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Modernity and Material Value

The Fascination with Contemporary Architecture in the Light of Travel Literature from the 17th and First Half of the 18th Century

Małgorzata Wyrzykowska

The aim of this article is to examine how travellers in the 17th and the first half of the 18th century perceived and evaluated contemporary works of art and to indicate which works of art fascinated them most, which were valued the most, and what were the criteria for favouring some over others. The analysis was based on selected, representative examples of European travel literature from the 17th and first half of the 18th century. These sources are written testimony to the perception of art by contemporaries of that time and seem particularly valuable today in an age when the concept of style and especially the baroque style is in crisis. The article focuses primarily on sacral architecture from the above-mentioned period.

Keywords: baroque art; art perception; travel literature of 17th and first half of the 18th century; baroque travellers

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Introduction

Opinions on the artistic legacy of the baroque evolved for a long time, as did the very concept of the baroque.[1] This article seeks to describe people's views about the art of the time they were living in, views that were formed without the benefit of hindsight, but with the repertoire of comparisons that travellers had at their disposal at the time.[2] Among the sources that are used to analyse baroque art today, little attention is paid to the writings of travellers, many of whom were laymen and amateurs without much education in art, though there were artists among them as well. In this article I draw on travel literature from the 17th and first half of the 18th century as my basic research material in an effort to shed light on how people in that period perceived art and to explore the fascination with contemporary architecture on the basis of this literature, analysing this interest through selected examples of travel literature from that period. The main research problem is to determine which buildings from the period were perceived by travellers as the most interesting and why. What did travellers see in art as synonymous with modernity and what were the features of that art?

Maria Poprzęcka wrote: "*An art historian, whose job is to look at paintings, is sometimes tempted to start looking not at paintings but at the gaze itself.*"[3] Because of the perspective in this research, the chosen research method is text analysis, conducted on travel literature from the relevant period relating to works of art. I selected from the text corpus the ones that presented the most interesting opinions on art, in most cases written by travellers from Central Europe and Czechia and Poland in particular, but I also used English, French, Italian, and German sources.[4] While the latter have already been the subject of scholarly inquiry,[5] travel literature from Cen-

tral Europe has in most cases only been translated and published during the past twenty years, with the Czech Republic as a leading centre of these activities. Czech studies have focused mainly on a critical analysis of travel reports, reconstructing the places visited by the narrator and the works they saw during their travels, and their encounters with historical figures. The model work of relevance on the subject is *Heřman Jakub Černín na cestě za Alpy a Pyreneje* [Heřman Jakub Černín on a Journey beyond the Alps and the Pyrenees] by Zdeněk Hojda, Eva Chodějovská, Milena Hajná and Alexandra Tesaříková.[6] Jiří Kubeš presented his research on the travel of Czech aristocrats in the 17th and 18th centuries in a study titled *Náročné dospívání urozených: Kavalírské cesty české a rakouské šlechty (1620–1750)* [The Demanding Adolescence of the Highborn: Czech and Austrian Nobility on the Grand Tour], where he noted what characteristics or features travel by the cosmopolitan Central European aristocracy had in common.[7] The same scholar has also published translations of travel literature, such as the diary of Christoph Wenzel Nostitz.[8] Over the past decade Polish diaries and memoirs from the same period have been translated and published – among others as part of the series Peregrinationes Sarmatarum.[9]

Modernity or the new style

The authors of travel literature from the 17th and first half of the 18th century often stressed their varying degrees of preparation for their encounters with works of art and their perception of them. Despite their diverse personal, religious, and educational backgrounds, different destinations, various attitudes to the monuments they saw, and the varied travel instructions determining what sights they should see and how to perceive them, when it comes to art all travellers seem to have shared a similar fascination with modernity. [*Fig. 1*] Ludwig Schudt, commenting on the impressions of travellers in that period when describing contemporary works of art, noted that the most frequently used terms in their accounts were "modern" and "modernity".[10] What was modern and contemporary became fashionable as well.

Travellers also noticed a certain changeability to stylistic tastes and a return to old forms. No less a figure than Paul Fréart de Chantelou (1609–1694) pointed to Bernini's opinion on the matter in his diary when he described Bernini's visit to Paris.[11] Travel literature in the 17th and first half of the 18th century showed an appreciation for earlier periods, but favoured the present. Thomas Nugent (c. 1700–1772) was positive in his assessment of the rebuilding of the Church of Our Lady and St Catherine (Nieuve Kerk) in Amsterdam in its historic forms: "[...] *the most remarkable building of this kind, is the new church dedicated to St Catherine. It was begun in the year 1408, others say 1414, and was a hundred years a building. It had the misfortune of being burnt in the year 1645 but was in a short time after built in a more magnificent manner*"[12] – i.e. in the Gothic style. Usually, however, past styles were deemed unfashionable. When visiting the cathedral in Lodi, William Bromley (1663–1732) noted that it looked so old that it seemed outmoded.[13] Modernising old churches was viewed as a positive phenomenon. Yet contemporary art was not described in any terms other than new or modern.[14] Travellers were often attracted and impressed by works still under construction. Marek Kunicki-Goldfinger, an expert on the writings of Billewicz and the editor of his diary, notes that "*we can clearly see in the diary that what Billewicz usually regarded as beautiful was everything that was new, very often in fieri*",[15] hence "*Billewicz's obvious fondness for the baroque art of his day*".[16]

Were new forms of art regarded as a phenomenon of style? The term "modern way" ("alla moderna") was used by Giacomo Fantuzzi (1616–1679) to describe works of art contemporary to him, but he did not provide further commentary.[17] He listed examples of structures "*built in the new way*", such as the Jesuit church in Neuburg[18] or the Wittelsbachs' princely palace in Munich.[19] About the Jesuit Church in Antwerp he wrote: "*Il Gesù, o chiesa del Padre Giesuiti* [...] *fatta tutta di nuovo, di architettura moderna* [...]".[20] Writing about the Hague, he noted that the city had "*very beautiful houses and numerous palaces, built with much splendour and wealth in the new fashion, decorated in the Italian way, with marble and similar ornamentation, which I have never seen in such abundance outside of Italy*".[21] Fantuzzi was thus not only interested in contemporary structures, he also positioned them in reference to style, using the term "*today's fashion*" for buildings contemporary to him. Among such contemporary constructions in the Hague, Fantuzzi listed "*the palace of the late Prince of Orange, a splendid building, very dignified, decorated with exquisite marble, and a delightful piece of contemporary architecture* [...]".[22] While visiting Antwerp, he took note of the painters and pointed out that there were many "*great painters, both old-style and contemporary, who worked in this noble city*".[23] Among works of art, he distinguished between the ones made in his time and those created in the past, which he considered to represent the "old-fashioned" ("all'antica").[24] In his description of the palace in Innsbruck, he noted that the structure was "*entirely in the old way, except for several beautiful apartments, now decorated in the latest fashion*".[25] The new forms were also evident to other travellers, such as Christoph Wenzel Nostitz (1648–1712).[26] Writing about the palace in Żagań, he remarked that it had been built in the new way, and noted that the nearby Jesuit collegial church was constructed in the new fashion as well.[27] English travellers also found contemporary art beautiful and modern, with "modern" meaning contemporary or in the latest style.[28] The writers did not define the new style, but considered the majority of structures in this style to be the most beautiful ones and worth seeing, indicating what was particularly appreciated in the art that represented it.

1 – Iansson van der Aa, **Rome Moderne**, frontispiece. François-Jacques Deseine, *Rome Moderne, premiére ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, vol. 1, Leiden 1713. University of Wrocław Library, Old Prints Department, No. 324160

Nevertheless, art and its forms changed over the course of the 17th and first half of the 18th century, and travellers noticed this.[29] One example is the opinion on the architecture of Vienna and the stately imperial residence, the Hofburg, in particular that was expressed by the Radoliński brothers, who visited the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy between October 1661 and July 1662. In Wojciech Radoliński's diary it is noted that although the palace was not representative enough as the seat of the emperor, it had just been extended: "*In Vienna, apart from the court,* [there is] *nothing good to see; the castle is not reflective of imperial majesty, however they built (agentur) new aedificia* [buildings] [...]".[30]

They viewed the Hofburg when the Leopold Wing was being built by Filiberto Lucchese in the 1660s. Symphorian Arakiełowicz, who in 1723 passed through Vienna on the way to Rome for the congregation of Franciscan Reformers, noted that: "*The Palace of the Most Eminent is also spacious, but in the old fashion*."[31] He also noticed the contrast between the architecture of the Hofburg and the fashionable new seats of the imperial aristocracy: "*Prince Eugene's palace is also beautiful inside and outside,* [built in] *the new way, followed by other numerous palaces*."[32]

An awareness of formal changes in art could also be observed among artists who travelled. One such figure was the architect Franz Anton Grimm (1710–1784) from Brno, who made a study trip to Rome, Paris, and Vienna in the late 1730s.[33] In the notes he made on his drawings and plans and on his sketches inspired by works of art in Rome, Grimm assessed various styles and even the various phases of the Baroque. He distinguished and described, for example, altars as constructed according to "the ancient gusto", "the Roman taste", "modern taste", or "the latest taste in Rome", whereby "antiquar gusto" meant the style of Bernini.[34] Also, the French writer Charles le Brosses (1709–1777) wrote about the "stile diverzi" in relation to the extension of the Roman Doria Pamphilj palace. He described this style as Gothic, even barbaric against the backdrop of so many beautiful buildings with great taste.[35]

What travellers found fascinating in broadly defined contemporary art was its innovative and inventive nature, which produced unique works of art. These qualities were apparent in the work of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, both in his architectural creations and his sculptures. There were great expectations associated with Bernini heading up the Louvre's expansion. A recurring theme in the conversations that French aristocrats and courtiers had with Bernini, as reported by Chantelou, was that France was still waiting for a good example of architecture that could be looked to as a model.[36] Father Francesco Buti (1604–1682) believed that Bernini was the right man in the right place, namely in Paris, and expected Bernini's time in France would produce something truly new and groundbreaking in architecture.[37] The view was shared by the architect and engraver Jean Marot (1619–1679), who thought highly of Bernini and saw him as a brilliant sculptor and an artistic genius who put new ideas into practice.[38] The east wing of the Louvre, which was to be designed and built by Bernini, was expected to become a model work of architecture that would be imitated in other projects. When writing about Paris's Louvre in the first edition of his work from 1749, in which he also wrote about France, Thomas Nugent stressed that if the structure had been erected in accordance with Bernini's original designs, it would have been superior to any building in the world.[39] Invention was also appreciated by travellers who were less well-versed in art, such as Teodor Billewicz.[40]

