human figure construction. A good example of such a work is provided by two images of skeletons in the Blemke epitaph, one rendered in relief and the other in full. Although both of them are rather summary, they have been carved with considerable attention to detail, and with an emphasis on their three-dimensional character: in the relief sculpture by creation of an illusion of depth, and in the full volume figure by laboriously creating void space between its bones. It may also be noted that the skeletons in question have been rendered in a very similar way as their counterparts in the *Vision of Ezekiel* in same epitaph.

<sup>924</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 49-55; Teurlinckx 1987, p. 21-30, figs. 30, 32-36, 44-46.

<sup>925</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 49-55; Teurlinckx 1987, p. 27, 29, fig. 40, 46.

<sup>926</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 108-113; Teurlinckx 1987, fig. 109. Next to Alexander Colin himself, also his son Abraham as well as Romaan de Vleeschouwer, an artist of Netherlandish origin born already in Innsbruck, have been engaged in its execution.

## Conclusion

Willem van den Blocke, apparently always willing to underline his training as a sculptor, has shown great proficiency in designing and execution of figural sculpture. His considerable skill is discernible both in sepulchral effigies, such as those of Piotr Tarnowski and Johan III Vasa, and symbolic figures, for instance those decorating the epitaph of Johann Brandes. In general, van den Blocke's figural oeuvre is characterized by such traits as stativity, frontal composition, integration with larger architectural ensembles and decorativeness. All these elements indicate the artist's training in the circle of Cornelis Floris, who determined the general character of van den Blocke's figures. However, quite often master Willem displayed certain independence from his teacher.

The latter applies particularly to sepulchral effigies. The sculptor employed various kinds of effigies, thus revealing his versatility. The most important among them were *demi-gisant* and *priant*, but he used more unusual types, such as busts and portraits in medallions, as well. Choice between various modes of portraiture was certainly determined by wishes of his patrons, accustomed to various local traditions, or stimulated by new inventions. Thus, sepulchral monuments executed in the van den Blocke studio constitute an important example of interrelation between various artistic traditions in late sixteenth century Europe. His portraits are rather summary, showing some actual features of the commemorated persons, but adjusting them to fit into certain facial types. As most of his compatriots, van den Blocke devoted much attention to anatomical and decorative detail, such as hands, hair, armour and clothing.

Symbolic figures decorating van den Blocke's works, clad in antique costume, display his familiarity with the current visual vocabulary, in particular works by Cornelis Floris and his studio. They usually share rather static and frontal composition, corresponding with their location within larger architectural ensembles. Most of them have been represented standing in a slight *contrapposto*, although the sculptor explored also other possibilities, such as sitting or reclining figures. Typically for contemporary Netherlandish sculpture, much attention has been devoted to decorative rendering of drapery and various details, as well as its interplay with human body. Occasionally, the artist was taking advantage of specific and rather unusual visual modes, such as diaphanous cloth.

Van den Blocke appears to have been somewhat less proficient in relief sculpture, in particular showing disregard for its painterly qualities. Judging by peculiarities visible in these works, it appears that despite having roots in Mechelen, an important centre of relief production, the artist did not receive training in this type of art. Rather than devoting attention to minute details and various plans set up to create the illusion of space, the prime concern here is human figure. Nonetheless, the *Vision of Ezekiel*, with its preoccupation with human body and references to most acclaimed works of ancient and modern art, counts among the most notable works of this kind executed by Netherlandish artists c. 1600.

Many among van den Blocke's products, such as the caryatides from the Brandes epitaph and the above mentioned relief *Vision of Ezekiel*, reveal his keen interest in antique and Italian art. A similar approach towards pictorial tradition, namely enriching the basic designs with details derived from various sources, resulting in certain innovativeness within a given framework - has already been observed with regard to van den Blocke's use of

architectural and ornamental language. Never having been in Italy, the sculptor drew upon works of those Northerners who crossed the Alps. The most important intermediary between van den Blocke and the antique tradition was undoubtedly Cornelis Floris. Willem's case perfectly illustrates the pattern of diffusion of the 'antique' language through workshop practice, based on works designed by his tutor as well as the latter's drawings and models. Nonetheless, also other contemporary Northerners could have played some part in shaping his vocabulary, both through sculptural works and prints. Thus, van den Blocke's work perfectly illustrates the process of transfer of artistic forms and ideas between Italy, Low Countries and Central and North-Eastern Europe.

Finally, formal analysis revealing characteristics of the sculptor's studio points to the complexity of his workshop practice and the importance of skilled assistants therein. Formal differences between figures made in the studio led by Willem indicate that they have been executed by several sculptors, employed by the master. This corresponds to archival data discussed in chapter 3 of this book. It seems that at least in some cases assistants were being entrusted with execution of entire figures, although the manager must have exerted close control over their work. Some of these figures reveal a practice consisting of repetition of certain models. Sculptor assistants employed by van den Blocke were probably Netherlanders, or at least artists acquainted with the 'antique' mode typical for the Low Countries. This observation, based on analysis of the studio's output, once again remains in line with written sources pertaining to the atelier. Unfortunately, although many names of the master's assistants are known today, none of them can be directly linked to any of the works discussed above.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE IDEA BEHIND THE STONE. MEANING OF THE ARTIST'S WORKS

#### Introduction

Commissioned by patrons of differing social status and religious conviction, tomb monuments executed by Willem van den Blocke offer an opportunity to explore the meaning and purpose of early modern sepulchral art. The main objective of this chapter is to define messages embedded in the iconographic programs as well as in the architectural and sculptural forms of these monuments. It will also explore contexts of the commissions, seeking answer to questions about commissioners' motives. Furthermore, it aims to define the relation between artistic form and iconography of the objects as well as the social and religious standing of the clients. Such an approach is justified particularly by diversity of the artist's patrons, allowing for a comparative study of strategies of commemoration pursued by various members of late sixteenth century society. To facilitate this inquiry, the chapter is divided into several sections, each dealing with monuments executed for a particular group of commissioners: Prussian bourgeoisie, the Duke of Prussia, Polish nobility and members of two royal dynasties, Báthory and Vasa.

#### 6.1 Sepulchral monuments as bearers of meaning

Ranging from grand tombs of kings and dukes to smaller, though often also spectacular epitaphs of bourgeoisie and intellectuals, works of sepulchral art shaped the visual culture of early modern Europe. Commemorating the dead, they were aimed at instructing the living. They served a variety of purposes, from pointing to social and political position of a given individual or family to exhorting particular religious or moral convictions. As has been observed by Nigel Llewellyn, '[funerary monuments] *were public objects, not for the private contemplation of the connoisseur*'.<sup>927</sup> As a result, they usually constituted complex works of art, presenting ideas conceived by their commissioners in many different ways.

Study of the meaning of funeral monuments requires therefore a broad approach.<sup>928</sup> First of all, the monument itself must be analyzed in all its complexity. In his study, Llewellyn singled out four major elements constituting such a work of art: the architectural frame (that is the architectural form of the monument itself), the effigial body, heraldic signs and inscribed words.<sup>929</sup> Architectural structure of a monument provided frame for other elements, including its visual decoration consisting of figural sculpture, relief plaques with narrative or

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<sup>927</sup> Llewellyn 2000, p. 225.

<sup>928</sup> The model has been set by such seminal works as those by Nigel Llewellyn and Frits Scholten, see Llewellyn 2000 and Scholten 2003a. Apart from these two studies, see also Baresel-Brand 2007, Sherlock 2008, Meys 2009 and Brinkmann 2010. Such a wide-ranging approach has been adopted also in some other studies, for instance Lawrance 1992.

<sup>929</sup> Llewellyn 2000, especially p. 363-374. See also Cieślak 1998, p. 40-64 and Wisłocki 2005, p. 200-208, 221-222, as well as Llewellyn 2005.

emblematic subjects, and ornament. These visual elements served two basic purposes. First, their presence enhanced the grandeur of a monument and - therefore - magnificence of the deceased. Second, each of these ingredients served as a tool to express certain religious, moral, social or political ideas. In addition to that, equally important are the material used to build a monument, as well as the localization of a given work.<sup>930</sup>

All these elements embody *decorum* and *magnificentia*, according to which concepts scale, decoration and material used in a building or a tomb was directly related to the patron's dignity and social position.<sup>931</sup> According to contemporary understanding, expressed also in writing, *magnificentia* was one of the virtues of a prince, and it was manifested through the appearance of his residence, ceremonies and the like.<sup>932</sup> This notion found its reflection also in architectural treatises of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>933</sup> The concept of magnificence was known also in the Old Commonwealth, above all at the court of Sigismund I Jagiellon.<sup>934</sup> Later on, it has been expressed explicitly by the leading late humanist writer, Sebastian Petrycy. In his *Polityki Aristotelesowej [...] ksiąg ośmioro*, published in Cracow in 1605, Petrycy described magnificence (*wielmożność*) in its various forms befitting representatives of various social strata, also with regard to sumptuousness of design and materials.<sup>935</sup>

### Architectural frame

Architectural form of a monument was an important bearer of meaning. The choice between different types of tombs was influenced by a complex set of considerations, wherein the political position of a given person, dynastic ties, local tradition, confessional identity and finally aesthetic views all played their role.<sup>936</sup> Use of a specific type of a monument as well as particular architectonic orders and decoration was beyond doubt viewed as a way of expression of position and dignity of the commemorated person. The patrons and artists of the early modern Europe were perfectly aware of the fact that each type of monument, defined by its architectural form, is suitable for different purposes. As stated by the Englishman John Weever in 1631, "*sepulchers should be made according to the qualities and degree of the person deceased, that by the tombe every one might bee discerned of what rank he was living.*"<sup>937</sup> In most general terms, free standing tombs were usually considered appropriate for kings and princes, wall monuments for nobility and epitaphs for bourgeoisie. A telling example of a formal understanding of such rules is provided by the action taken by Danish King Frederik II in 1576 against noblemen attempting to erect tombs that could rival royal monuments.<sup>938</sup> The exact patterns were different in various parts of Europe. Epitaphs, for instance, were not used by members of Polish nobility, while in Germany its members

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<sup>930</sup> See also Llewellyn 2000, p. 193-215 and Llewellyn 2005.

<sup>931</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 154-160. On the concept of *magnificentia* see also, for instance, Imesch, 2003 and Fürst 2008.

<sup>932</sup> Imesch 2003, particularly p. 37-68.

<sup>933</sup> Imesch 2003, p. 69-207; De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 157-160.

<sup>934</sup> Mossakowski 2007, p. 18-20. The king owned a copy of the important treatise by Giovanni Pontano, *De magnificentia* (with regard to this book, see Imesch 2003, p. 46-61).

<sup>935</sup> Petrycy 1605 (after: Fabiański 2008, p. 112-113).

<sup>936</sup> On Germany see Baresel-Brand 2007, Meys 2009 and particularly Brinkmann 2010, chapter 6.

<sup>937</sup> Quotation after Llewellyn 2000, p. 296.

<sup>938</sup> Johannsen 2010, p. 117-119.

commissioned not only wall tombs, but also free standing monuments and even epitaphs, the latter often with additional kneeling effigies. Another possibility to convey ideas through architectural forms was offered by architectural orders, defining entire monuments.<sup>939</sup> In the contemporary theory of architecture particular orders and their combinations were considered appropriate for various types and classes of patrons.

### **Effigy**

Usually, the central point of focus in a tomb was effigy representing the deceased.<sup>940</sup> Their different types - full-length figure, bust etc - as well as their poses, such as recumbent, reclining or kneeling, were intended to express various ideas, and for this reason are of considerable importance.<sup>941</sup> Similarly to types of architectural frames, effigies could indicate the social standing of the deceased. Different traditions with regard to sepulchral effigies existed in various parts of Europe. An example is provided by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, where noblemen were usually commemorated with the *demi-gisant* type of effigies, while the *gisant* was usually used in sepulchers of saintly persons.<sup>942</sup> Also other details, including the physiognomy of the deceased, may have bared certain meanings, as has been discussed earlier with regard to the effigy of duke Georg Friedrich in Königsberg.<sup>943</sup>

### **Heraldic signs**

In late medieval and early modern Europe heraldry provided the language of social distinction. It also stressed lineage and family relations. As such, it was a sign of dignity, power and elevated position in the society. Sepulchral monuments, usually set in a public or semi-public space of a church, were one of the main tools of heraldic display. Some of the large tombs included particularly elaborate ensembles, while a single coat-of-arm set in a cartouche could serve as a memorial itself. Compared to the rest of Europe, in Poland-Lithuania heraldry was rather simple. It consisted of a limited number of heraldic signs, each used by a number of noble families. In consequence, most tombs of Polish nobility lack elaborate heraldic displays typical for monuments of their German or English counterparts. Nonetheless, a family's coat-of-arm was always represented in commemorative monuments.

### **Inscriptions**

An equally important role was played by funerary inscriptions. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth century in the region discussed here they were almost exclusively composed in Latin. Literary texts played central role in the early modern culture, being to a large degree continuation of the humanistic tradition. It is no coincidence that the term 'epitaph' itself, widely used to denominate sepulchral monument, has been derived from the realm of poetry.<sup>944</sup> This attitude was reflected in various collections of funerary inscriptions, enjoying

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<sup>939</sup> See, for instance, Forssman 1961 and De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007.

<sup>940</sup> It has been discussed in Llewellyn 2000, Scholten 2003 and Scherlock 2008.

<sup>941</sup> The issue has been addressed in numerous studies devoted to funeral monuments, see for instance Zlat 1976, Röhl 1998, Chrzanowski 1996/1997 and Verstegen 2003.

<sup>942</sup> On this issue in Mączyński 2003.

<sup>943</sup> See Chapter 5.

<sup>944</sup> On early modern literary epitaphs in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see, for instance, Rećko 1992, Rećko 1994 and Milewska-Ważbińska 2006.

great popularity at that time. In the second half of the sixteenth century publications based on the humanistic tradition of collecting and publishing antique inscriptions, like those by Lorenz Schröder, Tobias Fendt, Nathan Chytreus or Marcus Boxhorn, began to appear in growing numbers.<sup>945</sup> Although varying in size and character of the contents, they were widely circulating among humanists, historians and other members of the *république des lettres*, but supposedly also among nobility and patrician élites, the potential patrons of funerary sculpture. As a consequence, understating of ‘epitaph’ as a literary rather than visual form was rather common at that time.<sup>946</sup> A material object described as an epitaph was often considered to be above all carrier of a funerary inscription. This understanding was supported by a *topos* common in contemporary literature, presenting word as a more enduring form of commemoration than mere ‘marble’, as exemplified by elegies by Jan Kochanowski, the leading sixteenth century poet in Poland.<sup>947</sup> Such understating must have been particularly common among intellectuals strongly indebted to the humanistic tradition. Obviously, commissioners of monuments, interested in lavish display of their power and position, as well as members of the general public must have had a different understating: they turned great attention to the sumptuousness of architectural and sculptural structures.

## Material

The next crucial issue was the material used to erect a given work. Often, the stone itself acted as bearer of meaning of considerable weight, greatly enhancing the *magnificentia* of a monument. Evidence is provided for instance by Cyriakus Spangenberg, who in *Adels-Spiegel* stated that a nobleman should be commemorated with an effigy (*Bildnis*) made of stone or bronze.<sup>948</sup> In the same section he also mentioned three different types of commemorative monuments: stone epitaph, wooden epitaph and the least prestigious painted epitaph (paintings). Written sources prove that use of lavish material was one of the key factors appreciated by patrons. A contract for the tomb of the Polish King Stephan Báthory, signed by the Italian sculptor Santi Gucci and the Queen dowager Anna of Jagiellon in 1594, devoted particular attention to materials that were to be used.<sup>949</sup> Similarly, while describing the tomb of Christopher Báthory in Alba Iulia, Ambrosius Simigianus admired especially the costly materials, ‘brought from overseas’.<sup>950</sup> Typically, spectators - such as Simigianus - were greatly impressed by the sumptuousness of precious and rare material. For that reason more humble substance, such as sandstone, or even wood was usually polychromed in order to imitate lavish marble and alabaster. To enhance the quality and sumptuousness of monuments commissioned by them, patrons were often importing sculpting material from afar at great expense.

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<sup>945</sup> See, for instance, Rečko 1992, especially p. 79-94, Rečko 1994 and Wisłocki 2005, p. 204.

<sup>946</sup> For instance in Adam 1620b. Adam often cites texts of ‘literary epitaphs’ devoted to certain persons, but only rarely gives any information concerning ‘visual epitaphs’. See also Wisłocki 2005, p. 204.

<sup>947</sup> *Pisarze*, p. 185-187.

<sup>948</sup> *C. Spangenberg 1594*, p. 287; see Cieślak 1992, p. 131 and Harasimowicz 1992, p. 35.

<sup>949</sup> Published in Fischinger, 1969, no 30, p. 147-149; see also Kowalczyk 2009.

<sup>950</sup> *Simigianus*, Liber III (years 1576-1600), Anno 1581, p. 110.

## Localization

Finally, the location of a monument was of great meaning. Tombs could have been erected in various places: in a parish church in the seat of a family, in a grand cathedral, a monastery etc. Equally important was its placement within a church: family chapel, choir, nave, crossing etc. The choice of location for a monument or a mausoleum was influenced by numerous factors, ranging from tradition to political plans to religious convictions of a given individual or family.

In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth a number of patterns can be observed.<sup>951</sup> Numerous funerary chapels were created in the great cathedrals of Cracow, Gniezno and Poznań, usually serving as burial places for local bishops. Members of nobility built their tombs in various kinds of churches. First, monuments and mausoleums were erected in provincial churches, located at or near the family residence. Sepulchral monuments of such locally important nobles were often built in a chapel or in choir of a church, as *ius patronatus* was usually connected with *ius cryptae*.<sup>952</sup> Also a bishop or another official could found a church in his native town or region that could later serve as a mausoleum for members of his family.<sup>953</sup> Another possibility for entombment and commemoration was a church of a religious order. The church itself could have been founded by a given family, but often this was not the case, especially with regard to important places of worship, established already in the Middle Ages. In some cases, a larger part of a church of a religious order could have been transformed into mausoleum of a single family, as happened in the Bernardine shrine in Rzeszów, where the choir has been turned by its founders into a grand funerary chapel by placing eight kneeling effigies carved in alabaster in wall niches.<sup>954</sup> Finally, some members of nobility were also commemorated alongside bishops in great cathedral and collegiate churches.

## 6.2 The Prussian epitaphs

Epitaphs commemorating leading members of the civic community constituted an important element of the visual culture of Prussian towns. They were introduced in Prussia in early fifteenth century; in Gdańsk, for instance, the earliest known work of this kind can be dated to c. 1425-1430.<sup>955</sup> In the sixteenth century this form of commemoration became increasingly popular. In the later 1500's, the advent of the Reformation almost entirely

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<sup>951</sup> This issue has not been researched in detail as yet. There exist, nonetheless, studies of various aspect of this phenomenon that allow to draw more general conclusions; see, for instance, Łoziński 1973, Gryglewski 2002 (this work deals, however, only with a relatively unimportant region of central Poland), Nestorow 2006 and Matušakaite 2009

<sup>952</sup> Gryglewski 2002, p. 150. For comparative material in Germany, see above all Brinkmann 2010, p. 47-104, especially p. 82-85.

<sup>953</sup> Gryglewski 2002, p. 152.

<sup>954</sup> The stimulus seems to have come here from such mausoleums as that of the Wettines in the choir of the Freiberg church.

<sup>955</sup> The epitaph of Demoet von der Beke in St. Mary's church, see Cieślak 1992, p. 15-16. With regard to the late medieval genesis of an epitaph, see Weckwerth 1957. Scholars developed a complex terminology, denominating various types of epitaphs. It differentiates between the following basic models: an image epitaph (Bildepitaph), a portrait epitaph ('epitaph monuments', Figuren- or Personenepitaph) and an inscription epitaph (Inschriftepitaph); see Schoenen 1967 and, later, works by Cieślak 1983; Cieślak 1985; Cieślak 1992; Harasimowicz 1992; Cieślak 1993; Cieślak 1998; Wisłocki 2005 and others, who to a large degree relied on Schoenen's classification.

stopped commissioning of religious works of art, and epitaphs remained the only major type of ecclesiastical art.<sup>956</sup> Reformation caused nonetheless a significant change in the character of epitaphs. Initially, they served as complementary tools for salvation of the soul.<sup>957</sup> However, in the reformed Church this overtly Catholic function was rejected and epitaphs began to be erected for didactic purposes, as well as an explicit commemoration of the deceased. Devotional images, typical for earlier epitaphs, were replaced by illustrations of biblical episodes or certain religious dogmas, serving as instruction for fellow members of the community. In this way, epitaphs fulfilled the purpose of ecclesiastical art as understood by Martin Luther, who perceived images as a form of education, edification and expression of eschatological hopes of the Christian community.<sup>958</sup> In his treatise *Wider die himmlischen Propheten*, written in late 1524 and early 1525, Luther described the aims and function of works of art in the following words: ‘zum Ansehen, zum Zeugnis, zum Gedächtnis, zum Zeichen’.<sup>959</sup> Similar ideas were later expressed by his followers. For instance, in 1611 the Pomeranian pastor Joachim Saegerus stated that art should serve as illustration of biblical history, edification of the faithful and commemoration of the dead.<sup>960</sup> Images present in epitaphs could have even been used as *exempla* by preachers, as indicated in a printed sermon by Sebastian Artomedes, an important Lutheran clergyman at the ducal court in Königsberg.<sup>961</sup> However, that not all epitaphs discussed in this study were made for Lutherans. In late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries members of the Prussian patrician elites were often adherents of Calvinism, holding a different view on ecclesiastical art.<sup>962</sup>

In this study four epitaphs executed by Willem van den Blocke and his studio will be analyzed: of Johann Brandes (1586) and Eduard Blemke (1591) in St. Mary’s church in Gdańsk, of the Stroband family in St. Mary’s church in Toruń (1590), and of Valentin von Bodeck in St. Nicholas’ church in Elbląg (before 1594). The discussion will commence with the Blemke epitaph, the most religiously oriented in the group, and end with the Stroband epitaph, a typical commemorative monument stressing the social position of the family.

### **Epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and Valentin von Bodeck**

The epitaph of Eduard Blemke, executed in 1591, is the grandest work of this kind ever created in Royal Prussia. It was carved in sandstone and painted in imitation of more costly limestone and alabaster. Apart from the monumental architectural form and rich ornamental decoration, it has also been endowed with an elaborate iconographic program, expressed through inscriptions, emblems and figural sculpture. Its main subject is the hope for

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<sup>956</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 18.

<sup>957</sup> Harasimowicz 1992, p. 40-43; Cieślak 1993, p. 9-12; Tebbe 1996, p. 20-25.

<sup>958</sup> See, for instance, Christensen 1972, Cieślak 1983, Cieślak 1992, Cieślak 1993, Michalski 1993, p. 1-42 (original, Polish edition: Michalski 1989, p. 13-86), Cieślak 1998 and Wisłocki 2005, p. 197-222, 291.

<sup>959</sup> Michalski 1993, p. 27 (Michalski 1989, p. 53-54); see also Harasimowicz 1992, p. 40-46; Cieślak 1992.

<sup>960</sup> *Saegerus 1611* (after Wisłocki 2005, p. 46).

<sup>961</sup> *Artomedes 1609, Die vierdte Leichpredigt*, p. 80: *Es ist hie in unser Kirchen ein Epitaphium, wer ihm solches bestellet der muß freylich auch des thewren blutes Jesu Christi sich hertzlich getröstet haben. Denn da kniet er für dem gecreutzigen Jesu und lest das Blut welches aus Christi geöffneten seiten springet auff seine Brust fallen.* Another similar, though not as direct example is provided by *J. Spangenberg 1568, Die erste Leichpredigt*, p. 5v. See also Wisłocki 2005, p. 208.

<sup>962</sup> Michalski 1993, p. 59-73; Cieślak 1992; Cieślak 1993; Cieślak 1998, Cieślak 2000; M.G. Müller 1997.

salvation of human soul, common in Protestant epitaphs.<sup>963</sup> The main visual point of focus is provided by a large relief depiction of the Vision of Ezekiel, located in the central *aedicula*.<sup>964</sup> This scene, illustrating resurrection of the dead, is accompanied directly below by two Biblical quotations, explicitly citing the promise of resurrection and salvation given by God to his people.<sup>965</sup> Furthermore, they stress the key aspect of Luther's teaching, namely faith in the word of God. The idea of resurrection of man and immortality is present also in the upper zone of the epitaph, this time in a form of an emblem depicting wheat growing from a skeleton - new life conquering death. This image is accompanied by a sentence further elucidating its meaning and closely corresponding with the biblical scene depicted below, partially based on Prudentius: *Ut semina sicca virescunt / sic corpora nostra resurgent* (As dry seeds grow green, so will our bodies rise again). This particular emblematic motive was very popular, both in emblematic prints and in works of sepulchral art. The author of the iconographic program of the epitaph could have derived it from such emblem books as those by Claude Paradine, published in 1551, Jean Jacques Boissard, published in 1588, or Joachim Camerarius, published in 1590.<sup>966</sup> (fig. 186) The emblem by Boissard is particularly important in the discussed context, as it presents the basic motive of a wheat sprouting from bones in a broader religious perspective, depicting - parallelly - a resurrected man turning towards Christ. (fig. 187) This interpretation is very close to that in the Gdańsk epitaph, where the emblem has been combined with the scene of the prophet's vision, representing the same idea. Thus, the relief representing Vision of Ezekiel, and the biblical quote together with the emblem form the main axis of the program of the epitaph, stressing the promise of resurrection and salvation given by God. The faith in salvation is further emphasized by a quotation from the Second Letter to Corinthians, inscribed in the lower part of the upper zone.<sup>967</sup> Next to it, there is another quotation, this time from the Letter to Romans, pointing to the need of being always close to God, in life and in death.<sup>968</sup> The uppermost part of the epitaph presents the power of death, ruling over this earthly world: a skeleton standing over a group of men representing various social states, including an emperor and a Turk, accompanied by an inscription *Mors aequat cum paupere regem* (death makes beggars and kings equal). The epitaph as a whole provides an elaborate, yet very clear message: trust in the word of God and just life should grant - according to God's will - a new life after the fall of the earthly abode, subject to decomposition. It can be viewed as Blemke's personal statement of faith, and at the same time as a very lucid communiqué delivered to fellow believers, aimed at edifying them, very much in keeping with the Lutheran understanding of the purpose of ecclesiastical art.

<sup>963</sup> Cieślak 1983, p. 303-304; Harasimowicz 1992, p. 110-124; Cieślak 1998, p. 19-22; Wisłocki 2005, p. 208, 215-216; see also Milewska-Ważbińska 2006, p. 55-57.

<sup>964</sup> Vision of Ezekiel, next to the Rising of Lazarus and – to a certain degree – the Last Judgment, was one of the main themes illustrating faith in the resurrection and salvation in Protestant epitaphs, see Cieślak 1993, p. 30-32; Harasimowicz 1992, p. 119-120; Wisłocki 2005, p. 215..

<sup>965</sup> Ezekiel 37.

<sup>966</sup> Emblem *Spes alterae vitae*; see Paradine, p. 258-259; Boissard 1588, no 15, p. \*27-\*29; Emblem no. 100, entitled *Spes alterae vitae*, with the image depicting ears of wheat sprouting from bones; see Henkel&Schöne 1976, p. 325 and Camerarius, p. 110.

<sup>967</sup> 2 Corinthians, 5:1..

<sup>968</sup> Romans, 14:8. Cieślak 1993, p. 31-32 stresses also Stoic character of both quotations.

The figures of typically civic virtues, *Iustitia* and *Prudentia*, may be interpreted in the context of Blemke's position - though not particularly high - in the city's government.<sup>969</sup> The former has been depicted carrying a sword in her right hand; the second attributed has been lost. *Prudentia* has been presented clad in Minerva's *aegis* either with a snake - a popular motive derived from the Gospel<sup>970</sup> - or a snake-like remora fish, the latter known from Ripa's *Iconologia*, and another attribute, possibly a mirror. All these attributes, with the exception of *aegis*, were commonly used in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, as indicated for instance by the series after Maarten de Vos and Crispijn van der Broeck.<sup>971</sup> (fig. 188)

In comparison to the religious programme, motives pertaining directly to the commemorated person are limited.<sup>972</sup> An inscription located in the lowest part of the structure provides basic biographical data: the dates of birth and death, information about the family and offices held by the deceased. In the upper zone, two standing figures of winged putti hold Blemke's personal symbols. However, even they may be interpreted as part of the wider message concerning immortality of soul, pervading the entire work. In an emblem by Gabriel Rollenhagen - published only after the execution of the epitaph - such a winged genius, holding a cross, standing on a skull and an hourglass, represents soul's passing to eternal life.<sup>973</sup> (fig. 189)

It is difficult to determine precisely meaning of the rich ornamental decoration, complementing the main theme conveyed by inscription and sculpture. In general, ornamental decoration enhanced the *magnificentia* of a given work, and in consequence that of the commemorated person. Regardless of the intricacies of the basic iconographic programme, a sumptuous, richly decorated epitaph, set up in the public space of a church, constituted a powerful statement of the social position of a particular individual or family, comparable to that provided by the façades of houses. Single motives could also convey a certain message. For instance, clusters of fruits and vegetables traditionally symbolize opulence and abundance, and may therefore refer to the personal affluence of a commemorated person, or to the flourishing of the city in which it was of significance.

A similar programme was designed apparently for the epitaph of Valentin von Bodeck, set up in St. Nicholas' church in Elbląg before 1594. As indicated by the collection of funerary inscriptions published by Nathan Chytraeus same year - *terminus ante quem* of the execution of the epitaph - its central part included a depiction of the Vision of Ezekiel - just as in the Blemke epitaph.<sup>974</sup> It was accompanied by a biblical quote, as well as a short poem.<sup>975</sup> The first verses of the latter were referring to the vanity of earthly life and its splendours, while in the second part Valentin von Bodeck himself was presented along with his hope to attain eternal refuge in heaven. The passing from earthly life to the eternal through death was further elaborated on in the upper zone of the epitaph. It include an emblematic

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<sup>969</sup> See also Cieślak 1993, p. 32.

<sup>970</sup> See Knipping 1974, 1, p. 27; however, here this motif is discussed as an attribute of *Temperantia*.

<sup>971</sup> Hollstein Dutch, XLVI, no 1167; Hollstein Dutch, The Collaert Dynasty 5, nos 1078, 1079. See also Zapolska 2000, p. 60-67 and 76-81.

<sup>972</sup> Cieślak 1993, p. 32.

<sup>973</sup> G. Rollenhagen, p. 249 (emblem 18, *Transitus celer est et avolamus*)

<sup>974</sup> *Chytraeus 1594*, p. 543. Now, it is replaced by a modern portrait of cardinal Hosius; see also Catalogue.

<sup>975</sup> *Ezech. 30 Arida mox tandem Christo sub Principe vivent / Ossa beata simul. Discimus ergo mori* (quoted in Zamehl, *Epitaphia*, p. 266). As to the poem, see Catalogue.

image of blades of wheat growing from a skeleton - same as the one in the Blemke epitaph - accompanied by a very lucid emblematic motto: *Mors spes alterae vitae* (death is a hope for another life). This sentence appears in combination with representation of the Vision of Ezekiel – in a way similar to the epitaph - in an emblem by Nicolaus Reusner.<sup>976</sup> (fig. 190) Thus, the Biblical scene and the emblematic image constitute the nucleus of the iconographic programme of the von Bodeck and Blemke epitaphs. There are, however, certain differences between these otherwise similar monuments. Most notably, in Elbląg less emphasis has been put on of the promise made by God in the Holy Scriptures. Biographical information about the deceased was probably limited to a short passage commemorating the death of Valentin von Bodeck in 1575 and his wife Ursula von Lose in 1592.<sup>977</sup> The personifications of virtues - *Iustitia*, *Prudentia* and *Caritas* - may refer to the ideal of religious as well as civic life of the commemorated.

### Epitaph of Johannes Brandes

The epitaph of the Gdańsk burgomaster Johannes Brandes and his wife, Dorothea Schöpfer, set up in St. Mary's church in Gdańsk in 1586, presents a different iconographic programme. The epitaph itself was commissioned after the death of Brandes by unidentified members of his family, and was modelled after the twin monuments of Prussian duchesses, Dorothea and Anna Maria, in Königsberg.<sup>978</sup> This must have served to further boost the social and political position of the Gdańsk family.<sup>979</sup> This emulation confirms that patronage of the bourgeoisie was often modeled after that of the higher social classes.<sup>980</sup> The desire for sumptuous commemoration and the ambition to match higher ranking patrons found its final expression in the grand, almost royal monument of Simon Bahr, commissioned by his son-in-law Johann Speymann and executed by Abraham van den Blocke c. 1618-1620. The dignity of the deceased was further accentuated by the choice of rare and precious material, namely alabaster and the Rance limestone, the latter used to carve shafts of columns.

The Brandes epitaph was erected next to the church entrance used by members of the city council.<sup>981</sup> This location must have served as burial place of the family for a considerable period of time: according to the description of the church by Georgius Frisch, also an banner commemorating Salomon Brandes, who died in 1680, was hung there.<sup>982</sup> The location of an

<sup>976</sup> Reusner, *Emblemata sacra*, no. XXXV, p. 247-248. This popular sentence appears also, for instance, in an emblem by Claude Paradine, see Paradine, p. 258-259.

<sup>977</sup> Zamehl, Seyler and Dwitz quote – rather surprisingly – text in German; see Zamehl, *Epitaphia*, p. 266; Seyler, p. 92 and Dewitz, p. 9v-10.

<sup>978</sup> Halina Sikorska argued that one of its commissioners was the future burgomaster Johann Speymann, however without providing any evidence, see Sikorska 1968.

<sup>979</sup> Cieślak 1994, p. 187; Woźniński 1997, p. 118.

<sup>980</sup> Zlat 1990; S. Albrecht 1997.

<sup>981</sup> Frisch, p. 168-169. According to his description, immediately below the epitaph a painting depicting the Temple of Jerusalem has been located, executed in 'sehr kunstreich perspectivischer Weise' (perhaps in the manner of Hans Vredeman de Vries).

<sup>982</sup> Frisch, p. 172-173. Epitaphs were not the only means of commemoration. Members of the Prussian elites were commemorated in a variety of ways, including funerary banners and coats-of-arms (see, for instance, Birecki 2007, especially p. 335-341). On the northern wall of choir of St. Mary's church in Toruń, for instance, there was a grand ensemble of coats-of-arms of the leading families of the city. The earliest of the ensemble, consisting of some 100 wooden panels, was set up already in the early sixteenth century (Semrau 1892, p. 57-58; Birecki 2007, p. 340-341).

epitaph was also a bearer of meaning.<sup>983</sup> According to the *Kirchenordnung* of St. Mary's church in Gdańsk from 1612, no tomb could have been erected in that building without knowledge and permission (*vorwissen, willen und zulass*) of the church wardens (*Kirchenvätern*).<sup>984</sup> It indicates that the form and positioning of commemorative monuments, warrants of prestige, were kept under official control. When Johann Speyman planned to build the above mentioned monument to his father-in-law, Simon Bahr, in the transept of St. Mary's, the wardens initially did not consent.<sup>985</sup> Only after several years the powerful patron succeeded in overcoming the opposition.

The main difference between the Brandes epitaph and the monuments discussed in the previous section is the lack of Biblical scenes and quotations, so prominent in the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and Valentin von Bodeck. Instead, the central part of the epitaph consists of a large inscription panel, containing rich and detailed biographical information. Commemorative function of the monument is further strengthened by introduction of sculpted busts of Johann Brandes and his wife, independent of any devotional or Biblical scene – though presented as *gisants* with hands folded in prayer.

Nonetheless, a clear and coherent religious programme is present here as well. Its nucleus is provided by an inscription in the frieze dividing the lower and central parts of the architectural structure: *In terris labor est, requies in morte. Fide spes nititur, in coelis vita perennis erit* (On earth, there is labour; you will rest in death. Follow Hope and Faith, and you will attain eternal life in heaven). Similarly to the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and Valentin von Bodeck, this inscription expresses hope for eternal life in heaven that will come after the end of this earthly life, which is full of toil. What is more, it clearly points to the road one must take to achieve this eternal life: adherence to the virtues of *Fides* (Faith) and *Spes* (Hope), a choice fully in line with the emphasis Protestants put on faith and trust in God. Rich figural decoration of the epitaph is closely related to this inscription, providing its lucid illustration. The statues in the upper zone represent *Labor* (Labour), *Quies* (Repose) and *Immortalitas* (Immortality). Two caryatides flanking the central panel, larger than the other figures, represent the virtues that, according to the inscription, are of crucial importance for attaining heaven (*fide spes nititur*): Faith, holding a cross and a table of ten commandments, and Hope, with an anchor. They are the beacons, showing the way to salvation. Thus, all major topics present in the inscription quoted above find their visual counterparts in the figural decoration of the epitaph, reflecting the key role played by faith and hope in the Protestant doctrine.

The trio of *Labor*, *Quies* and *Immortalitas* used here was clearly derived from the iconography appearing in several sepulchral works executed in the studio of Cornelis Floris.<sup>986</sup> The Antwerp sculptor used it in the epitaphs of archbishops of Cologne and in a

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<sup>983</sup> See, for instance, Harasimowicz 1992, p. 33-39 and Brinkmann 2010.

<sup>984</sup> *Alte Ordnung der Kirchen St. Marien zu Danzig, 1612*, articulus 29 in: Sehling 1911, p. 198-218, here p. 209; see also Cieślak 1983, p. 300. According to Kizik 1996, all epitaphs set up in Elbląg must have been approved by the city council as well.

<sup>985</sup> *Bötticher*; see also Krzyżanowski 1968a.

<sup>986</sup> It must be noted that this iconographical motive was sometimes used in other contexts as well. For instance, figures of *Labor* and *Mors* appear in Lübeck in the portals of the houses on Schüsselbuden 24 and on Mengstraße 36, both attributed to Robert Coppens (see Struck 1908, 2, *Tore und Türen*, p. XIX-XX, fig. 22, 24). If the attribution to Coppens is correct once again this particular motive could be seen as specific for the circle of Floris.

design for the monument of Christian III and Frederik II of Denmark.<sup>987</sup> (figs. 18, 26) This motive was repeated by Willem van den Blocke several times.<sup>988</sup> Furthermore, it also appears in works of other alleged members of the Floris circle, for instance in the portal of the Krämeramthaus in Lübeck. Another important example is the pulpit in the Magdeburg cathedral, executed in 1595-1597 by Christoph Kapup, sculptor well acquainted with the Netherlandish formal language. It may be noted here that it gained some popularity in Royal Prussia, where it was employed in the wooden epitaphs of the Neisser family in Toruń (1588-1594) and of Heinrich Möller in St. Trinity's church in Gdańsk (after 1567).<sup>989</sup> Because of the presence of the above mentioned inscription, the epitaph of Johannes Brandes and his wife occupies a particularly important place within this group. It provides an unique written explanation of meaning of this particular iconographical theme, and thus allows for a better understanding of similar works in Northern Europe.

Apart from the works by Cornelis Floris and his circle, some potential analogies can be found in contemporary prints, such as the series of engravings by Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, entitled *The reward of labour and dilligence*, published in 1572.<sup>990</sup> This series expounds on the idea of earthly work as a way to attain heaven, that can be discerned – though in a less straightforward way, and with a somewhat different attitude – in the Brandes epitaph. The first print, named *Man born to toil*, finds its possible reflection in the first words of the relevant inscription on the Brandes epitaph: *in terris labor est*. Particularly interesting is the third print, referring to the eschatological purpose of life. (fig. 191) In plate three, entitled *Labour aspires to God's righteousness*, a man is shown helped – or even dragged - on his way to perfection by personifications of Faith and Hope, the very two virtues that, according to the inscription on the Brandes epitaph, open the way to heaven. The scene is accompanied by a Latin verse, stating that 'Hope pulls and Faith urges Labour to seek the Kingdom of God'.<sup>991</sup> The programme of the van Heemskerck series as a whole differs, however, from the programme of the Brandes epitaph, and presumably was not the direct source for its author. In the prints a greater emphasis is laid on the earthly conduct, and labour itself is seen from a different perspective. Moreover, the series lacks references to death, obviously accentuated in the sepulchral monument. Nonetheless, the general idea of a man born to work (based on Biblical words found in Genesis 3:19 and Job 5:7) and finally reaching the Kingdom of God by – among other things - his adherence to virtue, is present in both these iconographic ensembles. Although the links between them are perhaps not direct, they are also not accidental, as the graphic series has been created in a milieu that has influenced van den Blocke.

The crowning of the Brandes epitaph once again refers to the power of death. A skeleton holding a scythe and an hourglass is flanked by emblematic symbols representing the great and the lowly of this world: a sword, a scepter, a spade and a hoe. This is once again explained by a Latin sentence: *mors sceptris ligonibus aequat* (death makes scepter equal to a

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<sup>987</sup> Johannsen 2010, p. 154.

<sup>988</sup> Compare with Johannsen 2010, p. 155.

<sup>989</sup> Sulewska 2004, p. 29.

<sup>990</sup> Hollstein Dutch, Maarten van Heemskerck 2, p. 181-185, nos. 501-506; on the series see Veldman 1992, p. 230-234 and Veldman 2006, p. 174-178.

<sup>991</sup> After Veldman 1992, p. 231; it is a translation of a Dutch couplet.

hoe).<sup>992</sup> On the other hand, an emblematic image of a winged skull with a hourglass, crowning the entire structure, may symbolize final triumph over death. Such meaning is indicated, for instance, by an emblem in a highly popular book by Johannes Sambucus, titled *In morte vita*.<sup>993</sup> (fig. 192). This motive – hardly unique at that time - has also been used earlier by Cornelis Floris in the monument of Duke Albrecht. (fig. 193)

As has already been stated in this book, also the obelisks in the upper zone of the epitaph derive from emblematic prints. Probably the first to include the motive of an obelisk with foliage was Claude Paradine in his famous *Devises heroïques*, published for the first time in 1551.<sup>994</sup> (fig. 194) Later, it has been used in an emblem by Hadrianus Iunius, entitled *Principium opus, plebis adminicula*, from his *Emblemata* published in Antwerp in 1565.<sup>995</sup> (fig. 78) The symbol of obelisk itself was, of course, commonly associated with sepulchral context, as exemplified for instance by an emblem by Achille Bocchi.<sup>996</sup> The emblem by Paradine appears to be of a particular importance here, also because his works were undoubtedly well-known in Prussia: the painted decoration of the Council Chamber in the Toruń Town Hall, commissioned by burgomaster Heinrich Stroband in the 1590's in the studio of Anton Möller, was based on his works.<sup>997</sup> The meaning of Paradine's devise, even despite the absence of one of its elements, namely a crescent moon, can be linked to the iconography of the epitaph. According to the short poem accompanying the emblematic image, it is to be understood in the context of eternity and of virtue of a deceased prince.<sup>998</sup> In Gdańsk, it highlights the virtue and fame of the commemorated patricians. Moreover, it would have provided counterbalance to the symbols of death in the same zone of the monument.

The program of the Brandes epitaph is balanced and consists of two major parts: one referring to life, death and salvation, and the other commemorating and glorifying the deceased. The character of the iconographical program as well as the lack of biblical imagery suggests Calvinist conviction of the founder of the epitaph.<sup>999</sup> In comparison to the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and Valentin von Bodeck, the commemorative function is accentuated much more strongly. Introduction of a long biographical inscription instead of biblical scenes as well as the presence of sculpted portraits indicate that the epitaph has been conceived above all as a commemorative monument.

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<sup>992</sup> A very similar emblem was published later by Gabriel Rollenhagen, see *G. Rollenhagen*, p. 107 (emblem 48, *Mors sceptris ligonibus aequat*); see also Henkel&Schöne 1976, p. 1000. However, such emblematic images must have been used already in the sixteenth century

<sup>993</sup> Emblem *In morte vita*, dedicated to Paulus Manutius, see *Sambucus*, p. 99.

<sup>994</sup> *Paradine*, p. 72-73.

<sup>995</sup> *Junius*, emblem XIII, and Henkel&Schöne 1976, p. 1222. Similar motive, based on Paradine, appears also in an emblem *Testante vierebo* by *G. Rollenhagen*, p. 349.

<sup>996</sup> *Bocchi*, p. CIII-CV.

<sup>997</sup> Paradine has been named explicitly in the instruction for the artist, see Kolendo-Korczak 2009. Further evidence of the popularity of Paradine's book in Prussia is provided by the fact that its copy has been given to the library of Gdańsk City Council (established in 1596) by Gerhard Zimmermann in 1598; see *Index librorum*, BG PAN, Cat. Bibl. 1, p. 74. See also Kaleciński 2011, p. 141-142.

<sup>998</sup> See also Kaleciński 2011, p. 164, who discusses obelisks decorating the monument of Simon Bahr.

<sup>999</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 27.

## Epitaph of the Stroband family

The last epitaph to be discussed here commemorates Christian Stroband and his son Johann, members of the most important patrician family in late sixteenth century Toruń. It was set up in St. Mary's church in Toruń in 1590 by Johann's son Heinrich Stroband, according to the former's will.<sup>1000</sup> Toruń burgomaster between 1587 and 1609, he was the leading figure in the local politics, responsible for numerous cultural, educational, architectural and artistic undertakings. The epitaph commemorating his family must be therefore viewed as a tool for enhancing of his own position in the city.

The Stroband memorial lacks any Biblical references. Its main purpose was neither edification nor instruction, but commemoration of the founders of the family and accentuation of their descent and relations with the Prussian bourgeois élite. The epitaph set up in the main parish church of the town was to confirm the position of the Stroband family, and particularly that of the founder of the epitaph, Heinrich Stroband. This emphasis on earthly deeds is underlined by the lack of any iconographical motives referring to vanity of earthly life, so strongly accentuated in the other works discussed above. In this way, the Stroband epitaph differs not only from the epitaphs of Eduard Blemke and Valentin von Bodeck, full of religious zeal, but also from contemporary epitaphs existing in Toruń, like those of members of the Neisser, Mochinger and von der Linde families. What is more, at the time of its erection, the Stroband monument was one of very few such works in Toruń - including the far smaller epitaph of Caspar Frisius – carved in stone.<sup>1001</sup> Erecting a stone epitaph was a statement in itself, a clear message aimed at fellow citizens and others, stressing the position of the commemorated person and its family.<sup>1002</sup> Thus, it was underlining Heinrich Stroband's aspirations to become *primus inter pares* of the local elite.

The lower and central parts of the epitaph consist of four large inscription panels, dedicated to Christian and Johann Stroband, as well as to their consorts, Anna Stetten and Margaretha Esken, also members of the highest social strata of the Prussian towns. The commemorative program of the epitaph is further strengthened by the unusually rich heraldic ornamentation.<sup>1003</sup> The central place in the upper zone is occupied by a large coat-of-arms of the Stroband family, placed in an elaborate strapwork cartouche. The frieze dividing the central and upper zone is decorated with eight coats-of-arms of the forefathers of Christian and Johann Stroband, while in the lower zone, just below the two inscription panels, coats-of-arms of the Stetten and Esken families are presented.<sup>1004</sup>

The visual program consists of personifications of seven virtues (*Fides, Spes, Amor/Caritas, Iustitia, Fortitudo, Temperantia* and *Prudentia*) crowned by a figure of

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<sup>1000</sup> Gumowski 1970, p. 164.

<sup>1001</sup> Unfortunately, due to destruction of many sixteenth and seventeenth century epitaphs that once embellished interior of St. Mary church in Toruń – known only from very summary notes in old descriptions of the church – it is difficult to establish original context; on these works see *Baumgarten*, p. 128-135, Semrau 1892, Birecki 2005 and Birecki 2007.

<sup>1002</sup> Cieślak 1983, p. 305-306; Cieślak 1992, p. 27, 29-30.

<sup>1003</sup> This has been discussed in detail in Cieślak 1998, p. 53-58; see also Wisłocki 2005, p. 205-207 (here epitaphs of nobility have been discussed as well).

<sup>1004</sup> In Gdańsk similar rich heraldic programs appear in epitaphs commemorating the highest echelons of the ruling elite, such as Schachmann and Zierenberg families, see Cieślak 1994, p. 187 and Cieślak 1998, p. 55.

*Immortalitas* (lost). Iconography of the virtues is rather standard. *Fortitudo* is represented holding a column with a lion at her feet, *Iustitia* with a sword and a blindfold, *Prudentia* with a snake or a remora fish, and *Temperantia* pouring liquid from a vase. *Spes* carries an anchor, while the attributes of *Fides* and *Amor/Caritas* are missing. All these attributes can be easily find in other works of painting and sculpture, in graphic images of virtues widely circulating at that time, as well as in such works as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*.

An important and revealing reference to the understanding of the function of epitaph appears in the introduction to funerary sermon for Johann Stroband, written by Toruń pastor and professor of the local gymnasium, Martin Trisner, published in 1586.<sup>1005</sup> Since it is the only contemporary text somehow referring to the epitaphs discussed here, it deserves particular attention. It must be remembered, however, that at the time of its publication the epitaph itself was undoubtedly already planned, but not yet existing. Therefore, Trisner's description is rather general. The pastor distinguished two major functions of a commemorative monument and its inscriptions. The first is to affirm the virtue of the deceased, so that he may live forever in his fame. In this context, Trisner quoted a well known sentence: *vivit post funera virtus* (virtue lives after death), appearing also in contemporary emblematic prints, like the one by Jean Jacques Boissard.<sup>1006</sup> (fig. 195) Moreover, Trisner also refers to Psalm 112: *in memoria aeterna erit iustus* (the righteous will be remembered forever). The close relation between the commemorative function of an epitaph discussed by Trisner and the actual work executed by Willem van den Blocke is obvious. This literary reference also provides an explanation for the figural decoration of the structure, consisting of personifications of seven virtues crowned by a figure representing *Immortalitas*. In this context, the absence of symbolism referring to the concept of vanity of human life is hardly surprising. The idea of eternal virtue appears often in emblematic prints. For instance, Jean Jacques Boissard included in the second volume of his *Emblematum liber*, published in 1593, an emblem entitled *Sola virtus est funeris expers* (only virtue is free of death).<sup>1007</sup> The commentary to the image states there: *nihil est in hoc orbe terrarium quod sit perpetuum; sola virtus thesaurus est homini constans, et peculium aeternum. [...] Virtus est immortalis* (nothing in this world is constant; only virtue is man's enduring treasure and eternal property. Virtue is immortal.). This idea is also present in several other sepulchral monuments erected in Prussia at that time. For instance, the monument of bishop Piotr Kostka in Chełmża has been embellished with a sentence stating *virtus mansolea* (sic!) *supra est* (virtue is greater than mausoleums). The second function of an epitaph expounded on by Martin Trisner is of religious nature. It refers to faith in resurrection and in salvation at the Last Judgment. He quotes a verse by Prudentius, stating that a monument indicates man is not dead, but rather awaits resurrection and eternal life. It expresses the same idea of transcendental hope that has been discussed earlier with regard to epitaphs of other Prussian patricians. Apparently, it was a standard meaning of commemorative monument among Protestant social and intellectual élites, regardless of the precise iconographic programme.<sup>1008</sup>

<sup>1005</sup> Trisner 1586. The print has been mentioned in Mocarski 1933, p. 385 and Birecki 2007, p. 330.

<sup>1006</sup> Published in the first of his volume *Emblematum liber* in 1588, see Boissard 1588, no 19, p. \*32-\*34. It is one of several emblems by Boissard referring to the concept of virtue.

<sup>1007</sup> Boissard 1593, p. 94-95, no XLVII.

<sup>1008</sup> Wisłocki 2005, p. 221.

The iconography of the epitaphs discussed here reveal existence of various approaches towards sepulchral art. Some patrons, such as Eduard Blemke, desired to create truly religious works, aimed above all at edifying fellow believers. Others, like Heinrich Stroband, were interested mostly in earthly reward, using tombs as a way to strengthen their political position. Nonetheless, it must be remembered that this division is not always very distinct. All epitaphs served both functions at least to a certain degree, as indicated by the above discussed description of purposes of a commemorative monument by Martin Trisner. Even an epitaph manifesting strong religious zeal was still a symbol of privileged social position, visible in its rich architectural, figural and ornamental decoration. On the other hand, works such as the Stroband epitaph – even though sometimes indirectly - have also encouraged virtuous life, an issue of topmost importance at that time, along with expressing religious convictions.

Epitaphs executed in the studio of Willem van den Blocke played an inspiring role in form and content changes occurring among sepulchral monuments in Gdańsk and perhaps also in other Prussian towns around 1600.<sup>1009</sup> This transformation took place in two major areas. The first one concerns a growing interest in commemoration of the individual. Around the turn of the century epitaphs, in which Biblical imagery constituted the central element, were gradually being discarded in favour of epitaphs of a more explicitly commemorative function.<sup>1010</sup> The epitaph of burgomaster Johann Brandes, next to the lost epitaph of Paul Chöne-Jaski (c. 1585-1588, in St. Mary's church), was the earliest work of this kind set up in Gdańsk, introducing independent portrait and inscription as the central elements of a monument.<sup>1011</sup> Thus, it provided stimulus for further development and proliferation of two types of epitaphs, namely portrait epitaph and inscription epitaph, that soon gained popularity among members of the patrician élite.<sup>1012</sup> The unequalled sumptuousness of material, design and execution as well as the high social position of the deceased must have greatly strengthened the impact of this outstanding work. Even though less spectacular, the Stroband epitaph played a parallel role in Toruń. Instead of a portrait it introduced lengthy inscriptions containing biographical data as well as a relatively rich heraldic program.

The second crucial phenomenon that stimulated changes in Prussian sepulchral art in the period around 1600 was the growing popularity of Calvinism, especially among members of the patrician élite.<sup>1013</sup> Differences between Lutheran and Calvinist epitaphs can be observed in their iconography.<sup>1014</sup> Most importantly, epitaphs executed for Calvinist patrons lacked Biblical scenes. Instead, the focal point was usually provided by inscription as well as allegorical and emblematic imagery. Moreover, they were often endowed with a rich biographical programme. Epitaphs commemorating patricians of Calvinist sympathies usually constituted the inscription or portrait types, while those of Lutherans - at least around 1600 -

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<sup>1009</sup> This issue has been discussed by Katarzyna Cieślak, see Cieślak 1992 and Cieślak 1993. See also Birecki 2007, p. 311-360.

<sup>1010</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 27-32; see also Cieślak 1998, p. 37-75. With regard to other regions see Wisłocki 2005, p. 200-206

<sup>1011</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 27, 33-54. Simultaneously, commemorative epitaphs with painted portraits were introduced in Gdańsk as well, see Cieślak 1992, p. 34.

<sup>1012</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 27, 29-30.

<sup>1013</sup> On this issue and its relation to art in a wider context see, for instance, M. G. Müller 1997, Michalski 1999, p. 267-289 and Cieślak 2000.

<sup>1014</sup> Cieślak 1992, p. 27-32; Cieślak 1993; Cieślak 1998.

represented the figural image variety. Thus, the growing popularity of Calvinism strongly influenced the development of the type of epitaph represented by the memorials of Johann Brandes and the Stroband family, that gradually started to replace the more traditional works, such as the epitaph of Eduard Blemke. Starting with early seventeenth century, also Lutherans began to use these new forms of sepulchral monuments.

### 6.3 The monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg

The monument of Duchess Elisabeth von Brandenburg-Küstrin, consort of Duke Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach and governor of the Duchy of Prussia between 1578 and 1603, was erected by Willem van den Blocke in 1578-1582. This grand monument, one of the largest works of sepulchral sculpture created in sixteenth century Northern Europe, exhibited the most elaborate iconographical programme among the works executed by the sculptor. Its iconography, form and context conveyed a complex religious as well as political meaning.

The monument was erected on the north choir wall of the cathedral in Königsberg, the capital of the Duchy of Prussia. The choir space was transformed into a mausoleum of the ducal family already by Albrecht I, after the Reformation deprived it of its original liturgical function. This reflected the new, secular status of the rulers of Prussia. The duke himself installed there epitaphs of his two wives as well as a free standing monument designed to commemorate him and his family. The sepulchral function of the choir has been ultimately established by erection of the grand monument of Duke Albrecht himself on its eastern wall.<sup>1015</sup> (fig. 196) Apart from members of the ducal family, the choir also served as a burial place for persons related to the court, and soon became filled with numerous epitaphs. Burial alongside the duke and members of his family was considered a great privilege, as testified by an account concerning an important local theologian Stanislaus Rapagellanus, who was apparently buried in the ducal crypt. As stated by the poet and professor of the Königsberg university Georg Sabinus in a letter to Philip Melanchton, the duke thus honoured Rapagellanus in the same way as Scipio Africanus did the famous poet Ennius (*imitates exemplum Scipionis Africani, qui Ennium simili honore affectit*).<sup>1016</sup>

The creation of a ducal necropolis in the Königsberg cathedral must be regarded against broader developments in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire. Protestant rulers often used choirs of existing churches to establish new mausoleums commemorating themselves and their families.<sup>1017</sup> Sometimes such spaces retained their liturgical function, thus situating the tombs in a wider context of renewed religion, while on other occasions they were entirely transformed into burial places.<sup>1018</sup> Some important examples of both instances are provided by the tombs of Philip of Hessen in St. Michael's church in Kassel (after 1567), memorials of the dukes of Mecklenburg in Güstrow, built by Duke Ulrich (last quarter of the sixteenth century), and – above all – the choir of the cathedral in Freiberg in Saxony, transferred by

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<sup>1015</sup> Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 122-141.

<sup>1016</sup> *Lilienthal 1716*, p. 34; *Das Leben*, p. 63.

<sup>1017</sup> Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 122-141. For contemporary mausoleums in the Germany and surrounding lands see, for instance, Ch. Smith 1994, p. 157-197, Baresel-Brand 2007, Meys 2009 and Brinkmann 2010, especially p. 246-249 and 264-272.

<sup>1018</sup> See Brinkmann 2010, p. 264-272. The former case usually applies to undertakings of members of the lower strata of nobility, although this was also the case in Güstrow, Darmstadt or Weimar.

Giovanni Maria Nosseni and Carlo di Cesare del Palagio into an outstanding memorial of the Wettines (1585/1589-1594).<sup>1019</sup> Creation of the mausoleum in the Königsberg cathedral by duke Albrecht may be, therefore, viewed in political and religious context: both as an attempt to strengthen the position of the ruler and as an expression of the new Lutheran confession.

By erecting the grand monument commemorating his wife and himself, Georg Friedrich was consciously following the already established tradition, simultaneously attempting to strengthen his disputed claims to the duchy in this way.<sup>1020</sup> Georg Friedrich exploited the opportunity to portray himself in the choir of the cathedral next to Albrecht, the founder of the Lutheran Duchy of Prussia, thus creating a powerful visual manifestation of his political ambitions by stressing continuity. Even such details as the similarity between the effigies of the two dukes was in all probability motivated politically, in order to present Georg Friedrich as a member of the family already well established in Prussia.<sup>1021</sup> The sumptuous form of the new monument, conceived by the duke, his advisors and the artist, was to elevate Georg Friedrich even above his illustrious predecessor.

It is important to underline that the monument in Königsberg was not a proper tomb of Georg Friedrich – that was built later on in the former Cistercian church in Heilsbronn in Franconia (fig. 183) – and his statue has been introduced there for political reasons. Nominally, the Königsberg tomb was designed to commemorate the duke's consort, Duchess Elisabeth. It included a lengthy epitaph devoted to her, composed by the court preacher and acclaimed poet, Sebastian Artomedes.<sup>1022</sup> This funerary poem displays subtle beauty, visible for instance in the opening verses, alluding to Elisabeth's birth. From the point of view of its contents, it is a rather typical funerary inscription, providing information about Elisabeth's parents, her virtues and the grief caused by her death. The uniqueness of this particular text lies in its poetic qualities.<sup>1023</sup>

Apart from political purposes, the grand monument also served religious functions. It was an elaborate expression of the Lutheran doctrine, demonstrated through inscriptions and figural as well as emblematic sculpture. The former, manifold, were both derived from the Holy Scripture, and from the poetic work of the already mentioned Artomedes. Apart from the written epitaph, four Latin distichs accompanying bas-reliefs adorning the base of the monument were published in 1590 in a book containing his collected poems.<sup>1024</sup> Born in 1544 in Langenzenn in Franconia, Sebastian Brotsorg, better known under his humanistic name Artomedes, acted as 'Hofprediger' at the court of Georg Friedrich since 1572 and pastor in the Königsberg cathedral since 1579.<sup>1025</sup> He seems to have been responsible for the intricate iconographic programme of the ducal monument. It is particularly significant in this context that Artomedes was also the author of funerary sermon for the late duchess, published in Königsberg by Georg Osterberger in 1578.<sup>1026</sup> Moreover, he was the author of verses

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<sup>1019</sup> For a general overview of these examples see Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 147-168, 264-283 and 289-295.

<sup>1020</sup> Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 144-145.

<sup>1021</sup> See Chapters 4 and 5 of this book.

<sup>1022</sup> *Artomedes 1590*. The epitaph is a part of the *Tumulorum Liber* [Tumulus I].

<sup>1023</sup> For its full text see Catalogue.

<sup>1024</sup> *Ibidem*. The distichs were published in the *Epigrammatum Liber*.

<sup>1025</sup> On the life of Sebastian Artomedes see Gebser&Hagen 1833, 1, p. 342-345; Tiesler 1974, p. 20. See also Meys 2009, p. 540-544.

<sup>1026</sup> Gebser&Hagen 1833, 1, p. 342; Petersohn 1963, p. 21. Unfortunately, neither Petersohn nor I were able to find a copy of the sermon.

inscribed on the pulpit (1589), main altar (1591) and baptistery (1595), all erected in the Königsberg cathedral.<sup>1027</sup> The idea that Artomedes could be the inventor of the monument's pictorial programme is further supported by the fact that a number of motives occurring in it is also legible in his published religious writings. Involvement of members of local intellectual elite, including preachers and scholars from educational institutions, in the process of creation of grand funerary monuments, is routine throughout the early modern era. For instance, David Chytraeus, professor in theology and history at the university of Rostock, was behind the idea of sculpted genealogical tree forming the central part of the monument of Ulrich III of Mecklenburg-Güstrow in Güstrow, while the archivist of the Wittelsbach court, Michael Arrodenius, and Jesuit Simon Hiendl were the key figures responsible for the programme of the monument of Ludwig Wittelsbach in Munich.<sup>1028</sup>

The complex message of the monument of duchess Elisabeth referred to fundamental issues of the Christian doctrine. The base, consisting of narrative biblical scenes, emblematic images, symbolic figures and inscriptions, referred to the history of mankind from the Fall to Salvation. The nucleus of the programme of the base of the monument consisted of the images of central moments of the history of redemption: the Crucifixion and Resurrection of Christ, very commonly used in Protestant sepulchral art. They have been preceded and followed by images illustrating the Fall and Salvation of mankind. Starting from the left, the first scene presented Adam working after the Fall. The figure of *Labor* located above as well as the distich by Artomedes were closely related to this biblical scene, expounding on the idea that earthly labour was inevitable result of the Fall.<sup>1029</sup> In the third quarter of the sixteenth century, this traditional view of man's efforts on earth was still very common.<sup>1030</sup> The next episode of the sacred history depicted on tomb was the sacrifice of Christ, represented by Crucifixion and an emblematic image of pelican. A traditional motive deeply rooted in the Christian tradition, a pelican appears often in emblematic. For instance, an emblem by Gabriel Rollenhagen represents a pelican and a Crucifixion, while the *inscriptio* and *subscriptio* link this depiction with the idea of duties of a ruler and his responsibility for the salvation of his subjects.<sup>1031</sup> (fig. 197) These depictions were accompanied by another short poem by Artomedes, this time referring to the blood of Christ as a symbol of his sacrifice.<sup>1032</sup> This particular motive also appears in several published sermons by the humanist. Particularly interesting is a funerary sermon from 1595, devoted to Sara, wife of Leonhard Brigellus, commenting on the words from the First Epistle of John: *Das Blut Jesu Christi des Sohns Gottes macht uns rein von aller Sünde*.<sup>1033</sup> Its fragments, particularly in the first part, dwell on the same idea as does the iconography of the base of the ducal monument: the blood of Christ, a symbol of his sacrifice, is the only remedy for the sins of men that resulted from the Fall of

<sup>1027</sup> Gebser&Hagen 1833, 1, p. 344; Boettichre 1897, p. 318-319; Ulbrich 1926/1929, p. 59-60.

<sup>1028</sup> Jolly 1999b; Diemer 2004, vol. 2, p. 54, M1; p. 56, M15; p. 58, M19; p. 59-62, M26; p. 62, M27.

<sup>1029</sup> *O labor, o sudor scelerati praemia morsus / ah satis est, natos occulo terra tuos.*

<sup>1030</sup> Veldman 2006, p. 174.

<sup>1031</sup> *Centuria secunda*, emblem 20: *Pro lege et pro grege*. See also, for instance a print by Adriaen Collaert, representing pelican at the top of the Cross (Hollstein Dutch, The Collaert Dynasty 3, no 490, p. 8-9); although Catholic, it clearly uses the symbolism common both to Catholics and Protestants.

<sup>1032</sup> *Sanguine mundata est ecclesia sanguine coepit / sanguine succrevit sanguine finis erit.*

<sup>1033</sup> *Artomedes 1609*, p. 63-81; *Die vierdte Leichpredigt, 1 Joh. 7, Das Blut Jesu Christi des Sohns Gottes macht uns rein von aller Sünde, concio funebris habita 13. Junij Ao 1595. Sarae, uxori Loenhardi Brigelli, secretarii in judico Aulico.*

Adam.<sup>1034</sup> It has been described as the ‘key to heaven’, without which the whole Christian liturgy is meaningless.<sup>1035</sup> Similar ideas appear in another published sermon by Artomedes.<sup>1036</sup> Great emphasis on the sacrifice of Christ, expressed by such sentences as *Christi mors clavis est paradisi* (the death of Christ the key to heaven) or *Mors Christi – Ianua Vitae* (the death of Christ is a new life), was the central point of Lutheran doctrine and as such it often served as a basis for programmes of various Lutheran epitaphs.<sup>1037</sup> The result of the sacrifice was visible in the next tomb scene, representing the Resurrection, accompanied by an emblematic image of a phoenix. A distich by Artomedes also refers to this traditional identification of the mythical bird with resurrected Christ.<sup>1038</sup> The last part of the programme consisted of a depiction of Lazarus on Abraham’s bosom and a personification of *Quies*, accompanied by yet another distich by Artomedes.<sup>1039</sup> It refers to the salvation of men, resulting from the sacrifice of Christ. A possible explanation may be found in yet another sermon by Artomedes, discussing Abraham in relation to Christ.<sup>1040</sup> Moreover, in the same sermon sinful people destined for hell are discussed, that may be linked to the depiction of the damned in the figural scene representing Lazarus.<sup>1041</sup> In contrast to their eternal death, described as the most terrible of all things, the death of a pious Christian is peaceful, as it leads to salvation, and return to the true homeland – heaven.<sup>1042</sup>

<sup>1034</sup> Artomedes 1609; *Die vierdte Leichpredigt*, p. 68: *Solchen armen elenden heilthurstigen Leuten zeigt allhie Johannes einen gewünschten Heilbrunnen daraus sie sich sollen erfrischen und laben und spricht: Das Blut Jesu Christi sey der Trefftige Wundersafft der sie reinigen könne von allen ihren sünden;* p. 70: *Allein Christi Blut ist ain Zalblut und eine rechte Gnadenflut die allen schaden heilen thut von Adam her geerbet auch von uns selbst begangen.*

<sup>1035</sup> Artomedes 1609; *Die vierdte leichpredigt*, p. 72: *So macht das allerheilgste blut Christi rechte Edelleute aus uns Kinder des lebendigen Gottes Bürger mit den Heiligen und Gottes Haußgenossen. Est is Clavis Paradisi, wie Hieronymus sagt, der Schlüssel zum Paradeiß. Christi Blut ist ein Schlüssel zum ewigen Gut.;* p. 79: *Also verrichten auch der Priester das newen Testaments ohne diß thewre Blut Jesu Christi kein Teuff kein Predigt kein Absolution kein Abendmal.*

<sup>1036</sup> Artomedes 1614; *Die neunnde Predigt von dem Leiden und Sterben unsers Herrn Jesu Christi*, p. 219-237 [pages according to a misprinted copy in the University Library in Toruń]; here p. 222-223: *Es müssen aber ewer lieb sein lerner unterscheiden Christi Creuz und der gleubigen Creuz: und wiedrumb auch der gleubigen und der gottlosen Creuz. [...] Sein blut allein macht uns rein von allen unsern Sünden. Er allein ist die versünung für unsere Sünde unnd nicht allein für unsere sondern auch für der ganzen Welt sünde. [...] Totius fiducia nostrae certitudo consistit in precioso sanguine Iesu Christi, sagt Augustinus.*

<sup>1037</sup> See, for instance, Harasimowicz 1992, p. 101-104 and Wisłocki 2005, p. 210.

<sup>1038</sup> *O phoenix redivive tuo me conde sepulcro / ut dirae effugiam iura superba necis.*

<sup>1039</sup> *Inveni portum spes ac fortuna valet / nil mihi vobiscum hodie nunc alios.* According to Wisłocki 2005, p. 99, note 64, depiction of Lazarus in Lutheran art often had a strongly anti-Catholic meaning.

<sup>1040</sup> Artomedes 1609; *Die dritte Leichpredigt, ex. Cap. 15. Gen.: Der Herr sprach zu Abraham du solt fahren zu deinen Vätern mit frieden und in gutem Alter begraben werden, Habita Hedvigi Beringiae 26. Novemb. Anno 1594.,* p. 43-63; here p. 62: *Denn wie Christus Marc. 13 zu seinen Jüngern spricht: Was ich euch sage, das sage ich allen. Also ist es auch mir und dir gesagt was Gott hie dem Abraham sagt und zusaget. Denn Abraham ist ein Vater, das ist ein Vorgenger, ein muster exempel un spiegel aller gleubigen sie seyn geschlechts oder standes halben wer sie wollen Jüden oder Heyden Mann oder Weiß knecht oder Freyer, Sie sind allzumal einer in Christo. Sind sie aber Christi so sind sie auch Abrahams samen und Kinder und nach der verheissung Erben sitzen mit Abraham in einerley wörden und gütern daher denn auch der ort an welchen die gleubige Seelen nach ihrem abscheid aus der Welt losirt und versamlet werden Abrahams schoß genennet wird Luc. 16. Bistu nun ein rechtes kind Abrahae so bistu so selig als er kanst Gott in seinen wort teglich hören mit dir reden aller der güter theilhaftig werden die er dir im Wort und Sacramenten lest fürtragen und anbieten.*

<sup>1041</sup> Artomedes 1609; *Die Dritte leichpredigt*, p. 58-61.

<sup>1042</sup> Artomedes 1609; *Die dritte leichpredigt*, p. 60: *Mit dem gleubigen Abraham aber mit dem ehrlichen alten greisen Simeone und allen frommen gleubigen Christen heist sterben. Im Friede fahren denn weil sie durch den glauben an Christum sind von ihren sünden absolvirt und gerecht gesprochen so haben sie auch fried mit Gott durch ihren Herrn Christum Jesum.* See also p. 47 (printed wrongly as 44) and 48.

The programme continued in the side bays. The key element here consisted of figures of Evangelists, placed in niches. In them, the difference between the monument of Elisabeth and the memorial of Duke Albrecht is clearly visible. In the latter, the niches housed figures of Old Testament kings, a motive derived from royal iconography that should be interpreted in the context of Christian rule. The figures of Evangelists, constituting a part of the didactic programme of the later monument, stressed on the other hand the importance the Lutherans laid on the Holy Script: the doctrine of *sola scriptura*. Each of these figures was accompanied by a quotation from a respective Gospel text, inscribed on a frieze above a niche. To the left, above the figure of St. Luke, a fragment of his Gospel expounds on the necessity of following in the footsteps of Christ with a right attitude, namely carrying one's cross.<sup>1043</sup> It may possibly be linked to the concept of earthly labour, a result of the original sin, that has been elaborated on in the base of the monument, immediately below the depiction of St. Luke. The statue of St. Matthew was accompanied by an inscription that could serve as a solace to those who live according to the idea presented in the previous biblical quotation.<sup>1044</sup> The left bay of the tomb may be therefore interpreted as an explanation of earthly life of a true Christian. The right side shows the way to salvation, particularly in the context of Lutheran liturgy.<sup>1045</sup> Both quotations – from St. Mark and St. John – and explicitly mention issues central to the Lutheran doctrine, namely faith (*sola fides*) and scripture (*sola scriptura*), as well as the sacrament of baptism.<sup>1046</sup> As was the case with the left bay, they may be linked to the images and inscriptions presented below, on the right side of the base of the monument, referred to man's salvation. The central part of the tomb may be interpreted as exhortation for its viewers; its function was further enhanced by the rhetoric of the biblical quotations, all beginning with the word *qui*, which indicates instruction. A similar function can be attributed to personifications of virtues (*Patientia*, *Fides*, *Fortitudo* and *Castitas*), placed in the spandrels and standing on the base of the monument. The former two are of particular interest, as they appear to correspond to the ideas expressed by Biblical quotations in the bays: *Patientia* with the left and *Fides* with the right one. The former can be furthermore linked with the above mentioned Biblical quote from the St. Matthew's Gospel, as the personification of patience was often depicted with a yoke.<sup>1047</sup> Finally, in the central part of the monument, just above the effigies of the duke and his consort, a depiction of God the Father and Jesus Christ has been introduced, providing a central point of the entire programme. Interestingly enough, this image also had a strong Protestant character: traditional, Catholic monuments, in Italy as well as in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, usually displayed in this place the image of St. Mary.

The iconography of the upper section of the monument has been divided into two distinct parts. First of them consisted of five full length figures of kings and prophets of the

<sup>1043</sup> *Qui non tollit crucem suam et sequitur me non potest esse discipulus meus* (Lk 14,26).

<sup>1044</sup> *Iugum meum suave et onus meum leve est* (Mt 11,30).

<sup>1045</sup> Above the statue of Mark: *Qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit salvus erit.* (Mk 16,16); above the statue of John: *Qui sermonem meum servaverit mortem non gustabit in aeternum* (John 8,52).

<sup>1046</sup> On the baptism see, for instance, Harasimowicz 1986a, p. 111-131.

<sup>1047</sup> See, for instance, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Ripa, s. 230) or the series of prints by Philips Galle entitled *Prosopographia sive virtutum animi...* from c. 1585-1590 (Hollstein Dutch, Philips Galle 3, no 335). It must be stressed, however, that the figure of *Patientia* in Königsberg has not been depicted with a yoke, but - rather unusually - with a lamb(?) and chains.

Old Testament: David, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and Moses.<sup>1048</sup> Their presence may be interpreted in several ways: they may be understood in a typological sense, presenting an Old Testament counterparts of New Testament figures. More likely, however, reference to the Old Testament kings and patriarchs may be alluding to the position of a ruler, similarly as was the case with the monument of Duke Albrecht.<sup>1049</sup> This interpretation may be corroborated by a funerary sermon for duke Georg Friedrich that expounded on similarities between the ruler and the kings and prophets of the Old Testament.<sup>1050</sup> References to such figures as models for Christian rulers appear often in various *Fürstenspiegeln*, popular in the German lands in the sixteenth century. Examples are provided by such works as Wolfgang Seidel's *Wie sich ain Christenlicher Herr trösten soll* of 1547, or Jacobus Omphalius's *De officio et potestate Principis* of 1550.<sup>1051</sup> The Biblical history and the rules of exercising power are in fact closely interwoven, and are the very root of Christian political theology.<sup>1052</sup>

The other aspect of the iconography of the monument's upper section concerned the vanity of earthly life, death and eternal destiny. It consisted of three emblematic images and a sculpted depiction of the Last Judgment. The first emblem, located in the keystone of the central arch, presented a skeleton with a scythe, and inscription: *memento mori*. The others have been placed in the uppermost part of the structure. One of them probably represented a scepter crossed with a spade, accompanied by inscription *mors sceptris ligonibus aequat*, while the other blades of wheat growing from a skeleton, next to motto *mors spes alterae vitae*. As mentioned above, both these emblems were later used in the epitaphs of Gdańsk patricians. Between them a large, sculpted depiction of the Last Judgment, with words *ita venite* was located. All these images and inscriptions provided a reminder of inevitable death, but also expressed trust in resurrection and salvation, that will be effectuated at the Last Judgment. This can be easily linked to the meaning of the monument's central part, discussed above: at the Last Judgment the conduct of every man will be revealed.

To summarize, each part of the tomb dwelled on a certain idea, while the iconographic programme of the entire tomb was composed of these closely interrelated elements.<sup>1053</sup> The meaning of each part, although perfectly coherent in itself, was closely related to the meaning of others, and can be properly understood only in such relations. Thus, an impressively rich depiction of the Christian doctrine was created here. It focuses on the history of man, on his way to salvation, accompanied by a reminder of the last things in the upper zone. All these ideas have been expressed by closely interrelated words and images. The immense architectural structure provided a framework that allowed for grouping of various parts of the programme, expressed in figural sculpture, relief plaques, carved emblematic images and,

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<sup>1048</sup> This identification may be, however, mistaken, and the statues in question may represent other Biblical figures.

<sup>1049</sup> In the latter, however, the figures represented rather David and Salomon as well as two further, unidentified figures of Old Testament kings.

<sup>1050</sup> *Christliche Leichpredigt*.

<sup>1051</sup> Published in *Fürstenspiegel*, p. 86-165.

<sup>1052</sup> See, for instance, Schramm 1963, p. 229-255

<sup>1053</sup> The explanation presented here differs considerably from that proposed recently by Oliver Meys (Meys 2009, p. 541-543). He interpreted the monument's programme in terms of sacred legitimization of earthly rule. Although obviously some elements, such as virtues, may refer to this idea, that interpretation seems too narrow. Justification of rule formed the main theme of the earlier monument of Duke Albrecht.

naturally, inscriptions. Thus, the message can be read by following architectural divisions of the monument.

In more general sense, the sumptuous architectural form of the monument and its rich sculptural and ornamental decoration expressed princely grandeur and magnificence, the particular political goal of its commissioner. The iconographic programme, on the other hand, was deeply religious. In this respect, it was very similar to some of the epitaphs of the Prussian bourgeoisie discussed in the previous section. It is particularly instructive to compare the message with that of Eduard Blemke's epitaph. Despite all the differences in scale, the ducal monument exhibited the same intricate combination of image and word in order to convey particular religious ideas to fellow believers, although due to its location in the closed choir, the real impact of the message must have also been rather limited. Nonetheless, by instructing the subjects and exhorting them to be good Christians, the tomb served one of the main duties of a Christian ruler.

#### 6.4 The monument of Christopher von Dohna

Because of its location as well as rather unusual architectural form, the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna occupies a separate place within Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre. It is also an important work because of its iconography, as it provides a valuable insight into the confessional contexts of sepulchral art.

The monument was erected by Fabian von Dohna, Christopher's brother, in the Odense cathedral shortly after the latter's death in 1584. Its programme is a combination of standard elements, such as allegorical figures and geniuses of death, with those referring more directly to the life and position of the commemorated person. Accordingly with his position as a nobleman and military commander, Christopher von Dohna has been depicted kneeling in full armour, with folded hands and the Bible or a prayer book placed in front of him. In the spandrels of the central arcade two figures of putti holding laurels and wreaths, thus glorify the deceased. The profession of von Dohna, who was a military commander in the service of the Danish king Frederick II, was accentuated by sculpted battle scene and two figures of Roman soldiers (lost today) in the upper zone of the monument.<sup>1054</sup> Two sculpted geniuses, also lost, were mourning his young death. Three further allegorical figures employed, representing *Labor*, *Quies* and *Immortalitas*, belong to the standard vocabulary used by van den Blocke.

In a way similar to the epitaphs of Johann Brandes and the Stroband family, discussed in detail above, the monument of Christopher von Dohna lacks any biblical imagery.<sup>1055</sup> The written memories of Fabian von Dohna, the commissioner of the monument, shed some light on this issue – although they are not entirely clear. According to Fabian von Dohna, another of the von Dohna brothers, Achatius, wanted the monument to include a crucifix. The sculptor, however, refused to carve it. For that reason, Achatius declined to participate in the

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<sup>1054</sup> Lost elements according to an illustration by Jacob Bircherod from a manuscript *Monumenta et Inscriptiones Otthinienses Uberioribus Historicis et Genealogicis illustratae notis*, dated c. 1679 (after Johannsen&Johannsen 1990, fig. 4; I wish to express my gratitude to Hugo Johannsen for sharing information on the Bircherod brothers and their work; see also B.Johannsen 2008).

<sup>1055</sup> The painted scene depicting *Vision of Ezekiel* in the centre of the monument was added between 1622 and 1644, see Johannsen&Johannsen 1990.

costs of the tombs execution. This testimony is rather confusing, since Willem van den Blocke did carve crucifixes and other religious imagery on other occasions. Possibly, it was not the sculptor, but Fabian himself who did not want to have such an image.<sup>1056</sup> This hypothesis is strengthened by the confessional difference between the brothers: while Achatius was Lutheran, Fabian's sympathies went towards Calvinism. If this supposition is correct, the history of the von Dohna monument may also shed some additional light on the issue of Lutheran and Calvinist epitaphs in Prussia, discussed above. Alternatively, it cannot be ruled out that Achatius was simply looking for an excuse allowing him to refuse to pay for the costly work.

## 6.5 Monuments of Polish nobility

Sepulchral monuments of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility differed significantly from those of the Prussian bourgeoisie, or from the monuments of Prussian dukes. Apart from differences in architectural structure, they also usually lacked narrative scenes as well as biblical and emblematic inscriptions, so prominent in the former. Monuments commemorating members of the nobility and high clergy usually consisted of a full-length effigy, commemorative inscription, coats-of-arms as well as figural sculpture usually of allegorical character, all set within an elaborate architectural frame, though usually not richly decorated with ornamental carvings. Because of the absence of sophisticated and individual iconographic programmes, particular attention must be given to their wider context, such as location, circumstances of commissions and to biographies of their commissioners.

### Monument of Piotr Tarnowski

Among the works executed in the studio of Willem van den Blocke, the monument of Piotr Tarnowski provides a particularly revealing case study illustrating commissions issued by members of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. The monument was funded by Piotr's son Jan Tarnowski, trusted advisor of King Sigismund III, vice-chancellor and future primate of Poland, in all probability before 1598. It was made of most sumptuous material available in the Commonwealth at that time, namely imported black and red limestone as well as alabaster.

Original destination of the tomb is unclear. It was finally set up in St. Trinity Chapel adjoining the collegiate church in Łowicz, a residential town of the primates of Poland, founded by Jan Tarnowski in his testament. Besides the Łowicz chapel, Tarnowski commissioned another similar edifice. As bishop of Cuiavia, he erected St. Mary's Chapel in Włocławek, adjoining the cathedral church there (1600-1603, finished after 1605).<sup>1057</sup> (fig. 198) He continued to support its construction even after becoming the primate and archbishop of Gniezno.<sup>1058</sup> In all probability, both chapels were to serve sepulchral function.<sup>1059</sup> Hypothetically, the archbishop was planning to install his own funeral monument in one of them as well. The chapel in Łowicz was ready probably in 1611, although some works

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<sup>1056</sup> This has been already suggested by Krzyżanowski 1958, and Johannsen&Johannsen 1990.

<sup>1057</sup> See Łoziński 1973, p. 132-138 and Narębski 1961.

<sup>1058</sup> Łoziński 1973, p. 132.

<sup>1059</sup> Łoziński 1973, p. 133.

continued until 1617.<sup>1060</sup> The progress of the construction labours was supervised by Wojciech Tarnowski, canon of the Łowicz chapter and certainly a relative of the archbishop.<sup>1061</sup> It seems very likely that he was also responsible for putting up a Latin inscription on the façade of the chapel in 1611. (fig. 199) Beginning with words *tarnovidum antique stirpis generosa / propago, praesul Ioannes Gnesna beata tuus / hoc extruxit opus*, it clearly referred to the family itself as well as to its most prominent member. The importance of such memorials for contemporaries is attested to by the passage devoted to the chapel and inscription by Stefan Damalewicz in 1649.<sup>1062</sup>

Chapels serving sepulchral and commemorative purposes enjoyed great popularity in the Commonwealth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A separate burial place for nobility was, of course, a common phenomenon: in his *Adelspiegel*, Cyriacus Spangenberg stated that a nobleman should be awarded distinguished place of burial, preferably in a separate chapel<sup>1063</sup>. The tradition of burial chapels in Poland-Lithuania was established above all by King Sigismund I, who erected the famous Sigismund Chapel (1515-1533). For almost a century this centrally planned edifice adjoining the Cracow cathedral provided the model for numerous similar - though obviously much less sumptuous - constructions built by numerous high ranking, especially ecclesiastical patrons, such as bishops Piotr Tomicki and Bernard Maciejowski in Cracow and Archbishop Jakub Uchański in Łowicz.<sup>1064</sup> In later sixteenth century, this model gained great popularity among members of the nobility, in all probability desiring to match patronage of the court circles. Programmes of these chapels, commemorating members of the local élite - who nonetheless usually belonged to the high ranks of nobility - put a strong emphasis on family relations.<sup>1065</sup> In this context, the building commissioned by archbishop Tarnowski in Łowicz was typical for the period.

Erecting both edifices, Jan Tarnowski must have intended to augment the position of his aspiring family and demonstrate its equality with the ones already well established both in history and contemporary politics. This pattern was, of course, common throughout early modern Europe, since high ecclesiastical offices offered an important tool for social advancement of a family.<sup>1066</sup> By creating monument for his father, Tarnowski intended to glorify all his relatives. This sumptuous tomb built for a lesser nobleman of only local importance must be viewed not as a reflection of his real position, but as an attempt to create an illusion of distinguished lineage, to shape the family history through use of visual persuasion.<sup>1067</sup> By accentuating these ties, Tarnowski was effectuating the most important purpose of a commemorative monument: an indication of *'lengthy continuity with the*

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<sup>1060</sup> Kwiatkowski 1939, p. 82, Kwiatkowski 1947; further: Librowski 1981, p. 358.

<sup>1061</sup> *Acta Capitulli*, p. 2-3, 21, 32, 54-55, 73, 97. Unfortunately, archival sources concerning earlier years are missing.

<sup>1062</sup> *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 334-335.

<sup>1063</sup> *C. Spangenberg 1594*, p. 287; see also Cieślak 1992, p. 131 and Llewellyn 2000.

<sup>1064</sup> See, above all, Łoziński 1973; see also, for instance, Drewniak 2006 and Nestorow 2006.

<sup>1065</sup> Łoziński 1973, p. 104-105. See also, for instance, Młynarski 2010.

<sup>1066</sup> As an example, we may quote a study devoted to the Barberini family, see Rietbergen, 2006, p. 60-94. With regard to Poland-Lithuania see, for instance, Opaliński 2007, p. 202.

<sup>1067</sup> This phenomenon, in English context, has been discussed by Sherlock 2008, p. 17-40, especially p. 19-20. Some examples of a similar approach in the Old Commonwealth are cited, for instance, in Wardzyński 2003, p. 150-151.

*past*'.<sup>1068</sup> The importance of family ties was also stressed in the funerary inscription. This laudatory text describes Piotr Tarnowski as *aequitus Polonus*, accentuating particularly his civic virtue and piety. At the end of the text, Jan Tarnowski has been explicitly named as the founder of the sepulcher commemorating his father, thus once again stressing links of kinship, a standard motive appearing in many commemorative inscriptions.<sup>1069</sup> Thus, Tarnowski, *homo novus* of Polish high politics, used artistic patronage as a tool to boost the prestige of his forefathers and to give his kinsmen as much advantage as possible.

The text of the inscription shows dependence on contemporary literary theory pertaining to epitaphs. In his treatise on poetics, Jacobus Pontanus described among other genres funeral poetry, devoting a considerable part of his work to it. The book, published for the first time in 1594, was aimed at broad public and widely read.<sup>1070</sup> The character of epitaphs has been defined by Pontanus in accordance with the social standing of a particular person, and with his family relations. Writing about an epitaph commemorating a father, the Jesuit theoretician stated that it should describe parental guidance as well as civic virtue in public service. According to Pontanus, such an object should be devoted to the memory of a family member, but also of a citizen serving community and country.<sup>1071</sup> It would be too far-fetched, perhaps, to assume that the author of the Łowicz funerary inscription - probably Jan Tarnowski himself - was guided directly by the work of Pontanus. Nonetheless, a clear similarity of attitude can be observed here. The same approach can also be observed in other funerary inscriptions, like that commemorating Krzysztof Kostka. Commissioned by his sons, it states that Krzysztof spent most of his time labouring for the welfare of the *Respublica (maxima vero parte aetatis in Republicae negociis consumpta)*.

Noble lineage was also expressed by heraldic display.<sup>1072</sup> Since Polish heraldry was far less complex than that of most other European countries, monuments of Polish nobility do not include elaborate heraldic programmes similar, for instance, to those in the German lands. Nonetheless, coats-of-arms occupy a prominent place in every funeral monument. In the Tarnowski tomb, two cartouches with the family's coat-of-arms - *Rola* - supported by standing figures of angels appear in the upper part of the structure. Moreover, coats-of-arms decorate the entrance portal to the chapel, as well as an inscription tablet on the façade. Apparently, heraldic demonstrations in these places are of particular importance, as they were accessible to a much larger public than in the interior of the chapel itself.

The effigy, carved in alabaster, represents Piotr Tarnowski as a true knight, clad in full armour. This, of course, was the standard funeral image of a nobleman. In this particular case the reference to martial virtue is strengthened by the above mentioned inscription, referring to Tarnowski's military office: *vexilliferus*, a standard bearer (*chorąży*). This knightly effigy had several functions. It was to show social distinction of the deceased as a member of the nobility, constituting the 'political nation' of the old Commonwealth. As already pointed out, this kind of depiction was standard among the nobles and must have been understood as a

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<sup>1068</sup> Llewellyn 2000, p. 235.

<sup>1069</sup> Milewska-Ważbińska 2006, p. 93-94.

<sup>1070</sup> *Pontanus 1598, Cap. XXX*, p. 223. (I have used a copy of a 1598 edition printed in Ingolstadt, today in Biblioteka Gdańska PAN); see also Rečko 1992, especially p. 39-48. The publication was certainly known in Poland: it was for instance often used in school education.

<sup>1071</sup> Rečko 1992, p. 39-48.

<sup>1072</sup> Llewellyn 1991, p. 72; Llewellyn 2000, p. 373

visual manifestation of their superior position in the society. This identification went, however, deeper. As a nobleman, Tarnowski was an exponent of knightly virtues, represented by his responsibility towards the *Respublica* and God. This concept of a noble knight, defender of both the Fatherland and Christianity, was established in Europe in the Middle Ages. It had a particular importance in seventeenth century Poland, considered by the 'Sarmatian' nobility to be a true bulwark of Christianity, fighting heroic battle against pagans and heretics.<sup>1073</sup> For a noble knight, a *verus miles christianus*, the combination of Christian and patriotic virtues was of greatest value, and he was ready to sacrifice his life in their defense. An instructive example of such an attitude is provided by Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547-1620), famous Polish *hetman* (commander-in-chief of Polish army), who died at the battle of Cecora at the age of 73, fighting the Turks. In his testament, Żółkiewski instructed his son to defend true faith, serve the country and welcome death on a battlefield as the greatest joy.<sup>1074</sup> In this way, a knightly effigy, although visually conventional, embodied the very essence of identity of the Polish nobility.

The concept of Christian knight, was, of course, a widespread *topos* in early modern Europe. It is exemplified, for instance, by an emblem by Nicolaus Reusner, that interprets the spiritual battle in universal terms, starting with words *militat omnis homo*.<sup>1075</sup> It referred to the famous fragment of the Book of Hiob: *militia est vita hominis super terram*, that stands at the roots of the concept of *miles christianus*.<sup>1076</sup> Around 1600, it was usually interpreted in the context of internal struggle with enemies of the soul.<sup>1077</sup> Although at this point it is not possible to ascertain to what extent a particular person was influenced by this interpretation, there can be little doubt that this concept was well known among Polish nobility, at least in its simplified redaction.<sup>1078</sup> It is moreover important to note that the idea was closely related to the notion of virtue that played such an important part in sepulchral iconography.<sup>1079</sup> The monument of Piotr Tarnowski include the standard set of three theological virtues: *Fides*, *Spes* and *Caritas*. Their iconography is simple: *Fides* has been represented with a book (the second attribute is lost), *Spes* with an anchor and a bird - that cannot be identified<sup>1080</sup> - and *Caritas* with children. Thus, an effigy representing the deceased as a knight was intended to show him as a member of nobility, a Christian knight serving his country and God both externally and internally. The precise accentuation was dependent on other elements of a monument and its general context.

