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## The Poznań Guardhouse from the 18th century: history — architecture — authorship

**Key words:** Kazimierz Raczyński, Johann Christian Kamsetzer, Stanisław Zawadzki, Augustinus Schöps, Poznań, guardhouse, military architecture, Polish architecture of the 18th-century, classicism

**Słowa kluczowe:** Kazimierz Raczyński, Johann Christian Kamsetzer, Stanisław Zawadzki, Augustinus Schöps, Poznań, odwach (kordegarda), budownictwo wojskowe, architektura polska XVIII wieku, klasycyzm

I. History of the Guardhouse. II. Architecture of the Guardhouse.  
III. Authorship of the Guardhouse

The Poznań Guardhouse is located in the middle of the Stary Rynek square — close to the former seat of the municipal authorities — facing Franciszkańska Street. It is a historic monument, of very fine quality from an artistic point of view, which dates back to the Enlightenment (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It is easily recognizable due to its location at the centre of tourist routes. It is also frequently visited, and is now the seat of the Museum of the Wielkopolska Uprising 1918–1919 — a branch of the Wielkopolska Museum of the Struggle for Independence.<sup>2</sup>

It has been widely described in academic literature as it is a part of Poznań's history. It cannot be omitted from the inventory of the city's historic buildings, hence its mention in such publications as Teresa Rusczyńska's and Aniela Sławska's *Dziesięć wieków Poznania* (1956), Henryk Kondziela's *Stare Miasto w Poznaniu. Zniszczenia, odbudowa, program dalszych prac* (1971), Zofia Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska's *Architektura i budownictwo w Poznaniu w latach 1780–1880* (1982), and also in *Atlas architektury Poznania* (2008).<sup>3</sup> Some studies concerning other issues also refer to the Poznań Guardhouse, such as Bogna Tyszkiewicz's publication (1965) about the operation of the *Boni Ordinis* Committee in Poznań which contributed to the construction of the building; the authorship of the building was discussed in a monograph about the architect Johann Christian Kamsetzer, written by three authors: Zygmunt Batowski, Natalia

<sup>1</sup> Cf. among others: Spis. 1964, p. 25; Poznań. 2004, pp. 21f.

<sup>2</sup> Muzeum. 2010, pp. 3f.; also: <http://www.wmn.poznan.pl/odwiedz-nas/muzeum-powstania-wielkopolskiego-1918-1919/> (accessed 03.07.2018).

<sup>3</sup> Rusczyńska T., Sławska A. 1956, p. 43; Kondziela H. 1971, passim (the 2nd edition was extended with new texts and was published as a collective work under a different title: *Stare. 2017*); Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1982, pp. 96f. (2nd edition 2009; the main arguments were repeated in: Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1988, pp. 917f.); Maćkowiak P. 2008, p. 274. The Guardhouse has also been frequently mentioned in popular publications, e.g.: Zakrzewski Z. 1985, p. 19 (the 2nd edition was revised by the editor and divided into two volumes: Zakrzewski Z. 2006); Łęcki W., Maluskiewicz P. 1986, p. 93.

Batowska and Marek Kwiatkowski (1978); its stylistic aspects were highlighted in Stanisław Lorentz's and Andrzej Rottermund's *Klasycyzm w Polsce* (1984) and the building's role, in the context of the city's military history, was discussed in Zbigniew Pilarczyk's article *Budownictwo wojskowe w dawnym Poznaniu* (2005).<sup>4</sup> However, the most important study is the monograph — which also summarizes earlier research — by Janusz Karwat entitled *Odwach, główna warta poznańskiego garnizonu* published in “Kronika Miasta Poznania” (2003).<sup>5</sup> Jarosław Bączyk based his article *Poznański Odwach — zarys dziejów* printed in “Poznańskie Zeszyty Fortyfikacyjne” (2003) on Karwat's findings described in the above-mentioned study, which at that time had not yet been published.<sup>6</sup>

The information about the Poznań Guardhouse provided in the scholarly works is rather consistent. Kazimierz Raczyński, the *Starosta Generalny* of Wielkopolska [an administrative official over a specific territorial unit], is attributed with coming up with the initiative which led to its construction, whereas the administrative side, which facilitated its completion, is attributed to the *Boni Ordinis* Committee which operated in Poznań. At times the dates do not match up exactly, although this usually depends on what is adopted as the starting date: whether it relates to when work on the project was actually started or when the actual concept was first mentioned in writing.<sup>7</sup> All scholars, however, were in agreement as to the author of the work — Johann Christian Kamsetzer, King Stanisław August's architect.<sup>8</sup> But is this true? This is the main issue which I shall endeavour to determine in this article.

### I. History of the Guardhouse

Originally, the Poznań Guardhouse was a wooden structure.<sup>9</sup> Józef Łukaszewicz claimed that in the eighteenth century the “municipal police disappeared altogether, and thereafter royal regiments were always stationed in Poznań; for example, in the times of August II and August III there was a regiment called the Prince's Regiment, and in the times of Stanisław August, Potocki's, Raczyński's, etc. Regiments”.<sup>10</sup> All citizens — with the exception of those who provided soldiers with living quarters — were required to pay a special tax for the upkeep of the stationed troops. In 1777, at the behest of the Permanent Council, a report was drawn up on the state of affairs in Poznań in which it was written: “However, a tax — *serwisgelt* — was imposed on property in this city [Poznań], which the city collects each month, in proportion to the number of soldiers stationed there, from those citizens who do not provide soldiers with living quarters, that is from those citizens who were not required to provide a soldier with lod-

<sup>4</sup> Tyszkiewicz B. 1965, p. 86 (the 2nd edition was published under a different title: Tyszkiewicz B. 2005); Batowski Z., Batowska N., Kwiatkowski M. 1978, p. 204; Lorentz S., Rottermund A. 1984, pp. 260, 262 (2nd ed. 1990 with editorial amendments); Pilarczyk Z. 2005, pp. 375f.

<sup>5</sup> Karwat J. 2003, pp. 257f. The information contained in this publication popularizes websites designated for lovers of historic monuments, such as: <http://poznanskihistorie.blogspot.com/2012/02/pery-starego-rynkuczesc-4.html> (accessed 04.07.2018); <http://regionwielko-polska.pl/katalog-objektow/odwach-w-poznaniu.html> (accessed 05.07.2018); <http://poznan.wikia.com/wiki/Odwach> (accessed 05.07.2018).

<sup>6</sup> Bączyk J. 2003, pp. 26f.

<sup>7</sup> The exceptions are those which give the start of building work as 1783, which, in view of later considerations, is definitely too early, even with regard to the plans. Cf. e.g.: Kondziela H. 1971, p. 71; Łęcki W., Maluskiewicz P. 1986, p. 93; as well as some works available in the internet, for example Wikipedia: [https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Odwach\\_w\\_Poznaniu](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Odwach_w_Poznaniu) (accessed 02.07.2018).

<sup>8</sup> Information about the life and work of the architect is provided by: Batowski Z., Batowska N., Kwiatkowski M. 1978, *passim*. See also concise entries in dictionaries: Prószyńska Z. 1979, pp. 339f.; Królikowska-Dziubecka M. 2016, pp. 235f.

<sup>9</sup> At one point two guardhouses functioned in the market square: one designated for the Polish army and the other for the Russian army.