The style of the day was seen as different from the styles of the past, although people were aware that some forms were borrowed from earlier periods and especially from Antiquity. There is no doubt that Antiquity remained a point of reference that was highly appreciated and referred to frequently in people's diaries, letters, and guidebooks. Testimony to this is the diary of Heřman Jakub Gottlieb, the Count of Černín (Czernin) from Chudenice (1659–1710), dating from 1678 to 1682.[41] The count not only viewed and recorded his observations on contemporary architecture, he also followed in the footsteps of the *Antiquitates*, especially in Rome.[42] Places and works of art were compared to ancient times. Stanisław Kleczewski (1714–1776), visiting Opava, wrote that the city was "*fortified in an ancient fashion, decorated with beautiful stones*".[43] Pöllnitz, on the other hand, when describing St Paul's Cathedral in London, claimed that even the Romans would have been proud of it: "[...] *The principal Front of St Paul's is of that sort of Architecture which the old Romans, those Masters in the Art of Building, would not perhaps have thought unworthy of their Time*."[44]

The only structure built in line with the new style and capable of measuring up against the great masterpieces of Antiquity was considered to be St Peter's Basilica in Rome. Chantelou claimed that there was nothing in Antiquity that could match contemporary edifices like St Peter's Basilica.[45] [*Fig. 2*] In his work, Richard Lassels (c. 1603–1668) reminded readers that contemporaries thought the basilica to be the eighth wonder of the world.[46] He believed that the pyramids in Egypt, the walls of Babylon, the Pharos, the Colossus, and other edifices were just piles of stones compared to St Peter's Basilica. The building was admired for its form, for its size, magnificence, and structural elements, and especially for its dome. These elements were enumerated by Heřman Jakub Gottlieb, the Count Černín, who noted the exceptional character of St Peter's Basilica, and who also described it as another wonder of the world.[47] Lassels described the structure of the basilica, highlighting the role of its dome, which he considered to be the greatest architectural achievement, comparable to the Pantheon.[48] Bromley was another figure who made comparisons between contemporary and ancient art, noting that the dome of the basilica had the same dimensions as the Pantheon.[49] A similar comparison was offered by Kleczewski, who wrote: "*The cupola is placed in the centre, above the confession of St Peter, which is the tomb (with the same height and width as the Pantheon temple)*".[50] It seems that what the travellers liked about St Peter's temple were the analogies that could be made between it and ancient architecture.

It is evident that in the travel literature of the period under observation here St Peter's Basilica became an iconic structure in the eyes of travellers. Every traveller noted the building's monumental scale and the structural significance of its dome. [*Fig. 3*] The basilica's cupola was admired the most. Count Černín recorded that on 7 March 1680, after lunch, he and Marquis de Gonzaga went to see the cupola of St Peter's Basilica. He noted that it was possible, comfortable, and safe to walk over the cupola, and that the lantern could hold as many as fourteen persons and offered views over Rome and its surroundings stretching as far as the sea shore.[51] Seventy years later Symphorian Arakiełowicz commented in a way similar to Černin when he wrote: "*The Church of St Peter is rather beautiful and vast.* [...] *It is also possible to walk up to the highest dome, which is right under the cross, and see that it is so huge that eighteen people could stand comfortably inside*."[52] Nevertheless, he also observed that the entire basilica was worthy of note and that one could not see all it had to offer unless one visited it many times: "*The other* [places] *worth seeing are eye-opening for all, and whenever you visit the church you will always find something new to see*."[53] Billewicz also thought the basilica was unique and wrote: "*I saw an opus stupor dignum* [stupendous work]*, huge and sumptuous* [...]*. The unique and rich workmanship of the church itself and its facade were beyond words. The dome enitens supra omnes alias totus urbis, and as one approaches* [the city] *that single dome is visible from a distance of more than ten Italian miles*."[54]

William Bromley wrote that, because there were so many descriptions of the basilica highlighting its beauty and assets and ranking it above all other churches, though he could not resist listing its main elements he would not be writing and listing anything else.[55] He drew a comparison between the dimensions of the basilica and those of the London

Monument.[56] Bromley's compatriot, Edward Wright, who visited Rome in the 1720s, was also impressed by St Peter's Basilica, believing it to be the noblest example of modern architecture in Italy.[57] Yet he compared it primarily to St Paul's Cathedral in London. He stressed that drawings depicting the basilica were available in Britain,[58] that the English took to this type of architecture, and that generally there were many similarities between the form of St Paul's Cathedral and that of the Vatican edifice, although the latter seemed to be even more impressive and magnificent.[59] Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz even went as far as to say: "*To tell you in few Words what I think of it; I believe, that though there were no other Building in Rome but this Church, it would be worthwhile to make a Journey hither on Purpose to see it.*"[60]

For many travellers, St Peter's Basilica became the point of reference. Billewicz compared the rich ornamentation of the church interiors in Rome with the basilica. When he wrote about the Jesuit church in Naples, he also compared it to Rome's masterpiece: "[...] *a most exquisite church and immensely intus, with perfect workmanship, all in marble, as expensive as aequare, so people say, the church of St Peter in Rome in praestantia* [in grandeur]*; in form like St Peter's in Rome, and since it is new splendidus apparet* [it looks more impressive]."[61] Writing about the medieval cathedral in Siena, he noted: "*The church is so beautiful that it would be hard to find one of equal beauty in Rome, perhaps equal to Rome's St Peter's church in toto orbe terrarium* [in the whole world] *quoad magnificentiam* [in terms of grandeur] *and the immenseness of expense; I place this one secundo gradu* [second in rank]."[62] Kleczewski noted the ideal character of the building: "*Whoever tries to describe the basilica in the Vatican infringes on both art and Christian devotion, as it is a masterpiece that cannot be seen anywhere else in the world. For this reason, the pious King of Portugal, John V, wanted to create one like it in his own kingdom, although in a more confined space*."[63]

The only other building deemed to be a worthy rival to St Peter's was St Paul's Cathedral in London, after taking into account the religious differences that determined its aes-

2 – **Prospectiva Fabricae S. Petri**. Dominicus Custos, *Deliciae Urbis Romae. Divinae et humanae* [...] *1600*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1600. University of Wrocław Library, Old Prints Department, No. 543136

thetics. Many travellers and writers, especially English, such as Wright and James Ralph, would compare the two buildings. They liked the architectural design and were impressed by the cupola and the structure. A traveller of Portuguese origin, Manoel Don Gonzales, too, described both churches, comparing their location and form, as well as the furnishings and decorations of the interior.[64] In his view, St Paul's Cathedral, despite not having the sumptuous furnishings and decorations of St Peter's Basilica, had a more beautiful structure. Don Gonzalez describes the building and its furnishings knowledgeably and in detail, without hiding the fact that what he found most impressive were the structure of the building and the dome. Another man who did not conceal his admiration for St Paul's Cathedral was Pöllnitz: "*St Paul's Church, the Cathedral of London, is, next to St Peter's at Rome the greatest and most stately Temple in Europe*."[65]

Studying the written accounts of travellers in which they described their contemporary architecture reveals that in the 17th and first half of the 18th century they were particularly interested in religious architecture. Among all the art they described in memoirs and diaries, the largest number are religious and most of them are contemporary. Blainville wrote: "*We have been at Wirtzbourg* [Würzburg]*, we have done nothing but go from church to Church; and here is another day that has been entirely employed in the same way.*"[66]

Interest in Jesuit architecture

However, the most frequently cited examples of contemporary ecclesiastical architecture in the travel literature of the baroque period were Jesuit buildings. It seems that for many writers and travellers of the 17th and first half of the 18th century, these buildings were synonymous with modernity, the new style, and sometimes also innovation. In his remarks on the Jesuit church in Neuburg, which was mentioned above by Giacomo Fantuzzi, that the church was built in the new way.[67] This observation may be puzzling, because in the formal sense they were largely compilations of elements known from earlier periods. When describing the Jesuit church in Paris in his guide to European cities, Thomas Nugent wrote that the "*Jesuits church in the quarter of St Anthony is a modern structure, founded by Louis XIII, but the front was built by Cardinal Richelieu. The design is by father Francis de Derrand Lorrain, a Jesuit*."[68] Despite the fact that the terminology used in Radziwiłł's diary to describe Jesuit complexes is not the vocabulary of a specialist, he did try to emphasise the very exceptional nature of this building. "*The church itself is extraordinarily beautiful*", he wrote about the Jesuit Church of Saint Paul and Saint Louis, erected in 1627–1641, and also mentioned its founder, Louis XIII, and his was an opinion with which other travellers agreed.[69] As a rule, travellers considered Jesuit churches beautiful, but they did not define the criteria of beauty. Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (1669–1719) wrote about the Church of St Charles Borromeo in Antwerp in his diary, stating that: "*There are many beautiful things to be seen, as it is a Jesuit church, which is dietro and dekstro a magnificum opus. The facade of the church is extraordinarily beautiful*."[70]

In the relevant literature, scholars tended to highlight that the most impressive part of the design of Jesuit churches was the richly ornamental interior and the furnishings. Some travellers associated Jesuit buildings with grandeur and beauty, which they saw in very ornamental design. One of them was Jan Heidenstein (1610–1672), who came from a family of converts and was educated at the Jesuit College in Braniewo, and who did not fail to visit the Jesuit church in any town or city he passed through and to mention this fact in his diary.[71] While in Genoa, he described the Jesuit church as first among "*the finest and most splendid churches*".[72] When describing its furnishings, he noted the "*numerous statues of cast silver, made with great artistry and without imitation*".[73] He wrote that in Antwerp he visited "*several churches that seemed the most opulent*", listing the Society of Jesus's church as the finest of them.[74] A similar opinion was expressed by Giacomo Fantuzzi, who claimed that the Church of St Charles Borromeo in Antwerp was among "*the most beautiful and opulent churches one can see outside Italy*" and compared it to its Italian original, Il Gesù.[75] The opulence of their furnishings, too, greatly impressed travellers, as Billewicz's memoir shows. Referring to the still incomplete decorations of Il Gesù Church in Rome, he wrote: "*I went to the church of the Jesuit Fathers, called Il Gesu, being now gilded all over intus. A very large and beautiful church, even if the painting and gilding was not finished yet*."[76] [*Fig. 4*]