The religious aspect, integrally embedded in the concept of *miles christianus*, was of great importance. A family chapel was underlining social distinction, but it was also a place of worship. This aspect appealed especially to the Catholics, whose religious zeal was strengthened by the Counterreformation. Strong stimulus for accentuating religion in architecture and sculpture was coming from Italy, above all Rome, where such important

<sup>1073</sup> See, for instance, Bernatowicz 1990, Bernatowicz 2000, p. 59-71, Moisan-Jabłońska 2002, p. 307-332, Liškevičienė 2005, p. 89-99 and Lenart 2009. On the concept of *miles christianus* in general see also Wang 1975.

<sup>1074</sup> Lenart 2009, p. 76.

<sup>1075</sup> Reusner, *Emblemata sacra*, no. XXXIIX, p. 250-251.

<sup>1076</sup> Moisan-Jabłońska 2002, p. 315.

<sup>1077</sup> Wang 1975; Moisan-Jabłońska 2002.

<sup>1078</sup> See, for instance, Bernatowicz 1990, p. 235-238, Moisan-Jabłońska 2002 and Lenart 2009.

<sup>1079</sup> Wang 1975, p. 39-75; Moisan-Jabłońska 2002.

<sup>1080</sup> Compare with Knipping 1974, 1, p. 24.

examples of post-Tridentine devotion as the Sistine and Pauline chapels in Santa Maria Maggiore - serving also sepulchral function - were built. Starting with early seventeenth century, these prototypes were imitated in Poland as well, as can be seen in the grand monument of archbishop Wojciech Baranowski in Gniezno (c. 1620). Typically, a religious service was to be carried out in a funerary chapel on regular basis, in order to safeguard the salvation of the deceased. For that reason, the altar in the Tarnowski chapel, with scenes of Crucifixion and Resurrection, also executed in the van den Blocke studio, was as important element of its interior as the funeral monument, being closely related to it in terms of function.<sup>1081</sup>

### **Monument of Martin de Berzeviczy**

Another important monument executed by Willem van den Blocke was the tomb of a Hungarian nobleman living in Poland, Martin de Berzeviczy. It has been probably commissioned by Berzeviczy himself shortly before his death and subsequently completed by members of his family. The mausoleum, adjoining the parish church in Lisnowo, was located in the centre of Berzeviczy's estate. Nearby stood the sumptuously decorated manor of the family that attracted words of praise even after it was ruined in the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>1082</sup> Located in borderland between Royal and Ducal Prussia, a region devoid of major towns and other important landmarks, the mausoleum must have attracted considerable interest, especially given its monumentality and lavish material. It is testified by several descriptions of the monument in seventeenth and eighteenth century documents, whose authors were clearly impressed by its sumptuousness.<sup>1083</sup>

Provincial mausoleums of different sizes and forms were usually erected by members of the higher strata of nobility, often high officials. Next to their basic, religious function, they served also to manifest the position of their founders among their local counterparts.<sup>1084</sup> Illustrative examples are provided by several mausoleums built by members of the Opaliński family in Greater Poland, whose members were consequently enhancing their political position by numerous artistic commissions, including several major funeral monuments as well as family residences.<sup>1085</sup> Also Berzeviczy, former high ranking member of the royal court, was probably aiming at establishing his local position and rights. It was of particular importance, since he was not indigenous: he owed his position in Poland to the protection of king Stephen Báthory and members of his political circle, such as chancellor Jan Zamoyski. Therefore, a wall monument with reclining effigy, very popular among Polish nobility set up in a mausoleum in local church may also be interpreted as an attempt to accentuate links with the new country.

The iconographic programme of the Berzeviczy tomb was expressed through the same major elements as in the one commemorating Piotr Tarnowski, namely a reclining effigy,

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<sup>1081</sup> Łoziński 1973.

<sup>1082</sup> See short description of the manor by Johann Büttner from 1686, published in Froelich 1868, p. 182 and Heise, p. 513, note 174.

<sup>1083</sup> *Strzesz*, p. 785 and , *Visitatio 1706*, p. 829-831. For the full texts, see catalogue.

<sup>1084</sup> See, for instance, Gryglewski 2002.

<sup>1085</sup> See, for instance, Opaliński 2007, p. 214-216; see also Grzybowski 1990, p. 80. One of their manors, in Radlin, was built - according to a late sixteenth century description - in an Italian manner and furnished with a beautiful garden; it was visited by Sigismund III in 1594, see Leitsch 2009, 4, p. 2435.

inscription and heraldry, all displayed within a monumental, yet sober architectural frame. The latter was embellished with a frieze with panoplies, a decorative motive alluding to Berzeviczy's noble descent. The greatest emphasis was laid on a funerary inscription occupying the central part of the monument as well as - obviously - on the effigy. The lengthy text is much more elaborate and detailed than in the case of Piotr Tarnowski. It describes the life and achievements of the deceased, accentuating the most important facts, especially those pertaining to the time Berzeviczy spent in the service of Stephen Báthory. Moreover, it underlines his services rendered to the emperors: Ferdinand I, Maximilian II and Rudolph II. Reference to such great men was undoubtedly intended to promote Berzeviczy's social standing. It was hardly unusual; for instance, bishop Piotr Kostka has been described in a sepulchral inscription on his monument in Chełmża as a servant to four consecutive Polish monarchs: Sigismund II August, Henri de Valois, Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa. The text also provides information about Berzeviczy's family relations. The importance of such detailed funerary inscriptions for contemporary viewers is confirmed by the words of Jan Karol Dachnowski, the author of a manuscript describing heraldry of Prussian nobility written in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Presenting history of the Berzeviczy family, Dachnowski advised his readers to seek further details pertaining to Martin de Berzeviczy's life in the *encomium* on his tomb in Lisnowo.<sup>1086</sup>

Compared to the monument of Piotr Tarnowski, built by a Catholic archbishop, the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy - a Protestant - does not exhibit major dissimilarities. Such divergences as the lack of allegorical statues of virtues in the latter was not motivated by confessional differences, as this popular iconographical motive was widespread among both in Catholic and Protestant circles. The lack of major divergences between tombs noblemen differing in faith seems to be a general trend in contemporary sepulchral art in the Commonwealth. Although detailed research on this issue is yet to be done, it appears that Catholic and Protestant members of the nobility - the latter were numerous particularly in the second half of the sixteenth century - employed very similar forms of funerary commemoration. In this way, the monuments they erected reflect the social position of their commissioners rather than their particular religious convictions.

### **Monuments of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Mikołaj Kos**

Although all tombs were erected in religious spaces, some of the noble families commemorated by them were particularly close to the Church. Sometimes, a member of the high nobility would built an entire church, designed to serve as his mausoleum. Among the works attributed to Willem van den Blocke, an example of such a work is provided by the tomb of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, in Nesvizh.<sup>1087</sup> It has been set up in the Jesuit church there, founded by Radziwiłł himself and located in vicinity of his main residence. It served as a mausoleum of the family, as Mikołaj Radziwiłł erected there also monuments commemorating his wife and two sons. Undoubtedly, the prince was aware of the importance of proper commemoration for asserting the position of his

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<sup>1086</sup> Dachnowski, p. 343.

<sup>1087</sup> The following analysis of the tomb and its context is based on a thorough study by Tadeusz Bernatowicz (Bernatowicz 1990; Bernatowicz 1998, p. 110-120). The Radziwiłł family was one of few in Poland-Lithuania to have used princely title; it has been bestowed upon them by Charles V in 1547.

family and its continuity. He is known to have commissioned memorials of two eminent members of the Radziwiłł family, namely Bishop of Vilnius Wojciech (Albrycht) and Cardinal and Bishop of Cracow Jerzy Radziwiłł - who died in Rome in 1600 and was buried in Il Gesù - both set up in Vilnius cathedral. All these commissions reveal clear political agenda on the one hand and deep religious feeling on the other. As to the latter, Radziwiłł's religious foundations were related to the fact that he was a deeply devout Catholic convert. He converted at the age of sixteen, after the tragic - and highly unusual - death of his father, powerful Lithuanian Chancellor and Voivode of Vilnius Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'Czarny', one of the leaders of Polish and Lithuanian protestants and a bitter opponent of the Roman Church.<sup>1088</sup>

Even though the epitaph of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł is relatively simple, its programme is highly individual. Radziwiłł is represented kneeling in prayer, clad in pilgrim attire and holding a rosary as well as a pilgrim staff.<sup>1089</sup> This costume referred to his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1582-1584. This episode is also reflected in the symbol of the cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher, placed in the upper zone of the epitaph. Religious meaning of pilgrimage is expounded on in the inscription placed next to the effigy: *Advena ego sum et peregrines apud te, sicut omnes patres mei* (I dwell with you as a foreigner, a stranger, as all my ancestors were; Psalm 38.13) Radziwiłł social position has been represented by elements of armour, placed next to his effigy. However, also this motive should be interpreted in a religious context here. It must have referred to the concept of *miles christianus* and – in particular – *miles Hierosolymitanus*. A reference point is provided here by an emblem *Pietas* published in a book by Hieronim Bildziukiewicz, inspired by Mikołaj Radziwiłł himself. It depicts a kneeling figure with armour placed in front of it, as well as an inscription 'Deo'.<sup>1090</sup> Exceptional simplicity of the tomb is a statement itself. It was referred to by Jan Aland in his funerary sermon, published in 1617. Also Radziwiłł's funeral ceremony was very humble, a fact that caught attention of contemporaries. This is indicated, for instance, by the account of Samuel Maskiewicz, who took part in the event. Thus, a modest monument with a clear religious message together with a humble funeral, contrasting with the position and means of the deceased, served to accentuate his humility and piety. It was not the tomb, but the magnificent church, that served as a real monument of the prince and his powerful family.

Other noblemen that envisaged their own commemoration often acted as benefactors of an already existing church they chose as place of burial. Among the works attributed to Willem van den Blocke, an important example of such a commission is provided by tomb of the Kos family, one of the most distinguished in Royal Prussia. It had particularly close relations with the two great Cistercian abbeys in the province: Oliwa and Pelplin. Around 1600 its members greatly contributed to refurbishing of the church in Oliwa that suffered due to the Reformation and was furthermore looted by a Gdańsk mob in 1577. In 1599 Mikołaj Kos financed the construction of a new musical organ, while in 1604 Rafał Kos, who joined the Cistercian

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<sup>1088</sup> With regard to Mikołaj Radziwiłł 'Czarny' see Lulewicz 1987c. He died a terrible death after he covered his entire body - in an attempt to cure himself - with quicksilver.

<sup>1089</sup> It may be noted here that both the rosary and the staff have been preserved to this day in Jasna Góra.

<sup>1090</sup> Bernatowicz 1990, p. 236; Liškevičienė 2005, p. 94-99.

order himself, donated 1400 florins for the erection of a new main altar.<sup>1091</sup> Support given to the monastery by Mikołaj Kos was hardly a coincidence: his wife, Justyna, was a sister of the abbot, David Konarski (1589-1614).<sup>1092</sup> What is more, Mikołaj's son Feliks, whose sculpted stone epitaph can still be seen in Oliwa, in 1610 became abbot of the second great Cistercian abbey, Pelplin.<sup>1093</sup> (fig. 200)

In this context the fact that Mikołaj Kos was allowed to erect a sumptuous, free standing monument for himself, his wife and infant child in the main nave is hardly surprising. Although such location of a tomb was rather unusual in Poland at that time, in this case it seems to have been justified by the role of the family as protectors and supporters of the Cistercian order. The Kos exercised broad religious patronage and maintained close relation with the Church hierarchy in general.<sup>1094</sup> All funerary inscription devoted to them on the Oliwa monument underline the piety of the commemorated persons. One of them explicitly mentioned the donation of 900 florins for building of the organ.<sup>1095</sup> Another inscription on the monument, this time pertaining to Justyna Kos, informs that she has erected altar of the Christ's Crown. Mikołaj Kos, kneeling in full armour directly in front of a new main altar founded by a member of his family, can be therefore seen as true embodiment of a pious knight, devoted to supporting the Church. Placed in the crossing, it could have been seen by the laity, which was not allowed inside the church.

## 6.6 Monuments of the Báthory family

Although Stephen Báthory was ruling in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth for only ten years, the Báthory family constituted an important factor of central European politics of late sixteenth century. Its members fostered ultimately unfulfilled ambitions of creating a political entity consisting of Hungary – or at least Transylvania - and the Commonwealth, able to oppose the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires.

As discussed earlier, King Stephen Báthory and his relatives were fully aware of the importance of written and visual propaganda, and widely exploited it in their political activities.<sup>1096</sup> This is also true with regard to sepulchral monuments, an important element of dynastic politics, used to augment the position of the family and to manifest its goals. The Báthory family propaganda and its visual representation remain, of course, well beyond the scope of this work. Nonetheless, analysis of three monuments commemorating its members,

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<sup>1091</sup> Lubomski, 1, p. 51 and 4, p. 80, 81; see *Annales Monasterii Olivensis*, p. 116. The altar has been embellished with coats-of-arms of both Kos and Konarski families, see Hirsch 1850b, p. 52. On the altar, still existing today in transept, see above all Sulewska 2004, p. 71, 78-82.

<sup>1092</sup> *Annales Monasterii Olivensis*, p. 134; Sulewska 2004, p. 71. David Konarski has been commemorated with an elaborate epitaph, that included a portrait executed in the studio of leading Prussian painter, Herman Han, see Sulewska 2004, p. 82-84. David Konarski himself funded elaborate choir stalls (built after 1599), see Sulewska 2004, p. 74-78.

<sup>1093</sup> On Feliks Kos, see Ciemnołoński 1968. More on the family in Kowalkowski 2007.

<sup>1094</sup> With regard to funeral of Mikołaj Kos, that took place on 18 and 19 January 1600, see *Annales Monasterii Olivensis*, p. 117, and Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 448.

<sup>1095</sup> Inscriptions on this monument are rather confusing, since it has been remodeled c. 1620 and moved between 1831 and 1850. The text in question has been discovered during recent conservation works in 2005 (it was unknown to Lech Krzyżanowski in 1968) and most probably formed a part of the original monument. Reference to the founding of the organs appears also in another inscription on the tomb, dating probably from c. 1621, see Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 446-447.

<sup>1096</sup> See Chapter 2.

executed between 1582 and 1599 - at the peak of the family's importance - may provide an insight into relations between art and politics in its service. The iconography and historical context of the following tombs will be forwarded here: the one of Christopher Báthory, formerly in Alba Iulia (1582-1584), the cenotaph of Cardinal Andreas Báthory and his brother Balthazar in Barczewo (c. 1595-1598), both by Willem van den Blocke, and the monument of King Stephan Báthory himself in the Cracow cathedral (1594-1595) by the Italian sculptor Santi Gucci.

The earliest of them was set up in Alba Iulia in 1583-1584. The form of this lost tomb, made of rare stone imported from abroad, is unknown. However, the text of the funerary inscription has been preserved.<sup>1097</sup> Although isolated from its visual context, it nonetheless provides an important information about the purpose of this important and apparently sumptuous sepulchral monument. Since it was commissioned by King Stephen Báthory, it seems more than likely that the text of funerary inscription represented his views and political agenda.

According to contemporary custom, the inscription presented Christopher's princely virtues, especially as a ruler - in fact rather a governor - of Transylvania. Furthermore, it provided some detailed information concerning the cause of his premature death. The most important, however, was the emphasis put on the family and its continuity. In the beginning, the relation between Christopher and his brother Stephen, the king of Poland, was stressed. Christopher's *pietas* towards the family in general and towards his royal brother in particular was underlined by pointing to the assistance rendered to Stephen during the latter's war with Muscovy. This victorious Muscovite war must have been particularly important for the propaganda of the Báthory family, since references to it appeared in other monuments of its members.

An even more significant part of the inscription was devoted to the pressing and complicated problem of succession. Christopher's son Sigismund, although only a boy at that time, was explicitly named as the successor of his father, personally chosen by him and accepted by a common consensus. Inscribed in stone for all to see, the funeral inscription must have been intended to validate the rule of young Sigismund. Thus, it revealed the stress the Báthory family laid on the continuity of its rule. This statement is of particular importance, as it points to its dynastic plans, including the consolidation of their government in Transylvania as a prime target. The dominance of this political goal can be observed in the later activities of Sigismund Báthory and his cousin Andreas, who put aside their personal hatred in order to secure the family's hold of the native province.

Stephen and Christopher Báthory, linked by strong personal bond, were closely cooperating with each other to carry out their political plans. In the next generation, however, the relations between members of the family became more complicated. The prime protagonists were now two cousins: cardinal Andreas Báthory, Prince Bishop of Warmia and a potential contender for the Polish throne, and Christopher's son Sigismund, the Prince of Transylvania. The relations between them became openly hostile in 1594, when Sigismund murdered - along with some other leading Transylvanian aristocrats - Andreas' brother

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<sup>1097</sup> Gyulafy, p. 50.

Balthazar, who was hoping to become a Prince of Transylvania himself.<sup>1098</sup> The grieving cardinal started a campaign against his treacherous cousin. However, because of his deteriorating political position at that time, he achieved little success.<sup>1099</sup>

Exactly around that time the cardinal commissioned a sepulchral monument to commemorate his brother and himself. This cenotaph, erected in the Bernardine church in the small town of Barczewo (Wartenburg) in Warmia (Ermland) c. 1595-1598, probably served a number of purposes. It was simultaneously expressing family bonds between the brothers and the cardinal's outrage directed against his treacherous cousin. In fact, the latter was described in one of the funerary inscriptions as a bloody tyrant.<sup>1100</sup> The monument of Andreas and Balthazar Báthory was the focal point of an intriguing, even though not entirely verified episode, that may illustrate – if proven authentic – the complexity of personal and political relations within the family. After the murder of Balthazar, a slow and painful process of reconciliation between the cousins began to take place. The main reason for this was, of course, their mutual desire to secure the family's rule in Transylvania, challenged above all by the Habsburgs. In a letter dated 22 February 1598, the cardinal expressed it directly, urging Sigismund to upkeep the Báthory position in Transylvania at all costs.<sup>1101</sup> This political goal made them forget personal grievances. Such an approach was not uncommon at that time: for instance, in order to support his rights to the English throne, King James I Stuart built a monument to Queen Elisabeth I, even though she had executed his mother, Mary Stuart.<sup>1102</sup> Therefore, an inscription on the monument in Barczewo installed there after 1594 and condemning Sigismund Báthory in strongest words, became rather troublesome. Jan Leo, a catholic priest from Warmia closely affiliated to Cardinal Andreas Báthory, stated in his chronicle *Historia Prussiae* that the cardinal had this inscription removed when Sigismund was to visit the province in 1599. Although the accuracy of Leo's testimony may be doubted, the general idea that statement condemning Sigismund has been intentionally destroyed at some point is plausible. It is indirectly supported by Augustyn Ciepliński, who quoted a lost text indeed containing strong words against Sigismund.<sup>1103</sup> The wording existing today is much more neutral, stressing aspects of political significance rather than personal enmity. It informs that the cardinal was related to King Stephen and his brother Christopher, Prince of Transylvania, thus stressing traditional family ties. Moreover, it also mentions the reigning king Sigismund III Vasa, in an attempt to strengthen the current position of the cardinal.

The monument of Cardinal Báthory and his brother is an important example of funerary sculpture. It was made of costly stone, namely black and red limestone as well as alabaster, and lavishly decorated with ornamental carvings. One of its most significant features is the differentiation between two types of effigies, a kneeling and a reclining figure. The former has been used to represent the cardinal, in prayer and clad in ecclesiastical robes, referring to

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<sup>1098</sup> Bazylow 1967, p. 68-71.

<sup>1099</sup> Bazylow 1967, p. 72-73.

<sup>1100</sup> This inscription, non-existent today, is known from an eighteenth century manuscript, in AZB (W-33): Ciepliński, p. 896. However, it seems likely that the text quoted by Ciepliński was changed at some point. In fact, the author himself had some doubts with regard to it. Moreover, it remains unclear whether it was a part of the monument, or rather some sort of an independent tablet (compare with Sherlock 2008, p. 197-229).

<sup>1101</sup> Bazylow 1967, p. 101, note 1.

<sup>1102</sup> Llewellyn 2000, p. 313.

<sup>1103</sup> Leo, VIII, p. 487.

his ecclesiastical dignity and piety. In early seventeenth century tombs with kneeling effigies were becoming more popular, introducing a greater sense of religion; the monument of Cardinal Báthory represents a particularly early and important example illustrating this process.<sup>1104</sup> Balthazar, on the other hand, has been presented reclining in a full armour, in accordance with the model most popular in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This can be viewed as an expression of his position as a member of the high nobility. An interesting motive appears in the decoration of pilasters framing the central aedicule with effigies, namely panoplies. Rather surprising in a monument of a cardinal, they may allude either to the noble origins and martial prowess of the family in general, or to the military profession of Balthazar. Other elements of the rich ornamental decoration appear to serve purely decorative function, although clusters of fruit and vegetables in archivolt - a common decorative motive, though - may refer to abundance resulting from the rule of the prince-bishop. Furthermore, the richness of decoration undoubtedly added significantly to the sumptuousness of the monument, in line with the concept of *magnificentia*. The upper zone was originally decorated with personification of three virtues, *Fides*, *Spes* and *Caritas*, a common trait of funeral monuments. *Fides* has been represented with a chalice and a book, while the attributes of the other two figures are lost. The coat-of-arms of cardinal Báthory, displayed on the pediment together with those of his forefathers, once again underlines prestige and continuity of the family.<sup>1105</sup>

To further elucidate the significance attached by members of the Báthory family to sepulchral monuments it is revealing to compare the ones of Christopher and Andreas Báthorys with that of King Stephen Báthory himself, erected in Cracow by Santi Gucci in 1594-1595. (fig. 96) In contrast to earlier works, the royal tomb was not commissioned by a member of the Báthory family, but by the Queen dowager, Anna of Jagiellon. However, just as in the tombs discussed above, the rather short funerary inscription describes the king's victory over Muscovy. This important feat was also depicted in an interesting emblematic image on the monument, representing a family of defeated Muscovites under - rather unexpectedly - a palm tree. It was based on antique model: a Roman coin made in commemoration of Titus' capture of Jerusalem.<sup>1106</sup> Nonetheless, the funeral inscription lacks any reference to the Báthory family as such, or to its Transylvanian background. Instead, it mentions explicitly Anna of Jagiellon, thus referring to the patronage of the queen, who was interested above all in maintaining the Jagiellon lineage. The program of this royal monument thus confirms, even though indirectly, that references to the family's political position and ambitions, appearing in the other funerary inscriptions concerning the Báthory's, were deliberate.

Another important issue with regard to sepulchral works funded by members of the Báthory family is their religious context. The tomb of Christopher was erected in the Jesuit church in Transylvanian capital. The Jesuits were strongly supported by Stephen and Christopher Báthory - by the former also in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth - and

<sup>1104</sup> Łoziński 1973, p. 105. On kneeling effigies in Poland in general see Tatarkiewicz 1956.

<sup>1105</sup> These heraldic signs belonged to the following families: Majláth (Andreas' mother), Telegdi (paternal grandmother), Nádasdy (maternal grandmother) and Késméri (paternal great-grandmother). I would like to thank prof. Jacek Tylicki for information.

<sup>1106</sup> It was undoubtedly part of a wider program of royal propaganda, as the same motive has been used in a medallion made for the royal triumph in 1583; see Kowalczyk 1976, p. 323-333.

played an important role in the attempts to counter the advance of Reformation in Transylvania.<sup>1107</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that by erecting the tomb in a church belonging to this congregation, the Báthorys were supporting their cause at that time. In fact, it was a break with tradition, since earlier rulers, Isabel of Jagiellon and her son John Sigismund, have been commemorated with free standing tombs in the Alba Iulia cathedral. Later on, also cardinal Andreas Báthory was honoured with a temporary memorial in the cathedral.<sup>1108</sup>

The monument commissioned by Andreas Báthory in Poland was installed in a church belonging to another religious order, the Bernardines. It is rather surprising, taking into consideration the very provincial character of the church in Barczewo, and certainly indicates the cardinal's strong support for the congregation. Indeed, he put a lot of effort in re-establishing the monastery, abandoned in the course of the sixteenth century as a result of the Reformation.<sup>1109</sup> This involved both creating a new, Bernardine convent and rebuilding the partly ruined monastery and church, devoted to Báthory's patron saint.<sup>1110</sup> By undertaking such activities, the cardinal followed in the footsteps of his predecessors, Marcin Kromer and, above all, Stanislaus Hosius, leading figures of the Counterreformation, whose government allowed Warmia to retain its Catholic character.<sup>1111</sup>

## 6.7 The monument of Johan III Vasa

The iconography of the monument of the Swedish King Johan III Vasa, executed in 1593-1596 and destined for the Uppsala cathedral, cannot be analyzed in every detail. Due to its complex history, the intended form of the tomb remains unknown; it cannot be ruled out that the original design included elements lost or unidentified today.<sup>1112</sup> Therefore, only a presentation of the most important issues pertaining to its iconography is possible.

The royal monument was commissioned by Sigismund III Vasa, the son of Johan, almost a year after the latter's death. Beyond doubt, he intended to make it a grand work of sepulchral art, as it was to serve his main political goal ascertaining his position as the rightful king of Sweden. To stress the magnificence of the tomb, it was made entirely of rare and costly material, namely alabaster as well as red and black stone imported from the Low Countries. This choice resulted in a great cost of the monument, amounting eight thousands *tallers*.

The central element of the monument was constituted by reclining effigy of the king, clad in full armour. He has been depicted wearing a royal cope, lined with fur inside and outside decorated with the Vasa coat-of-arms. On his shoulders the king wears an elaborate collar of the Agnus Dei Order with depictions of lamb over dragon, angels and royal coat-of-

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<sup>1107</sup> The Jesuits have been, however, expelled from Transylvania by Sigismund Báthory.

<sup>1108</sup> Szabó 2008, p. 185, 188.

<sup>1109</sup> See, for instance, Kantak 1933, p. 4, 55.

<sup>1110</sup> See, for instance, *Treter*, p. 124. Báthory's commitment to reestablishing of the monastery is confirmed by numerous documents in Bernardine Archive in Cracow and in Dioecesan Archive in Olsztyn, for instance *Ciepliński*, p. 880-902 and Archiwum Diecezjalne (Bishopric Archive) in Olsztyn, Archiwum Parafii Barczewo 9, p. 2, though most of them appear to be based on the account by Treter. See also Koppenhagen 1927; Koppenhagen 1939, p. 61-94 and Hochleitner 2000, p. 76-77, 144. Later on, his efforts were continued by successors, Piotr Tylicki and, especially, Szymon Rudnicki; see *Treter*, p. 136 and *Ciepliński*, p. 897-901.

<sup>1111</sup> See, for instance, Hochleitner 2000 and Hochleitner 2004/2005.

<sup>1112</sup> On the history of the monument see Saar-Kozłowska 2001 and Bengtsson 2010, p. 62-72; see also Catalogue.

arms, carved in great detail, polychromed and gilded.<sup>1113</sup> Closely associated with the effigy were two figures of sitting putti, holding elements of the monarch's armour and mourning his death, even if their present location differs from the originally planned. Two further statues of standing putti, holding shields, had a similar meaning. Motives referring to the vanity of earthly life, such as skulls bones, spades and urns, appear also in the ornamental plaques decorating the monument. Consolation in grief over the king's passing away was, however, offered by the figure of *Immortalitas*.<sup>1114</sup> Besides its probable eschatological meaning, it could also refer to such ideas as immortal glory of the king and durability of the kingdom. *Immortalitas* could have been related to one of the smaller figures, today decorating the canopy, that can be identified as either *Mors* or *Quies*. Combined together, they probably formed part of a triad typical for funeral monuments executed in the circle of Cornelis Floris, discussed above, consisting of personifications of *Labor*, *Quies* and *Immortalitas*.

Two full-length figures of Old Testament kings, David and Salomon, stand today on each side of the monument. The tradition to include these particular figures in royal and imperial iconography reaches far into the past, even to the first centuries of Christianity. Monarchs of the Old Testament served as models for contemporary rulers already in the fourth century, in writings of St. Ambrosius, and later in titles and iconography of Charlemagne.<sup>1115</sup> In the sixteenth century this tradition remained still very popular, with sovereigns identifying themselves with these of Biblical personalities. To cite some examples, two tondos depicting David and Salomon constituted an important part of the iconographic program of the Sigismund Chapel in Cracow (1515-1533), and prominent statues appeared on the monument of Duke Albrecht in Königsberg (1568-1571).<sup>1116</sup> Also the Danish monarchs, particularly Christian IV, were eager to identify themselves with Salomon.<sup>1117</sup> Traditionally, this Biblical king was a symbol of godly wisdom in ruling a domain.<sup>1118</sup>

Identification with Biblical kings could also have a more immediate purpose. Some scholars argue that depiction of the figures in Sigismund Chapel in Cracow could have been an expression of dynastic policy.<sup>1119</sup> The same pattern was possibly applied also by Emperor Charles V and his son, Philip II of Spain.<sup>1120</sup> It seems, therefore, possible that the statues of two Biblical monarchs on the royal tomb in Uppsala were to manifest the idea of continuity of the house of Vasa.

Apart from the issues of internal politics, the monument of Johan III may be also interpreted in the context of struggle for control of the Baltic Sea between Sweden, at that time briefly united with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Denmark and Muscovy.

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<sup>1113</sup> The Agnus Dei order, mentioned in 1578 by the Spanish ambassador Francisco de Eraso, was created by Johan III (I would like to thank Herman Bengtsson for the information).

<sup>1114</sup> According to the reconstruction proposed by August Hahr, this statue was intended to crown the entire monument.

<sup>1115</sup> On these issues see, for instance, Schramm, 1963, p. 229-255, especially 235-240.

<sup>1116</sup> As to the former see L. Kalinowski, p. 73-80; Wiliński 1970, p. 45-47; Morka 2006, p. 250-260; Mossakowski, p. 265-267. On the tradition of royal association of figures of the Biblical kings see, for instance, Boczkowska 1985.

<sup>1117</sup> Roding 2011.

<sup>1118</sup> Morka 2006, p. 257.

<sup>1119</sup> See, for instance, Morka 2006, p. 258-259. According to some interpretations, King Salomon depicted there bears a certain physical similarity to King Sigismund I.

<sup>1120</sup> Cuadra Blanco 2005, p. 170-171.

Denmark was Sweden's particularly bitter rival.<sup>1121</sup> After secession of the latter from Denmark in 1523, Swedish kings were constructing their political identity, and royal residences and mausoleums formed an important part of it. Two crucial undertakings of the Swedish monarchs were the refurbishing of the royal residence in Stockholm and founding a royal mausoleum in Uppsala cathedral. In the second half of the sixteenth century, it was to rival the respective memorial of Danish kings in Roskilde. (fig. 28) The Danish monuments served to augment the dignity and position of the monarchs, both internal and external, and to stress the importance of dynastic continuity.<sup>1122</sup> The same applies to the tombs of the Vasa kings in Uppsala cathedral. The monuments of Christian III of Denmark and Gustav I of Sweden erected in the 1570's and those of Frederik II and Johan III created in the 1590's should be viewed in the context of competition between these two Scandinavian states.

A particularly telling detail common to the last mentioned tombs is the presence of reliefs depicting battle scenes. In the sixteenth century similar motives were used in other important monuments as well, for instance those of Francis I of France in St.-Denis and Emperor Maximilian I in Innsbruck. The architectural form of the former provided, in fact, a direct model for the tombs of the Danish Kings in Roskilde.<sup>1123</sup> A closer formal relation between the scenes embellishing tombs of Frederik II and Johan III seems quite possible. This motive was rather unusual in the region in the sixteenth century. It was absent in earlier royal tombs in both countries, namely those of Christian III and Gustav I Vasa. By introducing scenes of military victories, Frederik II and Sigismund III expressed the ambition to win control over the Baltic region. It must be stressed, however, that the scenes depicted on the tomb of Johan III Vasa were probably not aimed directly at Denmark. Although at this point their identification is hypothetical, it seems most likely that they represented victories over Muscovy in the eastern part of the Baltic region. One of them could have depicted the fall of the town of Narva (today in eastern part of Estonia). It was retaken by Swedish army led by Pontus de la Gardie in 1581, in one of the major Swedish victories during the reign of King Johan III.<sup>1124</sup> Thus, the programme of the royal monument referred to the struggle for the control of the Baltic coast in general.

This hypothesis is further confirmed by the lengthy funeral inscription on the tomb, containing rich biographical and historical information. It mentions explicitly wars with Denmark and with Muscovy, although the latter are most accentuated, and the *Moschoviae tyrannia* is condemned in strong words. Possibly, the enmity towards Denmark was lessened somewhat at the time due to the fact that Sigismund III, commissioner of the monument, was seeking the support of Christian IV of Denmark in his struggle against the rebellion of Duke Karl. In any case, by referring to the main adversaries of Sweden in the Baltic region – for obvious reasons the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth has not been mentioned – the inscription formulated the Swedish claim to the region, in this way supplementing scenes depicting Swedish victories.

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<sup>1121</sup> On some issues related to struggle for *imperium maris baltici* see, for instance, Roberts 1968, R. Frost 2000, Wade 2011.

<sup>1122</sup> Johannsen 2010, p. 130-139.

<sup>1123</sup> Johannsen 2010, p. 132-133.

<sup>1124</sup> See Bengtsson 2010, p. 64-65; on the military campaign see Roberts 1968, p. 263-264 and Frost 2000, p. 44-45.

Apart from political and military issues, the inscription traditionally emphasized personal virtues of the king. Its relatively large part has been devoted to Johan's activities as monarch. Such purpose could have served the figures of *Pax* and *Iustitia*, mentioned by Bernoulli in 1779 - if they were part of the original design, of course.<sup>1125</sup> From the point of view of history of art and architecture particularly interesting is the reference to his building activities, corresponding to his well known interests.<sup>1126</sup> Furthermore, the text also mentions Johan's linguistic skills.<sup>1127</sup> Finally, the literary epitaph refers to the issue of dynastic continuity. It mentions not only Johan's father Gustav I Vasa, but also his mother, Catharina of Jagiellon, and her relation to her father and brother respectively, Sigismund I and Sigismund II August, kings of Poland. Arguably, for Sigismund III this argument was of topmost importance. In the ending of the text he was mentioned as the commissioner of the monument. Thus, the funerary inscription and the tomb in general were to propagate the image of dynastic link between Gustav I, Johan III and Sigismund himself, thus strengthening the latter's claim to the Swedish throne. The reference to the Jagiellonian lineage of his mother was intended to enhance royal dignity, and possibly also to strengthen the union with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hence, the lengthy funerary inscription expressed two major purposes of the monument. The first are related to internal struggle for power in Sweden, was to augment the position of Sigismund Vasa, who founded the memorial. Even if the dynastic motives were of prime importance, there existed a second aim: to assert the position of Sweden in the Baltic region, especially against Denmark and Muscovy.

## Conclusion

Funeral monuments constituted a very important element of the visual culture of in Central and North-Eastern Europe. However, the analysis presented in this chapter pertains only to few out of thousands of such memorials, created in this part of the continent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Therefore, conclusions presented here may not be entirely representative for the sepulchral art in this region as a whole, and definitely need further corroboration. Nonetheless, by pointing out the existence of certain patterns, this study may shed some light on this complex issue and provide a starting point for further research.

In early modern Europe, some types of monuments were considered suitable for members of particular social groups. However, the pattern was by no means universal and the actual practice in different regions of early modern Europe depended on local tradition and customs. In the old Commonwealth, kings and members of the nobility alike were typically commemorated by wall tombs with a full-length reclining - and later on also kneeling - effigy. Members of city élites, on the other hand, were usually commemorated by epitaphs, often monumental in design, elaborately decorated with ornamental and figural sculpture. The differentiation of monument type according to social standing of the commemorated can be also observed in the oeuvre of van den Blocke workshop.

Sometimes, however, particularly important and ambitious members of the lower social strata attempted to imitate the monuments of nobility, or even princes. A perfect example is

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<sup>1125</sup> Bernoulli 1779, p. 335-337.

<sup>1126</sup> Ångström 2003, p. 43-47. As she has stated, a 'proof of his [Johan's] keen interest in architecture is more than 500 letters on building matters, kept in the State Archive' (p. 43). See also Roberts 1968, p. 311-132.

<sup>1127</sup> See also Roberts 1968, p. 261, note 1.

provided by the epitaph of Johann Brandes in Gdańsk, modelled after the ducal epitaphs in Königsberg. An even more striking case of this pattern is the later free standing monument of Simon Bahr, executed by Willem's son Abraham. It may be seen in context of the claims to nobility forwarded by members of the Prussian patrician élites. It must be stressed, nonetheless, that the opposition of the church council against erection of the Bahr monument indicates that such displays of grandeur were not considered entirely appropriate even within the city community.

The differences between members of the major groups defined above can be observed also in the structure of iconographic programmes of the tombs. The main elements of the monuments of nobility were funeral effigy, heraldic display and memorial inscription, as well as - occasionally - allegorical imagery. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, was usually introducing further elements of meaning, such as narrative scenes, emblematic images and Biblical inscriptions. In addition to that, also the use of particular construction material appears to have been a discerning factor. Among the works discussed in this book, an interesting regularity can be observed: wall monuments of nobles were usually made of imported limestone ('marble') and alabaster, while epitaphs of the Prussian bourgeoisie were executed in sandstone and polychromed to imitate more luxurious materials. Among the latter, only the earliest epitaph, commemorating Johann Brandes, included decorative elements carved in alabaster and columns made of the *Rance* limestone. It is likely that luxurious stones were perceived as appropriate for nobility rather than bourgeoisie, no matter how affluent the latter could have been. However, there existed also exceptions from this general rule.

In some cases, religious convictions played as important a role in shaping of the form and programme of sepulchral monuments as the social position of the deceased and the commissioners. The best examples illustrating the weight of confessional identity are provided by epitaphs of Eduard Blemke in Gdańsk and Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. Despite difference in social standing, both these works display a similar approach towards character and purpose of a monument based on Lutheran doctrine. On the other hand, epitaphs commissioned by persons of Calvinist sympathies differed significantly from those founded by Lutherans, particularly in lack of Biblical imagery. In some cases, however, common interests and traditions of a social stratus prevailed over the issues of confessional identity. This can be observed in many monuments commemorating members of Polish-Lithuanian nobility. Usually, their architectural shape and iconography were rather uniform. Main differences between them are visible in secondary details - for instance, richer figural decoration - and in their general contexts. Usually, no major differences existed between monuments commemorating Catholic and Protestant members of nobility. Tombs of the latter were very similar to those of their Catholic counterparts, but differed strongly in form and iconography from monuments of fellow Protestants belonging to differing social groups, such as those of dukedom and bourgeoisie. Such works as the epitaph of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, were rather unusual. Thus, sepulchral monuments allow members of the local noble caste, particularly its higher echelons, to express unique social and political position in the Commonwealth, rather than differences of confession, that were usually visible in the general context of a tomb rather than in its iconographical programme.

## CHAPTER 7

### WILLEM VAN DEN BLOCHE AND NETHERLANDISH SCULPTURE IN CENTRAL AND NORTH-EASTERN EUROPE

#### Introduction

Willem van den Blocke appears to have been one of the leading exponents of Netherlandish sculpture in the Baltic region. However, the question of his position within the Low Countries artistic diaspora generally as well as his contribution to the dissemination of Antwerp-type sculpture remain to a large degree unexplored. The same applies to his personal importance for artistic developments in the region. The following chapter will attempt to analyze the sculptor's standing within this wider context. In the first part, the phenomenon of emigration of Netherlandish sculptors, stonemasons, architects and the like will be discussed, with particular attention given to Cornelis Floris and the circle of his influence. Next, van den Blocke's position in the places where he worked after departing from the Low Countries - Ducal Prussia, Gdańsk and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth - will be evaluated. The final section will be devoted to the complex issue of influence exerted by Willem van den Blocke on the local artistic milieus in these places.

#### 7.1 Sculpture in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century

At the time when young Willem van den Blocke began his training in the studios of Mechelen and Antwerp, sculpture in the Low Countries was already dominated by the 'antique' formal language, ultimately derived from the art of ancient Rome and further popularized by its Italian emulations, introduced into the Low Countries c. 1515-1530.<sup>1128</sup> In the initial period the most prominent exponents of this 'antique' art in sculpture were Conrad Meit from Mainz (1470/85-1550/51) and - especially - Jean (Jehan) Mone from Metz (1485/90-c. 1548/49), both employed by Margaret of Austria and her court in Mechelen. Their activity constituted a part of a wider phenomenon of appreciation of the new artistic forms and ideas that began in the first decades of the sixteenth century, developed by such artists as Jean Gossaert, Jan van Scorel and Maarten van Heemskerck. All of them had visited Italy and were deeply impressed by the art of Antiquity and by the contemporary Italian artistic culture, transferring its influence to their homeland.<sup>1129</sup> Mone - active also in Antwerp - played a particularly important role, strongly contributing to the development and dissemination of the 'antique' vocabulary in the Low Countries and neighbouring lands.<sup>1130</sup> He worked for the highest ranking patrons in the Low Countries and cooperated with

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<sup>1128</sup> On the concept of 'antique' art in the sixteenth century Low Countries see, above all, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 15-136.

<sup>1129</sup> See, for instance, Veldman 1993, Weissert 2008, Schrader 2010 and Weissert 2011, as well as Brussel-Roma 1995. See also De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007.

<sup>1130</sup> On Jean Mone see Roggen 1931, Duverger, Onghena&van Daalen 1953, Roggen 1953, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 31-33, Lipińska 2007, De Jonge 2009, De Jonge 2010 and Lipińska 2011b.

Rombout II Keldermans, the leading architect of that time, in Hoogstraten and Heverlee.<sup>1131</sup> His atelier produced numerous monumental works, including tombs and altars, as well as smaller sculptures, exerting a profound influence on other sculptors and architects.<sup>1132</sup> (figs. 201-202) Although the circle of patronage of Jean Mone himself consisted of the elite of the Low Countries - apart from the court, also members of such important families as Lalaing and Croÿ - some of the works created by his followers reached distant locations in Central Europe, as witnessed by the magnificent altar destined probably for Berlin castle chapel (c. 1562; today in Słońsk in Poland).<sup>1133</sup> (fig. 146)

In the following generation the leading position was assumed by Jacques du Broeucq (c. 1500-1584) and Cornelis Floris (c. 1514-1575). These two sculptors and architects, having a first-hand knowledge of works of ancient as well as modern *all'antica* art, became the most important exponents of the 'antique' style around the middle of the century. However, the formal character of their work and their *modus operandi* differed considerably.

Du Broeucq, *maître artiste de l'empereur* famous already in sixteenth century and called by the architect and engraver from Liège Lambert Suavius 'our second Michelangelo', excelled particularly in the service of Mary of Hungary, who became Gouvernor-general of the Low Countries after the death of Margaret of Austria.<sup>1134</sup> Further evidence of the high esteem enjoyed by du Broeucq is provided by the fact that he was chosen to judge designs for the new town hall in Antwerp, submitted by leading Netherlandish architects and artists, including Cornelis Floris. There can be little doubt that du Broeucq had visited Italy; moreover, he also had a first-hand knowledge of artistic developments in France, a very important centre of European sculpture.<sup>1135</sup> The best proof of his outstanding sculptural skills and artistic excellence is provided by the figural decoration of the *jubé* in Sainte-Waudru church in Mons. (figs. 139, 203) Unfortunately, little remains of his numerous architectural works, such as residences in Boussu and Binche.<sup>1136</sup> Thus, du Broeucq played a very important role in the sixteenth century Netherlandish sculpture and architecture, strongly contributing to the strengthening of the taste for 'antique' art. However, his direct influence on the itinerant artists and their work in Central and North-Eastern Europe was rather limited - at least according to the current state of research - since he was employed above all by the Habsburg rulers, their court circles and other patrons, especially in the south-western part of the Low Countries.

Cornelis Floris, on the other hand, exerted a significant and direct influence on many of the Netherlandish émigrés. After a sojourn in Italy in late 1530's, Floris returned to Antwerp and established his atelier there. In the following decades, it became one of the most important and influential sculptor studios in transalpine Europe. His tremendous success was a result of several factors of artistic as well as of practical nature. As to the former, Floris

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<sup>1131</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 31-32.

<sup>1132</sup> See, for instance, Lipińska 2007, p. 210-216 and Gdańsk 2011, no I.1, p. 102-105, no I.4, p. 114-117, no I.5, p. 118-121, no I.20, p. 172-175.

<sup>1133</sup> Either for the castle chapel or the cathedral. The altar today in the parish church in Słońsk. Parts of the altar has been attributed to the circle of Jean Mone by Aleksandra Lipińska, see Lipińska 2006, p. 244 and Lipińska 2007, p. 122-129, 210-216.

<sup>1134</sup> On du Broeucq see, among others, Hedicke 1904, Kavalier 1994, Didier 2000, De Jonge 2005, Kavalier 2005, De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, Kavalier 2008 and De Jonge 2009.

<sup>1135</sup> Scholten 2007a, p. 227; Kavalier 2008.

<sup>1136</sup> De Jonge 2005; De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007.

combined firm command of the fashionable *all'antica* style, derived from the study of antique and contemporary Italian works of art in Italy, with invention and outstanding skills in designing and executing figural and ornamental sculpture as well as architecture. The other fundamental causes of his success were his ability to organize an effective production system, as well as to attract high-ranking patronage even from abroad. Despite the lack of detailed information about the structure of his workshop, it may be guessed that he implemented a pattern combining rich local tradition of production of luxury goods, for instance division of labour, with certain novelties derived from Italy, such as the use of full-scale models.<sup>1137</sup> Staying in Antwerp, the commercial hub of mid sixteenth century Northern Europe, Floris maintained contacts with an extensive network of patrons, artistic agents, artists and suppliers of material. This offered him a possibility to secure large and prestigious commissions, as well as the means to carry them out. What is also important, he surrounded himself with skilled, capable and ambitious assistants and collaborators, who were able to operate semi-, or even fully independently, but at the same time usually maintained ties with his studio. In this way he dominated the local milieu and exerted a strong influence abroad. The proficiency of the network created - or at least greatly enhanced - by Cornelis Floris is most clearly visible in the fact that he was able to export on long distances not only monumental works of sculpture and microarchitecture, but even elements of full-scale architecture, for instance the edifice of the Royal Exchange in London (1566-1567).<sup>1138</sup>

In the context of the present monograph, it is particularly important to observe that the pattern of workshop practice implemented in the Floris studio was one of the most important factors facilitating travel of many Netherlandish artists. Only rarely leaving Antwerp himself, Floris used to send his assistants to assemble works executed in his workshop and subsequently shipped in parts to their place of destination. The role played by these collaborators, who would usually arrive even before the shipment, was of crucial importance. Familiar with the master's design as well as working practice, they were able to properly assemble and erect monumental works, consisting of many elements. They would not only prepare the location, including a niche in a wall, and build *in situ* the necessary substructure, usually using local material, but also amend elements damaged during transport.<sup>1139</sup> Perhaps the most telling example of this pattern is provided by the members of the Mido family. Robert Mido was engaged in the execution of Floris' most important commissions in Denmark, Königsberg and Tournai. His brother Nicolas was present in Königsberg, and later moved to Mecklenburg, where he cooperated with Robert Coppens.<sup>1140</sup> Some of these travelling helpers could execute minor works on the spot, and even establish their own workshops in the new milieus. In any case, their presence must have strongly contributed to the dissemination of the new artistic forms.

Around the middle of the century, other important sculptors were present in Antwerp as well. It seems, nonetheless, that most of them were closely cooperating with Cornelis Floris, who maintained a dominant position in the milieu. Some of them worked on the spot

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<sup>1137</sup> As to the latter, see Scholten 2003a, p. 54-55 and Scholten 2007a, p. 227.

<sup>1138</sup> Girouard 2009, p. 474, note 87.

<sup>1139</sup> On this see Jolly 1999a, Johannsen 2006 and Ottenheim 2013.

<sup>1140</sup> Jolly 1999a; Ottenheim 2013

for local patrons, for instance taking part in execution of epitaphs in the Grote Kerk in Breda (between 1540's and 1560's), of the epitaph of Anthonis Berthyns in Leuven (1563) and, later on, of the epitaph of Philip de Lalaing in Hoogstraten (c. 1583).<sup>1141</sup> (figs. 14, 204) Another example of the workshop's influence is provided by the activity of Anthonis van Seron, a sculptor and stone trader responsible for setting up the grand monument of Moritz of Saxony in Freiberg (1555-1563). (figs. 117, 205) A very important Antwerp sculptor was Willem van den Broecke, called Paludanus, perhaps the most renowned member of a large artistic clan originating from Mechelen.<sup>1142</sup> A specialist in figural carving and master of the 'antique' style, he was responsible for numerous bas-reliefs and some cabinet pieces - 'small alabasters', similar to small bronzes - popular among patrons and connoisseurs in the Low Countries and abroad.<sup>1143</sup> (fig. 206) Paludanus was also involved in designing of the new Town Hall in Antwerp, possibly together with Cornelis Floris. The artists mentioned here are, of course, only a few out of many active in the city on the Scheldt during its 'Golden Age' in mid sixteenth century. There were, however, many more, who for various reasons decided to leave the metropolis and to travel abroad in search of further opportunities.

## 7.2 Early modern Netherlandish sculptors abroad

Moving from Antwerp to Königsberg c. 1569, Willem van den Blocke joined the large diaspora of Netherlandish sculptors, architects, stonemasons, masons and stone merchants living and working in various parts of Europe, including the Holy Roman Empire, England, the Baltic region, Iberian peninsula, and Italy.<sup>1144</sup> It was created in the wake of a massive emigration of artists and architects from the Low Countries taking place since the middle of the sixteenth century. Naturally, travel constituted an essential part of an artist's professional life already in the Middle Ages. Nonetheless, because of its scale and impact, Netherlandish emigration of the sixteenth century was an outstanding phenomenon, carrying far-reaching consequences for artistic culture of large parts of Europe. It may be compared only to the travels of contemporary Italian builders and sculptors, particularly of Northern Italian origin, working in such diverse places as France, Spain, Hungary, Poland, Sweden and even Russia.

Arguably, Netherlandish émigrés made the strongest impact on Central and North-Eastern Europe: Scandinavia, lands of the Holy Roman Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>1145</sup> Netherlandish art appeared there already in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century, especially in the urban centres located along the coasts of the North and

<sup>1141</sup> As to the former see Huysmans *et al.* 1996, p. 100-103 and Wezel 2003, p. 335-344.

<sup>1142</sup> See, among others, Duverger&Onghena 1938, Duverger&Onghena 1942, Nieuwdorp&Remoortele 1982, Lipińska 2007 and Lipińska 2011b.

<sup>1143</sup> As to the latter, see particularly the statuette of Sleeping Nymph, today in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; Gdańsk 2011, no. I.21, p. 176-179.

<sup>1144</sup> On this issue see, among others, Białostocki 1976, Jolly 1999a, Jolly 1999b, Meganck 2005, DaCosta Kaufmann 2006, Scholten 2007a, Ottenheim 2013 and Skibiński 2013a. Furthermore, two important volumes on this issue will be published after the completion of this dissertation: *The Low Countries at the Crossroads. Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)*, ed. Krista de Jonge, Konrad Ottenheim and *Artists on the Move. Migrating artists from the Low Countries 1450-1700*, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 63 (2012), ed. Dulcia Meijers, Frist Scholten, Joanna Woodall.

<sup>1145</sup> See, for instance, Białostocki 1976, Roding 1996, Jolly 1999a, Meganck 2005, DaCosta Kaufmann 2006 and Ottenheim 2013.

Baltic Seas. Export of works of art produced in Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels, Mechelen and Leuven, major European centres of production and trade in luxury and artistic items - ranging from tapestries and carved altarpieces to illuminated books - must have been facilitated by the existence of an extensive network of Hanseatic trade routes. Because of these connections, the Low Countries offered an alternative to Italy.<sup>1146</sup> The most characteristic works of Netherlandish art exported to Northern Europe in that period were carved and painted altarpieces, set up in churches along the Baltic coast, including regions that later turned to be most receptive of further Netherlandish influence, such as Denmark and Prussia.<sup>1147</sup> Thus, the Netherlandish dominance in the Baltic region in the later sixteenth century may be - at least to a certain degree - perceived as a continuation of the process of artistic transfer initiated already in late fifteenth century.

### **Ways of dissemination of Netherlandish art**

The ways of dissemination of Netherlandish art are well known: it was the travel of artists, export of works of art and circulation of printed pattern-books.<sup>1148</sup> All these factors were closely interrelated and interdependent. In the initial period import of completed works of art strongly contributed to the dissemination of the taste for Netherlandish sculpture in Central and North-Eastern Europe. The earliest major works executed by Netherlandish - mostly Antwerp - sculptors in the *all'antica* style appeared there in the 1550's and early 1560's. Among the most important and influential were the sepulchral monuments of Duchess Dorothea in Königsberg (1548-1549), King Frederick I of Denmark in Schleswig (1551-1553) and Moritz of Saxony in Freiberg (1555-1563) – all executed by Cornelis Floris or in his circle of influence. Next to them, smaller works, particularly alabaster relief plaques from various workshops in Mechelen, also contributed to the spread of the vogue for Netherlandish art.<sup>1149</sup> Easy to transport and readily adaptable to various purposes, they have reached even the most outlying regions, often accompanying larger commissions, as has been shown in the case of the vast acquisitions of Admiral Herluf Trolle in Denmark and Duke Johann Albrecht I of Mecklenburg-Schwerin.<sup>1150</sup> The novelty of design, sumptuousness of material and decoration, quality of execution and reference to the most fashionable, 'antique' artistic language - with all these factors the works by Netherlandish sculptors won great popularity among local patrons, stimulating the rise of taste for Netherlandish sculpture in this part of the continent.

Next to the import of ready-made works of sculpture, dissemination of the Netherlandish formal language was facilitated by the growing popularity of printed pattern-books.<sup>1151</sup> By mid-sixteenth century Antwerp became one of the leading centres of publishing and print production industry in Europe. Local publishers, above all Hieronymus Cock, cooperated with artists fluent in the fashionable, 'antique' style, such as the brothers

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<sup>1146</sup> Compare with Belozerskaya 2002. For a broader perspective, see also Burke 1998 and Lee 2010.

<sup>1147</sup> See, for instance, Szmydki 1986. On carved altars in general see, for instance, Jacobs 1998 and Gliessmann 2011.

<sup>1148</sup> See Białostocki, 1976, Jolly 1999a, Meganck, 2005, DaCosta Kaufmann 2006 and Ottenhyem 2012.

<sup>1149</sup> See, above all, Lipińska 2006, Lipińska 2006 and Lipińska 2007.

<sup>1150</sup> Lipińska 2006, p. 349–351.

<sup>1151</sup> The literature on this issue is extensive. See, for instance, Albrecht 2003, Wardzyński 2004b, Meganck 2005, Johannsen 2005 and Muchka 2005.

Cornelis and Frans Floris.<sup>1152</sup> This led to creation of numerous widely circulating engravings depicting both real antiquities and modern works in the ‘antique’ style, that were of tremendous importance for artistic developments across the northern part of continent. Prints after designs by Cornelis Floris, Cornelis Bos, Hans Vredeman de Vries, Jacob Floris and others were extensively used by sculptors, architects, wood-carvers and other artists and artisans, of both Netherlandish and other origin. Moreover, they were also collectible items, valued by members of the local élites, patrons of art and architecture. Thus, they greatly contributed to the dissemination of artistic language developed in the Low Countries, identified with that of the Antiquity.

However, the key factor behind the tremendous success of Netherlandish art in Central and East-Northern Europe appears to have been the presence of emigrant artists, able to implement the new formal language and the new patterns of workshop practice. In fact, works of sculpture and - especially - pattern-books began to arrive in Central Europe and the Baltic region approximately at the same time as did Netherlandish émigrés.<sup>1153</sup> It may be therefore assumed that their export was carried out either by these artists themselves, or at least by their close collaborators.

Dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture in Central and North-Eastern Europe was further facilitated by the existence of dynastic and political relations between patrons of art in that area.<sup>1154</sup> The most vivid example is provided by the Prussian and Danish commissions of the Floris studio, which reflected close dynastic and political relations between both courts.<sup>1155</sup> Similarly, the commissioner of the monument of Moritz of Saxony, his brother Augustus, was married to the daughter of Christian III of Denmark, while Moritz’s daughter Anna married none other than William I of Orange. Such ties facilitated the transfer of works of Netherlandish sculpture even to Saxony, which was a strong and independent artistic centre at that time. In general, such relations must have stimulated the preference for the particular artistic idiom and allowed for a smooth transfer of information about individual sculptors and their work. Patrons were either following their peers or emulating their rivals, as seemingly was the case with regard to the rulers of Denmark and Sweden.<sup>1156</sup> Kings and princes were competing with each other by erecting sumptuous commemorative monuments, and the works by Netherlandish sculptors in the *all’antica* style were apparently considered the most prestigious. The link between patrons and artists was provided by various intermediaries, often artists themselves. Unfortunately, their social position makes it difficult to study their activities in detail.<sup>1157</sup> Nonetheless, the example of Jacob Binck, a figure crucial for the dissemination of the Netherlandish sculpture in the Baltic, reveals that they were well

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<sup>1152</sup> See, for instance, Riggs 1977 and Wouk 2011a. Cock was publisher of the works after Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries (see, for instance, Mielke 1967, Riggs 1977 and Huysmans *et al.* 1996), as well as prints depicting works of the true Antiquity, such as the series *Praecipuae aliquot romanae antiquitatis* from 1551 (Riggs 1977, Wouk 2011a). Series depicting actual antique works with their modern emulations were sometimes bound together to represent the antique mode in general, as was the case with regard to a volume in the PAN Library in Gdańsk, once owned by the Gdańsk early seventeenth-century burgomaster Eggert von Kempen (PAN, Ea 3373 2<sup>o</sup>).

<sup>1153</sup> See, for instance, Wardzyński 2004b, Lipińska 2006b, p. 244-245 and De Jonge 2011, p. 222-223.

<sup>1154</sup> See, above all, Meganck 2005 and Baresel-Brand 2007. See also Chapter 2 of this book.

<sup>1155</sup> Meganck 2005; Baresel-Brand 2007.

<sup>1156</sup> Ottenheim 2013.

<sup>1157</sup> For the later period see particularly Noldus 2004.

acquainted with the newest artistic developments and had close connections with various local court centres.

### **Reasons for emigration**

The emigration of Netherlandish artists in the sixteenth century was caused by several interrelated factors of economic, political and religious character. Many sculptors, including such influential figures as Alexander Colin, Philip Brandin or Elias Godefroy, left the Low Countries already in the late 1550's and early 1560's.<sup>1158</sup> The prime reason for their emigration appears to have been the economic potential offered by the Central and Northern European job market. During most of the sixteenth century, this part of Europe enjoyed a growing, even though not unhindered prosperity. The royal courts of Denmark, Sweden and Poland, as well as those of numerous duchies of the Holy Roman Empire - for instance of Hessen and Saxony - were in growing demand of skilled architects and artists capable of creating visual representation of their social and political position and splendour. The same case applies to local nobility connected to the courts and affluent bourgeoisie. On the other hand, very few artistic centres capable of meeting this demand existed in the region, especially in Scandinavia. Thus, Central Europe and - particularly - the lands along the Baltic coast provided a great opportunity for artists and architects, that Netherlanders - but also Italians and others - were eager to exploit.

Another important factor behind the emigration of Netherlanders appears to have been a surplus of skilled craftsmen in their homeland, trained in centres with a long tradition of production and trade in works of art. It must have been of particular gravity to numerous less prominent sculptors and stonecutters, who were present in all Netherlandish workshops.<sup>1159</sup> Their ultimate decision to travel abroad was certainly facilitated by the growing presence of fellow Netherlanders, many of them linked by personal and professional relations, in various artistic centres across Europe. Thus, by the effect of network the emigration slowly became a self propelling mechanism, with the number of emigrants rising proportionally to the number of those who have already established themselves in the new milieus.

Finally, starting with the late 1560's, growing political and economic instability in the Low Countries must have strongly affected artists, and sculptors in particular. The following religious persecutions and subsequently war, must have forced many of them to leave the Low Countries, or - in the case of those who left earlier - to stay abroad.<sup>1160</sup> The detailed reasons were manifold, ranging from unemployment caused by the war to potentially perilous religious convictions of some artists. Furthermore, the character of the Reformation limited the scope of potential commissions. Painters of Protestant conviction faith were usually seeking refuge in the Northern Provinces; sculptors, however, were unlikely to find employment in the increasingly radical environment. Even if immediately after the iconoclasm of the 1560's the possibility of employment temporarily increased, the fate of

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<sup>1158</sup> Colin travelled to Heidelberg in 1558 and to Innsbruck in 1562, Brandin was active Mecklenburg already in 1563 and Godefroy went to Kassel in 1557, or even before that date.

<sup>1159</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>1160</sup> Jolly 1999, p. 120-121; Scholten 2007a. On the emigration from the Southern Provinces in general see Briels 1985; see also Skibiński 2013a.

their efforts was uncertain. A good example is offered by the history of the altar in the Oude Kerk in Delft, created c. 1570 by Willem Danielsz. van Tetrode, an accomplished sculptor who earlier made a considerable career in Florence. This monumental work, probably decorated with twenty-four statues and bronze capitals, has been brought down by the iconoclasts already in 1573. After that event, van Tetrode left the Low Countries, never to return.<sup>1161</sup>

The career of Willem van den Blokke perfectly illustrates the interrelation of various factors stimulating emigration of Netherlandish sculptors. At the time of his youth, his hometown - Mechelen - witnessed a surplus of sculptors and other artists. This must have considerably limited possibility of finding employment and making a living there.<sup>1162</sup> Presumably, it was one of the prime reasons why young Willem - probably encouraged by his father - moved to Antwerp. There, he was apparently accepted into the Floris studio, and later departed with his master's work to the Baltic region. Once in the Duchy of Prussia, he found a promising market for his works, with affluent patrons eager to make use of his skills. His move from Mechelen to Antwerp and later to the Baltic region could seemingly be explained by purely economic and professional reasons. However, it seems hardly a coincidence that he departed from the Low Countries exactly when the real troubles began there. In the spring of 1571, when the tomb of Duke Albrecht was finally standing in the choir of Königsberg cathedral, the situation in the Low Countries was highly uncertain and rather unfavourable for artistic activity. Furthermore, van den Blokke's apprehension could have been strengthened by his unorthodox religious views. The sculptor could either return to his war-torn motherland with a crumbling economy and dramatically diminishing demand for sculptural works, or to stay in the new environment with promising possibilities. The choice for him - as well as for numerous other Netherlanders - must have been rather obvious.

### **The Netherlandish network**

Netherlandish sculptors, architects and the like active in Central and North-Eastern Europe were interconnected by a complex network of professional and family ties, existing on various levels, that facilitated maintaining and, if possible, expanding their control of the specialist market.<sup>1163</sup> This appears to have been a broad phenomenon, as very similar patterns can be observed in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, the Baltic region, Scandinavia and even England.<sup>1164</sup> The ability to create such a network, must have been one of the key reasons behind the professional success enjoyed by the Netherlanders. Its existence enabled sculptors to secure services of skilled employees and the flow of material, crucial factors for successful and proficient activity of a workshop. Furthermore, existence of such relations offered artists and patrons greater professional credibility.<sup>1165</sup> Relations between various artists and centres, facilitated by extensive travel (either in search of employment or further

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<sup>1161</sup> Nijstad 1986, p. 264, 269; Scholten 2003b, p. 53-59.

<sup>1162</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>1163</sup> This has been elaborated on in more detail in Skibiński 2013a. The most comprehensive analysis of the ties existing between various Netherlandish sculptors and architects so far has been presented in Ottenheim 2013. See also Tussenbroek 2006.

<sup>1164</sup> The network presents similarities with some early international business patterns, discussed for instance by Veluwenkamp 2006.

<sup>1165</sup> See, for instance, Kooijmans 1997 and Tussenbroek 2004.

professional education), played an important role in dissemination of artistic ideas and visual vocabulary, both within and beyond the network.

Besides well-established masters, the network consisted also of their numerous assistants and collaborators. It is not conceivable that high proficiency as well as production quality typical for Netherlandish workshop could be attained without the support of well-trained assistants employed there. Possessing considerable technical prowess combined with knowledge of the visual vocabulary developed in leading artistic centres of the Low Countries and neighboring lands, they must be considered as one of the vital factors behind the success enjoyed by Netherlandish ateliers. Moreover, the network also included suppliers of raw material and possibly prefabricated elements. In the second half of the sixteenth century such figures as Heinrich Vlyndt and Paul van Doren began to play important role in stone trade in the Baltic region.<sup>1166</sup> In the early seventeenth century it was dominated by such Netherlanders as Willem Martens based in Elbląg, a founder of yet another clan of Netherlandish émigré artists, and Lorenz Sweys from Amsterdam, purveyor to Christian IV of Denmark and Sigismund III of Poland.

The network consisted of members of different families linked by common origin and training, as well as members of the same family operating in various milieus. Professional and personal relations between them were frequently forged abroad. However, often the roots of these ties reached back to the Low Countries, as many of the emigrant artists originated from the same milieu. Relations between various masters must have been strengthened by their cooperation in commercial artistic enterprises at home, or training in a single studio, such as that of Cornelis Floris in Antwerp.<sup>1167</sup> A particularly telling example, of a direct relevance for Willem van den Blocke, is provided by Mechelen. Various members of local artistic clans, such as van den Blocke, van Obbergen, van Egen, Colin, Coppens and van Doren (Bisselinck), were active in such diverse centres as Denmark, Gdańsk and Innsbruck, as well as in various places in the Low Countries proper. To give an example of such ties, the van Doren (Bisselinck, Duerne, van Doorne) family can be mentioned. Among its remarkable members were Antonis and Jan, both active in Mechelen.<sup>1168</sup> There, the former cooperated with Willem van den Blocke's brother Aegidius, and was a tutor of the sculptor Gert van Egen in 1568.<sup>1169</sup> On the other hand, Cornelis van Doren was a sculptor in the workshop of Alexander Colin in Innsbruck and later probably the *Hofbildhauer* at the court of Maximilian II.<sup>1170</sup> Finally, Paul van Doren was an architect and stone trader in Gdańsk, where he supplied Willem van den Blocke with sculpting material. The latter also cooperated with other members of important Mechelen clans, such as Jacob Colin and Peter van Egen.

Thus, Willem van den Blocke's atelier offers a good insight into the network of relation between the Netherlandish artists. Moreover, his activities indicate that members of the diaspora were sending their children to other centres of Netherlandish art in order to learn skills necessary in their profession. The example of Jacob van den Blocke clearly illustrates this phenomenon. Willem sent his son to Friesland, as well as to Denmark, Königsberg and

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<sup>1166</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 579 and p. 24; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387-388; Szymdki 2008, p. 205-241.

<sup>1167</sup> Jolly 1999a; Meganck 2005.

<sup>1168</sup> Neeffs 1876, p. 128-133.

<sup>1169</sup> Neeffs 1876 p. 142; Coninckx 1903, p. 44; Wustrack 1982, p. 157; Tylicki 2009a, p. 195.

<sup>1170</sup> Teurlinckx 1987, p. 54-55.

Elbląg – all being centres of Netherlandish diaspora. A similar route must have been taken by Abraham van den Blocke in the 1590's. Hypothetically, he could have even visited his relatives in Amsterdam and thus became acquainted with the new artistic developments in the Low Countries.<sup>1171</sup> Thus, the existence of extensive network of professional and personal relations between artists, architects and people of related trades facilitated evolution in art and architecture.

### **Main directions of Netherlandish emigration**

Obviously, this is not the place to mention all Netherlandish sculptors who found employment abroad at that time.<sup>1172</sup> However, to understand Willem van den Blocke's position within the broader context of this phenomenon, major directions of the Netherlandish emigration and main centres of its influence must be presented at least briefly.

Around the middle of the century several major Netherlandish sculptors working according to the new, *all'antica* style travelled to the western parts of the Holy Roman Empire. At least since 1557 Elias Godefroy from Cambrai was engaged in Kassel, where he executed the famous and influential alabaster chamber (1557-1559) for Duke Philip of Hessen-Kassel. (fig. 207) After his death in 1568, his position was taken over by another sculptor from the French-Netherlandish frontier, his former assistant Adam Liquier from Beaumont.<sup>1173</sup> Around the same time Alexander Colin, also originating from Mechelen, travelled to Heidelberg, where he worked at the local residence since 1558.<sup>1174</sup> (fig. 143) In the early 1560's Colin was engaged by the Emperor Ferdinand I to execute monument of Maximilian I in Innsbruck. Since 1566 he was engaged by Maximilian II to built tomb of Ferdinand I and Maximilian himself in Prague.<sup>1175</sup> (fig. 208) These commissions were of great importance for dissemination and success of Netherlandish sculpture, as they offered a sculptor from the Low Countries a possibility to work for the highest ranking patron in Europe. Also Cologne was closely connected with the nearby Low Countries. Epitaphs of the archbishops there, brothers Adolf and Anton von Schauenburg, executed in the Cornelis Floris workshop, were set up in the local cathedral in the late 1550's.(fig. 18) In 1568-1573 Netherlandish master mason and stone trader Willem Vernukken was involved in the erection of the portico of the local Town Hall, build according to a design - albeit somewhat changed - submitted some time earlier by Cornelis Floris.<sup>1176</sup> (fig. 209) Thus, Netherlandish sculpture secured a foothold in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, including the court of the Emperor and some of the leading princes. In the later period, further Netherlanders travelled to more distant German lands, particularly the Baltic coast. For instance, simultaneously with van den Blocke Philip Brandin and Robert Coppens worked for the dukes of Mecklenburg as well as for other local patrons, including cities and bourgeoisie in present day north-eastern

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<sup>1171</sup> Ottenheim, Rosenberg&Smiet 2008, p. 22; Tylicki 2009a, p. 199; Tylicki 2013; see also Chapter 1. It is important in this context that in 1611 de Keyser employed an assistant from Gdańsk, an otherwise unknown Hans Schut (Scholten 2003, p. 247, note 163).

<sup>1172</sup> This will be done in result of a project *Artists on the Move. Sculptors from the Low Countries in Europe 1450-1650*, led by Frits Scholten and Arjen de Koomen

<sup>1173</sup> Kramm 1936; Jolly 1999a, p. 121-124. On the works in the Kassel castle see also Heppe 1995, p. 83-89.

<sup>1174</sup> Dressler 1973, p. 7, 20-45; Teurlinckx 1987, p. 8-17.

<sup>1175</sup> On these tombs see Dressler 1973, p. 46-60 and 64-74.

<sup>1176</sup> On the portico see Jolly 1999a, p. 130-136, Tussenbroek 2006, p. 62-66 and Kirgus 2008. On Vernukken himself see also Müller 2004.

Germany.<sup>1177</sup> (figs.104, 144, 210) They cooperated with numerous other sculptors and stonecutters, some of them being well trained, independent artists, such as the alabaster carver Conrad Floris.<sup>1178</sup>

Next to these artists, another group of Netherlandish sculptors was active in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire and beyond. It consisted of artists trained in Italy, above all in the circle of Giambologna - yet another sculptor of Netherlandish origin - for instance Johan Gregor van der Schardt, Hans Mont, Pierre Francavilla - who in fact worked in Colin's studio in Innsbruck before making a career in late sixteenth century Florence - and, above all, Adriaen de Vries, perhaps the most accomplished European sculptor of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.<sup>1179</sup> They were well-versed in the most fashionable style, developed in sixteenth century Florence by Michelangelo, Ammanati, Giambologna and others. Many of them worked for the highest ranking patrons, above all the emperor himself, and were highly appreciated across Europe. Nonetheless, because of the character of their art, this group differs significantly from the sculptors being of primary interest here. Working often in bronze, they were engaged to create free standing statues or sculptural groups, such as fountains, as well as small bronze statuettes - the kind of work absent in the oeuvre of Willem van den Blocke.

A very important centre of Netherlandish influence was Denmark, especially since the reigns of Frederick II and Christian IV. The new artistic ideas, based on the 'antique' formal language, were gaining a great popularity there during the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>1180</sup> At that time the prime centre of artistic patronage was the royal court. The links with the Low Countries were established already when Frederick's predecessor, King Christian III, ordered a royal monument in the studio of Cornelis Floris. By commissioning the sumptuous tomb of Christian III, set up in the Roskilde cathedral, King Frederick II became a patron of the famous Antwerp master himself.<sup>1181</sup> (fig. 211) What is more, he also created many opportunities for Netherlandish artists and architects in Denmark. Since 1574, Hans van Paesschen from Antwerp led the building team working on the royal residence in Kronborg. (fig. 212) He was probably a relative of Hendrik van Paesschen, who cooperated with Cornelis Floris during works on the Antwerp Town Hall and the Royal Exchange in London.<sup>1182</sup> King Frederick II engaged also the military engineer Anthonis van Obbergen from Mechelen, who later moved to Gdańsk and worked there for many years.<sup>1183</sup> Van Paesschen and van Obbergen were only a few among many architects, builders, stonecutters and sculptors who worked in Denmark at that time. Among the latter, we must mention Johann Gregor van der Schardt, who worked earlier in Italy and Germany and excelled

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<sup>1177</sup> Jolly 1999a, p. 124-129; Jolly 1999b; Meganck 2005; Ottenheim 2013.

<sup>1178</sup> Jolly 1999b.

<sup>1179</sup> Scholten 2007a. On Hans Mont see Larsson 1967; on Adriaen de Vries see Amsterdam-Stockholm-Los Angeles 1998/2000 and Augsburg 2000. With regard to Netherlandish sculptors in Italy, see Jolly 1999a and, above all, Scholten 2007. On the phenomenon in a broader context see, for instance, Brussel-Roma 1995 and the studies published in such volumes as Boschloo *et al.* (eds.) 2002; Alexander-Skipnes (ed.) 2007 and Floriani&Galassi (eds.) 2008.

<sup>1180</sup> See, for instance, Slothouwer 1924, Albrecht 2003, Johannsen 2005, De Jonge 2011 and Ottenheim 2013.

<sup>1181</sup> On the royal monuments in Roskilde see, above all, Johannsen 2010.

<sup>1182</sup> De Jonge, p. 222-223.

<sup>1183</sup> On Obbergen see Slothouwer 1924, p. , Bartetzky 2000 and Bartetzky 2004.

particularly in small bronzes.<sup>1184</sup> Another important sculptor, Gert van Egen from Mechelen, possibly a former assistant of Cornelis Floris, executed the tomb of Frederick II in Roskilde as well as several portraits and statuettes carved in alabaster. (fig. 213)

The patronage of the Danish court was supplemented by that of local nobility. For instance, one of its most important members, the admiral Herluf Trolle - together with his wife Brigitta Gøye - commissioned several works in the Floris studio in Antwerp, as well as imported some fine examples of alabaster works carved in sculptural ateliers in Mechelen.<sup>1185</sup> (fig. 100, 214) Under the patronage of other leading noblemen, such as Jørgen Rosenkrantz or Chancellor Eiler Grubbe, Netherlandish influence became visible in architecture, for instance in the use of the specific model of brick and stone construction.<sup>1186</sup> Thus, close contacts with the Floris studio as well as the presence of numerous Netherlanders on the spot soon turned Denmark, and especially the royal court, into one of the most significant hubs of Netherlandish art and architecture in the Baltic region. Under the long reign of Christian IV, this cultural current maintained its importance well into the seventeenth century.<sup>1187</sup>

Around the middle of the sixteenth century Sweden started to attract architects and artists from abroad. The leading role in the transformation of the local artistic landscape taking place at that time was played by the two kings: Erik XIV and - especially - Johan III.<sup>1188</sup> Probably the earliest major Netherlandish work representing the 'antique' language was the tomb of Margareta, consort of Gustav I Vasa, probably imported directly from the Low Countries.<sup>1189</sup> Already in the 1560's stonecutters from abroad, like Pierre de la Roche (probably from Brabant), worked in the castles in Vadstena and - possibly - in Kalmar.<sup>1190</sup> (fig. 215) They were engaged by King Johan III, who build and modernized a ring of castles along the disputed border with Denmark. The Swedish court was also eager to accentuate its sovereignty by creating visual expression of royal rule, such as residences and funeral monuments. For both these purposes, the court engaged Netherlandish artists, above all the sculptor Willem Boy, originally from Mechelen.<sup>1191</sup> Around 1570 Boy completed in his Antwerp studio the tomb of Gustav I Vasa. After delivering it to Uppsala, he decided to stay in Sweden, where he became the leading exponent of Netherlandish sculpture. (figs. 40, 216) Boy was engaged to carry out such prestigious works as the decoration of the royal castle in Stockholm and the tomb of Queen Catharina of Jagiellon, the consort of King Johan III and mother of the future Polish monarch Sigismund III, set up in the Uppsala cathedral (c. 1590).<sup>1192</sup> (fig. 209) Apart from Boy, also Lucas van der Werdt, who sculpted the monument of Medieval Swedish kings in the Riddarholm church in Stockholm c. 1574, was active

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<sup>1184</sup> On van der Schardt see Honnens de Lichtenberg 1991, Scholten 2007b and Zahle 2010.

<sup>1185</sup> Lipińska 2006a, p. 349-351.

<sup>1186</sup> De Jonge 2011, p. 219-220.

<sup>1187</sup> See, for instance, Noldus 2004 and Ottenheym 2011.

<sup>1188</sup> See, for instance, Fulton 1996a, Fulton 1996b and Ångström 2003.

<sup>1189</sup> Schéle 1958; Schéle 1965.

<sup>1190</sup> De la Roche was present in Uppsala already in 1549. These works were strongly influenced by Serlio and Ducerceau, see Albrecht 2003.

<sup>1191</sup> Hahr 1910.

<sup>1192</sup> See, for instance, Saar-Kozłowska 2006

there.<sup>1193</sup> Sweden also exerted strong influence on the south-eastern coasts of the Baltic, where such artists as Arent Passer - active in Tallin - were present.<sup>1194</sup>

In a similar way to such sculptors as Alexander Colin in the Holy Roman Empire or Willem Boy in Sweden, Willem van den Blocke became a prime exponent of Netherlandish sculpture in Ducal Prussia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. However, before analyzing his contribution to the dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture in the Baltic region, the issue of the so-called 'Floris school' must be addressed.

### The 'Floris-circle'

The importance of Cornelis Floris for Northern European sculpture and the influence exerted by his sculptural works and printed pattern-books led to creation of the concept of the so-called 'Floris school'. Usually, it was used to denominate a group of sculptors active particularly in the Baltic region, whose work display certain affinity with that of the Antwerp master. The first to define this group was Robert Hedicke, the author of the influential monograph of Floris.<sup>1195</sup> Among his probable assistants and pupils Hedicke mentioned Hendrik Hagaert (Hein Hagart), Philip Brandin, Robert Coppens, Gert van Egen and Henri van Passe (Hendrik van Paesschen), the latter involved in works on the Town Hall in Antwerp, as well as such obscure artists as Gilles de Witte in Ghent, Paul Luydinckx and Urbain Taillabert, the latter active in Ypres.<sup>1196</sup> Later on, the circle of Cornelis Floris was further researched and redefined by such scholars as Jan Białostocki, Anne Jolly, Tine Meganck and Konrad Ottenheim.<sup>1197</sup>

In consequence, two interpretations of the Floris circle have been presented. The first characterizes it as a broad artistic phenomenon, encompassing various sculptors, architects and others, in some way cooperating, either as his assistants, pupils or partners, with the Antwerp master.<sup>1198</sup> They contributed in various ways to the final output of the Floris studio and facilitated dissemination of his art in Northern Europe. Their relation to the master as well as the scale of his influence on them could vary considerably. For instance, Robert Mido appears to have been employed in the studio over a longer period of time and charged with a number of important tasks. Also Gert van Egen, Philip Brandin, Willem van den Blocke and possibly also Hendrik Hagaert (Hein Hagart) could have been regular assistants to the master.

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<sup>1193</sup> Ottenheim 2013. It should be observed that apart from stonecutters and builders, also the painter Domenicus Vervilt and the gold-weaver Paul de Bucher were active in Sweden at that time, see Ångström 2003, p. 35, 42.

<sup>1194</sup> Ångström 1993; Kodres 2003. On Arent Passer see especially Kodres 2005.

<sup>1195</sup> Hedicke 1913, p. 127-153.

<sup>1196</sup> Hedicke 1913, p. 132-137. With regard to de Witte, Hedicke quotes an older opinion that he was responsible for the epitaph of Jan de Schietere in Ghent (c. 1580), a work influenced by Floris' designs (compare with Huysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 183). Willem Boy, on the other hand, is not considered by Hedicke to be a pupil of Floris, see Hedicke 1913, p. 134. Moreover, Hedicke also mentioned various artists and architects potentially influenced by Floris, such as Hans Vredeman de Vries or various sculptors and architects active even in early seventeenth century. Among the latter, he mentioned Paulus Moreelse and Marten Arendts from Delft, whom he credited with building of the Town Halls in Vlissingen and Emden respectively, as well as Lieven de Key (according to Hedicke, responsible for the Town Hall in Leiden) and Hendrick de Keyser (Hedicke 1913, p. 137-138).

<sup>1197</sup> Białostocki 1976), Meganck 2005, DaCosta Kaufmann 2006, Anne Jolly 1999 and – above all – Ottenheim 2013. Unfortunately, this issue is almost absent in the recent monograph of Cornelis Floris (Huysmans *et al.* 1996; see some very general notes on van Egen, p. 91 and van den Blocke, p. 95). In addition to that, Casteels 1961 analyzed the notion of the so-called 'Colyn-style'.

<sup>1198</sup> See, above all, recent study by Konrad Ottenheim (Ottenheim 2013). See also De Munck 2007, p. 37-40.

Such figures as Hendrick van Paesschen and Anthonis van Seron, on the other hand, could have been independent master builders and sculptors, either tutored by or occasionally cooperating with Floris. For instance, van Seron was either closely related to the Floris studio, or employed an alabaster carver trained by Floris to execute ornamental plaques decorating the tomb of Moritz of Saxony in Freiberg. It is indicated by some of its elements, above all alabaster plaques with ornamental carvings.<sup>1199</sup> (fig. 59)

The more narrow interpretation of the 'Floris school', proposed for instance by Tine Meganck, is based primarily on the analysis of formal characteristic of the extant works of sculpture.<sup>1200</sup> The circle of Cornelis Floris is defined here as a group of sculptors whose work resemble those by the Antwerp master. It consisted of Willem van den Blocke, Philip Brandin, Robert Coppens - both active in Mecklenburg - and Gert van Egen in Denmark. Despite some difference in approach, this interpretation is to a large degree compatible with the one discussed above. In fact, the sculptors in question formed part of a larger artistic circle, consisting also of other sculptors as well as architects, stone traders and the like.

Knowledge about the Floris-circle is limited particularly because of scarcity of evidence concerning Floris' workshop. Its functioning is known only from secondary sources and circumstantial evidence. Among those whose relation to the Antwerp master is confirmed, Robert and Nicolas Midow as well as Hendrik Hagaert (Hein Hagart), and Philips de Vos (Philipps Diewas) may be mentioned.<sup>1201</sup> Also artistic background of many of the sculptors usually regarded as members of the Floris circle has not been fully defined as yet, despite the scholarly effort. Figural, ornamental and architectural sculpture by Gert van Egen, Robert Coppens and Philip Brandin has not been studied in all its complexity. What is more, Hedicke's analysis of their works, often based on similarities between isolated motives, is often misleading - for instance, when he claims a close analogy between caryatides carved by Robert Coppens and Floris himself.<sup>1202</sup> At the present moment it seems that these artists represent various degrees of kinship with the work of Cornelis Floris. Van den Blocke and van Egen reveal considerable adherence to the formal language of the Antwerp sculptor, visible in ornamental and figural carvings as well as architectural designs. Brandin, on the other hand, seems to have more strongly relied on printed designs, especially with regard to ornament. Nonetheless, his figural sculpture, particularly female statues carved in the *all'antica* style, bears some resemblance to the works of the Floris studio. Finally, Floris' influence on Coppens can be seen in the design for the tomb of Duke Christopher of Mecklenburg in Schwerin. Also with him, some details, like the reclining putti or the relief plaques, appear to have been influenced by the Antwerp sculptor. Other elements, however, above all the figures of caryatides, are very far from analogical works by the Floris studio. Thus, even within this small group of sculptors various approaches towards the model established by Floris can be observed. Even though at this point it is impossible to define the precise reasons for the simultaneous existence of similarities and differences, some

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<sup>1199</sup> These similarities has already been observed by Lipińska (see Lipińska 2007, p. 285-286). However, Lipińska does not believe Floris and van Seron to be related so closely.

<sup>1200</sup> Meganck 2005. It has been derived directly from Hedicke's study.

<sup>1201</sup> On these figures see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 251, Hedicke 1913, p. 132, Roggen&Withof 1942, no LIX, p. 170, Teurlinckx 1988, p. 55, 89, note 7, Jolly 1999a, p. 128 and Johannsen 2006, p. 114.

<sup>1202</sup> Such a one-sided approach is characteristic for older scholars, as exemplified also by Krzyżanowski, devoted his attention mostly to ornament.

suppositions can be nonetheless forwarded here. First, they could have been specialists in various types of works. For instance, Philip Brandin could have been a specialist in figural sculpture, while Coppens in relief carving. This may perhaps explain significant differences visible even within single works, particularly the more complex ones. This hypothesis appears to be the most plausible at this point. Second, various sculptors could have been cooperating with Floris or tutored by him at different moments, and thus become acquainted with different works by the Antwerp sculptor.

The presence of similarities between the works by most of the members of this narrowly defined Floris circle indicates their common artistic background. For instance, certain affinities can be observed between battle scenes embellishing the tomb of Johan III in Uppsala by Willem van den Blocke and the monument of Fredrick II in Roskilde by Gert van Egen, executed approximately at the same time. (figs. A.4.14, A.4.15, 184, 185) In both cases sculptors presented a broad scene with numerous small figures carved in a rather low relief. Analogous is the representation of depth, with heightened background line. Furthermore, formal resemblances can be observed between figural decoration of the Roskilde tomb - probably executed by van Egen himself - and that of the monument of Ture Bielke in Linköping in Sweden, carved by one of van den Blocke's assistants. The draperies of figures representing *Spes* in Roskilde and *Fides* in Linköping may be given as examples. (figs. A.5.5, 118) The presence of these similarities can be explained in two ways, although only tentatively, since a thorough study of Gert van Egen's work is still lacking.<sup>1203</sup> First, the two sculptors were certainly trained in the same milieu, first in Mechelen and later in the Floris studio in Antwerp. Second, it seems likely that they maintained contact already after departing for the Baltic region. As stated above, Gert's relative, Peter van Egen, is recorded in van den Blocke's studio in early 1600's.<sup>1204</sup> Judging by the character of the network of Netherlandish artists - discussed above - it seems possible that they could even have employed the same assistants. Although at this point such possibility must remain purely hypothetical, it appears that various Netherlandish masters active in different places could have maintained much closer professional relations than was hitherto acknowledged.

### **7.3 Willem van den Blocke and Netherlandish sculpture in Ducal Prussia**

During the reign of Albrecht I (1525-1568), mentally ill Albrecht II Friedrich (1568-1578) and Georg Friedrich (1578-1603) artistic patronage in Ducal Prussia was centred around the ducal court. The dukes were initiating the most important artistic and building projects, while court officials and members of the ducal household, as well as local nobility and bourgeoisie, usually followed their example.<sup>1205</sup> Although geographically distant, the court in Königsberg maintained direct relations with the Low Countries with regard to acquisition of luxury goods over a quarter of century before the arrival of Willem van den Blocke. In fact, the well-established taste for Netherlandish art in Prussia and ensuing possibility of securing further commission must have been the key factors behind his decision

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<sup>1203</sup> The most informative is the article by Hugo Johannsen devoted to the royal mausoleum in Roskilde, see Johannsen 2010, especially p. 124 and 128.

<sup>1204</sup> See above and Chapter 3.

<sup>1205</sup> On court towns see, for example, Fučíková *et al.* (eds.) 1997, Vocelka, 2001 and Nolde, Svalduz&del Río Barredo 2007.

to stay in the duchy. Interest in Netherlandish art works, at that time possibly associated with imperial splendour, was exhibited by Duke Albrecht already in the opening years of his rule in Prussia, although it must be stressed that he employed mostly German craftsmen. As early as 1533 he sent his own architect to the Low Countries to study architecture.<sup>1206</sup> Later, he acquired Jacques du Broeucq's design for the residence of Charles V in the citadel of Ghent, as well as depiction of the castle in Breda, sent by Hendrick van Nassau, that enriched his collection of architectural drawings and models.<sup>1207</sup> A certain Jacob, described as 'Hollender', presumably a mason, as well as sculptor Bernt from Utrecht - an important centre of sculpture in the first half of the century - are known to have participated in the works on the ducal castle, carried out c. 1542.<sup>1208</sup> Possibly, also Heinrich Vlyndt, responsible for assembling the epitaph of Dorothea of Denmark, the first wife of Duke Albrecht, executed by Cornelis Floris in Antwerp c. 1552, was of Netherlandish origin.<sup>1209</sup> Vlyndt, who appears in the records until 1559, probably accompanied the ducal epitaph, either from Antwerp or one of the towns on the way to Königsberg, such as Hamburg or Lübeck. After arriving in Prussia he decided to stay there, very much like Willem van den Blocke later on. In any case, he maintained some relations with the Low Countries: in addition to carving of portals and chimneypieces for the Königsberg castle, in 1554 Vlyndt was engaged in the import of stone from Antwerp, a particularly early example of exploitation of building and sculpting material from the Low Countries in the Baltic region.<sup>1210</sup>

The taste for Netherlandish sculpture in Prussia was mostly developed by the import of numerous artworks from the Low Countries. The most important among them were undoubtedly the monuments to members of the ducal family, particularly the earliest of them, the aforementioned epitaph of Duchess Dorothea. (fig. 12) The sister of Danish King Christian III, she was a figure of special weight, providing the link between Königsberg and Denmark, the two key centres of Netherlandish influence in the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>1211</sup> At that time relations between the duchy and the Low Countries were sustained primarily by Jacob Binck, an artist and agent working for the courts of Prussia, Denmark and Sweden, who can possibly be credited with introducing Floris both to Duke Albrecht and King Christian.<sup>1212</sup> Painter and engraver by profession, Binck was apparently well acquainted with the latest artistic developments in the Netherlands, as indicated both by his acquaintance with the Floris studio and by the fact that he owned a copy of the Antwerp edition of the third book of treatise of Sebastiano Serlio, certainly one of the earliest to have reached the Baltic

<sup>1206</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 154, no 98; Wagner 2008, p. 103.

<sup>1207</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 9-10; Roggen&Withof 1942, p. 102; Schütte 2001, p. 520; Wagner 2008, p. 103-104. It should be mentioned that the pattern of Ghent citadel must have enjoyed considerable popularity among German rulers in mid sixteenth century, as exemplified by the castle in Jülich, built for Wilhelm V of Jülich-Cleve-Berg from 1549, see De Jonge 2011, p. 228.

<sup>1208</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 235; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 116; Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 128. An overview of the rebuilding of the castle carried out by Duke Albrecht has been recently presented in Wagner 2008.

<sup>1209</sup> Such opinion has been expressed by Rzempoluch 1995, p. 118. Baresel-Brand states that he probably came from the Lower Rhine region, see Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 128. On the work on the epitaph see Ehrenberg 1899, p. 240.

<sup>1210</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 241; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 118. Regarding the import and use of stone from the Low Countries in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth see particularly Wardzyński 2007 and Wardzyński 2008; however, in neither text he mentioned Vlyndt.

<sup>1211</sup> Meganck 2005, p. 172 – 173.

