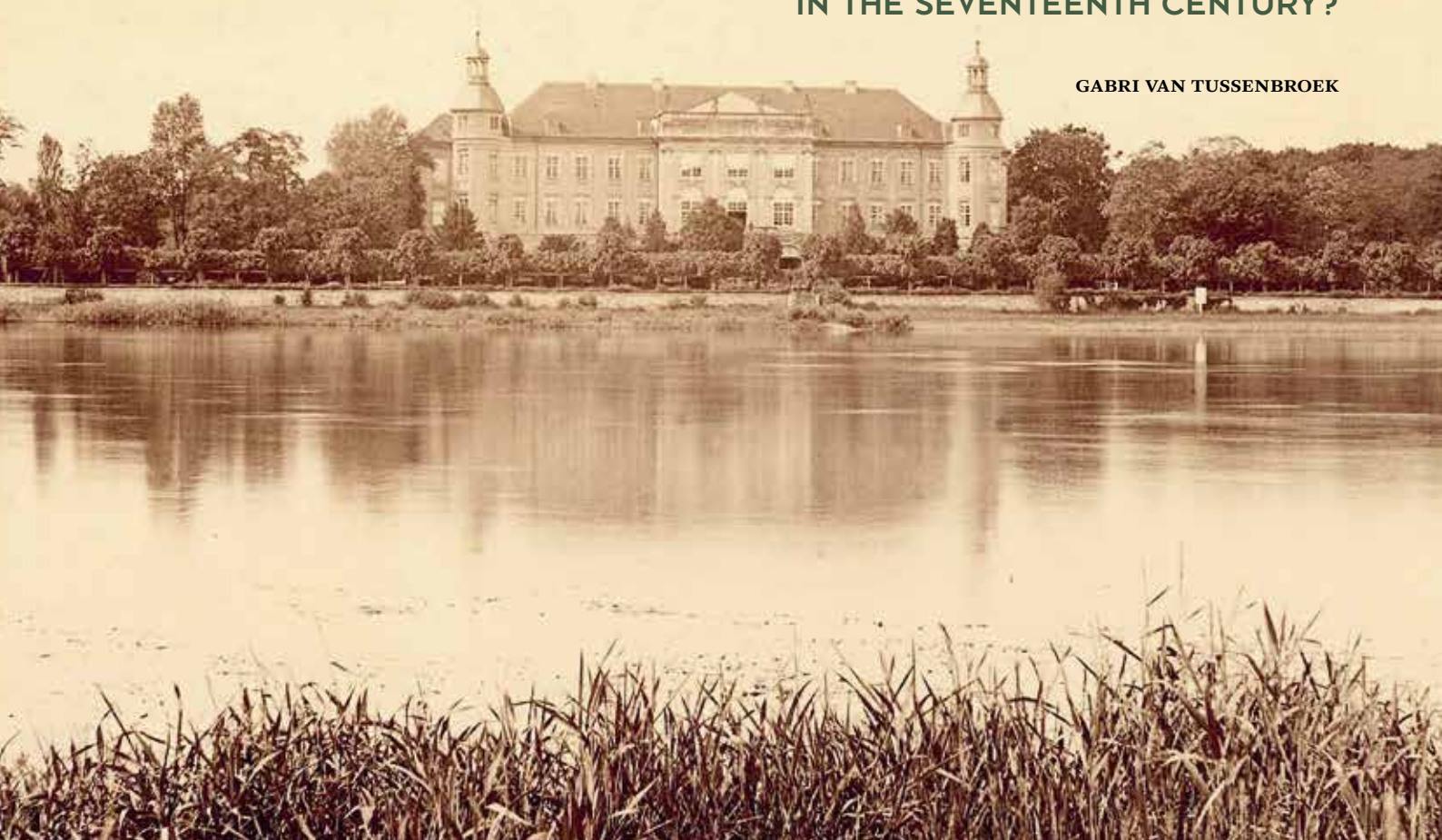


CORNELIS RYCKWAERT (C. 1635-†1693), ARCHITECT IN BRANDENBURG

EXPORT OF DUTCH ARCHITECTURE
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY?

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Cornelis Ryckwaert is one of the few builders who was active in Brandenburg in the seventeenth century, and of whom more is known than just a name and a place of residence. This makes him ideally suited to investigate to what extent he was responsible for exporting Dutch influences in architecture. Since the end of the 1990s, such influences on architecture abroad have been an important research topic. Dutch architects active abroad, the circulation of Dutch prints and publi-

cations and international networks of cultural agents and members of the nobility were central to this research.¹ The international project *The Low Countries at the Crossroads* aimed to map such influences from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. The results of this research, published in 2013, made clear the importance of the Netherlands as a region of origin for new trends in architecture, which in terms of vitality and influence was no less important than France or Italy.² External influences in the Netherlands itself and visits by foreign architects have also been the subject of study.³ This mechanism of mutual

▲ 6. The palace of Schwedt an der Oder before the Second World War (Technische Universität Berlin)

influence and its effects on certain regions or areas in Europe have also been studied,⁴ as has the impact of builders from the Netherlands who were active abroad.⁵

The concept of influence is used rather readily in historiography and sometimes in reference to nations that did not exist at all in the seventeenth century.⁶ In the past, the dearth of source material has also led to designs being attributed without solid supporting evidence. Notwithstanding one or two monographs, few details are known about the vast majority of those mentioned in the literature as working abroad as architects or engineers. This also applies to Dutch master builders who moved to Brandenburg and Berlin in the seventeenth century.⁷ The first Electoral Court Architect, Johan Gregor Memhardt, and the Electoral Architect Michiel Matthijsz Smids are reasonably well known.⁸ Of many others, only the names are known and there is occasional information about construction projects in which they were involved. However, as the work of Cornelis Ryckwaert in Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt shows, the mention of a name does not mean that the individual concerned was also responsible for the architectural design. Only by analysing Ryckwaert's work, does the nature and extent of his influence become clear. In this way, a more nuanced assessment of Ryckwaert's work can be given and a contribution made to the discussion of what the concept of influence exactly means. The following section discusses Ryckwaert's origins and how he came to Brandenburg in the entourage of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen. Subsequent sections are devoted to a discussion of some of his building projects, while the final section addresses the extent to which he was responsible for architectural designs.

ORIGINS

It has been assumed that Ryckwaert was the son of the Utrecht theologian, Karel Ryckwaert, but this is based purely on a coincidence of name.⁹ The possibility of a Brielle or Leiden connection seems more likely. A certain Johannes Ryckwaert (*1611) from Brielle is listed in the Leiden student register.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the Brielle baptismal registers for the years 1608-1615 have not been preserved, so we have no further information about this Johannes Ryckwaert. In Leiden around 1630 we find a Jan, a Joannes and a Hans Ryckwaert, but it has so far proved impossible to establish whether any of them was identical to the Johannes Ryckwaert from Brielle.¹¹ Nevertheless, we know that on 10 December 1628 a Joannes Ryckewaert – perhaps a cousin – baptized a son named Jacobus in the Hooglandse Kerk. One of the witnesses was a Joanna Vaillant.¹² Although we cannot say with certainty, it is likely that the Joannes mentioned was the father of Cornelis. A sister

of Cornelis was married to the painter Jacques Vaillant, born in Amsterdam in December 1643,¹³ who became court painter to the Brandenburg Elector in 1672.¹⁴ Cornelis himself had at least two sons: Johannes – possibly named after Cornelis' father – and Adriaen Daniel.¹⁵

Terwen and Ottenheim's suggestion that Ryckwaert was a pupil of Pieter Post cannot be proved either, because of a lack of sources.¹⁶ Post's father came from Leiden, but he himself grew up in Haarlem. Pieter's brother Frans accompanied Johan Maurits as court painter in the 1630s on his trip to Brazil. That Cornelis Ryckwaert was also part of that expedition is unlikely, given his probable year of birth: his modest position in the early years in Brandenburg would seem to indicate a date of birth around 1635.