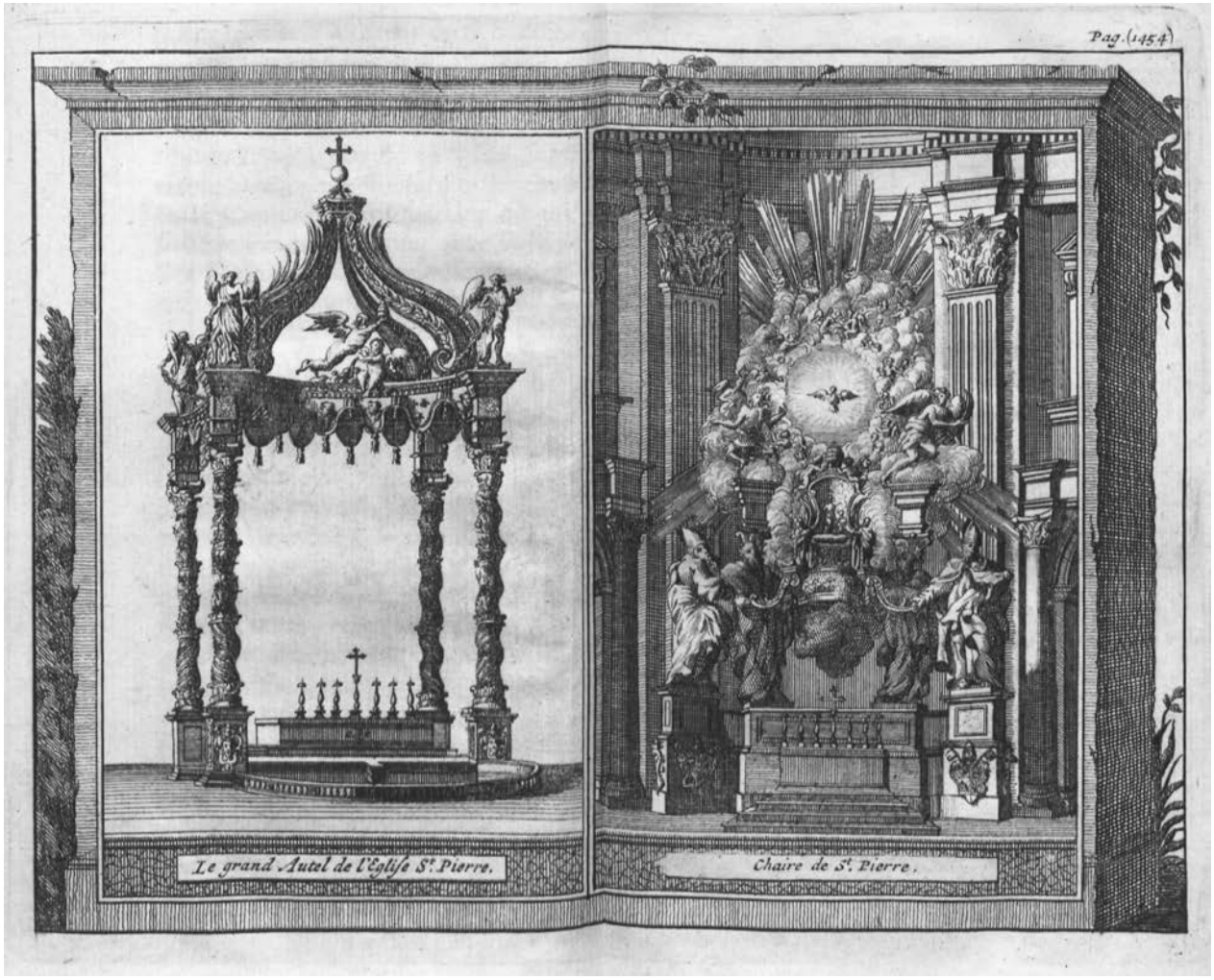
Although Jesuit buildings were undoubtedly associated with splendour, magnificence, opulent decorations, including stucco and gilded elements, those in Rome also brought to mind daring structural solutions, especially in the vaulting and the form of the facade. The travellers discerned these features in the Jesuit Novitiate Church of San Andrea al Quirinale in Rome, to which Billewicz devoted more space in his description. Reporting on his discoveries in Rome, Billewicz wrote: "*Thus after the Church of St Peter there are three splendid and very sumptuous churches, of which finer ones cannot be found: St Agnes, St Nicholas of Tolentino, and St Andrew,* [recently] *all novo erexit* [newly erected] *by Prince Pamphili with most excellent artistry and at great expense, for all are made of fine stone of various kinds, while the domes and ceilings are all gilded with splendid stuccowork*."[77] He then focused on the new structure of the church and its elliptical layout: "*I went to Holy Mass at St Andrew's, where the Jesuits have their noviciate, where the body of St Stanislaus Kostka is buried* [...]*. The church is small but very excellent and very beautiful, covered funditus* [all over] *by fine marble up to the dome. The altars, too, eiusdem habet formae* [are of the same form]*, of this* [same] *stone, and with a new structure. The dome has gilded stuccowork all over, with very good proportions of ovalis figurae*." Over a half century later Stanisław Kleczewski

was similarly impressed by the architectural elements: "*The Church of St Andrew,* [...] *though small, has been constructed according to the most refined rules, with gilded walls,* [and] *inlaid with the most exquisite marble*."[78] Wright was also particularly enthusiastic about the Jesuits' novitiate church. Wright wrote that the church was as beautiful as could be imagined, because, after all, it had been built by Bernini.[79] According to him, no expense had been spared in decorating the church, and this was evident in the richness of the materials used in the interior, which was covered with the best quality marble, while the ceilings were filled with gilded stuccowork and paintings by very good artists: Carlo Maratti, Andrea Pozzo, Guglielmo Borgogne, Giacinto Brandi, and Baciccio. He also said that it was difficult even to describe the Jesuit buildings: "*To tell the Reader that the Churches of the Jesuits are magnificently fine, and excessively rich, is very unnecessary, and to attempt a Description of them, in a manner endless*."[80]

Interest in Jesuit architecture was not surprising in the case of another traveller, Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski (1617–1687), who was a Jesuit and an architect by education and was planning to publish a textbook for students of architecture. Jerzy Baranowski, who studied Wąsowski's works, notes that: "*Wąsowski was consistent in limiting himself to contemporary art. He was totally indifferent to works of bygone eras. He paid attention only to those structural and decorative solutions that were still attractive or were of high quality in terms of technology*."[81] Wąsowski included drawings of the most interesting buildings he saw in his sketchbook, visually recording their plans, often cross-sections, and architectural details, or, for example, interesting architectural solutions (projections of pillars, galleries, etc.). The vast majority of the buildings included in the sketchbook were Jesuit churches, not just because Wąsowski was a member of the order, but also because the architecture of the Jesuits was regarded as synonymous with modernity. He tried to note down architectural novelties and unusual and intriguing elements. He primarily described ecclesiastical buildings – mostly from Italy, but then also from Spain, France, and German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria); in his view, however, the ones in Italy represented the highest level of formal innovation.[82] The Jesuit was particularly interested in the structural and decorative elements of the Gesù Nuovo Church in Naples (especially the cupola and choir) and the Church of St Ambrose and St Andrew in Genoa, an outline of which is among the drawings included in his sketchbook, along with the sketch of a pillar from the church in Genoa.[83] Notes in the margins indicate that he was interested both in the structure and in the materials – the many-hued marble used to decorate the interior of the latter building that "*costs a lot and that no other church possesses*".[84] Among the Jesuit churches that he found interesting were the above-mentioned churches in Madrid, along with Saint Loup in Namur,[85] the Jesuit Church of St Michael in Leuven,[86] St Francis Xavier Church in Paris,[87] and the Jesuit church in Neuburg.[88] Wąsowski devoted a good deal of space to the Jesuit Church of St Charles Borromeo (formerly St Ignatius Loyola) in Antwerp.[89] He described the layout of the structure, the chancel, the southern nave, and the bell tower adjacent to the church. In a sketch he highlighted a design that involved two floors of columns made of white marble, and drew the tunnel vault and its sections, and he noted that Peter Paul Rubens was involved in the building's construction and in designing its interior. Stefan Pac reported on the visit of the Prince Władysław IV Vasa in the Jesuit church in Antwerp: "*The prince His Excellency heard mass at the Jesuits', where he admired not only the expensive paintings on all altars, but also the excellent structure of the church*."[90]

Nugent also enthused over the aforementioned Church of St Charles Borromeo, which he thought was one of the most beautiful churches in Europe: "*But among all the churches of the religious orders, that of the* Jesuits *is the most admired, being one of the finest in Europe for its dimensions, workmanship and paintings*."[91] Particularly worthy of note was the ceiling, adorned with thirty-eight pictures depicting scenes from the New Testament that were painted by Rubens.[92] However, a chapel adjoining the church was even more magnificent, decorated as it was with six alabaster statues representing its founders.[93] Nugent claimed that the only church that was superior to the Jesuits' church in Antwerp was the Jesuit Church of St Ignatius (from 1779 the Church of St Lupus) in Namur, superior in terms of its magnificence and structure and the beauty of the stone, having been built entirely of finely veined red and black marble.[94] Among the Jesuit churches in the Netherlands, it was, he argued, the main attraction worth visiting.[95] Nugent recommended that travellers visit the Jesuit church in Brussels,[96] the Church of St Michael in Louvain,[97] and the Church of St Walpurga in Bruges.[98] Describing the Jesuit Church of St Walpurga in Bruges, erected in 1619–1643 by Pieter Huyssens, Nugent wrote that "*the Jesuits church is a very elegant building, and would pass for a curiosity even at Rome*".[99]

According to Wright, the richness of Jesuit churches should not be deemed offensive, because some churches belonging to the mendicant orders were also richly decorated, and he cited as an example the Roman Church of the Discalced Carmelites, Santa Maria della Vittoria.[100] He claimed that the beauty of the decorations and furnishings of Jesuit buildings was astonishing and was the result of the materials and the high quality of workmanship. He thought particularly highly of the Altar of St Ignatius from Rome's Il Gesù, describing it in great detail, as he did with, in his view, the slightly inferior Altar of St Aloysius Gonzaga in the Church of St Ignatius.[101] He, too, admired not only the rich sculpted decorations but also the paintings, including Pozzo's illusionistic dome in the Church of S. Ignazio. William Bromley stressed the essence of direct perception, suggesting that Jesuit buildings were better seen than described.[102] Like his compatriot, during his stay in



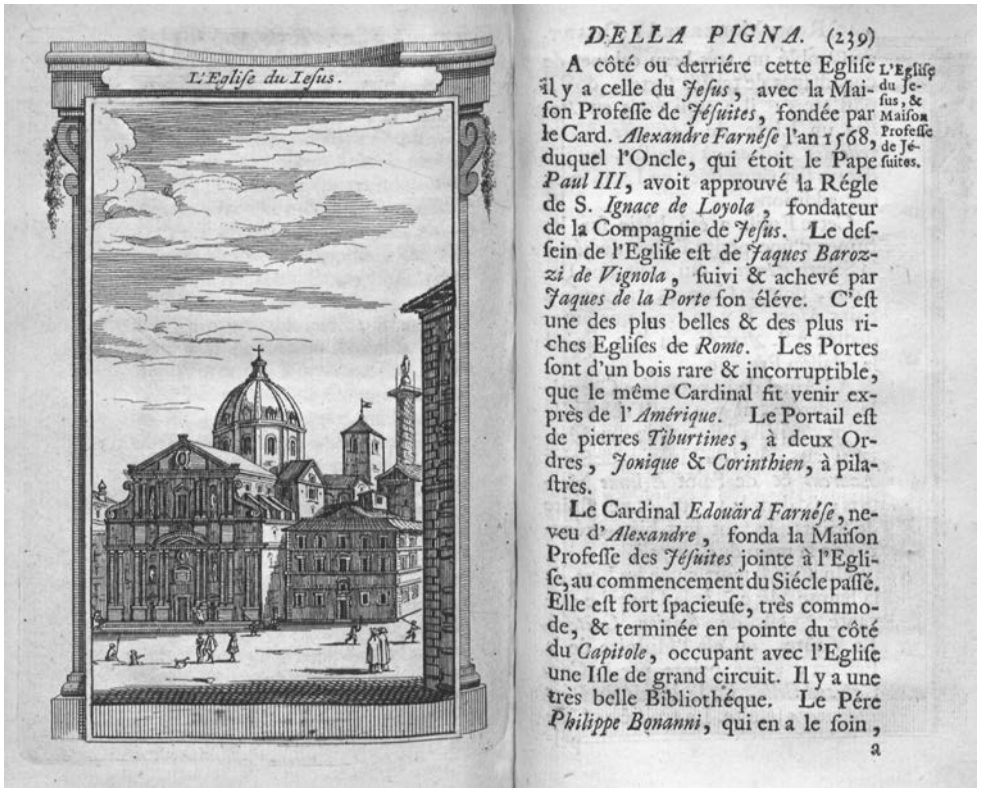
3 – Le grand Autel de l'Église St. Pierre, Chaire de St. Pierre. François-Jacques Deseine, *Rome Moderne, premiére ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, vol. 6, Leiden 1713, p. 1454. University of Wrocław Library, Old Prints Department, No. 324160