<sup>10</sup> Łukaszewicz J. 1838, p. 58.



Fig. 1. Poznań, Guardhouse — general view. Photo Studio Kolečki (2018)

Ryc. 1. Poznań, Odwach — widok ogólny. Fot. Studio Kolečki (2018)

gings, [...] which is usually earmarked for the needs of the garrison, i.e.: the guardhouses, payment for lodging officers, the military hospital, the gate guards, wood for fuel, lighting, repairs of the rooms, windows, stoves, stables and other expenses”.<sup>11</sup>

In its ordinance dated 13 August 1784, the *Boni Ordinis* Committee, which had been appointed in 1778 and was headed by Kazimierz Raczyński, the *Starosta Generalny* of Wielkopolska,<sup>12</sup> decided that: “Since the Guardhouse located in the city, and designed for the garrisons from time to time stationed in this city, is made of wood and is in a state of dilapidation, and hence there is a risk of fire which could spread to the rest of the city, and the shack for the garrison’s carts standing by the Guardhouse takes up space in the market square and does not contribute to its beauty, therefore, the *Boni Ordonis* Committee, wishing to improve the city’s buildings and enhance the city’s aesthetic value, orders the Honourable Natali, the director of Police, who has the legal obligation to supervise building work to erect, starting from next year, i.e. in 1785, a guardhouse within the market square such as will adorn the city, for the convenience of the garrison and protection against fire, having previously prepared the necessary materials, and to cover the roof with tiles, and to transfer the shack for the regiment’s carts from the market square to another location”.<sup>13</sup>

It is perhaps no coincidence that the decisions relating to the Guardhouse in Poznań were taken in 1784 — although this has not been discussed until now — because it seems that the Poznań model was based on the one in Warsaw. After all, it was at that time that, under the aegis of King Stanisław August, an unprecedented project was initiated in Poland’s capital city.

<sup>11</sup> Opisy. 1960, p. 239.

<sup>12</sup> Basic biographical data can be found in: Dygdała J. 1986, pp. 644f. Cf. also: Topolska M.B. 1981, pp. 608f.

<sup>13</sup> APP, AKDP, ref. I 1908, pp. 675f.



Fig. 2. View of the barracks of the Royal Foot Guards in Warsaw. Watercolour by Zygmunt Vogel dating from c. 1788. In the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW).

Photo Reprographic Studio MNW

Ryc. 2. Widok koszar Gwardii Pieszej Koronnej w Warszawie. Akwarela Zygmunta Vogla z ok. 1788 r. W zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie (MNW).

Fot. Pracownia Reprograficzna MNW

An attempt was made to organize, in a comprehensive manner, matters relating to the stationing of various types of military units in Warsaw, and at the same time to free the residents from the onerous task of providing mandatory lodgings for soldiers. This duty was replaced with a one-off contribution by the citizens. A special Location Committee was appointed which was to supervise the collection and disbursement of the money, and the money itself was earmarked for building new or extending existing barrack buildings.<sup>14</sup> As a result of this project, in the years 1784–1788 a network of four large barrack complexes was built around the city. The barracks of the Royal Foot Guards stretched out along the Vistula embankment from the north side, and the barracks of the Lithuanian Foot Guards from the south side (Fig. 2). Further to the west of the river, the barracks of the Royal Artillery were located to the north, and the barracks of the Royal Horse Guards to the south (Fig. 3).

Only the barracks of the Royal Artillery, situated on Dzika Street were to be raised from scratch, the other two: the existing barracks of the Royal Foot Guards and of the Lithuanian Foot Guards were to be significantly extended in compliance with the already existing plan and using a public building which had earlier been earmarked for this purpose, while in the case of the barracks of the Royal Horse Guards: the existing complex was to undergo a complete overhaul. Today, their appearance is known only from Zygmunt Vogel's watercolours.<sup>15</sup> All the

<sup>14</sup> For more information on this subject, see: Maćzyński R. 2019, pp. 601f.; Maćzyński R. 2020b (in print).

<sup>15</sup> They were amassed and published in a monography of the artist: Sroczyńska K. 1969, pp. 144, 147f. See also: Sroczyńska K. 1980, pp. 210f.



Fig. 3. View of the barracks of the Royal Artillery in Warsaw. Watercolour by Zygmunt Vogel dating from c. 1788. In the collections of the National Museum in Warsaw (MNW).  
Photo Reprographic Studio MNW

Ryc. 3. Widok koszar Artylerii Koronnej w Warszawie. Akwarela Zygmunta Vogla z ok. 1788 r. W zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie (MNW). Fot. Pracownia Reprograficzna MNW

barracks were given an austere but elegant decor as befitted the military purpose of the buildings. These monumental neoclassical buildings significantly changed the city's appearance. The scale of the enterprise was extraordinary for the Warsaw of Stanisław August's times. When the expenditure was summed up, it was calculated that "the four barracks [...] cost the Location Committee 1 473 693 zlotys" which was an enormous sum of money in those days.<sup>16</sup> However, contemporaries were of the opinion that "the [...] new barracks buildings in Warsaw [...] not only brought comfort to the soldiers and to the citizens [...] but would also adorn the country and bring honour to the nation's future generations".<sup>17</sup>

This digression was necessary because Kazimierz Raczyński was also a member of the Location Committee. It was Raczyński who suggested that Poznań should follow the Warsaw initiative and organize its military buildings — albeit on a totally different scale. However, commencement of the work on the Poznań Guardhouse was significantly delayed in relation to the originally planned date. Raczyński's instructions, sent from Warsaw on 30 November 1784 and addressed to Waclaw Natali, director of Police, requesting that he closely supervise "management of the municipal brickyards to make available bricks for building the Guardhouse" indicates that the project was to have been carried out rapidly.<sup>18</sup> However, the initial impetus quickly came to a halt due to insufficient funds. Before work was commenced, the necessary funds had to be amassed. In August 1786 the amount of disposable funds was only just over 2000 zlotys.<sup>19</sup> In his letter dated 9 October 1786, Raczyński asked the municipal authorities to

<sup>16</sup> Relacja 1788, pp. unnumbered.

<sup>17</sup> In Stanisław Zawadzki's resignation of 1794, quoted after: Giergielewicz J. 1933, p. 111.

<sup>18</sup> APP, AC, ref. I 98, pp. 327f.

<sup>19</sup> Calculation given in: Karwat J. 2003, p. 260.