<sup>1212</sup> For literature on Binck see note 236.

area.<sup>1213</sup> Even within the Low Countries this edition was destined for a very limited clientele, particularly interested in the antiquity.<sup>1214</sup> After Binck's death c. 1568/1569, his place as the main artistic agent was taken by a certain Hans de Willer (Wille, Wilde), possibly of Netherlandish origin.<sup>1215</sup> He was engaged in the commissioning of the grand monument of Duke Albrecht. Willer was active also beyond Ducal Prussia. In particular, he was acquainted with the Danish King Frederick II. In his service, he took part in efforts to deliver the monument of Christian III to Roskilde.

Besides the well-known grand epitaphs, executed in the workshop of Cornelis Floris, also other examples of Netherlandish sculpture reached Königsberg in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. Fine alabaster epitaph of Georg von Polenz in the Königsberg cathedral, in a form of the so-called domestic altarpiece, was a work of an anonymous Mechelen workshop from c. 1550. As observed by Aleksandra Lipińska, the epitaph of bishop von Polenz, a close friend of Duke Albrecht and the first Lutheran bishop in Ducal Prussia, counts among the earliest examples of the import of Mechelen alabasters in Central and Northern Europe.<sup>1216</sup> A number of other alabaster plaques, either imports from the Low Countries or works by Netherlandish sculptors on the spot was to be found in the duchy. One of them was a depiction of the story of David and Abigail, most likely from St. Nicholas Church in Königsberg;<sup>1217</sup> another an altar from the church in Stoczek Warmiński (Springborn) from c. 1550-1560.<sup>1218</sup> (fig. 217) Other epitaphs erected in Königsberg, like that of theologian Johannes Brismann in the cathedral, with a kneeling effigy, and Christoph Ottendorf, with alabaster relief sculpture, could have been executed by Netherlanders as well.<sup>1219</sup> Judging by scarce old photographs, the Brismann epitaph, probably carved in alabaster, employed decorative forms typical for Netherlandish sculpture of that time. (fig. 218) Also elements of decoration of the ducal castle in Königsberg, such as portal and chimneypiece in the

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<sup>1213</sup> *Die alder vermaertste Antique edificien va temple, theatre, amphiteatre, paleisen, therme, obelisce, brugge, arche truphal. etc [...] Met Keyserlijcker Privilegien ende Gratien, Bhedruckt inde vermaerde coopstadt von Hantwerpen, duer Peeter Coeck van Aalst, April 1546, by Gillis van Diest.* The ownership of this copy, preserved until today in the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk (Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, signature Uph. f. 1791) is attested by Binck's *superexlibris*. See also Kowalczyk 1973, p. 279.

<sup>1214</sup> De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007, p. 52–53.

<sup>1215</sup> See Chapter 1.

<sup>1216</sup> On the epitaph see *Von Baczko 1788*, p. 173, Gebser&Hagen 1833, 2, p. 171-172, 230, Ehrenberg 1899, p. 71-72, Ulbrich 1926/1929, p. 19, Dethlefsen 1912, p. 58, Lipińska 2006a, p. 352, Lipińska 2006b, p. 244 and Lipińska 2007, p. 221-223, il. 99.

<sup>1217</sup> The sculpture is preserved in the Muzeum Warmii i Mazur in Olsztyn; earlier it formed a part of the collection of Prussia Museum in Königsberg, see Lipińska 2007, p. 253-254, fig. 161 and Lipińska 2006bp. 254, fig. 27. The relief belongs to a group of five almost identical works from Ducal and Royal Prussia as well as Lower Silesia, see Lipińska, 2007, p. 247-254 and Lipińska 2006a, p. 253-357. Presumably the relief was a part of an epitaph.

<sup>1218</sup> Before 1945 in the Prussia Museum in Königsberg; see Ulbrich, 1926/1929, 1, p. 19, Rzempoluch 1995, p. 122 and Lipińska 2007, p. 227-228, fig. 116.

<sup>1219</sup> With regard to the Brismann epitaph see *Lilienthal 1716*, p. 44, *Von Baczko 1788*, p. 169, *Tschackert*, 3, p. 274 and Dethlefsen 1912, p. 71-72, Tafel 3-4. The effigy has been destroyed already in 1807 by the French. With regard to the Ottendorf epitaph see *Von Baczko 1788*, p. 150-151, Boetticher 1897, p. 183 and Ulbrich 1926/1929, p. 19. It is possible that the alabaster relief mentioned by Ehrenberg 1899, p. 249 was destined for this epitaph; its cost was 165 florins. Lipińska does not link the document to the epitaph, see Lipińska 2007, p. 222. It is possible, however, that the entry is related to the Brismann monument.

*Moskowitersaal*, reveal strong influence of Netherlandish art.<sup>1220</sup> (fig. 219) The taste for alabaster sculpture exhibited by the Prussian court, incited perhaps also by example set by the famous Alabaster Chamber in Kassel, must have been well-known across the Empire, as testified to the actions taken by Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg.<sup>1221</sup> In 1572 and 1573 the duke offered unspecified works made of alabaster from his recently discovered quarries to Albrecht II Friedrich of Prussia in exchange for some books from the latter's library. The offer, however, was rejected, since by that time Albrecht Friedrich has succeeded in acquiring higher quality alabaster from England.<sup>1222</sup>

Clearly, Willem van den Blocke was not the only Netherlandish sculptor active in Ducal Prussia. Nonetheless, his role was an important one: he was responsible for the most spectacular work of sculpture executed on the spot. During fourteen years spent in the duchy, van den Blocke must have exerted considerable influence on local artists. It is very likely that he cooperated with and trained some of them. However, the scale of his direct impact on the Königsberg artistic milieu is difficult to evaluate. One possible example of a local sculptor directly influenced by the Netherlandish style of Floris and van den Blocke is Alexander Krause, responsible for the wooden statues of Virtues executed for the castle chapel in Königsberg c. 1606.<sup>1223</sup> (fig. 220) Hypothetically, in his youth he could have been one of Willem's collaborators during the work on the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in 1578-1582. Moreover, van den Blocke remained popular with local patrons even after leaving the ducal court.<sup>1224</sup> In mid 1580's, members of the important von Dohna family approached him in Gdańsk to execute the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna, destined for Odense cathedral. Some ten years later van den Blocke has probably been commissioned to prepare a design for the epitaph of the ducal secretary Michael Giese, modelled on the epitaph of Johann Brandes in St. Mary's in Gdańsk, executed by master Willem in 1586.

After Willem's departure, several sculptors probably of Netherlandish origin were present in the duchy, including Hans von Möllen and Hans von der Heide.<sup>1225</sup> Also Hans van Mildert, who was to make later a career in Antwerp, was present in Königsberg c. 1590-1600, although he was only a boy at that time.<sup>1226</sup> The formal vocabulary ultimately derived from works and pattern-books by such artists as Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries, but strongly supplemented by later designs, such as those by Wendel Dietterlin, remained dominant in the region well into the seventeenth century. It was widely used in the decoration of epitaphs, altars, benches and the like, executed - almost exclusively in wood - for churches

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<sup>1220</sup> A clear influence of Floris' and Vredeman's designs is visible here, but the direct influence of Floris is certainly not as strong as suggested by Rzempoluch, see Rzempoluch 1995, p. 123, 126. The portal was attributed by some to Abraham van den Blocke, but this opinion has been rightly refuted by Rzempoluch.

<sup>1221</sup> Kramm 1936; Jolly 1999a.

<sup>1222</sup> Ehrenberg 1899, p. 80, 205, nos 538 and 540; Jolly 1999a p. 122. The quarries have been discovered by Netherlandish sculptor Adam Liquier. The offer was probably inspired by works on the monument of Albrecht I.

<sup>1223</sup> See particularly the figure of *Spes* (Rzempoluch 1995, p. 126; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 99; Ulbrich 1926/1929, p. 74-75, figs. 50-53; Ulbrich 1932, p. 113, fig. 73; Wagner 2008, p. 163-164, figs. 156-159).

<sup>1224</sup> Compare with the opinion expressed in Hornung 1959a, p. 104.

<sup>1225</sup> Ulbrich 1926/1929; Rzempoluch 1995.

<sup>1226</sup> See Leyssens 1941, p. 73-74 and Philippot *et al.* 2003, p. 783-790. Hans van Mildert was born in Königsberg in 1588 as a son of the painter Antonis, originally from Antwerp. Some of his works reveal interest in decorative forms used by Cornelis Floris, particularly floral scrolls (see, for instance, the frieze in the chimneypiece in the Antwerp Town Hall, Leyssens 1941, p. 76-77). Perhaps it was a result of influence exerted on the young sculptor by the works of Antwerp master in Königsberg.

in Königsberg and other Prussian towns and villages, as well as in sculptural decoration of burgher houses and other buildings.<sup>1227</sup> The popularity of this kind of structure and ornament undoubtedly resulted from the impact made by the Netherlandish art - of which van den Blocke was the foremost local exponent - in Prussia in the period between c. 1540 and 1580. Its longevity can be explained by the fact that c. 1600 the importance of Ducal Prussia as an artistic centre diminished significantly. Ambitious building and artistic programme carried out by Duke Albrecht and his son Albrecht II Friedrich, as well as by Georg Friedrich came to an end. This development was closely related to a change in political and religious situation. The new, Calvinist rulers of the duchy, members of the Brandenburg branch of Hohenzollern dynasty, had their main residence in Berlin. They were either not interested in grand undertakings in Prussia, perhaps also for religious reasons, or simply lacked appropriate means.<sup>1228</sup> The bulk of artistic patronage was carried out at that time by local nobility and bourgeoisie and was much more humble in scale and character.

#### 7.4 Willem van den Blocke and Netherlandish sculpture in Gdańsk

In the period between 1500 and 1650 Gdańsk was one of the main artistic centres in North-Eastern Europe. At that time the bulk of artistic patronage in the Baltic metropolis was carried out by members of the local patrician élites.<sup>1229</sup> During the first half of the sixteenth century their changing taste stimulated the process of transition in local art. A telling example illustrating this phenomenon is provided by the interior decoration of the Artushof, carried out in the second quarter of the century (particularly in the 1530's).<sup>1230</sup> At that time various tendencies were present simultaneously, even within the oeuvre of a single artist.<sup>1231</sup> The language used in ornamental sculpture in this period usually belonged to the early sixteenth century German *all'antica* vocabulary, in the manner reminiscent of works by Hans Sebald Beham and his contemporaries.<sup>1232</sup> The master responsible for the façade of orphanage at St. Elisabeth's hospital, founded by Johann Connert in 1548/1549, appears to have been inspired by printed pattern-book by Heinrich Vogtherr, or by a similar model book.<sup>1233</sup> However, other influences were present in the city as well, as illustrated by the earliest extant example of stone sculpture executed according to the *all'antica* language, namely elements of a portal, today in the Old Town Hall, executed in 1517.<sup>1234</sup> (fig. 221) The portal could have been executed on the spot, but also imported from abroad, for instance

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<sup>1227</sup> See, for instance, Ulbrich 1926/1929 and Rzempoluch 1995.

<sup>1228</sup> A funeral monument to Duke Albrecht Friedrich has never been completed, although stone has been brought to Königsberg, see Gebser&Hagen 1833, p. 196-197.

<sup>1229</sup> See Chapter 2.

<sup>1230</sup> See, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 11-13, Woziński 2004 and Woziński 2011, particularly p. 161-180.

<sup>1231</sup> For instance 'Meister' Paul (Mistrz Paweł), the most accomplished Gdańsk sculptor of this period active c. 1530. On late medieval sculpture in Gdańsk see Woziński 2002. On earlier medieval sculpture in Gdańsk, see above all Jakubek-Raczkowska 2006.

<sup>1232</sup> Compare, for instance, the wooden frame of the painting depicting Jethro and his daughter with the prints by Beham, Bartsch, 15, nos. 245, 246, p. 123. For more examples representing this type of decoration see Warncke 1979.

<sup>1233</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 14-17; Pałubicki 1981, p. 183. A copy of Vogtherr's book has been preserved in the PAN Library in Gdańsk.

<sup>1234</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 6-11; Pałubicki 1981, p. 179-181.

from Cracow.<sup>1235</sup> Further developments took place c. 1550-1560. The increase of number of artistic commissions at that time apparently corresponded with a certain stabilization of its internal political, social and religious situation. One of the first major works carried out in Gdańsk in this period was the refurbishing of the Artushof.<sup>1236</sup> In 1552 unidentified Italians rebuilt its late medieval façade, probably taking the front page of Sebastiano Serlio's *Book on Antiquities* as an inspiration for incorporating its large windows into the new, 'antique' ensemble.

However, by far the most important for artistic developments in Gdańsk was the growing immigration of sculptors, stonemasons and architects from the Low Countries. Arriving in the Baltic metropolis, they introduced new artistic language and strongly influenced the taste of the local patrons. Written sources as well as extant works of sculpture and architecture indicate that Netherlanders began to appear in Gdańsk in growing numbers from c. 1560 onwards.<sup>1237</sup> Some of them were mentioned in the citizenship records, for instance Cornelis Brun from Brussels, Hendrick van Linth from Antwerp (both in 1561), Aegidius van den Blocke (1573, though he was probably present in Gdańsk since c. 1565), Paul van Doren from Antwerp (Mechelen?; citizenship in 1571, although he was present in the city since c. 1567), Willem van der Meer (1574) and Heinrich Gruiter as well as Hans Steffen (both 1575).<sup>1238</sup> In 1578 Gerhard Hendrick from Amsterdam- who was to become the most important sculptor in Silesia c. 1600 - at that time nineteen years old, arrived in Gdańsk and spent seven years there.<sup>1239</sup> By the end of the century, such masters as the architects Frederick Vroom from Haarlem and Burchard Janssen from Zwolle, the military architect Anthonis van Obbergen from Mechelen, and 'Steinhauer' Willem van der Meer from Ghent were playing the leading role in the local building industry, managing also the affairs of the local masons', stonecutters' and sculptors' guild, often occupying the post of the dean.<sup>1240</sup> Moreover, documents of the guild reveal that apart from masters also many journeymen of Netherlandish origin were active in the city. Of course, Netherlanders were not the only ones working in the city's building and artistic industries. The guild documents mention many journeymen and even masters from such places as Wrocław, Dresden, Königsberg and even Augsburg.<sup>1241</sup> Some of them were, moreover, of local origin, like the builder Hans Strakowsky, who before coming to Gdańsk was a master in nearby Malbork (Marienburg). Nonetheless, Netherlanders appear to have played the leading role in Gdańsk in last decades of the sixteenth century until c. 1630, turning the city into one of the main centres of

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<sup>1235</sup> The latter hypothesis is strengthened by the presence of the emblem of King Sigismund I Jagiellon, an eagle with the letter 'S' on its chest, indicating that the erection of the portal was somehow related to the royal court. Cracow was suggested already by Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 8-10); Pałubicki, however, is more cautious (Pałubicki 1918, p. 181).

<sup>1236</sup> Simson 1900, p. 148 - 149.

<sup>1237</sup> See the pay-books of the guild containing names of masters, journeymen and apprentices, State Archive in Gdańsk (Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku), 300 C/2057-2059; see also Cuny 1910a, Krzyżanowski 1966 and Pałubicki 1981.

<sup>1238</sup> Pałubicki 1981, p. 184-188. It may be mentioned here there another Brabantine sculptor named Steffens, Maximilian, worked in Hamburg in the early seventeenth century, see Thieme&Becker 1937.

<sup>1239</sup> Oszczanowski 2008.

<sup>1240</sup> More on the guild in Chapter 3.

<sup>1241</sup> See Chapter 3.

Netherlandish art and architecture not only in the Baltic region, but in the whole of Europe.<sup>1242</sup>

An evidence of the growing Netherlandish influence in Gdańsk is provided by the works of art and architecture, either imported from the Low Countries, or carried out by Netherlandish artists on the spot. An important example of the former is provided by the new baptismal font for St. Mary church, made between 1552 and 1557. (fig. 222) The brazen font was commissioned in Amsterdam and allegedly cast in Utrecht by Hendrick Willems and Adri Hendricks.<sup>1243</sup> Its decoration, based on the ornamental vocabulary developed by Cornelis Bos and Cornelis Floris, provides an important and early example of Netherlandish grotesque in the Baltic region.<sup>1244</sup> It represents the similar phase of development of the ornamental decoration as the grand chimney piece in the Town Hall in Kampen by Colyn de Nole (1543-1545), the rood-loft in the parish church in Rhenen (c. 1550), or the portal to the Mint in Dort (c. 1555), all decorated with the newest ornaments used in the Northern Provinces. On the other hand, the sitting figures of four Evangelists decorating the brazen font bear a certain affinity to works by Jean Mone, especially to figures on the altar of Holy Sacraments in Halle near Brussels (c. 1533). Another early import from the Low Countries was the epitaph of Michael Loytz (c. 1561-1564), with an alabaster relief plaque carved in Mechelen.<sup>1245</sup> (fig. 158) Already in Gdańsk, the epitaph was enriched with additional figures, executed by an anonymous woodcarver.

An anonymous Netherlandish sculptor active on the spot was responsible for the arcade in the house on Chlebnicka 11 (parts of which are preserved in the entrance hall of the Gdańsk Old Town Hall), and another one on Długa 35 (destroyed in 1945).<sup>1246</sup> (fig. 5) He was probably trained in Antwerp, since he was consequently employing the formal language developed there by mid-sixteenth century. It is visible in such details as grotesque masks, derived directly from prints attributed to Cornelis Floris, or the hanging baskets close to those in the epitaphs of Adolf and Anton von Schauenburg in Cologne, as well as - although to a lesser degree - in one of the epitaphs in the Grote Kerk in Breda.<sup>1247</sup> The importance of Antwerp is also discernible in the four figural scenes carved in high relief, decorating the arcade in the house on Długa 35. They were copied from a series of prints by Cornelis Cort after paintings by Frans Floris, decorating the country house of Nicolaas Jonghelinck.<sup>1248</sup>

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<sup>1242</sup> On this issue see, for instance, Krzyżanowski, 1978 and DaCosta Kaufmann 2006.

<sup>1243</sup> Detailed information about this commission is provided by *Bötticher*. See also Drost 1963, p. 153; Krzyżanowski 1978, p. 269 and Pałubicki 1981, p. 183-184.

<sup>1244</sup> See, for instance, grotesque designs by Bos (Schéle 1965, nos. 125-126, 137, 144, 164-169, 175-176) as well as by Floris, especially the series from 1554 (Huysmans *et al.* 1996, P.3, p. 53-55, fig. 144-149) and some designs for the series dating from 1556 (Huysmans *et al.* 1996, P. 5, p. 59-61, fig. 168-179). The artist responsible for its design could have moreover be acquainted with some of the earliest works by Hans Vredeman de Vries, though apparently they were of lesser importance.

<sup>1245</sup> Woźniak 1995, p. 229, 235-236; Woziński 1997, p. 115; Lipińska 2007, p. 225-227.

<sup>1246</sup> The similarity between these two works has been observed already by Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 42-44). Attempts to identify this anonymous sculptor, for instance with Hendrik van Linth who arrived in Gdańsk from Antwerp in 1561, or with Frederick Vroom, are not convincing; see Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 42-44 and Pałubicki 1981, p. 184-185

<sup>1247</sup> As to the former see Huysmans *et al.* 1996, nos. 157 and 160 and Pałubicki 2004, p. 182; as to the latter see Hysmans *et al.* 1996, fig. 228, 229, 236.

<sup>1248</sup> Woziński 1997, p. 117; The New Hollstein, Cornelis Cort, part III, no 197-203, p. 95-107; Van de Velde 2000, p. 34-37; Weissert 2011, p. 171-172.

An important evidence of early Netherlandish influence in Gdańsk is provided by the decoration of façades of a number of important buildings constructed in the city in the late 1550's and in the 1560's. The most spectacular among them is the Green Gate, built at the eastern end of the Długi Targ between 1563 and 1568. (fig. 223) The authorship of the overall design remains disputable; it could have been a collaborative effort of Ragnier from Amsterdam and Hans Kramer from Dresden.<sup>1249</sup> The overall character of the façades, executed in brick and sandstone, with rusticated arcades in the ground floor and superimposed pilasters above, as well as their decoration bear resemblance to some contemporary Netherlandish designs, such as the new Town Hall in Utrecht, built in the 1540's by Willem van Noort and Colyn de Nole, or the 'The Emperor's Crown' house in Amsterdam (c. 1560-1568).<sup>1250</sup> Both façades of the Gate have been richly decorated with various kinds of masks, strapwork cartouches and busts, many of them derived from printed designs by Benedetto Battini - published by Hieronymus Cock in 1551 - and Cornelis Floris, as well as - possibly - those by Cornelis Bos and Aloisio Giovannoli.<sup>1251</sup> Nonetheless, it is not a purely Netherlandish work. In line with what has long been accepted in literature, it was probably also influenced by contemporary architecture in Saxony, especially by the newly built *Schloß* in Dresden (1547-1556).<sup>1252</sup>

Netherlandish influence is also discernible in a number of highly important patrician houses built along the main street of the city in the late 1550's and 1560's: Długa (Langgasse) 45 (built in 1555-1560), Długa 28 (1560), Długa 37 (1563), Długa 38 (1567) and Długa 35 (1569).<sup>1253</sup> (figs. 224, 225) It seems more than likely that architectural orders were introduced here by architects and artists well acquainted with contemporary architecture in the Low Countries.<sup>1254</sup> A close analogy to the most important examples of this kind of architectural decoration, namely the houses on Długa 45 and 35, is provided by such buildings as the house on Grote Kerkhof in Deventer or the house Lambert Steurman in Kampen, both dating from 1550's.<sup>1255</sup> (fig. 226) They represent the model flourishing in the short period c. 1550-1560, before the dissemination of the decorative language of Hans

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<sup>1249</sup> For a long time – particularly since Cuny's publication (Cuny 1910a, p. 19-22) – the Green Gate was considered to be a work by Hans Kramer from Dresden, holding the office of the *Stadtbaumeister*. However, Kramer arrived in Gdańsk after the start of the works. It seems that Ragnier from Amsterdam, a master mason engaged in the works, could have been responsible for the initial design. The most detailed information on the building is to be found in Pałubicki 2004. See also Hitchcock 1978, p. 56-57.

<sup>1250</sup> Hitchcock 1978, p. 56-57, fig. 55; Kuyper 1994, 2, fig. 215.

<sup>1251</sup> Pałubicki 2004, p. 180-183.

<sup>1252</sup> On the residence in Dresden see, for instance, Deland 1992.

<sup>1253</sup> On houses in Gdańsk see Stankiewicz 1956, Hauke 1967, 94-115; Kowalski, Massalski&Stankiewicz 1969, especially p. 160-179, Korduba 2005 (the latter book has enjoyed very mixed reviews, see especially Kizik 2006) and O. Rollenhagen 2008.

<sup>1254</sup> Earlier scholars distinguish between Italianate façades articulated by architectural orders and slightly later houses with Netherlandish decoration consisting of scrolled gables and strapwork ornament (Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 18-23, 145 [however, see also p. 157, 159]; Kowalski, Massalski&Stankiewicz 1969, p. 169-171). Even though Netherlandish influence in such buildings as the house in Długa 35 has already been pointed out (see Stankiewicz 1956), its true significance has so far been undervalued, especially in Polish architectural history. Netherlandish influence has been more strongly stressed by Henry-Russel Hitchcock, who in fact considered these houses to have been built by Netherlanders (Hitchcock 1978, p. 56).

<sup>1255</sup> Meischke *et al.* 2000, p. 103, fig. 182 and p. 105, fig. 185. Other possible analogies for certain elements of these façades are provided by such works as the house on Sassenstraat 33 in Zwolle, the Town Hall in Utrecht or the church tower in Ijsselstein.

Vredeman de Vries.<sup>1256</sup> Thus, the earliest façades of houses of Gdańsk patricians executed in the *all'antica* style represent the most recent formal language used in the Low Countries.

However, the most accomplished sculptor active in Gdańsk before van den Blocke's arrival was rather of French than of Netherlandish origin. He is known in scholarly literature by a somewhat awkward name 'Master of the Caryatides'.<sup>1257</sup> His known oeuvre consists of the epitaph of Anna Loytz in St Mary church, an arcade possibly from the house of the Connert family on Długa 45 (today in the Old Town Hall), and the two figures of caryatides from the patrician house on Długa 37 (today in the National Museum in Gdańsk).<sup>1258</sup> (figs. 227-230) Furthermore, he could have been responsible for the figures decorating the façade of the house on Długa 45, although due to their destruction it must remain only a hypothesis. Since the caryatides are dated 1563 and Anna Loytz died the same year, it may be safely assumed that the sculptor in question was active in Gdańsk in the early 1560s, at least for several years. Consistent use of French sources, most importantly the decorative system developed by the so-called Fontainebleau school, reveals the artistic identity of this sculptor.<sup>1259</sup> His acquaintance with this artistic circle can be observed in the ornamental decoration as well as figural sculpture. For instance, the shape of the cartouche forming the structure of the Loytz epitaph is akin to cartouches presented in numerous prints by Fantuzzi or Mignon, based on designs by the masters of the Fontainebleau School.<sup>1260</sup> Accordingly, the putti in the upper part of the epitaph could have been modelled after very similar figures in the Gallery of François I in Fontainebleau; similar ones were also disseminated by Fantuzzi's prints.<sup>1261</sup> As to female figures, at this point only a general analogy can be pointed out, for instance to somewhat later statues from the convent of Grands Augustins in Paris, perhaps from the circle of Germain Pilon, and - more importantly - to statues once decorating the tomb of admiral Chabot (c. 1543, today in the Louvre). There are, however, also some similarities with Netherlandish sculpture of the mid-sixteenth century, for instance with the figure of *Prudentia* in Colyn de Nole's chimneypiece in Kampen (1543).

The analysis of the Gdańsk's artistic milieu presented above clearly indicates that at the time Willem van den Blocke set up his atelier there, its position as an important centre of sculpture was well established. Already before the sculptor's arrival in the Baltic metropolis in 1582/1584, it housed artists and architects from Germany, the Low Countries, France and

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<sup>1256</sup> See also Hitchcock 1978, p. 55-61.

<sup>1257</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 26-30; Pałubicki 1981, p. 188-190. Although coherency of his oeuvre has recently been questioned by Piotr Oszczanowski (see Oszczanowski 2008, p. 77-78, note 46), there is no reason to doubt the authorship of a single sculptor with regard to it. An identification of this artist with Hendrik van Linth from Antwerp, proposed recently (*Katalog*, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 190-191; Kaleciński 2011, p. 266-267), appears to be unwarranted. Some hypotheses concerning van Linth have been presented in Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 30-35; the author attributed to him several works, although without providing any convincing arguments.

<sup>1258</sup> Krzyżanowski believed it to be a part of decoration of the house on Długa 45, refurbished by Johann Connert in 1555-1560; this was questioned by Pałubicki, see Pałubicki 1981, p. 187. A drawing by Otto Rollenhagen from c. 1910 indicates that the arcade was still in this house at that time, see O. Rollenhagen 2008, p. 99, 146, fig. 10; also *Katalog*, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 196. In 1912 the Old Town City Hall has been refurbished and many details from patrician houses were installed there.

<sup>1259</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 26-30; Pałubicki 1981, p. 188-190.

<sup>1260</sup> See, for instance, Zerner 1969, AF 48, JM 46 and JM 60.

<sup>1261</sup> Zerner 1996, p. 74, fig. 72.

Italy. Some of them were well-versed in the formal language developed by Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries, used also by van den Blocke.<sup>1262</sup>

Simultaneously with Willem van den Blocke, numerous other Netherlandish sculptors and stonecutters were active in Gdańsk. In most cases, however, we are unable to link them with particular works. Perhaps the most prominent among them was van den Blocke's antagonist Willem van der Meer, originally from Ghent. His studio executed - most likely according to design provided by Hans Vredeman de Vries - the sumptuous chimneypiece in the Gdańsk Main Town Hall (1593), as well as parts of the façade of the Grand Arsenal (c. 1603-1605).<sup>1263</sup> (figs. 6, 231) Later on, van der Meer travelled as far as Wolgast in Pomerania, to work on the ducal castle there.<sup>1264</sup> Lech Krzyżanowski attributed to him many examples of architectural decoration dating from c. 1600, though without any substantial arguments.<sup>1265</sup> Nonetheless, it seems very likely that he was responsible for at least some of these works. One of them is possibly a fragment of house decoration from Piwna (Jopengasse) 22, dating from 1589 (lost). (fig. 232) Decorative motives used there, as well as the sculptural rendering bear close resemblance to the decoration of the above mentioned chimneypiece in the Main Town Hall. Another noteworthy figure was Nickel Jacobsen, who obtained Gdańsk citizenship in 1583, almost exactly at the same time when Willem van den Blocke arrived in the city. At some point between 1587 and 1595 - probably closer to the latter date - Jacobsen executed at least part of the decoration of the newly built Town Hall of the Gdańsk Old Town.<sup>1266</sup> (fig. C.3.1) Also artists of other origin employed the Netherlandish formal vocabulary. For instance, highly accomplished wood-carver and architect Simon Hörle was often working according to the language of Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>1267</sup> Next to his numerous sculptural commissions, Hörle was also involved in the works on the Great Arsenal, preparing - according to his own words - '*ein Schamplon und modell von holz, nebenst etlichen grundrisen und visirungen*'.<sup>1268</sup>

Nonetheless, van den Blocke's arrival was of great importance for artistic developments in Gdańsk.<sup>1269</sup> His pivotal position there in the period between c. 1586 and 1600 is undisputable. Van den Blocke's studio was by far the largest sculptural workshop in the city, employing even up to ten assistants at a time. Furthermore, no other sculptor working in Gdańsk was able to attract such a large group of patrons belonging to the highest social strata. In particular, his ties with the courts in Cracow and Königsberg must have been a great stimulus for the local patrician élites in Gdańsk and other Prussian cities to turn to the royal sculptor. The importance of such relations for potential commissioners is witnessed by the epitaph of burgomaster Johann Brandes, which was consciously modelled after monuments of the ducal family in Königsberg.

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<sup>1262</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 297.

<sup>1263</sup> Tylicki 1997a; Bartetzky 2000, particularly p. 92-93; Pałubicki 2008, especially p. 236-237.

<sup>1264</sup> Bethe 1937, p. 108.

<sup>1265</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 102-107

<sup>1266</sup> APG 300, 36/65, p. 23-24; Pałubicki 1981, p. 175. On the Old Town Hall in general, see Habela 1975 and Habela 1986.

<sup>1267</sup> Sulewska 2004.

<sup>1268</sup> Skibiński 2013d; on the Great Arsenal see above all Bartetzky 2000, who plausibly rejected Anthonis van Obbergen's authorship of the design.

<sup>1269</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958 and Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 146-147.

Willem van den Blocke was a versatile artist, prepared to carry out microarchitecture, ornament, as well as figural and relief sculpture - all elements needed to create monumental works of sculpture, such as tombs or altars. He was also well-versed in the fashionable *all'antica* style, of which he was one of the main exponents in the region, even despite the fact that he had never visited Italy in person. Although the artistic language developed in the mid-sixteenth century Netherlands and used by the sculptor was known in Gdańsk before his arrival, works executed by him surpassed all other in magnificence and sumptuousness, introducing a new sense of grandeur, especially in sepulchral sculpture. In particular, Willem van den Blocke was responsible for introducing in Gdańsk hitherto unknown costly materials and a three-colour scheme typical for the Low Countries, that gained great popularity there.<sup>1270</sup> Difference is clearly visible when we compare the grand epitaph of burgomaster Johann Brandes - the earliest commission executed by van den Blocke in Gdańsk - with earlier or contemporary epitaphs, such as the ones of Heinrich Möller or Laurentius Fabritius. (fig. 231) Even the stone epitaph of Anna Loytz, executed by the Master of Caryatides, though well-carved and exceptionally detailed, was inferior in terms of sumptuousness to objects produced in van den Blocke's atelier.

Willem van den Blocke may be, therefore, considered the most important - though definitely not the only - exponent of Netherlandish sculpture in Gdańsk in the period between c. 1560 and 1630. However, the artist exerted a considerable influence also beyond the Baltic metropolis. While his predecessors were usually engaged to carry out commissions within the city itself, van den Blocke worked for various patrons, and his works reached distant parts of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe. His impact was particularly strong in the Polish-Lithuanian state. This leads us to discuss perhaps the most important issue with regard to van den Blocke's contribution to European art, namely his role in the process of dissemination of Netherlandish sculpture in the vast lands of the Old Commonwealth.

## **7.5 Willem van den Blocke and Netherlandish sculpture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth**

### **Sculpture in the Commonwealth in the sixteenth century – the Italian dominance**

In the sixteenth century the strongest influence on sculpture in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was exerted by Italy.<sup>1271</sup> Italian artists, mostly sculptors, began to arrive there already around 1500.<sup>1272</sup> In the initial phase, the main hub of Italian influence was the court of King Sigismund I Jagiellon in Cracow, an ambitious art patron who embarked above all on refurbishing the royal residence on the Wawel hill.<sup>1273</sup> The most accomplished among Italian artists active in the Commonwealth in the first half of the century was Bartolommeo Berrecci, a Florentine sculptor and architect trained in the circle of Giuliano da Sangallo who arrived in

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<sup>1270</sup> Wardzyński 2007, p. 386-387.

<sup>1271</sup> The basic study on sixteenth century Italianate sculpture in Poland is the book by Helena Kozakiewiczowa (Kozakiewiczowa 1974). For a more up to date, though general overview, see also the well illustrated book by Mieczysław Zlat (Zlat 2008).

<sup>1272</sup> See, for instance, Hornung 1959b, Kozakiewiczowa 1974, Fischinger 1976a and Fischinger 1976b.

<sup>1273</sup> Literature on artistic patronage of Sigismund I Jagiellon is extensive; see, for instance, Wiliński 1976, Morka 2006 and Mossakowski 2007. For an English overview see also Lewalski 1967.

Cracow in all probability in 1515.<sup>1274</sup> Berecci built and decorated the famous Sigismund Chapel in Cracow, and executed several important sepulchral monuments. (figs. 19, 233) Other Italian sculptors and architects were present in the Commonwealth at that time as well, some of them being Berrecci's assistants and collaborators. For instance, already c. 1531 Giovanni Cini and Bernardino de Gianotis established their own enterprise, supplying funerary monuments for clients across the Commonwealth and rebuilding the cathedral in Płock in north-western Masovia according to the new style.<sup>1275</sup> Perhaps the most accomplished Italian sculptor of the mid sixteenth century was Gianni Maria Mosca, called Padovano, who arrived in 1529.<sup>1276</sup> Padovano was one of few Italians working in sixteenth century Poland whose artistic activities in Italy are known: he was, among other things, involved in the decoration of Capella del Santo in St. Anthony church in Padua.<sup>1277</sup> Once in Poland, Padovano was responsible for a number of important works, above all the imposing monument of Grand Crown Hetman (commander-in-chief of Polish army) Jan Tarnowski in Tarnów in Lesser Poland (c. 1561). (figs. 87, 234) Another important Italian sculptor based in Cracow was Girolamo Canavesi, whose masterpiece, the monument of the Górka family, was erected in Poznań cathedral in 1574.<sup>1278</sup> (figs. 235, 236) In late sixteenth century the leading role was played by sculptor and architect Santi Gucci from Florence. Although he arrived in the Commonwealth already c. 1557, his most prestigious commission came only in the 1590's: around 1595 Gucci executed the tomb of King Stephen Báthory in Cracow.<sup>1279</sup> (fig. 96) Working in a characteristic, decorative style, this contemporary of Willem van den Blocke exerted considerable influence on late sixteenth century sculpture in the Commonwealth. Naturally, the sculptors mentioned above were only the most important among many Italians working in Poland-Lithuania during the sixteenth century, be it sculptors, stonecutters, builders or architects. Among the latter we may mention Giovanni Battista Quadro, best known from his works on the Town Hall in Poznań, Giovanni Battista Veneziano, active in Masovia, and Bernardo Morando, who between 1578 and his death in 1600 was designing and building Zamość, the 'ideal' town of chancellor Jan Zamoyski.

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<sup>1274</sup> Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 23-79 and, above all, Mossakowski 2007, p. 23.

<sup>1275</sup> Kozakiewiczowa 1959; Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 81-87.

<sup>1276</sup> Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 93-127; Markham Schulz 1998.

<sup>1277</sup> He was contracted to carve the relief depicting the *Miracle of the unbroken glass*; see McHam 1994, p. 47-50 and Markham-Schulz 1998, p. 27-29. Padovano's considerable sculptural skill is furthermore confirmed by his other works, for instance the one today in the Louvre.

<sup>1278</sup> Sinko 1936; Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 128-138.

<sup>1279</sup> Fischinger 1969; Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 153-168; Kowalczyk 2012.

Map 2 - Major works by Italian sculptors active in Cracow in Poland-Lithuania c. 1520- 1580



- - Cracow
- - Locations with several works
- - Locations with individual works

Most of the Italian sculptors worked initially for court circles and - later on - for members of the nobility and high clergy. Although they were based mostly in Cracow, their works reached almost all corners of the country, most notably Poznań and Vilnius. Sculptors were above all engaged to execute sumptuous funeral monuments, that became a very important element of visual culture in the Commonwealth. Apart from this, they were also refurbishing residences and working on architectural decoration; however, most of these works have been lost.<sup>1280</sup> Italian sculptors and architects introduced the *all'antica* formal vocabulary that gained great popularity among Polish and Lithuanian patrons and was imitated by local sculptors. This can be observed in numerous smaller works of art, scattered across the land in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Moreover, Italians also introduced a new colour scheme, based on a combination of red or brown limestone from Hungary or Austria, traditionally used in Poland since the fourteenth century to carve royal

<sup>1280</sup> For instance Fischinger 1976b.

sarcophagi and effigies, and the local white limestone, suitable for executing decorative architectural frames.<sup>1281</sup>

Works created by Berrecci, Padovano and others formed new models of sculpture that soon became paradigmatic in the old Commonwealth. Strengthened by the prestige of serving royal and other highest ranking patrons, these new models must have been particularly difficult to challenge. It was even more so because Italian émigrés were jealously guarding the local market. Nonetheless, already by the mid-century sculptors of non-Italian origin slowly began to gain ground. Netherlanders, or émigrés from the Netherlandish-German borderland, played a particularly important role in breaking the Italian monopoly.

### **First Netherlanders in the Commonwealth**

Some of the main centres of Netherlandish art in Central and North-Eastern Europe, namely Königsberg, Gdańsk and Wrocław, were located on the outskirts of the Commonwealth. As discussed above, in Gdańsk and Königsberg Netherlandish influence was gaining momentum already in the 1550's and 1560's. In Silesia the situation was similar.<sup>1282</sup> First Netherlanders, such as Hans Gruyter from Nijmegen, appeared there already in the 1550's, and by the end of the sixteenth century Netherlandish formal vocabulary became paradigmatic in local sculpture. Its most important exponent was Gerhard Hendrick from Amsterdam, a relative of the architect Frederick Vroom from Haarlem, active in Gdańsk for many years. The former was responsible for numerous outstanding works of sculpture in Wrocław and beyond, including the epitaph of the Hesseler family in St. Elizabeth church in Wrocław, the altar in the church in Żurawina (Rothsürben), belonging to the Hanniwald family – an architectural frame for the statue of Christ by Adriaen de Vries (the latter today in the National Museum in Warsaw) – and the grand sepulchral monument of Imperial general Melchior von Redern in Frýdlant (today in the Czech Republic), with effigies cast in bronze.<sup>1283</sup> (figs.160, 175, 237, 238) Apart from Hendrick, many other Netherlanders, or at least sculptors influenced by Netherlandish designs were active in Silesia, as indicated by numerous works of sculpture, for instance in St. Elizabeth church in Wrocław or St. James church in Nysa. Last mentioned town became the main seat of bishops of Wrocław after the Reformation, and in consequence its churches were embellished with numerous altars and funeral monuments.<sup>1284</sup>

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<sup>1281</sup> See, above all, Wardzyński 2005 and Wardzyński 2009.

<sup>1282</sup> On sixteenth century sculpture in Silesia see, among others, Bimler 1934, Chrzanowski 1974, Skuratowicz 1974, Kęblowski 2003, Oszczanowski 2003, Oszczanowski 2007, Lipińska 2011a and Oszczanowski 2012.

<sup>1283</sup> Oszczanowski 2003; Oszczanowski 2007.

<sup>1284</sup> See, for instance, Bimler 1934, Chrzanowski 1974 and - particularly - Oszczanowski 2003.

Map 3 - Centres of Netherlandish sculpture in Poland-Lithuania and its vicinity in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century



Strong connections were established between these centres of Netherlandish influence, facilitating travel of artists and dissemination of artistic forms and ideas.<sup>1285</sup> Some of the leading exponents of Netherlandish sculpture in Silesia, most importantly Gerhard Hendrik, arrived in Wrocław from Gdańsk. He was followed by others, for instance Hans Schneider von Lindau, who cooperated with Willem van den Blocke during his works on the High Gate in Gdańsk.<sup>1286</sup> It may also be noted that sculptor Heinrich (Hendrik) Gruyter from Nijmegen, almost certainly a relative of the above mentioned Hans Gruyter, received citizenship in Gdańsk in 1575.<sup>1287</sup> As indicated by documents of local guilds, stonecutters and builders from Silesia worked at that time in Gdańsk and Toruń. Gdańsk was also closely linked to Königsberg, with artists and craftsmen of various kinds moving between these Baltic cities. Undoubtedly, some exchange as well as trade connections with regard to sculpting material existed also between these centres and the heartland of the Commonwealth. Netherlanders present in Wrocław or Gdańsk could have, moreover, facilitated the import of small alabaster

<sup>1285</sup> See, for instance, Oszczanowski 1999. On this issue in general see also Wardzyński 2004b and Lipińska 2011a.

<sup>1286</sup> Oszczanowski 1999; Oszczanowski 2012, p. 217-241.

<sup>1287</sup> Pałubicki 1981, p. 187.

sculpture and printed pattern-books to the Commonwealth.<sup>1288</sup> Nonetheless, for the most part of the century their direct influence on sculpture in core Poland and Lithuania was rather limited.

The first known Netherlandish - or German-Netherlandish - sculptors arrived in the heartland of the Commonwealth already in the late 1550's or early 1560's. They were, however, few in number. At that time, the main centre of Netherlandish sculpture there was Lviv, located in southern part of the country (today Ukraine), even though some Italians were present there at that time as well.<sup>1289</sup> Herman Hutte from Aachen arrived there before 1562, and was followed by Heinrich Horst from Groningen some ten years later. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their career before arrival in the Commonwealth, and very few works can be attributed to them with any certainty.<sup>1290</sup> (fig. 239) Nonetheless, their presence turned out to be of considerable importance for artistic developments in southern Poland. They established an important sculptural centre in Lviv, able to compete with Cracow workshops, even though mostly on the local market. Perhaps the most probable reason for their presence in Lviv were large alabaster quarries, located nearby.<sup>1291</sup> As can be seen in other instances as well, access to sculpting material was of topmost importance for Netherlandish sculptors, since it allowed for unhindered work and additionally provided a source of income.<sup>1292</sup> In fact, Hutte's and Horst's activities as stone traders are most tangible.<sup>1293</sup> By taking over alabaster quarries they influenced the patterns of stone trade. Although the quarries were used already before their arrival - the first known works carved from local alabaster, executed either by Padovano or Santi Gucci, date from the 1550's<sup>1294</sup> - Hutte and Horst, cooperating with local tradesmen, greatly developed them.<sup>1295</sup> Stone from Lviv was traded as far away as Gdańsk and Wrocław, major centres of Netherlandish influence. For instance, one of the most important works of sculpture executed in Wrocław in late sixteenth century, namely the pulpit in St. Mary Magdalena church there (1579-1581, attributed to Friedrich Gross the Elder, has been embellished with plaques carved in 'Ruthenian' alabaster.<sup>1296</sup> (fig. 240) In fact, there existed a connection between Silesia and Liviv, with several noteworthy figures, including Hans Pfister, probably a pupil of Gerhard Hendrik, arriving in the latter from Wrocław.<sup>1297</sup> Alabaster was also used in Cracow, above all by Jan Michałowicz of Urzędów and his alleged pupils, such as Jan Biały active in Lviv, but also by some of the Italians active in the capital, for instance Padovano.<sup>1298</sup> In the mid-1580's Horst moved to Poznań and continued to work there.<sup>1299</sup> There, he could have influenced an anonymous workshop responsible for several works in Poznań, Gniezno and other places. This rather provincial studio combined Italianate

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<sup>1288</sup> See, for instance, Wardzyński 2004b, Lipińska 2006 and Lipińska 2007.

<sup>1289</sup> On this centre see, for instance, W.Łoziński 1898, Gębarowicz 1962, Kowalczyk 1964, Mańkowski 1974, Lipińska 2011a and Oszczanowski 2011.

<sup>1290</sup> See, for instance, W.Łoziński 1898, Gębarowicz 1962, Harasimowicz 1986b, Wardzyński 2009 and Lipińska 2011a.

<sup>1291</sup> Gębarowicz 1962, p. 36; Lipińska 2011a, p. 67.

<sup>1292</sup> Jolly 1999a; Wardzyński 2009; see also Skibiński 2013a

<sup>1293</sup> Wardzyński 2009; Wardzyński 2011; Lipińska 2011a.

<sup>1294</sup> Wardzyński 2011, p. 44.

<sup>1295</sup> Wardzyński 2011.

<sup>1296</sup> Wardzyński 2011, p. 55, 58.

<sup>1297</sup> Hornung 1955; Gębarowicz 1962; Lipińska 2011a; Oszczanowski 2011.

<sup>1298</sup> Mańkowski 1937; Wardzyński 2009, p. 444-445; Wardzyński 2011, p. 44-46, 53-55.

<sup>1299</sup> Gębarowicz 1962; Harasimowicz 1986.

forms originating from Cracow - using also material typical for this milieu - with Netherlandish ornamental vocabulary.<sup>1300</sup> (fig. 241)

In Cracow itself, Netherlanders did not gain a foothold. Apparently, Italians exerted too strong control over the local market to allow others to profit from it. Nonetheless, the influence of Netherlandish sculpture and printed pattern-books found its way even there. It is visible most clearly in the work of Jan Michałowicz of Urzędów (active c. 1550-1583), the only major sculptor in sixteenth century Cracow of non-Italian origin, called already in the sixteenth century *Praxiteles Polonicus*.<sup>1301</sup> In all probability, he was trained in Cracow by one of the Italians working there, and his earlier works represent the forms of local, Italianate sculpture. However, his later tombs of Bishop Filip Padniewski in Cracow (c. 1572) and Archbishop Jakub Uchański in Łowicz (c. 1580-1583), indicate knowledge of Netherlandish formal vocabulary.<sup>1302</sup> (fig. 242) It appears that c. 1570 Michałowicz became acquainted either with works of Netherlandish sculpture, or with printed pattern-books, such as those of Hans Vredeman de Vries. The most likely source of these lessons seems to have been Lviv, as the change in formal language was parallel to appearance in his works of alabaster from that area.<sup>1303</sup> Nonetheless, apart from tombs that can be attributed to Michałowicz, very few works in Cracow betray interest in Netherlandish vocabulary.

Despite the presence of sculptors like Horst and Michałowicz in the country, the status quo of its sculptural market, established in the early sixteenth century, was not seriously challenged until the 1580's and 1590's. Only then the artistic milieu established in Gdańsk began to exert its influence across the vast lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

### **Willem van den Blocke, artistic expansion of Gdańsk and the rise of taste for Netherlandish sculpture in the Commonwealth<sup>1304</sup>**

Although it cannot be ruled out that isolated sculptural works executed in Gdańsk could have found their way to more distant places before 1580 - the epitaph of the Kostka family in Lisewo can be given as a possible example - up to that time local workshops were above all engaged to meet the demand of the local élites. This pattern started to change in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the city's booming artistic industry began to exert growing influence beyond its close vicinity. In the initial phase of Gdańsk's expansion the largest group of patrons from outside of Gdańsk commissioning artists based in the city consisted of patricians of the other major towns of Royal Prussia, Toruń and Elbląg, as well as of the local nobility.<sup>1305</sup> Manifold personal, economic and political ties linking élites members in the three great Prussian towns provided excellent channels for dissemination of works of art. This can be observed, for instance, in St. Mary's church in Toruń, where locally important

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<sup>1300</sup> Harasimowicz 1991.

<sup>1301</sup> Pagaczewski 1937; Kozakiewiczowa 1974, p. 139-152.

<sup>1302</sup> In this context it is perhaps not a coincidence that Uchański was probably also the commissioner of an alabaster altar in Uchanie, see Lipińska 2007, p. 151-154.

<sup>1303</sup> Wardzyński 2011, p. 53. Another possible, though less probable direction of the sculptor's new experiences, is Silesia. See also Kowalczyk 2012, p. 186-187.

<sup>1304</sup> The following description of the Gdańsk's rapid artistic expansion c. 1600 is partially based on Skibiński 2013b.

<sup>1305</sup> Wardzyński 2007, p. 387.

families, often closely related with the Gdańsk ones, erected several large epitaphs, most of them imported from the Baltic metropolis.<sup>1306</sup>

Around 1590 Gdańsk began to exert major influence outside of Royal Prussia. Around that time, some important works made in the city found their way to the Polish heartland and to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.<sup>1307</sup> The studio of Willem van den Blocke played a crucial role in these developments.<sup>1308</sup> Van den Blocke became the first sculptor working in Gdańsk who attracted high ranking clientele from outside of the province. In fact, all known major works of stone sculpture produced in Gdańsk for topmost patrons before 1600 took shape in his studio.<sup>1309</sup> Perhaps the most important event in the history of late sixteenth century sculpture in the Commonwealth came - rather surprisingly - with the royal order for the tomb of Christopher Báthory, destined for the Jesuit church in the faraway capital of Transylvania, Alba Iulia (1582-1584).<sup>1310</sup> The patron, King Stephen Báthory, did not locate his commission with any of the Italians working in Cracow, but offered this task to Willem van den Blocke. Later on the next monarch, Sigismund III Vasa, approached the sculptor to entrust him with carrying out of another highly prestigious monument, intended to commemorate his father, the Swedish King Johan III (1593-1596). Even though in the 1590s the popularity of the Netherlandish sculpture was already well established in the Baltic region, the king's choice confirmed its position and strongly contributed to its further dissemination, especially in the heartland of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. These royal commissions allowed van den Blocke to attain a high professional position and, as a consequence, to win the support of other distinguished patrons from the royal entourage.<sup>1311</sup> Profiting from his acquaintance with high circles of international patronage, van den Blocke began to supply members of both lay and ecclesiastical elites of the Commonwealth and beyond with sumptuous works of sculpture and microarchitecture. Above all, he was engaged by relatives and close councillors of the two kings, Stephen Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa, such as Cardinal Andreas Báthory and Vice-Chancellor Jan Tarnowski. He was probably also involved with such high ranking patrons as Prince Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Grand Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.<sup>1312</sup> Just as in the 1520's and 1530's Italian orientation of the royal court and many among highest officials enabled artists of this nationality to dominate the country's market for almost a century, these commissions secured by Willem van den Blocke in the late sixteenth century permitted Netherlanders to achieve success on the same market around and after 1600. Thus, after the introduction of Italian and Italianate sculpture to the transalpine Europe in the early years of the sixteenth century, these Northern innovations constituted the next phase in the development of the 'antique' language in the region. Moreover, the tremendous professional success enjoyed by van den Blocke must have enhanced the significance of

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<sup>1306</sup> Sulewska 2004. One of these epitaphs, commemorating members of the Neisser family, was executed by the brothers Fabian and Mattheus Neisser, a painter and a woodcarver, who both worked in Gdańsk; see also Chapter 1.

<sup>1307</sup> Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 160-162; Badach 2004; Wardzyński 2006, p. 187-223.

<sup>1308</sup> Wardzyński 2005, p. 530, Wardzyński 2007, p. 387, Wardzyński 2008, p. 323. Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 297.

<sup>1309</sup> Hornung 1959a, p. 110; see also Badach 2004.

<sup>1310</sup> Wardzyński 2005, p. 530.

<sup>1311</sup> See Chapter 2; also Krzyżanowski 1958, Wardzyński 2007, p. 387, Wardzyński 2008, p. 316-317, 322-323 and Zlat 2008, p. 242.

<sup>1312</sup> See Chapter 2.

Gdańsk as an important artistic centre and facilitated expansion of its other artists and architects both in Poland-Lithuania and abroad.<sup>1313</sup> In the first half of the seventeenth century, works by Gdańsk sculptural workshops were already well represented across the Commonwealth.

Map 4 - Major works by Willem and Abraham van den Blokke in Poland-Lithuania



- - Works by Willem van den Blokke (1586-c.1623)
- - Works by Abraham van den Blokke (c. 1600-1628)

However, despite the growing Netherlandish influence in Poland, earlier Italianate tradition, exercised mostly in Cracow and in southern part of the kingdom, retained at least some of its former importance. At the time Willem was working in Gdańsk on commissions issued by King Sigismund Vasa, Cardinal Andreas Báthory, Vice-chancellor Jan Tarnowski and others, several Italian sculptors were still active in Cracow and in other places. As aforesaid, in 1594-1595 elderly Santi Gucci executed the monument of King Stephen I, commissioned by Queen Dowager Anna of Jagellon. (fig. 96) Simultaneously, his followers were carrying his characteristic, flamboyant style to other parts of the land. Also in Cracow, Giovanni de Simonis carried out several important commissions for patrons in that city, but also Greater Poland and even Royal Prussia. (figs. C.5.1, 243) In the first quarter of the

<sup>1313</sup> See, among others, Badach 2004, Wardzyński 2005, p. 530 and Wardzyński 2007.

seventeenth century several productive workshops were operating in Chęciny, exporting their works, made usually of local brown and pinkish limestone, as far as Greater Poland, Masovia and even Royal Prussia.<sup>1314</sup> (figs. C.14.1, C.14.2, C.17.1, 244, 245) Popularity of their works proves that many noblemen still regarded the ‘sansovinesque’ idiom created in Cracow c. 1530 by the royal court as the one solely befitting their commemoration at that time.<sup>1315</sup> The clientele of these Italians and their local followers was, in fact, much broader than that of Willem van den Blocke, who worked mostly for a narrow circle of commissioners related to the courts of Stephen Báthory and Sigismund Vasa.<sup>1316</sup> Nonetheless, also King Sigismund engaged a strong group of well-trained Italians to carry out his major architectural enterprises, like the Casmir Chapel in Vilnius or the royal residences in Warsaw and Cracow. An important role within this milieu was played by the architect Matteo Castello, a former collaborator of Carlo Maderno in Rome, who arrived in the Commonwealth c. 1613.<sup>1317</sup> (fig. 10) In the second quarter of the seventeenth century there appeared another important Italian sculptor, Sebastiano Sala, based in Cracow. Sala was one of the most skilled sculptors active in Poland-Lithuania in the seventeenth century, as proved by his two major works, the tombs of Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gębicki in the Gniezno cathedral (1638-1640) and Piotr Opaliński in Sieraków (1641-1642), with an architectural frame made of black ‘marble’ from Dębnik and finely carved figural sculpture as well as ornamental details made of Ruthenian alabaster.<sup>1318</sup> (fig. 246)

Nonetheless, inspiring interest in Netherlandish sculpture, Willem van den Blocke’s activity paved the way for his compatriots, active mostly in Gdańsk, but also in other places. In the 1610’s and 1620’s works by Gdańsk studios - most of them attributable to the workshop of Abraham van den Blocke - found their way to various locations in Masovia, Lithuania, Greater Poland and even Lesser Poland, the traditional sphere of Cracow influence. Among the most important were the main altar in Warsaw Jesuit church (1620-1626, destroyed in 1944) and the chapel of the Oleśnicki family in Święty Krzyż in Lesser Poland.<sup>1319</sup> (fig. 247) Furthermore, around 1628-1629 Abraham van den Blocke’s studio executed the tombs of Archbishop Henryk Firlej in Łowicz and Bishop Jerzy Zamoyski in Chełm (the latter lost), both probably finished after Abraham’s death in early 1628 by his successor Wilhelm Richter. (fig. 248) In the mid-seventeenth century numerous works executed in Gdańsk - that served also as a very important hub in stone trade – were reaching various locations across the Commonwealth. Some Netherlandish sculptors were also present in the second Prussian town, Elbląg, where Willem Martens and members of his family -

<sup>1314</sup> See, for instance, Karpowicz 1974, p. 72-73. Some of the works in question are monuments of the Przyjemski family in Konin, the Tylicki brothers in Toruń and Stanisław Krasiński in Płock. Hypothetically, this workshop could have also been responsible for the architecture of the monument of Archbishop Wojciech Baranowski in Gniezno and numerous other works, see Wardzyński 2012.

<sup>1315</sup> Kluczajd&Tylicki 2009, p. 204.

<sup>1316</sup> Szydłowska 1957, p. 251. Szydłowska was, however, only half correct: it is true that in late sixteenth century Poland-Lithuania Netherlandish sculpture became fashionable among the social élite, it is certainly not true that in the Low Countries it befitted only bourgeoisie.

<sup>1317</sup> Hibbart 1971, p. 39-40, 60-61; Karpowicz 1994. However, some of the attributions presented by the latter, who argues that Castello was responsible for almost all major architectural undertakings in Poland-Lithuania at that time, are not entirely convincing.

<sup>1318</sup> On the Opaliński tomb, see Wiliński 1956.

<sup>1319</sup> On the Jesuit altar, see Wardzyński 2010, p. 46-52. It was commissioned by Andrzej Bobola and Tomasz Gostomski in 1620 and remodelled c. 1626, after some critical remarks made by King Sigismund Vasa himself.

another important, though little known dynasty of Netherlandish artists - were active in the first half of the century. A possible example of a locally produced work of monumental sculpture was the tomb of Swedish general Franciscus Bernhard von Thurm, formerly in St. Nicolas church in Elbląg (late 1620's; destroyed already in 1777). This wall monument consisted of sarcophagus made of black 'marble', with a reclining effigy carved probably in alabaster.<sup>1320</sup> Moreover, Elbląg workshops were also sending their works across Royal Prussia, especially to nearby Warmia.<sup>1321</sup> Beyond Prussia, a group of Netherlanders, including Jan Philippijn Wallon and Peter Nonhardt, was active since c. 1600 in Vilnius, probably in connection with the large architectural and artistic undertakings of Sigismund Vasa, begun there.<sup>1322</sup> Although their activities remain little known, several works in the town, such as the altar in St. Michael's church or the tomb of Piotr Wiesiołowski in Bernardine church, may possibly be linked with this circle.<sup>1323</sup> In Lviv, much further to the south, the earlier tradition of sculpture strongly influenced by art of the Low Countries was continued by Hans Pfister, who will be discussed in greater detail in the following section. Workshops led by Netherlanders were probably active in other places as well. One of these studios, led by an anonymous as yet artist, can be credited with several major works, such as the tomb of Bishop Andrzej Nowodworski in Poznań cathedral, as well as a number of altars in Poznań, Płock and other places.<sup>1324</sup> (fig. 249) Another Netherlander, Augustin van Oyen (Noyen) was working in Chełmno in Lesser Poland. His main work was the grand altar set up in the cathedral in Włocławek (before 1639).<sup>1325</sup> (fig. 250) Van Oyen, who was serving some of the highest ranking patrons in the Commonwealth, was a distant relative of the well-known military architect Sebastian van Noyen, working in the Low Countries in the middle of the sixteenth century for Cardinal Granvelle and Charles V, among others.<sup>1326</sup>

Thus, in the first half of the seventeenth century two main modes of sculpture, Netherlandish and Italiante, dominated in the Commonwealth. The main centre of the former was Gdańsk, while the latter was based mostly in Cracow and Lesser Poland. Artists from both centres were controlling their close vicinities and competing on the wider market. Naturally, this division is very general and not always clear, as many smaller workshops were operating in other places as well.

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<sup>1320</sup> See its description in Fuchs 1821, p. 210-213. There exists also a print after the lost monument.

<sup>1321</sup> I would like to thank Michał Wardzyński for kindly sharing this information. Details will soon be published by him.

<sup>1322</sup> See, for instance, Łopaciński 1938/1939, p. 51-60.

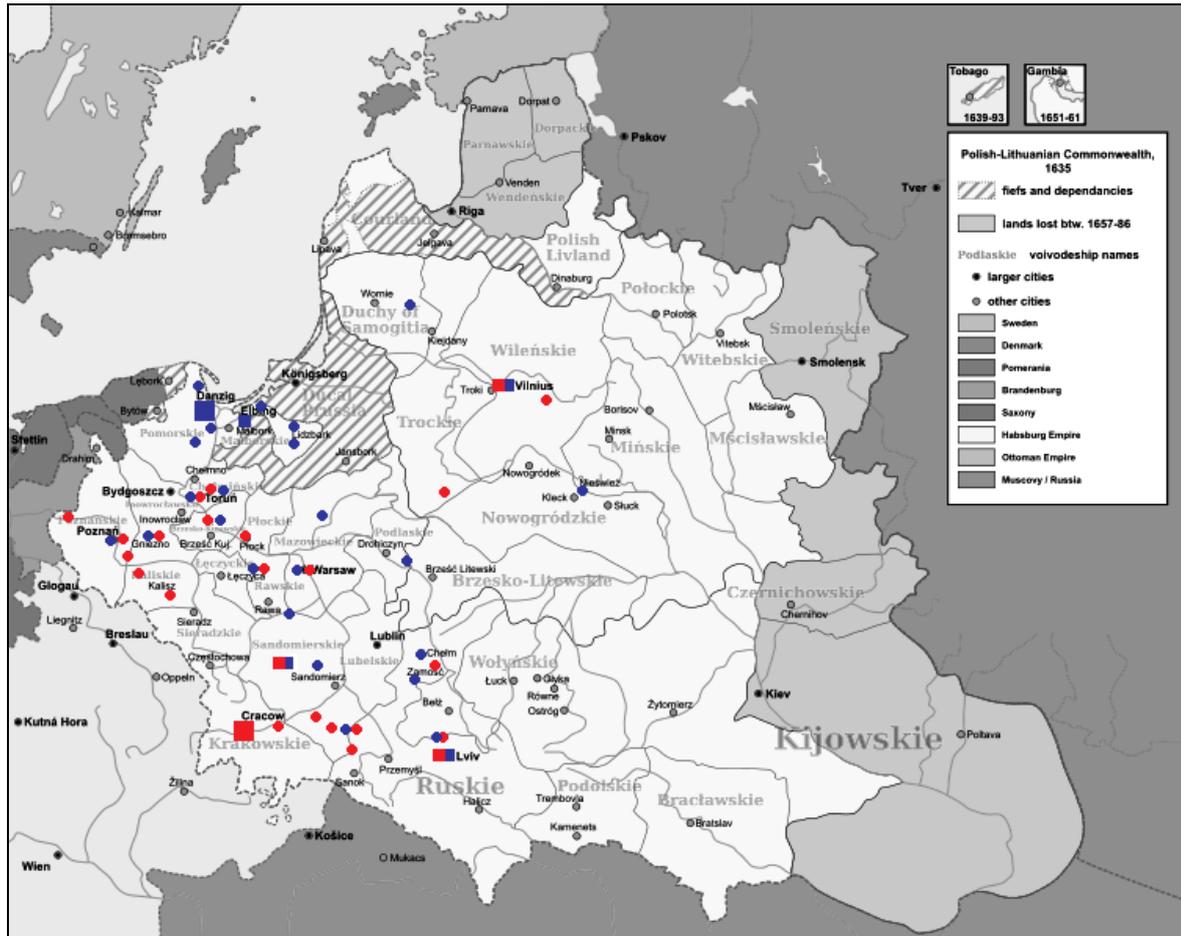
<sup>1323</sup> Michał Wardzyński hypothetically attributed the altar to Jan Philippijn Wallon; see Wardzyński 2004a, especially p. 133-134, and Wardzyński 2008, p. 325-326. As to the Wiesiołowski tomb, see Catalogue.

<sup>1324</sup> Karpowicz 2003, p. 49-50; however, many of the attribution presented in this article are not supported by any arguments. See also Wardzyński 2008, p. 326-327.

<sup>1325</sup> Karpowicz 2003, p. 44-48; today in the parish church in Zduńska Wola.

<sup>1326</sup> I would like to thank Michał Wardzyński for sharing some information on this issue.

Map 5 - Italianate and Netherlandish sculpture in Poland-Lithuania c. 1600-1650



- Netherlandish production centres
- Italianate production centres
- Major works and ensembles by Netherlanders and their followers
- Major works and ensembles by Italians and their followers

### Competition of Netherlandish and Italian sculpture in the Commonwealth

In consequence of the above outlined developments, around 1600 Netherlandish sculpture became highly fashionable in the Polish-Lithuanian *Res Publica*. Even though such opinions as the one expressed by King Stephen Báthory with regard to the tomb of his brother Christopher were probably not based on deeper aesthetic understanding, they nonetheless reveal great appreciation for works of artists from the Low Countries, in all probability motivated by their exceptional sumptuousness.<sup>1327</sup> Polish patrons in this way followed in the footsteps of their counterparts from Scandinavia and the Holy Roman Empire, where Netherlandish influences were established already at an earlier date. Besides numerous works of art commissioned in Netherlandish workshops, above all in Gdańsk, also written

<sup>1327</sup> Pawiński 1882, p. 297.

accounts, for instance by Polish travellers visiting the Low Countries, testify that in their eyes this land was an important artistic centre. During his travels undertaken in 1607–1613, Jakub Sobieski observed that ‘*the Dutch are very skilled in painting and in sculpture, both in marble and in wood*’.<sup>1328</sup> Some twenty years later Johann Heidenstein, son of the historian Reinhold Heidenstein, expressed his admiration for Netherlandish art, observing that ‘*painting and sculpture are highly praised here, and the best artists of the world have chosen this place [Antwerp] as their seat*’.<sup>1329</sup>

However, within the old Commonwealth there was probably no clear perception of differences between Italian and Netherlandish ‘styles’, nor a conscious historical and aesthetic evaluation existed in general. From c. 1580 to 1660 Italian and Northern-European influences enjoyed in fact more or less an equal status. It was fairly common among the patrons to employ alternatively Italians and Netherlanders. This phenomenon can be easily observed in choices made by members of the entourage of Sigismund Vasa: while Jan Tarnowski turned to van den Blocke, others, like Leśniowski and Gostomski, approached masters active in Cracow. (fig. 11) A single patron could also employ artists representing both traditions - Italian and Netherlandish - to carry out his commissions. This pattern is clearly followed by almost all of the figures whose artistic commissions have been discussed in this book, including Stephen and Andreas Báthory, Sigismund Vasa, Jan Tarnowski and Jan Zamoyski. A particularly vivid example of the coexistence of both traditions in early seventeenth century Commonwealth is provided by the sepulchral monument of Archbishop Wojciech Baranowski in Gniezno (c. 1620). Its monumental architectural structure was made of brown and pinkish limestone by an anonymous workshop active in Lesser Poland, while the effigy was carved in alabaster in Gdańsk, perhaps in the studio of Abraham van den Blocke.<sup>1330</sup> (figs. 251, 252)

Some of the recipients of the works were however supposedly able to distinguish differences between various visual models, such as the two-colour scheme of earlier, Italianate sculpture on one hand and richer, more elaborate Netherlandish design on the other. The latter, above all the works of van den Blocke studio, differed from that by Italians both in architectural and sculptural form of finely carved ornamental and figural decoration and in used materials: lavish, imported ‘marble’ and alabaster. Instances of intuitive differentiation between these two major visual modes are known also with regard to architecture. We are informed that upon visiting Lviv, Sigismund Vasa criticized the façade of the local Bernardine church, one of the most striking examples of cohabitation of both styles.<sup>1331</sup> It was begun c. 1600 by Paolo Domenici from Rome, and finished c. 1618-1630 probably by Andreas Bemer from Wrocław, who introduced steep gables with strapwork decoration. (fig. 253) Although no detailed reasons for the king’s critical opinion are known, it may be guessed that such a combination produced a structure too heterogeneous and lacking right proportions. Formal difference between objects executed in Gdańsk and in the southern part of Poland is particularly visible in the earliest phase, especially in works by Willem van den

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<sup>1328</sup> *Sobieski*, p. 61.

<sup>1329</sup> *Peregrynacja*, p. 38

<sup>1330</sup> Its Gdańsk origin is confirmed by *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 30. See also, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1970, who considered also the architectural frame to be work of a Gdańsk workshop.

<sup>1331</sup> Leitsch 2008, 2, p. 948.

Blocke himself. Employing formal language developed by such artists as Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries, they differed strongly from those of van den Blocke's contemporaries in the south with regard to architectural and ornamental details. The deeper into the seventeenth century, however, the less this difference was becoming acute.<sup>1332</sup> In fact, although Willem van den Blocke played a crucial role in the dissemination of Netherlandish influence in the Commonwealth, his particular formal language found very few followers outside of his circle in Prussia. Being already a somewhat outdated, it was thoroughly transformed by Willem's son Abraham.<sup>1333</sup> In general, since the 1620's Netherlanders and their followers started using the same sober and monumental forms as their Italian counterparts, even though their works varied in details.

Perhaps the most telling element, by which contemporary onlookers could differentiate between 'northern' and 'southern' influence, was material - an element highly appreciated by contemporaries, mentioned in almost all written sources pertaining to works of sculpture at that time. For most of the first half of seventeenth century, Netherlanders and sculptors influenced by them used the traditional three colour scheme, composed of imported Belgian 'marble', and alabaster, or local stone - especially sandstone and limestone from Gotland and Oland - made to imitate the former.<sup>1334</sup> Naturally, not all works employed the full colour programme - some smaller ones were made of only two or even a single type of stone. In southern Poland, on the other hand, other materials were used. In fact, profound changes occurred there in the period between c. 1600 and 1630. Until the end of the sixteenth century most of the works were made in white limestone combined with red and brown 'marble' from Hungary and, later on, Austria. Sometimes, of course, the situation was more complex. Giovanni de Simonis, for instance, employed in his works also various colourful - brown, yellow and other - Ruthenian alabasters. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, on the contrary, it was brown and pinkish limestone quarried north of Cracow that enjoyed greatest popularity. The stimulus came probably from interiors of the Wawel Royal Castle, refurbished in the early 1600's. After c. 1630 the dominant material in Polish sculpture was black 'marble' from Dębnik, combined with white Ruthenian alabaster. It seems that the discovery and exploitation of the Dębnik quarries was stimulated by desire to find a local equivalent for the black Belgian 'marble'. Other instances of Netherlandish influence with regard to colour scheme can also be observed in Cracow. For example, the interior of the Zbaraski chapel in the Dominican church there (1629-1633), is made of black and white stone with pinkish columns, reminiscent of those made by Floris and others in the *Rance* limestone. Nonetheless, the black and white colour composition became most widely accepted and remained very popular in Poland and Lithuania for more than a century. Towards mid-seventeenth century also workshops operating in Gdańsk began to use this two-colour scheme, as witnessed, for instance, by interior of the Kołudzki Chapel in Gniezno.<sup>1335</sup> Thus, the tendency towards unification, noted already with regard to architectural and ornamental

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<sup>1332</sup> Karpowicz 2003, p. 43-44.

<sup>1333</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 297.

<sup>1334</sup> Wardzyński 2007; Wardzyński 2008; Wardzyński 2009.

<sup>1335</sup> On the Kołudzki Chapel see Wardzyński 2007 and Saar-Kozłowska 2010. Gdańsk origin of this work is once again confirmed by *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 31.

language, can also be observed in colour scheme. It seems likely - though purely hypothetical – that this phenomenon reflected more precisely defined expectations of the patrons.

### **Willem van den Blocke, the Commonwealth and Transylvania**

The monument of Christopher Báthory became highly influential also in Transylvania. According to an account dating from 1622, the tomb executed by van den Blocke back in 1582-1584 served as a reference point for members of Transylvanian ruling families, including Gábor Bethlen.<sup>1336</sup> As a consequence, during the first half of the seventeenth century sculpture produced in Poland-Lithuania was rather popular there, stimulating further artistic relations between the Commonwealth and Transylvania.<sup>1337</sup> The monument of Bethlen himself and his wife Zsuzánna Károlyi, embellished with their effigies carved in alabaster, has been erected in Alba Iulia in the 1630's by the brothers Antonio and Andrea Castello, Italians active in Poland. Furthermore, in 1649-1652 Sebastiano Sala executed monument of Ggörgy I Rákóczy, Prince of Transylvania, and installed it personally in Alba Iulia. In 1654 another Italian artist based in Cracow (Sala died in 1652, shortly after his return from Transylvania), namely Bartolommeo Ronchi, executed the monument of Zsigimónd Rákóczy. These works reveal existence of artistic relations between both countries and indicate that the Commonwealth, above all Cracow, was considered by the Transylvanian élite to be an important artistic centre. These ties were ultimately reaching back to the Christopher Báthory's tomb created by van den Blocke in the 1580's. Possibly, the impact of van den Blocke's early work can be observed in details as well; perhaps the most important is the use of certain kinds of stone. As proven by the account of Ambrosius Simigianus, the material used to carve the Báthory tomb strongly impressed local viewers and potential patrons. It could have been the reason why Italians who executed later works - in the 1630's and 1650's - also used the three-colour scheme - black, red and white - characteristic for Netherlandish sculpture of late sixteenth century.<sup>1338</sup> These artists apparently adapted the local types of limestone quarried near Cracow as well as 'Ruthenian' alabaster from the vicinity of Lviv to fit into this particular scheme.<sup>1339</sup>

### **7.6 Willem van den Blocke and his circle**

An artist's oeuvre, clearly legible in its core, inevitably becomes blurred on the edges. In particular, collaborative and volatile character of workshop organization prevents a clear distinction between works executed by a particular artist's studio, his former assistants or followers. Moreover, the popularity of a particular visual language must be taken into consideration. As a result of massive immigration of Netherlandish artists as well as dissemination of works of sculpture and printed pattern-books, the formal vocabulary employed by Willem van den Blocke was paradigmatic in Gdańsk. In consequence, works created there - and possibly also in neighbouring centres, such as Elbląg - share basic formal

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<sup>1336</sup> *Alvinczi*, p. 165; I would like to thank prof. Peter Szabó from Budapest for pointing out this document to me.

<sup>1337</sup> Détsy 1966; Détsy 1988.

<sup>1338</sup> Reference to this particular colour scheme appears in contemporary writings, for instance by János Szalárdi, the secretary of Georg I Rákóczy, see Détsy 1988, p. 107.

<sup>1339</sup> In his other works, above all in the tombs of Piotr Opaliński in Sieraków and Archbishop Wawrzyniec Gębicki in Gniezno, Sala used only black limestone and alabaster, thus employing the two-colour, black and white pattern typical for the period. See also Wardzyński 2009 and Wardzyński 2011.

characteristics. While major monuments designed by Willem van den Blocke and executed by his studio are rather distinct, numerous minor works, such as smaller epitaphs or portals and other elements of architectural decoration, often lack unique character. Furthermore, it is more than likely that other sculptors, stonecutters and architects working in Gdańsk could occasionally cooperate, exchange ideas with, follow or imitate Willem van den Blocke. Therefore, the following discussion cannot be described as anything more than an attempt to present various possible links between Willem van den Blocke and other sculptors and stonecutters - most of them anonymous - operating at that time in Gdańsk, and occasionally in other places.

### **Abraham van den Blocke**

Willem van den Blocke exerted strongest influence over his eldest son, pupil and collaborator Abraham van den Blocke, who took over the family business around 1600.<sup>1340</sup> Both sculptors certainly cooperated with each other, particularly in the earlier phase of Abraham's career between 1597 and c. 1610. The most important evidence thereof is provided by the grand altar built by Abraham van den Blocke in St. John's church in Gdańsk between 1599 and c. 1608 (additional works, like polychroming and gilding, were carried out at least until 1611).<sup>1341</sup> (figs. 156, 254) Its architectural design closely resembles that of the epitaph of Eduard Blemke, executed by Willem van den Blocke in 1591. Although a document published by Alfred Muttray indicates that the *visirung* for the altar was made by an anonymous painter, it does not exclude the possibility that Willem and Abraham van den Blocke were involved in the designing process.<sup>1342</sup> Next to the form of its architectural structure, also rich ornamental decoration of the altar resembles that used by Willem. Particularly important is the foliate scroll in friezes above the first and second zone, closely resembling that used by the older master in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. (fig. 255) Other ornamental details embellishing the grand structure of the altar were derived from the vocabulary of Hans Verdeman de Vries. Motives from the latter's pattern-books were used by Abraham also in other works carried out at that time in Gdańsk, above all in the façades of the Great Arsenal (1605-1609).<sup>1343</sup> Finally, such details as the figure of a Polish nobleman in the relief plaque depicting preaching of St. John reveal Willem's influence, thus indicating a continuity between both studios.

At the same time, however, a certain evolution is visible in the formal language employed by Abraham van den Blocke.<sup>1344</sup> Instead of imitating his father, he developed his own style, more monumental and sober, devoid of rich ornamental decoration favoured by

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<sup>1340</sup> See Chapter 1 and 3. Unfortunately, this study can have only a general character, since Abraham van den Blocke's artistic activity has not yet been studied in detail. The most comprehensive, although not always entirely convincing analysis has been presented in Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 107-130, 149.

<sup>1341</sup> On the altar see above all Muttray 1922, who provided basic source information. Later literature (Cieślak 1990, Cieślak 2000, Pieńkowski 2006) is devoted particularly to its iconography.

<sup>1342</sup> Muttray 1921, p. 63. In Gdańsk, the term 'visirung' referred usually to design drawings.

<sup>1343</sup> Arnold Bartetzky suggested that Abraham van den Blocke was entrusted with embellishing the upper part of the façades; see Bartetzky 2000, p. 93-95. On the formal characteristic of this work see *ibidem*, p. 55-68 and 122-138. It should be remembered, however, that Abraham could have been working according to an overall design prepared by an anonymous as yet architect.

<sup>1344</sup> See, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 149.

master Willem.<sup>1345</sup> Motives derived from the already obsolete decorative modus of Cornelis Floris and Vredeman, as well as from more contemporary designs by Hendrick de Keyser and Wendel Dietterlin, were used by him as isolated phenomena, incorporated into more rigid architectural structures. An illustrative example of Abraham's artistic evolution is provided by the epitaph of the Gdańsk burgomaster Bartholomäus Schachmann, erected in St. Mary's church in 1607.<sup>1346</sup> (fig. 256) Its architectural structure as well as the shape of substructure (a simplified scrollwork cartouche) is reminiscent of earlier works by Willem's studio, above all the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs, erected in the same church in 1586 and 1591 respectively. Moreover, some details, like the obelisks, scrollwork flanking the central zone and the architrave between the lower and central zone, also appear to have been influenced by Willem van den Blocke's works. Nonetheless, the author of the Schachmann epitaph almost entirely eliminated ornamental decoration. What is more, he displayed invention - possibly inspired by Italian works - by introducing small incrustations made of various kinds of 'marble' or its imitation. Similar kind of embellishment, although with larger limestone and alabaster plaques, were used in other works by Abraham van den Blocke, for instance the Bahr monument.<sup>1347</sup> (fig. C.18.1) This very tomb, erected in 1620, shows in general the same approach towards the work of Willem. Abraham referred here to one of the works by his father, namely the monument of the Kos family in Oliwa (probably 1599-1600) - and indirectly to designs by Cornelis Floris and Vredeman. Finally, certain affinity between works by two generations of van den Blocke can possibly be observed in yet another object, namely the main altar in Jesuit church in Warsaw (1620, 1626; destroyed in 1944). The sculptor responsible for this structure, plausibly identified by Wardzyński with Abraham van den Blocke, probably took as a model Willem van den Blocke's monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, executed between 1578 and 1582.<sup>1348</sup> (fig. 247)

Nonetheless, the sober manner applied by Abraham van den Blocke had some precedents in the oeuvre of his father. The most important in this context are the epitaphs of the von Damerau brothers in Świąty Wojciech (c. 1587) and of Jan Konopacki in St. Nicolas church in Gdańsk (after 1594). Rather than breaking with tradition, Abraham seems to have further developed one of the *modi* employed by his father, ultimately reaching back to the Antwerp milieu of the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>1349</sup> At this point, other stimuli behind the evolution of the artistic language used by Abraham remain uncertain. It is not known whether he visited the Low Countries to be impressed by the vocabularies developed by such artists as Hendrick de Keyser in the North and Jacques Francart in the South.<sup>1350</sup> Although he did not

<sup>1345</sup> See, for instance, Krzyżanowski 1966; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 34 and Motylińska 2009.

<sup>1346</sup> This important work has never been fully discussed in literature (it is mentioned, for instance, in Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 123, Cieślak 1994, p. 185 and Woziński 1997, p. 120). The attribution to Abraham van den Blocke, even though unconfirmed by written sources, appears plausible.

<sup>1347</sup> It is possible that it resulted from either direct or indirect Italian influence, see Wardzyński 2004a, p. 132. Later on, similar - though less elaborate - examples appear in a number of altars erected in the Cistercian church in Oliwa.

<sup>1348</sup> Wardzyński 2010, p. 46-49.

<sup>1349</sup> Compare with Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 149.

<sup>1350</sup> On de Keyser see De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007 and Ottenheim, Rosenberg&Smiet 2008. On Francart and the architecture in the Southern Low Countries in the early seventeenth century see, for instance, De Vos 1998, De Jonge&De Vos 2000 and De Jonge&Ottenheim 2007. Compare, for instance, the monument of Archbishop Henryk Firlej in Łowicz (c. 1628-1629) with one of the printed designs in Francart's book (De Vos 1998, fig. 40).

use direct citations from their oeuvres on a large scale, he appears to have accepted general rules of the new artistic language, stressing architectural structure rather than rich ornamental decoration. A similar manner could have also been derived from Italian designs from the turn of the sixteenth century, seen in Low Countries or brought by Italians who arrived in the Commonwealth in the early seventeenth century.<sup>1351</sup> Nonetheless, despite being receptive of new tendencies in art, Abraham retained a good deal of individuality. Instead of slavishly copying new designs, he adjusted them to the older Netherlandish tradition, derived mostly from his father.

### **Other pupils, collaborators and followers**

Besides his son Abraham, Willem van den Blocke trained and cooperated with numerous other sculptors and stonemasons. Moreover, his oeuvre, highly appreciated by patrons, influenced other artists and craftsmen. As a consequence, various motives used by him appear in works executed by his contemporaries in Gdańsk and possibly also in other centres.

It seems likely that some of van den Blocke assistants and collaborators were working independently, or at least semi-independently, already at the height of the master's career in Gdańsk. Possible example of their output is provided by the monument of Jędrzej Noskowski in Maków Mazowiecki. (fig. C.2.1-2) Completed in 1591 in sandstone and alabaster, it was certainly made in a workshop active in Prussia. As argued by Gołąb, the monument shares a number of compositional and decorative similarities with van den Blocke's *oeuvre*. However, it has probably been made by another sculptor, closely acquainted with van den Blocke. This is indicated by numerous differences in sculptural rendering of figural and ornamental parts, as well as certain differences in architectural design.

The Kos monument in Oliwa as well as some other works, like the Oleski slab and the epitaph of Jan Konopacki, influenced other works in Prussia, executed by sculptors acquainted with the van den Blocke's studio. One of such works is the epitaph of Achacy Konopacki in Grzywna near Toruń, executed c. 1600.<sup>1352</sup> Its author took the effigy of Mikołaj Kos as a model. Similar pattern involving imitation of particular figures can be observed in another epitaph commemorating member of the Konopacki family, Piotr, erected in St. John church in Malbork in the 1590's.<sup>1353</sup> (fig. C.11.1) There, an anonymous sculptor followed van den Blocke's putti from the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk (1591) and the Bielke tomb in Linköping (before 1598). Nonetheless, design of the epitaph as well as sculptural rendering of its details do not indicate van den Blocke's authorship. It has rather been executed by an anonymous sculptor active in Gdańsk - or Elbląg - in late sixteenth century exploiting popular decorative language promulgated by Netherlandish artists and pattern-books, and acquainted with some of Willem van den Blocke's works. In both cases members of the family employing van den Blocke must have turned to sculptors trained in his studio.

Another example of sculptural piece that can be attributed to one of master Willem's assistants or collaborators is the chimneypiece carved in sandstone c. 1598 for the house of

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<sup>1351</sup> They were engaged above all by the King Sigismund III Vasa. Some of them, like Matteo Castello, were highly capable architects and sculptors, earlier working in the leading ateliers of Rome.

<sup>1352</sup> On this epitaph see Smoliński 2004, p. 91-96.

<sup>1353</sup> This epitaph has been attributed to Willem van den Blocke by Mariusz Smoliński, see Smoliński 2004.

Zacharias Krell.<sup>1354</sup> (fig. C.12.1-3) A number of decorative details used by the author of this unusual work, such as the decoration of Ionic capitals, reminiscent of the Blemke epitaph, the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy and the altar in St. Trinity chapel in Łowicz, have been derived from van den Blocke's repertoire. Furthermore, parts of figural sculpture, above all the figures of putti, are also reminiscent of the latter's works. However, as in the case of the abovementioned Noskowski monument, the way of carving as well as overall design of the chimneypiece point rather to a different artist. It would, therefore, be safe to assume that the chimneypiece was done by a sculptor well acquainted with Willem van den Blocke, leading independent atelier. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that - as indicated by written sources - many sculptors, stonecutters and masons from Gdańsk were active in Elbląg c. 1600.

Possible authorship of Willem van den Blocke's assistants is visible in less conspicuous works as well. A telling example illustrating the complexity of local sculptural milieu is provided by an alabaster plaque depicting *Caritas*, today in the National Museum in Gdańsk. (fig. C.21.1) As plausibly suggested by Ewa Jachnicka, this work shares major similarities with an analogical plaque in the upper zone of the von Bodeck epitaph in Elbląg, a work of Willem van den Blocke's studio.<sup>1355</sup> Although the object in question cannot be attributed to the master himself, it appears to have been made by a carver acquainted with his forms.

Further example illustrating Willem van den Blocke's influence in the local milieu is provided by the epitaph of Abbot Caspar Geschkau in the Cistercian church in Oliwa. (fig. 258, 259) Executed by an anonymous woodcarver c. 1587, it follows one of printed designs by Cornelis Floris, enriched with some minor ornamental details derived from prints after Hans Vredeman de Vries.<sup>1356</sup> One of the caryatides, however, refers directly to the type used by Willem van den Blocke in the figure of *Spes* in the epitaph of Johann Brandes in Gdańsk and - although to a lesser degree - in the figure of *Labor* in the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna in Odense.<sup>1357</sup> Similarity with van den Blocke's works can be observed in other parts as well, for instance in ornamental details decorating hanging baskets. Certain ornamental motives - particularly the console supporting a winged skull in the lower part of the epitaph - were also derived from some earlier works of Netherlandish sculpture in Gdańsk, ultimately reaching back to Cornelis Floris. Thus, the Geschkau epitaph is a combination of architectural, ornamental and figural motives derived from various objects of Netherlandish art, both printed pattern-books and real sculpture. The artist who carved it must have been a Netherlander acquainted with works by both Cornelis Floris and Willem van den Blocke, active in Gdańsk in late 1570's and in 1580's. He appears, moreover, to have been responsible for other works of wooden sculpture executed in the city at that time as well.<sup>1358</sup>

It seems probable - although at this point purely hypothetical - that Willem van den Blocke could have influenced sculptors responsible for several epitaphs executed in Gdańsk,

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<sup>1354</sup> It has been attributed to Willem van den Blocke by Wiesława Rynkiewicz-Domino, see Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996a and Rynkiewicz-Domino 2005, p. 662.

<sup>1355</sup> Jachnicka 2003.

<sup>1356</sup> On the epitaph see Sulewska 2004, p. 34-35

<sup>1357</sup> Sulewska 2003, p. 248; Sulewska 2004, p. 34-35.

<sup>1358</sup> For instance the epitaph of Laurentius Fabricius, formerly in church St. John in Gdańsk (today in St. Mary's in the same city), executed c. 1579.

employing the artistic language of Cornelis Floris. Even though this vocabulary was known in Gdańsk already before van den Blocke's arrival, his presence in the city must have strengthened its appeal in the period c. 1600. One of important, though little known works from that time made in local milieu is epitaph of the von Kempen family, set up in St. Mary church in Gdańsk c. 1601-1606.<sup>1359</sup> (fig. 260) It displays certain affinity with works by the Floris circle, especially with regard to figural decoration and ornamental details. The sitting figure of *Quies* in the upper zone, reminiscent of analogical statue in the epitaph of Christopher von Dohna in Odense, as well as floral ornament used there point to van den Blocke's entourage. Another example is provided by the small epitaph of Katarzyna Krosnowska, set up in the cathedral church in Włocławek c. 1598. (fig. 261) Executed in all probability in Gdańsk, it closely follows in form the epitaph of Herluf Trolle in Helsingør, attributed to the studio of Cornelis Floris. (figs. 262) Since no print reproducing this work is known to have existed, the sculptor must have either known this work personally, or through a drawing. This cannot be deemed as surprising, since numerous artistic and personal relations existed between artists active in Denmark and Gdańsk, including members of van den Blocke family. Helsingør, located directly at the Sund, was easily accessible to anyone travelling to the Baltic region. The sculptor who carried out the Krosnowska epitaph was a mediocre artist, who could have nonetheless been acquainted with Willem's studio.

## Designs

It seems possible that Willem van den Blocke made also designs, later used in practice by other sculptors. Preoccupation with designs may have taken place particularly in the later stage of the master's career, when his studio has dissolved and been partially taken over by Abraham van den Blocke. A potential example of such activity is provided by the document pertaining to designing an altar for the collegiate church in Zamość, dating from 1605. It is possible, however, that van den Blocke intended to carry out this project in person, a plan failed by the death of Chancellor Zamoyski. One other possible example of a sculptural work designed by Willem van den Blocke is the epitaph of Michael Giese and his wife, Ursula Heidenstein, erected in the Königsberg cathedral c. 1596. It is a simplified version of earlier works by the master, above all the epitaph of Johann Brandes in Gdańsk (1586). However, the craftsmanship, especially with regard to figural parts, suggests a different sculptor. Hypothetically, it could have been an artist active either in Gdańsk or Königsberg, acquainted with Willem's oeuvre and implementing a design submitted by him. Also, some scholars claim that van den Blocke could have been - perhaps indirectly - responsible for the design of the monument of King Stephen Báthory; this, however, is not plausible.<sup>1360</sup> Apart from sculptural works, master Willem was also, at least occasionally, engaged to execute designs for other items, as indicated by the design for a crown, possibly for one of the Habsburg consorts of Sigismund III of Poland.

The most imposing, and at the same time puzzling work from the orbit of van den Blocke is the grand monument of Janusz Ostrogski, erected in the collegiate church in Tarnów in Lesser Poland probably between 1612 and 1620. (figs. C.19.1-9 ) According to signature on the monument itself, it has been made by Hans Pfister, a sculptor active in Lviv and its

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<sup>1359</sup> This work appears to be have been heavily restored after 1945.

<sup>1360</sup> Eckardtówna 1955, Mikocka-Rachubowa 1984.

vicinity in the first half of the seventeenth century. Pfister was born in Wrocław, where he received his professional training, probably in the circle of the leading Netherlandish sculptor there, Gerhard Hendrik.<sup>1361</sup>

The lower part of the Ostrogski monument bears striking similarity to the tomb of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, executed by Willem between 1578 and 1582. Noticing these similarities Mieczysław Gębarowicz attributed the tomb directly to him. According to Gębarowicz, master Willem designed the monument and started the work, which was subsequently completed by Pfister. Moreover, Pfister was considered to be pupil of van den Blocke. However, all these hypothesis are not plausible.<sup>1362</sup> First, in contrast to the opinion expressed by Gębarowicz, the monument is very uniformed and was certainly made by a single sculptural studio. Second, apart from the design, it shows little affinity with the oeuvre of van den Blocke, both in figural sculpture and ornamental decoration. Nonetheless, the Königsberg monument provided beyond doubt a direct model for Pfister. This can be explained in three ways. First, van den Blocke could have indeed executed an overall design. Second, it is possible that Pfister himself visited Königsberg and studied the ducal monument *in situ*. Later on, he could have used this model, combing it with some other patterns, such as a print from Hans Krammer's *Architectura* of 1599.<sup>1363</sup> (fig. 263) Finally, it cannot be ruled out that the particular design used was worked out with the patron, who provided Pfister with appropriate iconographic material. In any case, the monument of *Kniaź* Ostrogski is a vivid example of van den Blocke's influence, present even far away from Gdańsk. His monumental works must have been perceived as suitable models by high ranking patrons, who wanted new artistic objects created on their basis.