Rome he devoted a great deal of attention to Il Gesù and the Church of St Ignatius. [*Fig. 5*]

Heřman Jakub Gottlieb Count Černín first saw the frescoes in the church of Il Gesù right after they had been finished. He wrote that, after taking part in the vespers prayer in Il Gesù on 31 December 1679, he was able to "*observe the church ceiling, all covered with paintings, today open to viewers for the first time*".[103] The travellers considered the trompe l'oeil paintings on the ceilings an innovation. Count Černín asked a painter for his opinion on art, as we can see from a note dated 17 August 1680, where he recorded going on a walk to see various paintings in St Peter's Basilica and other places together with a painter.[104]

Wright mentioned Pozzo's illusionistic paintings in the Church of St Ignatius in his travel account as well. His attention was especially drawn to the trompe l'oeil dome, which seemed particularly interesting to him because it offered the illusion of a flat surface opening up into a dome, which was achieved by means of perspective and painting.[105] We know from his diary that he was familiar with Pozzo's treatise *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*, and, in analysing the illusionistic dome in the Church of St Ignatius that Pozzo painted he described how the ceiling had been painted to look as though a dome had actually been built.[106] He also made some critical remarks about the use of light and shade, but added immediately "*that it is extremely fine as it is. It is indeed but the Representation of a Cupola upon the flat Roof*".[107]

In many countries, Jesuit churches were also seen as innovative because they were carriers of Italian form, which was fashionable in the 17th and 18th century. Describing the church and the collegiate buildings in Alcala de Henares, Albert Jouvin de Rochefort (c. 1640 – c. 1710) wrote: "*The Jesuits have a beautiful church in the main street, covered with a cupola built in the Italian fashion, and their collegiate and residential building are remarkable, beautiful buildings worthy of attention*."[108] Rochefort also saw formal innovation and Italian models in the



DELLA PIGNA. (239)

A côté ou derriére cette Egliſe il y a celle du *Jeſus*, avec la Maiſon Profeſſe de *Jéſuites*, fondée par le Card. *Alexandre Farnéſe* l'an 1568, duquel l'Oncle, qui étoit le Pape *Paul III*, avoit approuvé la Régle de S. *Ignace de Loyola*, fondateur de la Compagnie de *Jeſus*. Le deſſein de l'Egliſe eſt de *Jaques Barozzi de Vignola*, ſuivi & achevé par *Jaques de la Porte* ſon éléve. C'eſt une des plus belles & des plus riches Egliſes de *Rome*. Les Portes ſont d'un bois rare & incorruptible, que le même Cardinal fit venir exprès de l'*Amérique*. Le Portail eſt de pierres *Tiburtines*, à deux Ordres, *Jonique* & *Corinthien*, à pilaſtres. L'Egliſe du Jeſus, & Maiſon Profeſſe de Jéſuites.

Le Cardinal *Edouärd Farnéſe*, neveu d'*Alexandre*, fonda la Maiſon Profeſſe des *Jéſuites* jointe à l'Egliſe, au commencement du Siécle paſſé. Elle eſt fort ſpacieuſe, très commode, & terminée en pointe du côté du *Capitole*, occupant avec l'Egliſe une Iſle de grand circuit. Il y a une très belle Bibliothéque. Le Pére *Philippe Bonanni*, qui en a le ſoin,

a

(266) ROME MODERNE. IV. QUART.

partie de ce grand Edifice, eſt fort logeable, pour contenir le grand nombre de Lecteurs qu'on entretient pour le ſervice public des Claſſes. Pluſieurs habiles *Jéſuites* ſe ſont ſignalés dans ce Collége par leur érudition. Nous y avons vû de nos jours le P. *Kircher*, le P. *Poſſinus*, Jéſuite très-ſavant dans le *Grec*; & le Pére *Eſparſa* Eſpagnol.

On y voit auſſi une très-belle Apoticairerie, où l'on prépare toutes ſortes de médicamens ſans y rien épargner, & où il y a pluſieurs remédes particuliers qu'on ne trouve point ailleurs. On fait état ſur tout de la Thériaque, & du Baume Apoplétique, qui eſt encore fort ſouverain contre diverſes ſortes de maux.

Enfin tout le circuit de cette Maiſon, qui fait une grande Ile quarrée, contient environ 400 pas de tour, y compris l'Egliſe de S. *Ignace*, qui eſt ſi vaſte, qu'elle eſt la plus grande de *Rome* aprés S. *Pierre*: Auſſi a-t-elle été bâtie ſur ſon modéle, aux dépens du Cardinal *Louis Ludoviſio* Neveu du Pape *Grégoire XV*. S. Ignace.

Le

(M 2)

4, 5 – L'Église du Iesus, L'Église de S. Ignace. François-Jacques Deseine, *Rome Moderne, premiére ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, vol. 1, Leiden 1713, p. 239, p. M2. University of Wrocław Library, Old Prints Department, No. 324160

San Isidoro Church in Madrid: "*The Jesuits have a collegiate and church buildings fashioned after St Peter's in Rome – it is the most beautiful and the grandest in Madrid*."[109] Heřman Jakub Gottlieb Count Černín also described it as pretty.[110]

Innovations in form applied to Jesuit buildings were appreciated and well described in the accounts of travellers more versed in architectural design. The interest in Jesuit architecture was not confined to Italy but took in all of Europe. The first guide to Europe, by Thomas Nugent, listed Jesuit buildings in every country described in it, and in almost every city the author visited were mentioned as the most important ones to be seen. Nugent also noted the names of their architects.[111] In addition, he mentioned the order's beautifully constructed colleges – for example, in various locations in France – and noted them also as examples of modern architecture.[112] Nugent devoted a great deal of attention to the Jesuit buildings in Lyon and informed readers that the Jesuits had three houses in the city, two of which were colleges – the smaller one was in the Fourvière district and the larger one on the Place des Terreaux.[113] The latter was considered to be the most magnificent building in the kingdom, a wonderful example of modern architecture and famous also for its high-quality paintings. Over half a century earlier Karol Radziwiłł had expressed his admiration for two Jesuit colleges in Prague: "*The Jesuit colleges in the Old and New Town* [...] *are very beautiful. Only in the Old Town is everything finished, the other one in the New Town is not finished yet, but when it is, with its beauty and stuccowork it will be superior to the college in the Old Town*."[114] In Madrid, among the five fine churches Radziwiłł mentioned, three of them were part of a Jesuit complex, and he described them as beautiful.[115] In Aix he mentioned Saint Louis Jesuit College and referred to one of its chapels as an "*opus magnificum*" and a work "*worth seeing*".[116]

It should be noted that it was not only the Jesuit churches that sparked admiration. The modern buildings that fascinated travellers usually struck them as unique and incomparable to anything they knew. This is how Thomas Nugent saw Les Invalides in Paris. Its dome in particular could not be matched by anything that existed in France, given its structure and height and the beauty of its sculptures and paintings.[117]

Value

Diaries and memoirs from the 17th and first half of the 18th century help us not only to grasp the artistic quality of the works they describe, but also to notice other, even more important elements of their value judgements. One of the most important elements in any of the assessments studied here was the material value of a work of art. Often, the high rating of a work of art and the travellers' admiration for it went together with the work's high material value. The ability to recognise the material of a work went hand in hand with the ability to estimate the work's value. Almost no traveller, whether secular or religious, was able to avoid adopting a material approach to works of art; indeed, travellers were fascinated by their worth and price. Estimates of the value of the most appreciated works of art were offered in many diaries, memoirs, and guides by their authors. The more expensive the work was, the better it seemed in the eyes of travellers from the 17th and first half of the 18th century. This is evidenced, for example, by Fantuzzi's diary, quoted earlier, in which he estimates and appreciates the craftsmanship value of objects in the Church of the Virgin Mary in Amsterdam; he lists a wooden pulpit adorned with sculpted figurines "*with such artistry that it is worth a hundred thousand florins or over ninety thousand scudi as they say here*".[118] Billewicz admired the materials – the marble and stucco decorations – of the Caetani Chapel in the Church of Santa Pudenziana in Rome. He wrote that the church itself was not very big, but that it had "*one very fine chapel, covered all over by various stones, with columns in the altar ex lapide adamantino, a stone with streaks of gold;* [...] *they say that the thing is priceless*".[119] It was also remarkable that Billewicz, a traveller from north of the Alps, admired this proto-baroque funeral chapel built by Francesco da Volterra and Carlo Maderna.[120]

In many accounts, the travellers noticed the price of the materials. In their eyes, a high price meant a work of art was more valuable. Nugent wrote: "*The vast sums it cost may be guessed at by what Fontana, an Italian writer, says of the adorning alone of St Peter's chair, viz. that is cost 107,551 Roman crowns, each crown being 5 s*[hillings] *6 d.* [pennies] *of English money.*"[121] About the Cathedra Petri in the St Peter's Basilica in Rome Kleczewski wrote: "*it has been said that the ornaments and gilding cost Alexander VII 243 thousand florins.*" He also quoted the value of St Peter's tomb.[122] Travellers mentioned prices not only in the case of St Peter's Basilica. Describing the cathedral in Milan Kazimierz Jan Wojsznarowicz (c. 1620–1677) wrote: "*There are 600 marble statues extra Ecclesiam, each counting after 3000 f*[lorins]."[123] Such works included the tabernacle of the cathedral in Toledo, which, as Countess d'Aulnoy reported, had to be carried by 30 men on the Feast of Corpus Christi: "*It is made of gilded silver* [...] *an exceptional work, full of angels and cherubs.*"[124] In the cathedral itself the traveller admired another one, which was "*made of solid gold, with so many precious stones that it is impossible to provide an estimate of its true value*."[125] Stanisław Kleczewski realised that the final assessment of a piece of art may not stem from its artistic quality but from the value of the precious materials from which it was made. After visiting the papal tombs in St Peter's Basilica, he asked a rhetorical question: "*The monuments erected for Popes are the grandest, but is the value of the porphyry and the exotic marble appreciated there or is at art? In short, I do not know.*"[126]