Fig. 4. Poznań, Guardhouse — general view. Condition during the interwar period. Photograph in the collections of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw

Ryc. 4. Poznań, Odwach — widok ogólny. Stan z okresu dwudziestolecia międzywojennego. Fotografia ze zbiorów Instytutu Sztuki PAN w Warszawie

send him, to Warsaw, “income to contribute to the sum needed to build the Guardhouse, which had already been calculated”.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it was most probably a donation from the property of the *Starosta* himself which enabled commencement of specific works: ordering the project and starting the construction of the Poznań Guardhouse. Raczyński’s organizational and financial involvement is confirmed by the plaque installed on the wall of the building inscribed in capital letters and commemorating the completion of the work in 1787: “STANISLAI AUGUSTI REGIS / POLONIARUM DESOLATARUM CIVITATUM RESTAURATORIS / MUNIFICENTIA / CASIMIRI RACZYŃSKI / MARSCHALCI REGNI MAIORIS POLONIA GENERALI ETC. / OPE / IN PROTECTIONEM ET DECOREM POSNAN[IAE] ERECTA / AN[NO] DOM[INI] MDCCLXXXVII”.<sup>21</sup>

The Guardhouse building, which was completed in 1787, shared the fate of the city and the entire region, therefore the Royal Army only resided there for six years.<sup>22</sup> After the Prussian army entered Poznań on 31 January 1793, it took over the Guardhouse located on the market square. It was somewhat extended with two side wings, of uneven length, each with a single suite of rooms (enfilade) — the fire station was located in one of the wings. This addition, completed in the years 1803–1804 did not disturb the original basic structure of the building. After a short interim period, during the existence of the Duchy of Warsaw, the Prussians returned

<sup>20</sup> APP, AC, ref. I 98, pp. 705f.

<sup>21</sup> Translation: “In the reign of Stanisław August, renovator of Poland’s destroyed cities, through the generosity of Kazimierz Raczyński, Marshal of Wielkopolska, etc., to protect and enhance Poznań, erected in the year of Our Lord 1787”.



Fig. 5. Poznań, Guardhouse — general view. Photo Studio Kolečki (2018)

Ryc. 5. Poznań, Odwach — widok ogólny. Fot. Studio Kolečki (2018)

to Poznań in 1815, and thus also to Poznań's *Hauptwache*. In 1839 the Guardhouse was again extended. This time the builders interfered more with the original structure. Apart from the front attic, a low storey was also added to the building's original construction; it was covered with a gable roof, and a staircase leading to the new floor was constructed inside the building. In 1910 pursuant to a decision of Ernst Wilms, the *Oberbürgermeister* of Poznań, the Guardhouse in the market square was deemed a historic monument which should be protected.<sup>23</sup> When the Wielkopolska Uprising broke out on 27 December 1918, the building was taken over by Poles and manned with guards from the Watchmen and Security Guards. In the interwar period the building was under the command of the Poznań garrison of the Polish Army (Fig. 4).<sup>24</sup>

During the Second World War, the Guardhouse was used by the German occupying forces. The greater part was damaged during the struggle for the city in January and February 1945; in particular, the "colonnade with the attic which constituted the central section of the facade" was heavily damaged.<sup>25</sup> In the years 1949–1951 the Guardhouse was rebuilt under the supervision of the architect Andrzej Holas. The plans for its reconstruction stipulated restoring the Guardhouse to its original form, i.e. its appearance in the final years of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, but without restoring the side wings and the additional floor which had been added in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup> The decorative sculptural details were restored by a team of craftsmen based on fragments found among the rubble. This team included Jan

<sup>22</sup> The fate of this historic building was discussed in detail by: Karwat J. 2003, pp. 257f. Further information about this building is given according to this publication — unless indicated otherwise.

<sup>23</sup> Evidence of how highly this building was valued can be found in a publication dating from 1911 by Arthur Kronthal, a Poznań city councillor, entitled *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Posener Denkmäler und des künstlerischen und geistigen Lebens in Polen*. It has recently been published in Polish: Kronthal A. 2009, p. 74.

Bakalarczyk, Józef Murlewski and Jan Maria Jakób headed by Czesław Woźniak. Teresa Ruszczynska supervised the restoration work.<sup>27</sup> The reconstructed building is now devoid of any military function and designed for public purposes: from 1952 it was used by the State Secondary Ballet School; from 1957 by a Branch of the Central Artistic Exhibitions Office, and from 1962 by the Marcin Kasprzak Museum of the History of the Workers' Movement. In 1991 the Museum was transformed into the Museum of the History of Wielkopolska. After undergoing general refurbishment in the years 1998–1999, the former *Hauptwache* is now the seat of the Museum of the Wielkopolska Uprising 1918–1919.<sup>28</sup>

## II. Architecture of the Guardhouse

The Guardhouse is located in Poznań's Old Market square (Stary Rynek); the front faces west, and the building stands back-to-back with the city's former abattoir (Fig. 5).<sup>29</sup> The walls are made of brick and are plastered. The building is erected on a rectangular plan measuring 21 × 9,6 m. It is one-storey high and the front elevation consists of seven axes, while the side ones consist of three each (Fig. 6). The facade is ornamented with a five-axes recessed portico, supported on columns; flanked by the single-axis parts on either side forming flat pseudo-avant-corps, framed with pilasters (Fig. 7). A similar solution using pilasters was used in the side walls. The simple Tuscan order was used, with an entablature, and the frieze was decorated with Doric triglyphs. The walls were covered with rustication, and on the outermost parts of the facade and on the side walls they were enhanced with arcaded blind windows (Fig. 8). The front windows, and doors, were rectangular, closed with arches at the top; they were cut into the walls and devoid of any casings. The building is surmounted with an attic, partially solid — above the central axis and the outermost axes — partially openwork, with balusters which totally obscured the mono-pitched roof covered with copper sheeting that had once been a butterfly roof covered with tiles.<sup>30</sup>

In accordance with eighteenth-century tradition, the austere architecture was surmounted with solid sculptural compositions. A sculptural decoration carved in stone was placed on the attic; it was composed of arms: cannon barrels and draped standards, with cartouches bearing coats-of-arms in the background. In the centre, supported by a pair of allegorical figures — personifications of Fame raising their bugles — is a cartouche with a five-field coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, consisting of the coats of arms of the Crown and of Lithuania repeated twice and Stanisław August's own Ciołek coat of arms located in the central field (Fig. 9). There are slightly smaller cartouches on the sides — on the left with Kazimierz Raczyński's Nałęcz coat of

<sup>24</sup> Budownictwo. 1936, p. 793.

<sup>25</sup> Kondziela H. 1971, p. 40.

<sup>26</sup> The Guardhouse's rich iconography has been preserved due to its location. It has also been published many times, most recently in: Warkoczewska M. 2000, pp. 58f., 64f.; Skutecki J., Jańczak M., Piskorski T. 2003, pp. 70f.; in exhibition catalogues: Pocztówki. 1995, pp. 53f.; Postkarten. 1997, p. 137; in catalogues of postcards: Poznań 1995, pp. 18, 20f.; Poznań 1996, pp. 1f.

<sup>27</sup> The people engaged in the reconstruction of this historic building are given in: Kondziela H. 1971, pp. 84, 106.

<sup>28</sup> A detailed list of the conservation and repair work undertaken in the building and the sculptural decorations and surroundings in the post-war years can be found in: Stare 2017, pp. 179f. It also includes bibliographies written at that time, as well as documentation which is still only in a typewritten version.

<sup>29</sup> More information about this building can be found in: Pezacki W. 1990, pp. 93f. Currently both buildings function in unison.

<sup>30</sup> The building was reconstructed with a butterfly roof covered with copper sheeting, however because of the inadequate runoff of water, the shape of the roof and its covering were modified during the renovation work undertaken in the years 1970–1972, Pezacki W. 1990, p. 179.