Probably the latest example of a work directly influenced by van den Blocke is the tomb of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius, most likely created at some point between 1618 and 1623. (figs. B.15.4-9) It seems likley that the elderly master, already 70 years old at that time, could have designed it.<sup>1364</sup> Its execution, however, was certainly left to another artist, especially since - at least according to extant sources - the master's studio did not exist anymore at that time.<sup>1365</sup> It seems very likely that he was one of van den Blocke's pupils or assistants, possibly working under direction of the old master, as indicated by his adherence to formal traits represented by the latter. The effigy of Stanisław Radziwiłł displays certain similarity with van den Blocke's works. They are discernible in his pose, akin to that of Johan III, as well as in some details of sculptural rendition. However, greatest affinities can be observed in such works as the effigies of Christopher von Dohna and Jędrzej Noskowski. Perhaps the same artist was responsible for the figural decoration of the tomb, consisting of three symbolical figures in the upper zone, two figures in spandrels and a relief plaque, representing the *Resurrection*. The personifications of *Mors* and *Immortalitas*, the latter severely damaged, are akin to works executed in the van den Blocke studio, but differ in details. Shallow folds and sharp curves of drapery set these figures from similar works

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<sup>1361</sup> Oszczanowski 2011.

<sup>1362</sup> The opinion expressed by Gębarowicz was accepted by, among others, Mieczysław Zlat and Piotr Oszczanowski, though with certain caution (see Zlat 2008, p. 310-311 and Oszczanowski 2011). It was questioned by some, most recently by Michał Kurzej (Kurzej 2011).

<sup>1363</sup> Hans Krammer, *Architectura*, 1599, tabl. Corinthia V ( Irmscher 1999, fig. 30).

<sup>1364</sup> Therefore, its architectural form has been discussed in Chapter 4.

<sup>1365</sup> Krzyżanowski arrived at a similar conclusion, see Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 293

attributable to van den Blocke. Nonetheless, both figures has certainly been inspired by earlier works of his studio. As pointed out earlier, the personification of *Mors* decorating the epitaph of the brothers von Damerau almost certainly served as a model for the analogical figure in Vilnius. Alike, the *Immortalitas* from Uppsala seems to have provided a model for the analogical figure in Vilnius. The sculptor responsible for the Radziwiłł monument must have either been familiar with these works, or been provided with appropriate designs. The same artist was also responsible for the *Resurrection* in the upper zone of the monument of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Wilno. It is a typical, though not very refined example of sculpture deeply rooted in the pictorial tradition of the sixteenth century, that continued to be used well into the 1600's.

The monument of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius is indicative of Willem van den Blocke's influence. The artist certainly tutored and cooperated with many sculptors and stonecutters active in Gdańsk and possibly other places in Prussia around 1600. Thus, he exerted considerable influence on the local artistic milieu, discernible in many works created there - even though due to factors discussed in length in the previous section, their exact relation with the master cannot be established. Nonetheless, his personal style, based on forms and artistic ideas reaching back to mid sixteenth century, did not gain popularity except for his close circle. In consequence, he was one of the last - even though highly accomplished - exponents of the Floris style in European sculpture. It may be noted here that in the early seventeenth century also in the Low Countries the art of Cornelis Floris was gradually fading away; the last major sculptors influenced by it were de Nole brothers.<sup>1366</sup>

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<sup>1366</sup> See the decoration of the sarcophagi of Archduke Ernest and of the Dukes of Brabant in St. Gudula's in Brussels, executed by Robrecht de Nole after 1601 (Casteels 1961, p. 94-96, fig. 27-32) and the analogous decoration of the former main altar in the Ghent cathedral, executed by the same Robrecht de Nole and his brother Jan between 1615 and 1623 (fragments today in St-Gummarus' in Lier; see Casteels 1961, p. 113-120, figs. 43-44). Moreover, statues of saints forming part of the latter altar show some reminiscence of Floris' works as well (compare, for instance, carving of hair and other details of the statues of St. Augustine and St. Gummarus).

## GENERAL CONCLUSION

Judging by his proficiency and influence, Willem van den Blocke was one of the most accomplished Netherlandish sculptors active in Central and North-Eastern Europe in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. His works have reached Uppsala and Linköping in Sweden in the north, Odense in Denmark in the west and Alba Iulia in Transylvania in the south, while his influence in the east can be traced even in faraway parts of the Great Duchy of Lithuania. No other Netherlandish sculptor active at that time sent his works to so many diverse and distant locations. His importance and prestige is furthermore confirmed by high ranking patronage he was able to attract.

Van den Blocke has almost certainly been trained in the Antwerp studio of Cornelis Floris, one of the leading exponents of the 'antique' style in Transalpine Europe and key figure of the outstanding artistic milieu created in the sixteenth century in city on the Scheldt. Many of the characteristics of van den Blocke's art and artistic practice discussed in this dissertation have their roots in his acquaintance with the Floris studio. Some of the most important among them are proficiency in the 'antique' formal language codified by the Antwerp sculptor combined with creative approach, as well as the use of costly materials. Equally significant must have been van den Blocke's knowledge about and experience in the efficient production system developed by Floris in Antwerp. Thus, van den Blocke's training and his acquaintance with one of the leading Northern European sculptors of the third quarter of the sixteenth century must have shaped his artistic identity and considerably strengthened his professional position. As his assistant, van den Blocke travelled to the Baltic region in order to assemble the tomb of Duke Albrecht. After completing his assignment in Königsberg he decided to stay in the new environment with promising possibilities rather than to return to the Low Countries with a crumbling economy, war and diminishing demand for sculptural works. This decision must have been motivated above all by economical factors, since the new milieu offered him a chance to secure profitable commissions. In this way he joined the network of emigrant Netherlandish artists, growing since the middle of the century and comprising sculptors, architects and stonemasons, interconnected by professional and family ties that facilitated their activities.

After moving to Gdańsk in 1582/1584, van den Blocke enrolled in the local guild, trained new adepts and probably cooperated with other artists and craftsmen active in the city and beyond, thus exerting a strong influence on the local milieu. His pivotal position in Gdańsk - and, perhaps, in the entire southern part of the Baltic region - in the period between c. 1585 and 1600 is undisputable, as indicated by his oeuvre, patronage and structure of his atelier. As to the latter, it was by far the largest sculptural studio in the city, simultaneously employing up to ten assistants - almost half of them described as sculptors - at the height of the master's career in the mid 1590's. Many of them, including some key members of the workshop like Philip van den Blocke and Rombout von Fresen, were fellow Netherlanders. Van den Blocke's success resulted above all from his ability to organize production - this required, among other things, employing well-trained assistants and securing steady supply of appropriate material - as well as his skill in designing and executing complex works of art, comprising elements of architecture, ornament as well as figural and relief sculpture. Willem

van den Blocke's proficiency, creativity, versatility and skill in stone carving allowed him to present his patrons with appropriately designed and executed works of art. Combining well-conceived architectural designs with rich ornamental and figural decoration as well as luxurious material, he created works at least matching those of such artists as Alexander Colin or Gert van Egen, and by far exceeding those by his local counterparts. Well acquainted with the artistic language used by Cornelis Floris, as well as with the pattern-books made after designs by Hans Vredeman de Vries and others, master Willem was able to create highly successful and novel works within this general framework. Furthermore, his creativity and versatility allowed him to adjust to the wishes of his patrons, especially in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and to create individual works combining the local, Polish-Italianate and Netherlandish artistic traditions.

Willem van den Blocke was also fluent in the fashionable 'antique' language, to the point of inserting into his oeuvre quotations from famous sculptures of the Antiquity, such as the Belvedere Torso. Filtered through Netherlandish perception of the mid sixteenth century, they played an important role in his oeuvre, for instance in the grand relief scene in the Blemke epitaph. Van den Blocke's reference to antique models is visible also in the sculptural rendering of some of his products, such as the figure of *Spes* in the Brandes epitaph. Thus, his works illustrate the complex process of artistic transfer in sixteenth century Europe, involving not only Italians, but also emigrant artists from the Low Countries. As has been observed by Frits Scholten, Antwerp formed a crucial *trait-d'union* between the North and Italy.<sup>1367</sup> Such sculptors as Willem van den Blocke, trained there by artists, like Cornelis Floris, personally acquainted with antique works and their modern Italian emulations, played an important role in further dissemination of new artistic ideas and 'antique' forms, transformed and adjusted to contemporary use in Central and North-Eastern Europe. Their activity constituted the next step in the development of the 'antique' formal language, after it has been introduced by Italians in the region - especially in Poland-Lithuania, but also in Hungary, of which Transylvania was a historic part - in the early years of the sixteenth century.

All the master's qualities were certainly appreciated by high ranking patrons from such diverse places as the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Sweden and Transylvania. In fact, only few among fellow Netherlanders were able to attract such a large and diverse group of patrons belonging to the highest social strata. Van den Blocke's ability to focus patronage was certainly one of the main factors facilitating his career. Acquaintance with court circles and the esteem enjoyed by the sculptor provided him with a constant flow of prestigious and profitable commissions. His involvement with the kings of Poland and members of their immediate family and entourage was undoubtedly one of the decisive factors behind smooth progress of his career. Furthermore, the move to Gdańsk allowed him to broaden his circle of clients, especially with regard to the highly ambitious and affluent patrician élite as well as local nobility. Van den Blocke must have deliberately chosen to establish himself in the Baltic metropolis rather than at a court, thus profiting from his acquaintance with various, though closely interrelated circles of patronage.

Carrying out prestigious commissions destined for various places across this part of the continent, van den Blocke became a chief factor in spreading of Netherlandish sculpture

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<sup>1367</sup> Scholten 2007a, p. 226.

forms. In particular, his artistic activity was essential in establishing the reputation of art from the Low Countries in Poland-Lithuania, as well as in the process of artistic expansion of Gdańsk in the Commonwealth. Thereafter, Netherlanders started effectively competing with Italians, and the Netherlandish formal language, transmitted above all through Gdańsk and modified there, became highly popular in the country. In this way, in Poland-Lithuania van den Blocke held the same position as Godefroy, Colin, Boy, Brandin or van Egen did in other parts of Central and North-Eastern Europe.

However, despite van den Blocke's significance for artistic developments in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and neighbouring lands, his personal style had limited impact beyond his close circle in Gdańsk and Prussia. The popularity of this artistic vocabulary, based on works by Sebastiano Serlio, Cornelis Floris and Hans Vredeman de Vries, was slowly diminishing after 1600. It was being replaced at the time by new trends towards more complicated design, derived either from works by later Netherlandish and German designers, for example Wendel Dietterlin, or from the more austere and monumental style influenced by late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Rome, particularly popular in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth under the reign of Sigismund III Vasa. In fact, the last work probably designed by Willem van den Blocke and executed by some of his collaborators, namely the tomb of Stanisław Radziwiłł in Vilnius (c. 1618-1623), is one of the very last examples of the already outdated 'Floris style' in the Baltic region.



## SAMENVATTING

De zestiende-eeuwse beeldhouwkunst uit de Lage Landen is in de historiografie lange tijd onderbelicht gebleven ondanks het feit dat deze werken een belangrijke rol hebben gespeeld in de Europese kunstgeschiedenis van die periode. In de tweede helft van die eeuw emigreerden vele tientallen beeldhouwers uit de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden naar andere delen van Europa, met name in Engeland, Centraal Europa en de landen rondom de Oostzee. Zij waren verbonden aan een hof of vestigden zich een van grote steden in Centraal en Noord Europa. Zij onderhielden een intensief netwerk gebaseerd op persoonlijke en beroepsmatige connecties en met hun ambities en succesvolle acquisitie zouden zij uiteindelijk het artistieke landschap van grote delen van het continent nadrukkelijk beïnvloeden. Een degelijke kennis van het werk en optreden van deze emigranten beeldhouwers is niet alleen van belang voor de lokale geschiedenis van de betreffende regio maar ook voor een beter beeld van de Nederlandse en Vlaamse kunstgeschiedenis. Bovendien is het onderzoek naar hun activiteiten cruciaal voor een beter begrip van de mechanismen waarop deze culturele uitwisseling in de vroegmoderne tijd functioneerden. Daarnaast verheldert het de complexe verbanden tussen de verschillende artistieke tradities in Europa.

De beeldhouwer die in deze dissertatie centraal staat is Willem van den Blocke. Zijn leven en werk bieden een uitstekend voorbeeld van een kunstenaar die de uitdaging was aangegaan om buiten de Nederlanden een loopbaan op te bouwen. In dit boek komen kwesties aan de orde als de formele kenmerken van Van den Blocke's werk, zijn bronnen, zijn verhouding tot de beeldtraditie en zijn ontwerpstrategie. Ook de rol van zijn opdrachtgevers en de organisatie van zijn atelier vormen belangrijk onderdelen van deze studie. Willem van den Blocke's kunstzinnige activiteiten worden geplaatst in het bredere kader van de verspreiding van beeldhouwkunst uit de Nederlanden in die Centraal- en Noordoost Europa. Het boek voorziet tot slot in een *catalogue raisonné* van het oeuvre van de kunstenaar en in een bijlage waarin alle geschreven bronnen betreffende zijn leven en werk bijeen zijn gebracht (voor zover bekend).

Het eerste hoofdstuk geeft een overzicht van het *curriculum vitae* van de kunstenaar, vanaf zijn jeugd in Mechelen tot en met zijn latere leven in Gdańsk, deels gebaseerd op oudere detailstudies en op archivalische bronnen. Uit geschreven berichten en uit de karakteristieke kenmerken van zijn werk kan worden opgemaakt dat Van den Blocke opgeleid was in Antwerpen in het atelier van Cornelis Floris, een sleutelfiguur in de toenmalige kunstenaarskringen in de stad. Van den Blocke reisde in 1569/1570 als Floris' assistent naar Königsberg om het monumentale grafmonument van Hertog Albrecht in het koor van kathedraal aldaar op te bouwen. Nadat deze taak was volbracht, bleef hij echter in Pruisen waar hij toen blijkbaar meer mogelijkheden zag voor een artistieke carrière dan thuis in Brabant. Op deze wijze versterkte hij de groep geëmigreerde kunstenaars uit de Lage Landen rondom de Oostzee, die via familiale en professionele banden met elkaar verbonden waren. In 1582 kreeg hij een belangrijke opdracht van de Koning Stephan I Báthory van Polen, voor wie hij ondermeer naar Transylvarië reisde, en verhuisde naar Gdańsk. Deze stad gold toen als het economische centrum van Noordwest Europa en zijn positie was nu vergelijkbaar met die van Cornelis Floris in Antwerpen. Hij stichtte hier het grootste meest veelzijdige

beeldhouwatelier dat tot ongeveer 1600 in de stad werkzaam was. Willem van den Blocke werd ook de stamvader van een veelzijdige artistieke clan, waarvan zijn oudste zoon, de beeldhouwer en architect Abraham van den Blocke, de belangrijkste vertegenwoordiger zou worden.

In het tweede hoofdstuk staan de opdrachtgevers centraal, hun motieven en hun connecties en het belang daarvan voor de carrière van Van den Blocke. Het meeste van zijn werk was niet voor de vrije markt bestemd maar werd direct in opdracht gemaakt. Het netwerk van zijn opdrachtgevers waarbinnen zijn naam en faam werd verspreid, moet van essentieel belang zijn geweest voor het grote succes van zijn loopbaan. Binnen dit complexe netwerk zijn verschillende soorten van relaties te onderscheiden. Soms gaat het om politieke connecties, een ander maal om familiale banden (hoewel ook dat geregeld samengaat). In de meest prestigieuze opdrachten speelden ook culturele agenten en bemiddelaars een speciale rol. De loopbaan van Willem van den Blocke laat nog eens duidelijk zien hoe belangrijk het voor een beeldhouwer was om opdrachten van vooraanstaande personen te krijgen, waarmee zijn diensten ook gevraagd werden door nieuwe opdrachtgevers die in het gevolg van de grote mecenas opereerden. Van den Blocke moet in deze kringen grote waardering hebben genoten want zijn opdrachtgevers en hun entourage bleven hem jarenlang trouw en kwamen soms jaren later bij hem terug om nieuwe werken te bestellen.

In hoofdstuk drie wordt de positie van Willem van den Blocke in het gilde van metselaars, steenhouwers en beeldhouwers van Gdańsk besproken. Het gaat in het bijzonder om een analyse van zijn werkplaats tussen ca. 1585 en 1600. De beeldhouwer was aangesloten bij deze beroepsorganisatie maar omdat hij geen volledig burgerschap bezat had hij daarbinnen een uitzonderings positie. Hoewel zijn werkplaats toentertijd de grootste en belangrijkste in de stad moet zijn geweest, blijkt Van den Blocke een beetje aan de rand van de organisatie hebben gefunctioneerd, zonder bijvoorbeeld ooit lid te zijn geweest van het gildebestuur. De uitzonderlijke aard van het atelier wordt duidelijk uit het grote aantal assistenten die hier als beeldhouwer werden aangeduid. De omvang van deze werkplaats moet vergelijkbaar zijn geweest met die van andere gerenommeerde beeldhouwers afkomstig uit de Lage Landen die elders in Centraal- en Noordoost Europa werkzaam waren. Ook op het gebied van de organisatie bestonden er overeenkomsten tussen deze ateliers, voor zover we daar nu nog zicht op hebben, zoals in de verdeling van de werkzaamheden en het inschakelen van landgenoten.

In hoofdstuk vier worden architectonische structuren van zijn grafmonumenten besproken, zowel de bouwkundige details, de ornamentiek als de steensoorten. Naar aanleiding hiervan volgt een analyse van diens architectonische inventies. Hij was buitengewoon bekwaam in het ontwerpen en uitvoeren van kleinere architectonische constructies, rijk gedecoreerd met decoratief beeldhouwwerk. Zijn architectonische en decoratieve vormentaal was in hoofdlijnen gebaseerd op het antieke vocabulaire zoals dat in al zijn variaties boven de Alpen gecodificeerd was door kunstenaars als Sebastiano Serlio, Cornelis Floris en Hans Vredeman de Vries. Van den Blocke maakte gebruik van verschillende van deze voorbeeldboeken waarbij hij de gepubliceerde modellen steeds naar eigen inzicht opnieuw aanpaste en omwerkte. Zijn belangrijkste werken waren grafmonumenten: rijk gedecoreerde epitafen voor de stedelijke elite en meer sobere wandmonumenten voor de adel. De ontwerpen voor de eerste groep bouwden voort op de

voorbeelden van Cornelis Floris en Vredeman de Vries, waarbij hij echter steeds aan elke werk een eigen draai gaf. Bij de meer monumentale wandmonumenten volgde hij de bestaande traditie zoals die eerder in de zestiende eeuw was gevormd door de Italiaanse kunstenaars in Polen. Bij al deze opdrachten maakte hij gebruik van verschillende steensoorten, zoals verschillende kleuren Belgische kalksteen, wit Engels albast, en kalk- en zandsteen van de Oostzee-eilanden.

Het vijfde hoofdstuk is geweid aan de figuratieve beeldhouwkunst van Willem van den Blocke. Hierbij komen thema's aan de orde als de rol van de voorbeelden, de beeldtraditie, de karakteristieke formele kenmerken van zijn werk en de mogelijke inbreng van zijn werkplaats hierbij. Van den Blocke's figuren hebben een kenmerkende pose, een typische frontale compositie en bepaalde manier van integratie in het architectonische raamwerk. Al deze facetten wijzen op een opleiding in de kring van Cornelis Floris, die bepalend is geweest voor het karakter van het werk van Van den Blocke. Nadat hij echter naar het Oostzee gebied was verhuisd, moest de beeldhouwer ook elementen overnemen uit de Italiaanse beeldhouwtraditie die al de voorkeur genoot van opdrachtgevers in het Poolse-Litouwse Gemenebest, vooral in de uitbeelding van de overledene. Veel van zijn werk verraaft een groot interesse in de kunst van de antieke oudheid. Aangezien hij zelf nooit in Italië was geweest, moest hij zich baseren op de weerslag hiervan in werk van tijdgenoten in Noord Europa die wel over de Alpen getrokken waren. Aldus illustreert het oeuvre van Van den Blocke de wijze van verspreiding van de 'antieke' vormentaal via de atelierpraktijk, gebaseerd op de werken, tekeningen en modellen van de leermeester. Een onderzoek naar de karakteristieken van Van den Blocke's atelier toont tot slot van dit hoofdstuk ook de complexiteit van deze werkplaats en de belangrijke bijdrage van bekwame medewerkers. Nauwgezette analyse van de detaillering van de figuren laat zien dat er meerdere 'handen' in Van den Blocke's atelier werkzaam waren.

In hoofdstuk zes komen de iconografie en de betekenis van het werk aan de orde, zowel de details als de bredere, historische context ervan. In het bijzonder gaat het om de vraag naar de religieuze en sociale positie van zijn clientèle en de mogelijke motivatie achter hun opdrachten. Ook wordt onderzocht in hoeverre artistieke vorm en iconografie met elkaar samenhangen. Er is een duidelijke differentiatie in type grafmonument mogelijk die direct samenhangt met de sociale status van de overleden personen voor wie ze worden opgericht. In het Poolse-Litouwse Gemenebest werden zowel koningen als edelen herdacht met een wandgraf met daarin een levensgroot liggend beeld van de overledene. Epitafen waren doorgaans bestemd voor leden van de stedelijke elite. Deze waren in het algemeen uitbundig gedecoreerd met figuratieve sculptuur en ornamentiek. Ook de iconografie van beide typen monumenten verschilde duidelijk. Het middelpunt van de adellijke grafmonumenten waren de beelden van de overledene, de familiewapens en andere heraldische symbolen en een memorie tekst. Af en toe treffen we hier ook allegorische beelden. De epitafen van de hoge burgerij waren daarentegen veel vaker voorzien van religieuze voorstellingen en Bijbelse teksten. In sommige gevallen speelde de religieuze overtuiging een even grote rol in de vormgeving en betekenis van een grafmonument als de sociale status van de overledene. In andere gevallen, vaak bij de edelen, werd vaker gekozen voor traditionele vormen van decorum behorend bij een bepaalde stand dan voor een vormgeving en iconografie die een concrete geloofsovertuiging uitdraagt.

Tot slotte, in hoofdstuk zeven, wordt een overzicht geboden van het netwerk van beeldhouwers uit de Nederlanden werkzaam in Centraal- en Noordoost Europa in het laatste kwart van de zestiende eeuw en de positie van Van den Blocke hierin. Bovendien wordt hier diens bijdrage aan de artistieke ontwikkelingen in Königsberg, in Gdańsk en in het Pools-Litouwse Gemenebest besproken. Willem van den Blocke speelde met zijn veelal prestigieuze opdrachten van vorsten, hoge edellieden en stedelijk patriciaat, bestemd voor verschillende landstreken in heel Noordoost Europa (van Zweden tot Transylvanië) een buitengewoon belangrijke rol in de verspreiding van de Nederlandse beeldhouwkunst. Meer in het bijzonder leverden zijn artistieke activiteiten een doorslaggevende bijdrage aan de hoge reputatie van de kunst uit de Lage Landen in het Pools-Litouwse Gemenebest. Zijn werk vormde een volgende fase in de ontwikkeling van de ‘antieke’ vormentaal, nadat deze eerder, in eerste decennia van de zestiende eeuw, hier door Italianen was geïntroduceerd. Nadien zouden de beeldhouwers uit de Nederlanden op effectieve wijze de Italiaanse kunstenaars beconcurreren. Via Gdańsk zou de vormentaal uit de Lage Landen, in een licht gewijzigde vorm, hier buitengewoon succesvol worden. Aldus nam Willem van den Blocke in Polen dezelfde positie in als zijn collega’s Godefroy, Colin, Boy, Brandin of Van Egen in andere delen van Centraal- en Noord Europa en daarmee kan hij gerekend worden tot de belangrijkste beeldhouwers afkomstig uit de Nederlanden, die in deze streken in het laatste kwart van de zestiende eeuw werkzaam was. Zijn persoonlijke stijl was echter gebaseerd op de vormen en kunstzinnige ideeën uit het Antwerpse milieu van het midden van de zestiende eeuw en bleef alleen binnen een beperkte kring in gebruik. Bij gevolg kan hij uiteindelijk beschouwd worden een van de laatste (zij het buitengewoon begaafde) beeldhouwers in de trant van Cornelis Floris.

# Catalogue of works

## Introduction

The following catalogue is divided into three sections:

A - Works by Willem van den Blocke and his studio affirmed by sources or the artist's signature

B - Works plausibly attributable to Willem van den Blocke and his studio

C - Former rejected attributions

In each section entries are arranged chronologically. In the individual entries the following topics are considered in sequence:

1. Location
2. Date of execution
3. Material
4. Summary description
5. Inscriptions
6. History
7. Bibliography. Items are arranged in chronological order.
8. Source information (if available)
9. Attribution history and author's remarks

Part A comprises confirmed works executed by Willem van den Blocke and his studio. His authorship of these works is affirmed either by written sources or - in a single case - by the artist's signature. Part B includes works attributed to Willem van den Blocke and his studio on the basis of a comparative formal analysis. Works included in parts A and B are discussed *in extenso* in the main text.

A catalogue of authentic works by the studio is succeeded by part C, comprising rejected former attribution. This group includes some works attributable to the master's former assistants and followers as well as now confirmed works by other sculptors.



## **Catalogue A**

**Works by Willem van den Blocke and his studio affirmed by sources or the artist's signature**

## A. 1 - Sepulchral monument of Elisabeth von Brandenburg-Küstrin and Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg-Ansbach (destroyed in 1945)

Ducal Prussia (today Russia), Kaliningrad (Königsberg in Preußen, Królewiec Pruski), cathedral, northern wall of the choir

1578-1582

Unidentified stone, parts made of polichromed sandstone; according to Ulbrich 1932, p. 110 made of alabaster; according to Faber 1840, p. 68 made of Oland limestone; according to Ehrenberg 1899, p. 112, c. 1900 painted gray and gilded

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of a triumphal arch, placed on a high base. Its lower zone consisted of two condigantions, with the lower one decorated with four narrative and two ornamental relief plaques, and the upper one with four terms as well as two sitting and four standing symbolic figures. In its centre was a large decorative cartouche with inscription. Central zone of the monument consisted of a large *aedicula* with sarcophagus with kneeling effigies of the couple in the centre. The commemorated persons were represented in profile, turned towards each other, the male figure clad in armour and the female one in long robes. The *aedicula* was flanked on each side by two superimposed niches with standing figures, each with Corinthian columns on sides. Elaborate upper zone of the monument was two-partite. Lower one consisted of two large panels with coats-of-arms, decorated with three standing and two kneeling figures. Upper one consisted of a large figural relief flanked by two roundels of strapwork ornament with emblematic motives. The monument was crowned by three standing statues.

The monument was decorated with various ornamental motives, most importantly foliate scroll (sarcophagus, lower frieze of the central zone), strapwork cartouches (ornamental plaques, pulpit, upper frieze of the central zone, spandrels of the side niches), garlands and clusters of fruits (ornamental plaques, upper frieze of the central zone), astragal, cymation, protruding animal heads and masks.

### Inscriptions:

Epitaph text published before 1800 in *Artomedes 1590*, *Chytraeus 1594*, p. 541-542 and *Lilienthal 1716*, p. 36-37; epigrams by Sebastian Artomedes published in *Artomedes 1590* and *Chytraeus 1594*, p. 542 (in the latter without providing the author's name).

On the base, under the figure of *Labor*:

*O labor, o sudor scelerati praemia morsus / ah satis est, natos occule terra tuos*

On the base, under the depiction of pelican:

*Sanguine mundata est ecclesia sanguine coepit / sanguine succrevit sanguine finis erit*

On the base, under the depiction of phoenix:

*O phoenix redivive tuo me conde sepulcro / ut dirae effugiam iura superba necis*

On the base, under the figure of *Quies*:

*Inveni portum spes ac fortuna valet / nil mihi vobiscum iudite nunc alios*

On the main inscription panel:

*Illustrissimae et Landatiss. Principi Elisabethae natae Patre Joanne Marchione Brandenburgico Illustriss. Princeps DD Georgius Fridericus Marchio, Dux in Borussia Conjugi / B. M. L. P. / Varta niger rapidis Viadri qua iungitur undis, / divina in lucem prodiit Helisabe / Helisabe magni Coniunx. Ducis illa, Borussos / qui simul, et Francos, Elysiosque regit / Marchio Custrini Dominus, belloque togaque / clarus, erat genitor, Guelphica mater erat / Johannes, inquam, Genitor, Catharinaque Mater, / eximium generis lumen uterque sui / hos imitata duces, teneris assuevit ab annis / Aeternum veri Numen amare DEI. / Teque simul, verbumque tuum santosque labores, / Fili Hominis, Fili*

*Maxime Christe DEI. / Illius in solis precibus templisque voluntas : / hic habitans, mundi nescia pene fuit / chara tamen populo : charo iucunda Marito, / ingenio, forma, moribus obsequio. / Pieridum fautrix : inopum fidissima nutrix : / sacraque curantum Mater amica fuit. / ArCtoas PrInCeps ACCItV RegIs In Oras / Hiberno LongUM sUB IoVe feCIt Iter. / Hunc Dominum comitata suum, nam semper utramque / Cum Domino sortem ferre parata fuit / occidit, heu, vitae ter denis iunxit ut annis / sex super, ad ripas Istula magne tuas, / teque novis auctum Titulis, Friderice Georgi, / ire novas etiam compulit in lacrymas. / Exuvias habet iste locus : mens cessit Olympo, / inque tuo vivit, Christe, beata, sinu / disce mori, tumulumque, hospes, venerare piorum / scilicet ante DEum mors grave pondus habet.*

On the sarcophagus (probably later):

*Mein Zeit mitt Unruhe, mein Hoffnung zu Gott*

Above the statue of Matthew

*Iugum meum suave et onus meum leve est [Mt 11,30]*

Above the statue of Lucas

*Qui non tollit crucem suam et sequitur me non potest esse discipulus meus [Lk 14,26]*

Above the statue of Mark

*Qui crediderit et baptisatus fuerit salvus erit. [Mk 16,16]*

Above the statue of John

*Qui sermonem meum servaverit mortem non gustabit in aeternum [John 8,52]*

On the tablet of Moses:

*Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo / diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum. [Mt 22,37]*

In the upper zone:

*Mors sceptris ligonibus aequat*

*Mors spes altera vitae*

**History:** Work on the monument began in summer 1578; first payment has been made on July 19<sup>th</sup>. The last payment to Willem van den Blocke - 'for the remaining works' - amounting to 300 Marks has been delivered on 16 March 1582. During that time van den Blocke was receiving regular salary. Apparently, the artist initially pledged to complete the work within 18 months. Long time of execution appears to have at least to a certain degree resulted from delays in stone delivery. It is testified, for instance, by van den Blocke's supplication to the Georg Friedrich from 18 February 1581. Apart from the master and his assistants - not mentioned in the documents - various other craftsmen were engaged in the construction process, including smiths and painters. As to the latter, court painter Adam applied polychromy to the finished structure between April and September of 1582. The monument could have been to a certain degree restored in early twentieth century, when extensive works of this kind - supervised by Richard Dethlefsen - were carried out in the cathedral. The tomb has been destroyed in 1945 and its remains have later been removed from the ruined church.

### **Bibliography:**

*Chytraeus 1594*, p. 541-542; *Stein 1644*, p. 33-34; *Lilienthal 1716*, p. 36-37; *Von Baczko 1788*, p. 167; *Gebser&Hagen 1833*, 2, p. 189-197, 259-261; *Faber 1840*, p. 68; *Hagen 1847*, p. 411, note; *Flögel 1855*, p. 44; *Mülverstedt 1855*; *Bertling 1885*; *Boetticher 1897*, p. 328; *Ehrenberg 1899*, p. 109-112, 207-210, 255-259; *L.Frost 1901*, p. 79; *Knetsch 1903*, p. 28; *Lindner 1903*, p. 33; *Dehio 1906*, p. 236; *Cuny 1910a*, p. 75; *Cuny 1910b*, p. 123; *Dethlefsen 1912*, p. 62-63; *Hahr 1913*, p. 14; *Hedicke 1913*, p. 158; *Krollmann 1914*, p. 54-56; *Dethlefsen 1916*, fig. 148; *Rohde 1929*, p. 58, 62, fig. 47; *Ulbrich 1926-1929*, 1, p. 20-21; *Ulbrich 1932*, p. 110; *Roggen&Withof 1942*, p. 115, note 1; *Dehio/Gall 1952*, p. 376; *Sesja 1955*, p. 184-185; *Szydłowska 1957*, p. 251, 255; *Krzyżanowski 1958*, p. 271-274, fig. 1; *Hornung 1959a*, p. 103-104; *Wünsch 1960*, p. 78, fig. 58-59; *Dobrowolski 1962*, p. 155; *Gębarowicz 1962*, p. 266; *Dobrowolski 1974*, p. 359; *Mühlpfordt 1970*, p. 22, fig. p. 72; *Krzyżanowski 1971a*, p.

180; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Chrzanowski 1995, p. 69; Gołąb 1995, p. 104; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Rzempoluch 1995, p. 122-123, fig. 2; Ch. Smith 1996, p. 195-197; Gause 1996, p. 336; Hyusmans *et al.* 1996, p. 95; Woziński 1997, p. 119; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 31; Jolly 1999a, p. 130; Meganck 2005, p. 173; DaCosta Kaufmann 2006, p. 15; Baresel-Brand 2007, p. 141-146, fig. 40; Zlat 2008, p. 242; Meys 2009, p. 230, 540-544, fig. 112; Mikó 2009, p. 174; Wradzyński 2009, p. 433; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 79

**Source information:**

Numerous sources pertaining to the monument have been published in Ehrenberg 1899, p. 109-112, 208, 210, 255-259 (those directly referring to Willem van den Blocke are quoted in an annex to the present dissertations)

Descriptions before 1800:

*Stein*, p. 33-34: ...*die der Markgräfin Elisabeth, der Gemahlin des Markgrafen Georg Friedrich von Brandenburg aus Stein mit zwei großen Statuen vom ihm und ihr, sowie mehreren kleinen Figuren der Arbeit und der Ruhe, eines Phönix und eines Pelikans, der Tapferkeit und der Sittsamkeit wie auch anderer Tugenden mit langen Inschriften, welche man zum Teil bei Chyträus in seiner Beschreibung von Europa nachlesen kann. Endlich sind Fahnen und Wappen aufgehängt mit den Taten der Brandenburgischen Markgrafen und der Herzöge von Preußen.*

*Lilienthal 1716*, p. 36-37: *An der Nord-Seite steht als ein groß Altar auffgeführt das Epitaphium frauen Elisabeth einer Gemahlin Georgii Friedrichs Marggrafen zun Brandenburg welches diese beide Fürstl. Ehe=Leute kniend vorstellet und mit allerhand Saulen, Statuen und Inscriptionibus künstlich ausgezieret ist. Die haupt-Inscription lautet also...*

*Von Baczko 1788*, p. 166-167: *An den Wänden dieses Chores sind folgende Epitaphien: An der Ostseite das Epitaphium des Herzogs Albert, aus vielfärbigen Marmor, worauf er selbst kniend vorgestellt; und folgendes ist die Inschrift [...] An der Nordseite ist das Grabmahl der Marggräfin Elisabeth, einer Gemahlin des Marggrafen Georg Friedrich. Beyde sind kniend darauf vorgestellt; und das Grabmahl selbst hat die Gestalt eines Altars.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Gebser and Hagen in 1833. They based their opinion on written sources discovered in the ducal archive in Königsberg. After Hermann Ehrenberg published numerous sources pertaining to the monument's history in 1899, it has unanimously been accepted as part of van den Blocke's oeuvre. Abundant written sources leave no doubt as to his authorship.

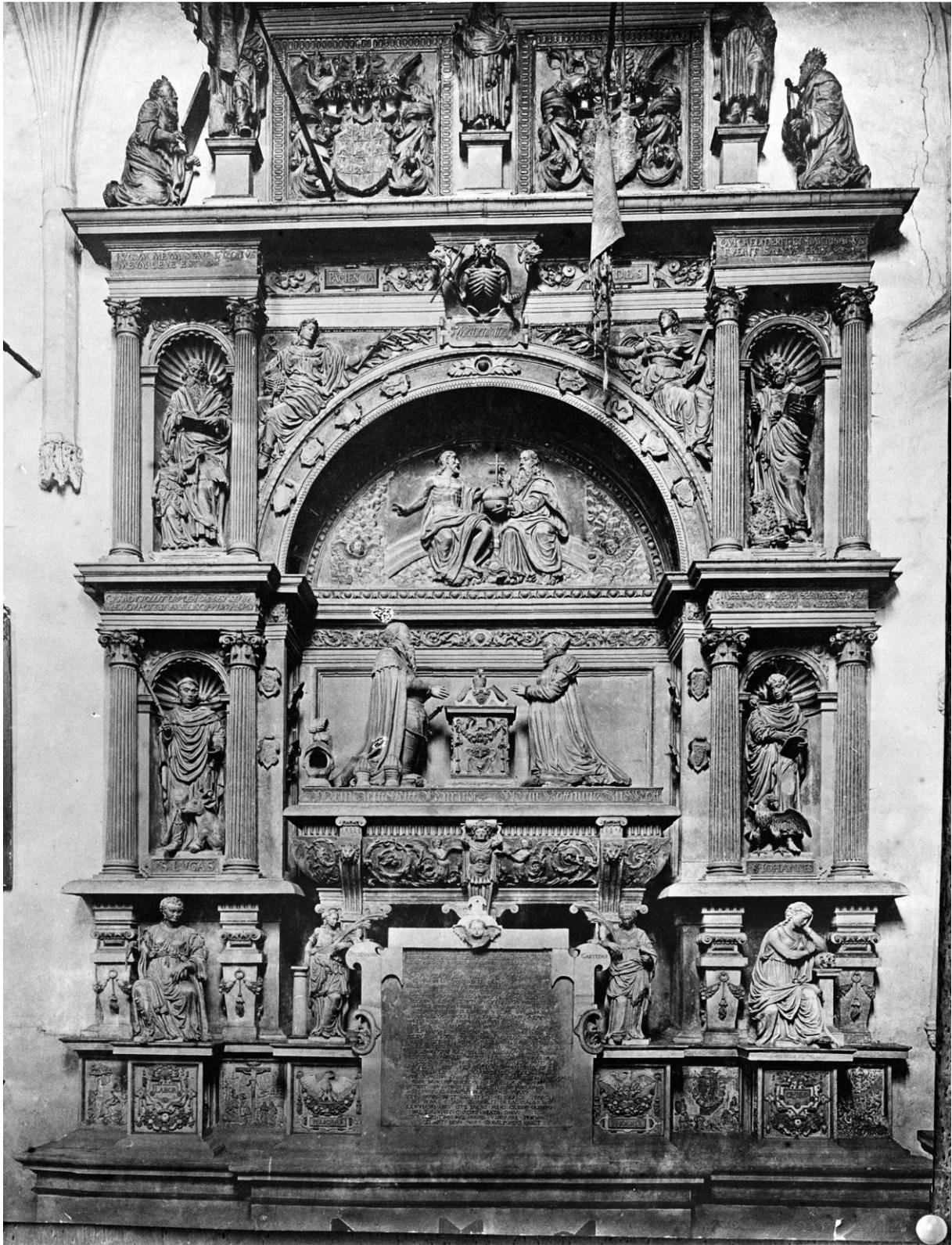


Fig. A.1.1 – General view, without the crowning part, © Bildarchiv Foto-Marburg



Fig. A.1.2 – General view



Fig. A.1.3 – Sarcophagus



Fig. A.1.4 – Lower entablature of the central zone

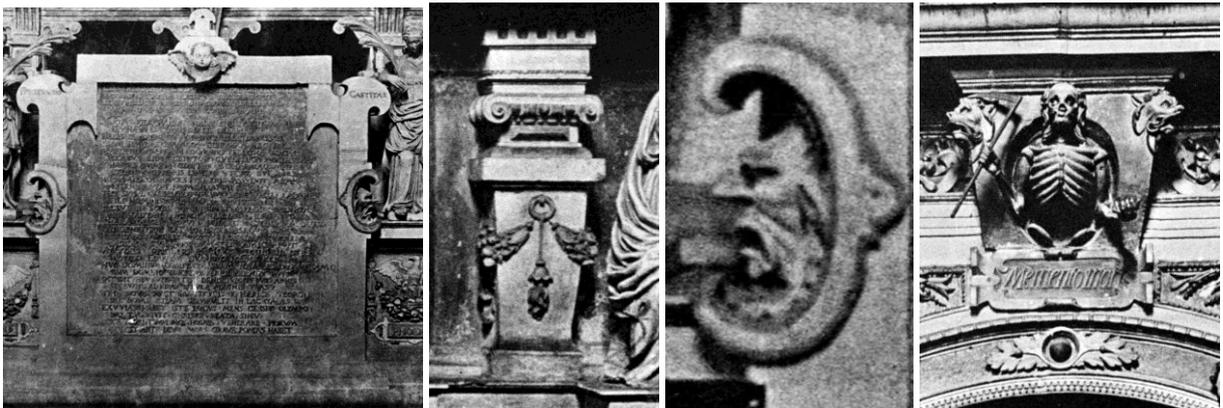


Fig. A.1.5 - Cartouche with inscription

Fig. A.1.6 - Term

Fig. A.1.7 - Mask on the cartouche with inscription

Fig. A.1.8 – Cartouche with skeleton, upper part of the central zone



a



b

Fig. A.1.9 – Figure of *Quies*

Fig. A.1.10 – Figure of *Castitas*

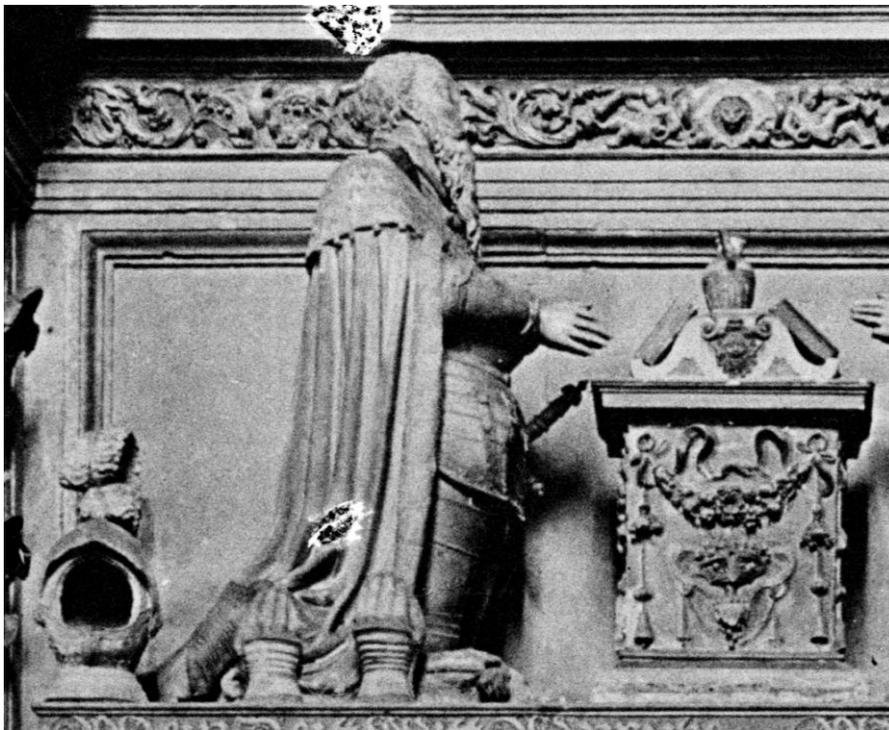


Fig. A.1.11 – Effigy of Duke Georg Friedrich



Fig. A.1.12 – Figure of *Paciencia*



Fig. A.1.13 – Figure of St. Luke



Fig. A.1.14 – Relief plaque depicting Adam working after the Fall © Instytut Sztuki PAN

## A. 2 - Sepulchral monument of Christopher Báthory (destroyed in mid-seventeenth century)

Transylvania (today Romania), Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár, Weißenburg), Jesuit church

1582- 1583

Probably limestone and alabaster

### Inscriptions:

After *Gyulafy*, p. 50: *D.O.M. Christophorus Bathory de Somlyo, Stephani filius, Stephano fratri, in Regem Poloniae creato, in principatu Transsilvaniae succedens, magna animi moderatione provinciae praefuit, pietati studuit, pacem coluit, foelices fratris Regis contra Moscum conatus opibus iuivit, amans patriae, bonorum parens litterarum, mansuetus, patiens, iustus atque munificus fuit. Cumque continua articularium morborum molestia premeretur, ob amissam etiam paucis ante mensibus charissimam coniugem et tenellam natam, gravi animi, angore occupatus, postquam ex comitiis Colosvariensibus, ubi Sigismundum filium unicum optimae spei puerum, nonum agentem aetatis annum, mirificio omnium ordinum consensu successorem nominavit, Albam Iuliam aeger rediisset, paucis post diebus invalescentibus cum lethali febre doloribus, animam Deo perpetuis quamdiu hiscere potuit precibus pie commendans reddidit. Vivit annos LI. Provinciae praefuit annos V. Menses II. Dies XXIII. Obiit Albae Iuliae An : MDLXXXI. XXVII die mensis Maii.*

**History:** The monument has been commissioned by Stephen I Báthory, King of Poland, after the death of his brother Christopher in 1581. It has been executed in Gdańsk by Willem van den Blocke between summer 1582 and summer/autumn 1583. Subsequently, it was transported to Alba Iulia, the capital of Transylvania, and set up in the Jesuit church there. According to his own words in the supplication to the Gdańsk City Council from 1584, van den Blocke himself travelled to Transylvania in order to assemble the monument. It has been destroyed already in the mid-seventeenth century, certainly after 1622 (possibly at the time of a Tatar attack in 1658).

### Bibliography:

*Alvinczi*, p. 165; *Simigianus*, p. 110; *Pawiński 1881*, 1, p. 117, 123-124; *Pawiński 1882*, p. 297; *Bertling 1885*; *Ehrenberg 1899*, p. 137; *Cuny 1910a*, p. 75; *Cuny 1910b*, p. 123; *Veress 1918*, p. 187, 197-198, 200-201, 209, 211; *Muttray 1922*, p. 65; *Eckhardtówna 1955*, p. 142; *Szydłowska 1957*, p. 259-260; *Sesja 1955*, p. 184-185; *Krzyżanowski 1958*, p. 276-277; *Détshy 1966*, p. 26; *Krzyżanowski 1966*, p. 60; *Krzyżanowski 1971a*, p. 180; *Kozakiewiczowa 1978*, p. 148; *Mikocka 1984*, p. 89-91; *Détshy 1988*, p. 105; *Mikó 1988*, p. 119-125, 135; *Johannsen&Johannsen 1990*, p. 101; *Habela 1992a*, p. 122; *Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995*, p. 535; *Chrzanowski 1998a*, p. 31; *Jolly 1999a*, p. 130; *Meganck 2005*, p. 173; *Wardzyński 2007*, p. 382; *Horn 2008*, p. 43-44; *Mikó 2008*, p. 28; *Wardzyński 2008*, p. 316; *Zlat 2008*, p. 242; *Kowalczyk 2009*, p. 523-524; *Mikó 2009*, p. 174; *Rusu 2009*; *Wardzyński 2009*, p. 433; *Wardzyński 2010b*, p. 71, 79

### Source information:

Willem van den Blocke's supplication to the Gdańsk City Council, 18 June 1584, APG 300, 36/65, p. 11 (*Krzysiak 1999*, p. 65-66; for the whole document see Sources):

[...] *Demnach Ihrer Kön: Maytzt ich ihn anfertigunge ihres Gottseligen herrn Brüdern Fürsten Weilandt, ihn Siebenburgen Epithapÿ undt begrebnuss ein Zeitlangk gedienet, unndt jmmer nach endtlicher vollendunge desselbigen wercks auss Siebenburgen, da ich es auch aufgesetzt, ahn die Kön. Maytzt widderumb mit genugsamer kunschafft meyner Vorrichtung kommen, undt von hochgedachter*

Kön: *Maytt allergnedigst abgefetigen bin worden also habe ich auch sollchem abgerichteten werke, [...]*

*Pawiński 1882:*

p. 297 (testament of Stephen Báthory): [...] *Deinde apud magnum procuratorem propriae pecuniae meae restant florenorum octo milia, quae exponantur tempore sepulturae in eleemosynam pauperum et sepulchri praeparationem, quod simile fiat sepulchro fratris mei nuper per me alte recto.*

*Pawiński 1881:*

2, p. 117: (1583) *Kopiczewski ad Waldowszki cubicularium expedito in negotiis vehendi lapidis super monumentum illris principis Transilvaniae Brestii dat. fl. 4*

2, p. 123-124: (1583) *Waldowszki cubiculario data erat summa f. 1500 per dnm zupparium Cracoviensem ad vecturam monumenti illrmo principi dno Christophero Bathori principi Transilvaniae. [...] Statuariis monumenti. Joanni Serny in deductionem eiusdem monumenti Illmo principi Transilvaniae, scaphis per Istulam Sandomiriam usque ad Opatowiecz, ubi iam curribus in Transilvaniam reducebatur, expositi sunt iuxta rationem domini Serny fl. 80/6.*

*Veress 1918 (also Szydłowska 1957, p. 259-260) :*

p. 187 : (January-June 1583) *Waldowski cubiculario ad vectores expediendos cum monumento Transilvaniae principis fl. 1500.*

p. 197–198 : *Brestae die 20 Octobris Waldowski cubiculario. In Transilvaniam cum monumento Illmi olim principis Transilvaniae circa vectores misso, Cracoviam autem primo causa pecuniae, pro vectoribus eunti facit fl. 16. Jacopo Kopiczewski. Cum eodem cubiculario loco interpretis linguae ungaricae, causa vectorum et statuariorum in Transilvaniam eunti, in expensas itineris dati fl. 12. Ex postea ad Waldowski cubicularium expedito, in negotio vehendi lapidis super monumentum Illmi principis Transilvaniae Brestii dati fl. 4. Illosvai cubiculario. In Transilvaniam deducendi monumenti causa misso, in podwodas et victum Lublini dati fl. 30.*

[the same as Pawiński 1881, p. 123] *Waldowski cubiculario data erat summa fl. 1500 per dominum zupparium Cracoviensem ad vecturam monumenti Illmo principi domino Christophoro Bathory principis Transilvaniae.*

[the same as Pawiński 1881, p. 124] *Statuariis monumenti. Joanni Serny in deductionem eiusdem monumenti Illmo principi Transilvaniae, scaphis per Istulam Sandomiriam usque ad Opatowiecz, ubi iam curribus in Transilvaniam reducebatur, expositi sunt iuxta rationem domini Serny fl. 80/6.*

p. 209 : *1583 Muratoribus quatuor Transilvaniam missis in expensas itineris per manus domini Berzeviczy fl. 57.*

p. 211 : *In monumentum Illmi olim domini palatini Transilvaniae Gedani fabre factum, ad manus domini Michaelis Gize, prime dati [...] fl. 1000. Ad manus eiusdem, in idem monumentum dati, [...] duabus vicibus fl. 1300.*

*Simigianus, 3, p. 110 :*

*Christophorus Bathoreus Princeps Transsilvaniae cum feliciter et pacate ad haec tempora administrasset Transsilvaniam, podagricus est iam annis gravis mortuus est. Qui magno cum luctu et moerore publico a proceribus suis et subditis, et patrem, et currus aurigam ingementibus, ad exequias et sepulturae locum, qui in sacello minori Albae Iuliae est, magnificentissimum monumentum eidem ibidem extractum ex lapidibus, que huc in usus maximis sumptibus locis e transmarinis adduxerunt, sculptorisque arte eximia magna cum intuentium admiratione et voluptate industrie fabricatum est.*

*Alvinczi, p. 165:*

(1622) *Kivánjuk ezt tőle, hogy Isteban boldogult, idvözült szerelmes házastársunknak készítsen egy monumentumot, melynek ott benn való elkészítéséhez semmiképpen nem foghat, mert talán ő nem is látott olyan monumentumot, az mineműt mi akarunk vele készíttetni, tudniillik az Báthori Kristóf monumentomának formájára hasonlót akarunk csináltani. Kegyelmetek azért serio injungálja [szigorúan parancsolja], hogy mindjárt elkészüljön, és egynehányad magával az kikkel itéli, hogy*

*véghez viheti, jöjjön ge, hogy ugyan helyben Fejérváratt magunk mutogathassuk meg, és adhassuk eleiben kívánságunk szerént formáját. Itt benn mind alabástrom és márványkőnek szerét tehetjük.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Bertling in 1885, who must have known the artist's supplication to Gdańsk City Council from 1584 - the only extant proof of van den Blocke's authorship. His authorship of this work was never doubted. The major question addressed in literature concerns the form of the lost monument. Until now, three propositions for its reconstruction have been advanced. According to the most widely accepted one, the effigy of Christopher Báthory belonged to the *demi-gisant* type. This proposal is based on an assumption that according to King Stephen's will the monument in question served as a model for the tomb of Stephen Báthory himself, commissioned by Queen Dowager Anna of Jagiellon. Although unconfirmed by any hard evidence, this proposition may be correct, given the popularity of this model in Poland and in van den Blocke's oeuvre. Another reconstruction has been proposed in 1988 by Arpad Mikó, who suggested that the monument of the king's brother included a kneeling effigy. It was probably deduced from the monument of Andreas Báthory in Barczewo. No convincing arguments, however, have been presented by that author, and his hypothesis remained virtually unknown outside of Hungary. Finally, yet another version has been recently presented by Jerzy Kowalczyk in 2009. Following a close reading of the first contract between Anne of Jagiellon and Santi Gucci - modified in the final version of the monument - he concluded that the monument of Stephen Báthory was originally designed to include a standing statue of the king. Similarly to other authors, Kowalczyk assumed that the first design for the tomb followed the king's desire to be commemorated in the same way as his brother, thus arriving at conclusion that the latter has been depicted by Willem van den Blocke in form of a standing statue. Unless some concrete evidence pertaining to the form of the monument of Christopher Báthory is discovered, all these propositions must be approached with far-reaching caution.

### A. 3 - High Gate (Hohes Thor, Brama Wyżynna)

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig)

1586-1588

Structure made of brick, façade decorated with cladding made of sandstone and - possibly - limestone  
c. 19,5 x 13 x 11 m

Building in form of triumphal arch, with central entrance closed by a round arch, flanked by analogical, smaller entrances on either side. West façade of the building is articulated with four Tuscan pilasters and decorated with rustication with floral motives. Between pilasters are consoles supporting entablature. Upper zone consists of a massive frieze decorated with three large strapwork cartouches displaying coats-of-arms of Gdańsk (held by a pair of lions), Royal Prussia (held by a pair of unicorns) and Poland (held by a pair of angels). On the top, on the axes of pilasters, four figures of lions are located, external ones holding cannon balls.

#### Inscriptions:

On the frieze: *Anno 1588*

*Sapientissime fiunt quae pro Republica fiunt*

*Iustitia et Pietas duo sunt Regnorum omnium Fundamenta*

*Civitatibus haec optanda bona maxime Pax Libertas et Concordia*

Also numerous inscriptions referring to nineteenth century renovations.

**History:** The present gate has been erected between summer of 1586 and 1588 as the outermost element of a large ensemble consisting of late medieval complex of the Prison Tower and an inner gate, the latter built probably between 1573 and 1576. On 27 March 1586 Willem van den Blocke offered the City Council his service along with two designs ('*abriß oder viesierung*', '*abriße undt Patronen*'). Another document, dating from September 27<sup>th</sup>, reveals that also architect Frederick Vroom made a '*patron*' for the gate. Initial construction works begun in August 1586 and were probably carried out by city architect Hans Schneider von Lindau (his involvement is confirmed between August and October 1586; sources pertaining to the later period are lost). As to Willem van den Blocke's contribution, he has most probably been responsible for execution of the façade, and possibly also for elements of the final design. The gate has been heavily restored in 1688-1689 (APG 300, 20/126, p. 17-21); this event has been commemorated by a booklet by Johann Heinrich Stolle titled *Porta Dantiscorum reparata* (after Schmidt 1925, p. 13). Further restoration works were carried out in 1736, 1788 and 1861 (the latter by architect Koch and sculptor Stümer). In 1878/1879 other elements of the ensemble and nearby fortifications have been demolished, leaving the gate as a free standing building. In 1884 stone cladding, designed by Böttger after the original one decorating the western façade (carried out by the firm P. Wimmel from Berlin; elements carved in Warthauer and Rackwitzer sandstone; after Böttiger 1886), has been added to the eastern façade. Either in 1861 or 1884 the original sculptural decoration have been to a large degree replaced. According to Böttiger, structure of the building was already deteriorating in the late nineteenth century. The gate has further been damaged in 1945 and restored afterwards. Recently renovated.

#### Literature:

*Curicke* 1687, p. 44-45/F2v-F3; *Ranisch*, p. 19-20; *Bernoulli* 1779, p. 269; Löschin 1822, p. 290; Löschin 1836, p. 38-39; Zerneck 1843, p. 133-134; Hirsch 1847, p. 225, 228-229; Hoburg 1852, p. 28-29; Genée 1857, p. 2; Lübke 1873, 1, p. 212, 2, p. 722; Bertling 1885; Böttger 1886; Püttner 1888, p. 85, fig. p. 81; Köhler 1893, 1, p. 281; Lindner 1901, p. 33; Knetsch 1903, p. 28; Lindner 1903, p. 33, fig. 30; Blech 1904, p. 49; Dehio 1906, p. 110-111; Saintenoy 1907, p. 164; Cuny 1910a, p. 75-76,

figs. 37-38; Cuny 1910b, p. 123-124; Kruszyński 1912, p. 109-111; Muttray 1916, p. 45; Simson 1918, p. 456, 556; Muttray 1922, p. 66; Schmidt 1925, p. 13; Kloeppel 1928, p. 17-21, figs. 12-15; Rohde 1929, p. 62; Makowski 1932, p. 95; Kloeppel 1937, p. 130, 236; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 41; Gall 1953, p. 110-111, fig. 115; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 282; Forssman 1961, p. 59; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 155, fig. 32; Miłobędzki 1963, p. 116; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 61-64; Gosieniecka 1969, p. 307-308; Kowalski, Massalski&Stankiewicz 1969, p. 154, fig. 50; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Jakrzewska-Śnieżko 1972, p. 41; Keyser 1972, p. 370; Dobrowolski 1974, p. 359; Jakrzewska-Śnieżko 1975, p. 9, 12-13, fig. 5; Kozakiewiczowa 1978, p. 147, fig. 117; Hitchcock 1978, p. 70; Michalski 1981; Stankiewicz 1982, p. 405, 411-412; Kębłowski 1987, p. 119; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Łoziński 1992, p. 380; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 133; Friedrich 1995, p. 53-55; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Grzybkowska 1997b, p. 56; Krzysiak 1997; Miłobędzki 1997, p. 29, figs. 12-13; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Lorens 1998, p. 61, figs. 37-39; Stankiewicz&Biskup 1998, p. 86-89, figs. 3-5; Zarębska 1998, p. 61, 71, 94, fig. 98; Bartetzky 2004, p. 145-146; Kaufmann 2006, p. 19; KZSwP, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 21, fig. 27; Bukal 2009, p. 35-36; Lewicka 2009, p. 74-75, p. 87, 89-90; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 73; Kaleciński 2011, p. 216-218, figs. 128

### Sources:

Here, only the most important and revealing accounts concerning the gate are presented. In particular, many short references in various Gdańsk chronicles are not included.

APG 300, 20/126, p. 1 (Krzysiak 1997, p. 206; Krzysiak 1999, p. 70-71)

*Das so viel die Zogbrücken belonget, Wo ferne Meister / Hans von Lindau, d gewichte wirdt anrichten konnen, / die es untern kondte gebrauchet werden, und das auch / das gewelbe nicht dorffte gebrochen werden, und er / solchs wirdt demonstrieren kommenn, so will ein Erbar / Rath dem folgen. / Das is auch geshlossen d das Thor 18 shuch hoch und / 14 shuch breitt gemachet, unnd das die Brücke / gleich mitt einges Pündet werde. / Die beiden kleinenn seitten pforten, sollen 10. shuch / und 5. shuch breitt, und auch eingnes Pündet seinn, / wie d grasse thor, die Zogbrücken sollen auch / so lang sein, als die grosse. / Die gebew des Thor soll 38. shuch breitt sein, / nach d. Stadtwarths. / Der giebel des Thores sol gemachet werden, wie es / des Meister Friedrichs patron mitt den Pfeilern mit- / bringet. / Und das die Schiesslocher uber dem Thor gemacht wer- / den, wie das Meister Friedrichs patron auch aus- / weiset. Actum 25 Junij Anno 1586 / Per me Joannem Boccatum / Secretarium Gedanem / und is solchs den 27. Septemb. / Ao 86: abgeschrieben worden.*

APG 300, 20/126, p. 3

*Unkosten so auff / dem Thor vor dem / hohen thor gehet alss / Den 16: Augusti a<sup>o</sup>86 das / von Lindawen gesellen so an / den Werckstucken angefang / zuhawen ... 15 g 1 / Dito dem furman fur den / stein und Kameien balen / zufueren ... 4 g / Ads 23 Augusti den Stein- / hauern Ihr lohn ... 12 g / Ads 30 Augusti dem Stein- / hauern Ihr lohn ... 15 g 39 / Dem Schmiede vor 30. / kielen die steine zu- / Palten zu 2 g schult 3/Ads 6 Septemb: dem Stein- / haweren Ihr lohn ... 14:3 / Ads 13 Septmeb: dem / Steinhauern Ihr lohn... 15:13 / Ads. 20. dito. den Stein- / hauern Ir lohn 15:7 / Ads. 27. ditto den Stein- / hauern ir lohn ... 15: 1 / Ads 11 Octob: M. Balzer / dem Schmiede vor ej- / sen zu scharffen 9 F 18g / 9: 18*

Curicke 1687, p. 44-45 (F2v-F3):

*Das Hohe Thor lieget gen Westen / und ist das vornemste / auch nunmehr das älteste / ob schon die ändern nach der jetzigen Art / viel zierlicher und köstlicher gebauet seyn. Es ist aber diese Hohe Thor / und gehet ein Theil desselben inwards nach der Stadt hinein / das andere ausswärts nach dem Felde. Der inwendige Theil ist Anno 1574 zu bauen angefangen / und Anno 1575 mit samt dem Gewölbe meisten theils fertig worden. Folgens ist Anno 1576. den 26. Maji der erste Grundstein / und den. 18. Julii der erste Balcken zu der Brücken vor dem Hohen Thor geleyget worden / den 11. Septembr. desselben Jahrs / hat man das Hohe Thor in die Haacken gehangen / und mit grossen Nagelen beschlagen / in der einen Pforten nach der Vorstadt gehende / seind derselben grossen Nägell 217. und in der anderen Pforten nach der Alten Stadt 215. jedes Stück zu 2½ gl. und in summa zu dem Thor und beyden Pforten in alles 1220. Nägell verschlagen worden. Den 13. Octobris ist die Brücke vor dem Hohen Thor so weit verfertiget / dass man zum ersten mahl darüber gefahren hatt. Das auswendige Thor ist Anno 1588. nebenst zweyen kleinen zur seyte habenden Thörlein / und drei*

*Zugbrücken / auch einem an selbigen Thor stehet an einem Eck das Wapen des Landes Preussen / mit dieser Unterschrift: Sapientissimè fiunt quae pro Republica fiunt: Das ist: Alles was dem Gemeinem besten zu gutte gethan wird / ist woll gethan. In der mitten stehet das Königliche Polnische Wapen / mit dieser Unterschrift: Iustitia & Pietas, duo sunt Regnorum omnium Fundamenta. Das ist: Die Gerechtigkeit und Gottesfurcht sind aller Königreiche Grundfeste. Am letzten Eck aber steht der Stadt Danzig Wapen / mit dieser Unterschrift: Civitatibus haec optanda bona, maximè, Pax, Libertas, & Concordia. Das ist: Die Städte haben insonderheit sich diese Gütter Fall Gegitter ungelegt / und von starcken ausgehauenen. Steinen herzlich auffgebauet worden / oben zu wünschen Friede / Freyheit / und Einigkeit. Anno 1634. ist dieses Thor so weit geändert / das die alte Steinbrücke weggenommen / und Bohlen an die Stelle hingelegt / auch die Brücke selbst erweitert / und mit dreyen in einer Reyge stehenden Ruckbrücken ist verbessert worden.*

*Ranisch, p. 19-20:*

*Grund Riß des Hohen Tohres. Dieses Tohr ist daß schönste und starckeste unter den anderen. Es hatt über dem Stadtgraben eine lange Bricke, worinnen zwei grosse Auffzugß Bricken und 4 kleine seindt. Wen man über die grossen Auffzugß Bricken in der Stadt gehet, so ist die grosse Einfahrt im Grundt Riß mit A bezeichnet, [the description must have been accompanied by a plan] und neben bey dennen kleinen Auffzugs Bricken sindt zwei Porten zum Eingange mit ... gezeichnet. Die ander Mauer C hat gleich so eine grosse Einfahrt und zwei kleine Porten zu Eingängen, welche aber alle Zeitt offnen stehen, sindt aber mit grossen starcken Schiß und Fall Gattern wol versehen, auch mit einem starcken Gewelbe geschlossen. D ist ein offener Platz, welcher von oben nicht bedeckt ist. Auff beiden Seitten hatt es schmale Gewelber, mit I bezeichnet, in welchen die Wasser Rören ligen, so daß Wasser von der Kunst in die Rechte, Alte und Vorstadt leitten. E ist wieder ein groß geschlossen Tohr mit zwey kleinen geschlossenen Porten, welche auff zwey Seiten gewelbete Außfahrten und Außgänge sindt. E ist die Außfahrt nach der Alten Stadt, G der neben bey gewelbete Außgang, F ist die gewelbete Außfahrt in die Rechte und Vorstadt, G ist der neben bey gewelbete Außgang, K sindt Gewelber zur Soldaten Cordegarde in Nothfall. Es ist aber am Ende der Außfahrt F eine lange Cordigarde, da alle Zeitt die Hauptwache in ist.*

*Beschreibung des Hohen Tohres, welche Faciata oder Auffzug von schönen außgehauenen Quader Stücken gemachet ist. Diese Hoche Tohr ist daß ansehlichste umb Dantzig und liget gegen Westen. Es ist von künstlichen Quaderstücken und schöner Bilthauer Arbeit woll auff geführet. In der Mitten ist die grosse Porte A zur Außfahrt, und an beyden Seitten zwei kleine Porten B B außzugehen. Ober der grossen Porte ist von Bildhauer Arbeit künstlich außgehauen daß Preüssche Waffen zur lincken Handt, wirdt von zween Einhörnern gehalten, daß Polnische Landt Waffen in der Mitte wird von zween Engeln gehalten, daß Dantzker Stadt Waffen auf der rechten Handt wird von zween stehenden Löwen gehalten. Die selbige Faciata ist anno 1588 erbauet, wie wol das inwendige Gemäuer und die zwei gewelbete Auß Fahrten, daß eine nach der Rechten und Vorstadt, daß andere nach der Altstadt, schon vor diesem Portal sindt fertig gewesen. Die selbe sollen angefangen sein 1574 und mit den Gewelben Anno 1575 meisten Theilß fertig gewesen. Anno 1688 ist die Faciata auffß neue repariret, angestrichen und ... verguldet worden. Weill dan neben und an diesem Hohen Thore innerhalb der Stadt ein grosses Gebeyde und Tuhrm an und auch auff die Gwelber des Tohres gebaute ist, also ist es wol, das es itzo bey und an geführet werde.*

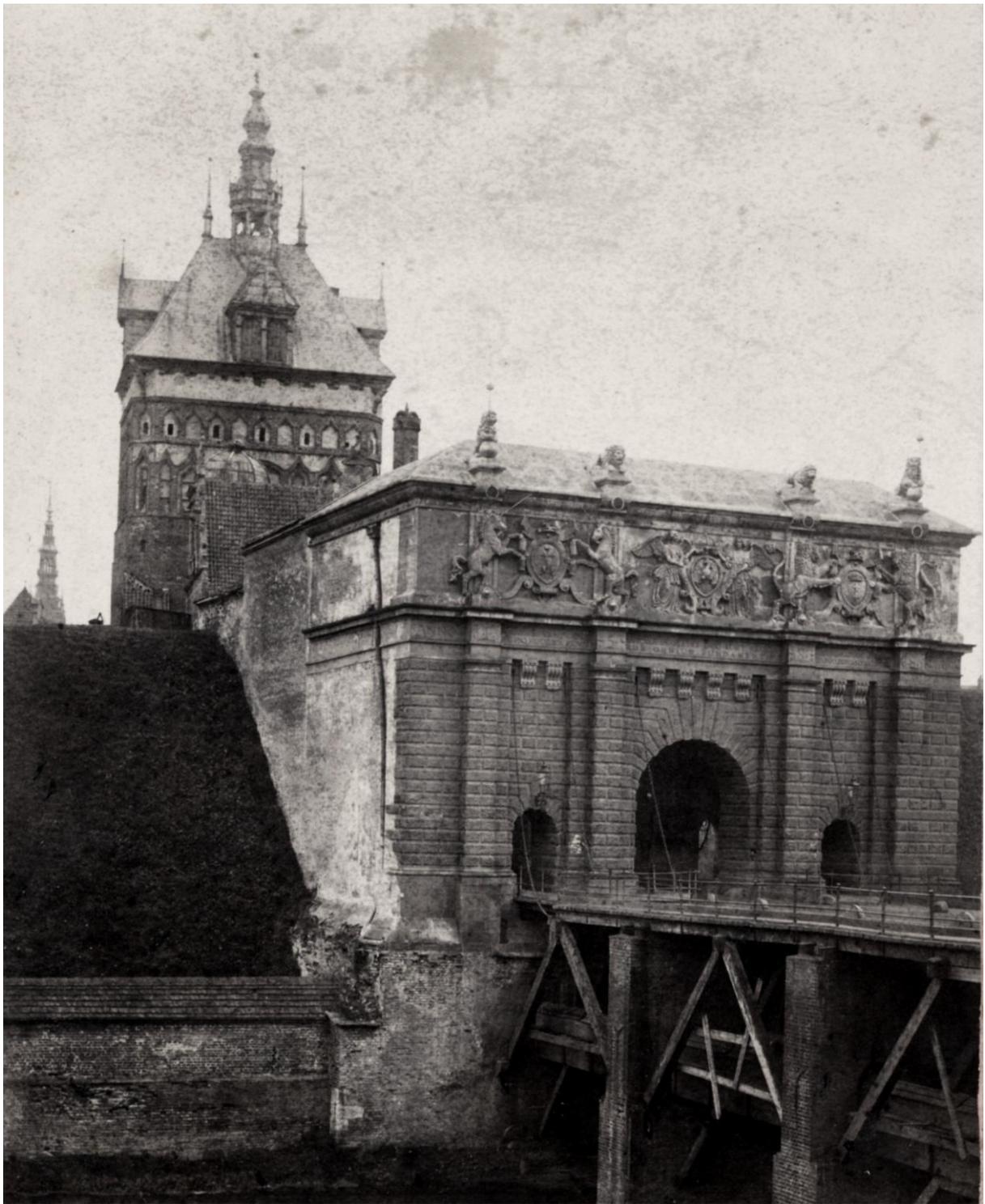
**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The High Gate has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Bertling in 1885. Earlier, it had been attributed to Anthonis van Obbergen (Hirsch 1847, Hoburg 1852, Lübke 1871). After Bertling's publication Willem van den Blocke's involvement never raised any serious doubts. Nonetheless, two major questions have been discussed. First, the relation between the building erected in 1586-1588 and the previous one, built c. 1574-1576 and attributed to the architect Hans Kramer was debated. Many scholars (for instance Köhler 1893, Cuny 1910a, Massalski&Stankiewicz 1969, Kozakiewiczowa&Kozakiewicz 1976, Friedrich 1995, Stankiewicz&Biskup 1998, Zarębska 1998) assumed that Willem van den Blocke decorated the façade of an earlier building. Others (for instance Simson 1918 and Keyser 1972, p. 370) argued that the present building was a new structure that replaced the earlier one between 1586 and 1588. Yet another interpretation of the construction history of the High Gate has been proposed by Krzysiak, who argued

that both buildings, or parts of a building - the one erected in 1573-1576 and the other in 1586-1588 - existed simultaneously as elements of a larger ensemble. Some sources, such as chronicles (for instance *Rhode*) and - to a certain extent - Ranisch's description (*Ranisch*, see above), lend support to the first hypothesis. However, written sources pertaining directly to the building process indicate that almost certainly the gate built between 1586 and 1588 was a new structure. Furthermore, Curicke's, Löschin's, Zerneck's and Hoburg's descriptions suggest that it constituted an outer element of a larger ensemble (Löschin 1822, p. 290: *Das äusere Hohe Thor mit seiner reich decorirten Façade von Sandstein. Es wurde mit sehr großem Kostenaufwende 1588 erbaut, nachdem man das innere Thor schon in den Jahren 1574 bis 1576 vollendet hatte*). Thus, the hypothesis forwarded by Krzysiak seems most plausible at the present moment.

The second question concerns character of van den Blocke's involvement in the building process. The sculptor's supplication from 27 March 1586 leaves little doubt as to the fact that he was indeed hoping to secure the commission for the entire work, from design to construction and decoration. Furthermore, his supplication from 1590 indicates – even though indirectly – that in 1586 he took part in a major undertaking (to a great disappointment of some of the fellow masters). However, confirmed involvement of two highly accomplished architects, Hans Schneider von Lindau and Frederick Vroom, indicates that van den Blocke eventually became a member of a larger team. The crucial information is provided by the above quoted document, revealing that builders were to follow a 'patron' made by Vroom. It is possible that Vroom's design was made as an amendment of the earlier one, created by van den Blocke. As indicated by the note at the end of the latter's supplication, his design was to be evaluated by two unnamed architects; it seems very likely that Vroom was one of them. Most likely, van den Blocke was responsible for the execution of the gate's decoration and perhaps for elements of its design, while von Lindau and Vroom - experts in military engineering - designed and executed architectural body of the building. Such cooperation between sculptors, architects, engineers and masons was a common pattern at that time.



Fig. A.3.1 – East façade, before 1884



A. 3. 2 – West façade before 1879, with ramparts still extant ©Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska

#### A. 4 - Sepulchral monument of Johan III Vasa

Sweden, Uppsala, cathedral, Jagiellon Chapel

1593-1595

Original elements of the monument's structure made of black limestone, column shafts made of red *Rance* limestone, effigy, figural decoration, ornamental plaques, coat-of-arms as well as bases and capitals of columns made of alabaster. Several elements, including some of the ornamental plaques (copies of the original ones), bases of figures as well as elements of the sarcophagus and canopy (including frieze with foliate scroll) made of stucco during the late-nineteenth century reconstruction. Traces of polychromy and gilding on the effigy, especially on the collar of the Agnus Dei order (red, green, blue)

Original form of the monument is unknown. As suggested by Hahr and Krzyżanowski, it was a wall monument with reclining effigy of the deceased in the centre. It seems likely that some of the original elements were missing already in late eighteenth century (Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 281-282; Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 85-86). Moreover, it is possible that not all of the parts existing at that time were original, since - according to a letter addressed to Swedish King Gustav III in 1783 (Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 86) - some of them were made of wood. After shipment to Sweden, extant elements of the monument have been assembled in Uppsala in 1817-1818. This structure comprised both original and newly made elements, the latter created either in Sweden or Gdańsk. It was a free standing tomb with a high canopy supported by four Corinthian columns. Two standing putti and a cartouche with coat-of-arms were placed in front of the sarcophagus, while the two sitting and two standing figures on its sides. The larger relief with battle scene was incorporated into the front of the sarcophagus, while the smaller one into a cartouche on the top of the canopy. The effigy was placed on the top of the sarcophagus, with two sitting putti and a female figure next to it. Present shape of the monument is the result of a reconstruction carried out in 1892-1893 by August Lindegren and A. Belio under supervision of Helgo Zetterwal and Carl-Ruprecht Nyblom. It includes original as well as newly created elements, the latter made of *stucco* (see Saar-Kozłowska 2001). It is a free standing tomb with a canopy supported by four Corinthian columns, placed above reclining effigy of the deceased. The figure, represented in full armour and royal cope, is surrounded by four figures of putti, two standing and two sitting. Base of the monument is embellished with two battle scenes in relief as well as several ornamental plaques, both original, carved in alabaster, and their copies made of *stucco*. On the top of the canopy is a cartouche with coat-of-arms, supported by two standing figures, as well as four small reclining symbolic figures placed on corners, both original and new. On each side of the structure there is a standing male figure. In addition to that, a sitting female figure designed as part of the monument was kept until recently in Bärby, in close proximity of Uppsala.

#### Inscriptions:

On the sarcophagus: *Johannes III / Rex Sveciae* (probably later)

On the canopy: *Deus Protector / Noster / 1534-1593* (both probably later)

Epitaph: *D.O.M. / Divo Ioanni III Svecorum Gothorum ac Wandalorum Regi potentissimo alternantis / fortunae vicissitudine, in primis exercito utrisque sortis victori, omnibus / corporis, animi, industriae, ornamentis cumulate instructo, prudentiae, iustitiae / clementiae, munificentiae solertissimi ingenii perspicaciae ac plurimarum linguarum peritiae laude ornatissimo. Qui cum testamento patris sui Regis Gustavi, Finlandiae, Dux factus esset, ab Erico fratre rerum potito, per vim loco / motus, dignitate que persummam in dignitatem spoliatus in carcerem compingitur / inde vero merito liberates, opportune, suffragantibus popularium studiis ad regni / solium evectus, se, ac nobilitatem, in quam a fratre indicta causa, crudelissime / desaevitum fuerat, capto tyranno, ac supplicio, more maiorum, de immanis lanienae / auctoribus sumpto, in libertatem non minus iustae quam fortiter*

*restituit / bellum cum Danis inter Necinum, terra marique septennio gestum facta pace dire. / Mit Moschoviae tyranno gravissimis iniuriis ac bello lacesitus Careliam, Ingriam, / Wodtschoviam, Esthoniā, urbibus propuganculis praesidiis, satis munitas / provincias suis auspiciis eripuit. Maximas hostium copias per exigua suorum manu / collatis signis, multoties fudit fugavitque. Religionis ceremonias, castigates / profanis ritibus, pio instituto, in meliorem formam redegit. Regna sua, oppidis / arcibus, fanis, palatiis, hortis aliisque structuris, cum ad elegantium volupta / temque spectantium, tum ad publicam utilitatem exornavit. Subditos suos / leni ac paterno imperio, in quiete et officio continuit. Externis iuxta ac / suis iustitiam, ex aequo et bono administravit. Scelerum, ut erat vindex / acerrimus sic in virtute unius cuiusque aestimanda, meritisque compensandis / iustissimum ac liberalissimum. Sigismundum filium ex Catharina Iagiellonis / sacratissima et augustissima foemina in carcere susceptum, Poloniae Regem / inauguratum, et creatum vidit. Tandem maiorum suorum fortuna, multorumque / praecedentium Regum Glora, longe superata, vita ac regno defungitur / Stockholmae VIII. callend. Octobris, Anno Christi M.D.XCII aetatis suae / Anno- -regni vero : XXV - -funus filio Sigismundo Sveciae av Poloniae Rege, cum bonorum omnium / lachrymis prosequente huic sepulcro illatum est, calendis februarii / Anno M.D.XCIII quod parenti dilectissimo moettissimus filius / .P.P.*

**History:** History of the monument is exceptionally well documented. It has been mentioned for the first time in two documents, both dated 22 November 1593: a letter from the Gdańsk City Council to King Sigismund III Vasa and a payment to Willem van der Meer, included in the city Pay-books. Therefore, it must have been commissioned in autumn 1593, almost certainly during the king's visit in Gdańsk in September. According to a letter from Sigismund Vasa to the Swedish Privy Council from 16 February 1596, the costs, amounting 8000 thalers, were to be split between the king and the Swedish council. The letter from 22 November 1593 indicates that a payment of 585 thalers was made to Willem van den Blocke at that time. A document dating from 17 February 1594 refers to a payment of 1585 *thaller* (1000+585), levied from the sea tolls, by the royal burggrave Simon Bahr. Hypothetically, this may refer to the payment mentioned on 22 November 1593 and on 9 Mai 1594. In a letter from 26 April 1594 Wessel Mittendorf asks the council to give van den Blocke 1000 *thaller*; Ture Bielke's name has also been mentioned in the letter. City authorities followed this instruction, as indicated by the council's letter to the king from 9 Mai of the same year. According to Gdańsk Pay-books, on 14 Mai 1594 Willem van den Blocke has been paid for works on the monument (the document mentions 1585 *thaller* and 6000 marks). The complicated issue of payment was further discussed in a letter from the City Council to Mittendorf dated 24 Mai 1594. In a supplication to Gdańsk city council from the 25 November 1594 van den Blocke requested another 2000 *thaller*. The same document informs that the sculptor maintained lively contact with Ture Bielke, who was apparently supervising progress of the works. The sculptor mentioned twenty letters he has received from Bielke, urging the artist to complete the monument. The tomb has finally been finished by the beginning of 1596, a fact clearly indicated by the abovementioned letter from the king to the Swedish council dating from 16 February of that year. However, due to political circumstances in Sweden the monument remained in Gdańsk. In 1636 the City Council considered handing it to Sigismund's son, King Ladislaus IV Vasa, and for that reason summoned Jacob van den Blocke, who was in possession of a 'model' of the tomb (after Simson 1918). This initiative could have been related to contemporary Ladislaus' commission of the tomb of his aunt, princess Anna Vasa, executed probably by Abraham van den Blocke's successor Wilhelm Richter and installed in St. Mary church in Toruń. However, the monument of Johan Vasa remained in Gdańsk. There, it was kept in the Ashof, Stadhof and finally the Great Arsenal, where it was seen by Johann Bernouli in 1777. In 1783 it was finally bought by the Swedish King Gustav III and subsequently transferred to Sockholm and later Uppsala (also an article

in *Stockholms Magazin*, September 1780, p. 566-568; after Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 100, note 29) where it has been assembled in 1817-1818 and remodelled in 1893-1894.

Besides the main tomb, Sigismund Vasa commissioned also a temporary structure, destined to commemorate Johan III before the grand monument was finished; it probably survived until 1702. This relatively simple construction, known from two seventeenth century prints (one of them from Erik Dahlberg's *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (c. 1680) and the other from Johann Peringskiöld's *Monumenta Ullerakerensia cum Upsalia Nova Illustrata*, 1696, published in 1719) has been discussed by Alicja Saar-Kozłowska and Herman Bengtsson (Saar-Kozłowska 2001, p. 75-80; Bengtsson 2010; Herman Bengtsson, 'Gravmonument över Johan III' (I would like to thank the author for sharing a copy of this paper). This issue is important, since some of the documents regarding the royal monument clearly refer to this structure rather than to the work by Willem van den Blocke. For example, the king's letter to Antonius Watz dated 12 January 1594 (Roksarkivet Stockholm, Riksregistraturet 12/1 1594; I would like to thank Herman Bengtsson for sharing a copy of the document) as well as the description of the monument in Johannes Messenius, *Tumbar veterum ac nuperorum apud sveones gothosque regnum, reginarum, ducum, aliorumque Herom et heroidum...*, Holmiae 1611, Cap. VI, p. 15, clearly refer to the temporary monument. Johannes Messenius, who travelled between Gdańsk and Sweden at that time, stated that it was executed in this Baltic town. It is possible, however, that Messenius himself was confused by the fact that two monuments were commissioned at approximately the same time.

**Bibliography:** Hirsch 1847, p. 227, note 3; Hagen 1847, p. 411, note; Nyblom 1884; Bertling 1885; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 137, note 463; Knetsch 1903, p. 28-29; Foltz 1907, p. 136, note 3; Cuny 1910a, p. 87; Hahr 1910, p. 4, 50-60, fig. 18-20, 22; Cuny 1910b, p. 124; Hahr 1913; Simson 1918, p. 564, notes 3-4; Cuny 1921, p. 19-20, note 2; Schéle 1951, passim, fig. 7-8; Eimer 1955; *Sesja* 1955, p. 185-186; Szydłowska 1957, p. 256-258; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 278-282; Hornung 1959a, p. 106-110, fig. 2; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 155; Gębarowicz 1962, p. 285; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 71-74, 77, 81, 85; Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 450, fig. 4; Matušakaitė 1968, p. 72-73; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Dobrowolski 1974, p. 359; Åhman 1985, p. 7; Grosjean 1985; Mikó 1988, p. 122; Johannsen&Johannsen 1990, p. 102; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Fulton 1994, p. 195-208, fig. 82b; Gołąb 1995, p. 104, 108; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Saar-Kozłowska 1995, p. 136, figs. 11, 17; Fulton 1996a, p. 316-322, figs. 361-363; Wozniński 1997, p. 118-119; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Jolly 1999a, p. 130; Saar-Kozłowska 2001; Badach 2004, p. 63; Da Costa Kaufmann 2006, p. 17; Saar-Kozłowska 2006, p. 576-581, fig. 14-15, 19-20; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322-323; Zlat 2008, p. 242; Matušakaitė 2009, p. 135; Mikó 2009, p. 174; Wardzyński 2009, p. 433; Bengtsson 2010, p. 62-74; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71, 79

#### Source information:

APG 300, 12/20, p. 17:

*Novb 22 / Wegen Kö: Mÿtt an M. Willem Barth stein- / hauer gezalet, wegen ververtigung das / Kö: Epitaphÿ, Ir: Kö: Mÿtt Vatters hoch- / loblichster gedechteens 585 tall auf Rechnung / voraus gezalet, so Kunfftig aus d pahl- / kammer der Kemereÿ wid sol er statet vor / a carte 39 / M 1023 / ß 45*

16 February 1596; letter from Sigismund III Vasa to the Swedish Privy Council; Carolina Rediviva, Handskrifts Avdelningen, Handligar om Uppsala Domkyrka, sygn. S. 139. A:2, nr 6: *Sigismundus medh Gudz Nådhe Sweriges Göthes och / Wendes Konungh, Stor Furste till Finland, Cærelen Wâtzki, / Pebin och Ingermanland i Rydzland, och ofucrthe Ester vdi Lufe / lands Hertig, Så och Konung vdi Pålen, Storfurste till / Littowen, Rydtzen, Prÿdzen, Masuren, Samogitien, Kiouien, / Wolhinien och Lÿfflands Herre. Vår nådige helsen besÿnnerlige jÿnnest och benägenhentt medh Gudh / alz mechtig tilförende & Edher kommer vthan twiffuell wällihugh / trogne män, att wÿ för wårt*

*affresende ifrån Swerige lothe bestelle vdi Dantzich / en Grafzbeprydningh, för saligh och högloflig i hugkommelse vår Elskelige käae / Herfaders lyck, så effter wÿ förnimme att den aldeles är för färdigett och / fuländett, såsom thz sigh bör, och inthnd anned fheles än att Masteren som den hafuer / gyrtt må bekomme sin betalmingh, Ther på han allerede af oss här bekom- / mett hafuer Fÿre Twsend daler, derförs så är här mz vår Nådige willie / och befellningh, att i mz thz allerförste wele aff någim wiss Räntte ther i Swerige / lathe lefrere forbenempde Mestere den andre halffpartten somhonom på be- / talmingen tilbake ståår, hwilckett sigh ännu till Fÿre Tusendh Tyske daler / belöper, och lathe affärdige ett gått starckt schip till förbenempde Dantzich / mz huilckett förbemelte Greffzstenn må wäll blifue öfuer fördt till Swerige, / och seden der blifue opsatt som högbemelte vår Her faders lyck är begrafuett, / och wÿ elliest förordnade skee skulle när wÿ wode der stadde, der medh skeer thz / oss är till nådigt behagh, och i wele eder effter rätte & Gudh Alz mechteg befallenden & / schrifuitt på wårt Kong: Slott Crakow den 16 Februarÿ Anno 96.*

21 November 1597, Letter from Duke Carl to Erik Bielke concerning a new crypt under the Vasa chapel in Uppsala; Riksarkivet Stockholm, Hertig Karls registratur 21/11 1597 [I would like to thank Herman Bengtsson]

[...] *ther under som S. Konungh Johans Grafprydningh skall settias.*

Bernoulli 1779, p. 335-337: *Den 18ten Julius. Diesen Morgen besah / ich noch mit Herrn von Scheffler das grosse / Zeughaus; auf Zeughäuser nicht sonderlich er- / picht, hätte ich denselben kaum ein Paar Stun- / den aufgeopfert, wenn man mir nicht ein mar- / mornes Grabmal gerühmt hätte, das hier ver- / wahrt wird. Ich war sehr zufrieden, es gesehen / zu haben. Dieses schöne Monument hatte Si- / gismund König von Pohlen, für seinen im Jahr / 1592 verstorbenen Vater Johann III König / verfertigen lassen. Es / war nach Schweden bestimmt; da das Schiff / aber, welches dasselbe dahin bringen sollte, dem / Vorgeben nach, auf der preussischen Küste strandete, / soll Sigismund das Denkmal der Stadt Dan- / zig verehrt haben. Lange Zeit blieb es indessen / stückweis und in dem Kisten auf dem Stadthofe, / wo die Magistratskutschen stehen, in einen Scho- / pfen verborgen, bis man es endlich nun in die- / sem Jahrhundert hervornahm, die Stücke zu- / sammensetzte und das ganze Monument in einem / Verschlag im untern Stocke des Zeughauses / aufrichtete. Der verstorbene König liegt auf / einem Paradebette, unter einen von vier Säulen / getragenen Himmel. Am Halse eine schöne Or- / denskette, und in der rechten Hand einen reichen / Scepter tragend. Die Lage ist sehr ungezwun- / gen, die Beine kreuzweise über einander geschla- / gen, und das obere etwas zurück gezogen, so / dass ein grosser leerer Zwischenraum zwischen bey- / den bleibt. Diese Stellung gleicht der Lage eines / Mannes, der auf seinem Sopha ruhet, und der / Künstler hat Gelegenheit gehabt, seine Geschicklich- / keit dadurch an den Tag zu legen, doch aber dünkt / mich die ausgestreckte Lage nach gothischer Art, / hätte sich bald noch besser hieher geschickt. Dem / sey wie ihm wolle, so kann ich nicht leugen, dass / die Stellung, wie sie dem Künstler beliebt hat, / von demselben sehr gut behandelt worden. Mir / gefielen auch ganz wohl vier kleine Genien, de- / ren zween vor, und zween hinter dem Könige ste- / hen, und eine weinende weibliche Statüe, kleiner / als die Natur, hinter dem Könige. Noch erheben / sich stufenweise an jeder Seite des Thrones drey / grosse Statüen; viere von diesen sechsen stellen / den Frieden, die Gerechtigkeit, und die Könige / David und Salomon vor. Die two übrigen / und höchsten auf beyden Seiten und wieder two / weibliche, aber sitzende Figuren, vermutlich von / Tugenden. Alle diese Statüen sind gut dra- / pieret, allein ohne Ausdruck, und sie schienen mir / in der Manier des Donatelli, eines berühmten / toscanischen Künstlers, zu seyn. Im Ganzen / ist dieses grosse Monument wirklich sehr edel, und / es nimmt sich um so mehr gut aus, da es von / weisen rothäderichten Marmor verfertiget ist, / ausgenommen die vier Säulen, welche von / rothen mit weisen Adern durchzogenen Mar- / mor sind.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The first to link the monument with van den Blocke was Hirsch in 1847. Van den Blocke's authorship of the monument, affirmed by relatively numerous

written sources, has not been challenged since (except for Foltz and Cuny, see below). The monument in question is the only extant major sculptural work by the artist asserted by written sources. It is, therefore, highly important for establishing the artist's oeuvre, as it provides crucial comparative material. Most importantly, it allows to give to the sculptor three major monuments - of Piotr Tarnowski, Andreas Báthory and Martin de Berzeviczy - as well as the von Dohna monument in Odense and the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk.