Were all contemporary creations received so enthusiastically? Obviously, not all contemporary buildings were

admired. Baron von Pöllnitz criticised the Viennese Church of St Charles Borromeo and its architect, decrying the huge cost of its construction and claiming that the building "*would perhaps have been admir'd in the Days of the Goths, but* [not] *in so refined an Age as the present*".[127] Some Jesuit churches were considered to be quite plain, even though the fact was stated with some surprise. Looking at St Paul's Church in Osnabrück, Nostitz wrote: "[...] *we saw a Jesuit church here, but there was nothing worth noting about it*".[128] Blainville, after visiting churches in Düsseldorf, commented: "*To Day we have visited some of the Churches here, which was well worthwhile. That of Loyola's Children is indisputably the finest: Nor is it surprising that the good Companions of Jesus should love Magnificence in everything, and they are well able to satisfy this noble Passion*."[129]

Around the mid-18th century admiration for the splendour and great value of buildings began to wane and a change in artistic taste could be observed. With the dawn of a new era these opinions became more radical, and the formal and structural solutions hitherto admired were no longer received with enthusiasm or fascination. An example of this is observed in the diary that August Fryderyk Moszyński (1731–1786) kept on his journey to Italy, in which he compared his experiences from a trip he made in his youth (before 1750) to those from the one he made in 1784–1786. He was particularly critical of radical baroque solutions of the Borrominian variety. The complicated oval plan of San Carlo Alle Quatro Fontane did not impress Moszyński: "*The oval interior is not really special, the facade is very ugly. Unlike in Florence, where churches usually do not have* [finished] *facades, the facades of those in Rome are excessively decorated*."[130] Even some of the buildings he had praised during his trip to Rome in his youth were now viewed more critically by him. This was the case of another work by Francesco Borromini and Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi: "*The Church of St Agnes, which I liked so much that I wanted to have its engraving, does not take my fancy today, like a former lover met after the passage of many years, full of imperfections one did not see when in love*."[131] What did remain was his genuine admiration for St Peter's Basilica: "*I often build in my dreams. Last night I erected a church that should surpass St Peter's, if not with its beauty, then certainly with its boldness* [...]. *It has always been said that one can dream with impunity and it is not our fault that we cannot draw in our sleep. It is enough that when a man wakes up, he realises he dreamt in vain*."[132]

Conclusion

Baroque art and the concept of the baroque style itself have been subject to much critique in recent decades. It turns out that it is not possible to find a common denominator for the totality of artistic phenomena of that time. For this reason, the analysis of aesthetic judgements proffered by the contemporary viewers of art – the travellers – is crucial. We have referred to their written accounts, with relevant excerpts quoted above, with a view to tracing as thoroughly as possible the way in which they perceived and assessed art. In their assessment, the art of the 17th and first half of the 18th century was appreciated and highly valued. They considered the art created at that time to be a new phenomenon, or even a new style associated with beauty, but one they did not define. This can be observed in the case of all travellers regardless of their country of origin or religious affiliation.

From these accounts we learned that the travellers were interested in novelty, expecting new art and its creators to be innovative. The writers also valued the uniqueness of the art they witnessed. The testimony examined here shows that the writers admired the huge, monumental architectural structures for their impressive character and solid structure. Features like structural innovation or the novel arrangement of a façade or interior were appreciated and noted by travellers in the buildings they looked on as models, the ones that fascinated them most, such as St Peter's Basilica, St Paul's Cathedral in London, or Jesuit structures (Il Gesù). The same praise was bestowed by travellers of different backgrounds and faiths – Catholic, Protestant and Anglican. They were keen to see religious buildings of other denominations and ready to assess them.

Simultaneously, many of the remarks written about Jesuit art demonstrate that the travellers associated the new style with Jesuit churches and colleges. Travellers visiting Jesuit churches frequently described their structure, layout, and decorations as innovative and modern. The literature on the subject usually focuses on the attention the travellers paid to the richly decorated interiors, but they also often appreciated the purely architectural aspects of different structures. These were associated with a new style, distinguished from other structures by the similarities in the design of their façades and interiors and their exceptional ornamentation, specific to each of these churches. The travellers quoted above confessed that they appreciated the richly ornamented and decorated and theatrically arranged interiors. The contrast they observed between the outside of the churches and the inside surprised them greatly. There was an overwhelming sense of unity to the interior decorations, where all the artistic devices came together – architecture, sculpture, and painting (including illusionistic wall painting).

The ambiguous character of this assessment has to do with the fact that there was an expectation that works of art should be both unique and, at the same time, have links to Antiquity. Antiquity was still the source from which the ideal of beauty was born, and it also presented a challenge, which the travellers duly noted in their writings when comparing contemporary art with classical work. In previous studies scholars have noted that English travellers were the ones who most often made comparisons with the art of Antiquity, which is considered to be a result of their education and the architectural tradition of their country of origin. However, the written accounts of the travellers hailing from Central

Europe show that they, too, were fascinated with Antiquity and interested in its art. The difference can be seen in how judgements about works of art were formulated.

A given piece of art tended to be more highly ranked by travellers on the basis of its high material value. It is interesting that writers cared to indicate the value of the art they saw, especially in the case of contemporary art, in most cases estimating the cost of the materials used, but also making estimates based on hearsay or written sources. It is also possible to observe similarities in the artistic judgements offered by travellers from the West of Europe and those from its central part. The depth of the assessments differed mostly according to the writer's knowledge and interest in art. The most perceptive evaluations of artistic work were formulated by artists, but also by people who sought advice from artists on the matter in order to enhance their knowledge of the subject and learn more about particular works of art. The sources travellers referred to in their evaluations of works of art works are not clear; in the 17th century they mostly mention cicerone and local artists (especially in Rome), who advised them and explained what was worth seeing and why (Černín, Billewicz, Radoliński, Wojsznarowicz, Fantuzzi, Rochefort). This is moreover apparent in different travellers' descriptions of the same work of art, which are sometimes very similar. In travel literature from the first half of the 18th century some sources of information are occasionally quoted or mentioned – such as guidebooks or travel diaries by other authors (Wright, Blainville, Moszyński). However, the travellers' opinions on selected works of art sometimes differed from their source.

In works of art from the 17th and first half of the 18th century some travellers distinguished "stylistic" differences. These differences tended to be noticed more by travellers well educated in the field of art and especially artists. It is also important to realise that work in the "new style" was gradually emerging in the travellers' countries as well, and as a result travellers were more familiar with them.

Translated by Anna Kijak and Katarzyna Byłów

Původ snímků – Photographic credits: 1–5: University of Wrocław Library

Poznámky

[1] Helen Hills, The Baroque: Beads in a Rosary or Folds in Time, *Fabrications. The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, Australia and New Zealand* 17 (2), 2007, pp. 48–71.

[2] Jim Sharpe writes more about the phenomenon. Cf. Jim Sharpe, History from Below, in: Peter Burke (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writings*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 24–41.

[3] Maria Poprzęcka, *Inne obrazy. Oko, widzenie, sztuka. Od Albertiego do Duchampa*, Gdańsk 2008, p. 7.

[4] This paper presents the results of a current research project on the perception and evaluation of art by travellers in the 17th and first half of the 18th century conducted by the author. Around 50 sources of travel literature were analysed as part of the work on this project.

[5] Travel literature has been studied by linguists and scholars of literary genres – e.g. Ralph-Rainer Wuthenow, *Europäische Tagebücher. Eigenart – Formen – Entwicklung*, Darmstadt 1990. – Anne Hultzsch, *Architecture, Travellers and Writers: Constructing Histories of Perception 1640–1950*, London 2014.

[6] Milena Hajná – Zdeněk Hojda – Eva Chodějovská – Alexandra Tesaříková (edd.), *Heřman Jakub Černín na cestě za Alpy a Pyreneje*, vol. 1: *Kavalírská cesta českého šlechtice do německých zemí, Itálie, Francie, Španělska a Portugalska*, vol. 2: *Cestovní deník Heřmana Jakuba Černína z let 1678–1682*, Praha 2014. The first volume is devoted to the reconstruction of the places Count Černin visited, using accounts by other travellers, such as Billewicz and the Baroness d'Aulnoy. The second volume is the traveller's own diary in its original version along with a translation into Czech and a travel report made by one of Černín's courtiers who accompanied him on his voyage Václav Příhoda.

[7] Jiří Kubeš, *Náročné dospívání urozených: Kavalírské cesty české a rakouské šlechty (1620–1750),* Pelhřimov 2013. The researcher here notes that representatives of the Central European aristocracy regularly visited Italy and he lists a large number of diaries that testify to these journeys.

[8] Kryštof Václav z Nostic, *Deník z cesty do Nizozemí v roce 1705*, published, annotated, and with an accompanying study by Jiří Kubeš, Praha 2004.

[9] The series included, among others, the memoir of Symphorian Arakiełowicz, *Itinerarium Romanum (1723), Podróż Rzymska (1723)*, edited and introduced by Bogdan Rok and translated by Dorota Piwowarczyk, Kraków – Warszawa 2016.

[10] Ludwig Schudt, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1959, pp. 302–308, 327–329, 367–389.

[11] Hans Rose, *Tagenbuch des Herrn von Chantelou über die Reise des Cavaliere Bernini nach Frankreich*, München 1919, p. 244. The artist admitted that the fashion changed and gave as an example changes in the shapes of hats. Paul Fréart de Chantelou was a French collector of art and a military engineer. Assigned by Louis XIV to accompany Bernini on his visit to Paris in 1665, he became known for the diary he kept, in which he described Bernini's visit to Paris in 1665.

[12] Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour, Containing an Exact Description of most of the Cities, Towns, and Remarkable Places of Europe. Together with a Distinct Account of the Post-Roads and Stages, with their respective Distances, Through Holland, Flanders, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, Poland, Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal,* London 1749, vol. 1, p. 72. Thomas Nugent was an Irish travel writer and translator. He was the author of the first detailed guidebook to Europe written for the English gentry and published in 1749.

[13] William Bromley, *Several Years Travels through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and the United Provinces. Performed by a Gentleman*, London 1702, p. 92: "I *visited the Domo, which appears so old that it lookt quite out of fashion*". Sir William Bromley was from Staffordshire. He settled in Warwickshire and was an active politician and a traveller. He wrote books devoted to his travels.

[14] Edward Wright, *Some Observations Made in Travelling Through France, Italy, & In the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722*, vols. 1–2, London 1730.

[15] Teodor Billewicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677–1678*, edited from a manuscript, introduced and commented on by Marek Kunicki Goldfinger, Warszawa 2004, p. 44 [Introduction]. Teodor Billewicz was a Samogitian nobleman who lived in the second half of the 17th century in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and was educated at the Vilnius Academy.

[16] Billewicz (note 15), p. 44 [Introduction].