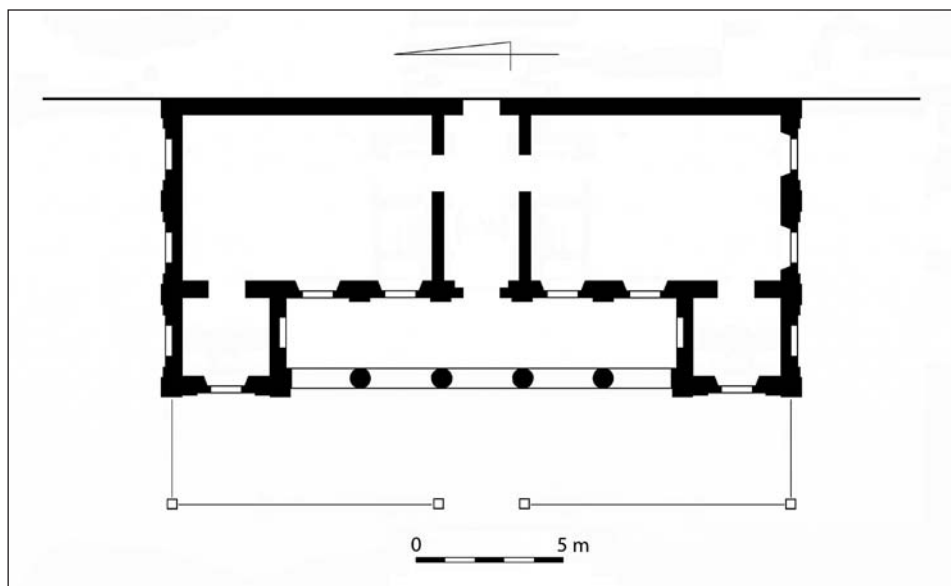


Fig. 6. Poznań, Guardhouse — horizontal cross-section (without marking secondary internal divisions). Compiled and drawn by R. Mączyński

Ryc. 6. Poznań, Odwach — rzut poziomy (bez zaznaczenia wtórnych podziałów wewnętrznych). Oprac. i rys. R. Mączyński

arms, and on the right with the coat of arms of Poznań (Figs. 10 and 11). Even more unassuming sculptural elements were placed between them — on the attic, and above the side walls of the building — consisting of a breastplate and a helmet with plumes, placed on a lictor's fasces, with standards in the background — symbolizing a soldier's trade. Cannon balls were placed on either side of the cartouches.<sup>31</sup> Beneath the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a plaque was installed on the attic, as mentioned above (Fig. 12).

The guardhouse, or guardroom — also called the *corps de garde* in French or *Hauptwache* in German — was a building designed for military, and police guards, which became popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>32</sup> Guardhouses were built using both state and private funds. They could be either independent, standalone buildings (like in Dresden), or functionally separated parts of other buildings, usually barracks (like in Kamieniec Podolski) or a town hall (like in Zamość). It did not have to be of a predefined shape — its shape was only the result of the need to use the building for repeatable purposes. At a minimum, it had to contain rooms for the soldiers who were on guard, for the commanding officers, and which could be used a gaolhouse for criminals who were under arrest. Due to their simple functions, guardhouses are usually small, one-storey buildings — or premises on the ground floors of buildings. Surviving plans of guardhouses, drawn up in the second and the third decades of the nineteenth century by Wilhelm Heinrich Minter, make us realize just how those criteria limited the inventiveness of archi-

<sup>31</sup> Transparent signs of the building's designation, such as the cannon balls, also appear in other buildings of a military nature which were erected at that time, an example being the barracks of the Royal Artillery Regiment in Warsaw, which apart from the typical sculpted armaments was also decorated with artillery shells with lit fuses: Mączyński R. 2019, p. 609; Mączyński R. 2020b (in print).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. among others: Encyklopedia. 1937, p. 64 (s.v.: *Odwach*); Słownik. 2002, pp. 202f. (s.v.: *Kordegarda*).



tects.<sup>33</sup> Their external decor also depended on the characteristic style of a given period; attempts could only be made to ensure that the design of the buildings befitted the existing surroundings. The primary rule, however, was the principle of suitability and adequacy for its intended use. The principle was universally applied by consecutive generations of architects, beginning with Vitruvius. It was also described in detail by all theoreticians of architecture who — like Sebas-

<sup>33</sup> Katalog. 1972, pp. 127f. Cf. also: Jaroszewski T.S., Rottermund A. 1974, pp. 202f.



Fig. 7. Poznań, Guardhouse — facade. Photo Studio KołECKI (2018)

Ryc. 7. Poznań, Odwach — fasada. Fot. Studio KołECKI (2018)

tiano Serlio and Vincenzo Scamozzi — proclaimed that a building designed for military purposes should be characterized by an austerity which properly reflects its function and nature.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> More on the subject of the use of various orders: Forssman E. 1984, pp. 50f.



Fig. 8. Poznań, Guardhouse —  
outermost part of the facade.  
Photo Studio Kołecki (2018)

Ryc. 8. Poznań, Odwach —  
skrajna część fasady.  
Fot. Studio Kołecki (2018)

The Poznań Guardhouse met all these requirements. It is divided into two suites of rooms (in an enfilade arrangement, which was both simple and adequate). A functional recessed portico which made it possible to form a detachment of guards irrespective of the weather and lead them outside. The exterior of the building was characteristic of compliance with the principle of simplicity, not only due to its neoclassical style. The use of the austere Tuscan order, the austere architectural details, and the austere door and window frames. These features immediately suggested the building's military purpose. Moreover, it was also a civic building located in the very heart of the Wielkopolska metropolis, hence the care taken over the sophistication of the forms used: the elegant proportions, the clarity of the divisions and concealment of the roof; the commemorative plaque inscribed with capital letters; the splendid and finely-crafted sculptural decorations. All these elements indicated the military nature of the building: the cannon balls and gun barrels, the armour and plumed helmets, the draped standards accompanying military regiments. And the coat of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and of King Stanisław August — whose renown was proclaimed to the city and the world by the personifications of Fame — made it evident that this was a state building. It was located in concrete reality, as attested to by the remaining coats of arms — of the city of Poznań and of *Starosta Raczyński* who was commemorated not only as the person who exercised authority over the voivodeship but who was also the initiator of the building's construction as well as a generous founder.



Fig. 9. Poznań, Guardhouse — sculptural decoration with the coats of arms of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Stanisław August. Photo Studio Kolečki (2018)

Ryc. 9. Poznań, Odwach — dekoracja rzeźbiarska z herbem Rzeczypospolitej i Stanisława Augusta. Fot. Studio Kolečki (2018)



Fig. 10. Poznań, Guardhouse — sculptural decoration with the Nałęcz coat of arms of Kazimierz Raczyński. Photo Studio Kolečki (2018)

Ryc. 10. Poznań, Odwach — dekoracja rzeźbiarska z herbem Nałęcz Kazimierza Raczyńskiego. Fot. Studio Kolečki (2018)



Fig. 11. Poznań, Guardhouse — sculptural decoration with the coat of arms of the city of Poznań. Photo Studio Kolečki (2018)

Ryc. 11. Poznań, Odwach — dekoracja rzeźbiarska z herbem miasta Poznania. Fot. Studio Kolečki (2018)



Fig. 12. Poznań, Guardhouse — plaque on attic with inscription. Photo Studio Kolečki (2018)