Gdańsk Pay-books indicates that on 22 November 1593 Willem van der Meer (called Barth) has been paid 585 *thalers* for works on the monument. This led Foltz and Cuny (Foltz 1903, Cuny 1910a) to give the monument to van der Meer. However, this attribution has been convincingly refuted by Simson. Furthermore, a letter from the city council to the king dated 22 November 1593 indicates that it was in fact van den Blocke who has been paid at that time. It seems, therefore, that inclusion of van der Meer's name in the Pay-book could have been a mistake made by a scribe. It is not the only example of such confusion – in an entry in the guild's documents dating from 1610 van den Blocke's name has been crossed and replaced with that of van der Meer (Barth; see APG 300,C/2059, p. 145).



Fig. A.4.1 – General view

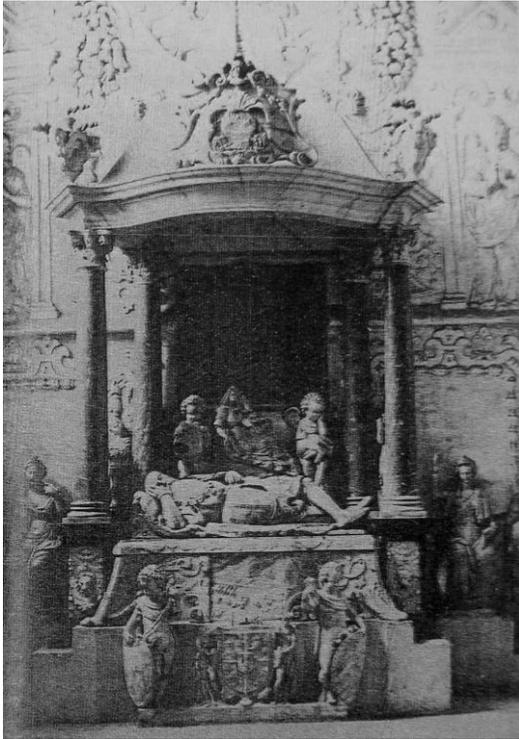


Fig. A.4.2 - The 1817-1818 reconstruction

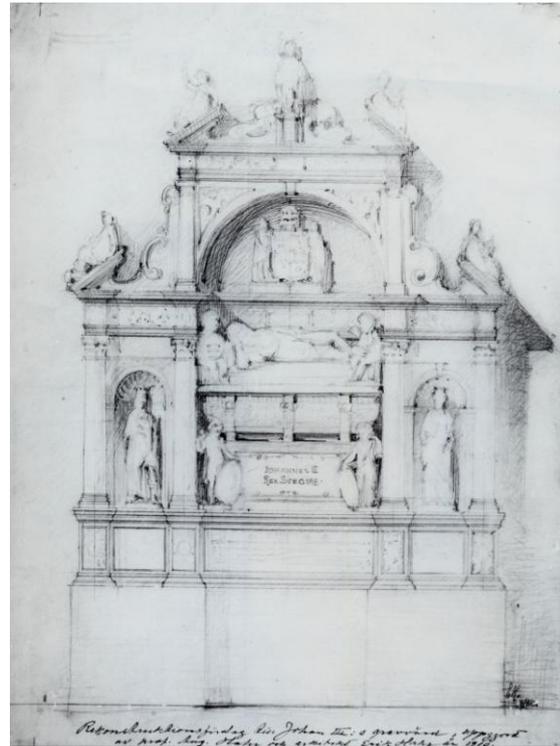


Fig. A.4.3 – Reconstruction suggested by August Hahr

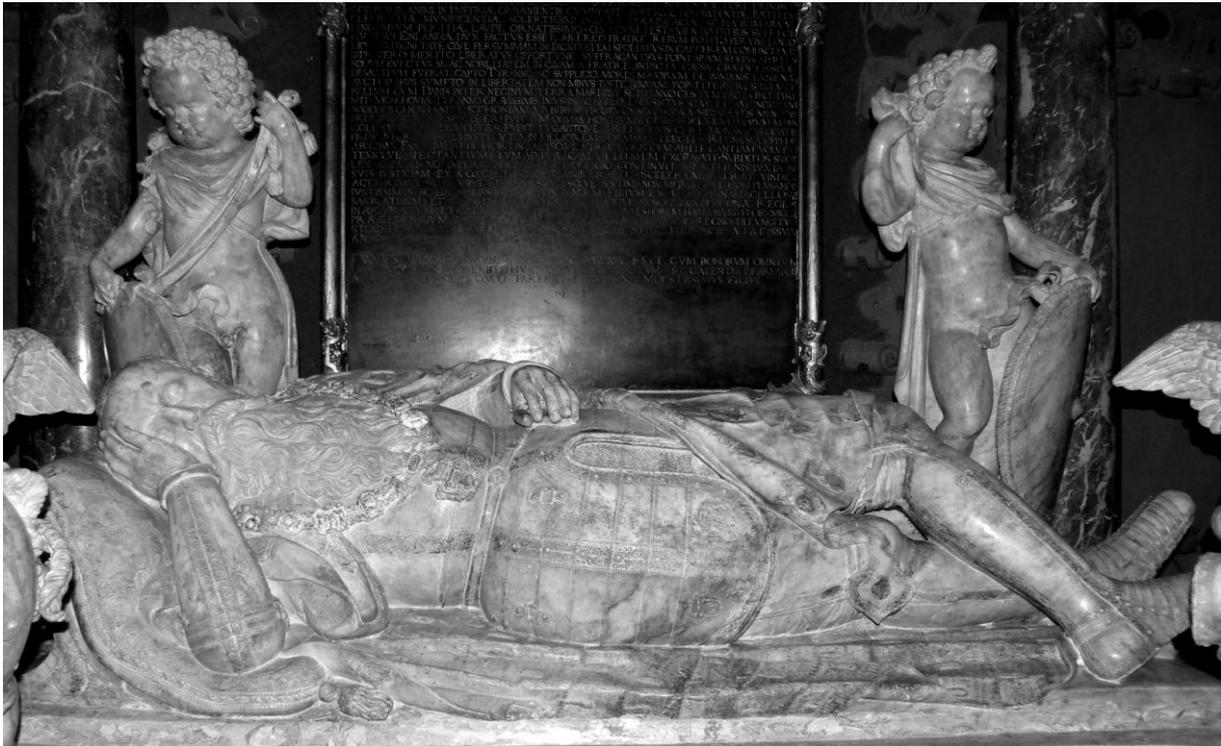


Fig. A.4.4 – Sepulchral effigy with two standing putti



Fig. A.4.5 – Sepulchral effigy, detail



Fig. A.4.6 - Figure of *Immortalitas*



Fig. A.4.7 - Figure of *Immortalitas*, detail



Fig. A.4.8 - Figure of *Immortalitas*, detail



Fig. A.4.9 – Figure of King Salomon



Fig. A.4.10 – Figure of King David



Fig. A.4.11 – Sitting putto



Fig. A.4.12 – Standing putto



Fig. A.4.13 – Corinthian capital

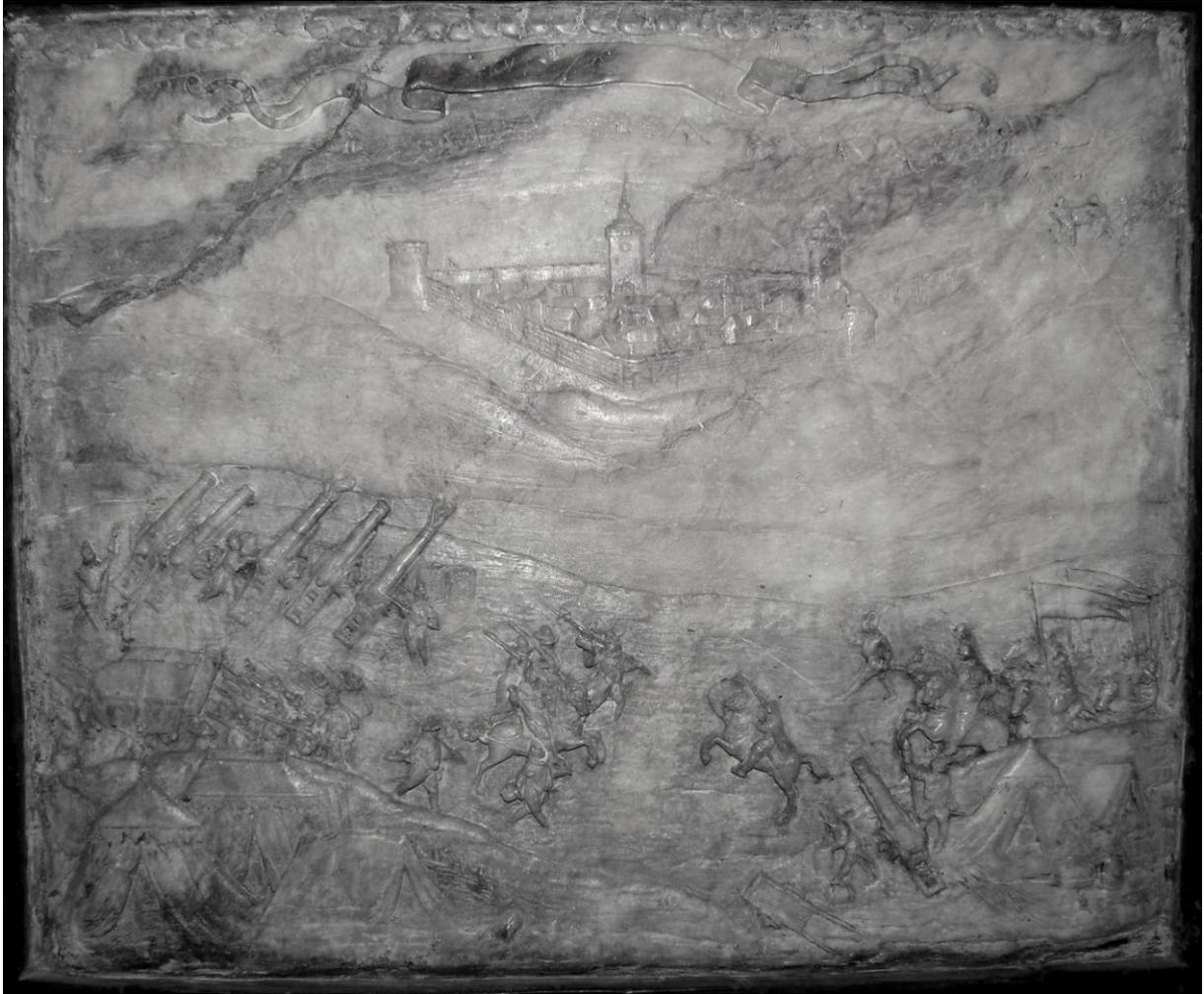


Fig. A.4.14 – Battle scene (Siege on Narva?)



Fig. A.4.15 – Battle scene



Fig. A.4.16 – Figure supporting cartouche with coat-of-arms



Fig. A.4.17 – Sepulchral effigy, detail



Figs. A.4.18-21 Ornamental plaques

## A. 5 - Sepulchral monument of Ture Bielke and Margareta Sture

Sweden, Linköping, cathedral, chapel in ambulatory

Before 1600 and c. 1618-1620

Elements of the structure made of brown, grey and black limestone, effigial slab made of red limestone, figural and ornamental decoration made of alabaster

Coats-of-arms polychromed and gilded

C. 530 x 315 cm

Wall monument in form of *aedicula*. Its central zone, placed on a massive base with inscription, consists of an arcade supported by Tuscan pilasters, with two large arches with inscriptions and three smaller ones with figures. In front are two Ionic columns supporting entablature. In the centre is a relief effigial slab placed diagonally, depicting the deceased reclining on their backs. It is flanked with large volutes ending with lion legs and ornamental plaques, supporting columns. Upper zone is divided from the central part by entablature with reversed cornice, bound by consoles placed on the axes of the columns. Upper zone consists of a large scrollwork cartouche with coats-of-arms, decorated with obelisks and figures of putti and flanked with two standing putti. The monument is crowned by a single standing female figure.

Ornamental decoration consists of panoplia, scrollwork cartouches, clusters of fruit, foliage and lion masks.

### Inscriptions:

On the base: *Haer huila sigh then walborne h: Turo Bielke til Akeroo / och stureforsa Sveriges rikesrad samt Hans Kare husfru Margareta / Sture boren Grafveddotter til Stegholm och Westerviik hul- / ke sasom the medh samie och Karleek hari verldenne hafva / huilarum sa ligger har och Theras son Iahan Bielckie / tem gud sampteligeneen frogde full upstandelse forlane / och til een evinnerlig gladie upueckie och afsomnade han I Chri- / sto ahr 1600 pa sitt 48 och hon 1617 pa sitt 70 och Deras / son 1598 pa sit 16 ahr*

On the left inscription panel: *D. O. M. / Dn. Thuroni Bielke / de Åkeröö, marito dilectissimo / qui / ex nobili et antiquissima Bielkorum / familia oriundus, in iuventute per- / egrinationibus, linguarum et rerum / scientia claruit, invirili aetate maiorum / exemplo, legationibus et senatoria autori- / tate conspicuus, extrema ac media utrius- / que fortunae expertus, hic Lincopiae Anno / Dni 1600: aetatis vero 48, rebus / exemptus humanis: / nec non / Iohanni Bielke filio suaviss in medio ae- / tatis flore diem obeunti ano 1598 aetatis vero 16 / tumet / sibi ipsi ac inclytæ suæ familiae, ad nutum / aeterni numinis tandem subsequuturæ / hoc opus et pietatis et spei beatæ / resurrectionis ergo / posuit / dna Margareta Sture de Sture eorssa / quæ et ipsa postmodum Anno Dni 1618 / aetatis suæ 70 infanta concessit.*

On the cartouche under left inscription panel: *Debita pars terræ cubat hic, / pars altera coelo vivit, / virtutis fama perennis erit.*

On the right inscription panel: *D.O.M. / Omnia quæ sursum vehit et fortuna deorsum / saltit et ut mundus, tympanafuste quatit. / Fulmine quæ montes tentat, vallesque pruinis, / et nostras potuit vertere tristis opes. / Quis virtutis amans ? Populos quis videt et urbes / cui genere in vario lingua diserta fuit ? / Cui caput auratis umbrabat gloria pennis ? / Cui sub magnanimo pectore roburerat ? / Omnia sentiscunt vanæ ludibria sortis, / irrita nobiscum multa reposita iacent. / Discite mortales perituræ gævita vitæ. / Temnere : res soli est fidere ut ta deo. / At valeas dulcis patria, et qui sceptrâ tenetis / vivite felices, seraque posteritas. / Candida pax terras habitet, mens suavis Olympo / gaudeat, extincta et molliter ossa cubente.*

On the cartouche under right inscription panel: *Corpus humo tegitur, petiit / divinior astra mens, clarum / vasto nomen in orbe manet.*

**History:** The monument has been shipped to Sweden in 1619 by Willem van den Blocke and merchant Balthazar Wiedenhop, who were paid 1000 Polish guilders for its delivery by Bielke's son-in-law, Gabriel Oxenstierna (see Sources). As plausibly suggested by Grosjean, it has most likely been commissioned by Bielke himself before his death in 1600 (perhaps in 1598) and left unfinished in Gdańsk. It could have been shipped to Sweden and assembled in Linköping only after the death of Charles IX.

**Bibliography:**

Berg 1924, p. 213; Axel-Nielson 1950, p. 39-41; Schéle 1951; Eimer 1955; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 86-87; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Grosjean 1985; Johannsen 1990, p. 102; Habela 1992a, p. 121-123; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Fulton 1996a, p. 321-322, figs. 364-365; Woziński 1997, p. 119; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Nisbeth&Estham 2001, p. 187-191; Wardzyński 2010a, p. 48-49, fig. 8; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 69

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Schéle, who discovered document pertaining to its shipment to Sweden in 1619. This attribution has been accepted by other scholars. Only Wardzyński (Wardzyński 2010a) stated recently that according to unspecified written sources the effigial slab has been executed by Abraham van den Blocke. He referred to biographical note by Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski 1971b), which does not include such information. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt accuracy of the document discovered by Schéle. Nonetheless, Wardzyński is correct in the sense that the monument is not a homogenous work by Willem van den Blocke, who may nonetheless be credited with its general design.

The monument shows similarity with several other works executed by the studio. For instance, its upper zone closely resembles that of the Strobant epitaph in Toruń. Similarly, the putti are very close to those embellishing the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk. As to female figures, they could have been executed by the same studio assistant who created the small figures decorating today the canopy above the Johan Vasa monument in Uppsala. For instance, close similarities with regard to facial features - elongated proportions, prominent foreheads, tiny eyes, noses and mouths - can be observed in the right figure supporting the royal coat-of-arms (Fig. A.4.16; the left one has the head replaced). Nonetheless, some of its parts are highly unusual. It applies in particular to the effigial slab. It has most likely been executed shortly before shipment to Sweden, probably by one of Willem's collaborators or assistants. As has already been pointed by Wardzyński, it shares a number of similarities with several other works executed in Gdańsk in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for instance the slab of the Oleski family in Pieniążkowo and the epitaph of Jan Konopacki in St. Nicolas church in Gdańsk. However, it does not seem to have been executed by the same artist. An analogy within van den Blocke's circle is also provided by the effigy of Jędrzej Noskowski in Maków Mazowiecki, despite the latter's lesser artistic quality. The Bielke figure shares some similarities with it, in particular with regard to carving of facial features, as well as armour and its details. (Cat. C.2).

Plain elements of the structure could be made already in Sweden.



Fig. A.5.1 – General view



Fig. A.5.2 – Placement of the effigial slab

Fig. A.5.3 – Standing putto

Fig. A.5.4 – Effigial slab, detail



Fig. A.5.5 – Figure of *Fides*

Fig. A.5.6 – Figure of *Caritas*

Fig. A.5.7 – Figure of *Spes*

## A. 6 - Design for an altar for the collegiate church in Zamość

Lost; known only from a written source

1605

**History:** Design for unspecified altar in the collegiate church in Zamość has been executed by Willem van den Blocke before 17 November 1605, when he was paid 50 florins by Samuel Knut on behalf of Bishop Jerzy Zamoyski. As indicated by the document, van den Blocke personally visited the town. It is uncertain whether this design has been put into practice, and - if so - by whom. If executed, the altar would have been removed from the church in late eighteenth century.

### **Bibliography:**

Herbst 1939, p. 114–115; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 297; Hornung 1959a, p. 109-110; Gębarowicz 1962, p. 284–286; Kowalczyk 1968, p. 34, 46; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Kowalczyk 1980, p. 262; Kowalczyk 1983, p. 51; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Zarębska 1998, p. 81; Badach 2004, p. 63-64; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322; Złat 2008, p. 242

### **Source information:**

After Herbst 1939: [on 17 November 1605 Samuel Knut delivered 50 florins to] *Wilhelmowi von Blok sculptorowi w nagrodę drogi i pracy około rysowania wizerunku ołtarza do wielkiego kościoła Nowo Zamoyskiego z rozkazania Je/go/ M/oś/ci Xiędza Biskupa Chełmskiego.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Source information referring to the design has been discovered and published by Herbst. Kowalczyk, who studied history of Zamość collegiate and Chancellor Jan Zamoyski's patronage, believed the altar in question was destined for the chancellor's funerary chapel. However, although Kowalczyk may be correct, it cannot be ruled out that the design was connected with some other altar in the church, perhaps even the main one. Also, it seems likely that it has been commissioned by Jan Zamoyski himself, since payment has been made shortly after his death. The words 'z rozkazania [...] Biskupa Chełmskiego' (by order of bishop of Chełm) seem to refer to payment rather than commission.

## A. 7 - Design drawing for a crown

Berlin, Staatliche Museen – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett

Between 1590 and 1610?

No. KdZ 10336

White paper, ink grey, blue, yellow

321 x 278 mm

### Inscriptions:

*Wilhelm vond Blocke / bilthawer*

Later:

*N 43, 138, N° 40*

*Wilhelm von dem Block /K. d. Z. 10336*

*Die böhmische Krone*

*No. 218 1 Sg [Silbergroschen]*

Stamp of the royal Prussian collection from the middle of the nineteenth century

**History:** Purpose and early history of the drawing remain unknown. It belonged to the royal Prussian collection already in the middle of the nineteenth century.

### Bibliography:

Bock 1921, 1, p. 115, no 10336; Braun 1931; Tylicki 2005, p. 93-94, 141-142, no. II s 1; J.Kriegseisen 2007, p. 118, note 34.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Braun believed that the drawing represented design for a crown of Emperor Rudolph II, possibly made as an entry for competition finally won by Jan Vermeyen in 1602. In 2005 Jacek Tylicki argued that it may rather be a design for a crown of one of the consorts of King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland: Anna (crowned in 1592) or Constantia (crowned in 1605). Finally, in 2007 Jacek Kriegseisen suggested a possible link between the design and a crown supposedly ordered by the future Tsar Boris Gudunov in Prague c. 1600. Although this proposition is not plausible, the link between the design and the so-called 'Muscovite crown' cannot be rejected entirely. However, the most plausible appears to be the hypothesis presented by Tylicki, especially given van den Blocke's relations with the court of Sigismund Vasa.

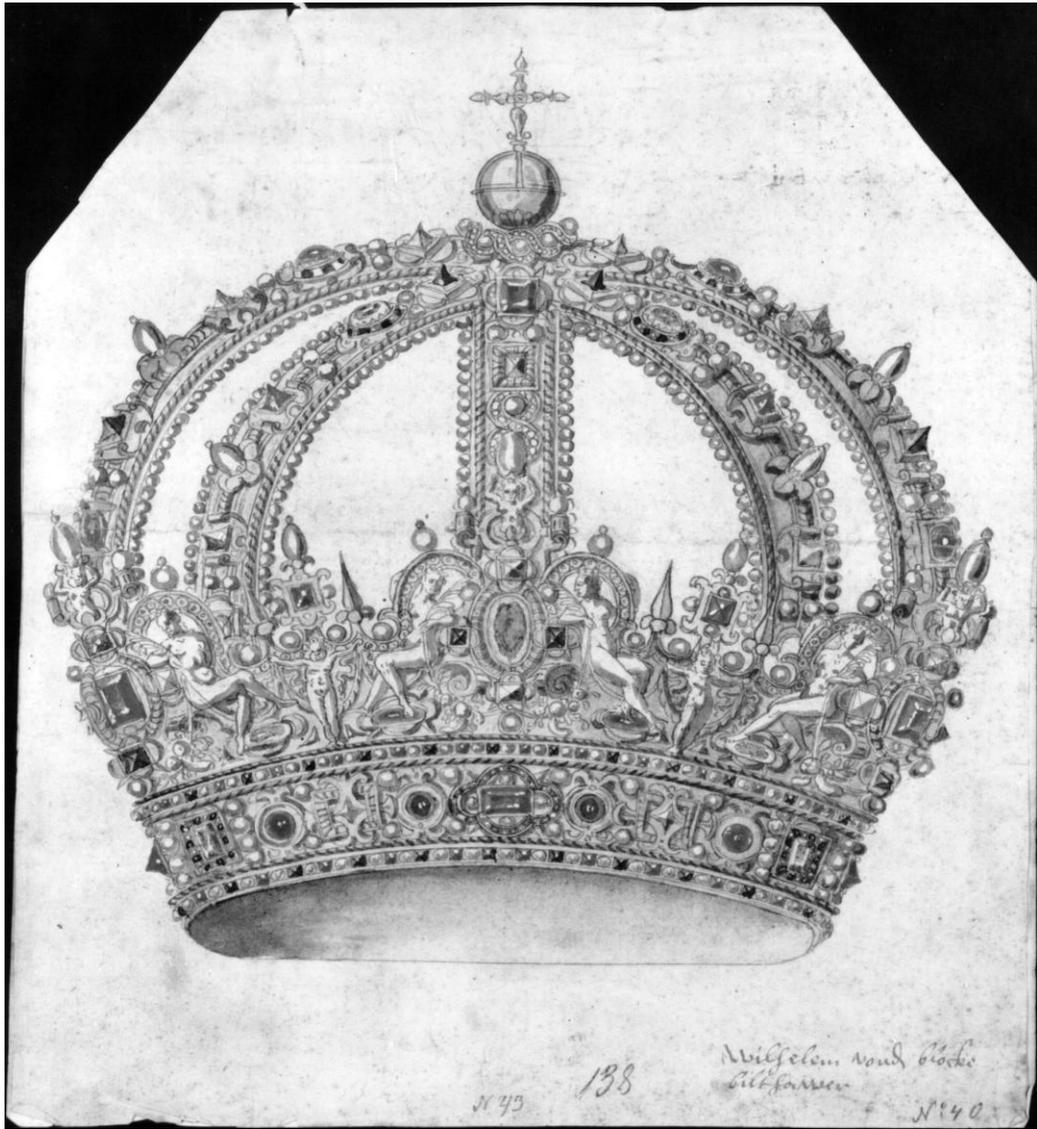


Fig. A.7.1 - General view

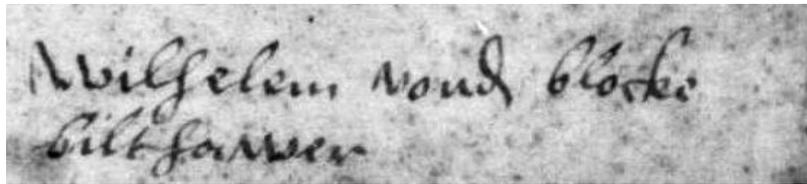


Fig. A.7.2 – Willem van den Blocke's signature

## **Catalogue B**

**Works plausibly attributable to Willem van den Blocke and his studio**

## B. 1 - Epitaph of Johann Brandes and Dorothea Schöpfer

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig), St. Mary Church, southern nave  
c. 1586

Structure made of sandstone, column shafts made of Rance limestone, figural and ornamental details made of alabaster

Structure painted to imitate black limestone, alabaster details partially polychromed and gilded

Wall epitaph constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* with entablature and supports, set against flat substructure in form of simplified strapwork cartouche. Its structure is three-partite. Lower part in form of a simplified strapwork cartouche with large tondo with coat-of-arms. It is divided from the central zone by richly decorated sarcophagus-like moulding bound by elongated consoles. Central zone of the epitaph consists of large inscription panel flanked by two caryatides, placed on the axes of consoles, and a pair of Ionic columns. Two-partite upper zone is separated by entablature with accentuated cornice. Its lower section consists of two niches framing bust effigies of the deceased flanked by three standing female figures and two putti. Upper section, separated by entablature, consists of a strapwork cartouche with figure of death, flanked by two obelisks and crowned with winged skull and hourglass.

Ornamental decoration consists of acanthus scroll (moulding), strapwork cartouches, clusters of fruit, eagles, female and lion masks and cherub heads.

### Inscription:

In the lower zone: 1586

In the lower zone: *In terries labor est, requies in morte. Fide spes / nititur, in coelis vita perrenis erit*

In the central zone: *DOMINUS / JOHANNES / BRANDES / Inclitae huius Civitatis Proconsul Domini Dethardi / Brandes Senatoris et Dorotheae Filiae Domini Matthiae / Cimmermanni Proconsulis legitimus filius. / IN HANC LUCEM PRODIIT. / Anno partae salutis M.D.III: Ianuarii die XXIX. qui ducta A<sup>o</sup>.M.D / XXXII Hedwige Dom: Georgii Proiten Senatoris filia exea Dorotheam / Elizabetham Hedwigem Barbaram Annam Johannem Catharinam / Georgium Mariam Dorotheam II<sup>M</sup> et Elizabetham II<sup>M</sup> procreavit. Eaque / Anno M.D.XLIX pie defuncta alteram Dorotheam Domini Geor- / gii Scheperi Senatoris filiam, primo Georgio Klick [cui Georgium filium] deinde Domino Iohanni Cirenbergio senatori / [cui Iohan : Henricum et Danielem peperit] nuptam, sibi matri- / monio Anno M.D.L.I unxit et ex hac Dethardum Brigittam / Iohan : Schwartzwalt iunctam Gerhardum et Matthiam genuit / vir nobilis et amplissimus : Et ut avita dignitate ita / propriis virtutibus conspicuus, in Senatam coopta- / tus A<sup>o</sup> Gratiae M.D. XXXVIII. cumque prudentia et / rerum gerendarum peritia emineret A<sup>o</sup> M.D.XLVIII. / AD PROCONSULAREM DIGNITATEM EVESTUS EST / cui duce virtute comite fortuna utramque vero Divina Gratia / gubernante XXIX annis cum laude praefuit / tandem vero annis satur curisque et laboribus fractus Anno M.D. / LXXVII. April die XXVIII aetatis vero LXXIII curr: / VITAM HANC MISERAM CUM BEATA IMMORTALITATE COMMUTAVIT / quem anno subsequenti M.D.LXXVIII Maii die XIII. / DOROTHEA CONIUNX / Foemina virtutum matronalium laude clariss<sup>a</sup> annum LXIII Aeta- / tis agens pie et ipsa in Christo obdormiens subsecuta est / quibus ut publice de repub: et bonis omnibus. Ita privatim dese / singulis bene meritis parentibus pietatis et perennis / desiderii monumentum liberi moerentes. PP.*

In the upper zone: *Mors scepra ligonibus aequat*

Next to figures: *Fides, Spes, Quies, Immortalitas, Labor*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to the epitaph are known. According to the inscription on the epitaph itself, it has been finished in 1586. Almost certainly, it has been commissioned immediately after van den Blocke's arrival in Gdańsk in 1582/1584. Its commissioners must have been closely

related to the deceased; however, hypothesis that the epitaph was commissioned by Johann Speimann, forwarded by Sikorska and Grzybkowska, is unwarranted. The epitaph was slightly damaged in 1945 and renovated in 1998.

### **Bibliography:**

*Curicke 1687*, p. 316; *Frisch*, p. 169-172; Hirsch 1850b, p. 229; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 15; *Sesja* 1955, p. 185; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 286-287, fig. 3; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 64-66; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Cieślak 1983, p. 305, fig. 13; Łoziński 1992, p. 393, fig. 103; Cieślak 1992, p. 27, 29-30, 36-37, 40, 53, 61, 69-70, 72, 133-134, 148, fig. 14a-c; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 99; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Grzybkowska 1995, p. 101; Grzybkowska 1997a, p. 127; Wozniński 1997, p. 118; Cieślak 1998, p. 38, 43, 45, 61, fig. 18a-c; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Sulewska 2000, passim; Zapolska 2000, p. 107; KZSwP, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 109, fig. 882, 887, 891; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387, fig. 9; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322, 349, fig. 9; Zlat 2008, p. 241; Wardzyński 2009, p. 433-444, fig. 3

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Surprisingly, the Brandes epitaph attracted limited scholarly attention. Only its iconography has to some extent been discussed by Cieślak, who analyzed it in the context of sepulchral art in early modern Gdańsk. The epitaph has been given to van den Blocke by Krzyżanowski in 1958. His argumentation was based on formal affinities of its ornamental decoration and figural sculpture with other works attributed to the master. In particular, Krzyżanowski pointed to similarities with decoration of the Stroband epitaph in Toruń and the Tarnowski monument in Łowicz. Same author stressed the importance of the ducal epitaphs in Königsberg, executed by Floris, for the epitaph's design.

Architectural structure, figural sculpture and ornamental decoration of the epitaph clearly indicate van den Blocke's authorship. Figural decoration of the epitaph displays close affinity to that of the monuments of Duchess Elisabeth and Johan III Vasa, both confirmed works by the artist. In particular, the two caryatides display formal affinities with female symbolic figures in Königsberg and the *Immortalitas* in Uppsala. They are characterized by similar elongated proportions and certain anatomical awkwardness. Similarity can be also seen in the relation between body and clothing, as well as in the shape of drapery. It is instructive to compare, for instance, torsos of the *Immortalitas* in Uppsala and the *Spes* from the Brandes epitaph. Both present sharp, multiple curves of the 'wet' drapery, with characteristic angular bends in the lower parts of abdomen. Judging by existing photographs, similar characteristics were present in some of the figures in Königsberg, especially the personification of *Quies*. Equally similar is elaboration of such details as eyes, fingers, feet and the like. On the other hand, facial features of Uppsala *Immortalitas*, somewhat softer, with heavy-lidded eyes and full lips with curious smile, in general seem closer to these of the smaller figures in the upper zone of the Brandes epitaph. Overall qualities of these figures and their details indicate that they have been in all probability executed by Willem van den Blocke himself, possibly with some help from his assistants.

Architectural structure of the epitaph, in particular form of the central aedicule as well as such details as entablature, moulding dividing lower and central zone and elongated consoles, show close affinity to other works attributable to the van den Blocke studio: the Blemke, Stroband and von Bodeck epitaphs. Furthermore, it shares similar composition of the upper zone with the Blemke epitaph. Thus, the Brandes epitaph belongs to a highly uniform group of epitaphs erected in Royal Prussia in the 1580's and 1590's, attributable to van den Blocke and his studio.



Fig. B.1.1 – General view



Fig. B.1.2 – Bust of Johann Brandes



Fig. B.1.3 – Foliate scroll



Fig. B.1.4 – Figure of *Fides*



Figs. B.1.5 – Figure of *Spes*



Fig. B.1.6 – Figure of *Quies*



Fig. B.1.7 – Figure of *Immortalitas*



Fig. B.1.8 – Capital



Fig. B.1.9 – Obelisk

## B. 2 - Sepulchral monument of Christopher von Dohna

Denmark, Odense, cathedral, choir

c. 1586

Sandstone

Entire structure is ptochyromed, with many elements gilded. Black, red and grey polychromy imitates black and red limestone as well as alabaster.

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its structure is three-partite. Lower zone consists of sarcophagus-like moulding and large inscription tablet. Central zone is built of elliptical arch supported by caryatides with Ionic capitals, with spandrels decorated with putti. In its centre is kneeling figure of the deceased shown in profile, clad in armour. Upper zone, separated by entablature, consists of pediment in form of elongated volute. It is decorated with depiction of cavalry engagement, originally flanked by Roman soldiers and mourning putti. The monument is crowned by a single sitting female figure in a niche.

Ornamental decoration of the epitaph consists of clusters of fruit, lion masks, cherub head and foliate volutes.

### Inscriptions:

On the main inscription panel:

*Christophoro Burgravio à Dhona, Regni hūiūs inclūti Senatori Excercitiūs Regii Dūctori / Illūstriūm maiorūm imaginibūs, Liberaliūm artium ornamento, Rei militaris gloria, / qūa domi qūa foris Nobilissimo / Religione in DEUM, Fide in Regem, Pietate in Patriam Sūosq, Laūdatissimo, / Ad fastigium Coronae immarcessibilis et aeternitatis gloriam aūitis passibūs grassanti / Ao aet XLIV ex hac in calestem vitam eūocato Achat: et Fabian: F:F:M:H:M:PP*

On the apron:

*Her Christoff Burgraff Dhona K:M: zu Dennemarken / Reichs Rath und Obrister. Ein Gottesfürchtiger gelarte / und Manhafter Her ist an die Pest sehlichlich / in Gott entschlaffen zu Newburg ao 1574 seines alters 44 Jhn / Erwartet alhie eine Christfrøliche Aufferstehung.*

On the pulpit:

*Ezechiel / XXXVII*

Next to symbolic figures:

*Labor Quies Immortalitas*

Next to coats-of-arms

Der Bvrggrafen vnd Herren von Dhona / Der von Grevsstingk / Der Hern von Czemen / Der v. Pawerssen. svnst v. Mercklichen Radt genant

Der von Krumna / Der von Altenstein / Der von Basen / Der von Meren

**History:** The monument has been commissioned in 1585 by two brothers of the deceased, Achatius and Fabian von Dohna. Its cost was 340 thalers, including 40 thalers for the master's assistants who travelled from Gdańsk to Odense in order to assemble the monument. Even though Achatius refused to pay his share – at least according to Fabian's words - his name appears in the inscription along that of Fabian von Dohna. The epitaph received finishing touches between 1622 and 1644, when a painting showing *Vision of Ezekiel* and possibly some of the inscriptions was added. Two figures of Roman soldiers and two figures of putti from the upper zone have been removed after 1844.

### **Bibliography:**

*Bircherods 1679*; Mumme 1844, p. 131; Krollman 1905, p. 56; Krollmann 1914; Wad 1924; Jensen 1953, p. 94; *Sesja* 1955, p. 185; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 282-283, 286; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 55-56; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Johannsen&Johannsen 1990; Johannsen 1995, p. 751-755; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Bömelburg 2001, p. 54-55; Johannsen 2006; Johannsen 2010; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 79

### **Sources:**

After *Selbstbiographie des Burggrafen Fabian zu Dohna [...] aus dem fürstlichen dohnaischen Hausarchive zu Schlobitten*, published in Krollman 1905, p. 56 and Krollmann 1914, p. 54:  
*Zu Danzig hatte ich für meinem Bruder, Herrn Christoffen sehligen ein Epitaphium machen lassen. Der Bildhauer war ein Holländer. Herr Achatius wusste es wol und wollte viel Bildwerk von Crucifiren in desselbe werk haben; der Bildhauer wollte keines machen, da sagt der Bruderm Herr Achatius, so wollte er seines Theiles nichts zu dem Epitaphio geben. Also musst ich den Kosten allein uf mich nehmen, unangesehen ich zwo Reisen, dem Bruder zum besten, in Dennemark gethan ohn einzige Hülfe, sondern allein uf meine eigenen Unkosten. Das Epitaphium kostet 300 Thaler. Und 40 Thaler musst ich einem Gesellen geben, den in Dennemark zog und es zu Odensche, da der Bruder sehliger, Herr Christoph, begraben liegt, ufsetze.*

Also an illustration by Jacob Bircherod in *Monumenta et Inscriptiones Otthinienses Uberioribus Historicis et Genealogicis illustratae notis* from c. 1679 (published in Johannsen&Johannsen 1990, fig. 4; see below, fig. B.2.6)

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Krollmann in 1914. Krollmann, who published the above quoted memories of Fabian von Dohna, based his hypothesis on this source as well as on the epitaph's formal affinity with the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. The latter fact is of a considerable importance, since he had a possibility to study both monuments. Attribution to van den Blocke has been generally accepted by scholars. Only Krzyżanowski in his unpublished dissertation gave it to Frederick Vroom (Krzyżanowski 1966). However, Vroom was active in Gdańsk as engineer and architect - he cooperated with van den Blocke on the High Gate – and nothing is known about his sculptural works. Krzyżanowski's attempt to link him with several works of sculpture executed in Gdańsk in late sixteenth century is purely speculative and must be therefore rejected. In 1990 and 2006 van den Blocke's authorship of the von Dohna monument has been asserted by Johannsen, who published two crucial studies, thoroughly analyzing the epitaph and its wider context.

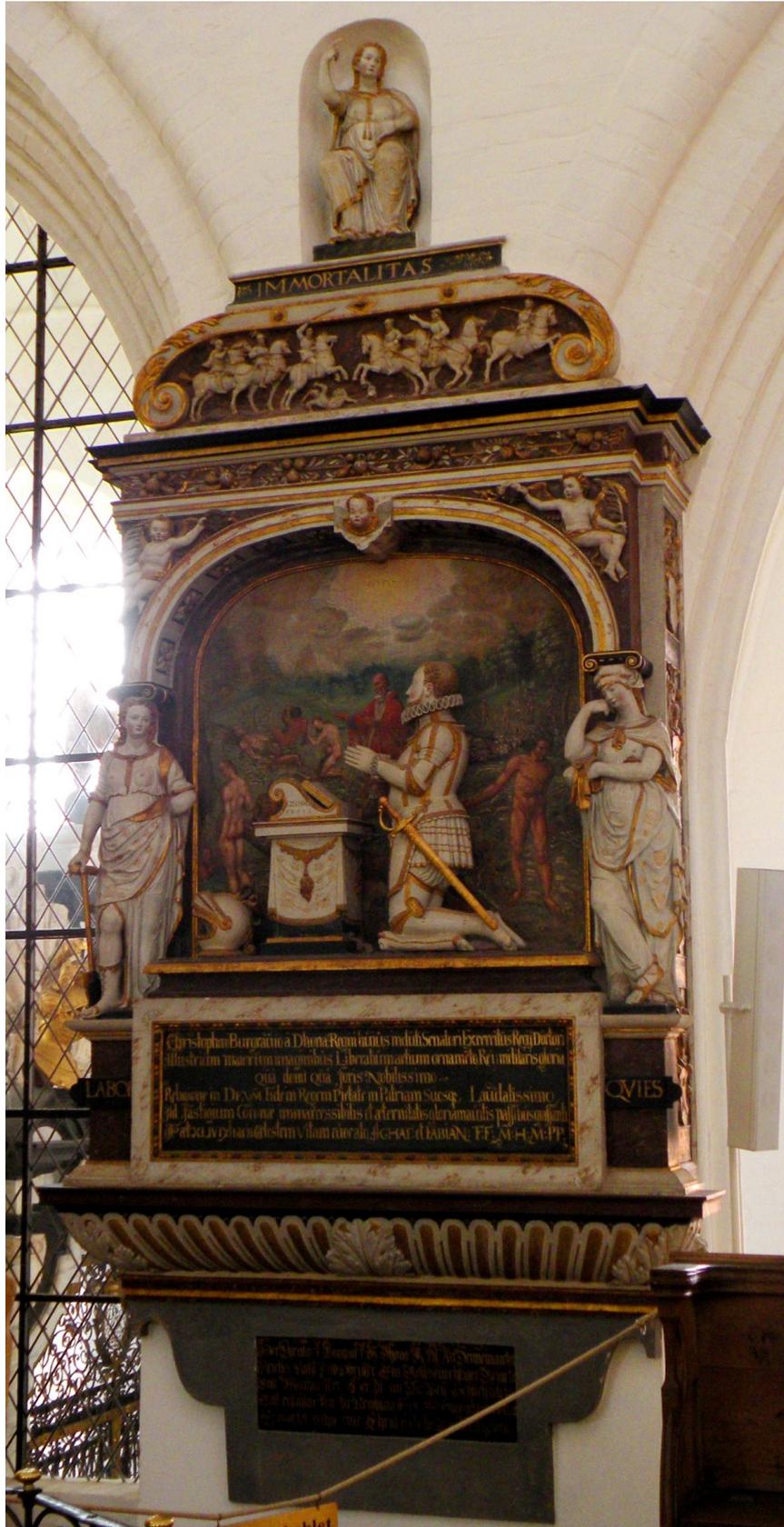
Considering formal characteristics of the epitaph as well as circumstances of its commissioning, it can be given to van den Blocke's atelier. In particular, its figural decoration shows close affinity to other works executed by the studio, especially the monument of Johan III Vasa in Uppsala, as well as the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk and the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. The figure of *Immortalitas* crowning the epitaph strongly resembles the analogical figure in Uppsala. Similarly, the figure of *Spes* is alike the one in the Brandes epitaph. What is more, sculptural rendering of these figures closely resembles that of the figures decorating the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. In fact, they may be give to a single sculptor, perhaps one of van den Blocke's assistants.

Some details of the effigy, such as hair, could have been executed by the master himself. They display affinity with some works attributable the studio, such as the effigies of Mikołaj Kos, Andreas Báthory and Jerzy Oleski. However, the entire figure appears to have been executed by one of the master's assistants. Certain similarity, especially with regard to rendering of armour decoration, is

visible in the effigies of Jędrzej Noskowski in Maków Mazowiecki and Ture Bielke in Linköping , as well as that of Piotr Konopacki in Malbork.

Architectural structure of the monument differs from other works by Willem van den Blocke. One of the unusual motives is the elliptical arch in the central *aedicule*, resting directly on Ionic capitals placed on the Caryatid's heads. Also the pediment in form of an elongated volute is unique in the sculptor's oeuvre. Nonetheless, several motives present in the von Dohna epitaph, such as the sarcophagus-like moulding and the form of the entablature dividing central and upper zones, are reminiscent of other works by Willem van den Blocke.

Considering all these factors, it seems that although the epitaph in question has almost certainly been created in the van den Blocke studio, most of its parts should be given to the master's assistants.



B.2.1 – General view



Fig. B.2.2 Figure of *Quies*



Fig. B.2.3 Figure of *Labor*



Fig. B.2.3 Figure of *Immortalitas*



Fig. B.2.5 Sepulchral effigy



Fig. B.2.6 Engraving depicting the epitaph, from *Bircherods 1679*

### B. 3 - Epitaph of Felix and Peter von Damerau

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Św. Wojciech (Sankt Adalbert / Sankt Albrecht) near Gdańsk (Danzig), parish church, northern wall of choir

C. 1587

Red limestone from Oland, portraits and figural decoration made of alabaster (later, perhaps in the nineteenth century, painted dark red); details gilded

c. 165 x 240 cm

Epitaph in form of a simple, rectangular inscription panel. Its upper zone, separated by entablature, consists of rectangular tablet with coat-of-arms crowned by a reclining female figure. It is flanked on either side by medallions with portraits of the deceased shown in profile.

Ornamental decoration of the epitaph consists of cherub head and reeding with foliage.

#### Inscriptions:

On the main panel: *D.O.M. / Felix et Petrus Dameravii a Voianovio fraters germani / Leonhardi Dameravii fe ex Barbara Voinovia suscepti / hoc in loco conditi sunt : quorum prior multis virtuti- / bus clarus vita pie et laudabiliter per acta, relictis- / que Ioanne, Petro, Felice ac Catharina nobiliss : / liberis, die VI mensis octobris, Anno Christi M D / LXXII, posterior caelebs, postquam maximam aeta- / tis suae partem, in officiis divi Sigismundi Augusti / Regis Poloniae, cum quo simul educatus fuit, exegit / set tandem ob ipsius in legationib Danica aliorque / exteror principum praeclara merita, praefectura / cravdentinensi fuit, auctus, vitam cum morte comuta / vit die XXIII mensis Martii Anno M D LXXVIII quibus / Elizabetha Lokrana, amore et [?] observantia, erga coniuge / charissimum, et grata recordatione erga levir, cum lachri- / mis hoc monument. P. C. A<sup>o</sup>. a parta salute M D L XXXVII*

Under the left medallion: *Felix Dameravii a Voianovio*

Under the right medallion: *Petrus Dameravii a Voianovio*

Under the symbolic figure: *Quies*

**History:** No documents pertaining to history of the epitaph are known. According to the inscription, it has been erected by Elisabeth von Lokken, wife of Felix von Damerau, in 1587.

#### Bibliography:

Heise 1884, p. 83; Lemke; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 44; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 57, 145; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 549; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 86, fig. 21

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The epitaph has been discussed for the first time by Krzyżanowski in 1966, who gave it to Frederik Vroom. However, this attribution – similarly to others made by this author with regard to Vroom - is not plausible. The epitaph has only recently been reintroduced into scholarly literature by Michał Wardzyński, who suggested van den Blocke's authorship. This attribution appears to be correct. Most importantly, figural parts of the epitaph display close affinity with those of the contemporary epitaph of Johann Brandes in Gdańsk (1586). Sculptural rendering of physiognomic details and clothing, such as ruff, of the portraits is very similar to that of the bust of Johann Brandes. The same applies to the reclining symbolic figure crowning the epitaph, whose features closely resemble those of figures embellishing the upper zone of the Brandes epitaph. In particular, rendering of her physiognomic details and hair point to the sculptor responsible for the Gdańsk figures, while the drapery could have been left to a less qualified assistant. Simple form of the epitaph indicate acquaintance with Antwerp designs of the second half of the sixteenth century.



B.3.1 – General view



B.3.2 – Figure of *Quies*

## B. 4 - Epitaph of Christian Stroband, Johann Stroband, Margaretha Esken and Anna Stoetten

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Toruń (Thorn), St. Mary's Church, southern nave  
1590

Sandstone

Polychromed and gilded. Black and white polychromy of the structure imitates black limestone and alabaster.

340 x 355 cm

Wall epitaph constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* built of entablature and supports, set against flat substructure in form of simplified strapwork cartouche. Its structure is three-partite. Lower part in form of a simplified scrollwork cartouche with two juxtapositioned inscription panels, with coats-of arms in tondos below. Lower zone is divided from the central one by moulding bound by three elongated consoles. Central zone of the epitaph consists of two large, juxtapositioned inscription panels flanked by two caryatides and divided by a standing symbolic figure (lost). Upper section, separated by entablature with decorative frieze, in form of a strapwork cartouche with coat-of-arms in large tondo. It is decorated with two (originally three) standing and two sitting female figures. Ornamental decoration of the epitaph consists above all of clusters of fruits, acanthus scrolls, wreaths, winged cherub heads and a shell.

**Inscriptions** (published in *Dachnowski*, p. 411; *Zernecke 1725*, p. 152–154; *Semrau 1892*, p. 28–29):

On the apron: *Quorum piis minibus / H.M.P. / Anno nati servatoris / CIC.IC.XC*

On the lower left inscription panel: *Anna Stoetten / Christiani Stroband coniux / Gedani nata / A.S. M.CCCC.XC. Prid. ID. Ian. / Matrona / pia et pudica / obiit A. N. M. D. LX. VII. Id. Febr.*

On the lower right inscription panel: *Margaretha Esken / Francis. Cos. F.Ioh. Strob. uxor / Nata A. S. M.D.XV. VI Id. Iul. / Foemina / castae religiosae que pietatis / moritur in chro / An. M. D. LXIII. XVI. Cal. Iun.*

On the upper left inscription panel: *Christianus Stroband / Iohannis F. Henrici N. / ex familia / antiquae nobilitatis / in Marchia Brandenburg: / natus A. S. / M.CCCC.LXXXII.VIII.Cal.IAN / conditori / domus suae in Borussia, / Vir in rebus gerendis / pacis belloque temporib. / strenuus: / Regi et civibus / acceptus et honoratus: / Reb. Suis dispositis / placide excessit / Anno Rep. Sal. / M.D.XXXI.IV Cal. Mart*

On the upper right inscription panel: *Iohannes Stroband / Christiani F. / natus A.S. / M.D.XI.VII. idu xbr. / Iudicii nobilit: Culm. / et civilis apud Toruniens: / Assesor: / Senator: Consul: Burggrabius / Regius: / Publ. munerib. Ann. LII. / domi forisque / exercitatus / virtutis et integritatis / nomine / Principib. Suis. Civib. Vicinis / carus: / expiravit pie A.S. / M.D.LXXXV.XVI. Cal. IXBR*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the monument are known. According to the inscription, the epitaph was erected in 1590. It has been commissioned by burgomaster Heinrich Stroband in accordance with the last will of his father, Johann Stroband (according to *Semrau 1892*, p. 28). The epitaph has probably been damaged at some later point (perhaps during the Swedish wars in the mid-seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries), since some of the elements are missing (statue of *Immortalitas* and obelisks in the upper zone), while others (central statue of Amor/Caritas; the latter removed probably in 1989) have been replaced by wooden ones. The epitaph was renovated in 1989.

### **Bibliography:**

*Zernecke 1725*, p. 152-154; *Wernicke 1836*, p. 273; Neuer Führer, p. 36–37; Semrau 1892, p. 28-29, fig. 4; Heise 1889, p. 290-291; Uebrick 1903, p. 56; Führer durch Thorn, p. 45–46; Makowski 1932, p. 96–97; Chmarzyński 1933, p. 526; Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, p. 11–12, 15, fig. 15; Chmarzyński 1936, p. 384; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 77; Krzyżanowki 1958, p. 287; Puciata–Pawłowska 1959, p. 218-220, fig. 25; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 67; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 590; Gumowski 1970, p. 54, 164; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Rietz 1972, p. 34; Kozakiewiczowa 1978, p. 148; Krakowiecka–Górecka 1990, p. 287–289; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Łoziński 1992, p. 480; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 622; Gołąb 1995, p. 106; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Kardas 1997, p. 173; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Domasłowski&Jarzewicz 1998, p. 134–136, fig. 38; Smoliński 2004, p. 101, fig. 12; Birecki 2005, p. 290; Birecki 2007, p. 329–330, fig. 65; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322; Kluczajd&Tylicki 2009, p. 199; Sylwestrzak&Kachnic 2010, p. 250; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 79

**Attribution history and author’s remarks:** The epitaph has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Krzyżanowski in 1958. He based his on similarities between architectural and ornamental details embellishing this works and those in the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs in Gdańsk as well as the monuments of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz and Andreas Báthory in Barczewo.

Architectural structure, figural sculpture and ornamental decoration of the epitaph indicate van den Blocke’s authorship. As to the former, the upper zone of the epitaph closely resembles – and predates – analogical element in the Bielke monument in Linköping. Side panels decorated with foliage and volutes are akin to those flanking central part of the Báthory monument in Barczewo. Finally, the entablature resembles that of the Berzeviczy monument in Lisnowo. The Strobant epitaph also shows close affinity to the Brandes, von Bodeck and – especially – Blemke epitaphs. It is so especially with regard to the architectural form of the central *aedicula*, as well as entablature and such details as the moulding dividing lower and central zone as well as the elongated consoles. Also such details as decorative shell in the lower zone, identical to that in the Blemke epitaph, indicate the same artist.

Next to affinity of architectural structure and ornamental decoration, particularly important is figural decoration. Similarity may be observed between figures decorating the Strobant epitaph and some of the sculpture in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. It is apparent especially if we compare the figure of *Temperantia* in Toruń with that of *Patientia* in the spandrel of the main arch of the Königsberg monument. Rendering of clothing, especially in the chest area, as well as physiognomic details indicate a certain degree of relation between these figures. Furthermore, close analogy can be observed between figural decoration of the Strobant epitaph and that of the Blemke and von Dohna memorials as well as the figure of *Caritas* in Chełmno. Rendering of body and drapery as well as physiognomic details indicated that these works have been executed by a single studio, perhaps even by the same artist.



Fig. B.4.1 – General view



Fig. B.4.2 – Figure of *Spes*

Fig. B.4.3 – Figure of *Fides* © Zakład Muzealnictwa UMK/ Waclaw Górski

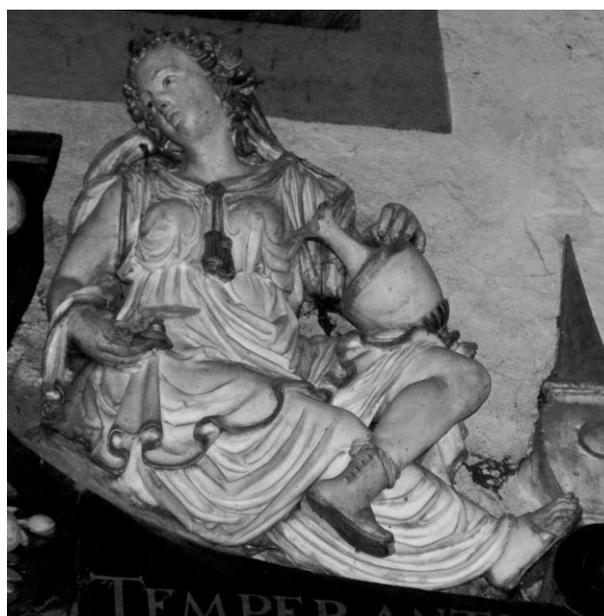
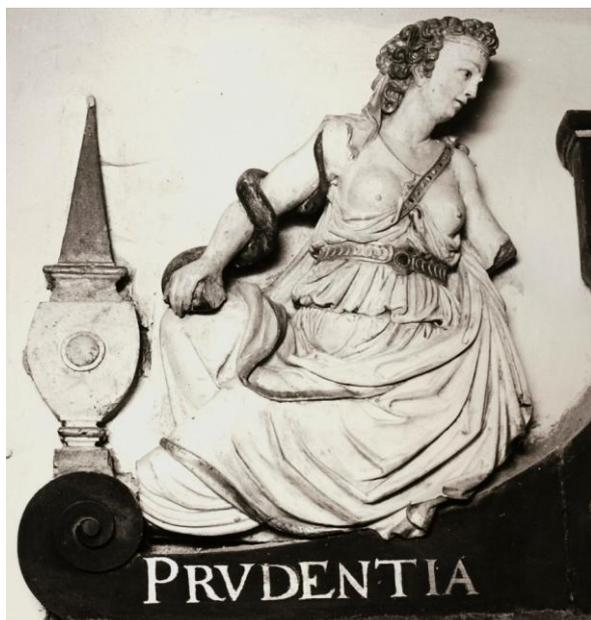


Fig. B.4.4 – Figure of *Prudentia* © Zakład Muzealnictwa UMK/Waclaw Górski

Fig. B.4.5 – Figure of *Temperantia*

## B. 5 - Epitaph of Eduard Blemke

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig), St. Mary church, southern transept  
Sandstone

Polychromed and gilded. Black and red polychromy of the structure imitates black and red Mosan limestone, while the grey polychromy of figural and ornamental details imitates alabaster. Details of figural decoration and coats-of-arms have other colours as well.

c. 750 x 290 cm

Wall epitaph constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* with entablature and supports, set against flat substructure in form of simplified strapwork cartouche. Its structure is three-partite. Lower part in form of a simplified scrollwork cartouche with putti, in it are one large and two smaller inscription tablets. It is divided from the central zone by moulding bound by elongated consoles. Central zone of the epitaph consists of a large relief scene flanked by decorative Ionic columns, with characteristic pierced side arch framing allegorical figures connected by moulding on each side. Two-partite upper zone is separated from the central one by entablature with accentuated cornice. Its lower section consists of tondos with inscriptions separated and flanked by two male and one female terms, with open decorative element crowned by standing winged putto on each side. Upper section, divided by entablature with decorative frieze, in form of a strapwork cartouche with emblematic image, obelisks and inscriptions. The epitaph is crowned by a skeleton dancing on human heads (the latter element lost).

Rich ornamental decoration of the epitaph consists above all of foliate figures, strapwork cartouches, rich clusters of fruit, eagles, protruding animal heads, lion masks and cherub heads.

### Inscriptions:

Partially published in *Starowolski 1655*, p. 353

In the lower zone: *Spectabilis vir Edwardus Blemke natus est Anno / Christi M. D. XXXVI feria sexta post reminiscere / matrimonio sibi iunxit spectati et honesti viri / Gregorii a Barthen filiam sophiam natam Anno / M. D. XLIII dominica palmarum: ex qua tredecim pro / creavit liberos: in ordinem scabinorum cooptatus est / Anno M. D. LXXXI die aprilis XIII: tandem obdormivit / Anno Chrsti M.D.XCIII die XXIX Marth aetatis suae LVII*

In the lower zone, to the left: *O ossa arida : audite verbum / Iehovae : sic dicit dominator / Iehova de ossibus istis / ecce ego spiritum in / vos mittam vivatis.*

In the lower zone, to the right: *Et dabo Vobis nervos: et / carne vos tegam et cute vos / operiam: et addam Vobis spiri- / tum: et vivetis ac cognos- / cetis: quod ego sim Iehova*

Under the central scene: *Ezech XXXVII*

In the frieze: *Anno 1591*

In the upper zone, to the left: *Roma XIII / Sive vivimus domino / vivimus: sive morimur/ domino morimur: / sive igitur vivamus / sive moriamur / domini / sumus*

In the upper zone, to the right: *2 Corinth V / Scimus nos. si terrestri / huius domus nostrae / tabernaculum dissolutum / fuerit, aedificium ex Deo / habituros. Domum non / manu factam: sed aeternam in coelis.*

In the upper zone: *Ut semina sicca virescunt / sic corpora nostra resurgent*

In the upper zone: *Mors aequat cum paupere regem*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the monument are known. According to inscription the epitaph has been erected in 1591. Therefore, it must have been commissioned by Blemke himself before his death in 1593. The epitaph, especially its upper part, has been strongly

damaged in 1945 and subsequently restored. The restoration involved using original elements; however, some of them, such as the heads in the upper zone (fig. B.5.5) have been lost. The epitaph was renovated in 2000.

### **Bibliography:**

*Starowolski 1655*, p. 353; *Frisch*, p. 50-51; Brausewetter 1899, fig. 11; Dehio 1906, p. 103; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 15; Sesja 1955, p. 185; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 2887-289, fig. 4-5; Drost 1963, p. 160-161, fig. 53; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 68-70; Krzyżanowski 1971a, 180; Karpowicz 1974, p. 69; Karpowicz 1975, fig. 24; Cieślak, 1983, p. 305, fig. 3; Łoziński 1992, p. 393, fig. 105; Cieślak 1992, p. 59, 148, fig. 15; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 99; Cieślak 1993, p. 31-32, 67, 71, 74, 78, fig. 20a-b; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Grzybkowska 1995, p. 101, fig. 10; Grzybkowska 1997a, p. 125, fig. 4; Grzybkowska 1997b, p. 57; Woźniński 1997, p. 118-119, fig. 12; Cieślak 1998, p. 20, 53, 56, fig. V, 21a-b; Chrzanowski 1998a, 1, p. 32, fig. 14; Sulewska 2000, passim; Zapolska 2000, p. 106; KZSwP, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 110, fig. 881, 886, 890; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 79, 86

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The epitaph has been given to van den Blocke by Krzyżanowski in 1958. In his unpublished dissertation, Krzyżanowski pointed to an inscription 'WVB', considering it van den Blocke's signature. This attribution has generally been accepted by later scholars. Only Grzybkowska (Grzybkowska 1997b) unconvincingly attributed the central relief scene to Abraham van den Blocke, dating it to 1598.

Architectural structure, figural sculpture and ornamental decoration of the epitaph are reminiscent of other works attributable to the van den Blocke's studio. Figures of putti in the upper zone closely resemble those in the monument of Johan III Vasa in Uppsala, predating them by some five years. Some of the figures in the central scene, especially that of the prophet Ezekiel, are reminiscent of the figure of St. John in the Łowicz *Crucifixion*. Symbolic figures are similar to those in the Brandes epitaph in Gdańsk and – in particular - the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. It seems, in fact, that the latter have been created by the same sculptor. With the Stroband epitaph the work in question also shares such details as the form of moulding dividing the lower and central zone and the decorative shell in the former. The architectural form of the epitaph is reminiscent of other works of this type attributable to the van den Blocke's studio, namely the Brandes, Stroband and von Bodeck epitaphs, even despite the presence of the unique motive of pierced arches.



Fig. B.5.1 – General view



Fig.

B.5.2 *Vision of Ezekiel, central zone*



Fig. B.5.3 – Figure of *Iustitia*



Fig. B.5.4 – Figure of *Prudentia*



Fig. B.5.5 – Figure of death (photo before 1945) ©Bildarchiv Foto-Marburg



Fig. B.5.6 – Ionic column



Fig. B.5.7 – Decorative detail



Fig. B.5.8 – Putto

## B. 6 - Epitaph of Valentin von Bodeck (Boedecker)

Royal Prussia, (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Elbląg (Elbing), St. Nicholas church, north nave  
Before 1594

Sandstone

Polychromed red and grey; gilded

Wall epitaph constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* with entablature and supports, set against flat substructure in form of simplified strapwork cartouche. Its structure is three-partite. Lower part in form of a simplified scrollwork cartouche with large inscription panel. It is divided from the central zone by moulding bound by elongated consoles. Central zone of the epitaph consists of large panel (originally a painted depiction of the Ezekiel vision) surrounded by ornamental frame and flanked by caryatides. It is flanked on each side by putto, tondo with coat-of-arm and decorative volute. Upper zone, separated from the central one by entablature, consists of a small *aedicula* with terms and entablature, flanked by volutes and obelisks. It is crowned with a tondo. In the *aedicula* is an emblematic depiction of a skeleton, in the tondo a sitting female figure in relief.

Ornamental decoration of the epitaph consists of foliate scrolls, decorative volutes, strapwork cartouches, eagles, masks, clusters of fruit and lion heads.

### Inscriptions:

Between lower and central zone (quoted in Zamehl, *Epitaphia*, p. 266): *Arida mox tandem Christo sub Principe vivent / Ossa beata simul discimus ergo mori. Ezech. 30*

In the upper zone: *Mors spes altera vitae*

Unknown localization (in the lower zone?), after Chytraeus 1594, p. 543; Starowolski 1655, p. 375, Zamehl, *Epitaphia*, p. 266 and Fuchs 1821, p. 209: *Memento rebus vanidis diffidere. / Opus, genus, forma, decor, caduca sunt. / Ad ossa nuda mors reducit omnia. / Coelo repostus optimus thesaurus est. / Quem cum Valentinus, Vir omnium optimus, / Bodgerus esset persecutus unice, / Dum viveret, contemneretque, vanida, / pro vanidis aeterna consecutus est. Anno 1575. Die 13. Martij*

After Zamehl, *Epitaphia*, p. 266; Seyler, p. 92 and Dewitz, p. 9v-10: *Anno 1575 d. 23 Mart. Ist in Gott entschlaffen der E. Ehrenweste Herr Valentin Bodecker burgermeister diese gutten Stadt, und 1592 die E. Ursula von Loke sein Hausfrau. Denen Gott Gnade.*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the epitaph are known. It has certainly been created before 1594, when it was mentioned by Chytraeus. It was severely damaged in late 1777, when church vaults collapsed because of a fire, and in 1945; restored afterwards. At that time of the recent restoration new inscription and painted portrait of Bishop Stanislaus Hosius were added.

### Bibliography:

Chytraeus 1594, p. 543; Starowolski 1655, p. 373; Zamehl, *Epitapha*, p. 266; Seyler, p. 92; Dewitz, p. 9v-10; Fuchs 1821, p. 208-210; Dorr 1920, p. 24; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 129; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 66-67; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 590; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Mamuszka 1978, p. 84; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Łoziński 1992, p. 375; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 164; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996a, p. 142-144; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996b p. 266, fig. 47; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Jachnicka 2003, p. 70-71, fig. 18-19; Rynkiewicz-Domino 2005, p. 661-662; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 79

**Source information:**

*Chytraeus 1594, p. 543: Epitaphium Dn. Valentini Bodegeri, ad imaginem ossium redivivorum apud Ezechielem.*

Fuchs 1821, p. 209: *In der Mitte ist eine Tafel mit einem Gemälde, welches unkenntlich geworden, und unter derselben eine schwarze Marmortafel mit dieser Inschrift: Memento rebus vanidis diffidere. Opus, genus, forma, decor, caduca sunt. Ad ossa nuda mors reducit omnia. Coelo repostus optimus thesaurus est. Quem cum Valentinus, Vir omnium optimus, Bodgerus esset persecutus unice, Dum viveret, contemneretque, vanida, pro vanidis aeterna consecutus est.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:**

The epitaph has been given to van den Blocke by Krzyżanowski in 1966. This attribution has been further asserted by Rynkiewicz-Domino, who compared the epitaph with other works created in van den Blocke studio, especially the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs in Gdańsk.

Damage inflicted on the epitaph in 1777 and 1945 prevents more detailed analysis. Nonetheless, various details, such as the Ionic capitals with foliage, indicate van den Blocke's authorship. Furthermore, the caryatides, although severely damaged, are reminiscent of the figures decorating the Brandes, Blemke and Stroband epitaph. Most importantly, however, architectural structure of the epitaph is very similar to that of the abovementioned works.



Fig. B.6.1 General view (after restoration)



Fig. B.6.2 – Detail, before restoration



B.6.3 – Upper zone, after restoration

## B. 7 - Sepulchral monument of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł ‘Sierotka’

Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Poland-Lithuania, today Belarus); Nesvizh (Несвиж, Нясвіж, Niasviž, Nieśwież, Nesvyžius), former Jesuit church, Chapel of the Holy Cross

Between 1588 and 1616

190x338 cm

Sandstone

Wall monument in form of simple *aedicula*. Its lower zone consists of a large inscription panel flanked by rusticated Tuscan pilasters. Upper zone of the monument in form of *aedicula* with Ionic pilasters and entablature. In its centre is an effigy carved in low relief, representing the deceased kneeling and clad in pilgrim robe, with elements of armour lying behind his back. The monument is crowned by simple entablature and triangular pediment, decorated with cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulcher.

### Inscriptions:

On the inscription panel: *Iesu aeternae vitae morientium / Nicola. Christophor. Radziwil, Nicolai et Elisabethae / de Schidlowiec fili., Ioanis nep., Nicolai primi pronep., / Sancti Sepulchri eques et c. / sciens se esse esca. vermiu., in hac lachrimarum valle / vivens sibi posuit. / Monumentum hoc corpus, coelu. animam, posteritas / memoriam, in benedictione servet. / Obiit Anno salutis M.DC.XVI. Mense Febr. die XXVIII aetatis LXVII / Abi viator et pro mortuo ora.*

On the base: *Credo carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam amen*

On the frieze: *Peccantem me quotidie et non me poenitentem / timor mortis conturbat me*

Next to the effigy: *Advena ego sum et peregrinus apud te / sicut omnes patres mei*

Next to the effigy: *Etiamsi occident me in ipso sperabo*

**History:** The monument has been commissioned by Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł himself between 1588 and 1616 (according to Bernatowicz 1998, p. 110 probably between 1588 and 1596; most likely c. 1590). The church has been built by the commissioner himself and served as the family mausoleum.

### Bibliography:

Baliński 1847, p. 283; Syrokomla 1853, p. 91; Iwaszkiewicz 1857, p. 640-642; Kotłubaj 1857, p. 317; Taurogiński 1937, p. 223, 225; Kowalczyk 1973, p. 258; Karpowicz 1974, p. 63; Vysockaja 1983, fig. 161; Bernatowicz 1990, p. 227-249; Bernatowicz 1998, p. 110-120, fig. 106-107; Bernatowicz 2000, p. 65; Liškevičienė 2005, p. 95-96, fig. 60; Wardzyński 2006, p. 197-201, fig. 9-12; Paknys 2008, p. 170-172, 177, fig. 15; Matuškaitė 2009, p. 200-203, fig. 251; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 80

### Sources:

Jan Aland, *Pamięćka JO sławnej pamięci Panu Jegom. P. Mikołajowi Chrzysztofowi Radziwiłłowi...* Wilno 1617, p. 5 (after Bernatowicz 1990, p. 229): *Lat temu 27 [that is c. 1590] jako świętej pamięci oświecone Książę Mikołaj Radziwiłł [...] kościół ten Panu Bogu zbudował, w kościele grób sobie z prostego kamienia postawił.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument in question is certainly the most puzzling work executed within van den Blocke's circle, and its attribution is not definite. Nonetheless, it seems very likely that Willem van den Blocke was involved in its execution, perhaps carving portrait of the deceased; other elements must have been left to his assistants or cooperators. Tadeusz Bernatowicz, author of the first major study devoted to the monument, attributed its design to Giovanni Maria Bernardoni and its execution to stonemason Kacper Fodyga. However, he did not provide any convincing argument in support of this hypothesis. Later on, Michał Wardzyński gave it to Willem

van den Blocke. He based his argument on material used to carve the monument as well as on formal analysis of the effigy. In particular, he mentioned rendering of armour decoration and physiognomic details, pointing to similarities with other works attributed to Willem van den Blocke, including monuments of Andreas Báthory, Piotr Tarnowski, Martin de Berzevicze, Mikołaj Kos and Jędrzej Noskowski.

Although rather brief, Wardzyński's analysis appears to be correct. Most accurate is comparison of Radziwiłł's facial features with those of Mikołaj Kos and - especially - Andreas Báthory. This similarity provides in fact the strongest argument in favour of van den Blocke's authorship. Furthermore, carving of hands, with visible veins, is close to that in the figures of Mikołaj Kos and Krzysztof Kostka, both made of sandstone. Rendering of armour and its decoration – although less refined - is reminiscent of that of Balthazar Báthory, Piotr Tarnowski, Krzysztof Kostka, Jerzy Oleski and Jan Konopacki. This element could have been executed by the master's assistant, according to his design. The same applies to sculptural rendering of the pilgrim robe, represented in sharply carved, flat and geometrical folds. It is reminiscent of several other works attributed here to the studio, especially the figure of Justyna Kos in Oliwa and Zofia Oleska in Pieniążkowo. All these works can be given to one of the assistants employed by van den Blocke.

However, simple architectural structure of the epitaph do not resemble van den Blocke's compositions.



Fig. B.7.1 Sepulchral effigy, detail



Fig. B.7.2 Armour



Fig. B.7.3 General view

## B. 8 - Sepulchral monument of Martin de Berzeviczy (destroyed in 1939)

Ducal Prussia (today Poland), Lisnowo (Leistenau/Lissenow), parish church, choir

1593-1594

Unidentified limestone or polychromed sandstone, alabaster

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* with entablature and supports. Its structure is three-partite. Central zone, placed on a massive base, consists of large inscription panel framed with an egg-frieze and flanked by Ionic columns on high, doubled pedestals, placed in front of niches. In its centre is a sarcophagus with reclining effigy of the deceased, clad in armour. Upper zone is divided from the central one by entablature with decorative frieze and accentuated cornice, bound by consoles placed on the axes of columns. Upper zone consists of a rectangular tablet with coat-of-arms in tondo and volutes on its sides, crowned by a triangular pediment. On each side of the tablet is a smaller cartouche with coat-of-arms.

Ornamental decoration of the monument consists of panoplies, strapwork cartouches (frieze of the central zone), egg-frieze and lion masks (consoles).

### Inscriptions:

On the frieze (after Heise 1894, p. 514): *1594*

On the frieze, next to the emblematic image of the sun (after Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, s. 14): *Superat candor*

On the inscription panel (after Veress 1911, p. 207-208): *D. O. M. S. MARTINUS DE BERZEVICE Baro AVR MIL EQ CHRISTOPHORI F NICOLAI nepos Francisci PRonep Iacobi abn Joannis Swarcz DE BERZEVICE Domini arcis Dunaiecz alias Niedzicza ad nep anno nato Christo M.DXXXVIII In pago haereditario Berzevice Terrae sev comitatus Sarosien ex nobilissima et antiqvissima Berzeviceior Familia multorum cum regni Ungariae Senatorum Tum aliorum clarorum virorum Procreatrice natus Pveritiam In patria adolescentiam in regiis d d Ferdinandi et Maximiliani imp Rom Ac regum Vngariae Ivventutem in academiis primariis Germaniae Galliae et Italiae ad virilem vsque aetatem exegit Patavio anno M.DLXXII A principe tum Transilvaniae Stephano Bathorio evocatus eodem anno ad Gregorium XIII Svmmvm Pont Romam legatus aur mil equestris dignitate ab eodem ornatus ex itinere eo ad cancellariatvm Transilvaniae evectus. Post discessum ex Polonia Henrici regis ad comitia novo regi eligendo Varsaviam Indicta ad regnum, pro principe suo non tam ambiendum quam virtuti eius fato Iam ante destinatum accipiendum anno LXXV svpra M.D plenissimis cum mandatis. Orator missus rebus ex sententia confectis sequentis anni initio ad delatum regnum principem suum Cracoviam comitatus fuit a quo cum et in regno. Hoc familiaq regia et simul in magistratu cancellarii Transilvanici omni ratione retineretur comitiis Torunen regni mag duc Lith et Prussiae ordinum auctoritate eodem anno in ius civitatis et indigenatus plenissimo iure receptus et maiorum suorum insigniis regni aqvila auctis inter patricias regni Prussiaeq gentes ipse posteritasq eius lecti fuerunt. Quo beneficio invitatus cum sedem fortunarum suarum in Prussia posuisset. Itidemq nobiliss virginem Catharinam felicis Dameravii de Voianovio filiam anno M.D.LXXVIII duxisset non modo in pace sed per bella etiam Omnia Moscovitica perpetuo comitatus regem fuit. Morte Christophori Bathorii principis Transilvaniae fratris regis in Transilvaniam a rege missus statum impuberis principis Sigismundi novo electo senatu firmavit. Iura Saxonum Transilvanensium conscripsit auxit auctoritateq regia. Ad posteritatem transmisit inveteratam inter caesarem Rudolphum et Stephanum regem de Sztatmariense Bathoriorum haereditate a Caesarianis Tempore tumultus Transilvanici occupata controversiam binis legationibus. Ita sustulit ut quae antea dubia ac suspecta fuerat firmissima inter principes amicitia constitueretur anno tandem M.DLXXXVI Optimo Max rege a quo paucis ante mortem annis Starogardiensem et Ossecensem in Prussia Praefecturas*

*obtinuerat orbatus quemadmodum maximam partem vitae. Fidum et individuum comitem se ei praestiterat sic idem fati lumen in eodem regno exspectans. Hoc sibi suisq monumentum vivus uxore et duobus filiis Ioanne et Christophoro ifidem vivis p curavit anno Rest sal w D.XC III aetatis suae LIV. Vixit annis LVII. Obiit die XVI Mensis Febr Anno M.DXC VI Cvm ex Dei benedictione eternum.*

Localization unknown: *Et filium an Catharinae de Bertolt Stanislai filiae Balthasaris nep Martini De Berzevice Matris Antiqua Familiae Berzeviccae Insignia Potentiae Merse de Szwinie Matthiae filiae Martini de Berzevice aviae. Paternae Helenae De Raszlawicza Andreae filiae Martini De Berzevice Aviae Maternae.*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the monument are known. According to the inscriptions, the monument was commissioned by Martin de Berzeviczy himself in 1593 and completed in 1594. Kieszkowski and Zachwatowicz saw it significantly remodeled, probably at the time of church reconstruction in neo-gothic style in later 19<sup>th</sup> century; photography of the monument in this form has been published in Veress 1911. In their article, which remains the main source of information about the lost monument, Kieszkowski and Zachwatowicz included a drawing reconstruction of the original state. The monument has been destroyed in September 1939; Krzyżanowski found its heavily deteriorated remains *in situ* in the 1950s or early 1960s.

#### **Bibliography:**

*Dachnowski*, p. 343; *Strzesz*, p. 785; *Visitatio* 1706, p. 829-831; Froelich 1868, p. 182 [2nd edition 1884, p. 185]; Fankidejski 1880, p. 91; Heise 1894, p. 513-514; Veress 1911, p. 188-190, 207-208, fig. p. 188; Jaroszevska 1915, p. 209, 305; Orłowicz 1924, p. 230-231; Makowski 1932, p. 92; Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, p. 14-17, fig. 14; Divéky 1935, p. 119; Chmarzyński 1936, p. 384; *Sesja* 1955, p. 185; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 289-290; Hornung 1959a, p. 109-111; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 155; Gradowska 1964, p. 238; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 589; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Dobrowolski 1974, p. 359; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Dehio 1993, p. 678; Gołąb 1995; Badach 2004, p. 60. 63; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322-323; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71, 86

#### **Source information:**

*Dachnowski*, p. 343: *Niebosczyka Pana Marcina Berzewica encomium znaczne wyczytasz Czytelniku laskawy z nagrobku w Lisnowie wystawionego.*

*Strzesz*, p. 785: *Temporibus Kostkovanis exstructus est ab Illri olim et Magco Martino de Berzevice, barone ex regno Hungariae oriundo, auratae militiae equite, cancellario Transilvaniae, qui cum Stephano rege huc venit receptusque pro indigena Regni, Starogardiensi et Ossecensi capitaneatu auctus, cuius mausoleum anno 1596 erectum marmori inscriptis rebus praeclare gestis cataphractam effigiem, alabastrite sculptam, dormienti similem, proponit augustum opus, ad laevam altaris maioris locatum, ferramentis eleganter in crates ductis, viridi colore imbutis cum deauratis extremitatibus cinctum septumque.*

*Visitatio* 1706, p. 829-831: [...] *ad partem australem prope maius altare mausoleum marmoreum Gnosi Olim Martini de Berzowice Baronis cratibus ferreis circumdatum, effigiem totius staturae de marmore repraesentans.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument was mentioned by Heise, who attributed it to an Italian sculptor, responsible also for the monument of Piotr Kostka in Chełmża (Cat. C.5). The monument has first been thoroughly discussed by Kieszkowski and Zachwatowicz, who noticed Netherlandish character of figural sculpture and pointed to its similarity with the Stroband epitaph in

Toruń. It has been given to van den Blocke by Krzyżanowski and Hornung. The former stressed the presence of ornamental motives characteristic for this artist as well as the Netherlandish formal characteristics of figural sculpture. This attribution has been accepted by later scholars.

The monument is known today only from secondary sources, namely a description by Kieszkowski and Zachwatowicz, their reconstruction drawing and few photographs. Nonetheless, it can be safely attributed to Willem van den Blocke because of far-reaching similarities with his extant works. Most importantly, the effigy of the deceased shows close affinity to that of Johan III Vasa - the sculptor's confirmed work - as well as those of Piotr Tarnowski and Balthazar Báthory. It is visible in the general pose of the figure, as well as in various anatomical details, such as eyes, ears, hand and elbow. Furthermore, similarity between these works can be observed in sculptural rendering of armour, chains and other details of clothing as well as pillow. Van den Blocke's authorship is further asserted by the form of the architectural structure of the monument – similar to that of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz - and the presence of various decorative details, such as the characteristic foliage below the capitals of Ionic columns, akin to those in the Blenke epitaph and the altar in the Holy Trinity Chapel in Łowicz.



Fig. B.8.1 – General view, early 20<sup>th</sup> century

Fig. B.8.2 – Sepulchral effigy, detail, c. 1930

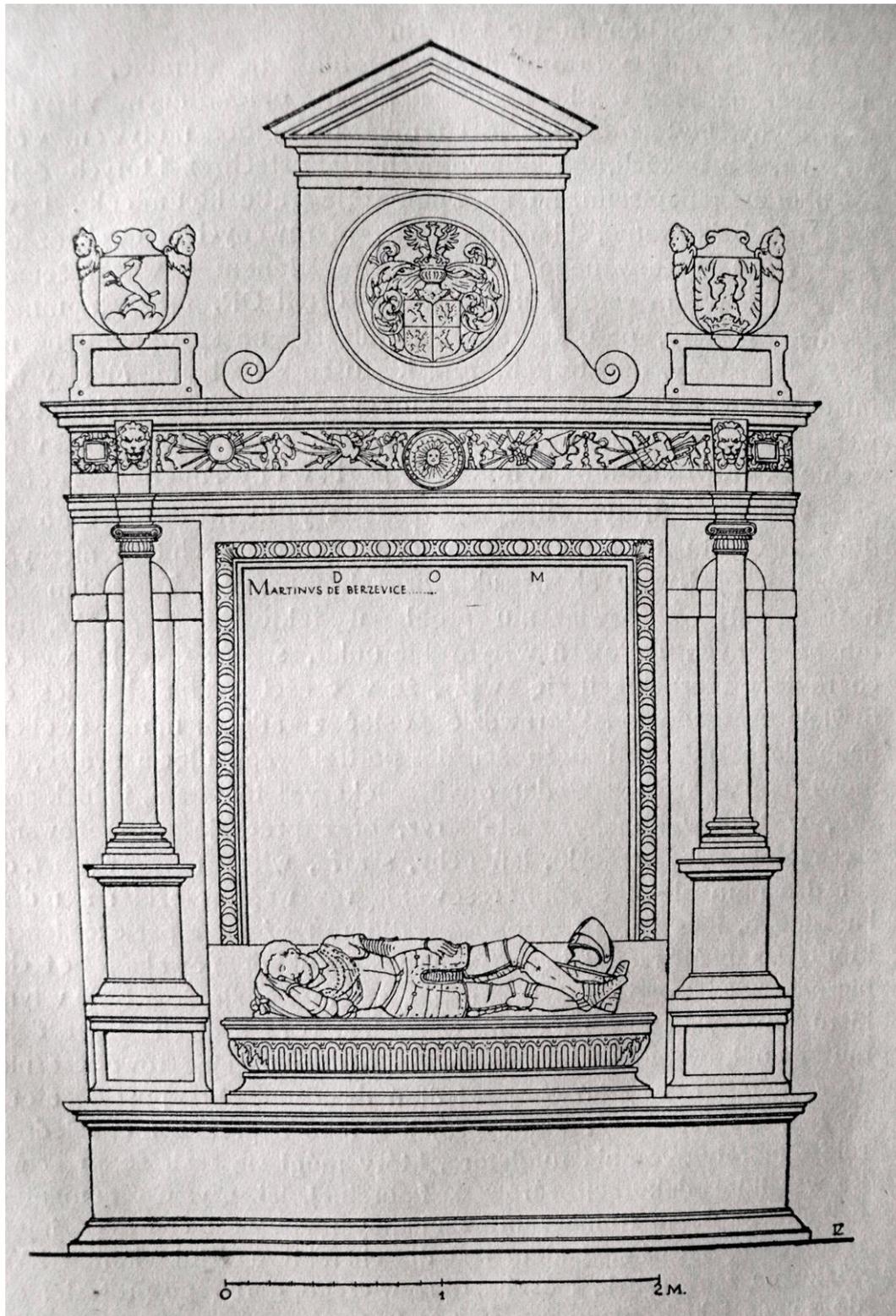


Fig. B.8.3 – Reconstruction drawing by Kieszkowski and Zachwatowicz, c. 1933

## B. 9 - Sepulchral monument (cenotaph) of Andreas and Balthazar Báthory

Warmia (Ermland; Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Barczewo (Wartenburg), former Bernardine church, chapel adjoining southern wall of the nave

Before 1599

Structure of the monument made of black and red Mosan limestone as well as red limestone from Oland; effigies as well as figural and ornamental decoration carved in alabaster.

c. 630 x 410 cm

Wall monument in form of *aedicula*. Its central part consists of two richly decorated pilasters on each side, the outer ones with Ionic capitals, supporting a doubled arch with a tondo keystone displaying coat-of-arms. On each side are small but richly decorated side panels. In the centre is lavishly decorated sarcophagus placed on consoles, with kneeling effigy of Andreas Báthory in ecclesiastical robes shown in profile on front of a pulpit. Under the sarcophagus is reclining effigy of Balthazar Báthory, clad in armour. Upper zone of the monument, separated by frieze, consists of three female symbolic figures (the central one lost; head of the left one has probably been replaced with that of the missing figure of putto).

Rich ornamental decoration of the monument consists of clusters of fruit, panoplies, foliate scrolls with foliate figures and eagles, strapwork cartouches as well as female and lion masks.

### Inscriptions:

In the central zone: *D. O. M. Andreas Bathori de Somlio S. R. E. Car- / dinalis Eps. Varm. Steph. I Reg. Pol. Mosch- / orumq Domitoris Christoph. Transil. Prin. / ex fr. Andr. Filius & Honorib. a Steph. et / Sigis. III Pol. Fortiss. Gratissiq. [Ciepliński: gravissimisq] Regib. / ornat, post varia utriusque fortunae / ludibria mortis [Ciepliński: sue] memor sibi fratriq. / suo char. vivens pos. calen. Sept. M.D.XCVIII*

After Ciepliński p. 896: *D. O. M. Andreas Batori de Somlio Dnus Terrae Togaras, Regis Stephani ex Fre nepos ob rem militarem domi forisq bene gestam, Principi charus, honoribus et dignitatibus auctus in ipso aetatis flore Sigismundi Patruē. Transil. Palat., saeva tyrannide opprimor, et primus fui in q Fr. Tyran. in q. Fr. caepta est, et q. sine iudic. inaudit. absq supremo viatico interimerer, cui cum viventi nihil obiicere posset, post necem mensibus novem exagitato crimine senten. dixit exhorresce posteritas Fricidius horrendus detestare. Sibi Card q me ossibus alibi quiscentibus hoc honorario monumento ornas amoris et innoxij sanguinis mei relinq memoriam Vale Amor Nr iam mihi parta quies. Vixit annos 32. Excessit 14 Septemb Anno 1594.*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to commissioning and execution of the monument are known. According to the inscription, the monument has been completed in 1598. Almost certainly one of the original epitaph inscriptions has been removed, possibly by Andreas Báthor himself. The monument has later been damaged (effigy of Balthazar Báthory, statues in the upper zone). Renovated in 1984.

**Bibliography:** *Treter*, p. 124; *Leo*, p. 487; *Ciepliński*, p. 895–896; *Boetticher* 1894, p. 265–266, fig. XII; *Ehrenberg* 1899, p. 137, note 463; *Dehio* 1906, p. 503; *Kolberg* 1910, p. 640; *Brachvogel* 1919, p. 555–556; *Orłowicz* 1923, p. 36, 155; *Kopenhagen* 1928; *Ulbrich* 1926–1929, 1, p. 21; *Ulbrich* 1932, p. 110; *Brachvogel* 1933, p. 258; *Glemma* 1935, p. 353; *Chmarzyński* 1936, p. 384; *Kopenhagen* 1939, p. 75–76; *Dehio/Gall* 1952, p. 251–252; *Eimer* 1955; *Kozakiewiczowa* 1955, p. 47; *Sesja* 1955, p. 185; *Tatarkiewicz* 1956, p. 276, 282–283, fig. 5; *Szydłowska* 1957; *Krzyżanowski* 1958, p. 290–291, fig. 9–10; *Hornung* 1959a, p. 110–112, fig. 4; *Dobrowolski* 1962, p. 155, fig. 86; *Kowalczyk* 1964, p. 58–59; *Krzyżanowski* 1966, p. 74–79; *Krzyżanowski* 1968a, p. 450; *Czubiel&Domagała*

1969, p. 80; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Krzyżanowski 1971b, p. 178; Dobrowolski 1974, p. 359, fig. 299; Karpowicz 1974, p. 62; Karpowicz 1975, p. 48; Kozakiewiczowa 1978, p. 148; Chrzanowski 1984b, p. 213–214; Mikocka 1984, p. 89–91; Grosjean 1985, p. 11; Karpowicz 1988, p. 25; Mikó 1988, p. 122–123; Łoziński 1992, p. 355; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 651; Rzempoluch 1993, p. 108; Woziński 1993, p. 119; Gołąb 1995, sp. 104, 106, 108; Mikocka–Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Chrzanowski 1996/1997, p. 88; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Hochleitner 2000, p. 145; Karpowicz 2003, p. 44; Badach 2004, p. 63, fig. 2; Wardzyński 2006, p. 200; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Horn 2008; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322–323; Zlat 2008, p. 242, fig. on p. 242; Matuškaitė 2009, p. 137, fig. 172–174, 184; Miko 2009, p. 174; Horn 2010, p. 168, 228; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71, 79

### Source information:

*Treter*, p. 124 (also various manuscripts, for instance in Archium Diecezjalne in Olsztyn, sygn. AB, H 35–36): *Wartenburgi desertum claustru a sodalibus Minoribus observantib., quod ad Provinciam spectat Saxonia, eiusdem Ordinis Religiosis Polonae Provinciae contulit, et ne Annonae difficultate premerentur, perpetuam providit Eleëmosynam. Ibidem sibi et Fratri cum Cenotaphio excitavit sepulchrum, verum illud apophtegma Patruī Stephani Regis, quod Christophorus Varsevicius limatisimus memorat, in sermone eiusdem funebri, satis veraciter adimpleuit: nimirum multos sibi sepulchra condere, et centum millibus pastuum ab iis moriatq; tumulari.*

*Ciepliński*, p. 895–896: *Eiusdem Sacelli parieti ferme inhaeret mausoleum elegans, quod / satis venuste à terra sursum se attolis, et in altum pulchre por- / rigit, estq erectum ex marmore rubri coloris, effigiem vero Cardls. / docta artificis manus ex pario lapide eleganter satis expresset. Hu- / ic mausoleo hoc Epitaphium dum adhuc viveret sub ipsius genu fle- / ctentis ante Cricifixi imaginem effigie aureis litteris insculptus est:*

*D. O. M. Andreas Bathori de Somlio S. R. E. Car / dinalis Eps. Varm. Steph I Reg. Pol. Mosch / orumq Domitoris Christoph Transil. Prin. / ex fr. Andr. Filius & Honorib. a Steph. et / Sigis. III Pol. Fortiss. Gravissimisq Regib. / ornat, post varia utriusque fortunae / ludibria mortis sue memor sibi fratrisq. / suo char. vivens pos. Kal. Sept. / 1598*

*Supposuit quidam dicti Cardls. eximius amicus, et aliud post cru- / enta et acerba funera in fracto lapide honorarium Epitaphium, sed / aliqua hic nec legi nec intellegi possunt, ut potius Divinatore hic / opus sit non lectore : praeter aliqua istius Epitaphij verba, hoc est quod / merito detinere potest lectorem, quod viventi appositus sit anno 1598, / crudeli vero morte perempto 1594 et introductio ipso superstite ind / facta 1597 publicis vero tabulis inscripsit claustrum et donatione / 1601. Quodnam hic misterium lateat, nisi forte imperitia aut incuria / hinc sculptoris arguatur.*

*D. O. M. Andreas Batori de Somlio Dnus Terrae Togaras, Regis Stephani ex Fre nepos ob rem militarem domi forisq bene gestam, Principi charus, honoribus & dignitatibus auctus in ipso aetatis flore Sigismundi Patruē Transil Palat, saeva tyrannide opprimor, & primus fui in q Fr. Tyrann in q Fr. Caepa est, & q sine iudic. inaudit. Absq supremo viatico interimerer, cui cum viventi nihil obiicere posset, post necem mensibus novem exagitato crimine senten. Dixit exhorresce posteri / tas Fricidiu horrendu detestare. Sibi Card q me ossibus alibi quiscentibus hoc honorario monumento ornas amoris & innoxij sanguinis mei relinq memoriam Vale Amor Nr iam mihi parta quies. Vixit annos 32. Excessit 14 Septemb Anno 1594.*

*Vixisset utinam longiorem aetatem, longissima dignus hic Cardinalis ali- / bi non esset dubium quando aliquid defuisset ad ornamentum tum aedis / sacre cui ultimam manum ipso vivente apponere non licuit, tum caenobij / ampliationem quod paulo arctabatur ob arca Caemeterijq ante ingressu / templi angustias.*

*Leo*, 8, p. 487: *Troską jego [Sigismund Báthory] było, gdy tylko przybył do Prus, pojechać do Barczewa, gdzie Kardynał sobie i bratu Baltazarowi kosztowny grobowiec w klasztorze Bernardynów*

*kazał z różnego marmuru wystawić, aby przeczytać tablicę poniżej położoną, na której bardzo ostrymi słowami jego okrucieństwo popelnione na Baltazarze zostało opisane. Lecz Kardynał kazał je usunąć, gdy o przybyciu Zygmunta się dowiedział.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Netherlandish character of the monument has been noticed by Bötticher, Ehrenberg, Brachvogel and Ulbrich. However, none of them attempted an attribution to a particular sculptor. In 1957 Szydłowska gave it to Abraham van den Blocke; her argument, however, was based only on a very general observation of the monument's artistic quality. The first to give it to Willem van den Blockes were Krzyżanowski and Hornung. Nonetheless, both scholars were also considering Abraham van den Blocke as its possible maker. Despite uncertainty as to the involvement of Willem or Abraham, the attribution to van den Blockes has been accepted and no other possibility has ever been proposed.