[17] Giacomo Fantuzzi, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1652)*, edited by Wojciech Tygielski, Warszawa 1990. Giacomo Fantuzzi was born in Ravenna, studied law, and became the auditor of the Apostolic Nuncio Giovanni de Torres during his stay in Poland in 1645–1652; see *Diario del viaggio Europeo (1652): con instruttione et avvertimenti per far viaggi lunghi*, edited by Piotr Salwa and Wojciech Tygielski, Varsovia 1998.

[18] Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 184: "[...] *una bellissima chiesa di' Padri Giesuiti fatta*

alla moderna da questo Serenissimo Signor Duca Wolfango [...]". – *Diario* (note 17), p. 119. The courtly church in Neuburg at the Danube river, erected in 1607–1608.

[19] Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 198. Fantuzzi was able to visit the residence built in 1570–1620 on the site of a former castle.

[20] *Diario* (note 17), p. 82

[21] Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 115. The translation into English was done based on a Polish translation of the diary: The original version of the diary in Italian: "*Poiché ha nel corpo della città* [...] *con bellissime case e pallazzi in quantità, edificati con grandissima magnificenza e ricchezza alla moderna, et all'uso d'Italia ornate in grandissima quantità di marmi e simili, ed in tanto numero non ho veduto in niun luogo fuori d'Italia*". – *Diario* (note 17), p. 77.

[22] Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 116: "[...] *bellissima architettura moderna*". – *Diario* (note 17), p. 77. According to Tygielski, Fantuzzi described Mauritshuis, built in the first half of the 18th century by Jan van Campen, which was the residence of Count John Maurice of Nassau.

[23] Ibidem, p. 123.

[24] Ibidem, p. 142. – *Diario* (note 17), p. 98. In the traveller's account of the Gothic St Lambert Cathedral in Liège the cloister near the choir was built in the old style. According to Tygielski, Fantuzzi was mistaken and the proper invocation of the Cathedral was St Paul.

[25] *Diario* (note 17), p. 130: "*La corte o palazzo dell'Arciduca è grande assai, tutto fatto all'antica, alcuini belli appartamenti in poi accommodati pur hora alla moderna*". – Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 203. The princely [royal] palace (Hofburg) dated back to the 15th century.

[26] Christoph Wenzel Nostitz was a member of the Nostitz family, and the governor of various Silesian principalities and he resided in a palace in Lobris. He was known as a famous collector and patron and the founder of the Capuchin monastery in Świdnica.

[27] Nostic (note 8), p. 122–123: "*Das fürstliche lobkowitz*[ische] *schloß* [...] *auf die neue facon in quadro erbauet. Vor dem schloß ist ein grosser platz, auf welchen man zu denen P. P.* [=patribus] *Soci*[etatis] *gehet; in diesem arth ist sowohl die kirch alß collegiums gantz neü erbaut* [...]". The castle in Żagań was built by Antoni della Porta in 1670–1695, who also built the Jesuit College at the same time; see Konstanty Kalinowski, *Architektura barokowa na Śląsku w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław 1974, pp. 84–92.

[28] There is a translation problem here, as the term *modern* in English, when applied to architecture, denotes both what was the most up-to-date in style or technology and what was contemporary or recently built. In Polish there are two separate terms – *nowoczesny* for the former and *współczesny* for the latter.

[29] In the literature on the subject the opinion is found that average Polish travellers in the late baroque used the term "new fashion" to describe baroque churches and even Renaissance ones. Adam Kucharski, *Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku*, Toruń 2013, pp. 205–206.

[30] *Pamiętnik podróży odbytej w 1661–1663 po Austryi, Włoszech i Francyi*, ed. by Zygmunt Celichowski, Toruń 1874, p. 19: "*W Wiedniu prócz dworu nic do widzenia; zamek nie wedle majestatu cesarskiego, agentur jednak aedificia nowemi strukturami; nad bramą zamkową A. E. I. O. V.* [...]". Brothers Wojciech and Andrzej Radoliński, born to a rich noble family in Greater Poland, travelled together with tutor Jan Nyczkowicz. Researchers point to Wojciech as the author of the diary. The construction of the Leopoldine Wing, between Amalienburg and the Swiss Wing, was aimed at modernising the Hofburg; see Hellmut Lorenz (ed.), *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich* IV: *Barock*, München 1999, pp. 250–251.

[31] Arakiełowicz (note 9), p. 57: "*Palatium Augustissimi est quidem amplum, sed antique method*".

[32] Ibidem. Hellmut Lorenz wrote more about this architectural paradox; see Idem, Vienna Gloriosa Habsburgica?, *Kunsthistoriker* 2, 1985, pp. 44–49. – Lorenz (note 30), pp. 19–20.

[33] Jiří Kroupa, František Antonín Grimm v Římě, *Opuscula historiae artium* 46, 2002, pp. 57–75. – Idem, „...mein Studium Architectura nach Romanischer Ard". Der Architekt Franz Anton Grimm (1710–1784) – ein „Privatakademiker" zwischen Brünn, Wien und Rom, in: Friedrich Polleroß (ed.), *Reiselust & Kunstgenuss*, Petersberg 2004, pp. 157–170.

[34] "*Palatium autem principis Eugenij est novo modo pulchrum intus et extra, utra alia plurima palatia*"; Kroupa, František Antonín Grimm v Římě (note 33), p. 73. – Kroupa, „...mein Studium Architectura nach Romanischer Ard" (note 33), p. 168. Nevertheless, Grimm consider Bernini to be "*the best architect in Rome*"; see Kroupa, František Antonín Grimm v Římě (note 33), p. 68.

[35] *Il presidente de Brosses in Italia. Lettere familiari scritte dall'Italia nel 1739 e nel 1740*, di cura a Gustavo Brigante Collona, Roma 1836, p. 82: "*Recentemente sono state fatte nuove costruzioni nel palazzo Pamphili in stile diverso, adorno di fiordiligi e teste di gallo, i un gusto che si voleva civettuolo, ma che d'altronde verte verso il' gusto gotico, se non addirittura barbaro. Fa un ben misero effetto fra tante altre belle cose di grande e piacevole gusto*". Charles de Brosses was French writer and member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.

[36] Jan Białostocki, *Czy istniała barokowa teoria sztuki?*, in: idem (ed.), *Refleksje i syntezy ze świata sztuki*, Warszawa 1978, pp. 129–157.

[37] Rose (note 11), p. 286. See Nikolaus Pevsner, *Historia architektury europejskiej*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 199–200.

[38] Ibidem, p. 257.

[39] Nugent (note 12), vol. 4, pp. 57–58: "*It was begun by Francis I in 1528, but the greatest part of it was built by Louis XIV, under the direction of Cavalier Bernini; and had it been finished according to the first design, it would certainly surpass all the structures in the world*".

[40] Billewicz (note 15), p. 45.

[41] Heřman Jakub Gottlieb, the Count of Černín from Chudenice was a Czech nobleman. In 1695 he was the Emperor Leopold I's ambassador to Warsaw. In the years 1700–1704 he held the office of the highest provincial court master and from 1695 the highest marshal of the Czech Kingdom.

[42] Hajná – Hojda – Chodějovská – Tesaříková (note 6), vol. 2, Praha 2014, p. 534. Černín recorded in writing his acquisition of prints depicting different views of Rome that he had bought from the papal print house.

[43] Stanislai Kleczewski, *Itinerarium Romanum (1750), Podróż rzymska (1750)*, edited by Marian Chachaj and Bogdan Rok, Kraków – Wrocław 2018, p. 181: "*Civitas Opavia antiquo more munita, pulchris lapideis (et abseq*[ue] *ullo rudere) ornate*". Stanisław Dominik Kleczewski was reformed Franciscan, historian, philosopher, religious writer, and translator.

[44] *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz: Being the Observations He Made in His Late Travels from Prussia thro' Germany, Italy, France, Flanders, Holland, England, & c.*, 1737, pp. 432–435. The work will hereinafter be referred to as Pöllnitz. Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Pöllnitz (1692–1775) was a German writer and traveller educated in Berlin. He was active in the service of King Frederick William I of Prussia and afterwards of Frederick the Great. He changed his confession at least six times. See William Douglas Robson-Scott, Baron Pöllnitz and the English, in: *German Life and Letters* 1, 1936/37, pp. 284–292.

[45] Rose (note 11), p. 211. – Pevsner (note 37), pp. 140, 146–147.

[46] Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy, Or A Compleate Journey through Italy in two Parts: with the Characters of the People, and the Description of the Chief Towns, Churches, Monasteries, Tombs, Libraries, Palaces, Villa's, Gardens, Pictures, Statues, and Antiquities*, vol. 1, London 1670, p. 47. Richard Lassels was an English Catholic priest, a traveller, and a tutor of many young noblemen on the Grand Tour, as well as the author of travel books.

[47] Hajná – Hojda – Chodějovská – Tesaříková (note 6), vol. 2, p. 362.

[48] Lassels (note 46), vol. 2, p. 33.

[49] Bromley (note 13), p. 181.

[50] Kleczewski (note 43), pp. 135, 336: "*Tholus est in medio supra confessionem s. Pietri, seu sepulchrum (estq*[ue] *tantae altitudinis et amplitudinis sicut templum Pantheon)* [...]".

[51] Hajná – Hojda – Chodějovská – Tesaříková (note 6), vol. 2, p. 362.

[52] Arakiełowicz (note 9), p. 106: "*Ecclesia Sancti Petri satis pulchra et ampla*. [...] *Placeat etiam ascendere supremam copulam, quae est sub ipse cruce, et videbit illiam tantae magnitudinis esse, quod intra 18 homines posset commode stare*". Symphorian Arakiełowicz was the custodian of the Lesser Poland province within the Friars Minor Franciscans. In 1723 he moved to the general chapter in Rome. He came from a well-known Polish-Armenian family.

[53] Ibidem.

[54] Ibidem, p. 190: "*Widziałem opus stupor dignum [dzieło godne podziwu], jako wielki srodze i bogaty*. [...] *Kościół sam i facjata niewypowiedzianie specjalną*

robotą i bogatą. Kopuła enitens supra omnes alias totus urbis, jako i z przyjazdu o mil kilkanaście włoskich widać tę jedną kopułę".

[55] Bromley (note 13), p. 179.

[56] Ibidem, p. 181. The traveller is referring to the monument commemorating the Great Fire of London, which broke out in September 1666.

[57] Wright (note 14), pp. 205–207.

[58] Apart from Italian engravings and drawings, Colen Campbell in his work *Vitruvius Britannicus* listed, among all the presented buildings, only three churches, including St Peter's Basilica in Rome; see *Vitruvius Britannicus; or, The British Architect, Written by Colen Campbell*, London 1717, p. 6.

[59] The traveller also compared the facades and the layout of the interiors of both buildings and even the subterraneous parts of the two churches; see Wright (note 14), pp. 204, 207, 210.

[60] Pollnitz (note 44), vol. 2, p. 8.