Ryc. 12. Poznań, Odwach — tablica inskrypcyjna na attyce. Fot. Studio Kolečki (2018)



Fig. 13. Stanisław Poniatowski's palace in Warsaw — north facing elevation. Etching, engraving by Cristoforo dell'Aqua, after a drawing by Stanisław Zawadzki, dating from 1786. In the collections of the Print Room of the University of Warsaw Library (BUW). Photo Reprographic Studio BUW

Ryc. 13. Pałac Stanisława Poniatowskiego w Warszawie — elewacja północna. Rycina (akwaforta i miedzioryt) Cristofora dell'Aqua, według rysunku projektowego Stanisława Zawadzkiego z 1786 r. W zbiorach Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie (BUW). Fot. Pracownia Reprograficzna BUW

As Zofia Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska once wrote: “The guardhouse was greatly appreciated by contemporaries as being a «beautiful building in the most modern of tastes»; today it is an excellent monument of Polish architecture, and in Poznań it is the most outstanding example of Varsovian classicism”.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, there is no doubt that from a stylistic point of view the building is rooted in the architectural milieu of Poland's capital city. She continues thus: “In accordance with the austere Doric and Tuscan order, which is «appropriate» for many military buildings and municipal guardhouses, the columns of the portico and the pilasters on the sides of the building are smooth, and the frieze was decorated with a metope and triglyphs. At the same time, flat, semi-circular arcades were used, which differentiated the rusticated elevations spatially by introducing portions of smooth walls which formed the backdrop for the windows which were devoid of casings. Kamsetzer probably derived this new manner of organizing the walls — Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska concluded — from French or English avant-garde architecture which was well known to him”.<sup>36</sup>

This conclusion partly contradicts her initial argument and also significantly weakens it. However, even only a superficial glance at the neoclassical achievements initiated in Warsaw at the end of the 1770s and in the first half of 1780s speaks in favour of the initial assumption: the form of the Poznań Guardhouse derives from Warsaw and contains nothing that would have been new or unknown in the capital city. Only a few examples are needed to confirm this. Here

<sup>35</sup> Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1982, p. 97.

<sup>36</sup> Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1982, pp. 97f.

Fig. 14. View of Izabela Branicka's tenement houses in Warsaw (at the junction of Miodowa and Senatorska Street).

Drawing by Jean-Pierre Norblin de la Gourdaine dating from 1794.

In the collections of the Polish Army Museum in Warsaw (MWP).  
Photo Reprographic Studio MWP

Ryc. 14. Widok kamienic Izabeli Branickiej w Warszawie (u zbiegu ulic Miodowej i Senatorskiej).

Rysunek Jean-Pierre'a Norblina de la Gourdaine z 1794 r.

W zbiorach Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie (MWP).  
Fot. Pracownia Reprograficzna MWP



the combination of the Tuscan order (unfluted columns on bases) and Doric friezes (decorated with triglyphs) as a composition for a colonnade surmounted with an attic, was well-known in Warsaw. This composition was used, for example, on the north-facing elevation of the Ustronie Palace owned by Stanisław Poniatowski, Grand Treasurer of Lithuania, which was built in the years 1777–1780 (Fig. 13).<sup>37</sup> The manner of alternating contrasting parts of the building with banded rustication and the arcaded niches which have been smoothly plastered and into which doors and windows have been fitted, was used in both the aforementioned pavilions of the barracks of the Royal Foot Guards, erected in the years 1786–1788 (Fig. 2).<sup>38</sup> The windows which are devoid of casings, and seemingly “pierced” the walls, appeared not only in military, but also in civilian architecture, as can be seen in the buildings erected in the years 1782–1783 on Senatorska Street, on the initiative of Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska, wife of the castellan of Kraków (Fig. 14).<sup>39</sup>

The sculptural ornamentation has been attributed to one of three authors: Johann Christian Kamsetzer, Johann Dülldt and Augustinus Schöps.<sup>40</sup> The first and the second suggestions are totally inconceivable. Although Kamsetzer was an excellent draughtsman and a talented de-

<sup>37</sup> On the subject of this residence, see: Jaroszewski T.S. 1984, pp. 51f.; Putkowska J. 2016, pp. 426f.; Mączyński R. 2020a (in print).

<sup>38</sup> Mączyński R. 2019, p. 618; Mączyński R. 2020b (in print).

<sup>39</sup> Mączyński R. 1986, pp. 3f.

<sup>40</sup> Karwat J. 2003, p. 262; Błaszczuk I. 2008, p. 146.



signer, he did not undertake stonework. Dültdt was associated with the Guardhouse only by reference to Kamsetzer and the fact that they were both members of Stanisław August's artistic court.<sup>41</sup> The third suggestion, however, seems very probable.<sup>42</sup> Augustinus Schöps was a sculptor who was attached to Poznań for the whole of his professional life; he enjoyed considerable prestige within the local community.<sup>43</sup> His achievements included the fountain located in front of the City Hall depicting *Pluto Abducting Proserpine*, carved in the years 1765–1766, he was also to sculpt another important statue — of King Stanisław August — which adorned one of the rooms in the City Hall in 1791. He was also a sought-after sculptor of sacred works destined for Poznań's churches. Therefore it seems logical that when the Guardhouse was erected the services of this artist were used since he had such considerable experience working in stone.

Zofia Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska considered the sculptural decorations of the Guardhouse to be conservative: “The stone sculptures whose picturesque and lively late-Baroque forms contrast with the simple, neoclassical architecture are local features”.<sup>44</sup> However, it is difficult to agree with the statement that they are Baroque works of art — a fact which is repeated, like a mantra, in professional literature.<sup>45</sup> Although it is true that sculptors in Stanisław August's times were slower in breaking with Baroque conventions than architects, late-Baroque decorations were fundamentally different; they were more dynamic.<sup>46</sup> Those on the attic of the Poznań Guardhouse are neoclassical. They were intended to convey easily readable content, define the status of the building and ornament it. The contrast was intentional, and was even more perceptible due to the small scale of the building. It should also be noted that compositions of this type consisting of statues were not a “local feature”. We need only remember the manner in which the decorations of the Piarist Collegium Nobilium Palace in Warsaw were composed, to become aware that the arrangement of the three cartouches against a backdrop of standards — the side ones a little smaller than the central one, held up by two personifications of Fame playing on their bugles — was used in the capital city of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the years 1783–1785.<sup>47</sup> The similarities between the Warsaw design — in particular the variant, now housed in the Central Archives of Historical Records — and the Poznań composition are quite explicit (Fig. 15).<sup>48</sup>

### III. Authorship of the Guardhouse

In the monograph on Johann Christian Kamsetzer, Natalia Batowska wrote: “From the information that Raczyński used Kamsetzer as an architect, we can also assume that the neoclassical Guardhouse in the market square of Poznań, erected in 1787 largely thanks to Kazimierz Raczyński, the *Starosta Generalny* of Wielkopolska, was also designed by Kamsetzer. Unfortunately, in this case the information which could enable the riddle of its authorship to be resolved disappeared together with the plans of the building (two sheets), most probably the originals, which were housed in the Central Archives of Historical Records until Hitler's occupation of Warsaw. The plans disappeared without the author being disclosed. Had they survived, it would

<sup>41</sup> The most important information about this sculptor can be found in: Prószyńska Z. 1975, p. 112.