Architectural structure, figural sculpture and ornamental decoration of the monument clearly indicate Willem van den Blocke's authorship. Most importantly, rendering of the effigy of Balthazar Báthory is reminiscent of that of Johan III in Uppsala, as well as that of Piotr Tarnowski in Łowicz. Far reaching similarity can be observed in physiognomic details and other elements, in particular armour and its decoration. Rendering of Balthazar's physiognomy is also reminiscent of that of Jerzy Oleski. Moreover, certain affinity with regard to details of clothing and armour is present in the tombs of Krzysztof Kostka and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł. On the other hand, Andreas' physiognomy bears close affinity to that of Mikołaj Kos; moreover, certain similarity can be observed in the effigies of Christopher von Dohna (hair), Krzysztof Kostka (eyes, eyebrows) and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł. Andreas' effigy also shares a characteristic motive of a shoe slipping off with the figure of Mikołaj Kos' infant son.

Ornamental decoration of the monument is reminiscent of that embellishing other works attributable to the van den Blocke studio. For instance, foliate scroll decorating sarcophagus is akin to those present in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg - taking into account difference in material, however - and the Tarnowski monument in Łowicz. Side panles, also decorated with foliate scrolls, are reminiscent of those used in the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. Furthermore, clusters of fruit embellishing the arch are akin to those decorating the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk. Finally, strapwork cartouches with additional decorative motives resemble those in the monument of Johan III in Uppsala.

To conclude, architectural structure of the monument reveals close acquaintance with designs by Cornelis Floris.



Fig. B.9.1 – General view



Fig. B.9.2 – Sepulchral effigy of Andreas Báthory



Fig. B.9.3 – Sepulchral effigy of Balthazar Báthory



Fig. B.9.4 Effigy of Andreas Báthory, detail

Fig. B.9.5 Putto



Fig. B.9.6 Effigy of Balthazar Báthory, detail



Fig. B.9.7 Details of ornamental decoration

## B. 10 - Elements of interior of the Holy Trinity (Tarnowski) Chapel in Łowicz

### A. Funeral monument (cenotaph) of Piotr Tarnowski

Masovia, (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Łowicz, collegiate church, Holy Trinity Chapel  
Before 1598

Architectural structure of the monument is made of black and red Mosan limestone and red limestone from Oland; effigy as well as figural and ornamental decoration is made of alabaster

Details gilded, traces of polychromy

C. 260 x 340 cm

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its central part, placed on a massive base, consists of a panel framed by an egg-frieze and flanked by caryatides placed in front of niches. In the centre is a decorated sarcophagus placed on a high base with reclining effigy of the deceased clad in armour. The upper zone, separated by entablature with reversed cornice bound by consoles placed on axes of the caryatides, consist of a strapwork cartouche. It is flanked on either side by standing figures holding smaller cartouches with coat-of-arms. On its top is a sitting female figure. Ornamental decoration of the monument consists of acanthus scrolls with an eagle, small clusters of fruit and lion masks.

### Inscription:

Inscription panel damaged, inscription reconstructed after *Starowolski 1655*, p. 690–691 and *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 335 (parts after *Starowolski* and *Damalewicz* in brackets):

*D. O. M. [Pietati] et Memoriae [S. Petro Tarnowski], [Equiti Polono], Palatinatus Leczicz / [Vexillifero et generis antique] Nobilitate, et omnium / [insignium virtutum concu]rsu, religione, probitate, / integritate [et liberalis] vitae splendore incompa- / [rabili. Qui cum Patriae, Principibus] et Amicis strenuam na: / [va]sset [operam, humanum nihil metu]ens nec optans / coelo libero [animum liberum dimi]ssit. Ioannes Thar / [now]ski, [Regni Poloniae Vicecancella]rius, Patri optimo, hunc / titulum et tumulum moerens morenti donavit, dicavit.*

(Damalewicz omits words: *religione, probitate, integritate*)

**History:** Even though a number of written sources related to the chapel itself exist (Gawarecki 1844; Kwiatkowski 1939; Kwiatkowski 1946; Librowski 1981; *Acta Capitulli*), no documents pertaining to the monument itself are known. As indicated by the inscription, it has been commissioned by Jan Tarnowski, son of the deceased. Lack of reference to high ecclesiastical offices held by Jan after 1598 indicates that the monument must have been executed before that year. Therefore, it must have been commissioned several years before the chapel itself has been built (completed in 1611, although some works were carried out as late as 1617). As suggested by several structural inconsistencies - for instance rather unusual shape of the entablature as well as alabaster elements placed under the caryatides - it was probably set up by unqualified workers. It must have also suffered significant damage (visible in the inscription tablet as and in one of the Ionic capitals), either in the seventeenth (possibly during the Swedish war of 1555-1600; some reparatory works were carried out in the chapel in 1666, see *Zbiór aktów*, p. 280) or in the eighteenth centuries. The monument was renovated in 2010-2011.

**Bibliography:** *Damalewicz 1649*, p. 335; *Starowolski 1655*, p. 690-691; Gawarecki 1844, p. 71-73; Stronczyński, p. 162, fig. 34; Bartoszewicz 1855, p. 175; Korytkowski 1889-1891,3, p. 554-555; Cercha 1912, p. CCCCXXI; Bluhm-Kwiatkowski 1927, p. 21; Wegner 1947, p. 50; Kieszkowski 1950, p. 102, note 133; KZSwP, 2/5, p. 30, fig. 110; *Sesja* 1955, p. 184-185; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 291-293, fig. 11, 13-14; Hornung 1959a, p. 112-116, fig. 5; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 155; Gębarowicz

1962, p. 290, fig. 132, 132a; Gradowska 1964, p. 244-245; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 84–86; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Dobrowolski 1974, p. 359; Karpowicz 1975, fig. 25; Kozakiewiczowa 1978, p. 148; Gajewski 1986, p. 491–492, fig. 8; Kęłowski 1987, p. 121; Karpowicz 1988, p. 25, 284, fig. 48-49; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Gołąb 1995, p. 104, 106, 108; Mikocka–Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Łoziński 1999, p. 436, fig. 119; Karpowicz 2003, p. 44; Badach 2004, p. 62–63, fig. 3; Meganck 2005, p. 183, note 11; Wardzyński 2006, p. 200; Wardzyński 2007, fig. 11; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322-323; Zlat 2008, p. 311, fig on page 311 (reversed); Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Although the monument attracted scholarly attention already in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the first to give it to van den Blocke were Krzyżanowski and Hornung. Krzyżanowski provided a number of arguments taking into account ornamental decoration as well as the effigy, comparing it with the tombs of Johan III, Martin de Berzeviczy and the Báthory brothers, as well as the Stroband epitaph.

Crucial argument in favour of van den Blocke's authorship is provided by close affinity between the effigies of Piotr Tarnowski and Johan III Vasa. In both cases all the details of physiognomy and clothing are very similar. As to the former, both figures share the form of deeply set eyes without eyebrows, as well as shape of nose and moustaches. Another important element is rendering of hands and fingers. Particularly striking is almost identical carving of armour, down to minute details (see Figs. A.4.5, A.4.17). As to its decoration, far reaching similarity can be observed not only in motives, but also its sculptural rendering, with background made of delicate hatching. Another revealing detail is decoration of cushion. Furthermore, close similarities can also be observed in the effigies of Balthazar Báthory (physiognomy, clothing and armour) and Krzysztof Kostka (composition, clothing and armour).

Other important, though less conclusive argument is provided by the similarity of decorative motives embellishing the monument. The most important among them is the foliate scroll, akin to those decorating the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg and the Báthory monument in Barczewo.

With regard to the tomb's architectural structure, it resemble other works attributable to the van den Blocke studio, most importantly the monument of Martin de Berzeviczy. Central part of both works is very similar and consists of a rectangular panel, framed by an egg-frieze and flanked by architectural supports, with niches behind them. Furthermore, in both cases the upper zone consists of three parts, that is a larger central element, flanked on each side by some smaller ones, displaying coats-of-arms.

## **B. Altar**

Masovia, Poland-Lithuania (today Poland), Łowicz, collegiate church, Holy Trinity Chapel

Before 1598

Original elements of the altar made of black Mosan limestone and red limestone from Oland as well as alabaster (figural sculpture and ornamental details). The altar has been assembled later (early 17<sup>th</sup> century) with limestone from Lesser Poland, including the Bolechowice variety. Further elements were added in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

C. 260 x 300 cm

Altar constructed with architectural elements. Its structure is three-partite. Lower part consists of a large base with cartouche and volutes. In the centre is a figural scene in relief, flanked by two Ionic columns on each side. Central zone is crowned by a massive entablature, with two ornamental friezes above. In the upper zone figural is a figural scene in relief flanked by two female terms and two panels

with reclining male figures above. The central part of the upper zone is flanked by standing figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. The altar is crowned by a broken triangular pediment with pelican.

Original elements: figural reliefs with frames, figures of two Evangelists and pelican, capitals and bases of columns, entablature, lower ornamental frieze, architectural elements of the upper zone, terms (except for heads), pediment

Elements added in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century: base, column shafts, elements of the central zone, upper ornamental frieze

Elements added later: statues of St. Peter and St. Paul

Elements of unknown origin: panels between columns of the central zone

**History:** No sources pertaining to the altar are known. It must have been executed by Willem van den Blocke before 1598. Later, most likely after the chapel itself has been finished in 1611, the altar as assembled using both original elements made by van den Blocke and other pieces, made perhaps by the workshop responsible for building and decorating the chapel. The altar could have been remodeled later, possibly during the so-called Swedish Deluge - 1655-1660 – or in the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century further elements, including the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, have been added. It was renovated in 2010-2011.

**Bibliography:** Gawarecki 1844, p. 71-72; Stronczyński, p. 139, Korytkowski 1889-1891, 3, p. 554; Cercha 1912, p. CCCCXXI, fig. 18; Bluhm-Kwiatkowski 1927, p. 21; Kwiatkowski 1939, p. 82; Kieszkowski 1950, p. 102, note 133; KZSwP, 2/5, p. 29–30, fig. 60; Łoziński 1973, p. 138, fig. 90; Gajewski 1986, p. 492; Karpowicz 1988, p. 284; Łoziński 1999, p. 436

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The altar was highly appreciated already in the nineteenth century; for instance, Bluhm-Kwiatkowski considered the *Crucifixion* to be an Italian work. However, it has never been thoroughly discussed in scholarly literature. Łoziński considered it to be a work of a northern or Silesian artist. Gajewski, who noticed complex character of the present work, argued that the original elements were designed as parts of the funeral monument in the same chapel (see also Karpowicz 1988).

The altar is an extraordinarily complex work. Next to parts created by Willem van den Blocke and his studio, it also consists of structural and decorative elements of other origin. The most important among them is the base and shafts of columns, as well as elements of ornamental decoration. Nonetheless, original elements of the altar can be firmly attributed to Willem van den Blocke's studio. They were certainly intended to form an altar, not as parts of the funeral monument, as suggested by Gajewski. In particular, the relief showing *Crucifixion* appears to be a work of the sculptor himself, as indicated by formal affinities to his other works, above all the statue of *Immortalitas* in Uppsala (figure of Mary, especially physiognomic details), as well as the *Vision of Ezekiel* in the Blemke epitaph in Gdańsk (figure of St. John). Furthermore, van den Blocke's authorship is indicated by the characteristic floral decoration of the columns. Also the acanthus scroll in the frieze is reminiscent of other works attributable to the studio, such as the Báthory monument in Barczewo and the Tranowski monument in Łowicz.



Fig. B.10.1 Monument, general view (after recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.2 – Sepulchral effigy (after recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.3 Sepulchral effigy, detail (before recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.4 Sepulchral effigy, detail (before recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.5 Figure of *Fides* (before recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.6 Figure of *Caritas* (before recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.7 Figure of *Spes* (before recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.8 Altar, general view (after recent renovation)

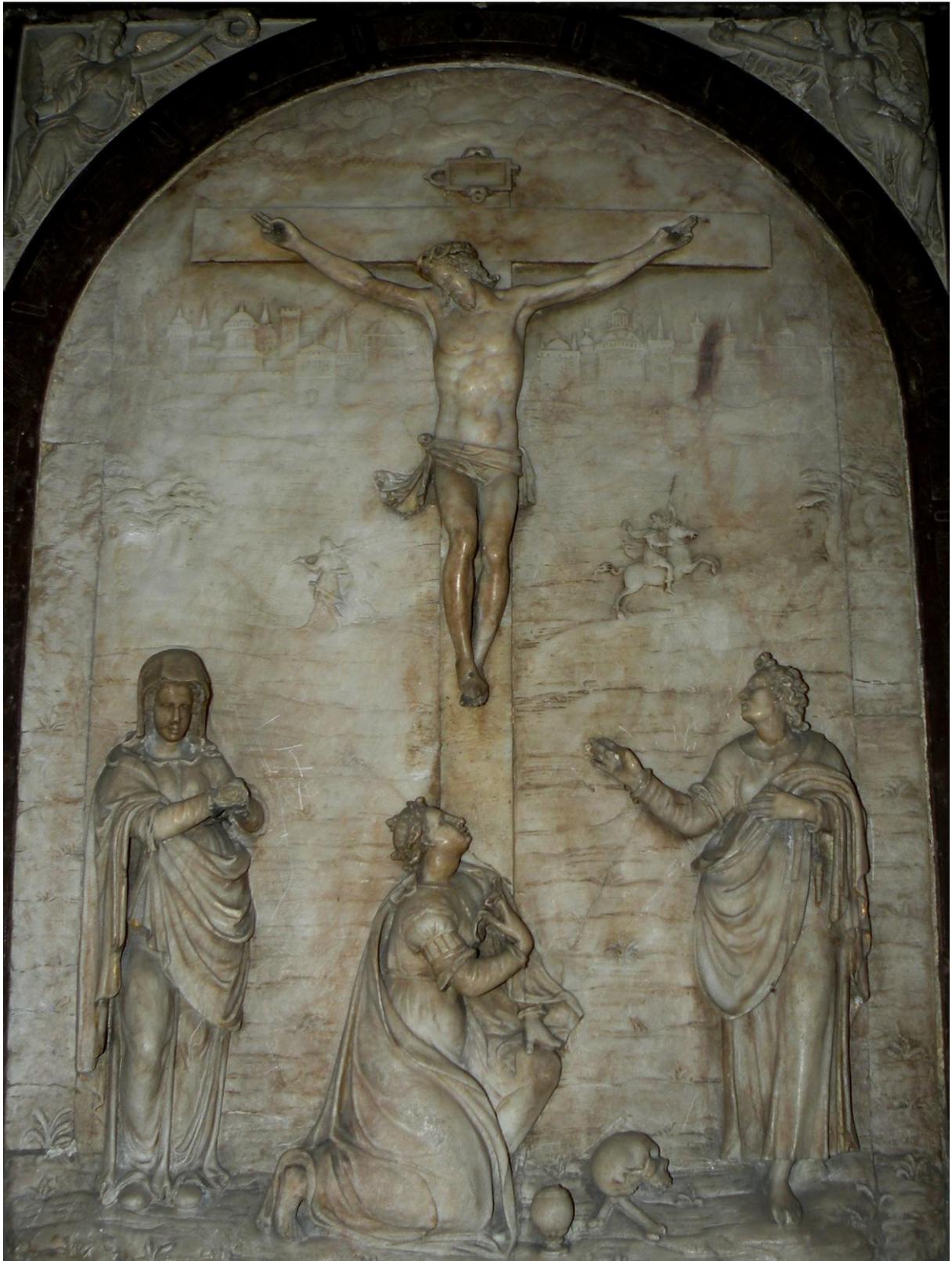


Fig. B.10.9 *Crucifixion* (before recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.10 *Resurrection* (after recent renovation)



Fig. B.10.11 Capital, central zone of the altar (after recent renovation)

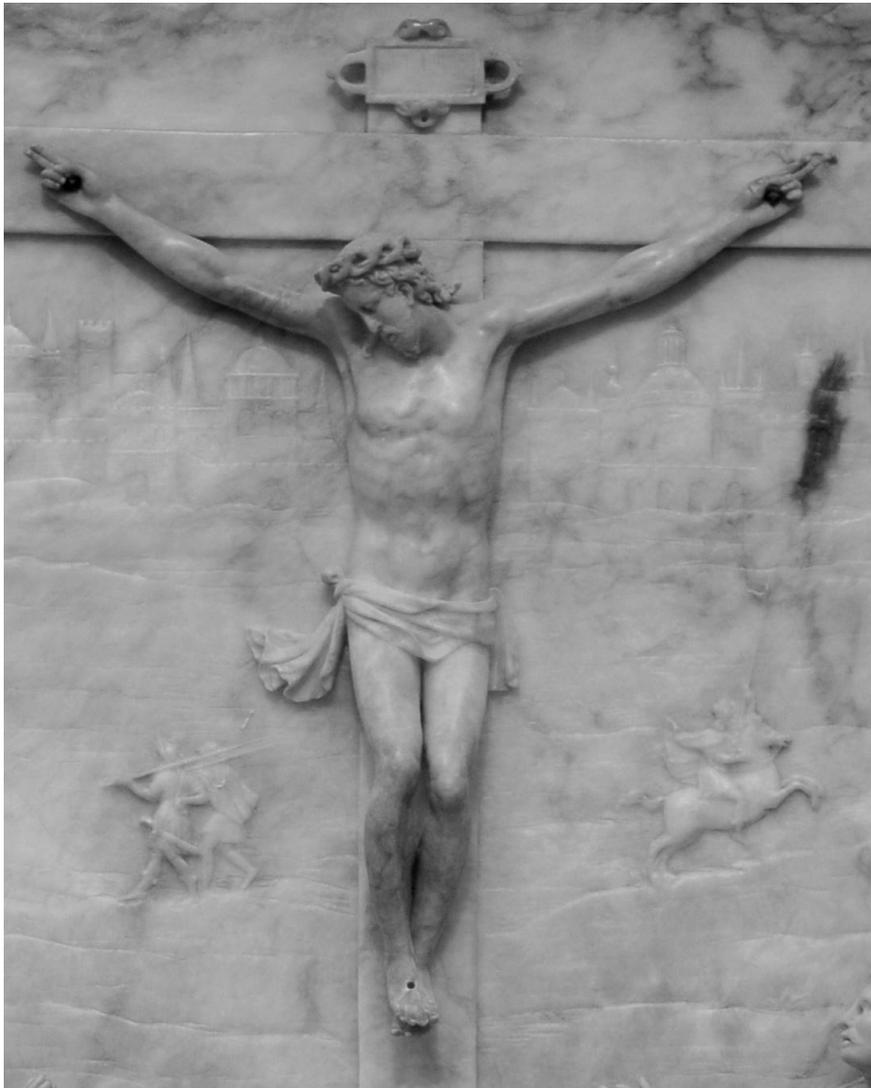


Fig. B.10.12 *Crucifixion*, detail (after recent renovation)

## B. 11 – Epitaph of Jan Konopacki

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig), St. Nicolas church, western wall

After 1594

Red limestone, traces of gilding

168 x 167 cm

Lower part of this wall epitaph consists of a panel with simplified strapwork cartouche with inscription flanked on either side by superimposed coats-of-arms. Its upper zone, separated by entablature, consists of a smaller panel with reclining effigy of the deceased carved in relief, flanked on either side by a volute and an obelisk, and crowned by a triangular pediment.

### Inscriptions:

On the inscription panel: *Hic sepultus iacet Generosus Ioannes / a Conopat Magnifici Georgii a Conopat / Castellani Culmensis filius qui cum / obviam Serenissimo Regi Sigismundo III / ex Regno haereditario Swecico in / Poloniam redeunti una cum magnifico / parente Gedanum venisset morbo / correptus ultimum clausit diem / Anno 1594 die vicesima Augusti / cui parens moestus hoc posuit / munimentum.*

On the frieze: *Requiescat in Sancta Pace*

**History:** No sources pertaining to its commissioning are known. According to the inscription, it has been commissioned by Jerzy Konopacki, father of the deceased.

**Bibliography:** Drost 1959, p. 81-83, fig. 67; Cieślak 1992, p. 37-38, fig. 18; Friedrich 1995, p. 100; Cieślak 1998, p. 43-44, fig. 24; Smoliński 2004, p. 96-97, figs. 3-4; KZSwP, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 142, figs. 888, 892; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71, 86

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The epitaph attracted little scholarly attention, except for some remarks by Cieślak, who suggested authorship of either Willem or Abraham van den Blocke. The only exception is the article by Smoliński, who linked it with the Oleski slab in Pieniążkowo and attributed both works to Abraham van den Blocke.

Close relation with the Oleski slab is certainly true. Both works appear to have been executed by the same artist. However, as discussed with regard to the Oleski slab (see the following catalogue entry), they seem to have been executed by Willem rather than Abraham van den Blocke. In addition to the arguments provided in the entry concerning the Oleski memorial, the architectural form of the epitaph should be taken into consideration. Devoid of rich ornamental and architectural decoration, it is reminiscent of the von Damerau epitaph in Święty Wojciech, given here to Willem van den Blocke.



B. 11.1 – General view

## B. 12 - Effigial slab of Jerzy Oleski and Zofia Konopacka

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Pieniązkowo (Pfennigsdorf/Pienionskowo), parish church, southern wall of the nave

1598

Red limestone

c. 110 x 190 cm

Slab with full length figures of the deceased rendered in low relief, one clad in armour and the other in long robes, with coats-of-arms in the corners. In the lower part is an inscription.

**Inscriptions:** (parts after Flanss 1882) *Magnifico Domino Georgio Olieski in Ostrowite / haeredi Castellano Culmensi; qui anno 156[9?]7 dii / 29 Iuly hoc ex saeculo in Christo secessit / aetatis suae 67 hic 19 augusti sepulto et magn. / Dna. Sophiae a Olieska castellanidi / Culm. quae Anno 1593 die 31 May obyt aetatis / suae 78 et hic sepultae 2 die novembris. Paren- / tibus desideratissimis generosius Ioannes / Olieski filius illorum moestus post templum / Anno 1592 proprys sumptibus aedificatum / Anno 1598 die 11 Febr. possuit*

**History:** According to the epitaph inscription, it was erected by Jan Oleski, son of Jerzy, in 1598. The slab could have later been moved inside the church.

### **Bibliography:**

Flanss 1882, p. 214-215; Makowski 1932, p. 92–93; Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, p. 17; Chmarzyński 1936, p. 384; KZSwP, 11/15, p. 33–34, fig. 160; Małek 1978, p. 750; Łoziński 1992, p. 452; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Badach 2004, p. 63, fig. 4; Smoliński 2004, p. 97–100, fig 5–6; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 69

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** This work has been given to Willem van den Blocke by authors of *Katalog Zabytków*, however without any arguments. Later on, Smoliński gave it to Abraham van den Blocke because of its similarity with other works attributed to this artist. He also convincingly linked the work in question with the epitaph of Jan Konopacki in St. Nicholas church in Gdańsk (c. 1594-1605). Recently, Wardzyński pointed to its similarity with analogical piece constituting part of the Bielke monument in Liköping. However, despite general similarity of both works, certain differences can be observed here, especially with regard to rendering of details of anatomy and clothing.

Although the form of the monument is unique within Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre, it can be given to this artist. The most important argument is provided by rendering of physiognomic details and armour. As to the former, the figure of Jerzy Oleski shows close affinity with that of Balthazar Báthory. It can be observed especially in rendering of hair, identical on both works. Furthermore, certain similarity can also be observed in various physiognomic details, such as ears and chin. Also the form of armour closely resembles that of Báthory. Furthermore, similarities with regard to its details and decoration can be observed in the figures of Johan III, Piotr Tarnowski, Krzysztof Kostka and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł. On the other hand, shape of some elements, like spaulders, is reminiscent of those in the effigies of Mikołaj Kos, Jan Konopacki and Ture Bielke.

Another argument in favour of van den Blocke's authorship is extraordinary quality of carving. Considering the fact that it has been carved in hard limestone from Oland, the figure of Jerzy Oleski - unique in Prussia - must have been executed by a well-trained and highly skilled artist.

The figure of Zofia Oleska appears to have been executed by one of the master's assistants, perhaps the one responsible for the figure of Justyna Kos in Oliwa and the clothing of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in Nesvizh.



Fig. B.12.1 – General view



B.12.2 – Masculine figure, fragment

### B. 13 - Sepulchral monument of Mikolaj Kos and his family

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Oliwa (Oliva) near Gdańsk, former Cistercian church, crossing (?) (today western wall of the northern nave)

1599-1600 (?)

Large parts of the structure as well as the effigies made of sandstone; elements of the structure made also of limestone

Entire monument polychromed, elements also gilded

c. 140x280x141 cm

(after Krzyżanowski's reconstruction of the original form) Free standing monument constructed with architectural elements. Sarcophagus, decorated with coats-of-arms, was placed on a base and supported by six Doric columns. On each corner of the sarcophagus was a high obelisk crowned by a cone. Kneeling effigies of the deceased were placed facing each other, with figure of their infant son and a pulpit placed between them. The male figure is clad in full armour, while the female one in long robes covering body features.

The other male figure has been added later. Wall epitaph of Feliks Kos behind the monument is a separate structure, executed in the early seventeenth century.

#### Inscriptions:

1. (*Dachnowski*, p. 119; *Starowolski* 1955, p. 341; according to Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 446-447 added c. 1620): *Gen. D. Nicolao Kos Maioru [Dei] Gloria, propria in Deum pietate, in Ecclesias cleru. egentibus beneficentia ac liberalitate, in Patria. fide, in amicos integritate, illustri. omni bonis desideratiss. Obiit MDXCIC. Novemb. XXV aetat LX. Nobiliss. D. Iustinae Konarska ipsi. honestiss. coniug. quae omni pietate insignis, una cu. marito ad extructione. huius Ecclesiae organoru. florenos mille contulit. A viri morte piis misericordiae operibus iugiter intent, de hac Ecclesia allisq. locis ac personis [Deo] dictatis bene merita. Cu. a Rmo. D.S.Ord. Cisters. generali sorte. maritoru. ordinis piis votis obtinuisset devote. ac religiosa.agens vitam altare Sanctae Coronae Christi erexit. Nata annos 75, decessit 1631 anno, die 8 Octobris Agens vitam.*

*Appositi parentibus filii Ioannes Kos puerulus ante exactum aetatis annum in caelum obiit 1581.*

2. (after *Starowolski* 1655, p. 341, added c. 1620) *Generosus Dominus Andreas Koss, vera paternae pietatis, candoris munificentiae imago: publicae ac privatorum pacis studiosiss. officio erga amicos constanti, in summa expectatione annum agens XXXVIII. febri virulenta abreptus est. Anno Christi M.DC.XVIII. Februarij XXIII [XXIII].*

3. (according to Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 446-447 original): *Obyt dictus Dominus Anno 1599 / die 25 Novembris, aetatis suae 60. / Obyt dicta Domina Anno 16 die aetatis suae. / Animae Deo Vivant.*

4. (on the base, discovered during recent renovation works and therefore unknown to Krzyżanowski): *Sub hoc tumulo quiescit Cn: ac Nob: D. / Nicolaus Koss, pius et magnus ecclesia- / arum plurimarum eleemosinarius. Qui / una cum coniuge sua nobili et honesta / D. Iustina Konarsin sorore R. D. Abbatis / nostri ad organorum nostrorum reae- / dificationem delegavit 900 florenos. / Amborum nomina in libro nostro mor- / tuorum scripta sunt, ut per preces pio- / rum in libro vitae scribantur.*

5. *Piet. et mem. sacr.*

6. *Quietem precentur posteris*

7. (originally in the epitaph of Feliks Kos, see *Starowolski* 1655, p. 342): *Quid bone lector, aves? An longum foristan esse / esse tuum, ut nostrum, desinet esse brevi. / Incertum, velox, angustum tempus, etaeuum, / excipit aeternans esse, perenne fore.*

8. (originally in the epitaph of Feliks Kos, see *Starowolski* 1655, p. 342): *Cur inilaris homo? Cur terra cinisq. superbis? / Sta pensa ut vermes viscera nostra vorant / deciperis votis, momento falleris uno, / mors ridet curas, anxia vita nihil.*

**History:** According to Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski 1968a), the monument has been commissioned by Mikołaj Kos himself before his death in 1599, since it was apparently completed already at the time of his funeral in January 1600. This hypothesis, based on the information provided by *Annales Monasterii Olivensis*, may be correct. However, it must be remembered that the expression ‘*ubi nunc eius epitaphium extat*’ could have been written some years later, and therefore may not be precise enough (compare with introduction to the *Annales*, esp. p. 6). Originally, the monument was placed in the main nave (crossing?), next to the northern wall. Effigy of Andrzej Kos, Mikołaj’s son, has been added after his death in 1618. Between 1831 and 1850 the monument has been moved to its current place and integrated with the epitaph of Felix Kos. The move led to a change of the structure, and some of its elements, like columns, were put in different order. The monument was renovated in 2005.

**Bibliography:** Kretschmer 1847, p. 49-50; Hirsch 1850a, p. 53, 56; Hirsch 1850b, p. 54; Heise 1885, p. 121; Knetsch 1903, p. 28; Dehio 1906, p. 353; Cuny 1910a, p. 79; Kruszyński 1913, p. 111; Cuny 1921, p. 18; Makowski 1932, p. 95, 161; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 50; *Sesja* 1955, p. 185-186; Tatarkiewicz 1956, p. 274; Hornung 1959a, p. 110; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 156; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 79-84; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 590; Krzyżanowski 1968a; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Karpowicz 1975, p. 48; Nowak 1982, p. 742; Kęłowski 1987, p. 121; Karpowicz 1988, p. 25, 284, figs. 50-51; Guć-Jednaszewska 1992, p. 91; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Łoziński 1992, p. 403; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 452; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Grzybkowska 1997a, p. 112-123; Woziński 1997, p. 119; Chrzanowski 1998a, 1, p. 32; Iwicki 2001, p. 20-23; Kowalkowski 2002, p. 412; Tomaszewska-Szewczyk 2002, p. 321; Karpowicz 2003, p. 44; Lipińska 2003, p. 76; Iwicki 2004, p. 123-127, p. 234; Lipińska 2007, p. 150; Wardzyński 2007, fig. 10; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 80

**Source information:**

*Annales Monasterii Olivensis*, p. 117 (Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 448):

[16<sup>th</sup> January 1600] *Hodie Gensus D Nicolaus Koss [...] defunctus in praedio nostro (quod tenebat per arendam) Succim [...] hodie depositus fuit in ecclesia parochiali.*; [19<sup>th</sup> January 1600] *Hodie eadem processione funus fuit deductum ad nostram ecclesiam, contato sacro, habita concione sepultus fuit, ubi nunc eius epitaphium extat. Omnes spirituales fuerunt tractati in conventu expensis viduae D Koss.*

*Dachnowski*, p. 119:

*Także i brat jego [Feliks Kos] Andrzej Coss, którego nagrobek, jako i rodziców jego dość przystojny i kosztowny, wystawiony w Oliwie, z takim napisem [...]*

**Attribution history and author’s remarks:** The monument is one of the most disputed works within Willem van den Blocke’s oeuvre. The first to suggest his authorship was Hirsch in 1850; same author dated the monument to c. 1620 and pointed to its formal affinities with the monument of Simon Bahr in Gdańsk. This attribution was cautiously accepted by others (Heise, Knetsch, Puttner). Cuny, however, gave it to Abraham van den Blocke (Cuny 1910a and, especially, Cuny 1921). Since then, both attributions continue to reappear in literature. This ambiguity is best illustrated by Krzyżanowski. In his initial study (Krzyżanowski 1958) he rejected Willem’s authorship. However, in his unpublished dissertation (Krzyżanowski 1966) he presented a different opinion, giving it to the master. He upheld this opinion in his major study concerning the Kos and Bahr monuments, where he also published a document suggesting that the monument has been executed before 1600 - as had already been stated by Knetsch. Krzyżanowski’s opinion has generally been accepted by later scholars, though some

considered it to be Abraham's work, and dated it – probably after Hirsch - to c. 1620 (Grzybkowska 1997a).

Although unique within Willem van den Blocke's oeuvre, the free standing tomb of Mikołaj Kos and his family can be firmly attributed to the sculptor. The effigy of Mikołaj Kos displays affinity with other works by master Willem and his studio, especially the figures of Georg Friedrich in Königsberg and Johan III Vasa in Uppsala, both documented works by the artist. The profile with a long beard, high forehead, elongate, sharply carved nose with prominent bridge and recessed jaw, is very close to that of Georg Friedrich. Similarly, elongated pointed nose and deeply-set eyes, as well as similar rendering of hair, can be seen in the effigy of Andreas Báthory. Carving of the long beard of the deceased is akin to that of Johan III in Uppsala. Similarities – for instance in carving of hands - can also be observed in other works executed in sandstone, namely the effigies of Krzysztof Kostka, Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł and Christopher von Dohna. Certain differences existing between Kos' effigy and some other works by van den Blocke, such as the effigies of Johan III Vasa and Piotr Tarnowski, especially in rendering of armour, may result from difference in material. The statue of Justyna Kos must have been executed by one of the master's assistants. This artist appears to have also been involved in execution of the monument of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł in Nesvizh (c. 1593?) and the tombstone of Jerzy Oleski in Pieniązkowo (c. 1598).

Architectural structure of the tomb reveals acquaintance with designs by Cornelis Floris.



Fig. B.13.1 Reconstruction of the original form by Lech Krzyżanowski

Fig. B.13.2 Sepulchral effigy, detail



Fig. B.13.3 General view

## B. 14 - Sepulchral monument of Krzysztof Kostka

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Golub-Dobrzyń (Gollub/Golau), parish church, choir (today chapel adjoining the southern wall of nave)

C. 1600

Sandstone

Traces of gilding

Original shape of the monument is unknown. Most likely, it was a wall tomb with reclining effigy of the deceased.

**Inscription:** Parts after *Dachnowski*, p. 58: *D.M.O. / Felix, qui meruit tranquillam ducere vitam, / et laetos stabili claudere fine dies. / Ilustri et magnifico Domino Christophoro Comititis Kostka a Stemberg, in Mrocza Domino, Palatino Pomeraniae, / Golubiensi, Bernensi Capitaneo, antique generis nobilitate et omnium insignium, virtutum concursu, / religione, probitate, morum integritate, et liberalis vitae splendore incomparabili / Stanislaus Kostka Terrarum Prussiae Thesaurarius etc., / Christopherus Kostka Bernensis, Georgius Kostka Golubensis Capitanei etc. / Patri charissimo merentes merente hunc tumulum et titulum posuerunt et dedicarunt, / qui me uxore castissima faecundaque, qui liberis honestissimis, qui opibus et honoribus, qui tua benedictione beati, / post modum vero Regi Henrico impensius studentem Paulo attribuisti Deus, ut finite hac mortali vita aeterna / Dees humiliter te deprecor posterique omnes, ut propre immensam Maiestatem Tuam exorent devote postulo. / Exactis plus minus sexaginta quatuor annis, maxima vero parte aetatis in Republice negociis consumpta, / obit in oppido Mrocza Anno Domini 1594 die 5 Augusti hic sepultus iacet Golubii.*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to creation of the monument are known. According to the memorial inscription, it has been commissioned by sons of Krzysztof Kostka (Stanisław, Krzysztof and Grzegorz), probably after his death. It was erected in the choir of the church. However, it was apparently moved to the nave already in the seventeenth century and dismantled afterwards. The remaining effigy was installed in the present location in St. Nicolas' chapel in 1955. It was restored afterwards (legs).

### **Bibliography:**

*Dachnowski*, p. 58; Heise 1891, p. 363; *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 291; *KZSwP*, 11/6, p. 18, fig. 121; *Krzyżanowski* 1967, p. 589; *Tomczak* 1968a, p. 351; *Chruściński* (ed.) 1979, p. 200; *Łoziński* 1992, p. 405; *Kardasz* 1994, p. 32-33; *Kostka* 1995, p. 54; *Birecki* 2008, p. 107

### **Source information:**

*Inventarium Ecclesiae Parochialis Golubensis* [since 1633], archive of the Golub parish [after *Birecki* 2008, p. 107, note 135] This document provides information about the original localization of the monument in the church's choir.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** So far, this work did not attract any scholarly interest, except for a short historical note by *Birecki* in 2008. It can be firmly attributed to van den Blocke. In particular, the effigy is strongly reminiscent of that of Johan III in Uppsala. Similarities can be observed both in its overall composition – for instance positioning of torso and hips – and in details, such as the form of the cope. However, legs are represented positioned parallel to each other, similarly as in the figure of Balthazar Báthory, although with much greater volume and stativity. With regard to the latter characteristic, the Kostka effigy is particularly close to that of Piotr Tarnowski.

Van den Blocke's authorship is also indicated by rendering of various details. The face of the deceased, with high eyebrows and round, bald forehead, is strongly reminiscent of the figures of Johan III in Uppsala and Mikołaj Kos in Oliwa. Some details, like wrinkles above the nose, resemble such works by the master as the bust of Johann Brandes in Gdańsk and the figure of Jerzy Oleski in Pieniążkowo. Positioning of the left hand, obscuring a large part of the face, is reminiscent of the effigies of Martin de Berzeviczy, Johan III and Piotr Tarnowski. These figures also provide a precedent for rendering of the left arm. Moreover, rendering of the right hand, such as shape of fingers and veins, strongly resemble that visible in the Kos figure in Oliwa.

Furthermore, details of ornamental decoration of the armour and pillow show close affinity to analogous elements in the Tarnowski, Vasa and Báthory tombs. Similarity can be observed not only in use of particular ornamental motives, but also in their sculptural rendering – a matter of considerable importance given the difference in material.



Fig. B.14.1 Sepulchral effigy, detail



Fig. B.14.2 Sepulchral effigy



Fig. B.14.3 Sepulchral effigy, detail

## B. 15 - Sepulchral monument of Stanisław Radziwiłł

Grand Duchy of Lithuania, (Poland-Lithuania, today Lithuania), Vilnius (Wilno), former Bernardine church

After 1618

Architectural structure of the monument is made of various varieties of limestone; effigy made of sandstone; figural and ornamental decoration made of alabaster

c. 350 x 500 cm

Wall epitaph constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* with entablature and supports. Its structure is three-partite. Central zone, placed on a massive base, consists of a large panel with an arch and tondo with coat-of-arms, flanked by two Corinthian columns placed on high and richly decorated pedestals. In its centre is a sarcophagus placed on a high base with reclining effigy clad in armour. Central part of the monument is flanked by large strapwork side panels. Upper zone is divided from the central part by entablature bound by consoles placed on the axes of columns. It consists of rectangular tablet with figural scene carved in relief crowned by a triangular pediment with sitting female figure on the top. On each side of the tablet is a reclining female figure (one missing).

Ornamental decoration consists of foliate scrolls, clusters of fruit and grotesque figures in foliage.

### Inscriptions:

On the inscription panel: *D.O.M. / Stanislaus Radziwiłł / Dei gratia S. Rom. Imperij Princeps / Dux Olycae et Nieświesz / supremus in M. D. L. Marschalcus / deinde / Generalis Samogitiae Capitaneus etc. / Romam pro tempore iubilaei proficiscens / Passaviae Anno Dni 1599 aetatis suae 40 Marty 19 Martuus / hic conditur / cui parenti desideratissimo / pium hoc monumentum gratus Filus Albertus Stanislaus /Radziwiłł Dei gratia Princeps S. R. I. Olycae et Nieswicz / dux M. D. L. Vice Cancelarius Capitaneus / Luceorien maeven etc. Moerens fieri fecit.*

**History:** According to the inscription, the monument has been erected by Albrycht Stanisław, son of the deceased. As pointed out by Morelowski, who referred to offices mentioned in the inscriptions, it must have been commissioned after 1618 (probably between 1618 and 1623). Moved to the current location in the church after 1764. In late nineteenth century (after 1864) and after Second World War (till 1980), when the church was closed by Russian authorities, the monument suffered considerable damage. Today many of its elements are missing (allegorical figures, elements of decoration), while remaining elements of structure and decoration are strongly damaged, both by mechanical and environmental causes.

### Bibliography:

Fleury, fig. 554; Świeykowski 1912a; Jäger 1918, p. 34-35, fig 35; Kłos 1923, p. 118; Eckhardtówna 1933, p. 63; Starzyński&Walicki 1934, p. 1049, fig. 1301; Morelowski 1938/1939, p. 274-276, fig. XLIV-XLVII; Morelowski 1939, p. 117; Chmarzyński 1952; Krzyżanowski 1958, p. 293, fig. 16; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 155; Gębarowicz 1962, p. 290; Matuśakaitė 1968, p. 69-75; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Kozakiewiczowa 1978, p. 148; Matuśakaitė 1981; Gibavičius 1985, figs. 45-47; Gajewski 1986, p. 492; Karpowicz 1988, p. 25; Drėma 1991, p. 320, fig. 493; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Grinius 1994, p. 30, 43, fig. 6; Gołąb 1995, p. 108; Mikoćka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 535; Vaišvilaitė 1995, p. 42; Małachowicz 1996, p. 233, fig. 246; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 32; Bernatowicz 2000, s. 63-64, fig. 3; Karpowicz 2003, p. 44; Baranowski 2006, p. 222, fig. 154; Dylewski 2007, p. 190; Janonienė 2008, p. 111; Paknys 2008, p. 175; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322,

355; Janonienė 2009, p. 55; Matušakaitė 2009, p. 126-138, figs. 160–164, 167-170; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71

**Source information:**

Nineteenth century drawings by Alfred Romer and a watercolour by Zygmunt Świeykowski, today in the Lietuvos Nacionalinė Martyno Mažvydo biblioteka (National Library) in Vilnius (signatures F320-859, F320-860, F320-257, F320-216, F320-395), present the monument with some of the parts missing today. The same applies to the photograph published in *Fleury*.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The first to link the monument with Netherlandish influences - arriving in Vilnius through Gdańsk - was Świeykowski. Morelowski suggested authorship of Jan Philippijn. Wallon, known to have been present in Vilnius in early seventeenth century, as well as others, anonymous sculptors active there at that time. Moreover, he pointed to analogies in works by Cornelis Floris and Jacques du Broeucq. This attribution has been rejected by Krzyżanowski in favour of Willem van den Blocke's workshop. The monument has been recently mentioned in a number of occasions, for instance by Bernatowicz and Wardzyński, who accepted Krzyżanowski's opinion without further discussion. The same applies to studies by Matušakaitė (Matušakaitė 1968, Matušakaitė 2009), who for the most part repeated old arguments.

Krzyżanowski was certainly right in pointing to similarities between the monument in question and works by Willem van den Blocke. Basic composition of the monument, with centrally placed sarcophagus on a high base flanked with columns, is close to that of the Tarnowski and Berzeviczy tombs. Furthermore, the form of entablature with architrave, frieze and reversed cornice, is akin to that known from the tomb of Ture Bielke, even though some small details have been rendered in a different way. The upper zone consists of a rectangular tablet crowned with triangular pediment, similarly as in the Berzeviczy monument. Also ornamental decoration, consisting of acanthus scrolls, clusters of fruits and other grotesque motives, is close to that used by van den Blocke. Further link is provided by the iconographical program including the trio of allegorical figures characteristic for the circle of Cornelis Floris and often used by van den Blocke.

However, even though architectural structure of the tomb resembles those of van den Blocke's works, its sculptural rendering is different. The effigy resembles figures attributable to van den Blocke's studio and circle, such as those of Christopher von Dohna and Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, but only in a general way. Further differences in sculptural rendition can be observed in ornamental decoration, much sharper than in van den Blocke's works. Also the personifications of *Mors* and *Immortalitas*, although akin to works executed in the van den Blocke studio, differ in details. Shallow folds and sharp curves of drapery set these figures from other similar works attributable to the studio. Further differences can be observed in characteristic facial features, with dominating long, pointed noses and large mouths and eyes. Finally, all these figures lack the characteristic small details of clothing and hair-dress. Nonetheless, both figures have certainly been inspired by earlier works of the van den Blocke's studio. As pointed out above, the personification of *Mors* decorating the epitaph of the brothers von Damerau almost certainly served as a model for this statue, despite some differences, especially in the positioning of legs. Alike, the *Immortalitas* from Uppsala seems to have provided a model for the analogical figure in Vilnius. The sculptor responsible for the Radziwiłł monument must have either been familiar with these works, or been provided with appropriate designs. Judging by such features as physiognomies or sharp carving, the same artist was responsible for the *Resurrection* in the upper zone.

Willem van den Blocke, almost 70 years old at that time, could have provided design for the monument. Its execution, however, has certainly been left to another sculptor, especially since - at least according to extant sources - the master's studio did not exist anymore at that time. It seems very

likely that – in line with Krzyżanowski’s opinion - he was one of van den Blocke’s former pupils or assistants, possibly working under direction of the old master, as indicated by his adherence to formal traits represented by the latter, already old-fashioned c. 1620.



Fig. B.15.1 General view



Fig. B.15.2 – General view ( late 19<sup>th</sup> century)

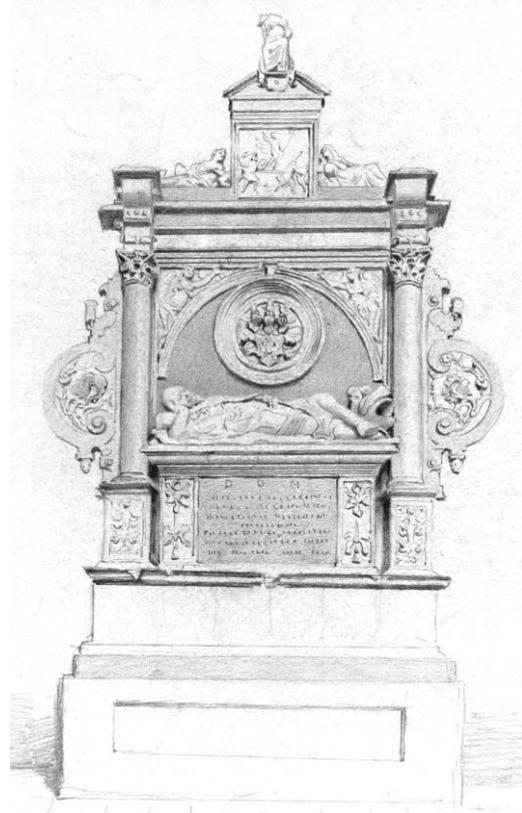


Fig. B.15.3 – General view, drawing by Alfred Romer (19<sup>th</sup> century) © Lietuvos Nacionalinė Martyno Bažvydo Biblioteka



Fig. B.15.4 Effigy

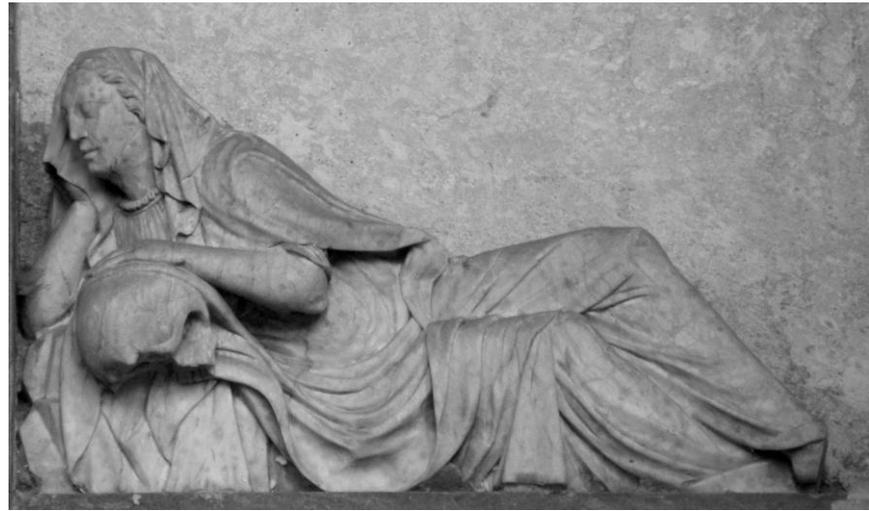


Fig. B.15.5 Ornamental plaque, below one of the columns

Fig. B.15.6 Figure of *Mors/Quies*



Fig. B.15.7 Left side panel

Fig. B.15.8 *Resurrection*, upper zone

Fig. B.15.9 Figure of *Immortalitas*

## B. 16 - Statue of *Caritas*

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Chełmno (Culm/Kulm), Town Hall

c. 1590

Sandstone, polychromed and gilded

c. 90 cm

Standing female figure clad in antique manner, with left leg and right breast uncovered. In her left hands she carries a child, while two other are standing on her sides; one of the is presenting her a fruit.

**History:** Origin of this statue is unknown. It is recorded in its current location in the Chełmno Town Hall already c. 1700. It could have been a part of otherwise unknown decoration of its interiors, created in late sixteenth century. Significant refurbishing was carried out there in the second half of the century, especially between 1567-1572 – what would be, however, too early for the figure in question – but nothing is known about this early decoration. However, it cannot be ruled out that the statue was originally part of an unknown funeral monument, moved to the Town Hall only later. In fact, it is possible, although purely hypothetical, that it could have been a part of the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. A statue of Amor (*Caritas*) of a roughly similar size has been removed from the latter, possibly already in the seventeenth century.

### **Bibliography:**

Semrau 1891; Semrau 1893, p. 77; Gąsiorowski 1965, p. 22; Kałdowski 1984, p. 57; Mroczko 1987, p. 176–177, fig. 15; Mroczko 1988; Chrzanowski&Kornecki 1991, p. 64, fig. 16; Zieliński 2007, p. 276

### **Sources:**

*Symbola et inscriptiones*, p. 4 (published in Semrau 1891 and Semrau 1893):

*Supra fores statua ex lapide Charitatis. Supra statuae: Omnibus et singulis. Sub eadem statua: Non quaerit, quae sua sunt.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The statue has been for the first time given to Willem van den Blocke by Gąsiorowski and Kałdowski, although without substantial arguments. This attribution has been rejected by Mroczko (Mroczko 1987), who linked the figure with refurbishing of the Town Hall in 1567-1572 and attributed it to the anonymous sculptor active in Gdańsk, usually called in scholarly literature 'Master of the Caryatides'. This attribution, however, is not convincing, as the sculpture in question lacks formal characteristics typical for this artist.

The figure can be attributed to Willem van den Blocke workshop on stylistic grounds. It shares a number of formal characteristics - pose, treatment of drapery, decorative details – with figures embellishing the epitaphs of the Stroband family in Toruń as well as the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs in Gdańsk. Furthermore, one of the putti shows close similarity with analogical figures decorating the Blemke epitaph and the tomb of King Johan III Vasa. Similarities between the statue in question and symbolic figures embellishing the Stroband (1590) and Blemke (1591) epitaphs are in fact significant enough to attribute all of them to a single artist, either van den Blocke himself or one of his assistants, and date the figure to c. 1590.



Fig. B.16.1 General view



## **Catalogue C**

### **Rejected former attributions**

### **C. 1 - Tomb slabs of Johann Brandes and Edurad Blemke**

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig), St. Mary church  
c. 1577 and 1593

Limestone, brass

Brandes' slab decorated with brass inscription tablets. Blemke's slab decorated with scrollwork cartouche and ornamental motives.

**Bibliography:** KZSwP, Seria Nowa, VIII/1, p. 120, 122

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** This attribution, forwarded by authors of the *Katalog zabytków*, is unwarranted. Most likely, it was based on the fact that van den Blocke executed the Brandes and Blemke epitaphs. However, there is no reason to suppose that the same sculptor was also commissioned with making tomb slabs, especially since the slab of Johann Brandes, who died in 1577, must have been made several years before van den Blocke's arrival in Gdańsk.

## C. 2 - Sepulchral monument of Jędrzej Noskowski

Masovia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Maków Mazowiecki, parish church

1591

Sandstone, ornamental frieze carved in alabaster

Traces of polychromy; according to Stroczyński, the effigy was painted red, while the rest of the structure was white (apparently in the manner reminiscent of sixteenth century Italianate workshops active in southern Poland).

c. 250 cm x c. 300 cm

Original structure of the monument has been heavily altered. At the present moment it is a two-partite wall monument, without a base. Its lower part consists of a panel framed with an egg-frieze, flanked by two large volutes decorated with foliage. In the centre is reclining effigy of the deceased clad in armour. Upper zone, separated with ornamental frieze, in form of *aedicula* consisting of terms and entablature, with inscription in the centre. It is flanked on each side by a large, decorative panel. On the top is cartouche with coat-of-arms, flanked by obelisks.

### Inscriptions:

On the inscription panel: *Iaendrae Noscovii pulchrum / tegit ossa sepulchrum / quem lachesis iustam suscipit / ante diem/ magna viro pietas, magnus virtutis / et aequi / synceraeq fuit relligionis amor / ergo pro meritis dignos / assumisit honores / regib9 et patriae char9 ubi.q suae / vix quater aetatis denos / exegerat annos / iniecit cum illi mors inimica man9 / et gelidum caeco clausit sub / marmore corpus / sed nunc aeterni vivit in arce poli*

In the upper zone: *1591*

**History:** As indicated by the date inscribed on the monument itself, it has been finished in 1591. The monument has been seriously damaged either in the seventeenth or eighteenth century (1655-1657, 1703, 1790?) and rebuilt - in a modified form - after 1837. Considerably damaged, it has been restored in 1988-1990.

### Bibliography:

Stronczyński, p. 161; Baliński&Lipiński 1885, p. 644-645; Wesolek 1938, p. 27; Gradowska 1964, p. 238; Gołąb 1995; KZSwP 10/7, p. 13-14, fig. 45; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 71, 79

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument in question perfectly illustrates difficulties encountered while attempting attribution of monumental sculpture. Its attribution remains uncertain. It cannot be ruled out that master Willem was involved in its creation, for instance by providing design. However, this is difficult to ascertain because of damage done to the structure. Nonetheless, the monument must have been executed by a different artist. He was certainly acquitted with Willem van den Blocke, being one of his assistants or collaborators.

The monument has been thoroughly analyzed by Gołąb, who gave it to Willem van den Blocke and his studio. She based her argument primarily on similarity of ornamental decoration with works attributable to the artist. However, this attribution requires further consideration. It is certainly true that such motives as foliate scrolls with figures, female masks surrounded by fruits and an egg-frieze framing the central panel were frequently used by van den Blocke. In particular, the finely carved ornamental frieze decorated with foliate scroll – the only element of the Noskowski monument made of alabaster, strongly damaged - is reminiscent of those in the monument of Duchess Elisabeth

in Königsberg and the altar in St. John church in Gdańsk, the latter by Abraham van den Blocke (both ignored by Gołąb). Also large volutes with foliage appear in one of his works, namely the Bielke tomb in Linköping.

However, sculptural rendering of these details - with exception of the abovementioned frieze, made in a different material and by a different hand - differs considerably from works plausibly attributed to van den Blocke. In particular, rendering of foliate scrolls ending with female figures hardly resemble those in the Báthory and Tarnowski monuments.

As has already been observed by Gołąb, sculptural rendering of the effigy and its details does not resemble van den Blocke's works. It is also true with regard to those made in sandstone, such as the figures of Krzysztof Kostka and Mikołaj Kos. Perhaps the closest analogy is provided by the figure of Ture Bielke, most likely created by a sculptor cooperating with van den Blocke (Cat. A.5).

Another work displaying affinity with the monument in question – also ignored by Gołąb - is the chimneypiece from the house of Zacharias Krell in Elbląg, attributed to Willem van den Blocke by Rynkiewicz-Domino. In particular, similarity can be observed with regard to some details of ornamental decoration, such as female masks with fruits and vegetables. Furthermore the upper zone of the monument in question with analogical parts of two works in Elbląg: the epitaph of Valentin von Bodeck by van den Blocke (before 1594) and a chimneypiece - perhaps influenced by the von Bodeck epitaph - today in Waplewo, but formerly in the Elbląg Town Hall.



Fig. C.2.1 – General view



Fig. C.2.2 Alabaster frieze with foliate scroll, detail



Fig. C.2.3 - Detail



Fig. C.2.4 – Effigy, detail

### C. 3 - Sculptural decoration of the Old Town Hall in Gdańsk

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig)

C. 1590-1595

Sandstone

Decoration of the façade consists of richly decorated portal and several ornamental plaques. The portal consist of plaques decorated with figural motives, masks and ornamental details. Its upper part is flanked by two large, richly decorated consoles with figures and topped with entablature with coat-of-arms in a frieze.

**History:** Gdańsk Old Town Hall has probably been built between 1587 and 1595. Very few written sources pertaining to its building history are known. Its sculptural decoration was to a certain degree replaced already before World War II and subsequently damaged - although not destroyed - in 1945. The building has been restored recently.

#### **Bibliography:**

*Ranisch*, p. 38; Löschin 1836, p. 54; Lindner 1901, p. 27; Lindner 1903, fig. 65; Blech 1904, p. 20; Cuny 1906, p. 424-426; Cuny 1910a, p. 35, fig. 20; Kruszyński 1912, p. 100; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 28; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 91-98; Habela 1975, p. 72-74, 82; Pałubicki 1981, p. 175; Habela 1986, p. 6, 20-22; Łoziński 1992, p. 396-397; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 117; J. Friedrich 1995, p. 197-200; Bartetzky 2000, p. 144; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 74

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The building was traditionally linked with the architect Anthonis van Obbergen. However, Bartetzky (Bartetzky 2000, Bartetzky 2004, Bartetzky 2006) plausibly argued against this attribution. Sculptural decoration of the building façade was given to various sculptors active in Gdańsk at that time, including Willem van den Blocke, Willem van der Meer and Nickel Jacobsen. However, only the latter's involvement is confirmed by written sources – in his supplication to the City Council Jacobsen mentioned his involvement in the works (APG 300, 36/65, p. 23-24; see also Pałubicki 1981). Formal characteristics of the decorative details do not indicate van den Blocke's involvement.



Fig. C.3.1 Portal, general view

## C. 4 - Epitaph of Martin Mochinger

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Toruń (Thorn), St. Mary's church, westernmost pier of the south nave (originally on the second eastern pier)

C. 1590

Wood, polychromed and gilded

Wall epitaph constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula* with entablature and supports. Its structure is four-partite. Lower part in form of a scrollwork cartouche with large inscription tablet. Central zone of the epitaph is two-partite; each section consists of a painted panel flanked by caryatides and richly decorated side panels with putti. Upper zone is separated from the central one by entablature with moulding bound by consoles. It consists of strapwork cartouche with coats-of-arms, with three standing female figures on the top.

Rich decoration of the epitaph consists above all of strapwork cartouches, clusters of fruit, masks and figures of putti.

### Inscriptions:

Published in a simplified version in *Starowolski 1655*, p. 386-387: *Vita quod haec mortem, mors afferat aspera vitam / Lazare bis vivens bis moriture doces.*

*D.O.M. Martino Mochingero / Med. Doctori / Iudicii Terr. Culmen. / Assessori / Civitatis huius Consuli / Burgrabio Regio / Viro et literis et Virtute / clarissimo. / Anno CD. D. XC. Cal. Novemb. / aetatis suae LIII / Vita defuncto / Vidva et haeredes / P.P.*

Lost, after Semrau 1892, p. 28 : *Catharinae Strobandinae Martini Mochingeri uxori clarissimae foeminate pietate et pudicitia conspicuae ao. MDCIV V Calend. Octob. aetatis LVIII vita functatae.*

On a book held by one of caryatides: *Deo / sup- / lica / paren- / tes / ama / cog. / natos / cole. / magis- / tratu / metue.*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the monument are known.

**Bibliography:** *Starowolski 1655*, p. 386-387; *Wernicke 1836*, p. 279; *Neuer Führer*, p. 36–37; Heise 1889, p. 290; Semrau 1892, p. 27-28; Uebrick 1903, p. 56; Orłowicz 1924, p. 28; *Diecezja chełmińska*, p. 676; Makowski 1932, p. 97-106; Chmarzyński 1933, p. 526, 534; Chmarzyński 1936, p. 388; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 77; Puciata-Pawłowska 1958/1959, p. 216-218; Gumowski 1970, p. 114; Kruszelnicka 1985, p. 41-42; Krakowiecka-Górecka 1990, p. 289-290; Łoziński 1992, p. 480; Dehio-Gall 1993, p. 622; Domasłowski&Jarzewicz 1998, p. 141-143, fig. 41; Sulewska 2004, p. 60-61, 254-255; Birecki 2005, p. 288-289; Birecki 2007, p. 326-329, fig. 64; Kluczwajd&Tylicki 2009, p. 210;

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The epitaph is generally considered to have been made in Gdańsk. More specifically, it is attributed to Matthias Neisser, wood-carver responsible for the Neisser epitaph in the same church. It was given to van den Blocke by Domasłowski and Jarzewicz in 1998. This attribution, unsupported by any arguments, is unconvincing. Architectural design of the epitaph as well as rendering of its figural and ornamental decoration do not resemble works by this artist. What is more, there is no indication he ever worked in wood. The Mochinger epitaph was in all probability created by a woodcarver well-acquainted with the Netherlandish formal language, most likely active in Gdańsk. He could have also been responsible for several other works created in Prussia at that time. Next to the abovementioned epitaph of the Neisser family - which display, however, certain dissimilarity with the work in question, especially with regard to figural decoration (Sulewska 2004, p. 60) - he could have created the altar in Szywna (Cat. C.10).



Fig. C.4.1 General view

## C. 5 - Sepulchral monument of Piotr Kostka

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Chełmża (Culmsee/Kulmsee), former cathedral, northern wall of the choir

c. 1595

Architectural structure of the monument is made of white and red limestone; the latter was also used to carve the effigy. Columns and sarcophagus made of yellow alabaster. Symbolic figures carved in brown-green 'Ruthenian' alabaster.

Details polychromed.

c. 435 x 640 cm

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. High base of the monument, with projecting central part, is decorated with large inscription cartouches. Central *aedicula* consist of a niche in form of an arch, flanked by large Corinthian columns supporting entablature. In its centre is a sarcophagus with reclining effigy of the deceased, with figural tondo above. On each side of the central *aedicula* are two superimposed niches with standing female figures, the lower ones flanked by Ionic pilasters. Upper zone of the monument, separated from the central one by massive entablature, consists of a cartouche with coat-of-arms, flanked on each side by standing figure, with another one on the top.

### Inscriptions:

On the main inscription panel: *D.O.M. / Irrepraehensibili Episcopo, Integerrimo Senatori, / Eloquentissimo Scriptori, Domi et Foris / Clarissimo, Petro Kosthka Episcopo Culmen., / frater et patruales moerentes posuerut. / vixit annos LXII mortuus Lubaviae mense / Ianuario die XXV Anno Domini MDXCV / Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.*

In the lower zone:

1. *Virtus ex sepulcro / lucent nec ulli corrup- / tioni est obnoxia.*
2. *Boni cuiusq. iuditio, / pietate praestans, eru- / ditine excellens, morib. / integer, consilio rectus, / in Senatu gravis, domi / iucundus, ubique vene- / randus.*
3. *Angustos terminos / humanae vitae dila- / tat bene acta vita.*
4. *Polonoru. quatuor Regum / Sigismundi Augusti / Jagelony, cuius erat / secretarius, Henrici / Valesii, a quo episcopus / creatus, Stephani Batorei / et Sigismundi Tertii / quorum erat senator / testimoniis amplissimis / decoratus.*

In the upper zone : *Urna tuo satis haec Kostka / est pro corpore magna // Virtus mansolea supra est / omnesque colossos*

Under symbolic figures : *Iustitia rectus // Prudentia sagax // Temperantia castus // Fortitudine tutus*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to commissioning and execution of the monument are known. According to the inscription, it has been commissioned by brother and nephews of the deceased.

**Bibliography:** Heise 1894, p. 514; Dehio 1906, p. 249; Hedicke 1913, 1, p. 158; Chmarzyński 1928; Makowski 1932, p. 92; Kieszkowski&Zachwatowicz 1933, p. 15-16; Sinko 1936, p. 160; Chmarzyński 1952, p. 193; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 82-83; KZSwP, 11/16, p. 16, figs. 201-202; Dehio-Gall 1993, p. 341; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1994; Birecki 2001, p. 95-97; Dorawa 2003, p. 98-100

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument was linked with Netherlandish influences in by Heise and Hedicke. The former believed that it was made by a sculptor responsible for the tomb of Martin de Berzeviczy in Lisnowo. The latter, on the other hand, suggested close links with the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg, thus giving the work in question to van den Blocke.

This entirely mistaken attribution has already been refuted by Chmarzyński in 1928, who linked the monument with the Cracow milieu, pointing to its similarity with the Leśniowski tomb in St. Mary church there. Cracow origin of the monument has been proved by Mikocka-Rachubowa, who gave it firmly to a Northern Italian sculptor active in Cracow c. 1590-1600, Giovanni de Simonis. This is asserted by formal characteristics of the architectural structure and figural decoration of the monument as well as the materials used to create it, unusual for workshop active in Prussia. This artist was also responsible for several major monuments destined for various places in Lesser and Greater Poland.



Fig. C.5.1 General view

## C. 6 – Portals of patrician houses in Gdańsk

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig)

Portals in the houses on Długa 55 (Langgasse 55; original, today in the St. Goerge House), Chlebnicka 24 (Brotbänkengasse 24; partially original), Ogarna 58 (Hundegasse 58), Ogarna 62 (Hundegasse 62; lost, in 1904 r. on Piwną 37/38?), Długie Pobrzeże 11 (after Habela) and Piwna 62 (after Habela).

All portals made of sandstone, with traces of polychromy

All portals in form of *aedicula* with pilasters - usually Doric - and entablature. They are decorated with various ornamental motives, including clusters of fruits, masks and strapwork cartouches, as well as figures placed in spandrels.

### Inscriptions:

On Długa 55: *H[?]B*

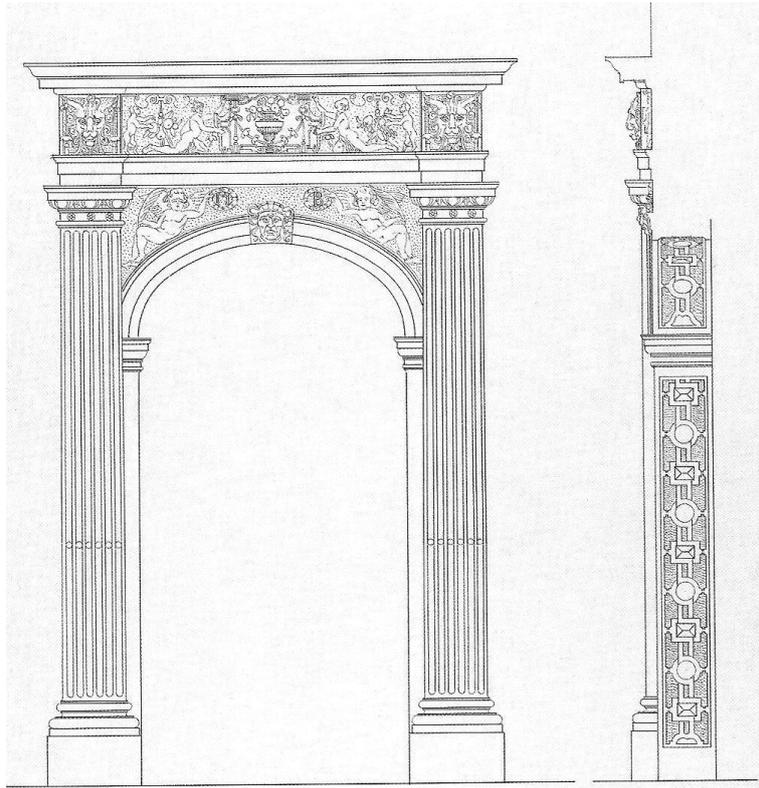
On Ogarna 62: *1596*

**History:** Early history of these works remains unknown. Most – except for Długa 55 - have been damaged or destroyed in 1945.

### Bibliography:

Cuny 1910a, p. 76-79; Dąbrowski 1932/1934; Dehio/Gall 1952; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 103-106; Stankiewicz 1966; Habela 1992a, p. 122-123; Dehio/Antoni 1993; Tylicki 1997a; KZSwP, Seria Nova, 8/1, p. 202, 276, 358, 359 figs. 72, 304, 363; O.Rollenhagen 2008, figs. 99, 102, 104, 105,

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The first to single out group of portals in Gdańsk (Długa 55, Chlebnicka 24, Ogarna 58 and 62) was Cuny (Cuny 1910a), who also gave them to van den Blocke. Furthermore, he linked them with analogous works in Toruń and Elbląg. However, although Cuny was right in pointing to similarities between at least some of these works, his attribution attempt was unsupported by any convincing arguments. Nonetheless, his opinion was repeated by some later scholars, including Dąbrowski in 1932/1934, Stankiewicz in 1966 and Habela in 1992. Krzyżanowski, on the other hand, doubted van den Blocke's authorship, in his unpublished dissertation giving many of them to Willem van der Meer. However, this attribution is equally spurious. These portals have certainly been made by unidentified as yet stonecutters active in Gdańsk c. 1600. They could have either led their own studios, or worked in larger workshops managed by building masters. They were probably acquitted with van den Blocke and his works, but can hardly be described as his followers.



Figs. C.6.1, C.6.2 – Portal of the house on Długa 55, drawing by O. Rollenhagen (before 1945) and detail

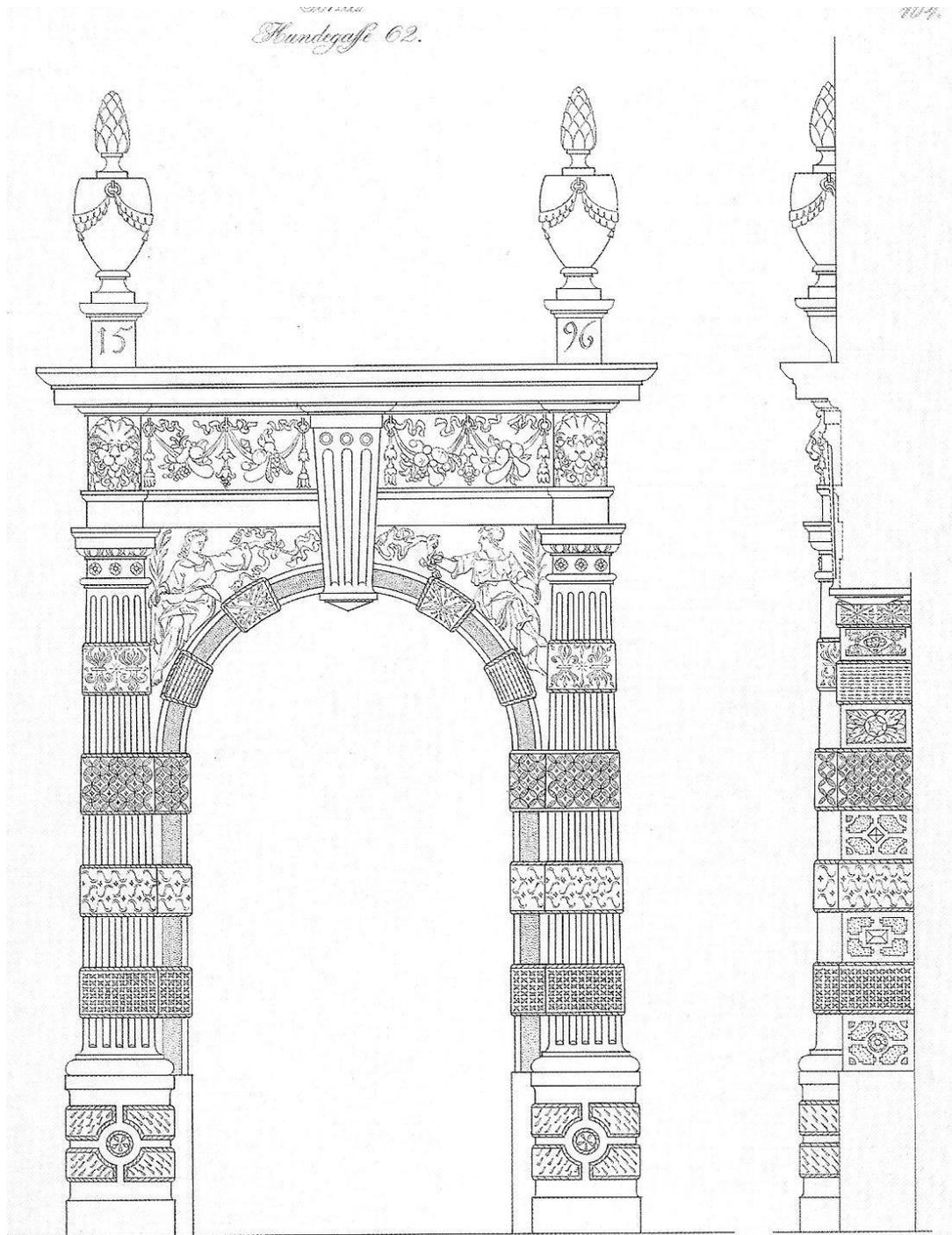


Fig. C.6.3 Portal of the house on Ogarna 62, drawing by O. Rollenhagen (before 1945)

### C. 7 - Portal and decoration of façade of the former house of the Esken family

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Toruń (Thorn), Łazienna 16 (formerly Badestraße)

C. 1600

Sandstone

Portal in form of *aedicula* with Doric pilasters and entablature. Spandrels are decorated with putti holding branches and wreaths, while the frieze with male and female figures ending in acanthus scrolls, holding tondo with personal symbols of the family. The portal is crowned by two standing figures of Roman soldiers. The portal as well as the entire façade is decorated with lion masks.

#### Inscription:

(After Dąbrowski 1932/1934): *FE*

**History:** The portal has probably been executed c. 1600 for Franz III Esken, who was refurbishing the house at that time; the letters 'FE' in all probability refer to him. In 1844 the house has been turned into a storage; the portal and some other decorative elements were nonetheless left in place. Today the building is part of the Muzeum Regionalne (Regional Museum) in Toruń.

#### Bibliography:

Heise 1899, p. 230; Semrau 1893, p. 89; Uebrick 1903, p. 98; Cuny 1910a, p. 77, fig. 39; Dąbrowski 1932-1934, p. 119–121, fig. I; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 80; Puciata-Pawłowska 1959, p. 220; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 104; Hauke 1967, p. 83, fig. 12, 13; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 590; Gumowski 1970, p. 54; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Habela 1992a, p. 122; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 626; Kardas 1997, p. 173-174; Tylicki 1997a; Wardzyński 2006, p. 198, note 50; Kluczewajd&Tylicki 2009, p. 199-200, 207, fig. 170; Sylwestrzak&Kachnic 2010, p. 246-247; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 75

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** This portal has been given to van den Blocke by Cuny in 1910, who also linked it with a group of similar works in Gdańsk and Elbląg (Cat. D.6 and D.8). This attribution was repeated by some other scholars, including Dąbrowski in 1932-1934, Puciata-Pawłowska in 1959 and Habela in 1992. On the other hand, in his unpublished dissertation Krzyżanowski gave it to Willem van der Meer. Since then both attributions reappear in literature.

Attribution to van den Blocke was based on the similarity of ornamental decoration, in particular acanthus scroll, with that present in works by this artist. However, considering differences in sculptural rendering, this similarity is superficial.

The work in question was created by anonymous stonecutter familiar with Netherlandish formal vocabulary, in all probability active in Gdańsk. This artist, or the studio he worked in, could have also been responsible for other similar works created in Prussia at that time, such as the portal in the house on Długa 55 in Gdańsk.



Fig. C.7.1 General view, present state

## C. 8 - Portal and decoration of façade of the house of Zacharias Krell

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Elbląg (Elbing), Wigilijna 18 (formerly Heilige Geiststraße 18)

C. 1600

Sandstone

Portal in form of *aedicula* with Doric columns and entablature. Bases of fluted columns are decorated with strapwork cartouches, while their lower parts with grotesque motives. Above the portal is a strapwork cartouche with lion masks, flanked by fluted Ionic pilasters. In it are two winged putti holding torches and wreaths with personal symbols of the family and letters ZK inside.

### Inscriptions:

ZK

1598

(after Carstenn 1937, p. 367): *Der Herr hat es gegeben*

**History:** The house has been built c. 1598, probably for Elbląg burgher Zaharias Krell. It has been significantly remodeled in the nineteenth century, when many elements (columns, consoles) were replaced with copies. Seriously damaged in 1945 and reconstructed afterwards.

**Source information:** Drawing by C. Porsch from 1857, published in Lockemann 1926, fig. on p. 17.

### Bibliography:

Cuny 1910a, p. 78–79, fig. 40; Dorr 1911, p. 11; Lockemann 1926, fig. on p. 17; Rendschmidt 1933, p. 40–41, fig. 37; Kownatzki 1936, p. 46; Carstenn 1937, p. 367; Hauke&Stobbe 1964, p. 147-152, fig. 112; Hauke 1967, p. 88, fig. 32; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 104; Gierszewski 1970, s. 111; Mamuszka 1978, s. 90; Habela 1992a, p. 123; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 168; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996a, p. 144-146; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996b, p. 267; Rynkiewicz-Domino 2005, p. 662; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 75

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The portal, along with several other works of this kind in Gdańsk and Toruń, has been given to van den Blocke by Cuny in 1910. This attribution was repeated by Rynkiewicz-Domino in 1996. However, it is not supported by any convincing arguments. Given the popularity of the Netherlandish formal vocabulary in Prussia c. 1600, lack of evidence confirming van den Blocke's involvement in decoration of burgher houses and the lack of original elements, the this attribution must be rejected.



Fig. C.8.1 General view, present state

## C. 9 – Portal of country house of the von der Linde family

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Łapino (Lappin/Lapino) near Gdańsk

C. 1592

Sandstone

Portal in form of an *aedicula* built of Doric pilasters and entablature. In spandrels are figures of putti holding branches and wreaths. Frieze is decorated with male and female figures ending in acanthus scrolls and holding a tondo with coat-of-arms.

### Inscriptions:

(After a drawing by W. Przybył from 1963): *Pax intrantibus et / salus exentibus / Anno 1592*  
*Renovatum Anno 1773*

**History:** Country house in Łapino, damaged during Gdańsk's conflict with Stephen Báthory in 1577, has been acquired by Adriaen von der Linde in 1585 and subsequently refurbished. According to the inscription, the portal itself has been made in 1592.

### Bibliography:

Stankiewicz 1966; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 590; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 352; Gawlicki 1997, p. 69, fig. 1

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The first to give this work to van den Blocke was Stankiewicz in 1966. This attribution was echoed by Gawlicki in 1997. This hypothesis was based on the portal's similarity with several works of this type in Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg, given to van den Blocke by Cuny. However, as has been discussed earlier, Cuny's attribution is unconvincing. Therefore, van den Blocke's authorship of the work in question must be rejected.

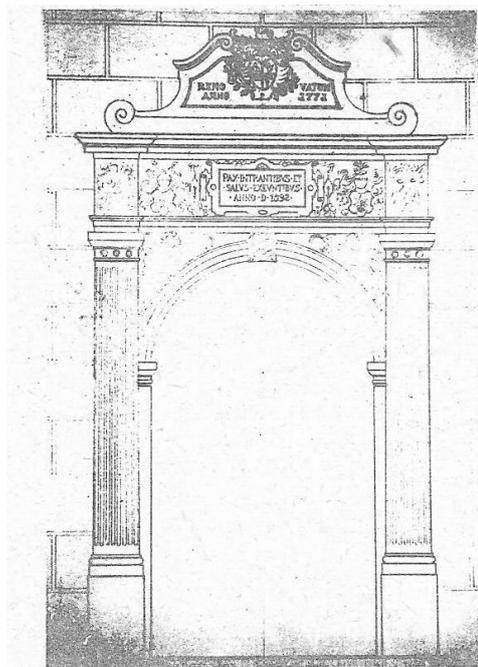


Fig. C.9.1 General view, reconstruction drawing by Wiktor Przybył, 1963

## C. 10 - Altar

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Szynwałd (Gross Schönwald/Schönwald), parish church

After 1594

Wood, polychromed and gilded

Altar constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its structure is three-partite. Central *aedicule*, flanked by side panels, is constructed of two Corinthian columns supporting entablature with moulding, bound with consoles. Upper zone consist of a strapwork cartouche with figure of an angel holding coats-of-arms.

The altar is decorated with foliate scrolls, cherub heads, clusters of fruits, foliage and strapwork cartouches.

**History:** As indicated by the coats-of-arms in the upper zone, the altar must have been commissioned by Samuel Gottard Łaski and his wife Zofia Kiskówna (Königseck), probably after 1594. At the time Łaski was refurbishing parish church in Szynwałd. It has probably been reworked in the nineteenth or early twentieth century; probably at that time a new painting in the central zone has been added.

### **Bibliography:**

KZSwP 11/7, p. 69, fig. 57; Kardasz (ed.) 1997, p. 99, fig. p. 97; Sulewska 1999; Sulewska 2003, p. 248-249; Sulewska 2004, p. 62-64, 160. 248-249, fig. 53.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The altar has been discussed for the first time by Sulewska, who gave it to Willem van den Blocke (Sulewska 1999). She upheld this opinion in her later publications. Attribution to van den Blocke was based on similarity of ornamental and architectural details, most importantly foliate scroll decorating the lower zone. However, this hypothesis is questionable at best. Most importantly, neither documents nor extant works by the van den Blocke studio indicate that the sculptor was working in wood. Sulewska argued that as an artist independent of guild regulations, he could have also been engaged in wood carving. However, current research revealed that he was in fact member of the guild. Sulewska has moreover referred to the altar design made by van den Blocke for the collegiate church in Zamość, suggesting - perhaps after Kowalczyk - that it was to be carved in wood. This opinion is purely speculative. As to the form of the altar, it follows highly popular Netherlandish idiom, exploited by numerous artists in Gdańsk, for instance the author of the Mochinger epitaph in Toruń (cat. D. 4) All the architectural as well as ornamental motives used here appear in other works created by wood-carvers' studios in Prussia at that time. For instance, an analogical example is provided by the Mochinger epitaph in Toruń (Cat. C.4). Considering all the factors, the attribution to van den Blocke must be rejected at this point.



Fig. C.10.1 General view

## C. 11 - Epitaph of Piotr Konopacki

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Malbork (Marienburg), parish church

After 1589

Sandstone

C. 80 x 130 cm

Wall epitaph in form of a strapwork cartouche with tondo depicting coats of arms in the lower zone, inscription panel in the central zone and portrait of the deceased, represented clad in armour, in the upper zone. The upper zone is flanked by putti and obelisks, and crowned by a winged skull and a hourglass.

The epitaph is decorated with clusters of fruits.

### Inscriptions:

In the central zone: *Petro generosi Mathiae a / Conopat Svccamerary Cul- / mensis filio parentes primoge- / nito suo maesti posuerunt qui / obyt in arce Maryemburgensi / Anno Domini M D LXXX / IX mensis Augusti XVII ae- / tatis suae anno tercio.*

In the upper zone: *Aeditus in lucem primum iam subtrahor orbi*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the epitaph are known. According to inscription, it has been commissioned by Maciej Konopacki in commemoration of his son, Piotr, after the latter's death in 1591.

### Bibliography:

Schwandt 1922, p. 97; Mamuszka 1957, p. 76; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 394; Jedliński 2000, p. 91; Smoliński 2004, p. 101-103, fig. 10-11; Wardzyński 2010b, p. 79

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The epitaph has been given to Willem van den Blocke by Smoliński in 2004. However, this attribution is unconvincing. His first argument is the cartouche form of the epitaph; however, none of the epitaphs attributable to van den Blocke has a similar structure. This form – together with ornamental decoration – belongs rather to the popular Netherlandish vocabulary, exploited also by other artists active in Prussia. More importantly, Smoliński pointed to similarity between putti decorating the work in question and those in the Blemke epitaph. In addition to that, even greater similarity can be observed in the two sitting putti in the Bielke monument in Linköping, not mentioned by Smoliński. Their poses and anatomical details, such as the shape of faces and eyes, may even suggest the same artist. However, taking into consideration the complexity of workshop practice, similarity of a single motive does not provide enough argument to attribute the epitaph to the van den Blocke studio (also, compare the putti with those in the chimneypiece from the house of Zacharias Krell in Elbląg, Cat. C. 12). Moreover, Smoliński compared the putti with the statue of *Amor* from the Stroband epitaph in Toruń. However, this wooden figure was added to the structure only later, probably in the eighteenth century. Considering simple form and rather mediocre quality of the epitaph, it appears to have been executed by an anonymous sculptor active in Gdańsk or Elbląg. Nonetheless, he was certainly acquainted with some works executed by Willem van den Blocke, as well as with the popular decorative language promulgated by Netherlandish artists and pattern-books.



Fig. C.11.1 – General view

## C. 12 - Chimneypiece

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Elbląg (Elbing), Zacharias Krell's house, Wigilijna 3 (formerly Heilige Geiststraße 18)

c. 1598

Sandstone

Chimneypiece constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its structure is three-partite. Fireplace, placed on decorative base, is flanked by male and female figures ending in serpent weaves. On their heads they carry Ionic capitals, with accentuated entablature with decorative frieze placed above. Above the fireplace is a mantle with coat-of-arms supported by two putti. Its two-partite upper zone consists of figural scene carved in relief, flanked by niches placed on the axes of caryatides. Above is a decorative panel with two winged female torsos ending in foliage shown in profile. The chimneypiece is crowned by a mounted figure of a warrior.

Ornamental decoration consists of female masks, clusters of fruits, garlands, egg-frieze, garlands, simplified strapwork cartouches and grotesque figures.

### Inscriptions:

ZK

**History:** The chimneypiece has in all probability been executed c. 1598 for the house of Zacharias Krell (according to Cuny Zacharias Kleinow). Hypothetically - as suggested by the rather unusual figural scene, depicting *Burying the dead* - it could have formed part of a larger decorative ensemble. It remained in Elbląg until 1901, when it was moved to Koblenz. Returned to Elbląg c. 1930. Partially damaged in 1945, restored afterwards.

### Bibliography:

Cuny 1907, p. 95, fig. 9; Cuny 1910a, p. 87, fig. 50–51; Lockemann 1926, fig. on p. 45; Rendschmidt 1933, p. 70-71, p. 120; Kownatzki 1936, fig. on p. 101; Carstenn 1937, p. 367; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 132; Hauke 1964, p. 163, fig. 139; Hauke 1967, p. 88, fig. 38, 39; Gierszewski 1970, fig. 29; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 169; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996a, p. 146-148; Rynkiewicz-Domino 1996b, p. 267-268, fig. 50; Tylicki 1997a, p. 184; Rynkiewicz-Domino 2005, p. 662

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Cuny and Rendschmidt pointed to alleged similarities of the work in question with the chimneypiece in the Grand Hall of the Main Town Hall in Gdańsk, giving it to the author of the latter, Willem van der Meer. This attribution has been rejected by Rynkiewicz-Domino, who gave it to Willem van den Blocke instead. She based her argument on similarity of ornamental details (masks, cluster of fruits) with van den Blocke's works, in particular the Báthory monument in Barczewo.

However, this attribution is not convincing. First of all, highly unusual design of the chimneypiece with serpent-like terms does not resemble other works by the sculptor in question. Difference is also visible in rendering of figural decoration, most importantly the relief scene (based on a print by Adriaen Collaert after Maarten de Vos from c. 1581-1582, see Hollstein Dutch, The Collaert Dynasty, 2, no 327, p. 103-107), serpent like figures and details of the upper zone. There exist, nonetheless, some similarities between the work in question and van den Blocke's oeuvre. Most importantly, unusual motive of foliage below Ionic capitals is characteristic for van den Blocke workshop. Also figures of putti resemble to those in the Bielke monument in Linköping (compare also with the Piotr Konopacki epitaph, Cat. C.11). Finally, such details as masks and Ionic capitals are indeed akin to those in the Báthory monument, as has been pointed out by Rynkiewicz-Domino.

At this point, the work in question cannot be attributed to Willem van den Blocke and his studio. Nonetheless, it must have been created by an inventive artist closely acquainted with this artist, almost certainly one of his former assistants or collaborators.



Fig. C.12.1 General view



Fig. C.12.2 Relief depicting *Burying the dead*



Fig. C.12.3 Central part of the chimneypiece

### C. 13 - Epitaph of Beata Hilchen (destroyed c. 1830)

Lesser Poland (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Zamość, collegiate church

c. 1606

Material and size unknown

Simple wall epitaph with three-partite structure. In the lower zone was an inscription tablet. In the central zone was represented figure of the deceased kneeling before a crucifix, carved in relief. Upper zone of the epitaph consisted of a tondo with coat-of-arms flanked by volutes and topped by a winged skull.

#### Inscriptions:

(after Kowalczyk 2003, p. 199): *Tumulus Beatae Generosi Davidis Hilchen, Secretarii / Regij et Notarij Terrae Vendensis Filiolae. // Hic iacet Hilchenio sata Patre puella Davide / Dicta Beata eadem data renata Deo / Mox denata polo, infante. revocante pusilla. / Nomen ut expleret req. beata foret / Siste viator, iter mortem et meditare pusillis / Quaesi non parcit; perceret illa tibi. Die 24. Septembris Anno 1606 mortua, maestissimus Pater p.*

**History:** The epitaph has been erected c. 1606 by father of the deceased, David Hilchen. Removed and destroyed during the church reconstruction c. 1825-1830.

#### Bibliography:

Stworzyński 1834 (after Kowalczyk 2003), p. 179v, 180r; Kowalczyk 2003

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** This non-existent epitaph has been given to van den Blocke by Kowalczyk on basis of a drawing made probably in 1827, as well as the sculptor's visit to Zamość in 1605. However, considering character and quality of the drawing, purely circumstantial character of the historical argument and, above all, popularity of this type of memorial, this attribution must be rejected.



Fig. C.13.1 General view, drawing c. 1827

## C. 14 - Sepulchral monument of Bartłomiej and Jakub Tylicki

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Toruń (Thorn), St. Mary church, formerly St. Nicolas church

c. 1609-1615

Brown limestone of the Bolechowice variety

Originally, both figures, probably superimposed, constituted elements of a wall monument.