[61] Billewicz (note 15), p. 216: "[...] *kościół barzo wspaniały i niesłychanie intus wyborną robotą, wszytek z marmuru, tak kosztowny, iż aequare* [równa się], *powiadają, św. Piotra kościołowi rzymskiemu in praestantia* [w znakomitości]; *tą też formą, co i św. Piotra w Rzymie, a że jeszcze nowy, splendidus apparet* [wygląda okazalej]". The Jesuit church to which the traveller is referring is the Chiesa del Gesù Nuovo built in 1584–1601 by Giuseppe Valeriano; see Regina Poso, On the Church of Jesu in Lecce, in: Giacomo Montanari – Arkadiusz Wojtyła – Małgorzata Wyrzykowska (edd.), *Jesuit and Universities. Artistic and Ideological Aspects of Baroque Colleges of the Society of Jesus – Examples from Genoa and Wrocław*, Wrocław 2015, p. 160.

[62] Billewicz (note 15), p. 250: "*Owo zgoła kościół ten jest tak piękny, o jaki i w samym Rzymie trudno, lubo św. Piotra kościołowi rzymskiemu równego in toto orbe terrarium* [*na całym świecie*] *nie kładą quoad magnificentiam* [co do wspaniałości] *i kosztu wielkości; ja zaś po nim ten secundo kładę gradu* [stawiam na drugim miejscu]".

[63] Kleczewski (note 43), p. 335: "*Ipsam Basilicam Vaticanam, que descibere tentaret, iniuriam arti et summae profusioni pietatis Christianae faceret, tantum enim est opus, quantam nullisi terrarium videatur*".

[64] Manuel Gonzales, *The Voyage of Manuel Gonzales, (late merchant) of the City Lisbon in Portugal to Great Britain*, London 1731. Some scholars identified the author of the account from London as Daniel Defoe, others as a Portuguese merchant from Lisbon. The work was probably first published in 1745, in the Harleian Collection and in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and the Most Interesting Voyages and Travels of the World*, vol. 2, London 1808. See also *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* [...] *from the curious and valuable Library of the late Earl of Oxford*, vol. 1, London 1745.

[65] Pollnitz (note 44), p. 432.

[66] *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and Other Parts of Europe; but especially Italy*. By the late Monsieur De Blainville, Sometime Secretary to the Embassy of the States-General, at the Court of Spain. Translated from the author's own manuscript (Never yet published) by George Turnbull and William Guthier. Illustrated with proper maps, vol. 1, London 1743, p. 154.

[67] Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 182.

[68] Nugent (note 12), vol. 4, p. 43. This was the first Jesuit church in Paris, of SS Paul and Louis, designed by François Derand (1590–1644), who was a French Jesuit architect. Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos; see *L'architecture à la française. Du milieu du XVe siècle à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2013, pp. 36, 59.

[69] Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Diariusz Peregrynacji Europejskiej (1684–1687)*, edited by Adam Kucharski, Toruń 2011, p. 150: "*Kościół sam niesłychanie jako jest piękny*". Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł was a Polish-Lithuanian nobleman and a diplomat. From 1690 he became Great Lithuanian Chancellor.

[70] Ibidem, p. 81: „*Jest w nim wiele pięknych rzeczy do widzenia jak to kościół jezuicki, który dietro i dekstro jest magnificum opus. Facjata tego kościoła jest niesłychanie jako piękna*". The Jesuit church in Antwerp was built in 1615–1621.

[71] This fact is also stressed by the editor of Heidenstein's diary, Zdzisław Pietrzyk. Cf. *Peregrynacja Jana Heidensteina przez Belgię, Francję i Włochy w roku 1631 zaczęta a w roku 1634 zakończona*, edited by Zdzisław Pietrzyk, Kraków 2005, p. 25. Jan Heidenstein (1610–1673) was the son of a convert and a diplomat in the Polish court and Teresa of Konarski. He attended the Jesuit College in Braniewo and became a writer and traveller.

[72] Ibidem, p. 86: "[...] *najznakomitszych i najświetniejszych kościołów*". Church Il Gesù in Genoa was built by Jesuit architect Giuseppe Valeriani in 1589–1606; see Lauro Magnani, Introductory Essay: The Jesuit Fathers in Genoa, Their Art and History. New Research and a Long Tradition of Studies, in: Montanari – Wojtyła – Wyrzykowska (note 61), p. 14.

[73] *Peregrynacja Jana Heidensteina* (note 71), p. 89: "*W międzyczasie jednak odwiedziliśmy Towarzystwo Jezusowe, gdzie pokazano nam bardzo wystawną zakrystię, a także sakiewki, zasłonę i wiele posagów z lanego srebra, kunsztownie i bez naśladownictwa wykonanych*".

[74] Ibidem, p. 39.

[75] Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 125: "[...] è *una delle più belle e ricche chiese che si vedino fuori d'Italia*". – *Diario* (note 17), p. 82. Il Gesù in Rome was built in 1568–1584 by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola and Giacomo della Porta. See Pevsner (note 37), pp. 149–151. – Marco Bussagli, The Rome of the Saints: the Baroque, in: Marco Bussagli (ed.), *Rome: Art and Architecture*, Rome 1999, pp. 414, 419.

[76] Billewicz (note 15), p. 194: "[...] *teraz intus złocą wszytek. Barzo wielki kościół i piękny, lubo jeszcze intus nie było skończone to malowanie i złocenie*".

[77] Ibidem, p. 45: "*Tak tedy wyśmienitych kościołów i barzo bogatych, nad które ozdobniejszych po kościele św. Piotra nie znajdują, jest trzy: św. Jagnieszki, św. Mikołaja de Tolentino i ten trzeci św. Jędrzeja, które teraz* novo [niedawno] *wszytkie* erexit [wzniósł] *książe Pamphili wyśmienitą barzo robotą i wielkim sumptem, bo wszytkie z kamienia wybornego różnego wystawione, kopuły zas i sklepienia wszytkie złociste z wyśmienitą sztukaterią*". On these churches, S. Agnese in Agone and S. Nicola, see Bussagli (note 75), pp. 223, 516–528.

[78] Kleczewski (note 43), p. 330: "*A tergo palatii est ecclesia s. Andreae, domus probationis PP. Societatis Iesu parvula quidem, sed regulas architectonices accom*[m]*odatissima, tota deaurata partes habens exquisistimis marmoribus incrustatos*".

[79] Wright (note 14), vol. 1, p. 225. The traveller pointed out that the church itself was oval in shape and he drew analogies with the Pantheon. He found these similarities mainly in the disposition of the altars, though he acknowledged that the influence might not be easily discerned.

[80] Ibidem.

[81] Jerzy Baranowski, *Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski teoretyk i architekt XVII w.*, Warszawa 1975, p. 50. See also *Europea Peregrinatio Quam Perilliarum Ac MMDD: Nicolai a Gruda Grudziński* [...] *1650–1656.* The diary is in the Library of the National Museum in Kraków, Czartoryski Collection, no. XVII 3031; the microfilm is in the National Library in Warsaw – Microfilm Station, no. 11104. Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski was a Polish Jesuit, theologian, architect, and professor and the rector of a number of Jesuit colleges.

[82] Wąsowski's treatise features drawings and remarks concerning, for example, Il Gesù Nuovo Church in Naples, the Church of Santi Ambrogio e Andrea in Genoa, the chapel in the Jesuit Il Gesu Church, the Spanish Church of San Isidoro El Real, the Jesuit Church of St Charles Borromeo (originally of Ignatius Loyola) in Antwerp, the Jesuit Church of St Francis (Saint François Xavier) in Paris, the Jesuit College in Vienna, and the Church of St Michael in Munich. The subject has been analysed by Małgorzata Wrześniak; cf. eadem, Włoskie fascynacje Bartłomieja Nataniela Wąsowskiego, in: Krystyna Moisan-Jabłońska (ed.), *W kręgu sztuki polskiej i grafiki europejskiej*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 221–238.

[83] *Europea Peregrinatio* (note 81), p. 506. – Baranowski (note 81), p. 33, ill. 16. La chiesa del Gesù Nuovo or della Trinità Maggiore in Naples and La chiesa del Gesù di Genova or Chiesa dei Santi Ambrogio e Andrea. Both were built from designs by the Jesuit Giuseppe Valeriani (1542–1606).

[84] Baranowski (note 81), p. 33.

[85] Wąsowski (note 81), p. 521. – Baranowski (note 81), p. 46, ill. 47.

[86] *Europea Peregrinatio* (note 81), p. 520; see Baranowski (note 81), ill. 47, p. 46.

[87] *Europea Peregrinatio* (note 81), p. 514; see Baranowski (note 81), ill. 37, p. 43.

[88] *Europea Peregrinatio* (note 81), p. 492.

[89] Ibidem, p. 519; see Baranowski (note 81), p. 45, ill. 44. Built starting in 1615 by the Jesuit Pieter Huyssens. Rubens' work was not limited only to paintings. He is also said to have been involved in designing the church's facade, which was modelled on Rome's Il Gesù.