<sup>42</sup> Zofia Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska already drew attention to the similarities between the personifications of Fame decorating the Guardhouse and “other works by Schöps, the leading sculptor in Poznań in the third quarter of the eighteenth century” when discussing other historic monuments in the city, Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1958, p. 53.

<sup>43</sup> Basic information about the artist can be found in: Kuszelski A. 2012–2013, pp. 208f.; Jarzewicz M. 2016, pp. 232f.

<sup>44</sup> Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1982, p. 98.

<sup>45</sup> These sculptures were classified as “late-Baroque” in the following works: Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska Z. 1982, p. 98; Błaszczuk I. 2008, p. 146; Maćkowiak P. 2008, p. 274.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. among others: Dziubecki T. 2010, passim; Sito J. 2013, passim.

<sup>47</sup> Mączyński R. 1994, pp. 168f.; Mączyński R. 1996, pp. 53f.; Mączyński R. 2010, pp. 243f.

<sup>48</sup> AGAD, ZK, ref. WE 34-20. Cf.: Kosacka D. 1970, p. 140.

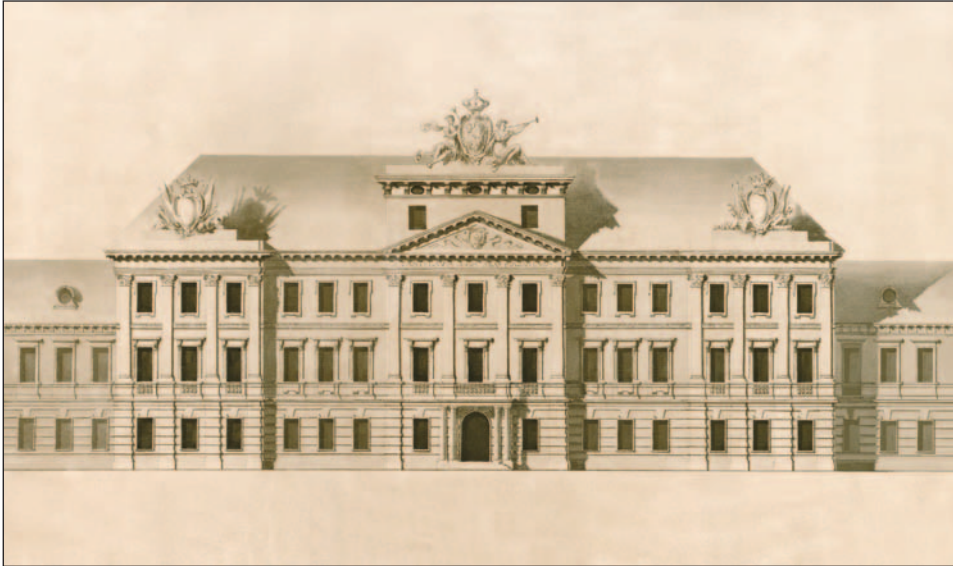


Fig. 15. Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw — facade. Design (one of several variants) by Stanisław Zawadzki dating from 1782. In the collections of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (AGAD). Photo Reprographic Studio AGAD

Ryc. 15. Pałac Collegium Nobilium w Warszawie — fasada. Rysunek projektowy (jeden z wariantów) Stanisława Zawadzkiego z 1782 r. W zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD). Fot. Pracownia Reprograficzna AGAD

have been easy to determine Kamsetzer's authorship based on the characteristics of the drawings".<sup>49</sup> Scholars use the term "probably", since there are no known sources which could confirm this attribution. The only argument put forward are Raczyński's earlier contacts with the architect and some similarities in the New Guardhouse built by Kamsetzer at the Royal Łazienki in Warsaw in the 1790s, although these arguments are rather tenuous.

It is also difficult to fully agree with Natalia Batowska's opinion that the plans of the Poznań Guardhouse, had they not disappeared during the Second World War, would have contributed to the unambiguous resolution of the building's authorship and would have indisputably confirmed Kamsetzer's role. Maybe, maybe not. It is worth emphasizing that an "author's drawings" cannot be the final argument regarding the authorship of a concept. It is well known that Kamsetzer, who had an outstanding talent for drawing, was often entrusted with copying or drawing the plans of other authors, such as — for example — those created by Jakub Fontana, first architect to the King and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a fact which has been widely discussed by the authors of monographs about Fontana.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, even signed drawings do not always indicate the real author, as can be seen in the designs of a palace in Mała Wieś by Stanisław Zawadzki, which were signed by Hilary Szpilowski, although the latter's role was limited to redrawing the plans which had been devised by his superior.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Batowski Z., Batowska N., Kwiatkowski M. 1978, p. 230.

<sup>50</sup> Batowski Z., Batowska N., Kwiatkowski M. 1978, pp. 17f. Cf. also: Bartzakowa A. 1970, pp. 242f., 265f., 288.

<sup>51</sup> Mączyński R. 2015, pp. 113f.



Fig. 16. Warsaw, New Guardhouse at the Łazienki — general view. Photo R. Mączyński (2018)

Ryc. 16. Warszawa, Nowa Kordegarda w Łazienkach — widok ogólny. Fot. R. Mączyński (2018)

Jan Christian Kamsetzer's contacts with Kazimierz Raczyński have been confirmed. But this confirmation is not reliable. It was believed that Kamsetzer was the author of the extensions made to the Raczyński's palace on Długa Street in Warsaw as well as the modernization of the Raczyńskis' residence in Rogalin.<sup>52</sup> Before the Second World War drawings existed of earlier designs. In the case of Warsaw, they consisted of an undated view of the palace's front elevation, and in the case of Rogalin, of ten layouts relating to the interior design and external staircase, with the date 1789 added. It is uncertain whether the designs were by Kamsetzer. Work on the palace in Warsaw was probably carried out in the years 1787 and 1789; in Rogalin work was discontinued in 1790. Nevertheless, the sumptuous decor of the ballroom in the residence on Długa Street, in a form close to what Kamsetzer proposed in another palace belonging to the Tyszkiewicz family erected at the same time, and located on Krakowskie Przedmieście Street, may be considered evidence of the architect having worked for Kazimierz Raczyński.<sup>53</sup> However, in neither case was Kamsetzer the author of the architectural plans — he was only responsible for the interior design. The actual author of both palaces was another architect — Stanisław Zawadzki.<sup>54</sup> In the case of the Tyszkiewicz palace this had been known for a long time but has only recently come to light in respect of the latter.

<sup>52</sup> Batowski Z., Batowska N., Kwiatkowski M. 1978, pp. 166f., 202f. Moreover, on the subject of the palace in Warsaw: Rewski Z. 1929, *passim*; Kwiatkowska M.I. 1980, *passim*; Zieliński J. 1996, pp. 208f.; the palace in Rogalin: Ostrowska-Kęłbowska Z. 1969, pp. 220f.; Ostrowska-Kęłbowska Z. 1970, pp. 26f.; Pawlaczyk M. 1981, p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> On the subject of the Tyszkiewicz's residence in Warsaw, see, among others: Batowski Z. 1956, pp. 305f.; Kwiatkowska M.I. 1973, *passim*; Zieliński J. 2001, pp. 186f.; Kwiatkowska M.I., Kwiatkowski M. 2003, pp. 217f.

<sup>54</sup> Mączyński R. 2017–2018, pp. 159f. The monograph on the architect is largely out of date: Malinowska I. 1953, *passim*; and an entry in a recently published dictionary: Mączyński R. 2016, pp. 484f.

The New Guardhouse at the Royal Łazienki in Warsaw still exists. It is located on the east bank of the north pond (Fig. 16). Marek Kwiatkowski once described it as follows: “The facade is composed of a stone Tuscan gallery with four columns, framed within walls pierced with arcades. The whole building is surmounted with an attic composed of balustrades and a plinth. Originally, panoplies of military attributes were installed over the attics, in the outermost parts. This building, both in scale and character, complied with the new, north facing elevation of the Łazienki Palace”.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, the guardhouses in Poznań and in Warsaw share many features. They are neoclassical works of art, erected at almost the same time, and for a similar purpose — as a place to station the city or palace guards. They are of similar shape, with recessed porticos and surmounted with attics. The details of the design are also similar: the banded rustication, the use of the Tuscan order and the triglyph friezes; however, one should bear in mind that such details were imposed as much by the fashion of the epoch as by the principle of what was regarded appropriate for military architecture. The New Guardhouse was completed between 1791 and 1792.<sup>56</sup> However there are no known sources which confirm that Kamsetzer was indeed the author of the building — his authorship was accepted as being tentative and was based on an association between some clear similarities.<sup>57</sup> Finally, it should be noted that the New Guardhouse was erected later than the Poznań Guardhouse, so if there had indeed been a formal dependence between them, its direction would have to be strictly defined.

Nevertheless, it seems logical that Johann Christian Kamsetzer, as architect to King Stanisław August, designed and built the New Guardhouse in the Royal Łazienki. This lay within his competencies and his official status, since the Łazienki was the king’s private residence. But why would he have designed the Poznań Guardhouse, which was under entirely different control? It was a building financed with municipal funds, but under military authority. And, to that end, there was an architect in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth who was far more predisposed to preparing the Poznań project. This architect was Stanisław Zawadzki who, since 1777, as a major in the army, was also architect to the Royal Army.<sup>58</sup> There are no remaining documents which describe the scope of duties of a professional appointed to this position, but in line with the accepted practice, he was, to a lesser degree, obliged to design works of military engineering, and to a larger degree he was responsible for the appearance of municipal buildings owned by the armed forces. This related, first and foremost, to barrack buildings, as well as arsenals, powder magazines and guardhouses. Kazimierz Raczyński was well acquainted with Stanisław Zawadzki. He was — as already mentioned — a member of the Location Committee established in Warsaw in 1784 to officially supervise the construction of the Warsaw barracks. Their design and construction was entrusted to the architect of the royal armed forces, Stanisław Zawadzki.

The appearance of the Poznań Guardhouse corresponds closely to the range of architectural forms used by Stanisław Zawadzki. All the examples of comparable solutions referred to above — which were erected earlier than the Poznań Guardhouse — are buildings which were designed by Zawadzki and constructed in Warsaw: both military buildings — in par-

<sup>55</sup> Kwiatkowski M. 1972, p. 228.

<sup>56</sup> The building was dated 1793–1794 in: Tatarkiewicz W. 1957, p. 114 (2nd ed. 1968, 3rd edition 1972). Marek Kwiatkowski indicated that building work began in 1791: Kwiatkowski M. 1983, p. 221. Cf. also: Kwiatkowski M. 2000, pp. 126f.

<sup>57</sup> Marek Kwiatkowski wrote the following: “The elevation is clearly reminiscent of the design suggested by Kamsetzer for the building near the theatre, which was to be erected to the west of the Palace on the Isle. This similarity — he concluded — suggests the authorship of this architect”: Batowski Z., Batowska N., Kwiatkowski M. 1978, p. 230.

<sup>58</sup> For further information of this post and Stanisław Zawadzki, see: Mączyński R. 2020b (in print).

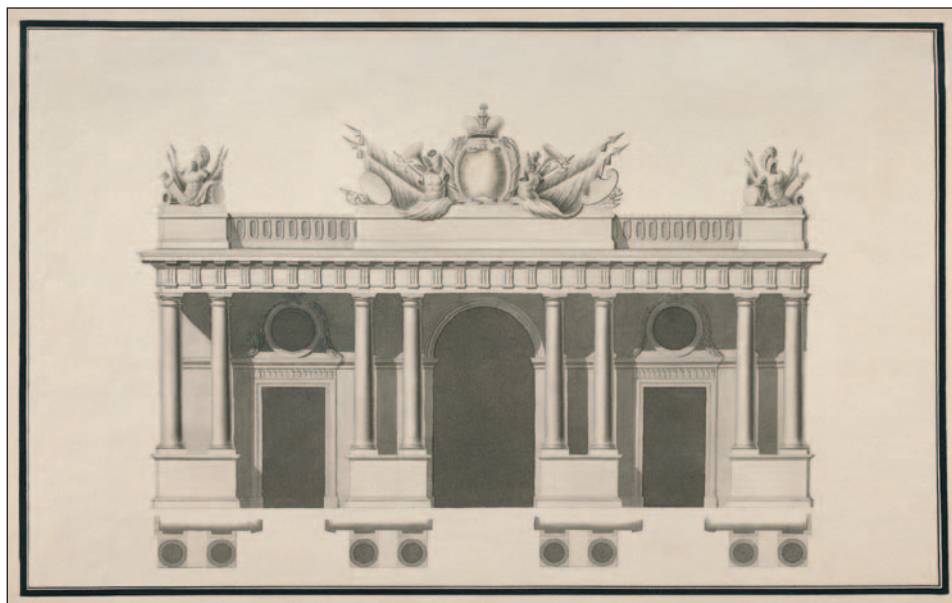


Fig. 17. Undefined building (guardhouse?) — facade. Drawing by Stanisław Zawadzki, undated. In the collections of the National Library in Warsaw (BN). Photo Reprographic Studio BN

Ryc. 17. Nieokreślony budynek (kordegarda?) — fasada. Rysunek projektowy Stanisława Zawadzkiego, niedatowany. W zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej w Warszawie (BN).  
Fot. Pracownia Reprograficzna BN

ticular, the barracks of the Royal Artillery and of the Royal Foot Guards — and civic buildings — the Ustronie Palace built for Poniatowski, the facade of the Collegium Nobilium building, and the tenement houses built for Branicka.<sup>59</sup> Therefore it is no one other than Stanisław Zawadzki who should be considered the designer of the Poznań Guardhouse. This claim is based on three arguments: the similarity of the forms used to those of the architect's other work, the fact that the investor and designer were acquainted both officially and personally, and finally the fact that, from an administrative perspective, the commission would have been entrusted to the competencies of the architect to the royal armed forces. Yet another argument could be put forward, although it is less important than those given above. It concerns the bond between fellow countrymen who came from the same part of Poland — from Wielkopolska. In this respect Kazimierz Raczyński would have felt much “closer” to Zawadzki, who hailed from “between Gniezno and Trzemeszno” than to Kamsetzer who came from Saxony.<sup>60</sup>

When discussing the issue of the Poznań Guardhouse, it is worth mentioning yet another detail. Among the drawings that are connected with Zawadzki, and preserved in the

<sup>59</sup> At one time an apt analogy was made but the wrong conclusions were drawn because they were dictated by a suggestion that had once been made but not verified. Marek Kwiatkowski, when discussing the design of the Lodge designated for the Field of Mars in Warsaw, claimed that although it did not come to fruition that “the architectural concept had been partly accomplished in the facade of the Guardhouse in Poznań designed by Johann Christian Kamsetzer”: Kwiatkowski M. 1980, p. 180. The point, however, is that the design for the Lodge — which he also wrote about in the same article — was by Stanisław Zawadzki.

<sup>60</sup> For more information about Zawadzki's origins, see: Mączyński R. 2005, pp. 40f.

former Potocki collection — currently housed in the National Library in Warsaw — there is an rather intriguing design drawn by him (Fig. 17).<sup>61</sup> It shows an unidentified building, one-storey high, with three axes. The front elevation is encompassed within an order made up of four pairs of Tuscan columns on massive common plinths, which support the entablature with a frieze adorned with triglyphs. Behind the colonnade the openings of the entrance are visible — the middle one is larger, surmounted with an arch, and the side ones are smaller, rectangular, with large medallions over the doors. The whole building is surmounted with an attic decorated with sculptural compositions against a backdrop of military panoplies (standards, bugles, lictors' fasces): there is a cartouche bearing a coat of arms in the centre, flanked by armour surmounted with helmets; on the sides the same armour is shown but it constitutes a separate motif.

Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek suggested that it was a design for a “palace elevation”, whereas Marek Kwiatkowski thought it resembled a “triumphal arch”.<sup>62</sup> The first suggestion is completely off the mark. The second would seem more probable, were it not for the distinctive *chiaroscuro*, which suggests there is an interior to the structure, and it is not just an openwork structure with three arched passageways. There were some details, however, which emphasized the austerity of the architectural form, as well as the ornaments consisting of military panoplies with a decidedly heroic significance, proving that the building was more likely designed for military purposes. The small scale of the structure seems to indicate that it could be used as a guardhouse. Of course at this stage of research this claim cannot be firmly accepted in the same way that it cannot be ultimately determined whether the surviving design has any connection whatsoever with Poznań.

\* \* \*

Established attributions of monuments dating from the reign of Stanisław August have been repeated many times and therefore are long-lived. There would be nothing wrong with this had not many of them been made without being confirmed on the basis of source documents, or without even taking into consideration the artist's or the epoch's specific background. They were made based on loose associations, without putting forward any arguments. Sometimes they contributed to whole sequences of attributions arising. One speculation led to another, and they were repeated in print, thereby creating “indisputable facts”. The Poznań Guardhouse, purportedly designed by Johann Christian Kamsetzer, is a good example of such a train of thought. However, the true history of the Guardhouse should be rewritten based on conclusive arguments.

The idea of building a brick Guardhouse in Poznań evolved in 1784, inspired by matters related to organizing the stationing of troops in Warsaw. The *Boni Ordinis* Committee supervised the project and Kazimierz Raczyński, the *Starosta Generalny* of Wielkopolska, was also personally responsible. It was Raczyński who donated funds from his personal property to supplement the meagre municipal funds derived from the property tax called *serwisgelt*, thereby allowing the work to proceed. He also commissioned the design to Stanisław Zawadzki, with whom he was personally acquainted and who was also architect to the Royal Army. This most probably took place at the end of 1786. Major Zawadzki's competencies included designing all the military construction projects undertaken in towns. The architectural and sculptural solutions used in the building attest to such an attribution, as they had been used previously in the architect's work. In the following year, 1787, the Guardhouse in Poznań was built and adorned with sculp-

<sup>61</sup> BN, ref. I. Rys. 5129 (WAF. 74). Cf.: Gutowska-Dudek K. 2004, p. 79. Krystyna Gutowska-Dudek did not take earlier attributions made by Marek Kwiatkowski into consideration: Kwiatkowski M. 1987, p. 104.

<sup>62</sup> Gutowska-Dudek K. 2004, p. 79; Kwiatkowski M. 1987, p. 104.

tures. The sculptures were probably made according to Zawadzki's designs, by the Poznań sculptor Augustinus Schöps. This is visible in the nature of the work, which should be described as neoclassical, just like the building itself.

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## Poznański Odwach z XVIII wieku: historia — architektura — autorstwo

Dawny Odwach usytuowany pośrodku Starego Rynku w Poznaniu to zabytek z epoki Oświecenia, odznaczający się wysoką klasą artystyczną. Z uwagi na swą lokalizację, w centrum ruchu turystycznego, łatwo zapada w pamięć, jest również chętnie odwiedzany, pełniąc dziś funkcję siedziby Muzeum Powstania Wielkopolskiego 1918–1919 — Oddziału Wielkopolskiego Muzeum Walk Niepodległościowych. W dotychczasowych publikacjach podawano, że jest to obiekt zaprojektowany i wzniesiony przez Johanna Christiana Kamsetzera, architekta króla Stanisława Augusta. Nie jest to jednak zgodne z prawdą. Stworzone niegdyś atrybucje zabytków z doby Oświecenia, powtarzane po wielokroć, są mocno utrwalone. Tymczasem wiele z nich powstało nie tylko bez źródłowego potwierdzenia, lecz nawet bez uwzględnienia konkretnych realiów (dotyczących artysty lub epoki). Kreowano je na zasadzie swobodnych skojarzeń, bez przytaczania jakichkolwiek argumentów. Bywało zaś, że z czasem przyczyniały się one do powstawania całych ciągów atrybucyjnych. Jedne przypuszczenia rodziły kolejne, a następnie utrwalały w druku tworzyły „niepodważalne fakty”. Poznański Odwach jest tego dobrym przykładem.

Prawdziwą historię tej kordegardy należy zestawić na nowo w oparciu o konkretne przesłanki. Pomysł wystawienia muranego Odwachu w Poznaniu został wysunięty w 1784 r., zainspirowana porządkowaniem w Warszawie spraw związanych ze stacjonowaniem wojska. Nadzór nad wprowadzeniem jej w życie sprawowała Komisja Dobrego Porządku i osobiście Kazimierz Raczyński, starosta generalny Wielkopolski. To on dołożył z własnego majątku do skromnych funduszy miejskich, pochodzących ze specjalnego podatku, by można było podjąć dalsze prace. On także, znając osobiście Stanisława Zawadzkiego, sprawującego urząd architekta wojsk koronnych, zamówił u niego projekt, co najpewniej nastąpiło u schyłku 1786 r. Do kompetencji majora Zawadzkiego należało projektowanie wszelkich przedsięwzięć budowlanych wojska podejmowanych w miastach. Za taką atrybucją przemawiają też rozwiązania architektoniczno-rzeźbiarskie zrealizowanego dzieła, mające swe liczne odniesienia do wcześniejszych prac tego architekta. W roku następnym, 1787, Odwach w Poznaniu wybudowano i ozdobiono dekoracją rzeźbiarską. Tę, według projektu Zawadzkiego, wykonał najpewniej rzeźbiarz poznański, Augustinus Schöps. Świadczy o tym forma owych prac, które należy określić jako klasycystyczne, podobnie zresztą jak cały obiekt.