### Inscriptions:

*D.O.M. / Illustribus et Generosis D.D. Barth. Castell. Brest. Rogozin. Sluchow. q. / Capit Jacobo Pincern. Caliss. a Tylicae viris gene. Lubicz generis antiqui / nobilitate ornatissimis Religionis Chrae propgnatorib. accerimis, / mira prudentia, immortaliq. oium virtutum tam, Searii quam equestris ordinis splendore clariss. hoc monumen. moesta posteritas posuit vixerunt Ecclesiae Dei subsidio, Priae cosilio, amicis / ornamento. Bartholomeus A. 72 obyt Anno Dni 1609 Iul. 10. Iacobus vo / annorum 68 Anno D. 1615 die S. Cath. Pie lector precare requiem.*

**History:** The monument has been erected in St. Nicolas church in Toruń in commemoration of Bartłomiej Tylicki, perhaps shortly before or after 1609. Most likely, it was extended few years later in order to incorporate effigy of Bartłomiej's brother, Jakub. It has been dismantled in 1836, and both figures were subsequently moved to St. Mary church.

**Bibliography:** *Starowolski 1655*, p. 401; *Epitaphia*, p. 7-8, 15; Szoldrski 1929, p. 53; Makowski 1932, p. 93; Chmarzyński 1933, p. 527; Chmarzyński 1936, p. 383; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 78; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 138; Krzyżanowski 1967, p. 589; Krakowicka-Górecka 1990, p. 290-291; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 622; Domasłowski&Jarzewicz 1998, p. 129-132; Krzysztofiak 2005; Kluczajd&Tylicki 2009, p. 205-206, fig. 172a-b; Wardzyński 2012, p. 159, fig. 16.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** According to Chmarzyński, the monument has been executed by a local workshop, influenced simultaneously by northern and southern traditions. In his unpublished dissertation, Krzyżanowski suggested that the monument could have been executed either by one of Willem van den Blocke assistants, or by Willem van der Meer, another sculptor of Netherlandish origin active in Gdańsk c. 1600. Similar opinion has been repeated by Krzysztofiak, who considered each of the effigies to be executed by a different sculptor. According to him, one of them was acquainted with the works by Willem van den Blocke, while the other with the ones by Giovanni de Simonis, Italian sculptor active in Lesser Poland.

Hypothesis linking the monument with Gdańsk sculptural milieu is not plausible. Formal characteristics of the effigies, such as their proportions and rendering of physiognomic details and armour, as well as material used to carve them clearly indicate a Lesser Polish workshop of the early seventeenth century. This opinion has already been expressed by Kluczajd and Tylicki (Kluczajd&Tylicki 2009). The same artist was also responsible for several works created in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, set up in Lesser and Greater Poland, Masovia and Lithuania (see Cat. C.17). Recently, he has been identified by Michał Wardzyński as Bartholommeo Venosta, a master of Southern Tirol origin active in Chełmno in Lesser Poland.



Fig. C.14.1 Effigy of Jakub Tylicki (?)



Fig. C.14.2 Effigy of Bartłomiej Tylicki (?)

## C. 15 - Sepulchral monument of Andrzej Wołłowicz

Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Poland-Lithuania, today Lithuania), Tituvėnai (Cytowiany), former Bernardine church

1620-before 1629

Limestone, alabaster, polychromed sandstone

C. 250 x 350 cm

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its lower part consists of base with inscription panel (destroyed). Central part of the monument in a form of *aedicula* consisting of massive Corinthian columns supporting entablature. In its centre is an elliptical arch with reclining effigy of the deceased resting on a sarcophagus. The monument is crowned by two figures placed directly on the top of entablature, on the axis of the columns.

**History:** According to document published by Liškovičiene, the monument was commissioned by the wife of Andrzej Wołłowicz, Katarzyna Gosłowska, in 1620; it was ready by 1629. Since the eighteenth century it was being subjected to damage and in consequence many of its parts are lost today (inscription panel, base of sarcophagus), while existing elements of the structure as well as the effigy are in bad condition.

### **Bibliography:**

Matuškaite 1981, p. 75, fig. 36; Čerbulėnas&Baliulis 1987, p. 46, 54; Aftanazy 1992, p. 204; Minkevičius 2001, p. 180–181; Liškevičiene 2004, p. 219–221, figs. 1-2; Paknys 2008, p. 170, 175; Wardzyński 2008, p. 354; Matuškaitė 2009, p. 138-144, fig. 176-180, 182-183

### **Sources:**

(After Liškovičiene 2004, p. 232-233): *Eadem [1620] Magn[ifi]ca Fundatrix [Catharina Gosłowska] pro Epitaphio marmoreo Piae Memoriae mariti mortui ofiarowała tysiąc złotych. Deus sit meres eidem hic et in aeterna Vita.*

*Po lewey ręce idąc do Oltarza gdzie Epitaphium iest Fundatoris n[ost]ri Fornix est pro Fundatore, ubi ipsius corpus requiescit cum uxore sua priore ex familia Dulscium oriunda. [from 1629]*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to van den Blocke, without any argumentation, in the book by Aftanazy. This is highly surprising, especially given its dating to c. 1640. Other authors, especially Matuškaitė, rather cautiously analyzed it in the context of van den Blocke's work. Neither formal characteristic of the figural sculpture nor architectural and ornamental details of the monument indicate van den Blocke's authorship. Therefore, even though the monument could have been influenced by some of van den Blocke's works - especially the tomb of Stanisław Radziwiłł - this attribution can be safely rejected.



Fig. C.15.1 General view

## C. 16 - Sepulchral monument of Mikołaj Wolski and his wife

Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Poland-Lithuania, today Belarus), Kremianitsa (Кремяница, Krzemienica), parish church

C. 1630

Limestone

338 x 326 x 59 cm

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its lower zone consists of a massive base with funerary inscription. Central zone consists of an arcade built of Corinthian columns, flanked with small niches crowned with volutes. In the centre are kneeling effigies of Mikołaj Wolski and his wife placed in front of each other. Upper zone, divided by massive entablature, is crowned by cartouche with coats-of-arms.

**Inscription:** (after Piramidowicz 2006, p. 45) On the frieze: *Beati mortui que in Domino moriuntur.* On the base: *D.O.M. / Itala quem tellus novit germana fovebat / pro vix non iuvenem terra paterna rapit. / Et templi primus fundator et ordinis huius / gloria nec regni parva senatus erat / vix duo lustra tulit, cadit heu trieteride nona. / Sic rotat humanas quaelibet hora vices. / Cazimirus unicus filius cum lachrimis posuit.*

To the left: *Ill. D. / Nicolaus Wol- / ski haeres Krzemie- / nicen. Castella. Wi- / tebsceni. obiit Anno / D. MDCXXI Mai die / 3. aetatis suae / 37.*

To the right: *Ill. D. / Barbara Woinian- / ka Wolska Castell. / Witebscen. obiit An- / no D. MDCXXIII Maii / die 17 aetatis suae / 40*

**History:** The monument has been commissioned c. 1630 by Kazimierz Wolski, son of the deceased.

### **Bibliography:**

Vysockaya 1983, figs. 162-164; Lavonava 1991, p. 90-93; Kalinowski 1992, p. 282; Wardzyński 2001, p. 926-927; Wardzyński 2004c, p. 115; Piramidowicz 2006, p. 44-45, 58-59, figs. 63-72 Paknys 2008, p. 171, fig. 13; Matušakaite 2009, p. 211-214, fig. 263-266

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to van den Blocke by Kalinowski in his review of the book by Vysockaja. However, this attribution is entirely mistaken and has already been rejected by Wardzyński and Piramidowicz. Formal characteristics of the tomb as well as material - the 'Bolechowice' variety of limestone - clearly indicate a workshop from southern Poland. In particular, block like figures, as well as details of their physiognomy and clothing, are very much different from van den Blocke's works. The same applies to details of the monument's architectural structure and its decoration.



Fig. C.16.1 General view



Fig. C.16.2 Effigies of the deceased

## C. 17 - Sepulchral monument of Paweł Stefan Sapieha and his wives

Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Poland-Lithuania, today Belarus) Golshany (Гольшаны, Holszany), formerly Franciscan church; extant elements today in the Belarusian Academy of Sciences in Minsk  
C. 1625

Bolechowice limestone

**History:** The monument has probably been founded by Paweł Sapieha himself c. 1625. It has been damaged in 1656 and dismantled c. 1770-1775. In consequence, only four effigies remain. They have been moved to the Belarusian Academy of Sciences in Minsk in 1978.

### **Bibliography:**

Vysockaja 1983, fig. 159; Kalinowski 1992, p. 282; Vaišvilaitė 1995, p. 46; Bernatowicz 2000, p. 65, fig. 5; Wardzyński 2004c; Paknys 2008, p. 170; Matušakaite 2009, p. 161-164, fig. 208-209; Wardzyński 2012, fig. 9.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The tomb has been given to van den Blocke by Kalinowski in his review of the book by Vysockaja. However, this attribution – repeated by Bernatowicz - is entirely mistaken. As argued already by Wardzyński, the monument was executed by a workshops operating in Lesser Poland in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, responsible also for a number of other important works of sepulchral sculpture. Most importantly, the effigies were carved in the 'Bolechowice' limestone, typical for this region. Also formal characteristic, such as positioning and proportion of the male figure, as well as rendering of details, hardly resemble van den Blocke's works, as well as other works created in Gdańsk at that time.

The figure of Paweł Sapieha shows certain similarity with that of one of the Tylicki brother (see Cat. C.14); it is likely that both works were created by the same studio.

Detailed information with regard to this monument can be found in Wardzyński 2004c, who in his most recent study attributed to Bartholomeo Venosta active in Chęciny in Lesser Poland (compare with C. 14).



Fig. C.17.1 Effigies

## C. 18 - Monument of Simon and Judita Bahr

Royal Prussia (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Gdańsk (Danzig), St. Mary church, southern part of transept

C. 1614 - 1620

Structure made of black and red limestone, figural sculpture and decorative details made of alabaster  
Alabaster parts partially polychromed and gilded

425 x 345 x 115 cm

Free standing monument constructed with architectural elements. Its lower zone consists of a massive, two-partite base, decorated with rectangular plaques made of alabaster and black limestone. On the base is sarcophagus supported by four Doric columns and a pedestal with large inscription panel in form of a simplified scrollwork supported by two putti. On its top are figures of the deceased, represented in long robes and with folded hands, kneeling in front of each other, with a pulpit between them. On each corner of the sarcophagus is a high obelisk crowned with a small cone.

### Inscription:

On the sarcophagus (*Starowolski 1655*, p. 351; *Curicke 1687*, p. 317; *Frisch*, p. 217-219):

*Simoni Bahr Factori Regio, Urb. Dantisc. civi florentiori. / Qui ob virtutem officia fidem erga Reges Seren. Ioannem et Sigismundum III abs. Sigismun- / do eodem Rege Seren. Regni Poloniae Comitii Anno X.P. MDXCI. Nobilissimae anti- / quo natalis splendore Familiae Polonica Rawitz cooptatus Inlustribus Dembiensciis / inserebatur ornando tenentis magnis Bärwaldensi nec non Marcuskof. et Drausnen. / Coniug. habuit sine quer. foem. lectiss. ac pud. Iuditham Bartchin quae illi IX liberos creavit, / Henricum cis pubem denatum, Barbaram nupt. nob. Henrico Giesio, dein. nob. Absoloni / Langnaw, Simonem I. nob. Sophiae Loizin, post nob. Catharinae a Lubocz, tertium nob. / Dorothea Lewaldtin martium, Iuditham nob. Ioannis Speimanni, von der Spei Equitas / Aur. ac Praecos. uxorem, Claram nob. Eggerto à Kempen Praecos. et Praesidi hui Civitatis / nuptam, Henricum alterum nob. Agathae Braunin maritum, Annam virginem mortuam, / Martinum generosae Annae Krusin Svecae consortem, deniq. Sigismundum sub terra locatum / adhuc puerum. Fecit Pater annos LXIII. Mater LIX uterq. pii, Deo Regiq. grati pla- / cide odormiere intra octidum. An. XP. MDCVI Haeredes hoc M.M. posuere / An. MXCXX mens. Ianuar.*

**History:** Crucial information with regard to this commission is provided by Eberhardt Bötticher's *Historischen Kirchen-Register* (continued after Bötticher's death by subsequent church wardens). According to it, the monument has been commissioned c. 1614 by burgomaster Johann Speyman, Simon Bahr's son-in-law. However, church wardens did not approve the design, considering it excessive and inappropriate, and turned to the church inspector Johann von der Linde. Eventually, the City Council appointed a commission charged with the task of solving the conflict. It included members of the Council and the city's topmost patricians: next to Johann von der Linde himself also Barthel Brand, Hans Proyte, Tidemann Giese, Valentin von Bodeck (the Elder) and Georg Rosenberg. The matter was discussed during the commission's meeting with the church wardens and Eggert von Kempen, Bahr's another son-in-law who acted on Speyman's behalf, as well as Abraham van den Blocke and master mason Hans Strakowski. Final decision was apparently made by the City Council, which allowed Speyman and von Kempen to erect the monument. According to the inscription, it has been finished in January 1620.

### **Bibliography:**

Bötticher, p. 531-533; Starowolski 1655, p. 351; Curicke, p. 317; Frisch, p. 217-219; Löschin 1836, p. 88- 89; Hirsch 1847, p. 229; Hirsch 1850, p. 56; Hinz 1856, p. 26; Brausewetter 1899, figs. 8, 34; Püttner 1904, p. 23; Dehio 1906, p. 103; Cuny 1910a, p. 79; Kruszyński 1912, p. 111; Simson 1918, p. 564-565; Makowski 1932, p. 95, 161; Eckhardtówna 1933, p. 63-64; Dehio/Gall 1952, p. 15; Tatarkiewicz 1956, p. 284-285; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 156; Drost 1963, p. 166, fig. 182; Krzyżanowski 1966, p. 114-117; Krzyżanowski 1968a; Gosieniecka 1969, p. 308, fig. 184; Krzyżanowski 1971b, p. 178; Nowak 1982, p. 742; Karpowicz 1975, p. 48; Kęłowski 1987, p. 121; Karpowicz 1988, p. 25, 284, fig. 52; Bogdanowicz 1990, p. 331-333; Habela 1992c, p. 116; Łoziński 1992, p. 392, fig. 101; Dehio/Antoni 1993, p. 97; Cieślak 1994, p. 182; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1995, p. 534; Grzybkowska 1997a, p. 127, fig. 5; Chrzanowski 1998a, p. 34; Wardzyński 2007, p. 387, 398; Wardzyński 2008, p. 322, 349; Zlat 2008, p. 314; Kaleciński 2011, p. 162-163, fig. 78;

### **Source information:**

Eberhardt Bötticher, *Historischen Kirchen-Register...*, PAN Library in Gdańsk, Uph. fol. 18 p. 531-533 (Krzyżanowski 1968a, p. 458-459; not all copies of the *Kirchen-Register* in the PAN Library and the Gdańsk archive contain this passage): *Es hatt auch umb diese Zeitt der dieses Jars praesidirender Herr Bürgermeister Herr Hans Speymann bey den Kirchenvetern angehalten, Weil er gesonnen were, dem Herrn Simon Bahren [...] zun Ehren und Gedechtnisz ein Epitaphium in der Pfkirchen auffzurichten, Solches aber ohne Vergünstigung und Zulasz der Kirchenveter nicht geschechen könnte, als wolte er bey ihnen darumb angehalten haben Zeiget ihnen auch der Ort und Stelle, nemlich: An S Dorotheen Capellen, welche man die Beicht Capelle nennet, zeigete ihnen daneben den Abriss, das es nemlich von der Erden 6 Elen hoch 6 Elen breit und Zwo Elen dick solle auffgeführt werden. Das Epitaphium solle mit dem Rücken, an den Rücken des Altars der Capellen auffgerichtet werden, von gehawenen Werckstücken, Putz, und Marmorstein, einem Altar gleich, an welches Rücken ein Crucifix, und vor demselben Herrn Simon Bahren und seines Gemahls Bildnüz kniende in Marmor gehawen solte auffgerichtet werden, einem Altar gleich. Nachdem aber die Kirchenveter befunden, das das gleiche Epitaphium weder in dieser noch anderen der Stadt Kirchen nich auffgerichtet, haben sie sein begeren, mitt ihrem Herrn Inspectore Herrn Hans von der Linden hiryber zu deliberiren an sich genommen. Dem Herrn Inspectore vortragende, hatt er für seine Person nocht darein willigen wollen, sondern die Sache an E. Raht genommen, Alda es eine lange Weile stecken bleiben, bisz endlich ein E. Raht ausz ihr ein Mittel Personen datzu deputiret, den Ort zu besichtigen, Nemlich: Herrn Hans von der Linden Bürgermeistern, Herrn Barthel Brand, Herrn Hans Proyten, Herrn Tideman Gysen, Herrn Valtin von Bodeck, Herrn George Rosenberg, Mitt welchen auch gegenwertig war Herr Eckhard von Kempen, welcher ebenmessig des Herrn Simon Baren Tochter Zur Ehe hatte, welcher auch in des Herrn Speymans namen und für sich den benanten Deputirten Herrn, in anwesen des Steinhawers Abraham von dem Blocke und des Mawrers Hans Strakowski den Ort getzeiget, und daneben überschlagen die Lenge, breite und dicke des Epitaphij wie auch daneben der Abrisz desselben ist auffgeleget worden. Es haben aber die deputirten Herren dieses alles was sie besichtigett einem E. Rath zu referieren. Dabey es für diszmal auch verblieben ist.*

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument has been given to Abraham van den Blocke by Hirsch (Hirsch 1847; however, in 1850 he attributed it to Willem van den Blocke), who must have known the *Kirchen-Register*. The same author (Hirsch 1850a, 1850b) noticed its formal similarity with the tomb of Mikołaj Kos in Oliwa. Abraham's authorship has been confirmed by Simson, who was certainly familiar with the *Kirchen-Register*. However, some authors (Püttner, Cuny, Kruszyński, Gosieniecka) suggested that the monument could have been executed by Willem van den

Blocke. The controversy has been finally solved by Krzyżanowski, who thoroughly analyzed the monument and published relevant passage from the *Kirchen-Register*. Abraham van den Blocke's authorship is thus confirmed. Nonetheless, some authors (Karpowicz 1975, Kęłowski 1987) repeated the old attribution to Willem, even after Krzyżanowski's publication.



Fig. C.18.1 General view

## C. 19 - Sepulchral monument of Janusz Ostrogski and Zsuzanna Seredi

Lesser Poland (Poland-Lithuania, today Poland), Tarnów, cathedral (former parish church), southern wall of the choir

C. 1612-1620

Limestone, alabaster

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of a triumphal arch, placed on a high base. Its lower zone consists of two condignations decorated with female symbolic figures, putti and raiders on horseback, with the upper one with four terms. In its centre is a large decorative cartouche with inscription. Central zone of the monument consists of a large *aedicula* with sarcophagus supported by lions with kneeling effigies of the deceased couple in the centre. The commemorated persons are represented in profile, turned towards each other, the male figure clad in armour and the female one in long robes. Behind them is a figural scene. Lower part of the central *aedicula* is flanked on either side by a niche with standing figures, with Composite columns on sides, as well as a decorative side panel with inscription. Upper part of the *aedicula* is flanked by a single column, a volute and a decorative cartouche with coats-of-rams. Upper zone of the monument consists of an *aedicula* with a figural scene, built of caryatides and entablature and crowned by a broken triangular pediment with two figures and emblematic images. The *aedicula* is flanked on either side by a decorative volute and a figure.

Rich ornamental decoration of the monument consists of panoplies, winged cherub heads, skulls, foliage, cymatium, astragal, masks, garlands and lion heads.

### Inscriptions:

After Krakowski 1957, p. 266, 268, 270.

On the central inscription panel:

*Conditur hoc tumulo / illustrissimus et excellentissimus Princeps, Dominus / Dominus Janusius Dux in Ostrog Comes in Tharnow, Castella. Cra- / covien. Wladimiriensis Preslavien. Bialocerkievien. Cercasien. Canio- / vien. Bohuslavien. Capitaneus princeps toto vitae suae tempore praestan- / tissimus aeternaue memoria colendus. Ostrogiae ducum primus Catholi- / cus, eiusdemque religionis propagator studiosissimus, acerrimusque defensor / senator prudentissimus integerrimusque bellator fortissim. ac felicissi- / mus fluctuanti saepius Reipubl: anchora in adversis praesidium in periculis / portus praecipuumque a tartarico furore regni munimen: hoc saepius do- / mesticis agitata dissidiis Respublica loquitur, hoc toties numerosi exerci- / tus tartaror. ad retkam pagu. sobum amnem Ostrogiam civitatem fusi vel pro- / fligati testantur, hoc cossacor. infestus XIII milium exercitus ad piatrum dele- / tus praedicat editis a se plurimis erga Rempubl: amoris erga Serenissimos / Reges fidei, erga religionem pietatis: erga religiosos munificentiae; erga / pauperes liberalitatis argumentis, desiderabilis omnibus hanc aerumnosam lacryma- / rum vallem sedibus beatis commutavit, monumento hoc mortalitatis memor, dum in vivis esset sibi extracto A. D. MDCXII. cum vixisset annos LXVI castellania Cracov. fungeretur annos XXX / obiit die XII septembris MDCXXX. (sic!)*

On the left side:

*Condita marmoreo tumulo / requiescit in isto / quae seredum fuerat glo- / ria magna domus / inplantata Deo salvan- / tis muneri verbi / corde virens Christo / planta fovente fui / nunc demum in morem pal- / mae florebo superbae / pressa nece in vitam / quando superstes eo / hoc decus est fidei qua / te mens Christe fatetur / sic mihi mors lucrum est / tu mihi Christe salus / saeva licet rapiant parcarum / tempora multos / mors tamen insonti nul- / la nocere potest / ossa tenet tumulus mundo / volat ardua virtus / spiritus in Christo lu- / cida regan tenet.*

On the right side:

*Illustrissimae Dnae. Dnae. / Susannae de Seredy illustris ac ma- / gnifici Dni. Dni. Georgii Seredy fi- / liae ac Gaspari Seredy Regni Hun- / gariae Generalis Capitanei, Palatinatus / Transsilvaniae Guberantoris haeredis / in Macovica, Regec, Bystrica, De- / brcin, Kevest, Tala, San- / zirod, Besig, Budimir nepotis, / coniugis autem illustrissimi excellentissimi / Principis Domini D. Janusii, Ducis / in Ostrog, Comitibus in Tarnow, Ca- / stell. Cracov. Foeminae non solum / nobilitate generis sed etiam speci- / mine virtutum suarum excellentissimae, / quae relictis ex matrimonio du- / abus filiabus, Eleonora et Euphro- / sina morte immatura subita est / Anno Dom. MDXCVI cum vixisset / annos XXX, moestissimus sponsus / coniugi optime de se merita, / lacrimis conspersum monu- / mentum posuit.*

Under the coat-of-arms of the Ostrogski family, on the left side :

*Belliger atque sacer miles cataphractus et astra / magnanimi signat principis armi domum / Tartariae gentis furor saevumque flagellum marmore in hoc recubat gloria Lechiadum / et bello et meritis et sanguine clarus avito / par pietate numae scandit ad astra poli.*

Under the coat-of-arms of the Seredy family, on the right side :

*Trina sagitta lupi dentes pelicanus amandus / stemmata sunt stirpis clara Susannae tuae / dira sagitta notat celerem te rebus in arctis / tu pelicane piam densque lupi rigidam / in fidei rigidam acceptatae dogmatae sacro / quam vivens coluit quam moriens tenuit.*

On the frieze, to the left:

*In memoria aeterna erit iustus / ab auditione mala non timebit.*

On the frieze, to the right:

*Multi ex his qui dormiunt / in terrae pulvere evigilabuntur.*

In the upper zone:

*Joannis Pfister Wratislaviensis Sculptura. Anno Dni 1620*

Under figures:

*David Rex; Daniel; Iustitia; Fortitudo*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to commissioning and execution of the monument are known. According to the inscription, it was commissioned by Janusz Ostrogski himself in 1612. As indicated by the signature of Hans Pfister in the upper zone of the monument, it was finished in 1620.

**Bibliography:** Balicki 1831, p. 131; Pomniki; Łuszczkiewicz 1896, p. 111, 115; Zacharjewicz 1896; W.Łoziński 1896; W.Łoziński 1898, p. 163-185; Herizg 1900, p. 104, 154-159; Leniek 1902, p. 13; Leśniak 1911, p. 18, 20; Świejkowski 1912b, p. CV; Przytkowski 1930; Hornung 1955, p.18-19 ; Tatarkiewicz 1956, p. 286; Krakowski 1957; Dobrowolski 1962, p. 159-161, fig. 90; Gębarowicz 1962, p. 266-312, figs. 123, 126-131; Krzyżanowski 1971a, p. 180; Karpowicz 1974, p. 69; Mańkowski 1974, p. 243, 250-252, fig. 136; Łoziński 1985, p. 463, fig. 319; Kębłowski 1987, p. 121; Jakimowicz 1988; Karpowicz 1988, p. 285-286, fig. 65-66; Mikocka-Rachubowa 1988, p. 299-300; Chrzanowski 1998b, p. 215-216; Heydel 2003, p. 80; Wardzyński 2005, p. 527, fig. 16; Zlat 2008, p. 242, 310-313; Matuškaitė 2009, p. 135, 138, fig. 166; Wardzyński 2009, p. 444-445; Kurzej 2011, p. 75-77, 79-80; Oszczanowski 2011

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** As the only confirmed work by sculptor Hans Pfister, the monument attracted considerable scholarly attention already in late nineteenth century. Because of his signature appearing in the upper zone, the monument was usually considered to have been executed by this artist (Balicki, Pomniki, Łoziński, Zacharjewicz, Łuszczkiewicz, Krakowski). However, in 1962 Gębarowicz challenged this attribution, pointing to the similarity of the monument's lower zone with that of the Duchess Elisabeth tomb in Königsberg and to alleged formal heterogeneity of the work in question, as well as to general circumstances of its commissioning. According to him, the monument

has been executed in two phases, first by Willem van den Blocke c. 1605 and then by Pfister, who completed the work in 1620. In consequence, van den Blocke would have been responsible for its design as well as parts of its figural decoration. The opinion regarding two phases forwarded by Gębarowicz has been accepted by a number of scholars, including Kowalczyk, Matušakaitė, Zlat and recently - although with caution - Oszczanowski. However, some scholars, such as Krzyżanowski (Krzyżanowski 1971a), Jakimowicz and recently Kurzej, adhered to the old tradition, accepting Pfister's authorship of the entire monument. Gębarowicz's main argument in favour of van den Blocke's involvement was similarity of the lower zone of the monument in question with analogical part of the monument of Duchess Elisabeth in Königsberg. Gębarowicz even suggested that Pfister could have been trained by van den Blocke. However, the latter hypothesis has recently been challenged by Oszczanowski, who pointed to Pfister's numerous artistic links with Wrocław, in particular with the leading sculptor active there c. 1600, Gerhard Hendrik. Moreover, archival data concerning the van den Blocke studio presented in this study does not indicate Pfister's involvement with it.

Willem van den Blocke's personal involvement in the work seem very unlikely. In contrary to Gębarowicz's opinion, figural and ornamental decoration of the tomb is highly homogeneous - a fact observed already by Krakowski - and must have been executed by a single studio. Rendering of various details, with regard to both figural and ornamental carvings, do not resemble van den Blocke's works. The difference can be observed particularly in such minute details as curls of hair, fingers and elements of clothing. In particular, sculptor responsible for figural decoration of the monument had a strong predilection for deep carving. Also technical details, such as drilling, differ from van den Blocke's sculptural technique. Also highly unified ornamental decoration of the monument do not resemble that used by van den Blocke.

Arguments based on historical circumstances presented by Gębarowicz are also unconvincing. More than often he based his argumentation, for instance with regard to dating of the commission to c. 1605, on such vague bases as the physiological and emotional state of the commissioner.

Having said that, it must be acknowledged that Gębarowicz was certainly right when pointing to far-reaching similarity between parts of the Ostrogski tomb and the monument of Duchess Elisabeth. This phenomenon can be explained - although only hypothetically - in three ways. First, van den Blocke could have provided design for the monument in question, based on his earlier monument in Königsberg. This could easily explain the presence of similarities in design, existing alongside clear differences in sculptural rendering and material. Alternatively, it is possible that Pfister himself visited Königsberg and made drawings after the monuments there. Finally, he could have been given such drawings by the patron.

Whatever was the case, Willem van den Blocke was not involved personally in execution of this grand monument.



Fig. C.19.1 General view

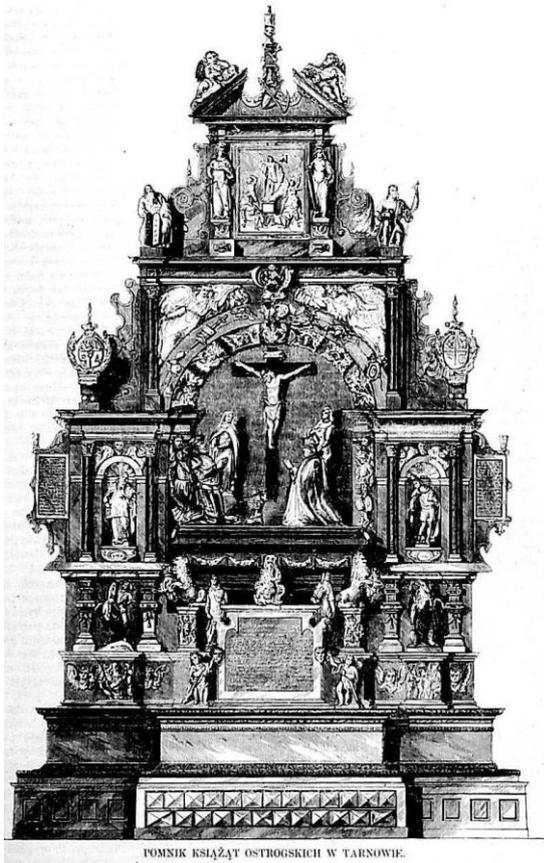


Fig. C.19.2 General view, 1860

Fig. C.19.3 Effigy of Janusz Ostrogski

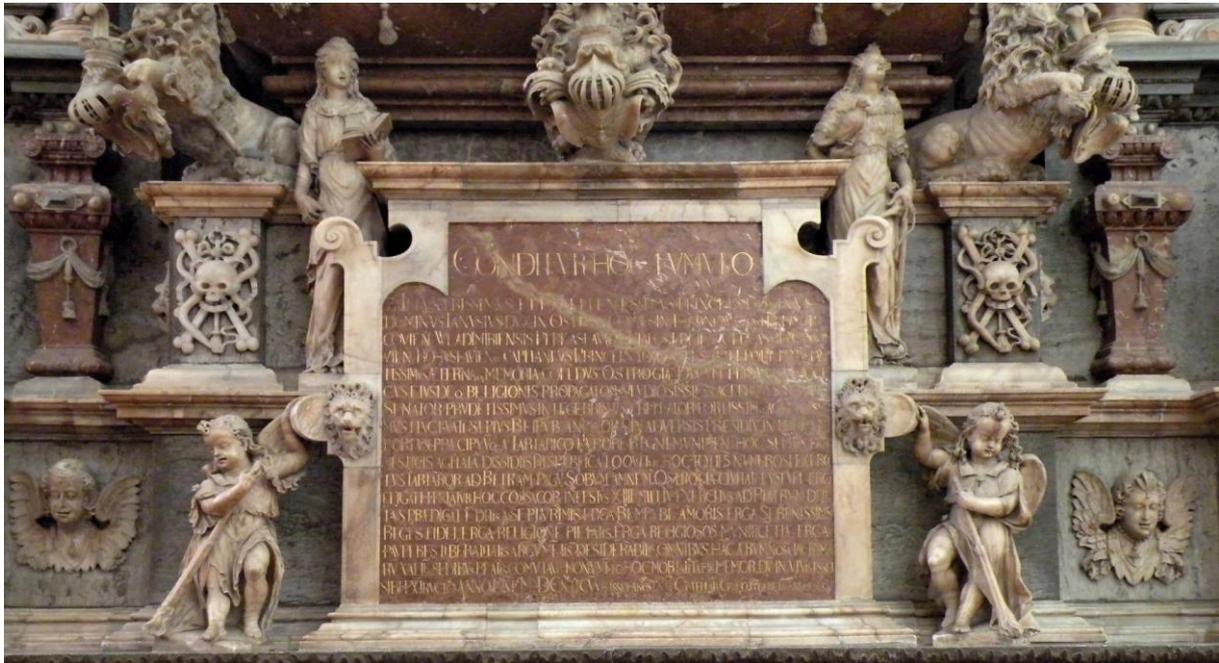


Fig. C.19.4 Lower zone of the monument with inscription panel



Fig. C.19.5 Figure of *Spes*, lower zone

Fig. C.19.6 Figure of *Spes*, lower zone, detail

Fig. C.19.7 Figure of a lion, lower zone

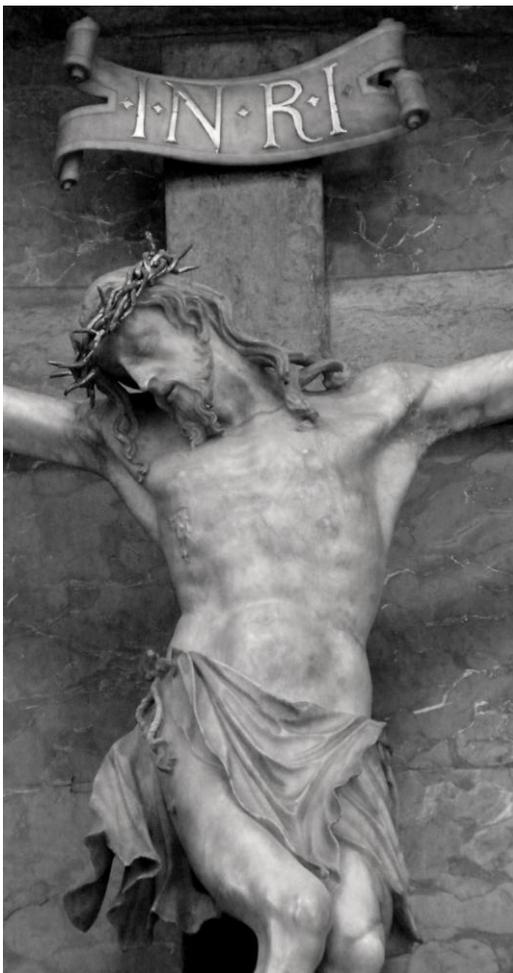


Fig. C.19.8 Crucifix, central zone

Fig. C.19.9 Putto, lower zone

## C. 20 - Sepulchral monument of Piotr Wiesiołowski

Vilnius (Wilno), Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Poland-Lithuania, today Lithuania), former Bernardine church

C. 1634

Limestone, alabaster

C. 250x550 cm

Wall monument constructed with architectural elements in form of *aedicula*. Its lower part consists of a massive, two-partite base with inscription panel (destroyed). Central zone of the monument consists of two massive Ionic columns supporting entablature. In its center is a reclining effigy of the deceased resting on a sarcophagus, with a canopy above. Upper zone consist of an open pediment with sitting figures of angels flanking tondo in a cartouche, originally probably with coats-of-arms.

**Inscription:** (after Starowolski 1655, p. 235): *Petro Wiesiołowski, / Castrorum R.P. Praefecto, Miscibouien. Siemn. Metelen. / Capitaneo. / Viro animi virtutibus insigni. / Corporis robore et viribus incomparabili, et earum commendatione, / Diuorum Sigismundi I. et Augusti gratiam promerito. / Proxima fubara, ab Anno 1556. sino ullo sepulchri honore / quiescent. / Christophorus Wiesiołowski, ex Petro filio Magno M.D.L. Marschalco, M.D.L. Curiae Marschalcus. / Et Nicolaus Wiesiołowski Castellanus Samogitiae / Nepotes. / Auo / De universa familia / optime merito / P.C. / Anno Domini M. DC. XXXIV*

**History:** No written sources pertaining to history of the monument are known. According to the inscription, it has been commissioned before 1634 by Krzysztof and Mikołaj Wiesiołowski in order to commemorate Piotr Wiesiołowski, who died some eighty years earlier. Similarly to Stanisław Radziwiłł's tomb in the same church, the monument has been considerably damaged in the nineteenth and twentieth century, mostly because of neglect by the authorities.

### **Bibliography:**

Vaišvilaitė 1995, p. 68-70, figs. 103-104; Michałowicz 1996, p. 233-234; Karpowicz 2003, p. 49; Baranowski 2006, p. 222, fig. 155; Paknys 2008, p. 41; Wardzyński 2008, p. 355; Matušakaitė 2009, p. 164-173, figs. 210-212

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** The monument in question was often compared with the tomb of Stanisław Radziwiłł, in all likelihood executed according to van den Blocke's design by his assistants or collaborators. There is, however, no reason to link it with this sculptor. First of all, it must have been commissioned already after his death. Moreover, its architectural form, decoration and figural sculpture do not resemble Willem van den Blocke's works. It represent later phase of stylistic developments in sculpture in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, much closer to Abraham van den Blocke's works.

Other attributions has been presented as well. Karpowicz and later Wardzyński gave it to anonymous sculptor called 'Master of the Nowodworski tomb', active in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. This artist was responsible for the monument of Bishop Adam Nowodworski (died 1634) in Poznań cathedral and was furthermore credited with several works in Masovia and Greater Poland. Matušakaitė, on the other hand, gave it to Italian sculptors Constante and Jacopo Tencalla, engaged in the late 1620's by King Sigismund III Vasa to built the St. Casmir Chapel in Vilnius. The monument's origin certainly requires further investigation.



Fig. C.20.1 General view

## C. 21 - Caritas

Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku

Early 17<sup>th</sup> century

Alabaster, partly polychromed and gilded

55x52x10 cm

Rectangular plaque representing frontally placed female figure feeding a child. To the left is a small boy fighting over a puppy with a bitch, to the right two embracing putti. In the background numerous flowers. In the upper zone two putti holding wreath and palm branches.

**History:** Provenance of the plaque is unknown. It belonged to the collection of Gdańsk painter Wilhelm August Stryowski (1834-1917). In 1940 it was taken into the collections of the Stadtmuseum Danzig. Today in Muzeum Narodowe in Gdańsk (inv. No. MNG/SD121/Rz).

### **Bibliography:**

Jachnicka 2001, p. 91-95; Kowalska 2002, p. 58; Jachnicka 2003, p. 62-73; Gdańsk 2011, no. II. 7, p. 310-313.

**Attribution history and author's remarks:** Ewa Jachnicka pointed to certain similarities between the plaque in question and the tondo depicting *Caritas* in the upper zone of the epitaph of Valentin von Bodeck in Elbląg (before 1594). This opinion has been upheld by Lech Łopuski in catalogue of the Gdańsk exhibition (Gdańsk 2011). However, sculptural details of the plaque differ from those observed in the works attributable to Willem van den Blocke. Nonetheless, similarity with the Elbląg plaque indicates that the work in question was executed by a sculptor acquainted with van den Blocke's oeuvre. Furthermore, it resembles to a certain degree works executed by Abraham van den Blocke and his studio, such as decoration of the Bahr monument in Gdańsk.

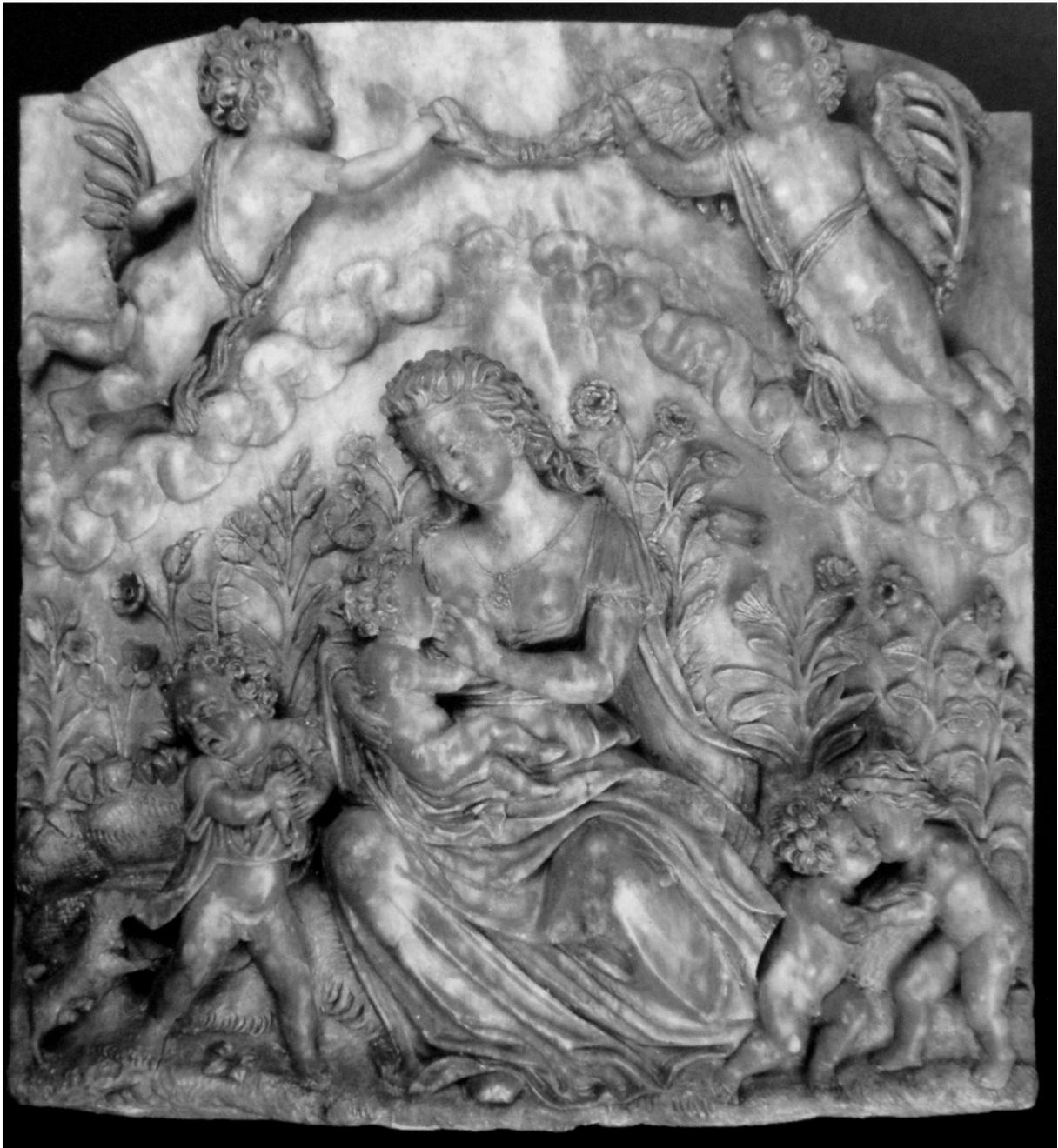


Fig. C.21.1 General view



## Sources

In the following section all the documents referring to Willem van den Blocke are listed in chronological order. Each entry is arranged into the following sequence: date, text *in extenso* or summary of context, source, reference to publications. Entries marked with ‘\*’ are based on excerpts made by earlier scholars. Entries marked with ‘?’ refer to Willem van den Blocke only hypothetically.

Documents referring to van den Blocke’s works but not mentioning the artist are included in the catalogue.

### ?1571

(1. Woche) *15 Mk dem Bildhauer auf Rechnung auf die arbeit am Epitaphio einpfehe die mit 70 Mk*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeit 1571, p. 2; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252**

### ?1571

(4. Woche) *15 Mk dem Bildhauer auf Rechnung wegen den arbeit am Epitaphio empfehen diemit 85 Mk*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeit 1571, p. 3v**

### ?1571

(7 Woche) *15 Mk dem Bildhauer auf rechnung wege der arbeit am epitaphio empfehen diemit 100 Mk*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeit 1571, p. 5**

### \*?1571

(11 Woche) *Mit dem Bildhauer wird abgerechnet fur 24 Wochen (concluding payment for the work on the Albrecht’s monument; made probably in March 1571)*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeit 1571, p. 7; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252**

### ?1571

(23. Woche) *20 Mk, dem Bilthauer auf Rechnung wegen des alden und Jungn Hr Conterfect am Neuen Baw im Colegio*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeit 1571, p. 21; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252**

### ?1571

(25 Woche) *40 Mk, dem Bildhauer wegen des alten unnd Jungen Hr conterfect samp dem wapen am Neuen bau, in Colegio einpfahe hieein 60 Mk und ip ende ichen*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13270, Wochenbau Register was wochenntlich wirdt gearbeitet 1571, p. 23v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 252**

**1576**

*(39. Woche), Meister Wilhelm dem Bildhauer, für das Banket, so ufs Kindteuffen kommen, ist mie also durch die herren Regenten verdinget wordenn – 60 Mk*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13493, p. 23; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 253, no 720**

**19 July 1578**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, auf Rechnung – 90 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 773 (GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13495 - volume missing)**

**22 August 1578**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, auf Rechnung – 90 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 774 (GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13495 – volume missing)**

**23 October 1578**

*Dem Bildhauer auf Rechnung – 120 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 780 (GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13495 – volume missing)**

**8 December 1578**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, auf Rechnung – 105 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 783 (GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13495 – volume missing)**

**26 January 1579**

*Meister Wilhelm, Steinmetzen, auf Rechnung – 75 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 798**

**28 February 1579**

*Wilhelm, Steinmetzen, auf Rechnung – 52/30 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 801**

**23 March 1579**

*Wilhelm, Steinmetzen, auf Rechnung – 52/30 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 803**

**17 April 1579**

*Auf Rechnung den Steinmetzen – 141 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 805**

**25 Mai 1579**

*Wilhelm, dem Steinmetzen, auf Rechnung – 175 Mk*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 809**

**1 August 1579**

*Wilhelm, Steinmetz, auf Rechnung – 114 Mk*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 813**

**\*18 October 1579**

*Arensburg. Hans Steinweg an Herzog Georg Friedrich. Setzt eingebend die Gründe für die Verzögerung der Steinsendung auseinander (viel Regen, kein Schiff; ein Lübecker Schiffer wollte lieber Ballast als diese grossen Steine mitnehmen, es ist deshalb der Hauptmann auf Grobin gebeten, eine Scheute zu schicken), weist die von „ehrendiebischen Lenten“ gegen ihn vorgebrachten Verdächtigungen zurück, bitten um Förderung bei dem Grobiner Hauptmann, daß er die Scheute schicke und so die Steine, die der Bildhauer am nötigsten hat, befördert werden können, und lobt den dänischen Statthalter. (St. A. Kgsbg. VII. 63)*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 208, no 562**

**\*23 October 1579**

*Herzog Georg Friedrich an den Rat von Danzig. Fürschrift für den Briefsüberbringer Wilhelm von dem Bloch in seinem Streite mit dem Danziger Steinmetzmeister Hans Steffen wegen Nichteinhaltung der Lieferungsfrist für die behauenen Steine zum Epitaph von HGF. 's Gemahlin. - S. Michael Giese. (St. A. Kgsbg. Flt. 75. Bl. 240).*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 208, no 563**

**1579**

*41. Woche. Wilhelm, Steinmetz, auf Rechnung 50 + 75 – 125 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13496, p. 18-19; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 255, no 818**

**6 February 1580**

*Dem Wilhelm, Steinhauer, auf Rechnung – 52/30 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 839**

**2 März 1580**

*Dem Bildhauer auf Rechnung – 105 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 840**

**29 March 1580**

*Dem Meister Wilhelm auf Rechnung – 75 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 841**

**1 Mai 1580**

*Dem Bildhauer auf Rechnung – 45 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 843**

**2 June 1580**

*Dem Bildhauer auf Rechnung – 57 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 844**

**14 June 1580**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, auf Rechnung – 98 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 845**

**7 July 1580**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, auf Rechnung – 30 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 846**

**1580**

Aug. 11 – Dez. 22 - Dem Meister Wilhelm auf Rechnung 45 + 56 + 50 + 57 + 35 – 243 Mk.

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 14-15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 851**

**1580**

*Dem Bildhauer an 5 Mk. Erbgeld und 4. Mk. Grundzins wegen seiner 2 Gärten auf dem Tregheim – 9 Mk.*

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13497, p. 15v; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 256, no 852**

**\*18 February 1581**

*Wilhelm vom Bloche, Bildhauer, an Herzog Georg Friedrich. Nachdem ich für E. F. D. das Epitaphium im Dom in 1 ½ Jahren zu fertigen übernommen, bin ich mit den Steinen im Stich gelassen und habe sogar das „Gesinde, welches ich mit Unkosten verschreiben“, wiederum zu meinem grossen Schaden beurlauben müssen. Daß an mir die Schuld nicht liegt, können E. F. D. an dem im Dom bereits fertig liegenden Bildwerk ersehen. Ich bitte daher, mir zu helfen. Ausfertigung mit Kanzleivermerk auf der 4. Seite, dass nach Danzig schreiben und von dort Steine beforgt werden, actum den 18. Februar 1581. (St. A. Kgsbg. III. 44).*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 577**

**\*1 March 1581**

*Der Rat von Danzig an Herzog Georg Friedrich. Auf E. F. G. Schreiben vom. 21. Februar haben wir Ihrem Bildhauer Willm vom Bloche jede Förderung erwiesen. Er hat von unserm bestellten Maurer Paul von Dorn 18 Blöcke Stein, welche 227 Fuß halten, jeden Fuß für 8 Gr. gekauft, deren zollfreie Ausfuhr wir gestatten. – Ausfertigung. Beigelegt ist eine eigenhändige Berechnung des Wilm vom Bloche über diesen Kauf (wörtlich bei Geb. U. Hag. A. a. O.). (St. A. Kgsbg. Etatsmin. 77c. I. // Gebser&Hagen, II, 190).*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 210, no 579**

**1581**

\*Jan.17 – Dez. 14 Wilhelm, Steinmetzen (Bildhauer), auf Rechnung in 9 Teilzahlungen – 626 Mk.

**GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13498, p. 11-12; Ehrenberg 1899, p. 257, no 884**

### **13 January 1582**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, wegen des fürstlichen Epitaphs auf Rechnung – 30 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 258, no 901; GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13499 (pages 1-18 missing)**

### **1582**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, den Rest seines Verdings an dem fürstlichen Epitaph – 17/30 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 258, no 902; GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13499 (pages 1-18 missing)**

### **16 March 1582**

*Meister Wilhelm, dem Bildhauer, für die übrige Arbeit, so er übers Verding am Epitaph gemacht – 300 Mk.*

**After: Ehrenberg 1899, p. 258, no 903; GStA, Ostpreußische Folianten, 13499 (pages 1-18 missing)**

### **\*20 March 1582**

*Von Gottes Gnaden Wir Georg Friedrich Marggraff zu Brandenburgk, in Preussen [cum toto titulo] thun kunth und bekennen hiermit gegen allermenniglichen, dieses ansichtigen, das uff unser gnedigstes begehren unnd behandelung, gegenwertiger kunstreicher Bilthauer, Meister Wilhelm von Bloe (sic!), von Mechelen aus Brabandt, unserer in Gott ruhenden herzgeliebten Gemahlin, weilandt der hochgebornen Fürstin und Frawen, frawen Elisabethen, gebornen Marggrafin, zu Brandenburgk, in Preussen, auch in Schlesien, zu Jegerndorf Hertzogin, hochseliger, christlicher und milter Gedenken, Epitahium alhier zu Königsberg in Preussen, vermassen und also verfertigt unnd das ganze Werk desselben artlich unnd kunstlich zum bestende unnd ende vorrichtet hatt, inmassen wir Ihme solches nach dem abrisse angedungen unnd zuvorfertigen beuohlen haben, darob wir dan durchaus ein gnedigstes unnd genugiges gefallen tragen uund mitt Ihme semer daran bewiesenen Kunst unnd vleisses auch sonsten seiner 14 jerigen gutten unnd stillen vorhaltus halben in unserm Hertzogthumb Preussen, in Gnaden woll zufrieden sein, welches wir Ihme zu urkunth warer gezeugnuß, sich dieser Kunstschaft allenthalben seiner notturfft nach zu gebrauchen, unter unserm ufgedruckten Secret wissentlich mitt getheilet haben. Geschehen in unserm Furstlichen Hoflager zu Königsberg in Preusse den 20 Marty Ao. 82. Hr. Oberster, Hr. Burggraf, Hr. Kanztler*

**After: Mülverstedt 1855 (Geh. Archiv. Registrant: Bekenntnuß. Urpheden 1579-1588, fol. 213) ; summary in Ehrenberg 1899, p. 212, no 590)**

### **18 Juni 1584**

*Ehrentüeste, Erbare, Namhaffte, Hochweise undt grossgünstige / herren, nebenst wünschunge glückseliger Regierunge, unndtt / aller bestenndigen wolfarth, auch erpittunge meyner bereit- / willigen dienste, soll E. Erb: Radt ich unterdinstlichen nicht / vorhaltenn. Demnach Ihrer Kön: Maytt ich ihn anfert- / gunge ihres Gottseligen herrn Brüdern Fürsten Weilandt, / ihn Seibenburgen Epithapÿ und begrebnus ein Zeitlangk / gedienet, unndt iminer nach endtlicher vollendunge deselbigen / wercks aus Siebenburgen, da ich es auch aufgesetzt, ahn die / Kön.*

Maÿt widderumb mit genugsamer kundtschafft meÿner / Vorrichtunge kommen, unndt von hochgedachter Kön: Maÿt aller- / gnedigst abgefertiget bin worden, also habe ich nach solchem ab- / gerichteten werke, unndt gnedigster abfertigung dieser / Loblichen Stadt unndt E. Erb: Radt meine geringe Hochgetrewe / dinste, nach dem vormogen dass mir der allerhechste in meÿner / kunst unndt handtnahrung, mitgetheilet, anzutragen, undt / unterdinstlichen Zupresentiren nicht unnterlassen wollen, / mit dem erptten da E. Erb: Radt solche meine diennste / beheglichen, ich mich nicht allein aller billichkeit gehorsam / unndt unnderthennigkeit, sondern auch ihn vorrichtunge / meiner hanndarbeit dermassen vorhalten, das solch E. Erb: / Radt zur günstigen gefallen unndt Ehren gereichen unndt / gelangen soll. Da aber auch E. Erb: Radt für diese itzige / gelegenheit solcher meÿnerdinst nicht benottiget, also bitte ich / zum unterdinstlichen, das ich aus vorgünstigung E. Erb: Radts / diese meine kunst unndt hanndarbeit alhie ihn undt ausser / der Stadt, jderman so es begehren wirdt, ohne imandts vorhinde- / runge freÿ gebrauchen, undt was also vorfallen mochte, / so woll von frembden also imwohnern vorarbeiten undt / vorrichten, undt danebenst meine geringe behausunge inn / der Stadt haben mochte. Dinstlichen vorhoffennde solche meine / annforderunge niemande zur schaden oder nachtheil, sondern / vielmehr gemeyner Stadt undt inwonenden Bürgerschaft / zur beforderunge nutz undt frommen gereichen soll / Wie ich denn zu betzeigung meÿner vorhaltung, der Kön. Maÿt. / vorschriffbriff, welchenste mir zur der nutturfft allergne- / digst mitgetheilet, E. Erb: Radt mit aller underthennigsten / gebür hiemit verantwortte, unndt umb eines günstigen ab- / schiedt unnterdinstlichen bitten thue. / E. E. Radts / Dinstwillger / Wilhelm Block / Steinhauer / 18 Junj A<sup>o</sup> 84 / zu starker anzahl

**APG 300, 36/65, p. 11-12; Krzysiak 1999, p. 65-66**

### **8 July 1584**

Año. d 84. den 8. July / geschehenn. / M: Wilhelm von dem / Block. so bej d König- / lichen Maÿtt: dieses / landes vff eine Frei- / heitt vf seine Kunst / des Bildthauers so- / woll Alhir bej der H: / Oberkeit, auß ge- / brachtt, so Ist ehr vf / Intercession vnd be: / fehl Eines Erb: vnd / Hochw: Rahtes Ins werck / eingenommen worden, / seine Kunst und Werck / alhir beim Erb: Wercke / vndt dieser gutten / Stadt vnuorhin- / dert Zu vben vnd gebrauch: / nachdem ehr dem Ehrb: / Werck derentwegen / einen genugksamen / Ab- / tragk Aus gut will- / licheit [above: Im] gelde gethaen, / vnd hat sich dar nebents / vorwilliget, sampt sei- / nen Gesellen vnd Lehr- / jungen dz werck tzuhal- / ten vormöge d Rolle. / Aber seine Person soll / befreiett sein, so ein / gantz werck Im vor- / heischen, dj Leichen nicht / tragen zu helffen, auch / nicht Meÿgrafe Zu / werden. sonsten Aber / soll ehr des Sehlgerh- / tes sampt den seinen / genissen, wie Andere / Meistere des Werckes. / Actum Vtsupra / oder Laut der Schrift / so ehr vom Erbar W: / empff: welches Lautes / Inn der Ladte eine / Copeij ligtt.

Año 84 den 8. July / geschehenn / M: Wilhelm von dem / Block so bej d König- / lichen  
**APG 300, C/2051, p. 290-291**

### **8 July 1584**

Hoch Einnam A. 84 / M: Wilhelm von dem Bloch / so ein Bildthawer Ist, hat / eine Freyheitt ausgebracht / bej d Koniglich Mayestat / sowoll auch beim Erb. / und Hochw. Raht erlan- / gett, alhir bej dieser gu- / ten Stadt seiner Kunst zu vben / vnd gebrauchen. Ist der- / wegen

*bein Erb. Werck / eingenomme worden / vf Condition leutt hir- / hinden des vortrages / und vorschreibunge. / dtt an Gelde 10 thaler / Actum den 8. Julij A 84*  
**APG 300, C/2057, p. 243**

**5 Mai 1585**

*M: Wilhelm von dem / Bloch hat frwem ganz- / werk seinen Sohn Abra- / ham van dem Bloch zu / dj Lehr uf Bildthawen / schreiben lassen. Act. den 5. Maji 1585*  
*Er hat ausgelernet*  
**APG 300, C/2057, p. 250**

**1585**

*Peter vo Düsseldorf / bej Meister Willem vo dem Block / dtt frembdt gesell gelt 10 g*  
*Zum / Bäl- / lich / kom*  
**APG 300, C/2057, p. 256**

**20 October 1585**

*Bej Wilhelm vom dem Blogk / dtt Philip vo dem Blogk / frembd gesellen gelt / 10 g / Act. den 20. octob.*  
**APG 300, C/2057, p. 258**

**1585/1586?**

Willem van den Blocke mentioned among other guild-masters  
**APG 300, C/2052, p. 8**

**27 March 1586**

*Erbar Ehrenvester Namhaffter undt Wolweiser Herr, nach dem / mich Ewer Namhaffte weisheiten im namen undt von wegen eins / Erbarn Raths günstiglich, den befelich gegeben hat, einen abriß oder / viesierung zu stellen. Nach dem das ein E. R. willens ist, ein Zier- / lich Thor von gehawgenen wercksteinen, an das hohe thor machen zu / lassen, auff welches günstigliche befelich ich auch zwe unterschied- / liche abriße undt Patronen, wiewol ohne einige masse gestellet unndt / ubergeben habe, die ich nach meiner von Gott verlihenener gaben undt / Kunst aufs beste gestellet undt abgerissen habe. Wiewol es zierlicher / undt köstlicher kundt gestellet werden. Weil ich aber nicht gewüst, / auff welcherley gestalt undt weise das es ein E. R. begehren thette, / habe ich gleichwol deme ein genügen thun wöllen, hoffende das es / sich ein E. R. in günsten wirdt gefallen lassen. Da man auch et- / was darinne begeret geendert zu haben, es sey zur festunge oder zur / gezierte kan es stetts geschehen, darin ich auch meine kunst undt rath / gerne mitteilen wil. /*  
*Weil mich nu ein E. R. weitter den befelich hatt geben lassen, dass / ich ein uberschlag machen sollte, was das aushawgen des steines so zu / dem gantzen wercke nötig, an arbeits lohn gebüren möchte, und dassel- / bige schriftlich auffzustellen undt zu ubergeben, also hab ich auff / den günstigen befelich einen kurtzen undt gründtlichen uberschlag gemacht, / so ferne das gantze werck bey dem abscheide undt ubergeben visierung / bleiben solle. Wiewol das werck in der visierungen nurt an dreyen / seitten zu sehen ist, derhalben was inwendich oder an andere örtter / kompt, das in die viesierung nicht vertzeichnet ist, oder nicht kan ver- /*

zeichnet werden, das sol ausserhalb mein gedinge sein, undt sol- / len die gehaugene werckstücken, die ich aus zu arbeiten auff mich / nehme, ihren anfanck haben unden an der erden oder brücken, auch / sollen sie bis oben an gehen nach der verordneten höhe, breite und die- / ke, sampt allen waffen, bildtwerck, spitzen undt anderen getzier, nach / seiner masse undt abtheilunge. Darnebens zierlich undt reinlich aus / gehawgen undt ausgearbeit sol werden vermöge der abegerissenen vie- / sierunge. Darnebens will ich allen Steinhawger undt Bildthawger / gesellen selber zalen undt bedingen, undt alle das gebawgen werck liefe- / ren, so in Gottlandtschen und Bentmerstein gearbeitet wirdt, undt auch / nach notturfft, wen das werck auffgemauret wirdt, auff meine un- / kost einen gesellen oder Zwe halten, die das eissenwerck sollen einhaw- / gen, undt die werckstucke einrichten, fur solch mein undt meiner ge- / sellen arbeits lohn undt angeben ist in eine Summa mein beger undt auser- / ster uberschlach ein 2000 F. dasselbige mich auff geburliche termine, / wie das in der Contract schriftt, weiter mit ander conditionen unndt / puncten sol vermeldet werden.

Auch ist zuvorstehen, das ein E. R. allerley materia von stein, ziegel, / blay, eisen, kalck und arbeits lohn von abbrechen, auffzusetzen, mau- / ren undt allerley uncost, sol vorschaffen lassen demgleichen auch das / scherpfen das werckzeuges undt eisen, sol auff eines E. R. kosten / sein. Dartzu auch eine geraume undt geburliche werckbude und plaz verschaffen lassen, darinne man das werck fortstelle.

Damit aber ein E. R. nicht dencken sollte, als das ihn in diesem / wercke, meinen grossen nutz undt fortheil suchen wolte, als wolt ich / viel lieber wunschen, da es einem E. R. gefellich ware, auff einen / gewissen tage lohn fur mich undt meine gesellen handeln zu lassen, / damit ein E. R. nicht ubersetzt wurde, undt sollte das werck undt / die gesellen gleichwol mit fleisse undt trewen vortgestellt undt befor- / dert werden, eben ob es vordinget were, damit quäme ein E. R. so / wol der Meister nicht zu kurtz.

Diweil auch ein E. R. ein bedencken hatt, als solten die obersten / schrot dachsteine, das wasser sehr zu sich nemen oder durch schlagen, / so kann man an die stelle ander mittel gebrauchen mit klinckert und / Cement oder mit bley bedecken, das solte auch wol 700 F. wenig kosten. / Aber das oberste teil, da man das geschutze brauchen sollte, da musten die / schlieslöcher undt spitzen von gehawgen Steine sein. Da es aber E. R. gefellich were die Schossgegitter nicht zu gebrauchen, welches auch mein- / nes erachtens wenig nutzlich ist, den es nur grosse unkosten verursachen / wirdt, so wol grosse ungelegenheit dem gebew geben wurde. Jedoch / will man es in eines E. R. gunstigliche gefallen gestellet haben. / Also hab ich dis auff eines E. R. gunstighen befehlich nach / meiner einfalt auffzusetzen nicht unterlassen wollen. Bittende E. / N. M. solche beim Erbarn Ratt gunstigh vorzubringen, undt mich / gunstigh darin zubefördern. Nebens bitte solchs in gunsten vonn / mir auffzunehmen, den einem E. R. so wol E. N. W. zu dienen / bin ich zu ieder zeit bereit undt willigk, in derer gunst mich auch, / in aller underthenigkeit will befohlen haben. / Wilhelm von dem Bloch / Bildthauer

Lectum in Senatu 27 Marty / Ao 1586 / E. E. Rath hat geschlossen das hohe / thorn nach tagelohn zuverdingen / und die H Hans v. der Linde H. Jochim / Eler H. Michel Rogge undt H. Hans Schwartz- / wald mit den jungenn zuma walgebaude / gehörich die wieseirungen aller flei mit / des Raths baumeistern zu cweyen auff welche masse das hohe thor zuordnen / sei undt solchs zu Rathe einpringen.

**APG 300, 36/65, p. 19-22; Krzysiak 1999, p. 66-70**

**\*20 August 1586**

*Gewerke – Packet „Maurer & Steinmetzer“*

*[1586] Beschwerde der Aelterleut u[nd] Meister / [d 20/8] des Mäurer u[nd] Steinhauer-Handwerks / Wilhelm von dem Block / der wegen seiner freien Kunst des Bildhauens / u[nd] Schneidens v.[on] d[er] K[öni]gl[ichen] Maj.[estät] eine Freijte [?] erhalten / u[nd] sich [?] eine Vergünstigung b.[ei] E[iner]E.[hrbaren] Rathe vor 2 Jahre[n] / u[nd] sich [?] in der Werk hat Eynnemen [?] w.[erden] müssen f[olgend] Befest,[igung] / des Raths, weil ist uns K.[einer] solcher Bildhauer damals [?] / gewesen – u[nd] sonst Bildhauen f[ür] eine [?] freie Kunst gevestet [?] / w.[orden] (ohne Besizunge Werk u Gilde). / [added: kunsten d[er] Stadt leben] dem sich ist die Rolle d[er] Eid [above: erlassen], weil er ein / Widertäufer u[nd] sie sein Gewissen nicht beschweren / wollten – f.[ür] s.[einem] Wort nur v.[on] s.[einer] Kunst d[es] Bildhauens / u[nd] Schneidens leben zu wollen u nicht in ihr Handwerk / eingreifen wolle[n]. – dem [added: Nicht-bürger] eingeräumt eth[liche] Freih[ei]ten [?] / mit H[in]sicht [?] f.[ür] s.[eine] Relig –[ion] / jetzt Hatte [?] er s.[ich] in d[er] Wollweberg,[gasse] ein gemiethet / u[nd] bitte [?] v.[om] Rath um Miethe [?] einer [?] wüsten [?] Stätte / zur Werkstatt für Steinhauer-Arbeiten. / - habe sich sonst f[ür] Steinhauen, das er nicht verstände / Eingriffe gethan - / sie beschwerden s.[ich] dort [?] ihm nicht noch weitere Fr[ei]h[ei]t[en] [?] / eingeräumt w[erde]<sup>n</sup>, wie leider früher dem Hans / v[on] Lindau gewährt worden. – wiedert[äuf]er u[nd] nicht bürger / Rath solle darf halten h[err]n W.[ilhelm] v.[on] d.[em] B.[lock] mit s[einem] Volke / außerhalb d[er] Stadt wohne[n] u[nd] seiner freien Kunst nach / in s.[einen] Grenzen [nicht] halte[n].*

**Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Ms. 2490, handwritings of August Bertling, without page numbers (transcription: Jacek Tylicki)**

**1586**

*Philip von Block dtt fremde gesellen Geldtt 10g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 11**

**1586**

*Willem van den Blocke mentioned among other guild masters in a document concerning Hans Schneider von Lindau*

**APG, 5/4, p. 415**

**1587**

*Frembde gesellen bej / M: Willem von dem / Blogk abgelechts / Adrian de Ponne 10 g / Jacob Colenz dtt 10 g / so Steinhawere sindt od Bildhawere.*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 20**

**1588**

*Claus vo Brüssel / ein Steinmezler bej / M: Wilhelm von dem / Block dtt fremdbdt / gesellen gelt – 10 g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 47**

**1588**

*Wor 2 frembde gesellen / d bej M: Wilhelm vo / dem Blogk ein Bildt- / hawer abgelegtt mit / Namen / Adrian de Ponde dtt 10 g / Jacob Kolens dtt 10 g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 38**

**1589**

*Ein Steinhawer / Philip von dem Blogk / bej M: Willems vo / dem Blogk dtt frembd / gesellen geltt - 10 g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 56**

**1589**

*M: Wilhelm vo dem Block / dtt 2 frembde gesellen mit Namen. Also vor / Philip von den Block 10 g / Jacub Colinus 10 g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 56**

**1589**

*M: Nicolas Jacobssen hat / einen Lehrdiener wff / Steinhawer angenommen / mit Namen Georg Schrogeder / dtt [crossed]*

*[on the left margin:] Er sol / wol- / lerts / bey / M: / Wilm vo den Block / ansgelernen*

*[on the right margin] Er / hat / auss- / ge- / ler- / net*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 57**

**1590**

*25. Philip von dem Block / 26. Rammert von Fresen / Bildthawer gesellen / haben bej M: Wilm / von dem Block frembd / gesellen gelt jeder ge- / ben 10 g Ist 1 mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 74**

**8 Junij 1590**

*Abraham von dem / Block Ist vom Bildthawer / M: Wilm von dem Block / also von seinem leiblich / Vater d lehrhalben / losgesprochen worden / dtt gesellen geldt 2 F / Actum den 8. Junij Ao 90*

**300, C/2058, p. 75-76**

**1590**

*Dominick Hackebrandt / und Wilm von dem Block / vf erfordern. Producem / M: Simon Höppeners bej / offner lade eingetzeuget / das M: Greger Kunze / seinen lehrknecht ... [„?“ on the margin] / hat lassen bej / den Tisch sezen mit eine / hammer und Ine lassen / 1 glas bier bringen / wor vff Simon Höppener ge- / redet Ime den lehrknecht gehörete / nicht alda zusizen woru- / ber d lehrknecht hat lassen / den hammer in der handt / umbgehen, vnd Greger / Kunze gesaget hat wen / die lade zu wehre, so / wer es ein feiler Krug / alss dan hette Simon / Höppener, so einen weichen / Bauch als sein lehrknecht. / Actum Vtsupra*

**APG 300, C/2052, p. 96-97**

Herr Burgermeister, Gestrenge, Ehrveste, Erbare Namhaffte / unnd hochweise grossgunstige herren, negst wunschung gluckseliger / regierung unnd aller bestendigen wolfart auch erbittung meiner / stelts willigen Dinst, kan ich aus hochdringender noch nicht umgang / haben, ein G H Rath mit meiner Supplication zuersuchen. / Nach dem Ich mi unbilligkeit, von meinen wercksbrudern bedruckt / werde, die mir das Werck wenn es in ihrer macht were gerne / legen wolten, unnd das Steinhauen verbietten, welche freyheit / mir ein E. H. Rath aufgedige Vorbitt Kön: Maytt STEPHANI gott- /seliger gedechtnus gegonnet, unnd mir dieweil damals ein E. H. Rath / vons beste angesehen, unnd mir aufferlegt, mich mit dem wercke / Zuvertragen, unnd ein abtrag zuthun, als hab ich mich deselben / auch nicht geweigert, unnd einem G. Wercke ein verehrunge / gethan, damit sie Zurselben Zeit wol zufrieden sein gewesen, das / sie mich zu ihren wercks mitgenossen und bruder aufgenommen / haben, darauff hab ich in Namen Gottes angefangen, und meine / nahrung Zwey Jhar von ihnen ungehindert getrieben, auch mit den / anndern Meistern in guten friede aus dem Schiffe fliesen ge- / kaufft unnd mit ihnen Zugleich geparttet unnd gecheitet, dieweile / ich dem wercke war gerecht worden, denn so sie ursach gehabt / mir solchs zu weren, so hetten sie im anfang mir solchs nicht zuge- / lassen, sonndern ich habe ungehindert alles gemacht, was mir ist / vorkommen, bis das der neid und abgunst bey ihnen erwachsen / ist, insonderheit aber bey dem Meister Wilhelm Barts Steinhauer / am hogen thore, also das die alterleutte vor vier Jahren das werck / mir legen wollen, oder ich sollte nicht annders denn bildtwerck / unnd sonst kein leisten noch annder arbeit machen, welchs ich / nicht hoffe das ein G H Rath ihnen solchs wird zulassen, denn / wenn solchs geschechen sollte, was wurde ich denn mehr sein, denn / ein Geselle oder ihr Knecht, da es doch ein alt gebrauch ist / sowol in annderenn Stedten, wer da Bildtwerck macht der hauet / auch leisten, wiewol sie Bildthauer heissen, gleich wie die andr / Meister alhier, ob sie wol Steinhauer heissen, unnd das werck / auf Steinhauen, unnd nicht auff Bildhauer gewonnen haben, / demnach durch ihre Gesellen Bildtwerck unnd laubwerck sowol / als leisten arbeiten wodurch mir meine nahrung entzogen / unnd genommen, auch wol mein gesinde abgespenet wird, denn / so sie hierin recht hetten, mir zu wehren leisten und fliesen / zuhauen, so were es auch billich unnd recht, das sie Bildt unnd / laubwerck zumachen abstehen soltten, unnd dieses hanndels / halben ist ein E. H. Rath vor vier Jharen auch bemuehet worden / da ein E. H. Rath aus ihrem mittel den hanndel zu undsuchen / den herrn Michel Siefert seligen, unnd herrn Arendt Schmiedt / unsern Werckherrn dartzu depudieret, welche mich daselbige / macht gunstgliche geschuetzet, unnd mir solchs nachgegeben, allein / das ich mit Mauerwerck nicht sol umgehen, welchs ich nie begert / habe, auch noch nicht begere, ich hatte wol gehoffet es sollte hiebey / vorbleiben sein, aber es mag nicht helfen, sie kommen und wollen / nicht zufrieden sein, sonndern ich werde ein Jhar nach dem anderen / mit Stadtdienern, unnd Rechtsgange gemolestiret, also das es nu / von dem herrn Burgermeister, an ein E. H. Rath ist gewiesen / werden, welchs durch antreiben des Meister am hogen Thore wonende geschehen, da sonsten kein annder Meister mehr im / wercke sein, als der Baumeister Hasn von Lindau und ich, / unnd dieweil der obengedachte Meister Wilhelm, das Bildtwerck / nicht gelernet hatt, viel weniger die hanndt daran weiss zulegen / ich aber das Steinhauen mit meinen eigenen henden wol bewei- / ssen kan, welchs er mir gerne wehren wollte, unnd da es von / Zweien eins sein sollte, so wer es ja billicher, das er von dem / was er mit eigener handt nicht machen kann abstehen sollte, / doch

gunne ich ihm wol, das er seine nahrung hatt, und mit sei- / nen Gesellen arbeiten mag was ihm vorkompt allein mocht / ich nur friede haben, unnd arbeiten was mir der liebe Gott zu - / fugt, Es mag auch nicht wol von einander gedrennet sein, denn / Bildthauen geheret zum Steinhauen, unnd Steinhauen bey Bildt- / hauen in anmerckung das sie mich für ein werckbrüder ange- / nommen haben, daran ich mich auch haltte, es war ihnen auch / nicht unbewust wer ich war eh sie mich annahmen, denn sol / ich das werck in der nahrung nicht geniesen, was wer es denn von / nöthen gewest das wrck zugewinnen, hatt ich mich an die freyheit / gehalten, so mir ein E. H. Ratk aus Kön: Maytt. seligen gnedige vor- / bitt gegonnet hatt, ich glaub ich hatte besern friede gehabt, als biss - / hero noch nicht geschehen ist. Derwegen ist mein fleisige bitte, ein / G. H. Rath wolle in solche unbefügte Zunöttigung ein Rechtmesiges / einsehen haben, unnd mich in günstigen schutz nehmen, hierauf ein / Spruch thun, dabey es endlich beruhen möge, damit ich hinfort / friede haben konne, ich verhoffe mich auch Zuverhaltten nebenn / annderen Meistern, das niemandt mit billigkeit unnd warheit / sol zu klagen haben, Solchs umb ein E. H. Rath als meine günstige / liebe herren, nach ihren willen und begeren, nach meinem / geringen vermögen unnd einfalth zuverschulden, bin ich bey / tag unnd nacht zu iedertzeit willig unnd bereit. / E. G. E. G. N. unnd hohen. / dinstwilliger / Wilhelm vom Blocke, Bildhauer

[written by a diffrent hand:]

Wilhelms von Blockes Suplica / In das gedenckbuch emge- / schreiben / Ehr Erb: Rahtt befindet aus / des werckes der Meurer dem / supplicanitem gegebenen kundt- / schafft, das er der Suppli- / cant wol befueget sey, sol / als ein Mitbrueder des / Werckes der Bildtwercks / in steinhawen wie auch das / Steinhawens, wie andere zugebrauchen / und also des werckes in allem Zu / genissen, Ausserhalb / der Supplicant mit dem / Meurwerck nicht sol / umbgeh, welchs ihme ab / geschutt und unterlinge sein / soll. / Lect 17 August Anno 90.

**APG 300, 36/65, p. 29-32; Krzysiak 1999, p. 72-76**

### 1591

M: Wilm von dem / Block vor machgemelte / 4 gesellen also 2 / Bildt und 2 Stein- / hauer / die 10 g vor / jeden abgelegt / Phillip von dem Block / Georgen ein Bildthawer / Rommel von Fraesen / Hans Alepander / thutt – 2 mk

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 82**

### 16 Juni 1591

M: Wilm von dem Block / hat einen Lehrknecht / also Conrad von Hoff / Stein und Bildt- / hawer angenommen / Actum den 16 Juni Ano 91 dtt 1 mk [crossed, on the margin:

d M: / hat / Zu / los les- / sen[?]

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 86**

### 1591

1 frembd gesell / bey M: Wilhelm vo / dem Block mit Na- / men Peter Distendorf / dtt frembdt gesellen / geltt 10 g

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 88**

**1591**

*Den Donnerstag In d / fastnacht Ao 92 hatt / M: Wilm Barth seine Rechenschaft ge- / leistet inn beywesen / d Eltesten, sowohl / des M: Wilm vom dem / Block und Inn beysein / d vorgemelten alt ge- / sellen damals Ist die / Einkunfft des M: Wilm / Barhts befunden vor den 82 mk 3 g 1*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 92**

**1591**

*Willem van den Blocke mentioned among other guild masters*

**APG 300, C/2095, p. 15**

**1592**

*M: Wilm vom Block / hat vor nachgemelte 3 stein / und 2 Bildthawer ab- / gelegt frembd gesell / geltt / [p. 95] Rumelt vo Frasen / Hans de Wahl / Adrian de Ponde / steinhawer / Philip vo Block / Franz vo Block / bildthawer / vor jeden 10 g geben 2 mk 10 g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 94 - 95**

**1592**

*M: Wilhelm vom dem / Block einen Lehrknecht / angenommen mit Namen / Herman Sparck uff stein- / mezler handtwerck Act / den 3 August Ao 92 / dtt 1 mk*

[crossem, on the left margin:] *Er / ist / ent- / gan- / g*

[on the regigh margin:] *unge- / fehe- / n / der / zu- / ler- / ne*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 103**

**1592/1593**

*Tewes Barch Ist Zum / Elbing ohne erlaub und / die Rolle aus der Stadt / gewesenn d soll Ehr vor- / bussen und soll auch wegg / d 20 f Polnisch sich beim / E werck abfinden. / Belangende d Ime sein M: / Wilm von dem Block weg / d vesper Kost, so Er nicht / abstehen wollen / vorlauf / gegeben bis Zur Zeit das der / tag lenger wirdt, soll Er / sich mit seinem Meister vor- / tragen sich demuttigen, / und gutlichen / abfinden. d Ist / eine E Wer. woll Content. / Actum den 16 Maj Ao 93*

**APG 300, C/2052, p. 131**

**22 November 1593; a letter from the City Council of Gdańsk to King Sigismund III**

*Ad Regem nostrum / Ext 22 Novembris / Anno 1593 / Durchlauchtigster, hochgeborener Furst, / Gnedigister König, gnedigister Hörre E. Kön / Maytt seind unsere gehorsambste dienste, / in unterthenigkeitt entfolen. Euer Kön: / Maytt undershideliche beuechlich schreiben / belangende Meister Wilhelm von Block, / und das beÿ ihme bestellte Könn: EPITA- / PHIUM, haben wir mit gebuhrender ehr, / erbietunge ein unterthenigkeit empfan- / gen, und demselben Zuolge, wollen / wir ihme einen besuemen Plaz zure / arbeit, nach notturfft anweisen lassen, / soviel aber die zachlung der gelde, auch der verhöhnunge des Pfahlgeldes E. König: Maytt anteill belangett haben wire / nicht thun können, in anmerkung, das E. Kön. Maytt angeordenett, das nach abzachlung / der zweÿ tausent gulden, so E. Kön. Mytt den / Torsten Lindersann gegeben, gemeine Stad / in der ordenunge volgen soll, und*

*das einn- / kommen der verhöhnunge der Pfahlkammer / E. Kön. Maytt. vier und zwanzig tau- /  
astent gulden, davon wir unsere verschrei- / bunge in unterthanigkeit, auff E. Kön. / Maytt  
allergnedigistes begehren auhgege- / ben, wie dan der Erbar. Dethartd Brandes, / vermuge E.  
Kön. Maytt beuehlich solche / vier und zwanzig tausendt gulden, bey / gewisten leuten  
behandelt, denen wir aufgewiste zeit, laut unser ausgegebe- / nen verschreibunge, die  
zahlung zuethun / schuldig. /*

*Damit aber dannoch solch beuohlen / werck der Königlichen EPITAPHII nicht / verhindert,  
sondern vielmehr durch / Uns befurdertt wurde, haben wir / E. K. Maytt zur gnedigisten  
gefallen, inn / unterthenigkeit, dem Willem Block / den ersten TERMIN funfhundert / funff  
und achzig thaler zue 35 mk / aus unser kämmerey oder gemeinen gute / bahr verschoszen und  
gezahlett, deinde auch / in unterthenigkeit erbötig, auf kunfftige / Ostern den andere Termin,  
ein tausent / thaler dem Willhelm Block, aus gemeinere / Kämmerey fur E. Könn Maytt  
Zuuerschies- / sten und zuezahlen. Aber der kegenst / bitten E. Könn. Maytt wir  
unterthenigs- / tes vleistes, die wollen allergnedigst / geruhen, uns ein RESCRIPTUM oder  
MANDAT / zuzuschicken, das wir solche nicht ohne be- / shewehr verschosene ein tausent,  
funf / hundertt und funff und achzig thaler / wiederumb aus der verhöhnunge des Pfal- /  
geldes E. K. M. anteil empfangen sol- / len wider ordenunge, von die vorgedachte / vier und  
zwanzig tausent gulden vor- / herogezahlett, und das niemandt der- / zwischen angewiesten,  
und wir nicht in / wieder empfahen aufgehalten werden, / Wan uns solche Königliche  
versicherung / zuegekommen, wollen wir es auch an / unseren unterthenigisten vleisse, die  
verstande ein tausent thaller aufzubrin- / gen, nicht ervinden lassen. Undt sindt E. Könn.  
Maytt. in deme, und sonsten, so uns immers muglich, underthenigist zuwil- / fahren, in  
gehorsamb geuliesen. E. Kön. Maytt. in shuz und shwin das allerhöchsten, / zuerhaltunge  
langwiriger guter leides ge- / suntheit, und glucklicher friedelicher Re- / gierunge trewlich  
entpfelendt.*

**APG 300, 27/43, p. 199-200v**

### **1593**

*M: Wilhelm von dem / Block dtt vor 2 Bildt- / hawere frembde gesellen / Philip von dem Block  
/ Paul Bocke 1 mk / Noch hat Er geben wor / 2. Steinhawere fremde / gesellen mit Namen /  
Rumbert von Frasen / Berndt Spoeg 1 mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 110**

### **8 August 1593**

*Jörgen Schroder Ist / vo M: Wil von block / wf Steinmezler- / werck Ehrlichen / aus der Lehr  
komen / Act den 8 Augustj / Anno 1593 dtt / Gesellen geldt 2*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 116**

### **1594**

*M: Wilm von dem Block / hat wff Steinhauen sowoll / Bildthauen zu ein Lehr / angenommen mit  
Namen / Jacob Burchardt Act / die Lehrzeit angenigen / den Sonntag Misericordis / Domini Ao  
94 dtt 1 mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 123**

**1594**

*M: Wilm vom Blogk / dtt wor nachgedachte drej / frembde Steinhawer gesel- / len mit Namen / Serua Konig / Dionjsius [obscured] und / Rummert von Fraasen 1 ½ mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 127**

**1594**

*M: Wilm von dem Block / dtt wegen 2 frembde ge- / sellen als Steinhawers / mit Name / Lambert Marens und / Hans vo Brüssel 1 mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 129**

**7 August 1594**

*M: Wilhelm von dem Block / hat wff Steinhawer den Peter / Dunis fur einen lehr diener / angenommen. Actum 7 / August A. 1594 dtt 1 mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 133**

**1594**

*won M: Wilm von dem / Block wegen drej fremb- / der Bildthauer [crossed: Stein] gesellen / einkomen - 1 ½ F / mit Namen*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 137**

**1594**

*Tewes Barch hat auch / wf obberürte Morgensprach / wegen der Meisterschafft des / Steinhawens wolt wollfahren. / Aber sein M: Wilm von dem / Block Ime kein gut gezeugk- / nis gegeben. Sagende d gesell / vf die 2 Jar d Mesiterschaft / nurt 43 wochen gearbeitet / hatte. Dann ehr ohne seinen vorwis- / sen vorreistet und Ime sonst / zu wider gewest wehre d / wegen vom W: H: erkant vor / den Er noch 1 Jar vf die Meis- / sterschaft Zu stehen bis nechst / Kunfftige Morgensprach vnd / wo ehr wider vorweysene / wurde, soll es nichts sein / wegen gestandener Zeitt. Act. / Utsupra [on the margin: Er Ist / Meist' / word / vff die / Morgen- / sprach / A<sup>o</sup>95 / den 16. / Martij]*

**APG 300, C/2052, p. 152**

**17 February 1594**

*Sigismundo Tertio Regi nro / Ex 17 February a. 94 / S R.Mtis Vrae literas, quibus iubet / ex parte portory sui octo mil- / lia florenorum Simoni Bario / prae caeteris dissolm, dabita / cum fide et subiectionis ve- / neralione humilime recepti- / mus. Et cuperemus qui- / dam ut eidem Bario quam / primum, absque Civitatis / detriment salisfieri / poset, verum S. Regiae / Vrae Mtis non es incogni- / tum, quod iam antea certum / ordinum praescripserit, quo / scilicet (ordinus, non obstanlibq, contrarys mandalis, illi) , quibus ali- / quid ex sua parte portory de- / legatum est expediantur. / Inter quos etiam Civitas [?] / solutionem viginti quatuor mil- / lium florenorum ex fideus- / sione nostra nuper in discessu / S. Regiae Vrae. Mtis. interposita / recipere debabit. Accedunt / insuper pensiones quae hoc an- / no exoluende veniunt, tales / qui dam, quibq cum nostra summa / coniunctis / incertum est, an huius anni / prouenlibq aliquid sit super- / fulurum, pro ut ex descriptio- / ne pensionum istaeum mani- / festis ostenditur (praeter quam / etiam quod Wilelmo Block / artifice ad con- / finendum Epita- /*

*phium partim iam solutum partim / adhuc soluendum est) proinde quod / iniquum Reg. Ura. Mtas. vide- / tur, eos quibus esuer besses / soluuntur, prius suam solutione / percipere, quam au team merue- / rint, aut illi prius exolutum sit, / qui nullum foenus percipit: / idem nos etiam sentinme, itaque / nullum etiam foenus, nec nullum alium / fructum ex ea fideiussione nea[?] / nec cupimq, nec percipimus, / illud saltem nobis incumbit, ut / elapso tempore constituto spon- / sioni nostrae bona fide satisfa- / ciamus: Eaque magis confi- / dimus, prout etiam iterum ac iterum humilime supplicamq, / ut S. R. Vrae. Mtis. hac in par- / te Civitatis indenmitati clemen- / tissime prospicere dignetur. / Quod superes / S. R. Vrae. Mtis. fidelissima subie- / ctionis obsequia et servilia perp- / tuo cupimus esse perspectissima. / Ad Regem nostrum / 17 Februa. 1594. / Simon Bahr / Willem Block / Epitaph.*

*Permissione gelde / Simon Bahr F 1000 / Hn Erich Sparre F 2333,10 / Christoff Klabonnenn F 500 / Hen Doctor Lembke F 100 / Johann Scalige F 150 / F 4083, 10 / Wilelmos v Block 585+1000 1585 thal*

**APG 300, 19/49, p. 177-182**

### **26 April 1594; a letter from Wessel (Wenceslav) Mittendorf to the City Council of Gdańsk**

*Heutiges tages bin ich bei dem Herren Thuro Bielke gewesen, da mir dan I. G. angezeigt, das I. M. neulicher Tage gedacht hetten, das es ihr gar sehr wunder nehme, das ein Erbar Radt der Stadt Dantzick sich vorweigert, die 1.000 Taler dem Meister Wilhelm Block folgen zu lassen, da doch die Summe so gar gross nicht wehre undt I. M. das Werck gerne befördert seghen.*

**Published in Historiska handlingar, vol. 23, p. 67n**

### **9 Mai 1594; at the end of a long letter from the City Council of Gdańsk to King Sigismund III**

*[...] Der M. Wilhelm von Block ist wegenn / der 1000. thaler zur verfertigung des / Könn: EPITAPHY aus unnserer Kemmerey / befriediget. Womit Göttliche gnaden / beuehlende. .*

**APG 300, 27/43, p. 245v**

### **14 Mai 1594; entry in Gdańsk Pay-books (Extracten aus der Kammerbüchern)**

*Nach dem von Kö: May: unseren allergnedigste / Herrn aus Stockholm von 20 April diste 94 Jahres / d H. Simon Bahr Ko: factor abermal ein shwech / und mandatt uberreichet, auf Palf F 8/m, aus dein / Ko: Anteill d Pfahlkammerer fur allen ande zu / empfang, und aber in erwenhtem Kö: mandat / die Pfahlherren wie gebrechlich und Nottwendig / nicht benennet, auch derweg der Kö: Matt: ver- / sicherung auf die 24/m F zuneideren, damit dennah / E E Rhatt, desen mehr bezeugen mochte, und die / Kö: sachen, so dem Hn Simon Bahr anbefohlen, be- / fordert wurde, als ist aus shlus E E Rhatts, auf / obgedachtes vinuer soll aus d Kemmerey verschafen / und datto aus gezellet, 4/m F die helftt abgemelter / miet d CONDITION, d Hn Simon Bahr mit dem / sonderlichsten, von Ir Kö: Mytt: ein and mandatt, ein / bring, derinen die Pfahlherren bennenet stehen, / und von die 24/m F und M. Willem Von Block / die 1585 Thall aus dem Kö: antheill Pfahlgelttes / gezalt werden sein, als den die abgesetzt 8/m F / In d Ordnung gefallen sollen, was ausgezelet. / a carte 21- / M 6000*

**APG 300, 12/ 21, p. 19**

**24 Mai 1594; part of a letter from the City Council of Gdańsk to Wessel (Wenceslav) Mittendorf**

*Gestrieges Morgens, ist uns das dritte schreiben / Ihrer Könn: Maytt denn Simon Bahr INSINUIRET, die 8/m F ihme aus denn Könn: Pfallgelden aus- / zehlen zuelassen. Ob wir volgenzlich / verhoffet, Ihre Könn: Maytt: wurde uns aller- / gnedigist damit ubersehen, unndt bey unnteren not- / turfftigen der Könn Caution gemesgethanen bericht, / haben wen den lassen. Damnach weil wir / genugsamb vernehmen, das Ihre Könn: Maytt: / hierinnen ein angenehmer dienst geschicht, alls / haben wir zur bezeugung unnterer unterthenigenn / wilfhrigkeit, albereit fur diesen den Simonn / Bahren 4000 F aufbrachtt unnd erlegenn / lassen zur dero gestaltt, das er ein ander Mandat / vonn Ihrer Köng: Maytt zumförderlichsten einbringe, / (wie er auch angenommen) welches auff die Pfall- / herren, die in vorigen, wie notwendig unndt ge- / breuchlich, nicht benennet, mit laute unndt / einhalte, das van die 24/m F.darfur wir gutge- / sagett, unndt dan der Meister Wilhelm von Block / auff 1585 thalere wurden gezahlet sein, er als / dan in der Ordnunge wolgen, und die 8000 F. / empfangen, unndt wir daraub die verschossenen / 4000 F wieder einbehalten sollen, also blei- / bet die vorige anordenunge auff die Pfall- / kammer ungetrennet, seindt auch der unn- / terthenigten Zuversiht, Ihre Kön: Mayt aller- / gnedigist geruhen werden, ein solch Mandat, so / woll dem Meister Wilhelm, (deme wir gleichs- / falles seine Summa zur wege gebracht, auff / ebennesige Condition) als dem Simon Bahre / gebenn zuelassen, damit wir bey habender Kön: / Caution unndt der Ordnunge allernedigist / erhaltenn mugenn werdenn, wie ihr den, wann / davon gedachtt wirdt, zuebitten habet, das auch / dizfalles der Stad gelegenheit und zur standt / in gnedige unndt gute ahtt muge genommen / werden.*

**APG 300, 27/43, p. 249v-250v**

**13 August 1594**

*Aus Befehl des Herrn Presidirend: Burgermeisters seiner Erenuest Namhafft. Hochweis. Heitten, Haben Wir Meistere also Antonius van vybargen, dieser Stadt verwardenter Bawmeister, Sowoll Meister Wilem van Block Bildthawer, bey der Erbarnd vnd Tugendsamen Fraw Hevelkens wff der Langgassen Ortt kegen dem Rathhauss wber Zwene Scharsteine besichtiget, vnd Beschazet, Das dieselben an Steinen vnd arbeitslohn, gestanden vnnd Iziger Zeit sampt derselben gemeinen Unkosten, weerd sindt. Einhundert vnd Sechzig Fl : Polnisch dem gulden Zu 30. g. gerechnet. Antoni van Obborgh Wilhelm vond Blocke Actum Danzig Inn der Rechttten Stadt. den 13. Augustij Anno Christij 1594*

**APG 300, 58/63, p. 39; Kizik 2009, p. 148**

**25 November 1594**

*Ehrenttuheste, Erbare, Namhaffte, Hochweise, Grossgunstige Herren, / negst Wuncshunge vonn Gott dem Allmechtigsten Glucksaligen und / Friedsamer Regierung, wie auch meines schuldigen gehorsams, und / bereit willigen Dienste erbietunge, kehn[?] einen Erb. hochweisen / Ratt ich inn aller Unnderthenigkeitt gantz dienstlich nichtt sergen / dass ich vonn der Kön. Maytt. u. a. g. Könige und Herren ein Man- / datt an einen Erb. Ratt bekommen habe, vonn wegen zwei tausentt / thaler, welche mir auss der pfalkammer sollen gezahlett werden. / Weil aber dass Mandatt fast langsam angekommen, und andere / vor mir eingeschrieben seintt worden, also dass ich noch gar langsam / die 2000 daler, wellche mir*

*doch ihre Kö. Maytt. auff jungst vor- / schienen Michaelis zur erlegen schuldig gewesen, nach der ordnung / bekommen, unnd so lange miessen werde, zu meynem grossenn / schaden nichtt alleine, sondern auch zu mercklicher vorhinderung dess / wercks unnd arbeit, so ich Ihrer Kön. Matt. fertigen und bereitten / soll, auch schon unterhanden habe. Weill dann mir die 2000 daler / auff Michaelis vorgangen, lautt dess contracts aber welchem Ihre / Kön. Matt. wie auch der Reichs Ratt inn Schweden halten und mir be- / fehlen thuen höchsten vleis anzuwenden, das angenommen und ange- / fangene werck zu fertigen, und auff angelobt zeit zulieberen nichtt / erlegett seyntt, unnd aber gleich woll vom herren Thöre Bielken / den 20 dieses noch ein schreiben bekommen habe, dass werck zubereitten / welches mir zu thuende nicht mueglichen ist, wo ferne ich von Ihrer / Kön. Matt. mitt gelde nicht entsetzt werde, sondernn werde mitt / schmerzen das angefangene werck anstehen, die gesellen so ich mitt / grossen uncost zu wegen gebracht abschaffen, unnd mich also meiner / unschuld bey Irer Kö. Maytt entschuldigen müssen. Bitte demnach zum / underdienstlichsten ein erb. hochweiser Ratt hirinnern mich nichtt vordencken / wolle, dann die eusserste hochdringende nott mich darzu zwingett / unnd treibett, solches einen Erbar hochweisen Ratt meynen gross- / gunstigen herren, durch diss mein schlechtes und einfalliges suppli- / ciren anzumelden, unnd zum underdienstlichsten anzulangen umdt / zu bitten, dass ein erb. Ratt mir dissfals zu hulffe und wost kommen, / und mich mitt gelde entsetzen wolle, dass ich also meine angefangene / unnd fur habende arbeit fertig machen, und Ihrer Kön. Matt zu echter / zeit lieberen muge, worann dann Ihrer Königlich Matt ein gnedigst / gefallen tragen werden, unnd ich bin dasselbe umb einen Erbar / hochweisen Ratt nach höchstem vormugen zu jederzeit bereitwillig / unnd uberbottig, trostlichen und zuvorlessingen antworts erwach- / tennde. / E.E.E.N.W. / Dienstwilliger / Diener / Wilhelm von den Blocke / Bildthawer / Lect 25 Noveb A<sup>o</sup> 94 / E.E. Rats gelegenheit / ist itzo nicht disem Suppli- / canten zuzug*  
**APG 300, 36/65, p. 37-39; Krzysiak 1999, p. 76-78**

**1595**

*M: Wilm dem Block / vor 6. frembde gesellen / geben 3 mk mit Namen / Seruas Konig / Dionijsius / Runmert von Fraasen / Lambert Marp Steinhawere / Hans von Brüssel / paul von den Tils / Bildthawere*  
**APG 300, C/2058, p. 147**

**1595**

*Burchardt ... / ein frembdt steinhawer / gesell bey M: Wilm vom / Block dtt 10 g*  
**APG 300, C/2058, p. 151**

**16 Martij 1595**

*Abraham von dem Block: will / bey seinen Meister und [,Maister und‘ crossed] Vater / Wilm von dem Block vff / Stein und Bildthawen drei Jar / Erlichen vnd Radlichen aus- / stehen, so d werckes L sampt / dem ganzen werck nachgege- / ben hat. Actum inn d Morgen- / sprach den 16. Martij A / 95*  
 [on the margin: *vf die / Meist- / schaft*]  
**APG 300, C/2052, p. 198**

## **2 Julij 1595**

*Michel Dez Ist ohne vr- / laub auss d Stadt gewest / zu Konigsberg, vnd hat daselbest / geferklichen gesellen, M: Wilm / vo Block hat Ine nicht for / der wollen daruff ehr Klag / Thut. Actum den 2 Julij A 95*

**APG 300, C/2052, p. 212**

## **1596**

*M: Wilhelm von dem Block dtt fur nachgedachte 4 frembde gesellen 2 mk Mit Namen Rumpolt von Fraesen, Dionisius de Wahl, Hans de Wahl Steinhawere, Philip von den Block Bildthawer*

**APG 300, C/ 2058, p. 158**

## **1596**

*M: Wilhelm von dem Block hat vf Bildthawen den Gergen Tenzer Inn die Lehr Angenomen dtt 1 mk Actum den 28 Aprilis Anno 96*

[on the margin: *Er hat Ausgelernet*]

**APG 300, C/ 2058, p. 158**

## **1596**

*Zugedenken. / M: Wilm vo Blocks lehrjung - / d Burchhardt Jansschen Son, / Ist Spöttisch mit wortten ke- / genst die Eltesten gewesen / wegen des hat abnemens wie / Er Zur Thür hinaus gegang- / gen Ist.*

**APG 300, C/2053, p. 24b**

## **1596/1597**

*Das Hans Flamincks lehrbrieff so hollendisch geschreiben Ist M: Wilm von Block erbattig gewesen den selben mit deutschen Buchstaben zu Vertiren den Er vff d nechste verbott soll gelesen werden Ist Recht gk Ao 97*

**APG 300, C/2053, p. 16**

## **1597**

*Zu gedanken Ao 97. / Abraham von den Blocks Lehr / Jung worter Rede d 6 Jar Stein / und Bildthawe Zu lernen die / Eltesten vf beides nicht nachgeb / wollen. Nota: ein Jeder F: 4 J*

**APG 300, C/2053, p. 33bv**

## **1597**

*Abraham von dem Block hat / vo seinen Vater M: Wilm vo / dem Block dato ein gut gezeugk- / nis bekommen, das er seine Jar / Zur Meisterschafft Redlichen / ausgestanden habe, und weill den / das ganze Werck Meistere / und Gesellen vf Ine nichttes vngebur- / lichen gewust Als soll Er vf / Steinmezler Werck seine Stücke / eher vnd besser machen, vnd be- / veichten, damit die Meister- / schafft Zu wollenzyhen.*

**APG 300, C/2053, p. 34v**

**1597**

*Die beweibet vnd eigen Ruch / halten also Mummert bej M: / Wilm vom Block vnd / Heinrich bej M: Wilm Barth / die sollen sich erkleren / voll Brüdere gesellen weisse / Zu werden oder nichtt*

**APG 300, C/2053, p. 46v-47**

**1597**

*M: Wilhelm von dem Block hat d erste wbott nachosten fur 3 nachgemelte frembde gesellen erles 1 ½ mk Mit Nahmen Hans de Wahl, Rumpoldt von Fres Steinhawen, Heinrich ein Bildthawer*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 176**

**1597/1598**

*Mummert bej M: Wilm vo Block und Heinrich bej M: Wilm Barth soll vollbrud werden.*

**APG 300, C/2093, p. 99**

**1598**

*M: Wilm vom Block / dtt fur nachgedacht 3 fremde / gesel / 1 Rammert vo fraesen / 2 Hans de Wal / 3 Seruas König / Thutt 1 mk 10 g*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 190**

**1598**

*M. Wilhelm von Block steinhawer sol we- / gen einer Stelle ihn auch ob- / gemelter badstuben wor ½ Jahr – 9= / Noch wegen einer buden deselbest ... 8*

**APG 300, 12/23, p. 202**

**1598**

*M. Wilhelm von Block steinhawer sol we- / gen einer stelle ihn auch ob- / gemelter badstuber wor ½ Jahr – 9= / Noch wegen einer buden ann gemeldter Badtstuben 8 –*

**APG 300, 12/23, 1594 – 1603, p. 230**

**1600**

*Gergen Tenzer Ist vo / M: Wilhelm vom Blozk / wff Bildthawen den 19 / Septembris Ao 1600 auss / der Lehr komen. ddt / Gesellen geldt - 2 mk*

**APG 300, C/2058, p. 238**

**\*1600**

Willem van den Blocke, sculptor to king Sigismund III Vasa, is allowed by the Danish King Christian IV to acquire in Gotland as much stone as he needs for his work.