[90] *Obraz Dworów Europejskich na początku XVII wieku przedstawiony w Dzienniku Podróży Królewicza Władysława syna Zygmunta III do Niemiec, Austryi, Belgii, Szwajcaryi i Włoch w roku 1624–1625 skreślony ręką Stefana Paca*, published from the manuscript by Józef Kazimierz Plebański, Wrocław 1854, p. 67: "*Słuchał królewic jmc mszy u ojców jezuitów, gdzie nie tylko malowania na ołtarzach wszystkich kosztowne, ale i samego kościoła strukturę zacną widział*".
[91] Nugent (note 12), p. 191.
[92] Ibidem. Unfortunately, Rubens's paintings have not survived, because the church was destroyed when it was struck by lightning on 18 June 1718.
[93] Ibidem.
[94] Ibidem, p. 288. Jesuit church was erected by Jesuit Pieter Huyssens in years 1621–1645.
[95] Nugent (note 12), vol. 1.
[96] Ibidem, p. 199. See Jules Émile Ackere, *Baroque & Classic Art in Belgium (1600–1789): Architecture, Monumental Art*, Brussels 1972, p. 21.
[97] Ibidem, p. 233.
[98] Ibidem, p. 266.
[99] Ibidem, p. 261.
[100] Ibidem. Church Santa Maria della Vittoria was built by Carlo Maderna in years 1606–1626; see Bussagli (note 75), p. 539.
[101] Ibidem.
[102] Bromley (note 13), p. 77.
[103] Hajná – Hojda – Chodějovská – Tesaříková (note 6), vol. 2, p. 324. "*Il doppopranso corteggiai il signor Cardinal Chigi alla chapella, all qualle Sua Beatitudine intervenne, a dopoi andai sentir le vespere al Il Gesu, ove osservai la volta della chiesa che è tutta artificiosa*[mente] *e molto indorata e fui ogi la primera vice aperta* [...]".
[104] Ibidem, p. 506.
[105] Wright (note 14), vol. 1, pp. 156–158: "*The false Cupola here is extraordinary curious, it is flat, so shadowed that the Perspective has deceived much nicer Eyes than mine*."
[106] Ibidem.
[107] Ibidem.
[108] Albert Jouvin de Rochefort, *Le voyageur d'Europe où sont les voyages de France, d'Italie et de Malthe, d'Espagne et de Portugal, des Pays Bas, d'Allemagne et de Pologne, d'Angleterre, de Danemark et de Suède de Edición de Denis Thierry*, vol. 2: *Le voyageur d'Europe où sont le voyage d'Espagne et de Portugal*, Paris 1672, p. 112: "*Les PP. Jesuites ont dans la grande ru una tre-belle Eglise couverte d'un dome basti à Italliene* [...]". Albert Jouvin de Rochefort was a French cartographer and traveller. This was a description of Iglesia de Santa María in Alcalá de Henares built in 1606–1620.
[109] Ibidem, p. 121: "[...] *de Toledo, dans la quelle les PP. Jesuites ont leur College & leur Eglise, bastie à la façon de celle de S. Pierre de Rome, en quoy elle est la plus belle, & la plus grande de Madrid*". The Jesuit Church in Madrid, San Isidro, was constructed by Pedro Sánchez and Francisco Bautista in 1620–1651.The innovative and in Italian fashion was also San Isidoro Chapel at the Church of St Andrew in Madrid; ibidem, p. 121. The chapel was built in 1622–1642 and destroyed in 1936.
[110] Hajná – Hojda – Chodějovská – Tesaříková (note 6), vol. 2, p. 764.
[111] Nugent (note 12), vol. 3, p. 222: "*The church of S. Ignatius, belonging to the Roman college, was built by Horace Crosso, a Jesuit.* [...] *The Gesu Vecchio is a very stately church of the Jesuits, built by Giacomo Barozzo a Vignola, and the frontispiece by James della Porta*."
[112] Nevers, Roanne, Tournus, Vienne, Valence, Montélimart, Orange, Toulon, Grenoble, Châlons, Verdun, Chaumont, Longré, Dole, Besançon, Bordeaux, Cahors, Clermont, Nîmes, Nantes, Quimper, Bayeux, Rennes, Mâcon, Avignon, Perpignan, Aix and Dieppe. See Nugent (note 12), vol. 4, pp. 126, 129, 148, 154, 157–161, 171, 181, 191, 193.
[113] Ibidem, p. 133.
[114] Radziwiłł (note 69), p. 136: "*Collegia jezuwickie na Starym i na Nowym Mieście. Te collegia są bardzo piękne. Jedne na Starym Mieście ze wszystkim dokończone, a drugie na Nowym Mieście jeszcze nie jest dokończone, ale jak skończone będzie przejdzie pięknością i sztukatura collegium na Starym Mieście*".
[115] Ibidem, p. 158. He lists: "*1.) the Collegium with a chapel, full of mirrors and relics, de Noestra Seignora de Buen Conseho. 2.) Domus Professa, with the body of St Francis Borgia in the great altar* [...] *3.)* [Jesuit] *Noviciate with N*[uestr]*a S*[eñora] *de Boena Esperanca* [in] *the great altar. These three Jesuit churches are beautiful*."
[116] Radziwiłł (note 69), p. 144: "*Opus magnificum*", "*godne do widzenia*".
[117] Nugent (note 12), vol. 4, pp. 64–65: "*The architecture of the whole church is really excellent, being adorned with columns and pilasters of the Corinthian order, distributed with so much taste, that nothing can equal its rich simplicity*."
[118] *Diario* (note 17), p. 69: "[...] *un pulpit di legno intagliato con figurine così gentilmente fatte che costa cento mila fiorini di quella, che sarebbero sopra noventa mila scudi di Roma*". – Fantuzzi (note 17), p. 104.
[119] Billewicz (note 15), p. 156.
[120] The chapel was commissioned by Cardinal Enrico Caetani in 1588. Designed by Francesco Volterra, and after his death in 1601 completed by Carlo Maderno, and decorated with work by Giovanni Battista della Porta, Valsoldo, Pier Paolo Olivieri, Camillo Mariani, Claude Adam, Gian Antonio, Carlo Malavista; see Bussagli (note 75), p. 439.
[121] Nugent (note 12), vol. 3, p. 218. Nugent meant the work of Carlo Fontana, *Il tempio Vaticano e sua origine, con gl'edifitii ... antichi e moderni, fatti dentro e fuori di esso/ templum vaticanum et ipsus origo cum aedificiis maxime conspicuis antiquitas et recens ibidem constitutio*, Roma 1694.
[122] Kleczewski (note 43), pp. 136, 336: "[...] *cathedra s. Petri a quatuor sanctis ecclesiae doctoribus sustentata, in cuius ornamentum et deaurationem Alexander VII 243 milia florenum Germanicorum impendisse dictur. In medio ecclesiae est confession s. Petri* [...]. *Aeris 1864 centenarii, auri vero induction servientis 40 millia aureorum feruntur impensa ab Urbano VIII*."
[123] "*Statuy z marmoru extra Ecclesiam iest ich na 600, każdą rachują po f. 3000*"; Kazimierz Jan Wojsznarowicz was a priest born to a noble family. He studied at the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius. In 1667–1669 he travelled as a tutor of Prince Aleksander Janusz Zasławski. In this article I analyse his work *Wyiazd Iasnie Oswieconego Xiążęcia IemCi Ostrogskiego z Gdanska do Paryża anno 1667*, 97v.
[124] Marie-Catherine D'Aulnoy, *Relación de viaje por España en 1679*, p. 243: "*Es de plata dorada, termina en varioas flechas de espadaña, de una labor exquiusita, llena de Angeles y de querubines*". Marie-Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville, Baroness d'Aulnoy (1650/51–1705), born in Normandy, a member of the noble family of Le Jumel de Barneville. She was a French writer and the author of several books.
[125] Ibidem: "*Ademas Hay otro dentro, El cual es de oro macico, con tan considerable cantidad de pedreria que no puede estimarse su justo valor*".
[126] Kleczewski (note 43), pp. 137, 337: "*Monumenta summis pontificibus erecta praesentatissima sunt, in qui bus num pretium porphyretum ac marmorum exoticorum, num ars magis aestimandi sit? Prorsus ignore*".
[127] Pollnitz (note 44), p. 235. Construction of the church began in 1714 and it was built from a project by Johann Fischer von Erlach; see Lorenz (note 30), pp. 260–261.
[128] Nostic (note 8), p. 302: "*Da nun dieses alles veranstaltet, speiseten wir des mittags, besahen hernach der p.p.*[=patrum] *soc*[ietatis] *kirche, in der eben nichts sonderliches ware*". St Paul's Church was erected in 1683–1686.
[129] *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, ...* (note 66), p. 55.
[130] August Moszyński, *Dziennik podróży do Francji i Włoch 1784–1786*, edited by Bożena Zboińska-Daszyńska, Kraków 1970, p. 22: "*Owalne wnętrze jest nieszczególne, fasada bardzo brzydka. W przeciwieństwie do Florencji, gdzie kościoły przeważnie nie mają* [wykończonych] *fasad, fasady rzymskich są aż nadto ozdobne*". August Fryderyk Moszyński was a collector and the grandson of Augustus II the Strong. He was educated in Dresden and travelled to France, England, and Italy, where he studied architecture and collected works of art. He worked for a long time for the Polish King Stanisław August and dedicated his diary to him. From 1765 he was the director of royal construction and the guardian of the theatre and royal collections.
[131] Ibidem, p. 227: "*Kościół św. Agnieszki, który tak lubiłem, że zawsze pragnąłem posiadać jego rycinę, dziś mi się nie podoba, podobnie do spotkanej kochanki z dawnych lat, pełnej niedoskonałości, jakich się nie widziało będąc zakochanym*".
[132] Ibidem: "*Często buduję we śnie. Tej nocy wzniosłem kościół, który powinien przewyższyć Św. Piotra, jeżeli nie pięknem, to przynajmniej śmiałością* [...]. *Zawsze mówiono, że można bezkarnie marzyć i nie naszą winą, że nie możemy rysować we śnie. Wystarczy, że budząc się człowiek zdaje sobie sprawę, iż na próżno marzył*".

Modernost a materiální hodnota

Fascinace soudobou architekturou ve světle cestovatelské literatury 17. a první poloviny 18. století

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Názory na umělecké dědictví baroka, stejně jako na pojetí baroka jakožto uměleckého stylu, se vyvíjely po dlouhou dobu. Článek předkládá názory cestovatelů období baroka na umění své doby: názory formované bez možnosti historického ohlédnutí a ze srovnávací perspektivy, kterou měli tito cestovatelé k dispozici. Jako základní výzkumný materiál pro objasnění percepce umění byla využita cestovatelská literatura ze 17. a z první poloviny 18. století, jíž byla jako zdroji pro analýzu barokního umění zatím věnována malá pozornost. Hlavní badatelský problém představuje otázka, které budovy ze zkoumaného období byly cestovateli vnímány jako nejvíce zajímavé a proč, a co tito cestovatelé pokládali za synonymum modernosti. Navzdory pokračující fascinaci antikou vyzdvihovaly analyzované cestovatelské zprávy primárně současná díla, dnes označovaná jako barokní. Ta byla oceňována pro svoji inovaci a invenci a často srovnávána se starověkými díly, stejně jako se soudobými stavbami nacházejícími se většinou v domovských zemích cestovatelů. Tyto kvality byly spojovány s bazilikou sv. Petra považovanou za osmý div světa, obvykle však byly asociovány s jezuitskou architekturou. Cestovatelé spatřovali originalitu především v patrových plánech budov a v jejich výjimečném vybavení a výzdobě. Předmětem jejich zájmu byla ve většině případů hodnota materiálu obdivovaných uměleckých děl; čím byla díla velkolepější a dražší, tím více obdivu v očích většiny cestovatelů vzbuzovala. Kolem poloviny 18. století lze v cestovatelské literatuře pozorovat změny v preferencích stylu a kritiku toho, co bylo dříve považováno za moderní nebo zajímavé.

Obrazová příloha: **1** – Iansson van der Aa, **Rome Moderne**, frontispis. François-Jacques Deseine, *Rome Moderne, premiére ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, vol. 1, Leiden 1713. Knihovna Vratislavské university, oddělení starých tisků, č. 324160; **2** – **Prospectiva Fabricae S. Petri**. Dominicus Custos, *Deliciae Urbis Romae. Divinae et humanae* [...] *1600*, Augustae Vindelicorum 1600. Knihovna Vratislavské university, oddělení starých tisků, č. 543136; **3** – **Le grand Autel de l'Église St. Pierre, Chaire de St. Pierre**. François-Jacques Deseine, *Rome Moderne, premiére ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, vol. 6, Leiden 1713, s. 1454. Knihovna Vratislavské university, oddělení starých tisků, č. 324160; **4, 5:** – **L'Église de S. Ignace**. François-Jacques Deseine, *Rome Moderne, premiére ville de l'Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*, vol. 1, Leiden 1713, s. 239 a M2. Knihovna Vratislavské university, oddělení starých tisků, č. 324160