It is striking that the poet and physician Justus Ryckwaert, who was born in Brielle in 1605 and was trained in Leiden¹⁷ – the older brother of the previously mentioned Johannes – was a personal acquaintance of Caspar van Baerle (Barlaeus).¹⁸ In 1647 Van Baerle was commissioned by Johan Maurits to write a work on Brazil. Fifteen years later Cornelis Ryckwaert came to Sonnenburg with the same Johan Maurits. Here we not only have the same name, but also a link – albeit tenuous – between another member of the Ryckwaert family and Johan Maurits, who was to play an important role in the reconstruction of Brandenburg.¹⁹

Ryckwaert's activities have certainly not gone unnoticed since the late nineteenth century. Georg Galland argued plausibly in 1893 that Ryckwaert came to Brandenburg as master carpenter and in 1911 Galland wrote about Ryckwaert again. A long, monographic article by Wilhelm van Kempen dating from 1924 is due for revision, in terms both of the source material and the conclusions. Although Van Kempen was inclined to heroize the individual artist, he, like Galland, regarded Ryckwaert as a minor figure, and while Hermann Heckmann claimed to discern a certain stylistic affinity with Pieter Post, he, too, was less than positive about Ryckwaert's abilities.²⁰ Be that as it may, the reputation of Ryckwaert as an architect has never really been called into question.

SONNENBURG

To gain insight into Ryckwaert's role in the building process, a number of building projects in which he is known to have been involved based on written sources, are discussed below. The first project is the renovation of Sonnenburg castle, commissioned by Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, between 1662 and 1667 (fig. 1). In 1341, Margrave Ludwig gave permission for the construction of a castle in Sonnenburg – present-day Słonsk – just across the Polish border near Frankfurt an der Oder. Sixteen years later, the then Margrave

of Brandenburg handed it over to the Order of St. John.²¹ From 1545, the castle was radically rebuilt and enlarged. During the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) Swedish troops set the castle on fire and it was not until 1652 that its restoration began after Elector Friedrich Wilhelm appointed his friend Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen commander of Sonnenburg.²² During his first visit in December 1652, Johan Maurits noted 'that the pernicious war and times of plague had severely reduced the number of inhabitants'.²³ The annual income from the property was 324 gold guilders, while there was a shortfall of no less than 7,452 gold guilders.²⁴

To improve the situation Johan Maurits brought in Dutch craftsmen in 1652, but it is unclear whether Cornelis Ryckwaert was one of their number. Johan Maurits ordered the repair of the buildings that were still standing and the repairs continued from 1652 to 1662.

Dutch craftsmen were always involved. For example, a certain Craanhals was in charge of a group of carpenters and coffin makers.²⁵ And a Dutch surveyor, Arnold van Geelkercken, was commissioned to map the order's widely dispersed villages and property. Johan Maurits had new stables, barns, water- and windmills built in all the villages at his own expense.²⁶

It was not until 1662 that the reconstruction of the castle itself was tackled. Johan Maurits had a keen interest in architecture and just as he had made designs for the castles in Potsdam and Brazil – using the prints of designs by Jacob van Campen and Pieter Post – the Sonnenburg restoration was of his own design (fig. 2).²⁷ Around 1655 a booklet appeared in Amsterdam containing twelve prints of new festoons, designed by Jacob van Campen for the Amsterdam town hall. When Sonnenburg was completed more than ten years later, one of these festoons adorned the facade of the

1. Cornelis Ryckwaert's geographical area of activity in Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt between 1660 and 1692 (map author)





2. Sonnenburg facade before 1940; it was rebuilt from 1662 to 1667 by order of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

3. Festoon of shells and flowers by Michiel Mosijn, after Francoys Danx and Jacob van Campen, 1655. Ten years later, this print was used as a model for the festoons at Sonnenburg (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam)



Johannieterslot (fig. 3).²⁸ Jean de Bonjour, whose father had accompanied Johan Maurits to Brazil as warden, was put in charge construction. Initially, the daily management was in the hands of master carpenter Cornelis Ryckwaert and master mason Gorus Person or Perron.²⁹

Apart from Ryckwaert and Person, twelve Dutch workmen and a number of German carpenters were present at the construction site. In 1665, three years after work commenced, Gorus Person was discharged indicating that the most important masonry work on the castle was completed. Cornelis Ryckwaert was put in charge, for which he demanded a wage increase of one guilder per week.³⁰ As the rough work was nearing completion, Ryckwaert wrote to Johan Maurits in May 1665 regarding the details of the finishing. He wanted Johan Maurits to tell him how the gallery around the castle should be constructed. It was also unclear whether the bridges should be built on wooden or stone piers; he asked what the canal should look like and about the sheet-piling; whether there should be a tower on the castle, whether the production of blue tiles should continue and how the castle should be finished from the outside.³¹ Ryckwaert also wanted to know how the chimneys, ceilings and floors should be constructed, he mentioned a lack of details about the windows, stairs and doors and also wanted to know what kind of glass was to be used and whether cheap bluestone could be imported from Amsterdam via Stettin.

The client had a strong influence on the appearance and execution. Johan Maurits wrote on 1 June from Cleves that the cheapest glass would suffice. The bridge should be built on wooden pillars and the tower planned for the castle should be omitted. Instead of the usual thick coat of plaster, the walls would have only a thin coat of whitewash. In a number of rooms stucco ceilings should be installed and with regard to the fireplaces Johan Maurits wrote that the chimney designs by Pieter Post, which had appeared in print a year earlier, could serve as an example. But here, too, he pointed out that they should be simply executed. They should inquire in Amsterdam whether it would not be cheaper to buy stone columns there and whether stone pavers for the floor in the large cellar could be obtained there, or whether it might be better to use simple Swedish floor tiles.³²

Johan Maurits drew on the experience he had gained while he was in Brazil and was simultaneously having his house in The Hague built. On 4 September 1666 Ryckwaert entered into a contract with Johan Maurits' representative Jean de Bonjour, which indicated that Ryckwaert's position was that of an independent contractor, rather than still being employed as a builder for a weekly wage. For the sum of 450 thalers Ryckwaert

would ensure that the castle was delivered, whereby he would get as many labourers, wood and tools as he needed. After the signing of the contract, the remaining work took several months. On 20 and 21 May 1667 the castle was festively inaugurated in the presence of Johan Maurits. The construction had cost him a little over 40,000 thalers.³³

Although the medieval walls of the castle had been largely preserved, after completion in the seventeenth century the castle was both inside and out a prime example of Dutch classicism. To achieve this, the new facade had been embedded in the older walls and the distribution of windows in relation to the interior walls was irregular. Ryckwaert's role in all of this was that of responsible master builder, initially employed by Johan Maurits, later as an independent contractor.

FORTRESS BUILDER IN KÜSTRIN

In 1667, after the completion of the castle in Sonnenburg, Ryckwaert was appointed Electoral Fortress Master in Küstrin (now Kostrzyn) (fig. 4). At that time he was not yet proficient in the German language and so was not able to conduct his own correspondence, which is why he hired Johann Fischer. The elector paid him an allowance for this, with the agreement that this would remain the case until Ryckwaert himself had sufficient knowledge of the German language to be able to write his own letters. But that moment never came. In 1675 Fischer became a permanent employee.³⁴

Ryckwaert remained in Küstrin until his death in 1693.³⁵ In Küstrin, Ryckwaert was under the command of Christian Albrecht, Count of Dohna, governor of the city for ten years. Ryckwaert had to keep accounts and calculate and pay the wages of the workers. Before long, in May and August 1668, the Elector announced that the fortification of Küstrin was progressing too slowly. The town did not have its own brickworks, and had to rely on suppliers from elsewhere to obtain bricks. There were communication problems and Ryckwaert had to deal with unwilling workers. These consisted in part of men and women who had been sentenced to work on the fortress in punishment for adultery, serious theft or blasphemy.³⁶ In addition, Ryckwaert was accused of having withheld money from wages. To prevent such accusations in the future, he had a payroll drawn up and signed by the workers. The fact that Ryckwaert did not speak German, or only poorly, would not have made matters any easier.

In June 1669, Governor Dohna complained that the steward of Küstrin was behind with payments to Ryckwaert, who was working on several bridges at that time. This work was also delayed due to the lack of money. Nevertheless, Ryckwaert's superiors were satisfied with his work. In October 1670, in recognition of



4. The town of Küstrin, with Peitz and Spandau, was one of the most important fortified towns in Brandenburg (from: M. Merian, *Topographia Electorat. Brandenburgici et Ducatus Pomeraniae etc.*, 1652/ Wikimedia Commons)

5. Küstrin, Bastion Brandenburg (photo author, 2018)



his good services in fortification and other projects in the Neumark, the master builder was gifted the house in Küstrin where he had lived for several years, a sign that his superiors wanted him to stay on in Küstrin.³⁷

In 1672, in addition to maintenance, he started construction of the large Brandenburg bastion on the river side of the city (fig. 5). Because the subsoil was marshy, piles were driven into the ground to form the foundation. The bastion was clad with bricks. Outside the city walls, Ryckwaert laid a ravelin and a hornwork.

THE PALACE IN SCHWEDT

In 1670 Electress Dorothea bought the dilapidated castle of Schwedt an der Oder for her son Prince Philip Wilhelm (fig. 6).³⁸ The old building had been badly damaged during the Thirty Years' War and only make-

shift repairs had been carried out in the 1640s. On 8 October 1670 Ryckwaert entered into a contract with Dorothea in Potsdam to turn the old castle into a palace using an existing design drawing, for an amount of 4,000 thalers. Thus Ryckwaert cannot be regarded as the architect of the Schwedt palace, but as the master builder in charge of construction. Ryckwaert himself was responsible for paying the Dutch bricklayers, carpenters and joiners and delivery of the structural work. He was to reuse material that was still usable. The elector paid for the other building materials and the finishing.³⁹

Almost immediately after the conclusion of the contract, Ryckwaert gave orders for the provision of construction timber. From 29 October to 2 November 1670 he was in Schwedt, where he drew up a list of the mate-

rials he would need, had the timber sawn in the nearby Vierraden sawmill, ordered lime from Rüdersdorf near Berlin and hard to obtain bricks from no fewer than five different brickworks in Raduhn, Neuendorf, Hohenfinow, Zehden and Zehdenick.

In the spring of 1671 Ryckwaert sent his son Adriaan Daniel to Schwedt, accompanied by two carpenters from Brabant, and demolition of the old castle began shortly afterwards. By the autumn of 1672, the new palace was beginning to take shape. In 1673 Schwedt finally acquired its own brick kiln. Michiel Smids supplied lime and in June the Elector ordered that Ryckwaert be sent glass from the glassworks in Marienwalde.⁴⁰ But despite the construction of the brick kiln, construction continued to be delayed due to a shortage of bricks. At the end of 1673 Ryckwaert supplied wood for the roof and tiles from Küstrin.⁴¹ At the beginning of 1674 Ryckwaert was supposed to deliver a drawing for the palace garden, but an attack of gout made it impossible for him to travel to Berlin. This led to a dispute with Thomas von dem Knesebeck, who was supervising the construction for Elector Dorothea. Von dem Knesebeck was unhappy with the pace of construction and despite his complaints about shortages of building materials Ryckwaert was reprimanded in March 1674, for sending his son Johan to Schwedt in February instead of going himself. A shortage of bricks remained a problem because the available bricks had been used to build a second brick kiln in Schwedt.

By 1675 the palace was fully roofed. The gutters were installed and work was already being carried out on the stairs, when Swedish troops appeared in Schwedt. Ryckwaert hastily had two oak trees, intended for ornamental woodcarving, removed to Küstrin. The building was looted, but not set on fire. However, work could not be resumed until 1677, when the windows and roof covering were installed and work on the floors and ceilings proceeded. In June 1677, the Electoral couple visited the palace, which was still uninhabitable. There were too few craftsmen and, to make matters worse, the new brick kiln collapsed in the late summer of 1677.

In April 1678 Ryckwaert was back in Schwedt. Together with a master builder from Dessau, a certain Jan Baes from Holland arrived to work on the palace. The remaining carpenters and joiners from Dessau arrived only four months later. There were now enough masons, but once again there was a lack of bricks. In the spring of 1679 glass arrived from Marienwalde and timber planks from Küstrin. This was followed by another setback: the beams in several rooms had started to sag and Ryckwaert had to erect permanent room-dividing columns to prevent a worse outcome. Ryckwaert indicated that he wanted to cancel the entire contract, but his clients were unmoved and obliged him to complete the work, which is why he was back in Schwedt again in June, to supervise the work on the floors, windows and roofs of the garden towers.⁴²

In July 1679, Hendrik de Fromantiou, art expert and

6. The castle in Schwedt an der Oder from the river side, in a photo from around 1925 (Technische Universität Berlin)



court painter to the Elector, was commissioned to paint the palace inside and out. Pilasters and frames were painted white, gold leaf was applied to festoons and other decorative elements, and the large tympanum filling on the courtyard side was painted in white and yellow colour. Michiel Smids supplied lime for the stucco ceilings, which were executed by the Italian Giovanni Belloni, one of the many Italian stucco workers active in Brandenburg at the end of the seventeenth century. Ryckwaert worked with him on many more occasions.⁴³

The seventeenth-century palace in Schwedt consisted of a main building to which side wings were later added. It was three storeys high and no less than 17 window axes wide, making it one of the larger palaces in Brandenburg. The central projecting bay or avant-corps on the city side contained a double-flight staircase. To the garden side was the large hall, which, like Huis ten Bosch in The Hague, in Sonnenburg and in Potsdam, extended over three floors.⁴⁴

THE JUNKERHAUS IN FRANKFURT AN DER ODER

The practical management of the construction process appears to be a recurrent theme in Ryckwaert's career, which sometimes saw him working on several projects simultaneously. The next assignment after the palace in Schwedt concerned the renovation of the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt an der Oder (fig. 7). In 1598 Elector Joachim Friedrich had bought this medieval building, which stood close to the river behind the old

7. Frankfurt an der Oder, Junkerhaus (now Museum Viadrina), restored and extended by Cornelis Ryckwaert between the 1670s and 1690s (photo author, 2018)



city wall, and turned it into a residence for students from the nobility. In 1615 he donated the building to the university. The Thirty Years' War prevented regular maintenance and after Frankfurt was looted by the Swedes in 1631, the Junkerhaus was for a long time uninhabitable.⁴⁵ A report dating from 30 August 1649 described the building as a ruin: windows and stairs were missing and the roof was severely damaged. Repairs would require 24,000 roof tiles and 10,000 bricks.

It was not until twenty years later, on 13 October 1670, that Cornelis Ryckwaert was entrusted with the repair of the Junkerhaus. When Michiel Smids checked the building accounts in 1678 he found that between 1670 and 1678 an amount of 5,000 thalers had been spent: too little to complete the work.⁴⁶ In 1680 Ryckwaert provided an overview of the construction work that still had to be carried out and calculated that he would need and additional 3,446 thalers to complete the work.⁴⁷ Beams were in place in the main building and the roof was finished, but chimneys still had to be built and the first floor divided by means of wooden partition walls. Furthermore, the windows, doors and floors still had to be installed, walls finished and stairs completed. The balcony, the infill of the tympanum at the front of the building, and a kitchen with dining room annex also required attention.

As in Schwedt, there were stability problems. While four-fifths of the building stood on a sand ridge, the eastern section rested on mud flats of the River Oder. During construction Ryckwaert had taken this into account by laying the beams in the southeastern part of the building in such a way that the end wall was made fast to the rest of the building by means of tie bars. Despite this, part of the facade collapsed in 1681.⁴⁸ Ryckwaert decided to extend the Junkerhaus by incorporating the medieval wall tower to its east. The intervening alleyway was built in and the main building connected to the wall tower. As a result, the weak wall was now buttressed by a more solidly founded building section.

Three Italian craftsmen were engaged for the stucco ceilings and chimney decorations: Giovanni Tornelli (26 August 1682), Giovanni Simonetti (27 March 1683) and the previously mentioned Giovanni Belloni (May 1683).⁴⁹ However, their work was hampered by a lack of money and as early as July 1683 Belloni complained in a letter to the elector that Ryckwaert would only allow him to make very basic chimneypieces. He declined the commission and stated that the stucco could not be carried out properly from the excise revenues.⁵⁰ Whatever the case, after more than half a century the building was finally usable again, although the old building had had to be extended with a bridging piece and a medieval tower to ensure its survival.



8. The castle in Zerbst, in a photo taken before 1940 (Technische Universität Berlin)

EXTENSION OF THE AREA OF ACTIVITY

Ryckwaert is thought to have designed the renovation of the dilapidated tower of the Berlin Petrikirche in 1675, at the behest of the Elector. However, the design was not executed due to lack of money.⁵¹ In the same year he was approached to assist in the construction of another castle, this time in Saxony-Anhalt. In 1659, Prince Johann Georg II of Anhalt-Dessau had married Henriëtte Catharina of Orange. As stadholder of the margravate of Brandenburg he tried to bring Dutch expertise to Saxony-Anhalt.⁵²

Cornelis Ryckwaert seems to have come to the small town of Coswig on the Elbe in Saxony-Anhalt as a hydraulic and civil engineer. The castle here, like those in Sonnenburg and Schwedt and the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt, was already quite old. On 30 March 1670, Sophie Augusta of Anhalt-Zerbst ordered it to be rebuilt and modernised. A royal building committee of three was in charge of the modernisation, but none of its members had substantive knowledge of construction. Work was carried out here in the 1670s.⁵³

The shell of the main building was completed in 1674. Immediately thereafter, work commenced on the

construction of two side wings, which were completed in 1680. Shortly after the start of construction problems arose with the unstable Elbe riverbank. It is possible, but not entirely certain that the ‘worm’ or ‘screw’ used for pumping water away that Cornelis Ryckwaert had sent from Küstrin was intended for the castle in Coswig. Whatever the case, in 1675 he was paid 100 thalers for his effort and the delivery of the screw.

In the years up to 1679 Ryckwaert ordered the reinforcement of the wall around the lock with heavy field boulders, so that the soil stratum on which the new building stood would not sink or shift. Ryckwaert received one hundred thalers a year for this. It was technical work, comparable to his work on the fortresses in Küstrin and Frankfurt an der Oder, but there is no evidence that he worked on the building himself, let alone that he can be regarded as its architect.⁵⁴

One of Ryckwaert’s most famous renovation projects in Saxony-Anhalt is Zerbst Castle, the residence of the princes of Anhalt-Zerbst (fig. 8). The renovation was ordered by Carl Wilhelm von Anhalt-Zerbst, who began by having the large moat around the castle widened and dug out in 1675.⁵⁵ The old round keep was then de-

molished. On 31 May 1681 Carl Wilhelm laid the first stone of the new building, which would eventually consist of three three-storey wings with a large hall opposite the central stairwell. For the main building, the houses located to the north and the bastions of the old Renaissance castle had to be demolished. The material was used for the foundations of the new castle. The castle buildings further south remained standing for the time being and served as a residence for the monarch. Between 1675 and his death in 1693, Ryckwaert regularly received considerable sums of money and remuneration in kind for his involvement.⁵⁶ Although the building has been fairly confidently attributed to Ryckwaert, there is in fact no hard evidence for this. In the *Zerbster Kammerrechnungen* he is mentioned as Elector Brandenburg's 'Baumeister und Ingenieur', who gave practical instructions and was a supplier of a water wheel, a large consignment of iron and mechanical instruments.⁵⁷

As in Frankfurt an der Oder, Schwedt and Coswig, Ryckwaert could not always be present in Zerbst. He was accordingly represented by Johann Georg von der Marwitz – a son-in-law of the governor of Küstrin – and after his death by Giovanni Simonetti, the stuccoer who had worked on the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt. In 1684 Adriaen Daniel Ryckwaert represented his father

in Zerbst, probably in relation to the more technical construction issues.⁵⁸ Substantial deliveries of bricks, limestone and sandstone from Pirna in Saxony and other materials resulted in good progress being made in the first few years. Bricks were produced on site and the roof was installed in 1689. Giovanni Simonetti took on the completion of the interior.⁵⁹ Dutch tiles were used to cover the walls behind the tiled stoves and furniture was imported from Brabant for a total of 7,454 thalers. A large symmetrical garden was then laid out to a design that would have been supplied by Ryckwaert. It was provided with a wellthought-out system of canals and river arms.

OTHER CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

Ryckwaert's practical knowledge was also sought after elsewhere in Zerbst. While he was working on the castle, the city of Zerbst called on his help to build a new Lutheran Trinitatiskerk, a modest central-plan church. Work began in 1682 and the first stone was laid on 4 June 1683.⁶⁰ In this project, too, Ryckwaert was represented by Johann Georg von der Marwitz. During the construction a discussion arose about the execution, the main points of contention being the cost of a stone vault and a planned dome. On 19 June 1686 Wolf Caspar von Klengel, *Oberlandbaumeister* for the Elector in

9. Zerbst, Holy Trinity Church before 1940 (Technische Universität Berlin)





10. The palace in Oranienbaum, built from 1683 by order of Henriëtte Catharina van Oranje (photo F. Hörnicke, 2018)

Saxony-Anhalt, expressed his reservations to the Zerbst city council.⁶¹ A few months earlier, on 10 March, the council of Zerbst itself had already informed the elector that the financing of the project was causing problems. Even after three fund-gathering trips to Lutheran areas in central and southern Germany, northern Germany and Sweden, there was hardly enough money to cover ten per cent of the final construction costs. Nevertheless, the church was completed, minus the dome. The consecration took place in October 1696. Ryckwaert had at this point been dead for almost three years. Here, too, Simonetti had taken on the finishing touches to the church (fig. 9).⁶²

In April 1678 Ryckwaert was given permission to trade in wood, as was his colleague Michiel Matthijsz Smids.⁶³ In the early 1680s Ryckwaert repaired the Na-hausen church tower in the Neumark, not far from Schwedt, and in 1682 he built a shipping bridge over the Elbe near Dessau. Also in Dessau he built the Lutheran Johannischurch, in 1688, and in 1692 he built the colonnades at the castle and possibly a number of houses.⁶⁴

One final place in Saxony-Anhalt where Ryckwaert worked as a master builder is Oranienbaum, whose history resembles that of Oranienburg in Brandenburg.⁶⁵ Oranienbaum, originally called Nischwitz, was acquired by Ernst von Anhalt-Dessau in 1512. After Johan Georg II of Anhalt-Dessau married Henriëtte Catharina in 1659, he gave Oranienbaum to his wife, as

the Elector of Brandenburg had given the town of Böt-zow, later Oranienburg, to Louise Henriëtte. In Nischwitz a new town was to be created. The plan had a grid, in which the palace, the park and the city form a whole. The market place, which functioned as the palace forecourt, was bisected by a long road from the palace. A smaller axis at right angles to this led to the city church, so that both the city and the church were spatially subordinate to the palace. Since 1673 the new town has been called Oranienbaum. In 1683, under Ryckwaert's supervision, construction began on the conversion of a moated country house in the palace grounds into a summer residence for the queen (fig. 10). It was eventually completed in 1698. The basement walls were clad with Delft blue tiles. The park, which was laid out at the same time as the palace and modelled on Dutch baroque gardens, was probably not completed until after 1710. Little is known about the church built in 1676; a new church was built in 1704.

ESTATES IN BRANDENBURG

In 1681 Ryckwaert travelled to Wesel, where he probably worked on the fortress, and ten years later he was in Peitz, also awaiting work on the fortress there.⁶⁶ He also carried out assignments in Brandenburg. General Joachim Ernst von Görzke, who served in Brandenburg in 1658 and later became governor of Küstrin in 1677 had bought the neglected Friedersdorf estate in 1652. Görzke restored the old building and built a new

two-storey *corps de logis*. A neck gable was placed on the central avant-corps. The plan was symmetrical, with a wide corridor with a staircase like the Maurits-huis in The Hague; unfortunately, the name of the architect is unknown.⁶⁷ After Görzke's death in 1682, the estate became the property of his daughter Maria Elisabeth, who was married to the aforementioned Johann Georg von der Marwitz. Von der Marwitz, who was in the service of the Brandenburg administration, later became *Kammerpräsident* (president of the chamber) in Anhalt and privy councillor and *kamerpräsident* in Brandenburg. He represented Cornelis Ryckwaert during his absences from the construction of the castle and church in Zerbst. He had a country house built in Groß Rietz, the design of which was attributed to Ryckwaert because of their connections (fig. 11). This, too, as if it were a standard repertoire for the nobility, was a rectangular two-storey building, with a avant-corps and what was for Brandenburg an unusual arrangement of Ionic pilasters.

In many of these smaller building projects the lack of detailed sources is a problem in determining the exact nature of Ryckwaert's involvement. From 1680 to 1685 Ryckwaert worked on an estate in Hohenfinow, east of Berlin. The nature of his work is not known, but the network in which he operated helps to explain his involvement. Ernst von Börstel had been the owner of the war-damaged Hohenfinow estate since 1668.⁶⁸ Von Börstel was a high-ranking military officer and member of the Electoral Court. He had been a chamberlain

and lieutenant-colonel of the electress's personal regiment, commander and governor of Stettin and sergeant-general of the infantry. In addition, he was a knight of the Order of St. John under Johan Maurits.⁶⁹ The supervisor of the construction site in Schwedt, Thomas von dem Knesebeck, was a brother-in-law of Von Börstel and the supervisor at the construction site in Hohenfinow was Johann Abel, a master mason who had also worked in Schwedt. It is also probable that the Dutch carpenter Willem Huniberts or Hobert had previously worked in Schwedt. The stucco work in Hohenfinow was carried out by other familiar figures from Schwedt, namely Giovanni Belloni and Franciscus Antoni, and probably Giovanni Simonetti.⁷⁰

A few years later Ryckwaert was involved in the renovation of the Lagow estate to the east of Küstrin, which until the sixteenth century had been the headquarters of the Knights of St John in Brandenburg. In the years 1690-1691 the existing building was largely demolished and a new foundation laid on piles. The new building had a pediment as in Sonnenburg. It is thought that the drawings for the new building were supplied by Cornelis Ryckwaert, but it is not known to what extent he was the actual designer. Surviving travel expense declarations indicate that he was in Lagow in 1689 and again in 1690.⁷¹

One of the last projects Ryckwaert worked on is the expansion of the port of the Pomeranian Rügenwaldermünde.⁷² Work began in 1684 and although Ryckwaert was in charge, he probably only visited the site

11. The country house in Groß Rietz, c. 1690 (photo author, 2018)



once. It was Willem Crytter who was present throughout and therefore in charge of the practical implementation. Crytter was probably a brother-in-law of Ryckwaert, the brother of his second wife Anna. The harbour development consisted of the construction of a new entrance to the west of the old harbour in order to accommodate the influx of Huguenots to Rügenwalde and to compete with the port of Gdansk. But the new port did not last long: it quickly silted up and there were so many accidents that the Pomeranian nobility complained that their ships were less adequately protected from storms and thunderstorms than on the open sea.

ARCHITECT OR ENGINEER?

Cornelis Ryckwaert is regarded as an exemplar of the travelling architect who introduced Dutch influences in Brandenburg.⁷³ Hermann Heckmann wrote in 1998: 'Like Memhardt and Smids, [Ryckwaert] also brought Dutch influences with him from his homeland. Initially his style had an affinity with that of Pieter Post owing to his involvement in the design of Castle Sonnenburg.⁷⁴ However, the sources refer only to Post's 1665 chimney prints.⁷⁵ Based on the source material, it seems unlikely that Ryckwaert would have been considered as a designer of Sonnenburg and there is scant evidence that Ryckwaert produced architectural designs for other projects either. Johan Gregor Memhardt, on the other hand, would have been a likely candidate for most of the buildings. The designs for Huis ten Bosch were sold as prints in 1655,⁷⁶ so they may also have served as an example for Sonnenburg and other buildings.

Heckmann also pointed out that projecting bays and frontons were also to be found in the castles of Zerbst and Oranienbaum. '[Ryckwaert] barely decorated the building volume, was content with portal balconies – particularly lavishly enclosing almost the entire projecting garden side of Oranienbaum Palace – with huge pilasters and square corner edgings. These also appear in the Junkerhaus ... and the Zerbst Palace ... and are reminiscent of Memhardt's design.'⁷⁷ Van Kempen had already pointed out that the central avant-corps of the castle in Schwedt had quoins, as did the castles in Zerbst and Oranienbaum. He could have added the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt. The orphanage in Oranienburg (c. 1663), the central avant-corps of the stables on Breite Straße in Berlin-Mitte (c. 1665) and that of the castle in Potsdam (c. 1670), all three probably designed by Memhardt, also featured quoins. In any case, this contradicts Ryckwaert's stylistic individuality and ironically also refutes the proposition that – if the buildings mentioned had in fact been designed by Ryckwaert – his work was influenced by Pieter Post, given that this architectural element is completely ab-



12. Lindenberg, evangelical village church, 1667-1669, previously attributed to Cornelis Ryckwaert (Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege)

sent from Post's work. The fact that the buildings mentioned had a central avant-corps with tympanum does not prove anything either. In Brandenburg, too, such elements were part of the standard architectural repertoire in the second half of the seventeenth century. In view of Ryckwaert's work as an engineer and master builder and the fact that Memhardt was appointed court architect by the Elector, there is an additional argument for attributing the castle in Schwedt and the Junkerhaus to Memhardt. This also applies to the church in Lindenberg, which in the past has been attributed to Ryckwaert on the basis of similarities with other of his buildings.⁷⁸ The commissioner of the church was Raban von Canstein from Westphalia, who had worked in Kleef in 1651, where Johan Maurits was stadholder, and who had been involved in the improvement of the waterways in Brandenburg since 1659 (fig. 12).⁷⁹ The conclusion with regard to Ryckwaert must therefore be that his work was of a civil-engineering nature and that he cannot be regarded as a designing architect.

This brings us to the question of Ryckwaert's influence on the Brandenburg construction industry. As



13. Słonek, the ruins of Sonnenburg Castle, which burned down in 1975 (photo author, 2018)

14. The palace in Zerbst in 2016 (Wikimedia Commons)



has become clear, this influence should not be sought in the introduction of an architectural design language. The Brandenburg network of local clients and administrators, who were most in need of expertise from the Republic, offers a much better explanation for the work Ryckwaert did in Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt. Ryckwaert possessed the specific technical building expertise needed in Brandenburg. The influence of the Electoral Court and the surrounding network ensured that this expertise was used. This network also explains Ryckwaert's collaboration with Smids, who held a similar position, and the commissions Ryckwaert received from electoral circles. Based on the written sources, the question of Ryckwaert's influence on Brandenburg construction practice in the

seventeenth century should instead be sought in his work as a (fortifications) engineer. Given his probable age when he first travelled eastwards, he would not yet have been a fully-fledged master builder. He was designated a 'master carpenter', and within the network described above he managed to rise to become a man of practical know-how who until his death was involved in many projects. This evaluation also serves to qualify the criticism levelled at Ryckwaert by previous authors, namely that he was not particularly talented as a designer.

Ryckwaert died on 9 November 1693, apparently quite unexpectedly and it is not clear exactly how old he was at that point.⁸⁰ A month after his death, Ryckwaert's second son Adriaen Daniel was appointed his

successor as far as civil engineering work was concerned. Although he had already been involved in the construction of the castle in Schwedt in 1671, he was apprenticed to Rutger van Langevelt from 1679 to 1682 and in 1685 the Grand Elector financed a study tour to the tune of 400 thalers. Ryckwaert was succeeded as fortifications builder by the Frenchman Jean Louis Ca-yard, a pupil of the celebrated fortifications builder Sébastien de Vauban.

The work of Cornelis Ryckwaert has almost completely disappeared, as has a lot of source material. This is a serious obstacle to further research. The castles in Hohenfinow, Schwedt and Zerbst were badly damaged during the Second World War, after which the remains of Hohenfinow and Schwedt were razed to the ground. All that remains standing are the ruins of Sonnenburg (fig. 13), which burned down in 1975, and of the east wing of the castle in Zerbst (fig. 14); the latter has been consolidated since 2005. The Holy Trinity Church in Zerbst, which was badly damaged during a bombardment of the city in April 1945, was reconstructed in the years 1951-1967.

The city of Küstrin, where Ryckwaert lived for over 25



15. A street in war-damaged Küstrin (photo author, 2018)

years of his adult life, has completely vanished. Following damage at the end of the Second World War, the remains of the old houses and buildings were demolished so that the demolition material could be used to rebuild Warsaw. Only the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt an der Oder and more especially the Oranienbaum castle have been preserved in fairly authentic condition.

NOTES

- 1 K. Ottenheim and K. De Jonge (eds.), *The Low Countries at the Crossroads. Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)* (Architectura Moderna. Architectural Exchanges in Europe, 16th-17th Centuries; 8), Turnhout 2013.
- 2 R. Noel, 'Reviews. *The Low Countries at the Crossroads: Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)* [...]', *Renaissance Quarterly* 69 (2016) 1, 249-250.
- 3 K. Neville, *Nicodemus Tessin the Elder. Architecture in Sweden in the Age of Greatness* (Architectura Moderna; 7), Turnhout 2007; K. Ottenheim, 'Foreign Architects in the Low Countries and the Use of Prints and Books', in: Ottenheim and De Jonge 2013 (ref. 1), 212-235; P. Vlaardingerbroek (ed.), *The Amsterdam Canals. World Heritage*, Amsterdam 2016.
- 4 K. Ottenheim (ed.), *Architects without Borders. Migration of Architects and Architectural Ideas in Europe 1400-1700*, Mantua 2014; B. Noldus, *Trade in Good Taste. Relations in Architecture and Culture between the Dutch Republic and the Baltic World in the Seventeenth Century* (Architectura Moderna; 2), Turnhout 2004; G. van Tussenbroek, *Grachten in Berlijn. Hollandse bouwers in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 2006; F. Skibinski, *Willem van den Blocke. Netherlandish Sculptor in the Baltic Region*, dissertation, Utrecht 2013.
- 5 S. Mossakowski, *Tilman van Gameren. Leben und Werk*, Munich/Berlin 1994; B.V. Noldus, *Philip de Lange. Københavns store bygmester*, Copenhagen 2014.
- 6 Cf. H. Borggreffe, 'Rezension von: Nils Büttner/Esther Meier (Hgg.): Grenzüberschreitung. Deutsch-Niederländischer Kunst- und Künftleraustausch im 17. Jahrhundert [...]', *Sehepunkte* 12 (2012) 1, www.sehepunkte.de/2012/01/20440.html (4 July 2018); T. Fusening, 'Book Reviews. *The Low Countries at the Crossroads. Netherlandish Architecture as an Export Product in Early Modern Europe (1480-1680)* (Architectura Moderna 8) [...]', *Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 2014, <https://hnanews.org/hnar/reviews/low-countries-crossroads-netherlandish-architecture-export-product-early-modern-europe-1480-1680-architectura-moderna-8/> (4 July 2018).
- 7 Cf. G. van Tussenbroek, 'Alle Wege führen nach Brandenburg. Niederländisches Bauen in Brandenburg in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Brandenburgische Denkmalpflege* 12 (2003) 1, 4-17.
- 8 G. van Tussenbroek, 'Michiel Matthijsz. Smids (Rotterdam 1626-Berlijn 1692). Keurvorstelijk bouwmeester in Brandenburg', *Bulletin KNOB* 103 (2004) 1, 23-48.
- 9 H. Heckmann, *Baumeister des Barock und Rokoko in Brandenburg-Preußen*, Berlin 1998, 80. Given this name, which is written in different ways, his family probably came from the southern Netherlands. Apart from the Karel Ryckwaert mentioned in the text, he may also have been related to the Antwerp painter family of Ryckaert or the explorer and Jesuit father Arnold Rijckwaert. Cf. B. van Haute, *David III Ryckaert. A Seventeenth-century Flemish Painter of Peasant Scenes*, Turnhout 1999, 7-12.
- 10 *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875*, via stamboomnederland.nl.
- 11 The *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875* also mentions a Joannes and Jacobus Ryckart from Amsterdam, who went to Leiden to study in 1608 and 1609. The relationship, if any, with students from Brielle is unknown.
- 12 Stadsarchief Leiden, Dopen Hooglandische Kerk 20 August 1628-1635, archive no. 1004, Dopen NH Hooglandische Kerk, inv.no. 233.
- 13 Jacques Vaillant was baptised in Amsterdam on 6 December 1643. SAA, DTB, inv. no. 131, 108. J. Briels, *Vlaamse schilders en de dageraad van Hollands Gouden Eeuw, 1585-1630: met biografieën als bijlage*, Antwerp (1997) gives c. 1625 as the year of birth. Cf. M. Vandalle, 'Les frères Vaillant. Artistes Lillois du XVII^e siècle', *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 7 (1937), 4, 341-360, 345, where it appears that Jacques was baptised as a Protestant and where c. 1625 is also given as birth year.
- 14 G. Galland, *Hohenzollern und Oranien. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte der niederländischen Beziehungen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Straatsburg 1911, 91.
- 15 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 90.
- 16 J.J. Terwen and K.A. Ottenheim, *Pieter*

- Post (1608-1669). Architect*, Zutphen 1993, 79.
- 17 Justus was the son of the preacher Theophilus Ryckewaert, born in 1582. Not to be confused with the theologian of this name, who probably died in Ypres in 1584. [who died c. 1584 in Ypres.]
- 18 *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* II (1912), 1248-1249; III (1914), 1114-1115 and IX (1933), 917-918.
- 19 G. de Werd (ed.), *So weit der Erdkreis reicht. Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen. (1604-1679)*, Cleves 1979.
- 20 G. Galland, *Der Große Kurfürst und Moritz von Nassau. Studien zur brandenburgischen und holländischen Kunstgeschichte*, Frankfurt a.M. 1893, 93-136; Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 76-95; W. van Kempen, 'Der Baumeister Cornelis Ryckewaert. Ein Beitrag zur Kunstgeschichte Brandenburgs und Anhalts im 17. Jahrhundert', *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (1924), 195-266. More recently: Heckmann 1998 (ref. 9), 80-87.
- 21 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 93; G.A.C. Blok, 'Die Bautätigkeit des Fürsten Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen in Cleve und Sonnenburg', *Siegerland* 4 (1935), 118-128; H.E. Kubach, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Oststernberg* (Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Deutschen Ostens), Stuttgart 1960, 185ff; Terwen and Ottenheim 1993 (ref. 16), 71-82, and M. Kleiner, 'Sonnenburg, ein "niederländisches Palais" in der Neumark. Kulturtransfer von den Niederlanden nach Brandenburg im 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der Johanniterordensresidenz Sonnenburg', in: P.-M. Hahn and H. Lorenz (eds.), *Formen der Visualisierung von Herrschaft. Studien zu Adel, Fürst und Schloßbau vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Potsdam 1998, 57-86.
- 22 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 94-96 and W.G. Rödel, 'Johann Moritz als Herrenmeister der Ballei Brandenburg des Johanniterordens (1652-1679)', in: De Werd 1979 (ref. 19), 81-90.
- 23 Cited by Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 99.
- 24 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 97.
- 25 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 101; Kubach 1960 (ref. 21), 188.
- 26 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 136 and 148; K.A. Ottenheim, 'Fürsten, Architekten und Lehrbücher. Wege der holländischen Baukunst nach Brandenburg im 17. Jahrhundert', in: H. Lademacher (ed.), *Onder den Oranje Boom. Niederländische Kunst und Kultur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert an deutschen Fürstenthöfen. Katalogband*, Krefeld etc. 1999, 287-298, 297.
- 27 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 110: '... selbigen ein von Ihro Fürstlichen Hochwürden und Gnd. Selber gemachtes Modell vorhabenden Baues'.
- 28 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 110 and 120-127; Terwen and Ottenheim 1993 (ref. 16); Ottenheim 1999 (ref. 26), 296; P. Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam*, Zwolle 2011, 60.
- 29 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 110-111 and Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 78-79.
- 30 Blok 1935 (ref. 21), 123 and Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 121.
- 31 Regarding these tiles: 'Die Dachsteine seyn blaew gebrand und von ... Herrn Ordens Rath [Bonjour] und Baw Meister [Ryckwaert] das blaew Brennen betreffend zuerst inventiret, denn man von dergleichen Steinen in der Chur Brandenburg vorhin niemals gewuhst. Ist also dies das erste Hauhs, das mit solchen Steinen belegt worden.', Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 202. However, blue tiles are also to be found in the Trampe country house, renovated around 1657. H.J. Helmigk, *Märkische Herrenhäuser aus alter Zeit*, Berlin [1929], 30, and P.-M. Hahn and H. Lorenz (eds.), *Herrenhäuser in Brandenburg und der Niederlausitz. Kommentierte Neuausgabe des Ansichtenwerks von Alexander Duncker (1857-1883)*, 2 volumes, Berlin 2000, II, 605-609.
- 32 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 120 ff.
- 33 Galland 1893 (ref. 20), 112-113 and 129; Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 208.
- 34 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 229.
- 35 The town on the Oder, not far from Sonnenburg, was situated on two important trade routes and had become a royal residence in 1536. R. Gebuhr, A. Theissen and M. Winter (eds.), *Von Vestungen. Die brandenburgisch-preußischen Festungen Spandau - Peitz - Küstrin*, Berlin 2001, 30-33. Cf. C. Fredrich, *Die Stadt Küstrin*, Küstrin 1913; G. Berg, *Geschichte der Stadt und Festung Cüstrin* (Schriften des Vereins für Geschichte der Neumark; 35), Landsberg a.d. Warthe 1916; W. Hoppe, 'Geschichte der Stadt Küstrin', in: E. Blunck, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Königsberg (Neumark)*, Vol. I, Berlin 1928, 303-357; W. Melzheimer, *Die Festung und Garnison Küstrin*, Berlin 1989.
- 36 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), appendix, Berg 1916 (ref. 35), 141.
- 37 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), appendix, Fredrich 1913 (ref. 36), 112; Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 209.
- 38 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 83.
- 39 L. Böer, *Das ehemalige Schloß in Schwedt/Oder und seine Umgebung* (Heimatsbuch des Kreises Angermünde; Band 4), (1979), 25 and 170-171.
- 40 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 232-233.
- 41 The roof tiles were blue, like those used in Sonnenburg. Böer 1979 (ref. 39), 25-29.
- 42 Böer 1979 (ref. 39), 29-35.
- 43 Böer 1979 (ref. 39), 38.
- 44 Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 216.
- 45 C. Nülken, 'Frankfurt an der Oder. Das "Junkerhaus" im 17. Jahrhundert', *Brandenburgische Denkmalpflege* 1 (1992) 2, 57-68, 57.
- 46 H. Ladendorf, 'Smidts, Michael Matthias', in: U. Thieme, F. Becker (Bgr.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Band xxxi, Leipzig 1937, 161-162, 161. Cf. Nülken 1992 (ref. 45).
- 47 Nülken 1992 (ref. 45), 67-68.
- 48 Nülken 1992 (ref. 45), 61.
- 49 Their arrival in Brandenburg was probably originally related to the construction of the monastery church of Neuzelle, which was succeeded in the 1650s. Cf. Hahn and Lorenz 2000 (ref. 31), I, 63 and II, 256, 353 and 488-89.
- 50 Nülken 1992 (ref. 45).
- 51 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 231, no. 16.
- 52 Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 222; K. Bechler, *Schloss Oranienbaum. Architektur und Kunstpolitik der Oranierinnen in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Halle 2002, 27; T. Weiss (ed.), *Oranienbaum - Huis van Oranje. Wiedererweckung eines anhaltischen Fürsten Schlosses. Organische Bildnisse aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, exh. cat. Oranienbaum (Schloss Oranienbaum) 2003, 382.
- 53 U. Bednarz, F. Cremer and H.-J. Krause et al. (eds.), *Sachsen-Anhalt II. Regierungsbezirke Dessau und Halle*. Georg Dehio Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler, Munich et al. 1999, 109-110.
- 54 H. Dauer, 'Der Barockbau des Schlosses Coswig/Anhalt', *Burgen und Schlösser in Sachsen-Anhalt* 5 (1996), 64-90, 74-75 and 87.
- 55 D. Herrmann, *Schloß Zerbst in Anhalt. Geschichte und Beschreibung einer vernichteten Residenz*, Halle 1998, 11.
- 56 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), appendix, 233; R. Specht, 'Der Kurfürstlich-Brandenburgische Baumeister Cornelius Ryckewaert und seine Bautätigkeit in Zerbst von 1675-1693', *Alt-Zerbst* 25 (1928), contribution 74, no page numbering; Herrmann 1998 (ref. 55), 16.
- 57 The attribution goes back to Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20): 'Baupläne oder Zeichnungen aus der Erbauungszeit sind nicht mehr zu ermitteln gewesen, aber doch wissen wir genau, daß Ryckwaert für die Gesamtanlage des Schloßes verantwortlich zu machen ist. Wir besitzen nämlich einen Prospekt des Schlosses ... von Ryckwaerts Nachfolger Simonetti 1699 gezeichnet.' 'Corps de Logis wie Flügel sind hier so durchaus in holländischen Formen gegeben, und das Ganze ist so eines Geistes mit anderen Schöpfungen unseres Meisters, wie Schloß Schwedt ... und Schloß Oranienbaum ..., daß wir in dieser Simonettischen Zeichnung nur eine Wiedergabe des Ryckwaertschen Entwurfes sehen können.'
- 58 Specht 1928 (ref. 56).
- 59 Herrmann 1998 (ref. 55), 16.
- 60 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), appendix III; Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 230; Specht 1928 (ref. 56) and S. Schönfeld, *Der niederländische Einfluß auf den Kirchenbau in Brandenburg und Anhalt im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt et al. 1999, 85.
- 61 Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 244.
- 62 On the attribution Van Kempen: 'Ganz zweifellos spricht holländisches Form- und Raumgefühl aus dem Bau zu uns, und da liegt doch wahrlich der Gedanke an Ryckwaert äußerst nahe.' Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 239.
- 63 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 231; Van Tussenbroek 2004 (ref. 8), 23 and 29.
- 64 Heckmann 1998 (ref. 9), 85 and 137.

- 65 On Oranienbaum: Bechler 2002 (ref. 52). On Oranienburg: W. Boeck, *Oranienburg. Geschichte eines preussischen Königsschlosses*, Berlin 1938.
- 66 H.-J. Giersberg, C. Meckel and G. Bartoschek (eds.), *Der Große Kurfürst. Sammler. Bauherr. Mäzen*, Potsdam 1988, 117.
- 67 Hahn and Lorenz 2000 (ref. 31), II, 146-147.
- 68 S. Passow, *Ein märkischer Rittersitz. Aus der Orts- und Familienchronik eines Dorfes (Hohenfinow)*, 2 vol., Eberswalde 1907; K.J. and M. Endtmann, 'Park, Garten und Schloß Hohenfinow. Sachzeugen vergangener Jahrhunderte', *Kultur-Information Eberswalde* 8 (1983), 4-22.
- 69 Endtmann 1983 (ref. 68), 10.
- 70 Passow 1907 (ref. 68), 107; Böer 1979 (ref. 39), 173.
- 71 Hahn and Lorenz 2000 (ref. 31), II, 336-337.
- 72 Herrmann 1998 (ref. 55), 15.
- 73 Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), passim. Cf. K. Ottenheim, 'The Dutch years of Tilman van Gameren', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* 60 (2000), 87-103, 101.
- 74 'Wie Memhardt und Smids bringt auch [Ryckwaert] niederländischen Einfluß aus seiner Heimat mit. Zunächst hat sein Stil Beziehungen zu dem von Pieter Post, schon aufgrund dessen Entwurfsbeteiligung am Schloß Sonnenburg.' Heckmann 1998 (ref. 9), 86.
- 75 Van Kempen 1924 (ref. 20), 204.
- 76 Terwen and Ottenheim 1993 (ref. 16), 58.
- 77 'Die Baumasse dekoriert [Ryckwaert] kaum, begnügt sich mit Portalbalkonen – besonders aufwendig fast die gesamte Gartenrisalitseite des Schlosses Oranienbaum einfassend –, mit Kolossalpilastern und gequaderten Eckeinfassungen. Diese erscheinen auch am Junkerhaus ... und am Zerbster Schloß ... und erinnern an Memhardts Gestaltung.' Heckmann 1998 (ref. 9), 86.
- 78 G. Vinken et al. (eds.), *Brandenburg. Georg Dehio Handbuch der Deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*, Munich et al. 2000, 596-597.
- 79 Schönfeld 1999 (ref. 60), 90 ff.
- 80 Galland 1911 (ref. 14), 234.

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CORNELIS RYCKWAERT (C. 1635 - †1693), MASTER BUILDER IN BRANDENBURG

EXPORT OF DUTCH ARCHITECTURE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY?

GABRI VAN TUSSENBROEK

Cornelis Ryckwaert is one of the few master builders who were active in Brandenburg in the seventeenth century and of whom more is known than just a name or a place of residence. This makes him especially suitable for a study of the export of Dutch influences in the architecture of Brandenburg.

An analysis of his activities should reveal the nature of any such influence, making for a more nuanced assessment of Ryckwaert's work and contributing to the debate about what the concept of influence actually entails. This article begins with his origins and his arrival in Brandenburg in the retinue of Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, and then moves on to discuss several of his building projects.

There are indications that Ryckwaert was born in Leiden. From 1662 he was involved in the reconstruction of the Johannierter castle in Sonnenburg (present-day Słonsk). Once work on the castle was finished, Ryckwaert was appointed master of Electoral fortifications in Küstrin/Kostrzyn, where he lived until his death in 1693. From this base he was involved in other building projects, chiefly for the Electors of Brandenburg and of Sachsen-Anhalt. In Brandenburg his works included the castle in Schwedt, the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt an der Oder and smaller estates owned by minor nobility, such as Groß Rietz and Hohenfinow. In Sachsen-Anhalt he worked on the castle in Coswig, the castle and Lutheran church in Zerbst, and the Oranienbaum cas-

tle. He traded in wood and built a shipping bridge in Dessau where he also worked on other projects.

In the literature Cornelis Ryckwaert is regarded as an example of a travelling architect who introduced Dutch influences in Brandenburg. However, an analysis of his activities failed to uncover any persuasive evidence that he was in fact active as an architectural designer. Moreover, he was not appointed as 'architect', but as 'master builder'. The conclusion must therefore be that Ryckwaert's activities were of a civil engineering nature and that he cannot be regarded as an architectural designer.

Ryckwaert's influence on the building industry in Brandenburg should consequently be sought in the specific civil engineering expertise he possessed and that was needed in Brandenburg. His close ties with the Electoral court and with members of the minor nobility who usually held administrative offices, meant that Ryckwaert's know-how was employed in many different places. Based on the written sources, the nature of Ryckwaert's influence on construction in Brandenburg in the seventeenth century is more likely to be found in his activities as a fortification engineer.

Very little remains of the work of Cornelis Ryckwaert, or of related source material. Only the Junkerhaus in Frankfurt an der Oder, and more especially Oranienbaum castle, are still in a reasonably authentic condition.