***Kancelliets Brevbøger vedrørende Danmarks indre Forhold, København 1596-1602, p. 553; after Czapliński 1968, p. 99***

**\*1605**

[on November 17th 1605 Samuel Knut delivered 50 florins to] *Wilhelmowi von Blok sculptorowi w nagrodę drogi i pracej okolo rysowania wizerunku ołtarza do wielkiego kościoła Nowo Zamoyskiego z rozkazania Je/go/ M/oś/ci Xiędza Biskupa Chelmskiego*

**After Herbst 1939**

**\*1608**

*Universis ac singulis harum noticiam habituris, imprimis vero, quibus id scire expedit, praemissa salute et officiorum nostrorum commendatione notum testatumque facimus nos Praeconsules et Consules Regiae civitatis Gedanensis, quod coram nobis compars honoratus et artificiosus M. Wilhelmus von den Block, lapicida et multis iam ab hinc annis incola civitatis huius, exposuit sibi pro negotiorum suorum exigentia nunc temporis proficiscendum esse in Inferiorem Germaniam, nominatim vero verius Mechliniam in Brabantiam, summopere a nobis petendo, ut eius instituti sui ad vitandam omnem sinistra suspicionem et alias difficultates, quae peregrinantibus terra marique vel bellorum iniuria, vel fortunae indignitate ut plurimum evenire solent, publicum ei testimonium communicaremus ac simul, ut communicatis litteris liberi transitus seu passus eum locorum Magistratibus et qui in dignitate vel officio positi sunt, de meliori prosa[?] commendaremus. Quia vero praedictus M. Wilhelmus von den Block multis iam ab hinc annis prout supra dictum civitatis huius incola sit et alioqui honestae vitae et conversationis, tum etiam non ignoremus Serenissimo Principi ac Domino Domino Sigismundo tertio, Rego Poloniae, Magno Duci Lithuaniae, Russiae, Prussiae, Masoviae, Samogitiae, Livoniaeque nec non Suecorum, Gottorum Vandalorumque Regi hereditario, Domino nostro clementissimo, ut et Maiestatis suae felicissimae recordationis Antecessori Regi Stephano ipsum artem et operam suam navasse, quamadmodum etiamnum sit in servitiis praememoratae Sacrae Maiestatis. Proinde precibus eius eo minus deesse potuimus quanto magis cum omnium hominum gratia et benevolentia dignum indicamus. Quapropter universos et singulos, qui praesentibus requisiti fuerint, reverenter et omanter rogamus, dignerentur ac velint praefatum incolam civitatis huius, cum propter virtutem et probitatem ipsius singularem, tum vero ob nostram hanc diligentissimam commendationem, elementissime ac benignissime complecti protectionem eius terra marive insitutam non impedire nec impediri permittere, quam potius ipsi una cum comitibus suis liberum ac securum transitum ultro citroque concedere et alioqui ad promovendas res suas licitas ac honestas gratia et singulos pro uniuscuiusque conditionis exigentia omnibus, quibus possumus officiorum et studiorum generibus promereri conabimur. In cuius rei fidem et evidentius testimonium sigillum nostrum praesentibus est subappensum. Datum Gedanii decima tertia die mensis Martii Anno Domini millesimo secentissimo octavo.*

*Nota : Sousigné Michael Petrus, Secretarius, et selé du scel de ladite ville en cire verde. Enregistré le 22 d'août 1608.*

**Bruxelles. Archives générales du Royaume, Registre de passeports commençant le 10 d'avril 1607, n. 1049, p. 177-178 ; after Szmydki 1999a**

**\*1619**

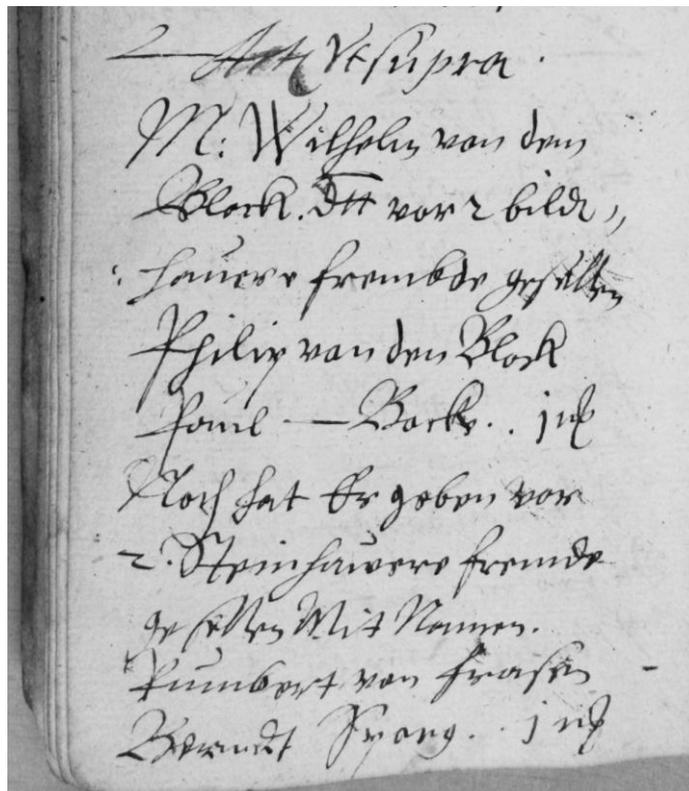
Ett gammalt dokument [...] upplyser om att Thure Bielkes gravmonument i Linköpings domkyrka, hvilket skulle vara beställt av honom själv, ännu 1619 ej var öfverkommet till Sverige, utan stod färdigt och målat i Danzig, der det var förfärdigadt af Wilhelm von der Block, verför Bielkes måg Gabriel Oxienstierna d. 31 (!) April 1619 ingick ny öfverenskommelse med Wilhelm von der Block och Baltazar Wiedenhop, handelsman i Dantzig att ofördröjligen aflemna och öfverföra detsamma mot en summ av 1.000 Polska Gyllen.

Upptecknat av N. Bielke, den 12.9.92

After Schéle 1952, p. 25 note 15

**Lebendige TROST-QUELLE Der Gläubigen Kinder Göttes [...] Bey Christlicher Beerdigung Des Ehrbaren und Fürnehmen Jacob vò dem Blocke / gewesen Baw= und Zimmermeisters der Königlischen Stadt Danzig. Den 10. Aprilis ANNO M. DC. LIII. In der Kirchen zu S Marien. / eröffnet und erkläret Von JOHANN: BOTSACCO [...] DANZIG M. DC. LIV., p. Gii-Giiv**

Sein [Jacob van den Blocke] Seeliger Vater ist gewesen / der Ehrbare und Wolgeachte Wilhelm von Block / welcher Bürtig gewesen aus der Weitberühmbten Stadt Mechelen in Braband / welcher offft in den Niderländischen Historien gedacht wirdt. [...] Der Großvater ist gewesen FRANCoys von dem Blocke.



Records of the Gdańsk guild with Willem van den Blocke's journeymen, 1593

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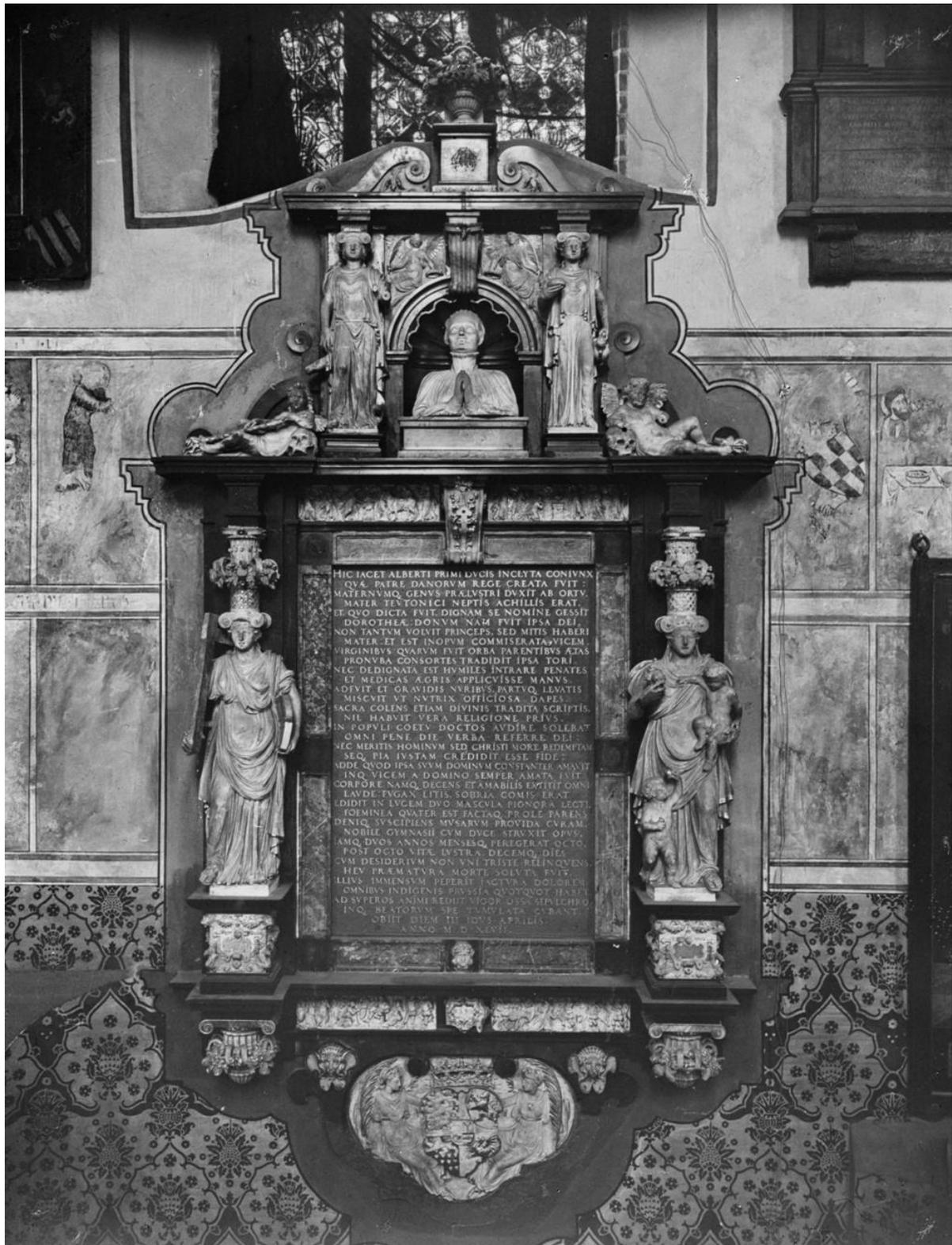


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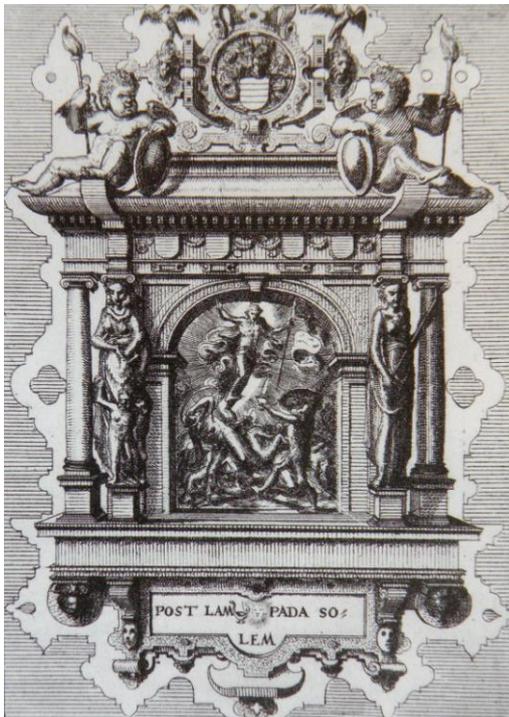


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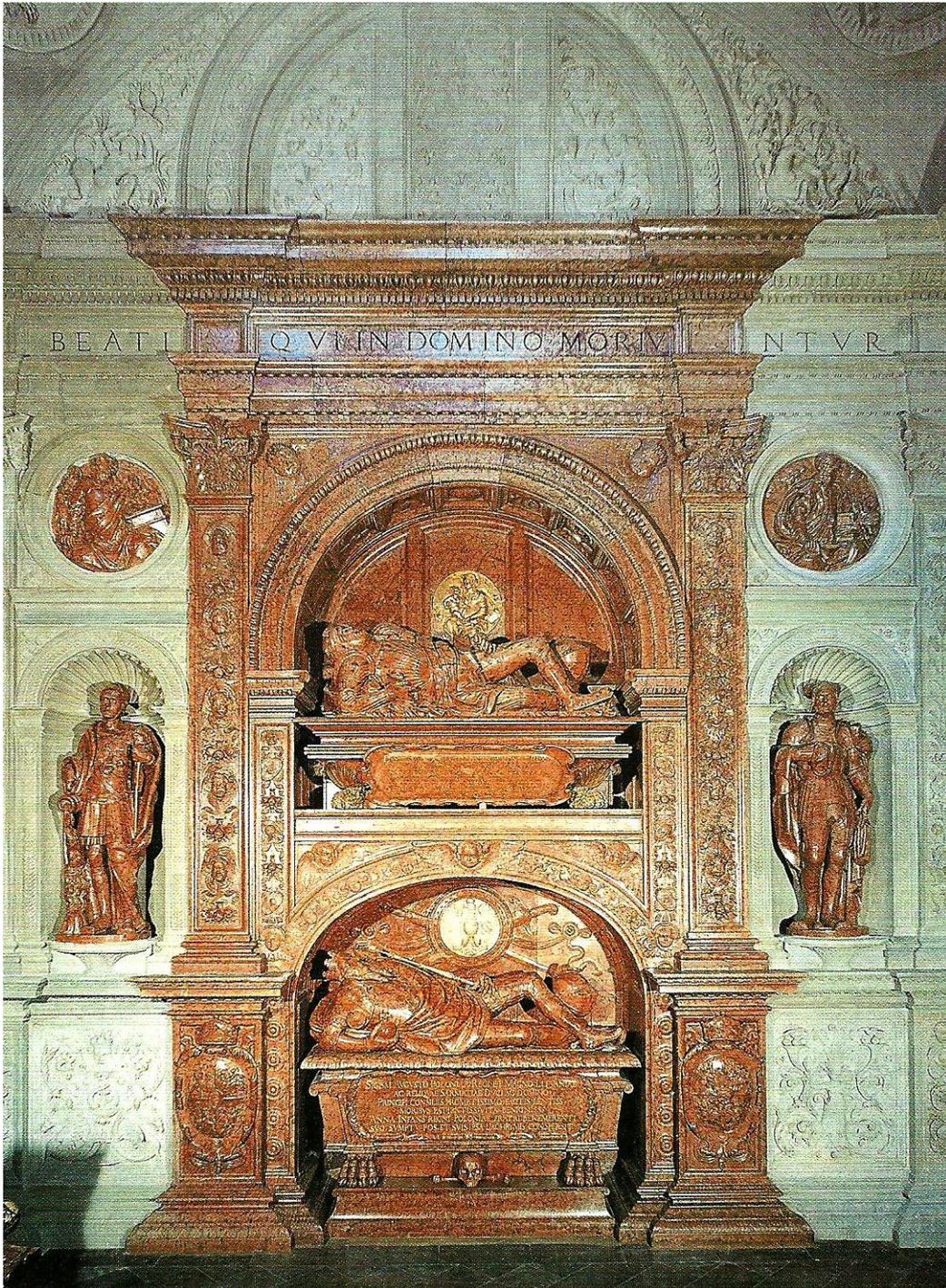


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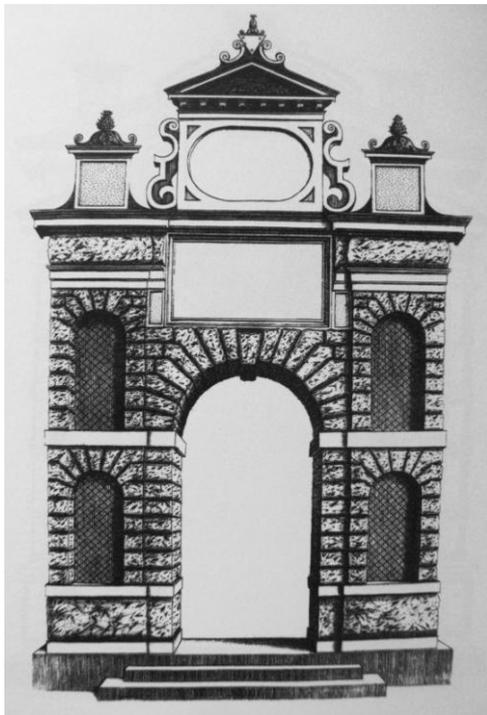


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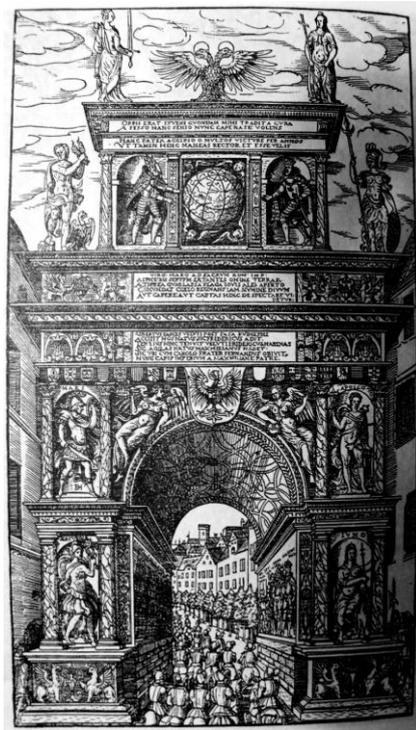


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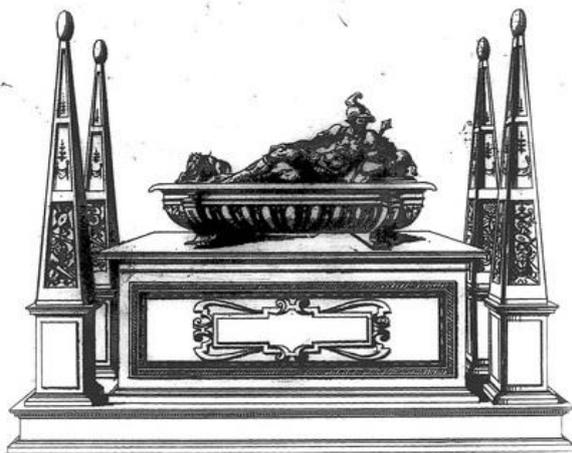


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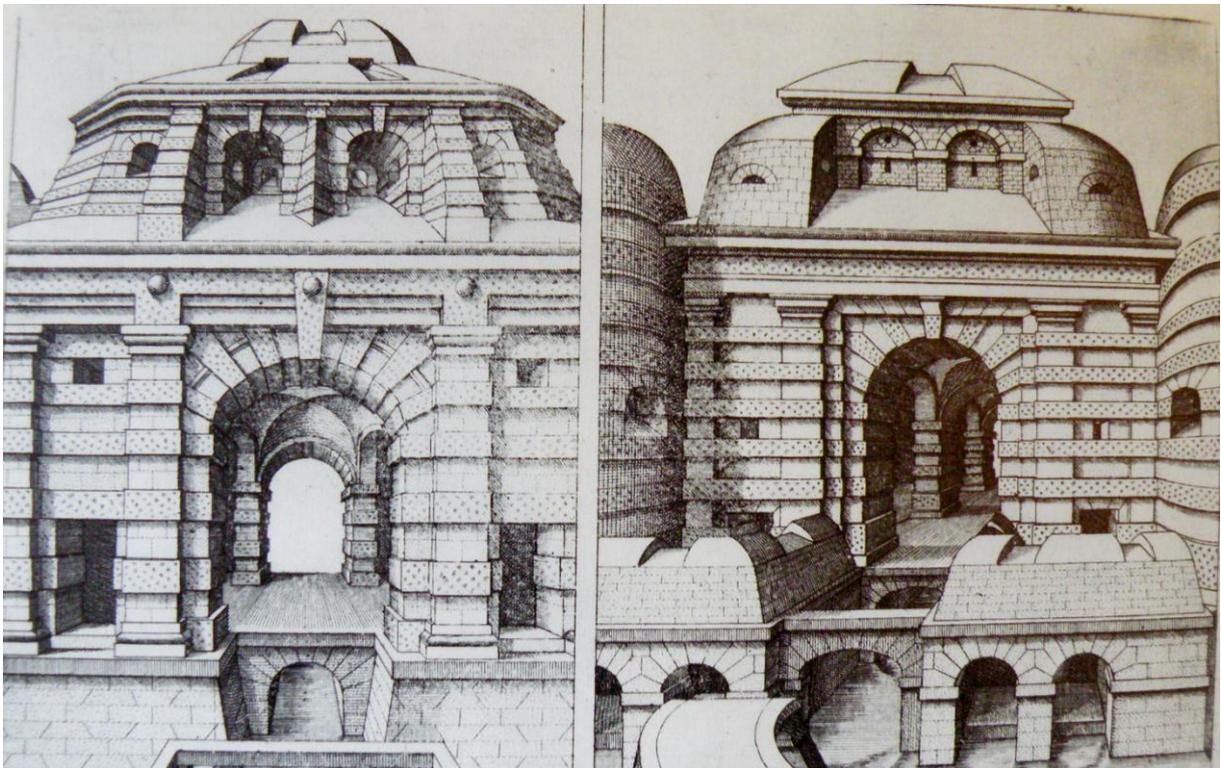
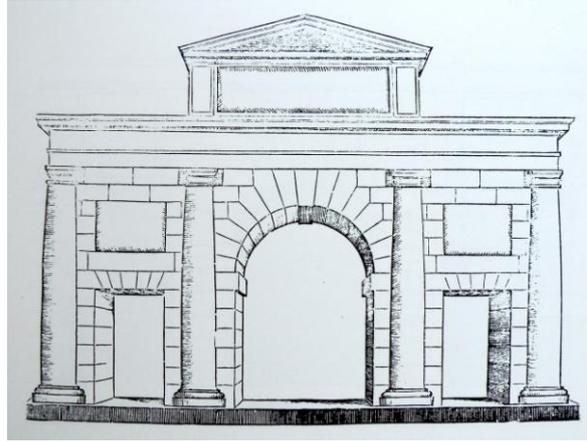
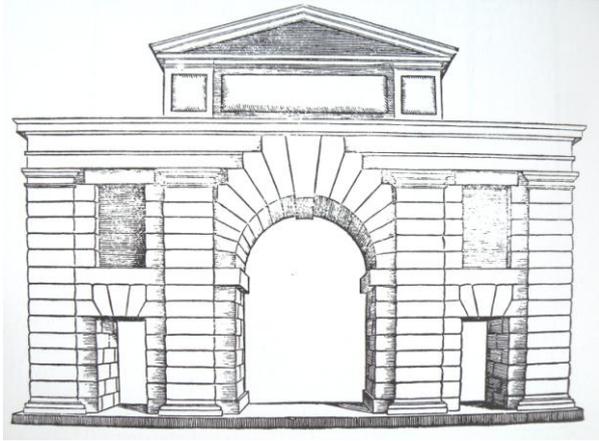


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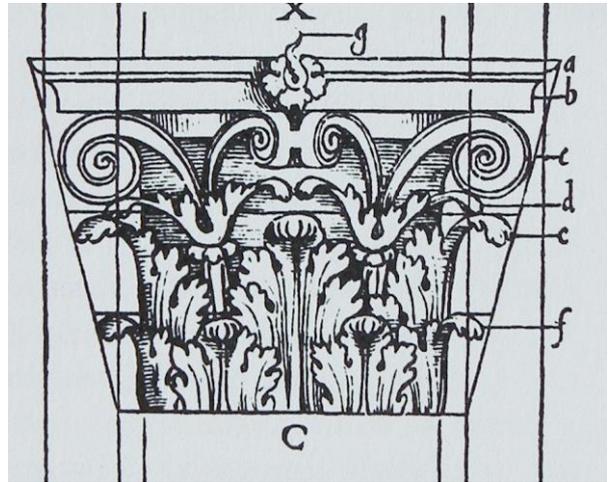


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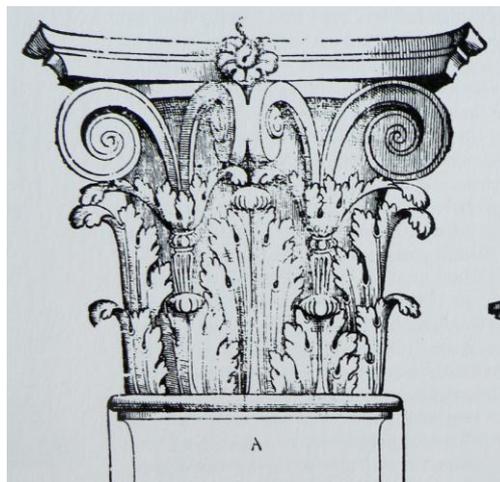


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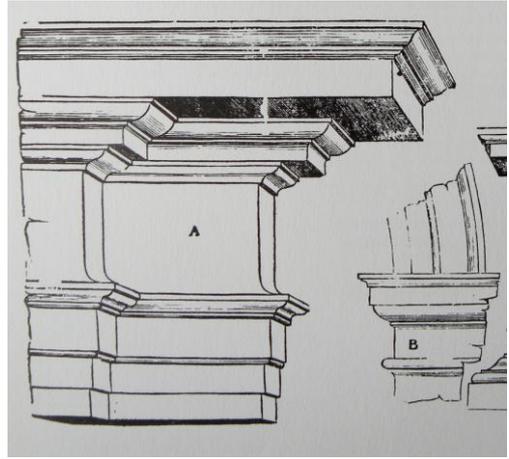


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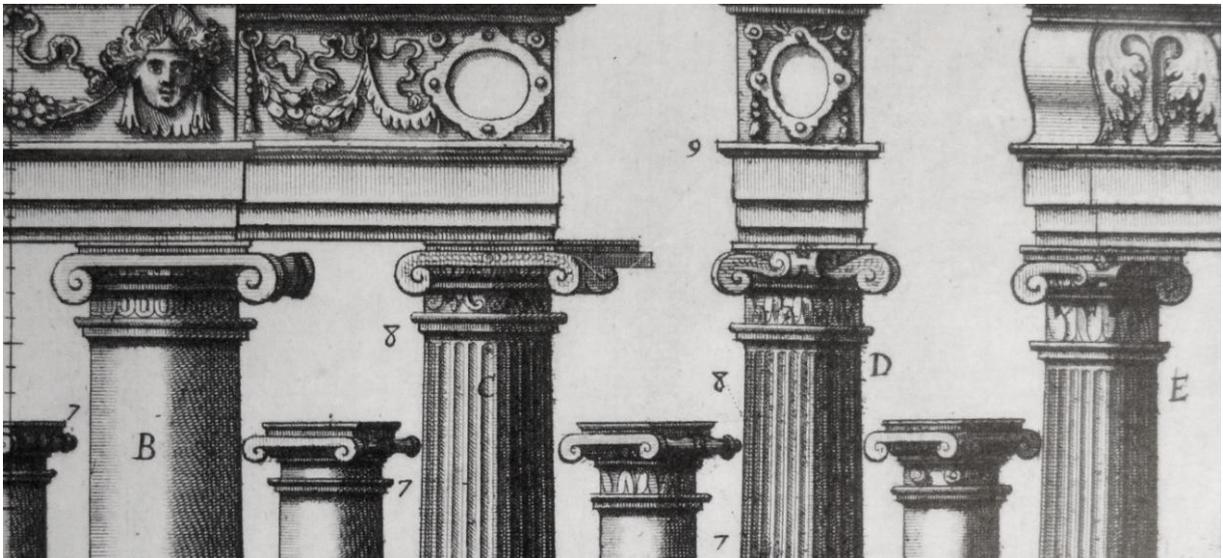


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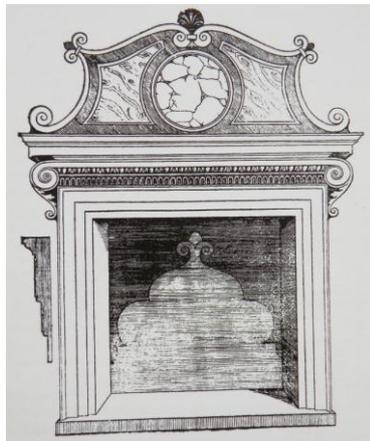


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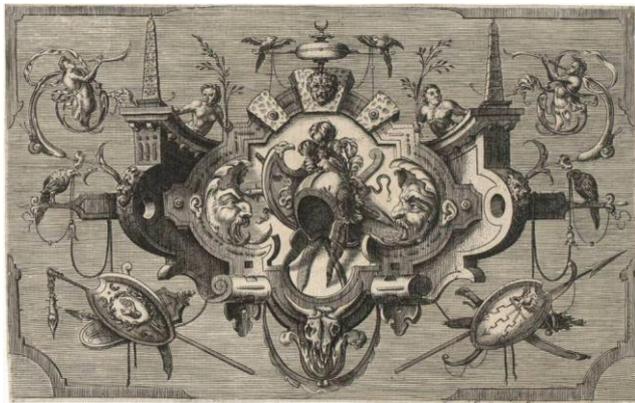


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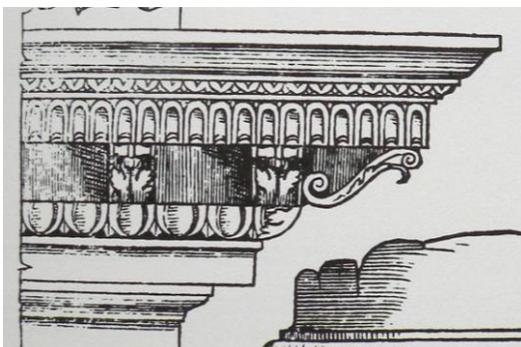


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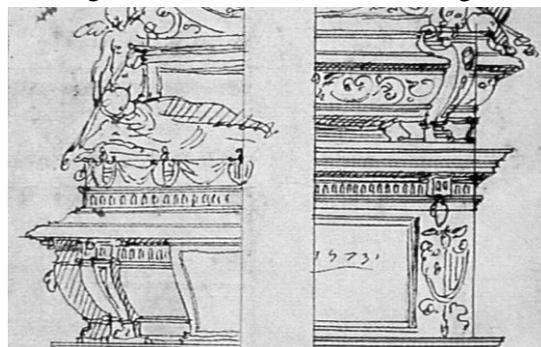


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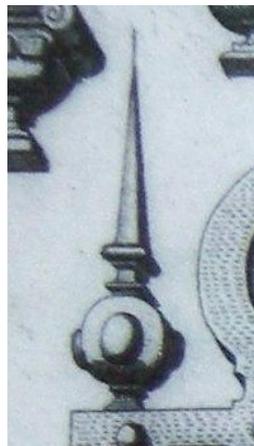
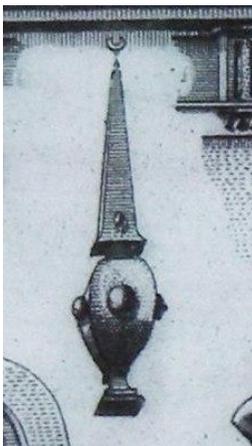


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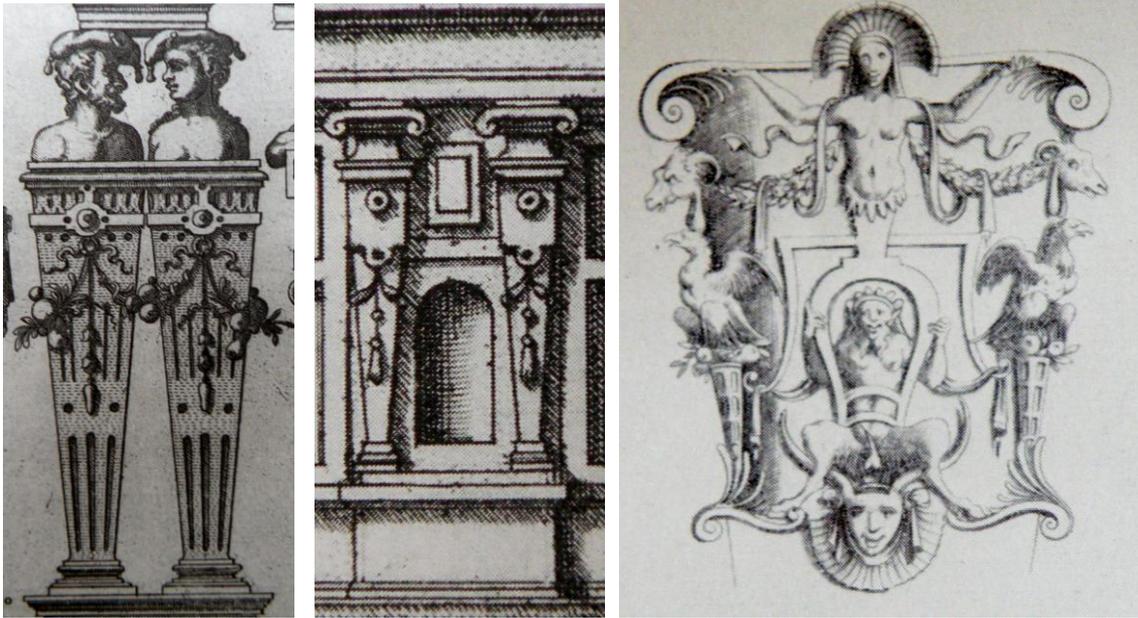


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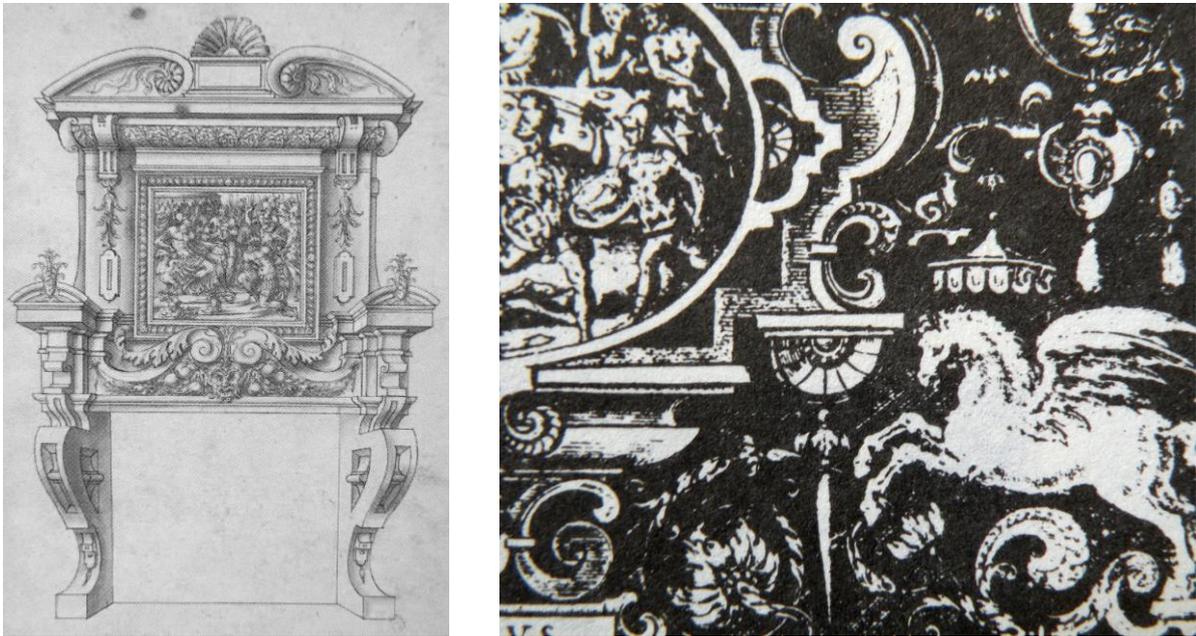


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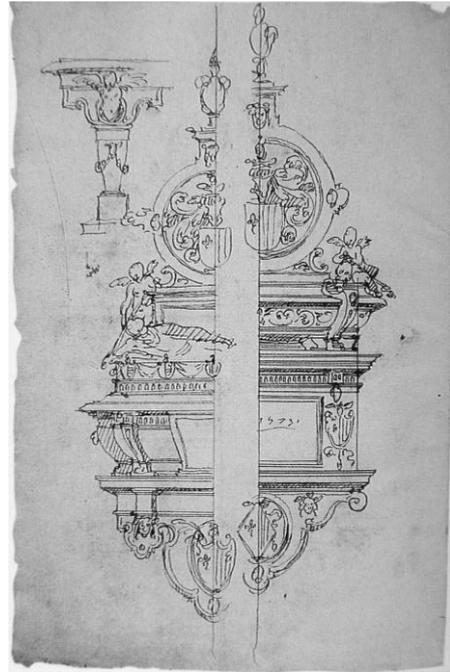
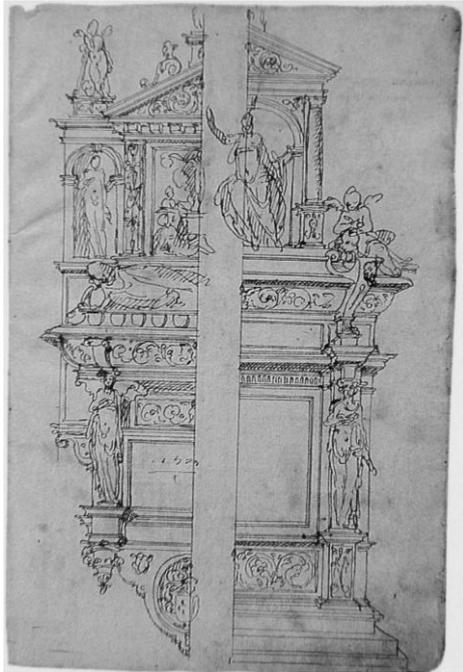
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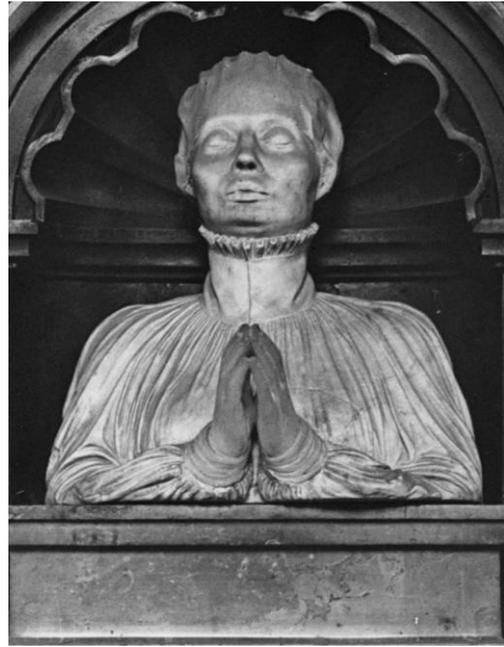


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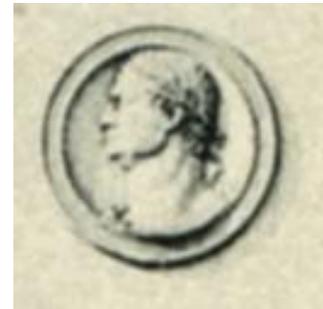


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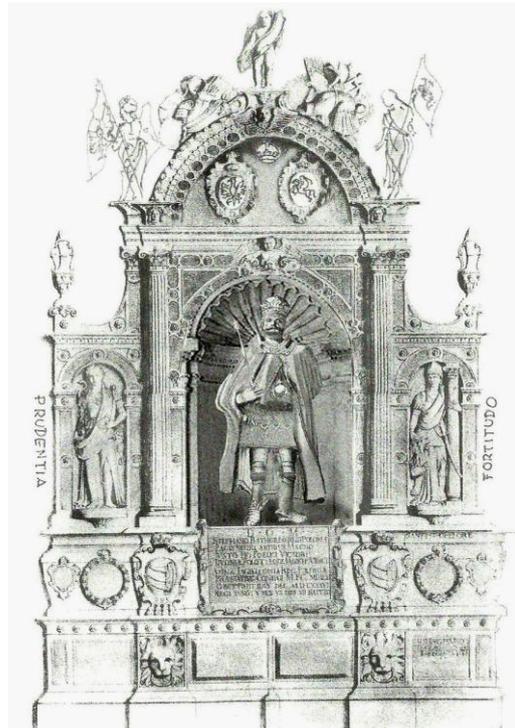
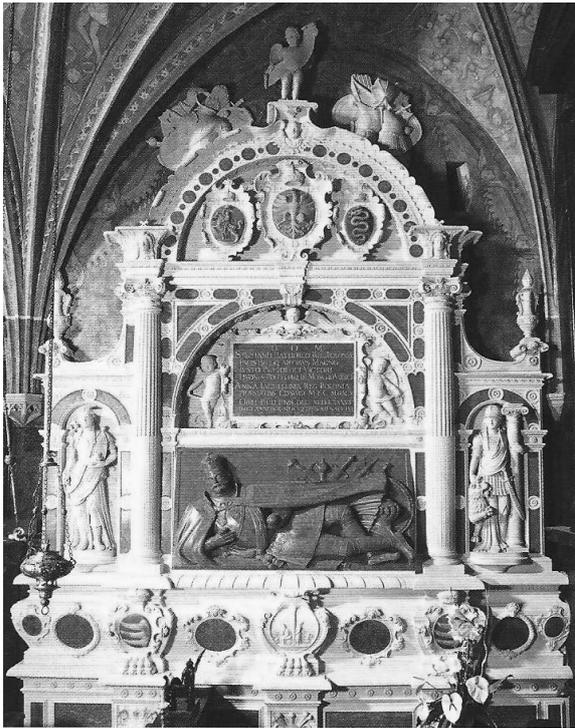


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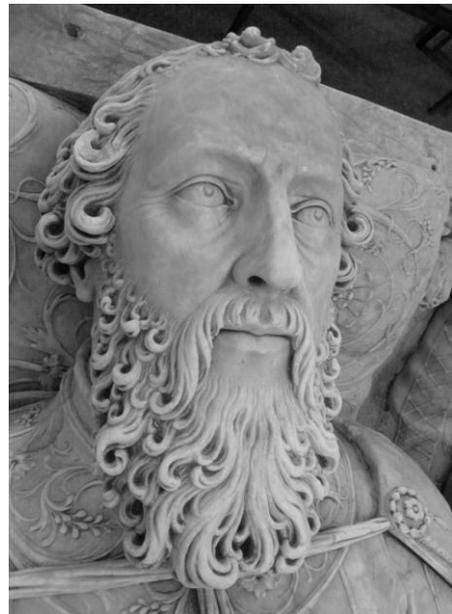


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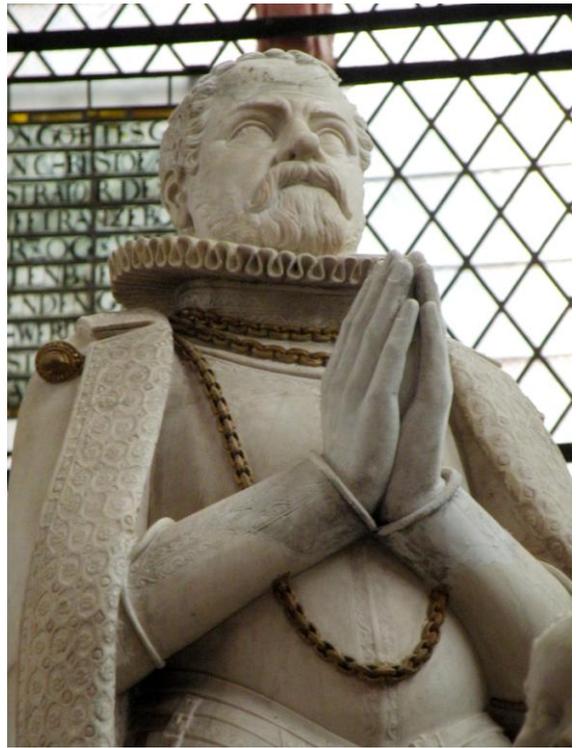


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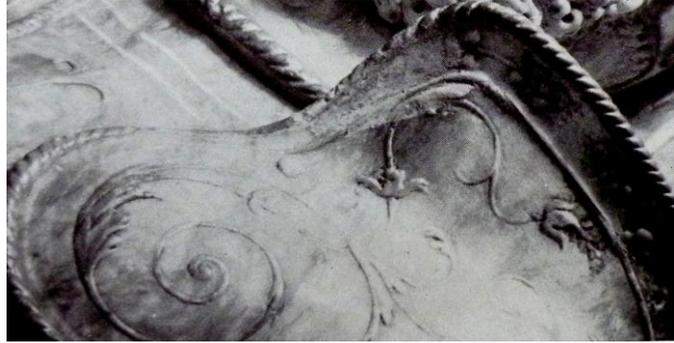


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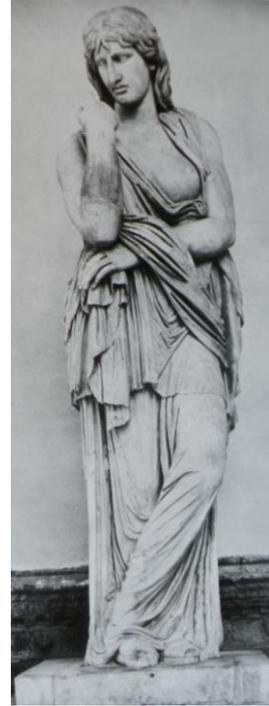


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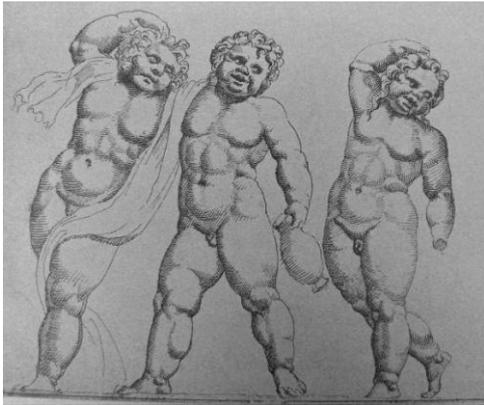


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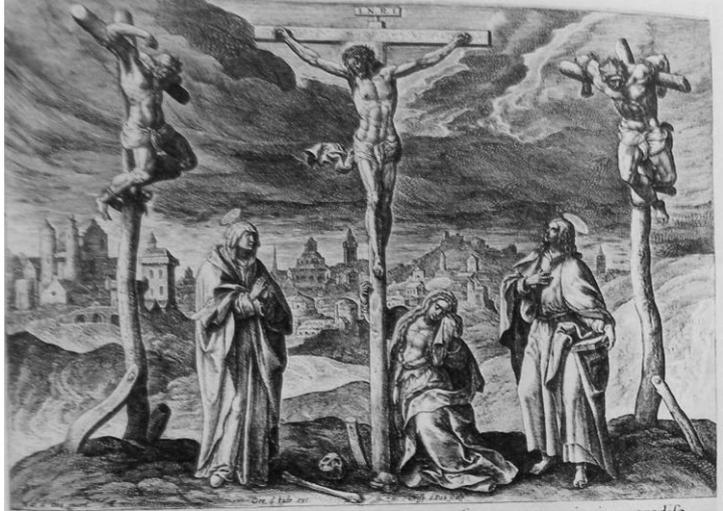


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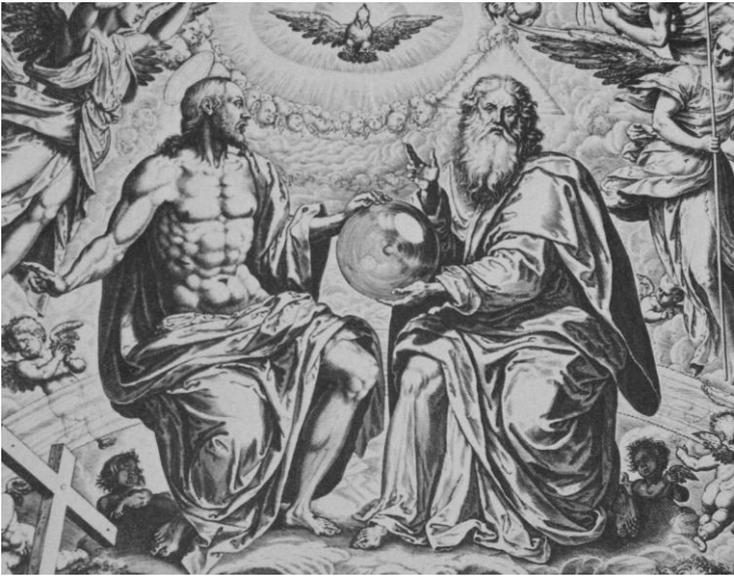


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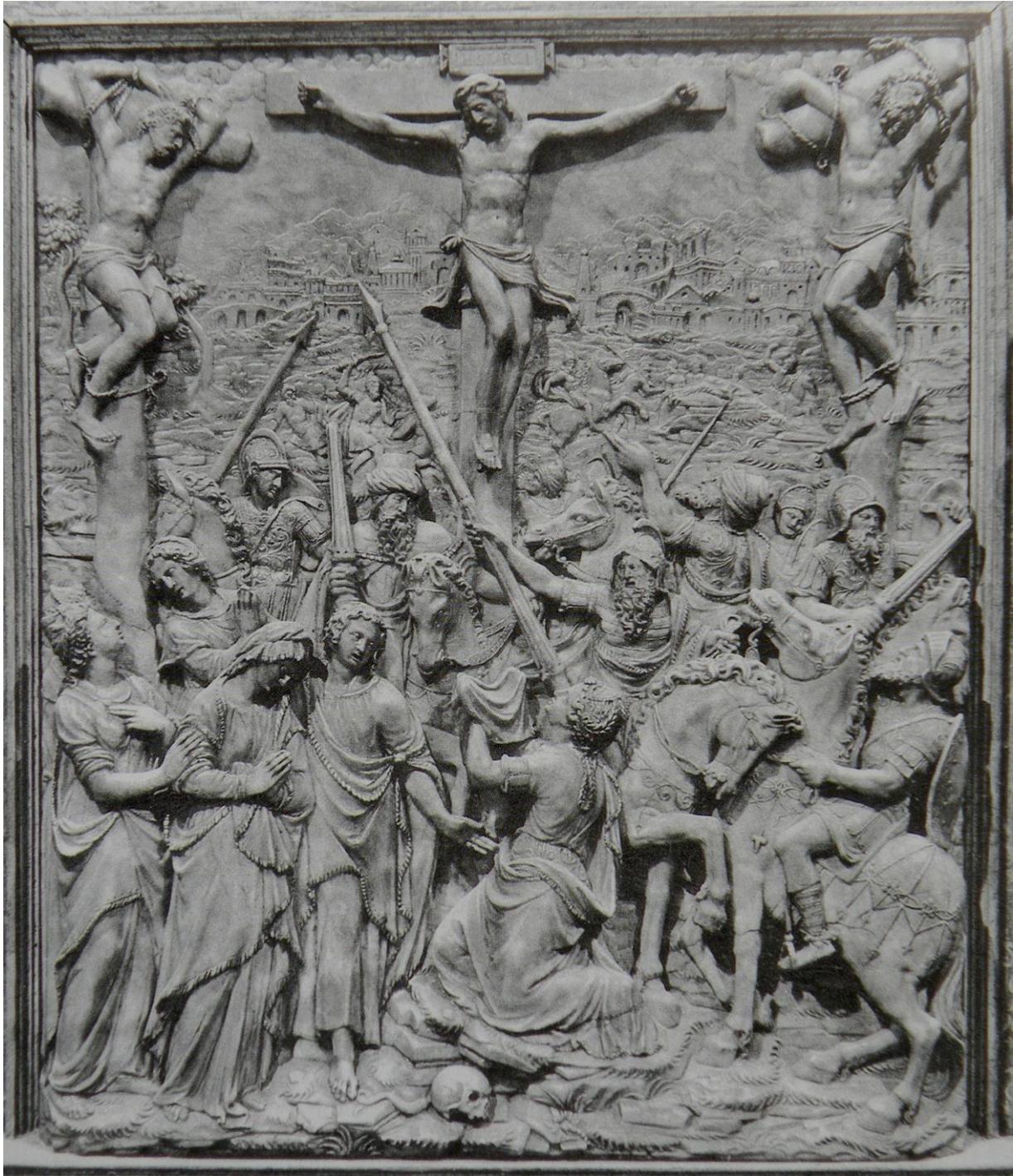


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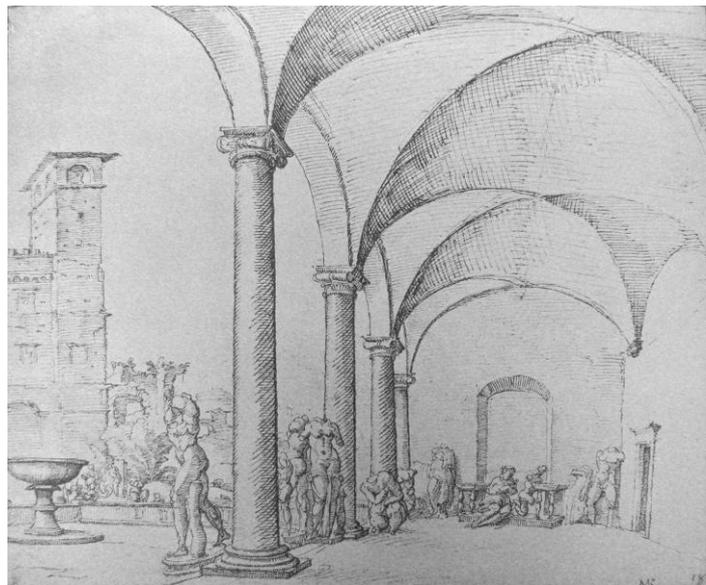


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Fig. 162 Maarten van Heemskerck, courtyard of the Palazzo Medici with antique statues, c. 1535

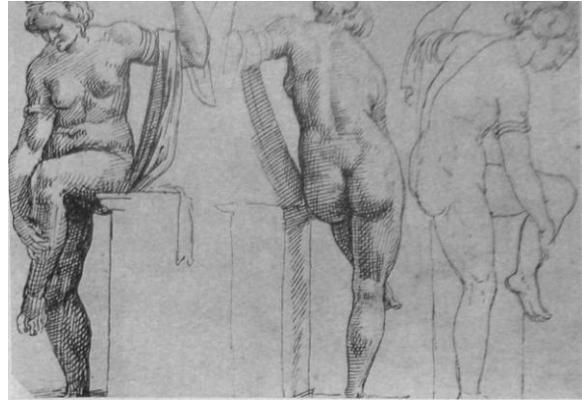


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Fig. 164 Fra Bartolommeo, study after antique statue



Fig. 165 Maarten van Heemskerck, study after the 'crouching' Venus, c. 1535

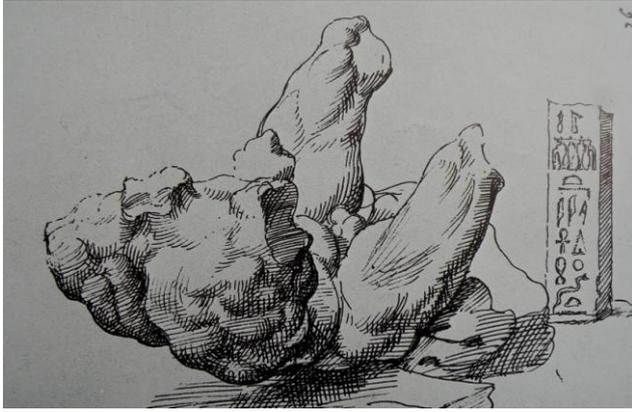


Fig. 166 Maarten van Heemskerck, study after the Belvedere Torso



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Fig. 171 Cornelis Floris, *Adam*, Zoutleeuw, sacrament house, 1549-1552



Fig. 172 Cornelis Floris, *Cain slaying Abel*, Zeeuwerke, sacrament house, 1549-1552

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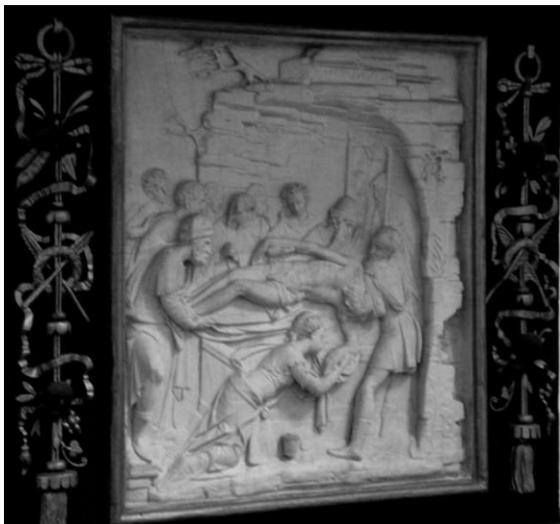


Fig. 177 Robert Coppens, *Entombment*, monument of Duke Christopher, Schwerin, 1594-1596

Fig. 178 Cornelis Floris, *Suzanna*, jubé, Tournai, 1570-1573 ©KIK-IRPA Brussels



Fig. 179 Cornelis Floris, *Ecce Homo*, jubé, Tournai, 1570-1573 ©KIK-IRPA Brussels

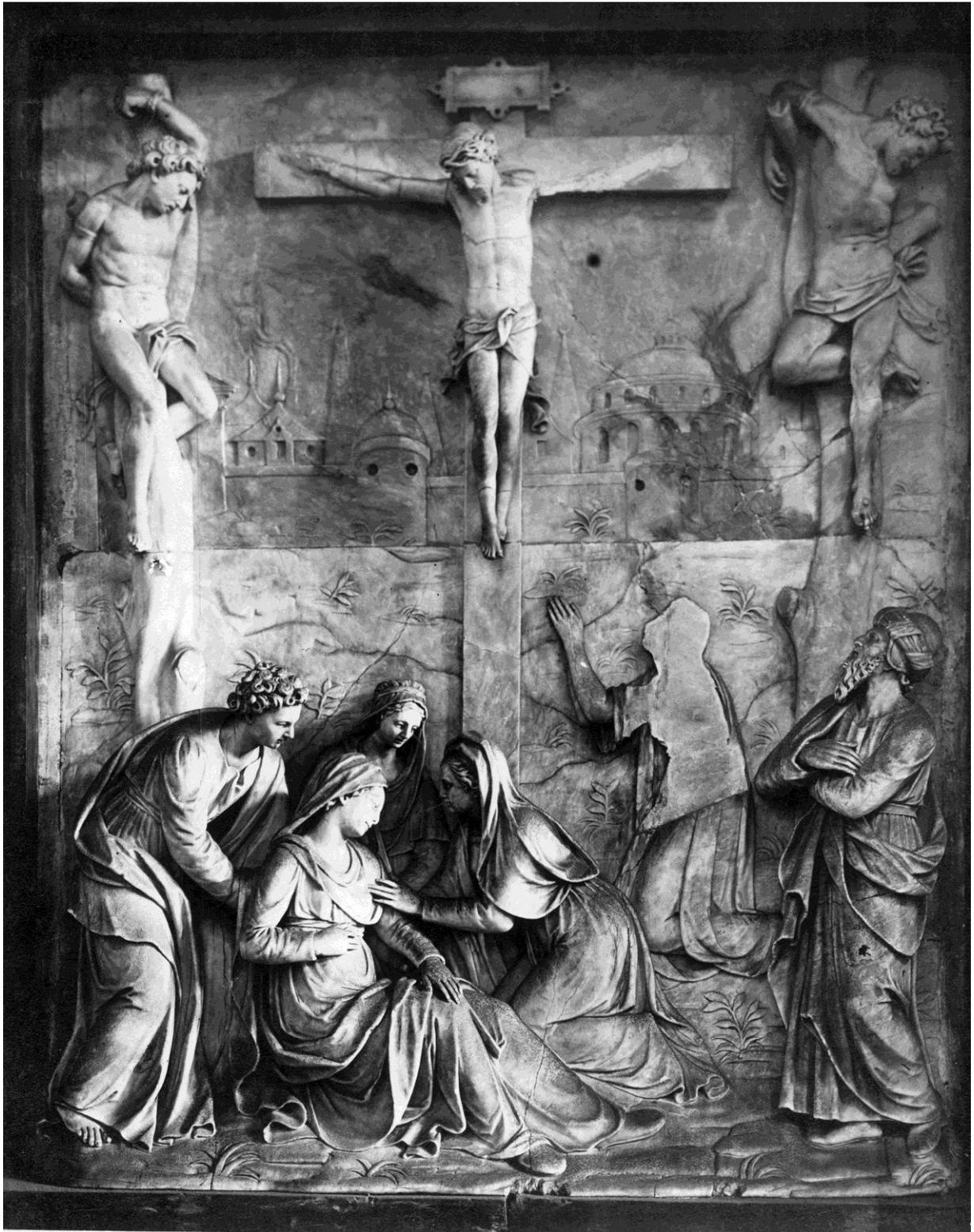


Fig. 180 Cornelis Floris, *Crucifixion*, jubé, Tournai, 1570-1573 ©KIK-IRPA Brussels



Fig. 181 Cornelis Floris, *Suzanna*, jubé, Tournai, 1570-1573 ©KIK-IRPA Brussels

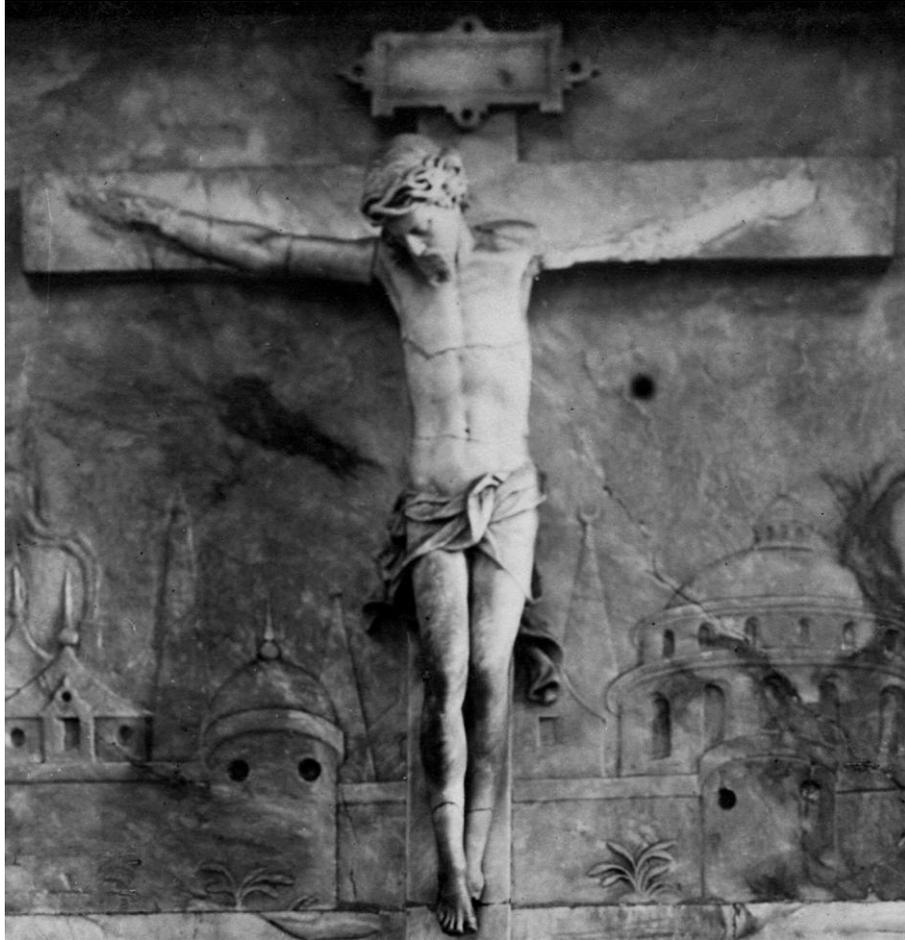


Fig. 182 Cornelis Floris, *Crucifixion*, jubé, Tournai, 1570-1573 (detail of fig. 180)



Fig. 183 Gert van Egen, battle scene, monument of Frederik II, Roskilde, 1594-1598

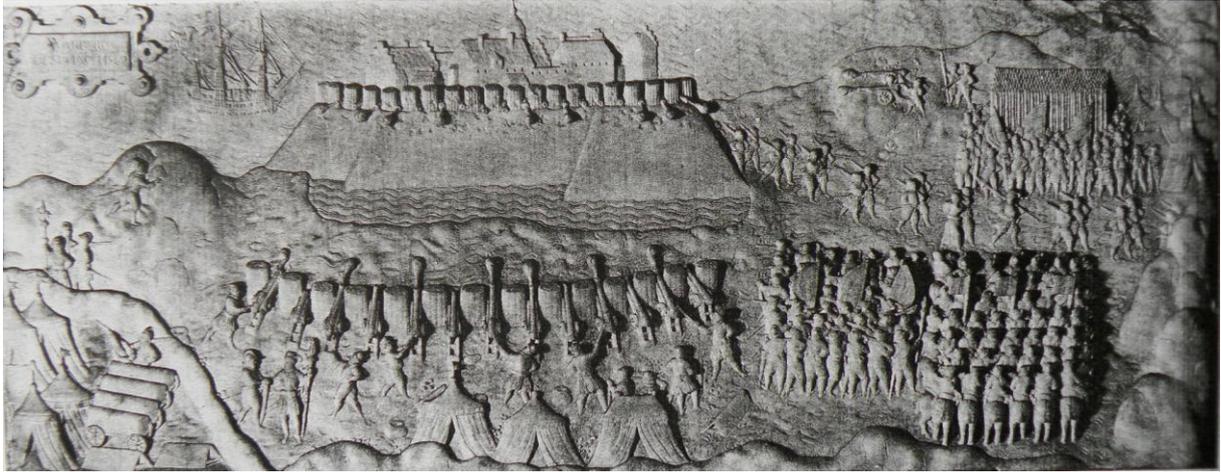


Fig. 184 Gert van Egen, battle scene, monument of Frederik II, Roskilde, 1594-1598



Fig. 185 Alexander Colin, *Siege of Zigeth*, monument of Ferdinand II, Innsbruck , 1592-1596



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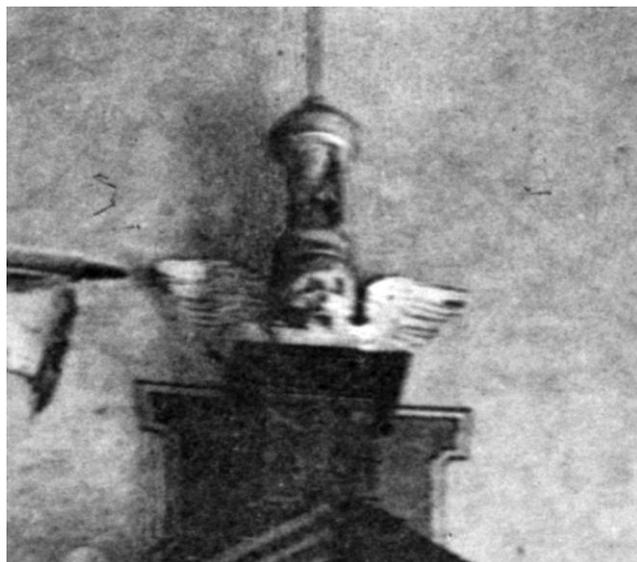


Fig. 193 Cornelis Floris, monument of Duke Albrecht, 1568-1570 (detail of fig. 17)

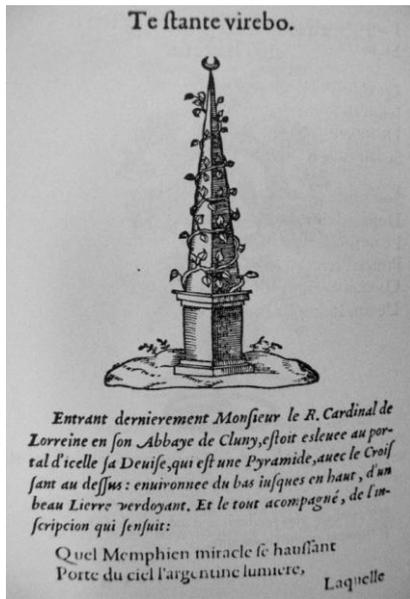


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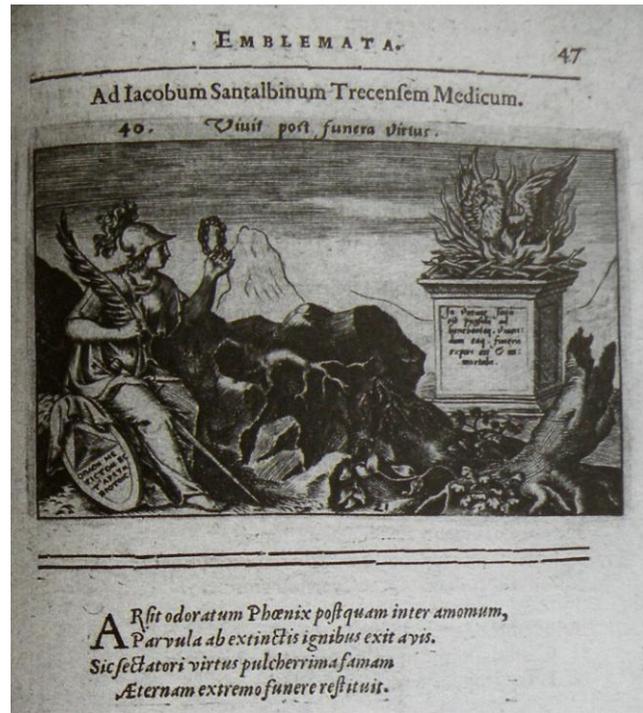


Fig. 195 Boissard, *Emblematum Liber*, 1588



Fig. 196 Interior of the choir of Königsberg cathedral, with monuments of Duke Albrecht and Duchess Elisabeth ©Bildarchiv Foto Marburg



Fig. 197 Rollenhagen, *Sinn-Bilder. Ein Tugendspiegel*



Fig. 198 Interior of St. Mary Chapel, Włocławek, cathedral, c. 1605 (completed after 1611)

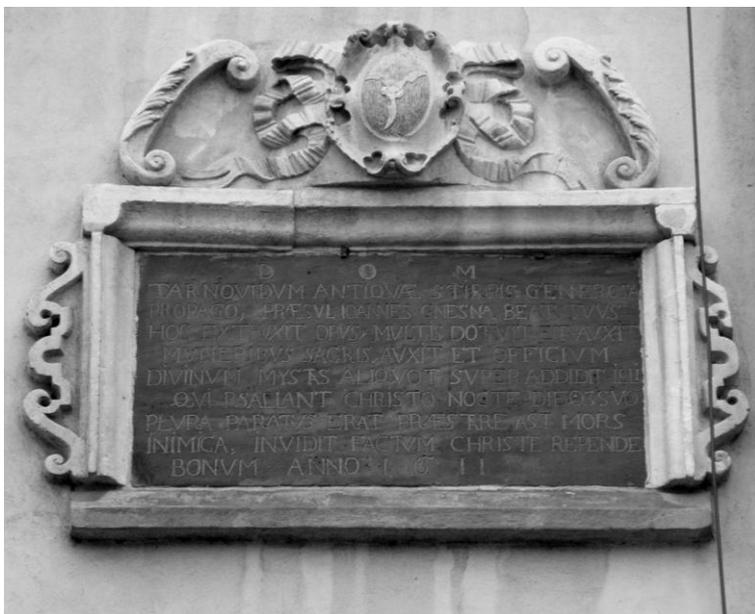


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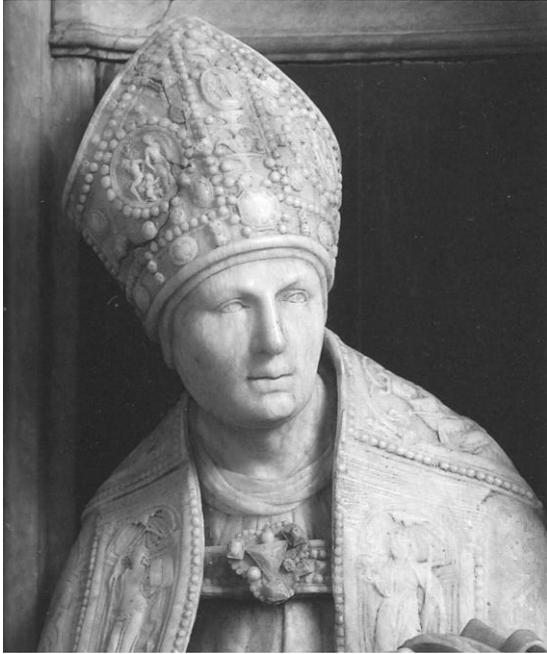


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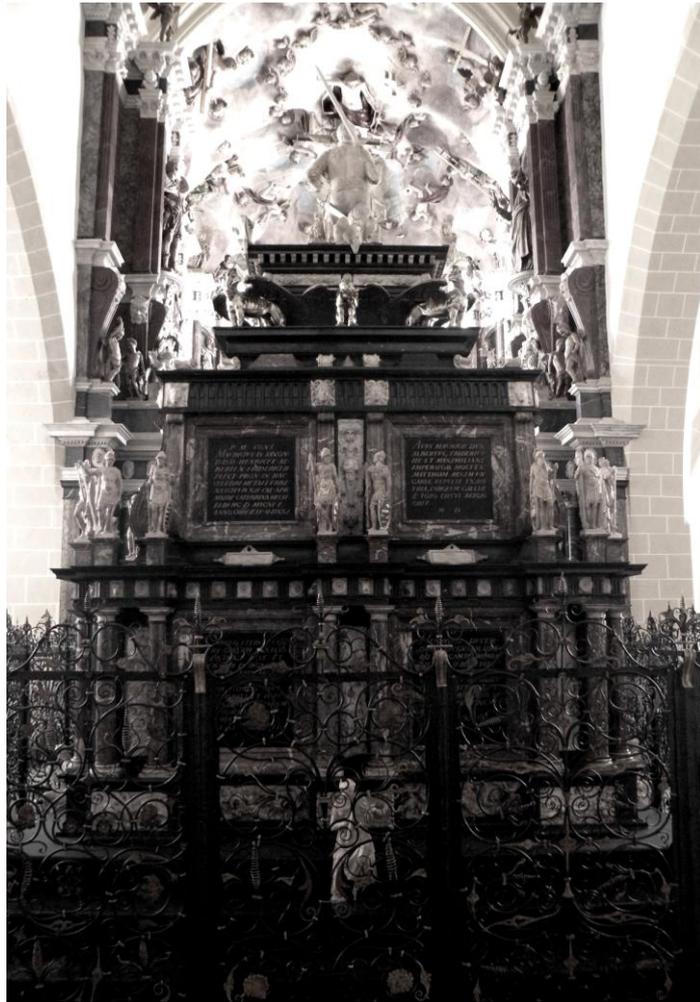


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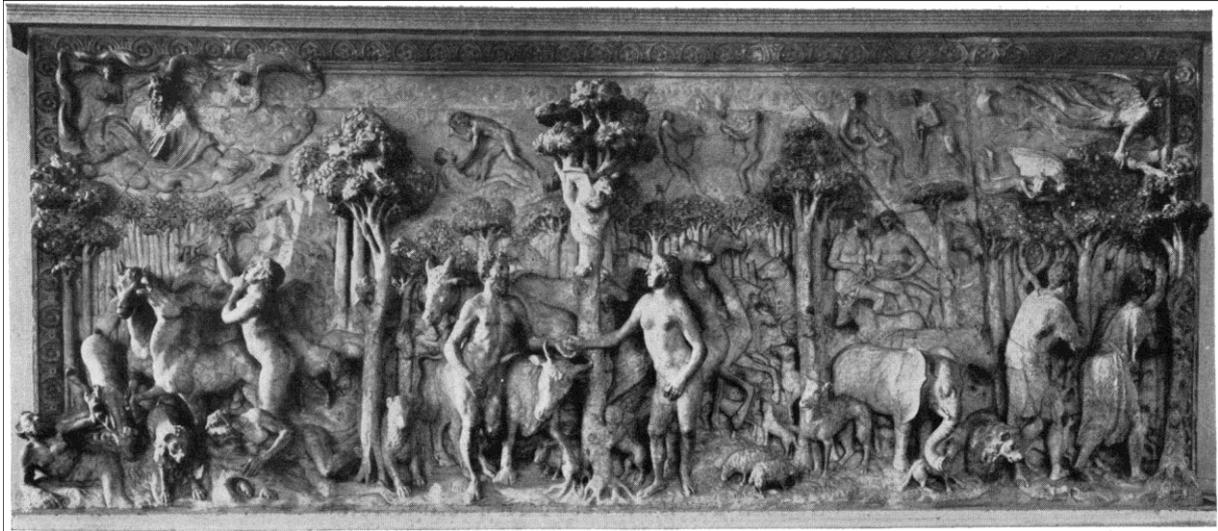


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Fig. 213 Gert van Egen, monument of Frederik II, Roskilde, 1594-1598

Fig. 214 Cornelis Floris, St. Luke, monument of Herluf Trolle, Herlufsholm, 1566-1568



Fig. 215 Pierre de la Roche, portal, Vadstena castle, c. 1568

Fig. 216 Willem Boy, monument of Catharina of Jagiellon, Uppsala, cathedral

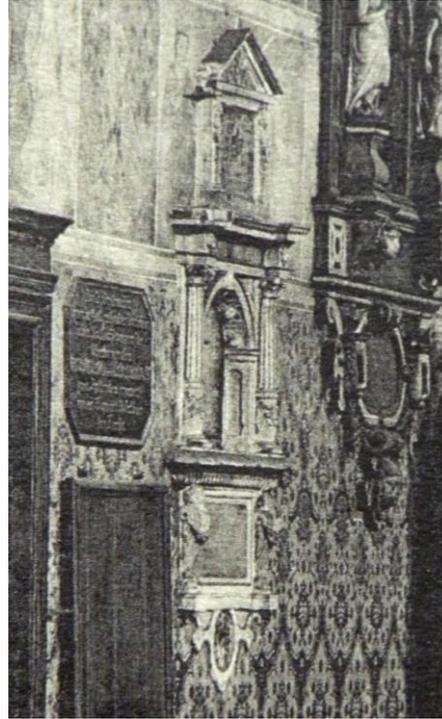


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Fig. 223 Ragnier from Amsterdam, Hans Kramer, Green Gate, Gdańsk, 1563-1568 ©Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska



Fig. 224 Burger house, Gdańsk, Długa 45, c. 1555-1560 © Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska

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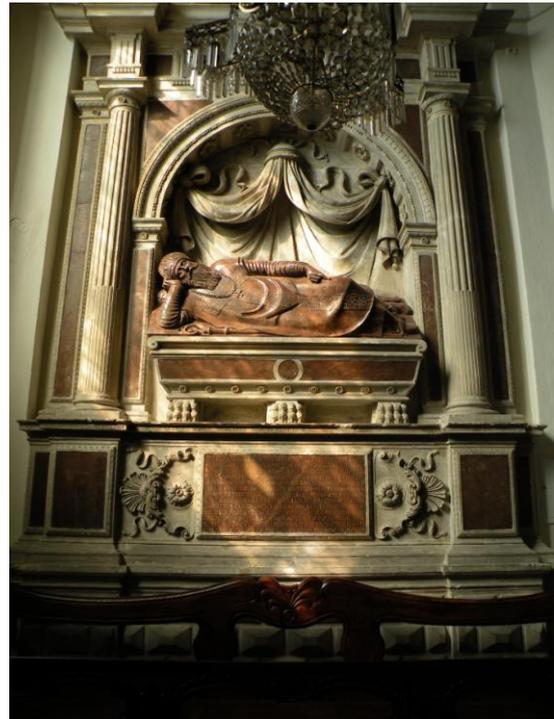


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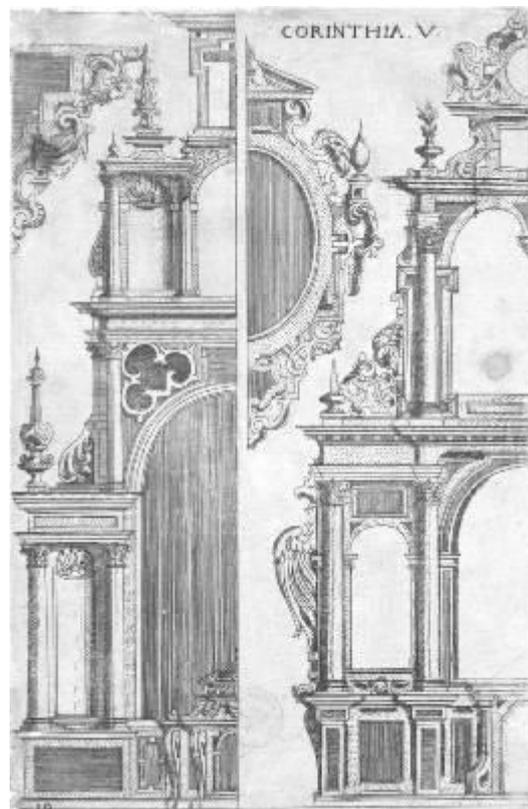


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Franciszek Jan Skibiński holds MA in Museology, completed at the Institute for Art History and Heritage Preservation of the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland, with a thesis devoted to Herman Han, a painter active in Gdańsk and north-western regions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the early seventeenth century. He continued his studies on early modern art in Central and North-Eastern Europe at the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń as well as at the Research Institute for History and Culture (OGC) of the Utrecht University. He is interested above all in artistic ties between the Low Countries and East – Central Europe and Scandinavia during the Early Modern period, especially with regard to sculpture and architecture. He published in various books and scholarly journal, as well as presented at conferences held in Poland, Germany, The Netherlands, Denmark and Italy. His publications include: